

FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO STRIKE! AGAINST ANTI-LABOR LAWS!

The One-Cent Labor Action Goes Over!

By ALBERT GATES
Director of Party Building Fund

The one-cent LABOR ACTION has gone over with a bang! The realization of the one-cent paper is the biggest single accomplishment of our Party since the convention. It is of enormous significance in the work of our Party as a socialist anti-war organization. This step could not have been accomplished without the splendid response of the branches.

Increased bundle orders of LABOR ACTION have been received by the press office within a week after the first issue of the one-cent paper was received by the branches.

The New York organization has ordered 1600 copies above its present bundle order of 5000. Los Angeles has almost doubled its newly increased bundle order. The same is true of Chicago.

We are certain that the response will be duplicated by other branches and that the goal of doubling the present printing of LABOR ACTION within three months will be realized.

What is most important, however, is to put over the Program of Expansion. We need the help of all our friends and readers. Contribute to the \$5,000 Party Building Fund!

On Our Way to the Second Thousand in the \$5000 Drive

We are on our way to the second thousand dollars in the drive! Rochester has sent in \$25, making a 100 per cent payment on their quota. Four additional branches have pulled themselves out of the zero stage, namely, Buffalo, Lynn, Youngstown and Philadelphia.

Generally, there have been slight advances recorded in the standing of the branches, but we have a long way yet to go. There are still four localities unheard from. By next week we want to see these four change that situation. Two weeks have passed since the first remittances were received from other branches and they too are due to come across. Let's hear from all the branches within the next week and let's push the drive up a number of pegs.

We shall continue as before to publish the standing of the branches—their quotas, their contributions to date, and the percentage of the quota raised.

Branch	Quota	Raised	Percentage
Rochester	25.00	25.00	100
YPSL	000.00	357.20	
Akron	100.00	74.00	74
Youngstown	30.00	15.00	50
Worcester	50.00	20.00	40
National Office	500.00	172.00	34.4
Philadelphia	200.00	60.00	30
St. Louis	150.00	41.25	25.5
Los Angeles	300.00	68.00	22.6
New York	3,000.00	628.71	20.9
Washington	200.00	40.00	20
Cleveland	50.00	10.00	20
Chicago	275.00	31.00	11.2
Lynn	75.00	7.50	10
Buffalo	300.00	27.25	9
Nevada	000.00	15.00	
San Francisco	150.00	00.00	0
Columbus	100.00	00.00	0
Boston	50.00	00.00	0
Detroit	20.00	00.00	0
Totals	5,575.00	1,591.91	27.1

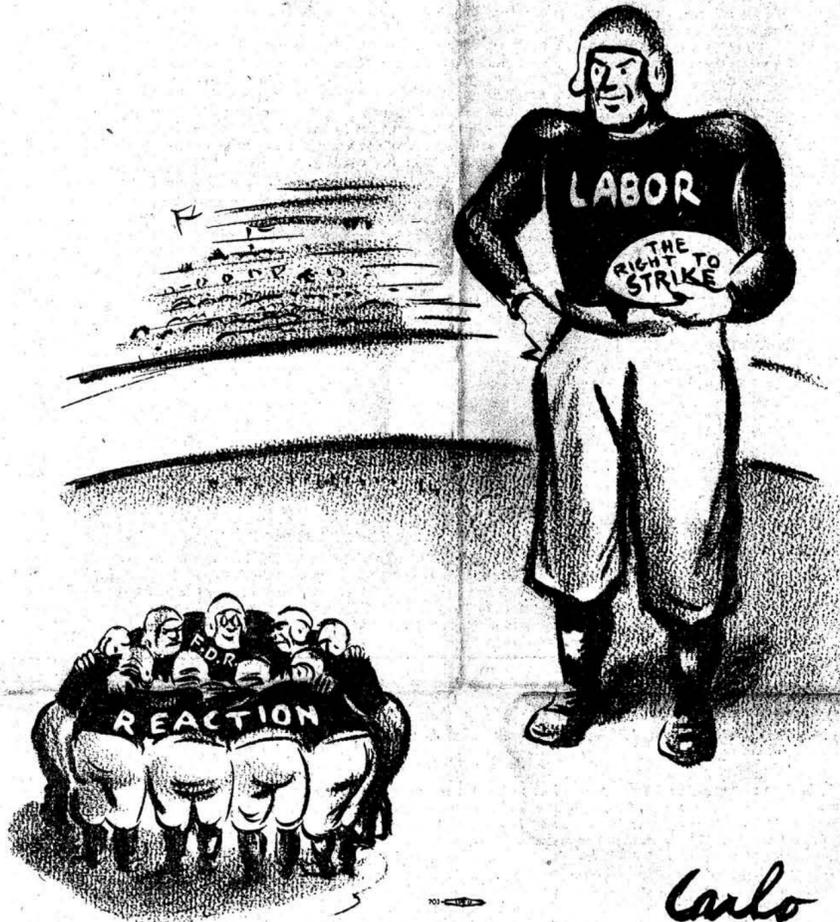
LABOR ACTION
114 W. 14th Street
New York City

Dear Friends:

I am interested in learning more about the Workers Party and its fight against the bosses' war plans.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____

Hold That Ball!



Coal Retreat Is Dangerous Precedent

Though It May Have Been Required by the Situation, It Has Ominous Implications for Future

By JACK WILSON

A dangerous precedent for organized labor was set last week when the United Mine Workers of America strike at the captive mines, involving 53,000 workers, was ended with the issue of union shop submitted to a special three-man arbitration board.

Although this "settlement" was cheered by many CIO and

AFL leaders, the fact is that the retreat of the UMWA and John L. Lewis, its president, has ominous implications for the future, since labor was forced to accept arbitration of a basic union right, the union shop, when this right should be recognized without any argument.

Even if this special board grants the UMWA a union shop in the captive mines, as authoritative reports from Washington declare it will, the victory gained is hardly compensated for by the acceptance of a

"no-strike, arbitration" principle in future union struggles.

Miners Were Ready

The resentment reported among the strikers and the thousands of sympathy strikers over the acceptance of the arbitration proposal indicates not only that they were willing to fight to the end for a union shop, but also that Roosevelt has lost his grip on the miners.

However, many factors operated to put the UMWA in a position where outright rejection of Roosevelt's proposal was not feasible.

John L. Lewis' past political blunders, his entire record of accepting arbitration as a means of settling strikes, despite his recent belligerent statements, placed him in a contradictory and insoluble position which weakened his power in the coal strike.

The ferocity of the press campaign, including some labor papers, against the coal strike, were not sufficiently offset by the UMWA statements.

Within the CIO itself, the appeasers of Wall Street (the Hill-

(Continued on page 4)

W. P. Asks Action to Free Harlem Boys

Harlem Branch Turns Spotlight on the REAL Criminal: Boss System of Jim-Crow Discrimination

The Harlem Branch of the Workers Party responded this week to the so-called "crime wave" in Harlem by issuing thousands of leaflets which placed the responsibility for crime on the social and economic system which discriminates against the Negro people in every walk of their lives. The leaflet called upon the Negro workers to rally to a struggle against those responsible for the slums, poor educational and recreational facilities and Jim-Crow discrimination in industry.

Negro leaders have been slow to respond to the vicious campaign let loose by the press and the police department against the Negro people; many of them, not understanding the basic social issues involved, have even assumed a defensive attitude.

Most of the recognized Negro leaders have contented themselves with calling innumerable conferences to "investigate and discuss" Harlem's social problems—as if those problems were not clear as day, as if the problem were that of investigation instead of action! Social

workers, preachers, teachers and lawyers are doing a great deal of talking and filling of their appointment books with dates for more talking. But they have completely failed to undertake the most elementary actions which are required now in defense of the Negro people.

Mass meetings to mobilize Harlem's workers to voice their indignation at this campaign against Harlem? Mass meetings to denounce Jim Crow in industry? Demonstrations demanding that rotten slums and outmoded schools be torn down

and houses fit for living and schools fit for learning be built?

No, the Negro leaders do not think of such militant action. They prefer polite little meetings where they talk to each other endlessly.

Meanwhile, three boys, alleged to have committed a murder, are being arraigned before a grand jury prior to being placed on trial. The Harlem Branch, in its leaflet distributed throughout Harlem, stated:

"Citizens of Harlem! There is an important job before us! Defend the three Negro boys who are on

trial!

"Jerome Dore, age 12, Clement Allen and Norman Davis, age 16—victims of a social system in which Negroes are forced to live in poverty, discrimination and segregation—

"Jerome Dore, Clement Allen and Norman Davis—victims of a scurrilous campaign unleashed by a vicious press against the Negro people—a campaign that has as its aim the continued oppression and terrorization of Negro men, women and children—

"NOT THE BOYS BUT THE REAL CRIMINALS MUST BE INDICTED! Or job is to turn the spotlight on them. Expose and indict those who are responsible for slums, inadequate educational and recreational facilities, and discrimination against Negroes in industry. THE BOYS MUST GO FREE!"

The leaflet, which was headed JAM THE COURTROOM, concluded with a call to be present at the preliminary hearing held Monday, November 24, in Homicide Court.

Congress has received a go-ahead signal from President Roosevelt in its anti-labor campaign.

This week it began preparations to pass anti-strike and other anti-labor laws.

These will pass unless both camps of organized labor put up a tremendous national struggle against this reactionary wave.

Representative McCormick, Democratic floor leader of the House of Representatives, admitted this after a conference with President Roosevelt.

"Taking the Profits Out Of War"— Budd Style

Special to LABOR ACTION

PHILADELPHIA — Last week we showed how the Budd Co. made over 400 per cent profit in the third quarter of 1941. This week's Wall Street Journal completes the story of the enormous profits of the corporation.

The net profit of the company from January 1 to September 30 is \$1,754,832. This is almost a million dollars more than the company made last year for the same nine months. This hundred per cent increase in profits has been accompanied by only a five per cent rise in wages to SOME of the employees. This raise was only an attempt by Mr. Budd to stave off the unionization of his plant by the UAW-CIO.

On the Budd Wheel Corp., a subsidiary of the Budd Mfg. Co., the Wall Street Journal also has some

(Continued on page 4)

He said that the first bill to be considered would include provisions for a so-called "cooling off" period.

In practice this means that labor would cool its heels at the management's doorstep, so long as the management refused to settle issues. Labor would be prevented from using the strike weapon to force the management to come to terms.

Likewise the bill would give President Roosevelt the authority to force compulsory arbitration of all union-management disputes, thereby creating another board like the National Defense Mediation Board, which CIO leaders have DENOUNCED because of its inevitable pro-boss character.

These and other provisions are being considered in secret hearings of the House Labor Committee, McCormick added. President Phillip Murray of the CIO has demanded the right to be heard by this committee.

Roosevelt's anti-labor role was clearly explained in a dispatch from Washington in the New York Times which pointed out that "Roosevelt took personal command of the efforts to write anti-strike legislation by summoning a bi-partisan group of members of Congress and government officials."

Of course, many other proposals and provisions will be presented to the House Labor Committee. How far the poll-tax congressmen can get, even with Roosevelt's support, depends entirely on what ORGANIZED LABOR does to protect its rights.

A mobilization of the entire labor movement through mass protest meetings, a flood of protest delegations to Washington, and other pressure moves would help cool off the congressmen who need it so badly. There must be sturdy UNITY against these legislative proposals!

Only if the labor-baiters can get some support in the labor movement from the Hillman and Stalinist machines and the AFL bureaucracy, will they dare pass any legislation affecting adversely labor's interests and rights.

A huge publicity campaign will begin this week in the newspapers trying to whip up "public opinion" behind the anti-labor legislation moves. A COUNTER-CAMPAIGN BY THE UNIONS IS ESSENTIAL!

A Summary of the Fourth National Convention of the CIO

CIO Stand on War Weakens Its Fight for Labor's Needs

By David Coolidge

After a week of deliberations, during which all the main controversial questions were either muffled or smoothed over, the fourth national convention of the CIO came to an end with the tumultuous and "unanimous" re-election of Phillip Murray to the presidency.

It had been a week in which some delegates, spectators and the capitalist press were waiting for something to happen. But whatever it was they were waiting for, it never came to pass, that is on the convention floor. There were tilts in committees, disagreements and hot words—but not a single minority resolution or report came before the convention. All dissenters were either persuaded to go along or at least to abstain in the convention sessions. The best that they could do was to take a few wild and harmless punches at each other in the Statler Hotel.

THE TASK MURRAY SET HIMSELF

The CIO leadership headed by Murray seemed to have had one big idea in mind, one paramount task to perform. That task was to prove to Roosevelt first, then to Congress, business and the "public" that the CIO is in full support of what is known as "the President's foreign policy" and the "defense" program. The big idea in the mind of the delegates was the re-election of Murray. This is not to say that these actions were the sole contributions of the convention; the gathering did other things—things that were extremely important—but all other questions, no matter what their importance, took second place to the resolution on the war and the re-election of Murray.

These two actions called forth most of the "debate" at the convention. The speeches as a whole were of the routine and hollow kind that didn't carry much conviction. This doesn't apply of course to the case of Murray's re-election, because Murray should have been re-elected. There was no contest and there could have been none.

MURRAY'S STRENGTH IN THE ORGANIZATION

All the talk in the capitalist press about Murray now being the strong man of the CIO and that he will now lead the organization in his own name and not merely as the deputy of John L. Lewis, is just so much tripe and nonsense. Ever since his election at Atlantic City last year Murray has been in command of the CIO and has not been a deputy of Lewis. He was the only candidate for the office and in the nature of things could have been the only candidate. His re-election by unanimous vote of the convention was in the bag and all the parading, shouting and seconding speeches by all the CIO vice-presidents was just so much ballyhoo and a sheer waste of time.

What was the convention trying to prove by the 35 minute ovation after Murray's nomination by Kennedy? These were the same people that had given Lewis a 45 minute ovation the year before at Atlantic City. Should anything happen that would make it impossible for Murray to be a candidate next year and Lewis came forward, these CIO leaders would be just as vociferous and voluble for Lewis as they were this year for Murray.

I hope that Phil Murray understands this sort of thing. I think that Lewis does. There were the Stalinists, who last year inflated the ovation for Lewis (and

against Murray) to 45 minutes; this year they were belittling all over the place about Murray's great leadership and what a calamity the CIO would face without the leadership of Murray. The performances of these scoundrels in the convention must have turned Murray's stomach.

Of course, for many delegates, that is those under the influence of Hillman, the demonstration for Murray was a demonstration against Lewis. Hillman had slipped into Detroit a few days before the opening of the convention to organize his faction and to prepare for the convention sessions. This is the only method that Hillman can use in fighting Lewis since he and of course none of his lieutenants is any match for Lewis in the open. There must have been a lot of scared Hillmanites present who were fearful that Lewis would show up some day.

It says that the unanimous re-election of Murray was indicated not only for the reason that there was no one else, but also because, within the framework of his outlook and understanding, Murray had made an excellent CIO president. This despite his bungling of the North American situation, his "for and against" attitude in connection with "mediation" boards, his support of the war while he at the same time protests that he is no war-monger, his naive belief in the "Murray Plan," his all-out support of the "defense" program and his simultaneous claim that the CIO will never surrender its gains but will continue to fight for greater gains while the war is on.

The most important reason for which the delegates gave Murray full support was that they had earlier adopted significant resolutions giving the stand of the CIO on the questions of war and national "defense." The positions taken in these resolutions were Murray's. To adopt Murray's program and then repudiate Murray, or even to waver on the re-election of Murray, just would not make sense. This also goes for all those like A. D. Lewis and the delegates from the miners, who, although they did not vote for the war resolution, did not oppose it or offer any substitute. There was no leadership in the convention except the Murray leadership. Not a single delegate took the floor to oppose the resolution on giving full support to Roosevelt's "foreign policy" and the "defense" program.

OPPOSITION TO WAR RESOLUTION SILENT

Despite the fact that national CIO conventions are pretty well oiled and with the top leaders at the controls, they did not perhaps expect such easy sailing with the resolution in support of the war. Even with opposition the resolution would have passed. What opposition there was had no leadership present. Furthermore, no program had been or was put forth by any opposition, actual or potential.

The tactical procedure followed by the convention leaders must have caused them some sleepless nights. They had the job of supporting Lewis and his miners in an actual strike, justifying their withdrawal from the National Defense Mediation Board and at the same time proving their loyalty to Roosevelt and "our country."

This was a big order and I got the impression that

Murray wasn't very happy in the role of captain attempting to steer the CIO ship away from the rocks. And then too there were the millions of workers organized in the CIO, including some of the lowest paid and most exploited workers in the United States. There are the Negro workers who are not benefiting much from the President's "foreign policy" and the "defense" program. The rank and file membership had to be kept in mind.

The capitalist press wasn't much impressed with the "for and against" attitude of the convention. The bosses wanted complete capitulation, open repudiation of the mine strike and a harmonious rejection of any and all militant actions by the CIO unions. The Hillmanites were in complete agreement with the bosses on these matters. Krzyski, Potofsky and Rosenbloom were there as delegates and Irwin and Hardman were on the sidelines. To these can be added the smaller Hillman fry like Reuther and others.

INITIATE ORGANIZING DRIVE IN THE SOUTH

The outstanding decision of the convention, so far as benefits to labor are concerned, was the decision to initiate an organizing campaign in the South. This is to be the next great organizing effort of the national CIO. At another kind of convention this decision would have called forth the kind of discussion such an important project deserves. Everybody was for it, of course, but nothing much was said about it in the convention. Such a proposal could have and should have been made a big thing. Carrying the CIO into the South means penetrating the most reactionary section of the country with the most militant trade union in the country today. It means bringing industrial unionism to the most oppressed workers in the country.

The convention reaffirmed its former position on the question of the poll tax and passed a strong resolution against lynching and in support of federal anti-lynching legislation. Ferdinand Smith, Negro secretary of the National Maritime Union, took the floor on the anti-lynching resolution. It was significant, however, that Smith did not speak on the resolution supporting Roosevelt's "foreign policy." He could have tied up the war resolution with the status and plight of the Negro in the United States and opposed the passage of the resolution as the representative of the most oppressed of the workers, who had nothing to gain by support of the imperialist war. But being a Stalinist, it was not in the cards for Smith to oppose the resolution supporting the war.

There was a resolution calling for raising the minimum pay of soldiers in the army to \$60 a month. The convention also went on record opposing the practice of the War Department in training draftees for strikebreaking.

PROVE THEY WANT TO "GET INTO LINE"

The leadership not only demonstrated in the resolution on foreign policy that it was anxious to get into line but it wanted to make it clear that the CIO is not opposed to "mediation." This despite the recent experiences with the "Mediation" Board. A resolution passed,

with the usual uncritical attitude, putting the organization on record as favoring the exhausting of all "mediation" and "conciliation" services before resorting to a strike. The intention of the leadership in this resolution was clearly to say that although the CIO had had difficulties with a certain "mediation" board that this did not mean that the CIO will take any future boards of the same stripe lightly.

The Currier case was the event that was expected to let off the fireworks against Hillman. But there were to be no fireworks. Murray saw to that. A resolution was presented and adopted condemning the OPM for its handling of the Currier matter, but Hillman was not mentioned by name. In attempting to go further, the convention on the last day adopted a resolution calling on the OPM and other government departments and agencies to "take immediate positive action to set aside the AFL's collusive contracts" in certain plants on the Pacific Coast. The leadership of the convention stood firm against the naming of Hillman, despite the fact that Hillman is known to all of them as the one person responsible for the establishment of these "collusive contracts" and for refusing the contract to the Currier Company in favor of a collusive contract with the AFL.

This failure to let a resolution condemning Hillman come before the convention for discussion and vote made it impossible to determine the relative strength of Lewis and Hillman in the convention. It is my opinion that a resolution condemning Hillman would not have been carried in the convention. Not because Hillman had anything that could be called a Hillman majority, but for the reason that the majority of the convention delegates were against the attitude of Lewis in connection with the "national emergency" and support of the President.

Not only this, but it is important to note that it really would not have made sense to pass a resolution condemning Hillman in the Currier case after voting for the resolution to support the Roosevelt "foreign policy" and full support to the "defense" program. On the all-important question of the war, the convention, including Murray, was in full agreement with Hillman. Furthermore, Hillman's idea of applying the resolutions passed by the convention is to do precisely just such things as he did in the Currier case and what he did in connection with the AFL "collusive contracts" on the Pacific Coast. The CIO voted full support to the "defense" program. Hillman's idea of carrying this out is to keep down "jurisdictional" quarrels between the AFL and the CIO.

It remains to be seen how Murray will face the many serious problems that will confront the CIO in the coming year. He didn't make a very good start in the convention. He will learn as he goes along with the campaign to organize the South, to fight the poll tax, to oppose lynching, to collaborate with "mediation" boards and the other things that he has in mind, that the ruling class has not been fooled by any of the conciliatory resolutions and speeches made in the convention. They will still demand the complete capitulation of Murray and the whole CIO.

Uruguayan Revolutionists Oppose Naval Air Base Plan

We publish below the declaration of the League of International Socialists, Uruguayan Section, of the Fourth International, on the proposed establishment of naval air bases by the United States in Uruguay. It is reprinted from the League's newspaper, Against the Stream, the only publication in Uruguay which consistently and courageously opposes the war plans of American imperialism.

We revolutionary socialists must declare ourselves on the naval air bases project, presented by the government of General Baldomir for the benefit of Yankee imperialism.

The naval air bases are not for continental defense, nor for national defense, as was cynically said, but solely as an aid to American imperialism in its policy of world aggression. The Wall Street agents in the political parties of Uruguay say that the Roosevelt government "is no longer imperialist." That is a lie. We have not forgotten the bloody conquest of Nicaragua, Cuba, Puerto Rico, when Uncle Sam's "democratic" troops employed fascist methods against the populations of those countries. Neither have we forgotten that, thanks to the aid of Uncle Sam, all the dictatorial governments of Latin America are maintained.

For Uruguay the naval air bases mean a pledge of territory to the Yankees. Only imbeciles can believe that our country can have these bases, when it has neither warships nor adequate aviation.

We are, therefore, against these bases because we know that it is a fundamental step toward the entrance of Uruguay into the imperialist war.

Sound the Alarm

By means of popular agitation the Uruguayan people must demand that this unjust project be abolished. The establishment of these bases would mean to lose even more national sovereignty. In case of war between the United States and another imperialism, the ships of the latter would attack the Punta del Este, bringing to Uruguay all the horror of war.

This would mean the entrance of Uruguay into the slaughter, for it would be said that "the sovereignty of the country is in danger" and the people would be called to serve as cannon fodder.

Before it is too late and the imperialists have enchained our country, the League of International Socialists cries the alarm and points to the true road to follow:

FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE POPULAR MASSES IN A STRONG BLOC AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WAR, AGAINST THE NAVAL AIR BASES AND AGAINST THE ENTRANCE OF URUGUAY INTO THE SLAUGHTER.

Longshoremen in Boston Refuse To Work Overtime

BOSTON, Nov. 14—The 5,000 members of the South Boston Local and Charlestown Local of the Longshoremen's Union, AFL, by a vote of 4 to 1, at meetings called to discuss this question, have refused the U.S. Government's request that they work overtime. The port of Boston has been chosen as one of the principal centers for lease-lend shipments and the longshoremen were informed that their decision would "have an important bearing on Boston's immediate future as a major seaport." But the longshoremen work too hard with the present hours, and they know from experience that "temporary" arrangements tend to become permanent, for if they do get a couple of extra dollars for working overtime, taxes and retail prices will be figured out on a wage-plus-overtime basis. So what have you? A lot of extra hours and hard work for nothing.

Other groups of workers may have grasped at the overtime, but to the longshoremen the whole thing is clear. Rear Admiral Emory S. Land, chairman of the U.S. Maritime Commission, had requested that the established hours of work be changed. "Why should the government be willing to pay extra money in overtime, when there are thousands of young fellows unemployed who are willing to work at straight wages? Maybe the government is thinking ahead? So are we."

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

A Railroad Worker Writes on Situation

Dear Editor: I have read the excellent articles carried by your paper on the railroad workers' wage movement. This material is of special interest to me as I am a locomotive fireman. It might be of some interest to your readers to know another side of the picture, that of the sentiment of the workers involved and their reaction to the developments to date.

When the wage movement first got going and up to the announcement of the fact finding board's decision to give the operating unions a 7.5 per cent increase and the non-operating ones a 13.5 increase, the men were pretty apathetic toward the whole business. Though we had voted almost unanimously for a strike if our demands for an increase of 30 per cent was not granted, most of us felt that this was merely a formality necessary to get the complicated machinery going which is provided for by the Railway Labor Act. No one really expected to get 30 per cent. The opinion prevailed that we would get about 12 or 13 per cent, even though almost all of us agree that only a 30 per cent increase would bring our wages up to the standards won by the workers in other industries. Further, most workers were convinced that "we can't strike," because the government

would never permit the railroad to be crippled during this period of gigantic preparation for war.

When the fact finding board's decision was handed down, however, this mood was replaced almost at once by a feeling of anger. The workers feel that they have been betrayed by an Administration which they thought would give them a break. In the dirty shacks up and down the road where engineers gather before they go to work, the men pounded the tables in wrath, discussed the hard conditions under which they have to work, the increased dangers and hardships placed upon us by the present overcrowding of the roads, lack of attention paid to the overworked equipment, longer trains and tighter schedules. They discussed the gigantic profits being reaped by the roads, the fact that already in anticipation of the raise railwaymen's hotels have increased their prices by 30 per cent, and that the general rise in the cost of living has already taken away from us any real gains we might have made had we gotten even the 30 per cent increase. Strike talk is now taken seriously. The boys point out that the CIO and AFL have been able to strike and win despite terrific government and employer pressure, and after all we railroad workers have the same rights as other citizens, if we will assert them.

This does not mean that there will really be a strike for our justified demands. There is one joker in the deck and the boys know it. That is the set-up of the railroad brotherhoods which permits the leadership to accept any settlement they see fit, and we have nothing to say about it. Contrary to the practice of democratic unions in which the leadership

Uruguay Group Hails Workers Party Convention

The following arrived too late to be included in the regular convention report:

To the National Convention of the Workers Party.

Dear Comrades:

We extend our most cordial greetings to your National Convention and hope for its success and for the success of all your campaigns—especially the New York mayoralty campaign.

Our group in Uruguay, a small group well integrated through serious struggles, hopes that out of your convention there will come correct and precise directives regarding the current workers' movement and the reaffirmation of the correct revolutionary position of the Workers Party. This will be an inspiration for a powerful forward impulsion to all those groups arising in the nations of South America which will make possible the eventual triumph of socialism in all lands and which will make a reality of the United Socialist States of America!

However necessary it is for all the workers to be united in a single International, only a solid internationalist movement can arouse the confidence and the enthusiasm of the workers who have been deceived so often by the treachery of the old leaders.

In the midst of our difficulties it is vital that all of us should struggle for the growth and strengthening of the Fourth Internationalist movement and, in this sense, we place great hope in your National Convention.

With warmest revolutionary greetings!

Long live the Workers Party!

Forward to an International victory!

International Socialist League of Uruguay.

has to have any contract ratified by the membership before it is valid, our leaders saw to it that on the strike ballot there was a clause by which all workers gave full powers to the national leaders to make the contract and bound themselves to accept any contract thus made. It is only now that many of us are beginning to realize that this set-up makes a sell-out all too easy.

The papers now say that an agreement will be reached this week. If so, the bosses will probably "regretfully" concede, in the national interest, to give us about 10 per cent more than we have been getting, and our leadership, with pious protests and "in the national interest" will accept. They dare not accept the 7.5 per cent which has so aroused the workers' wrath, but they probably figure that they can face the membership if they "wring" another 2.5 per cent out of the roads.

Yet it is possible that this time they figure wrong. The boys have been so awakened by the lousy deal the Administration and the roads are trying to give them that more and more of them are saying we should

Initiate Second Appeal to Free Frame-Up Victim

A second appeal in the case of Christ Popoff, trade unionist of Syracuse, N. Y., serving 15-25 years in Attica Prison on a charge of attempted arson, will be argued in Rochester in January, the Workers Defense League has announced. Presiding Judge Harley N. Crosby of the Appellate Division, Fourth Department, set December 13 as the final date for filing the typewritten record and the briefs. Richard Klugherz of New York is Workers Defense League counsel for Popoff.

Arrested on March 4, 1940, Popoff was tried and convicted at Watertown, N. Y., where the crime is alleged to have been committed. The Workers Defense League entered the case following the conviction, appealed and secured a reversal of the conviction and a new trial on the basis of insufficient evidence. At the second trial, although no new evidence of guilt was presented, Popoff was reconvicted and the judgment of the Appellate Court was thus disregarded. Morris Milgram, League secretary, said he was "confident that, upon appeal, the court will reverse this unjust conviction."

not settle for a cent less than 20 per cent.

CIO talk is growing. The boys point out that we pay dues almost twice as high as most CIO unions and get only half as much service for them. There is a growing conviction that the craft set-up of the brotherhoods is responsible for this, with its great number of highly paid officers, most of whom would be eliminated by an industrial union of all operating employees. Right now there are hundreds of militant railroad workers who do not even belong to the brotherhoods because they are disgusted by their conservatism and inability to really fight for us. If we are sold down the river this time I am convinced that a really powerful CIO drive to organize the railroad workers would meet with a success which would astound the whole labor movement.

The railway employers, like the bosses all over the country, seem to be convinced that due to the "national emergency," the government will back them up even if they refuse to make any concessions. If this leads them to the foolhardy course of refusing to give more than the 7.5 per cent increase recommended by the board, the brotherhood leadership may yet be forced by the pressure of the rank and file to really go through with the strike. If they do there will be hell to pay. Railroad workers are hard to get started, but once we get going nobody is going to push us around!

J. L.

Oakland, Cal.

Likes Carlo's Cartoons

Dear Editor:

The Armistice Day cartoon by Carlo was a good one, as was the one with the sluggers waiting around the corner for Local 544. Let's have more like them. Let's have more use of the American idiom!

B. L.

LABOR ACTION opens its columns to contributions from its readers. Write about conditions in your shop, in your union, in your city. Write us your opinion of the paper and its policies. Write us your views on the events of the world. LABOR ACTION is your paper! Use it!

1c Labor Action

Now more than ever is a working class interpretation of the news necessary. LABOR ACTION gives you week by week the news from a working class point of view. LABOR ACTION prints labor news which in many cases the capitalist press ignores or distorts.

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The Harvard Liberal Union on November 18 addressed a letter to the Harvard Crimson, student daily paper, in which they said: "This case is clearly one involving basic civil liberties and could become a precedent for the smashing of all trade unions which do not toe the mark."

Defense Closes Its Case-- Minnesota "Sedition" Trial Against 23 Goes To Jury

MINNEAPOLIS—The "sedition" trial of 23 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO is reaching its end. The defense has finished the presentation of its case and it is expected that the jury will be instructed to reach its verdict within a few days.

Recent developments in the defense presentation are:

1) V. R. DUNNE, outstanding Minnesota labor leader, testified at length on the record of the Minnesota SWP and on the activities of Local 544. He traced the growth of the local from the famous 1934 general strike, told of its conflict with the bosses of the area, and of its consolidation as one of America's best organized unions, until Dan Tobin decided to give it the knife. Dunne was cross-examined by District Attorney Anderson, who merely succeeded in divulging more details about Dunne's career in the labor and radical movement.

2) MILES DUNNE and ROY ORGON, two defendants, testified that they were not members of the Socialist Workers Party, contradicting the attempts of the prosecution to tie them up with the SWP. Miles Dunne admitted his familiarity with Marxist ideas and the SWP program, but denied actual membership in the party.

3) RAY RAINBOLT, 544 leader, testified that he had been the leader of the Union Defense Guard, and that his sole purpose had been to protect the union from attacks of the Silver Shirts. He denied that it had planned to overthrow the government; he rather doubted that it was strong enough to do so.

4) Two University of Minnesota students, JOHN HART and EARL ORSTAD, gave the lie to a government witness who had testified having heard one of the defendants, Grace Carlson, urge violent overthrow of the government at a speech which she had delivered at the University.

Special to LABOR ACTION

MINNEAPOLIS—The defense has begun the presentation of its case in the now famous "sedition" trial being held here of 23 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO.

The first witness for the defense was James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Workers Party. Cannon's testimony consisted primarily of an explanation of the ABC principles of Marxism.

Defense Attorney Goldman led him through numerous channels of Marxist theory—attitude toward the state, social revolution, war, imperialism, etc. To all of these questions Cannon gave simple answers intended to clear up some of the confusion—due in part to ignorance and in part to malice—created by the prosecution.

On Violence

When Special Prosecutor Schweinhart got his chance to cross-examine Cannon, he attempted to force the latter to admit that the SWP advocated armed overthrow of the government. Cannon, however, stuck to his claim that the Marxist movement traditionally has distinguished between advocacy of a minority use of force (which it opposed) and the use of force, if necessary, by a majority to enforce its will against an obstructionist minority.

Cannon stated that in his opinion it was likely that if and when the majority of the American people wanted and organized for socialism, the minority of capitalists and militarists would oppose the will of this majority. That, he declared, was the lesson of previous revolutions. It was in that sense, he declared, that the SWP felt it likely that the transition to socialism probably would be accompanied by violence.

Schweinhart made his biggest error, however, when he attempted to counter the witness by a stupid counterposition of reforms to revolution. Cannon pointed out that the traditional Marxist point of view was not one of opposing reforms to revolution but that of insisting that one without the other is insufficient, and that reforms would eventually culminate in a complete social revolution.

A number of other witnesses have also been called. Five truck drivers who belonged to the Union Defense Guard have testified that there was never any talk at the meetings and mobilizations of the Guard about overthrowing the government and that the commonly understood purpose of the union from the expected onslaughts of the fascist Silver Shirts.

What's Going on Inside Russia?

For weeks there have been absolutely no reports on the situation inside Leningrad. What's going on? The city is surrounded, Voroshilov is gone. Why are the Stalinists silent about it? Is it possible that inside Leningrad, as elsewhere in Russia, there is dissatisfaction with the bureaucracy's conduct in the war?

The newspapers this week carried a tiny item to the effect that "five counter-revolutionists" were shot in Khabarovsk for distributing leaflets at a factory. It is possible that these may have been Axis agents. But it seems unlikely that Axis agents would court certain exposure and death in so public a way. Can it be that workers, revolutionists disgusted with the bureaucratic regime and

CRDC Notes

Increasing support for the defendants in the Minnesota sedition trial was demonstrated last week in a vigorous resolution endorsing the defense passed by the San Francisco Industrial Union Council. The resolution was accompanied by a donation, raising to 35 the number of unions (in 14 cities) which have contributed funds to the defense.

Another significant endorsement came from Local 1-10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, CIO—of which Harry Bridges is the head. Bridges is now being persecuted under the same reactionary Smith Act which is being used against the 28 defendants.

Labeling the indictments as "an attack on the right of men and women to organize," the General Defense Committee of the IWW last week gave strong endorsement to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which has already been endorsed by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers Defense League.

New members are joining the National Committee of the Civil Rights Defense Committee almost daily. The National Committee now numbers 65 men and women, all well-known liberal and labor leaders.

Among those who joined the National Committee last week are the following: Louis Nelson, Mgr., New York Joint Board of Knitgoods Workers, ILGWU; Rev. Owen D. Knox, former chairman, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Mrs. Carolyn Storlie, member Minneapolis Board of Public Welfare; Maynard Kreuger, professor at Chicago University and member of the National Committee of the Socialist Party; Rt. Rev. D. T. Huntington; F. O. Matthiessen, professor at Harvard University; Margaret West, well known liberal Minneapolis school teacher; W. E. B. DuBois, leading Negro educator, professor at Atlanta University; Dewey Albinson, former head of Minnesota WPA project.

War Is Good Business for Business

A Roosevelt Man Offers a Few Thousand Words of Advice to American Business Men

By SUSAN GREEN

One thing the enlightened partisans of American imperialism are certain of, is that it is doomed to play second fiddle if Hitler wins the war.

They know it is not to preserve "racial purity" that Hitler has put all his eggs into the war basket—and that it is not to save "democracy" that Roosevelt is spending almost \$2,000,000,000 a month with the prospect of doubling and tripling that amount.

Another thing that this school of thought is agreed upon is that if Hitler wins, the British Empire will be his prize, while if Roosevelt wins, it will be neatly tucked away in the vest pocket of American imperialism. This constitutes the other reason why the American ruling class must engage in an all-out war.

"In Their Service"

But American capitalism is not all of one stomach. What is meat for finance capital may be of doubtful nourishment for the hinterland of American business. Mr. Miller obviously addresses himself to those recalcitrant business men who have not associated their own interests with Roosevelt's plans for total war. "You Can't Do Business with Hitler," by Douglas Miller, American commercial attaché at Berlin, 1925-1939.

As Mr. Miller writes in his short preface, he wants to do some plain speaking to American business men. He thinks he is in a position to do so because he has spent 15 years in their service at the United States embassy in Berlin.

eager to undertake a REVOLUTIONARY war against Germany, risked their lives to speak to their fellow-workers? We don't know. But it is possible.

Stalin has often boasted of the "unanimity" among "his" people—unanimity compelled by terror and violence. But are revolutionary elements now beginning to stir in the ranks of the Russian people? It is possible. Once before they defied knout and jail and overthrew the tyranny of the Czar. They will yet overthrow the new tyranny of Stalin.

Big "ads" in the papers ask: "Do you drink enough milk?" They inform the reader that milk has vitamin A plus calcium plus an alkaline reaction—in fact, it is "nature's CHEAPEST complete food."

But when you read that word "CHEAPEST," you see red. You punch the "ad" right on the nose, after which you fling the paper down and jump on it.

Your trouble is not that you don't know all about the dietary virtues of milk. IT IS THAT YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO BUY AS MUCH OF IT AS YOUR FAMILY NEEDS.

For in the past few months the price has gone up NINETEEN PER CENT in the New York area—and an average of FOURTEEN PER CENT throughout the country.

The latest increase in the New York area brought the price of delivered milk up to SEVENTEEN CENTS A QUART. The powerful Borden and Sheffield companies, the main milk distributors in this district, "explained"—with straight faces—that they had to add another half cent a quart because of the \$2.50 a week wage increase granted their employees as of October 25. They spent large sums of money to propagandize their customers, with pamphlets and leaflets. These were sprinkled with so-called statistics designed to "prove" that the poor companies JUST HAD to boost the price of milk TO COVER THE WAGE INCREASE because the poor things chronically operate at a loss or at so slight a profit it's hardly worth mentioning. You'd think delivering milk is just a hobby they enjoy for its own sake.

The Facts Talk

BUT LESS BIASED STATISTICS ON THE SUBJECT TELL A FAR DIFFERENT STORY.

Just taking this last half cent a quart increase—OF WHICH THERE HAVE BEEN FIVE IN THE PAST FEW MONTHS, TOTALING TWO AND A HALF CENTS A QUART, and for four of which there wasn't even the false justification of a wage increase—it will require the New York customers of these two companies to pay them \$495,000 more for milk per month. However, the wage increase granted the companies' employees amounts to only \$167,505 a month. The consumer, therefore, actually hands over to the companies \$327,495 more than the wage increases paid the workers.

Annually this gratuity that the consumers present to the companies runs up to nearly \$4,000,000—AND IS DULY REFLECTED IN THE SIZE OF THE DIVIDEND CHECKS SENT OUT TO THE

lin, six of them under the Nazi regime." His aim is to put the fear of a Hitler victory into the heart of every two-by-four profit-grubber.

The general outline of Mr. Miller's book is familiar to most fairly well-read people. Hitler's unpretty economic, political and social practices, national and international, have been paid the compliment of extensive literary attention, as have also his real and imagined schemes for future world dominion. What distinguishes Mr. Miller's contribution is that it goes into such details as would especially impress the trader mind.

The Complaint

He tells the story of how the Nazis shamefully discriminated against United States exporters of lard—in spite of a treaty. An American oil company, eagerly aiding and abetting Hitler by shipping petroleum to him, was rewarded by being obliged to take 8,000,000 mouth organs as a payment. Again, 200,000 canaries were all the payment an American manufacturing company got for a large auto body press delivered to the Nazi. How, pray, could American walnuts—of which the people here, of course, have a surfeit—be sent to garnish the tables of the Nazi elite when Germany would import \$100,000 of the nuts only if the walnut growers would take \$300,000 of burlap bags and barbed wire! And just how will American corporations take care of the situation that a victorious Hitler will be the holder of all the European-owned American stock? Will he be allowed to vote his stock at stockholders' meetings? Now that's something to worry about!

With implicit admiration Mr. Miller describes the scientific slave state that Hitler, the conqueror, will establish in Europe, Asia Minor and Africa. Its objective—unfortunately—will be to crowd American business off the face of the earth—including that portion known as the "good-neighborly" countries of Latin and South America. It suits Mr. Miller's purpose to make this a comparatively easy process, picturing the Nazi as using economic pressure of every kind, Nazi-staged revolutions, personal pressure through family ties, a Nazi-controlled Catholic Church, etc.

HARD-WORKING, STOCKHOLDERS. This, of course, is in addition to all other profits.

To break these figures down further: It is estimated that the average routeman takes out each morning about 150 quarts of milk. The price increase of half a cent a quart thus amounts to \$1.25 on his entire load. Whereas the driver's wage increase per day is 42 cents, leaving 83 cents for the poor money-losing companies to profit as an extra tidbit.

Pullman Workers Vote in Labor Board Election

CHICAGO—After almost 50 years of a rotten labor policy, which has kept the workers in actual servitude, the famed Pullman-Standard Car Mfg. Co. is again faced with the threat of a union shop.

Not since 1894 has any attempt been made by Pullman workers to organize themselves. In that year a huge strike, led by Eugene V. Debs, was broken by company thugs and federal troops. And since then the company has managed to crush any attempt of the workers to better themselves. But now a new fighting union has appeared—the CIO.

Big CIO Gains

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, has been growing rapidly on a fighting program to improve working conditions, secure better wages and a just seniority system. Opposing it is a company union, the Pullman-Standard Employees Union. The PSEU has been in existence since 1935. At that time the company, frightened by the rising CIO, "allowed the workers" to form a "union." The PSEU was born—and has done absolutely nothing since then.

On Friday, November 14, a labor board election was held to determine the sole bargaining agent for the workers. The CIO opposed the PSEU. But the majority of the Pullman workers have not yet learned which side their bread is buttered on because the vote was PSEU 1,124, CIO 948.

The CIO intends to keep fighting despite its loss of the election. Almost a thousand workers expressed their desire for a fighting union. The rest of the Pullman workers will soon realize that a company union like the PSEU will do nothing to improve their conditions.

A Pretext for Profiteering

It is necessary to go into such detail because these figures are important not only as they pertain to the criminally high price of milk. They are typical of the part wage increases actually play in the mounting cost of living. That is, THEY ARE THE PRETEXT USED BY THE INDUSTRIAL VULTURES TO GORGE THEMSELVES ON THE CONSUMER MASSES.

Proving this fact on a wide scale, a recent report of AFL economists showed that in a given period when prices rose THIRTEEN AND ONE HALF PER CENT, wage increases added ONLY TWO PER CENT to manufacturing costs. This gives an idea how thick the profiteers are laying it on.

Of course the milk distributors also "explain" that they are paying more for raw milk—just as manufacturers "explain" they are paying more for raw materials—and must load this also onto the back of the consumer.

But the worker must remember that the wages of the farm laborer and of the poor farmer are not responsible for the climbing prices of raw materials any more than the wages of industrial workers cause the runaway prices of finished products. IT IS THE FARMING CORPORATIONS, THE RICH FARMERS, WHO TAKE ALL THE WARTRAFFIC WILL BEAR IN AGRICULTURE.

Big Dairymen Get Theirs

In the milk industry it is the big dairymen who get theirs—Millionaire Farmer Owen D. Young among them. And it must also be understood that Borden's and Sheffield's are themselves, directly and indirectly, engaged in the dairying end of the business, thereby profiting twice, ONCE FROM THE HIGH PRICE OF RAW MILK AND A SECOND TIME FROM THE HIGH PRICE THE CONSUMER IS COMPELLED TO PAY FOR DELIVERED MILK.

Nor is this method of profiteering at both ends peculiar to the milk industry as such. The interweaving of the capital structure is such that this is the rule rather than the exception. Consider, for instance, the Borden Company's contention that it pays 20 per cent more for the fuel oil burned in its plants and must take that too, out of the consumer's little black purse. You can bet dollars to doughnuts that the same capitalist interests that benefit from the high price of milk are LIKEWISE LICKING THEIR CHOPS OVER THE HIGH PRICE OF FUEL OIL.

Mr. Miller has very sizable misgivings, and this, I believe, is the important section of the book.

To quote a few illuminating passages:

"Whether we like it or not, our whole system of comparatively unregulated free enterprise is temporarily in eclipse, and will not return during our lifetime. I do not say that with any satisfaction—I regret it."

And so will the hinterland of American business which, to a great extent, will be made the goat for finance capital.

"It must be plain that after this war there will be more hate, less trust and confidence, and more suspicion, less friendship. After this war it will not be a case of getting the lambs and the lions to lie down together. The lambs will be mostly devoured. There will only be well-armed but torn and angry lions left. Nevertheless they must cooperate."

We know too well how this kind of cooperation ends.

"Some people still begrudge the loans that we made to the outside world from 1921 to 1929, but remember we had eight years of prosperity. We increased our own production and our national income many times more during this period than the total amount we lost. Eight years of prosperity were worth much more than all our defaulted loans together. . . . We can export again if we will finance the world in a big way. We shall have losses, but good management can minimize them."

Until a 1929 deluge will once more overtake "good management."

His Alternatives

An American victory with such precarious and short-lived prosperity or a Hitler victory with the establishment of his scientific slave state, are the only alternatives Mr. Miller considers. A stalemate due to mutual exhaustion he rules out definitely with the statement, "The day we declare war will be the day the Nazis know they are beaten." The revolutionary possibilities inherent in this ruinous war which will go on "for several years more until we win," do not exist for this faithful servant of American business.

"Nature's Cheapest Complete Food" Is a Bonanza to Profiteers Milk Is a Good Food, But Can You Afford It?

By Susan Green

It is this profit structure of capitalist society that is responsible for the cost of living getting out of hand. The shrewd lackeys of this inhuman system, in and out of Congress, see in the general worrying over the cost of living a chance to smack labor down. BUT LABOR REFUSES TO BE THE GOAT FOR THE WAR PROFITEERS.

True of All Industry

And war profiteering IS the other name for the high cost of living today. Confirmation comes from the Department of Agriculture on this very question of the shamefully high cost of milk through the country, in the following words: "Keen competition between the public and the government for dairy products has contributed to a 14 per cent advance in fluid milk prices for most city consumers." Then the report goes on to explain how large government purchases of cheese and evaporated and dried milk are being made for shipment to Great Britain under the lease-lend program.

What else is this but a way of

saying that the milk companies taking advantage of the war demand to raise prices? WHAT ELSE IS THIS BUT WAR PROFITEERING? Not only do the bloated profiteers get fantastic prices, BUT THEY GET THESE PRICES ON THE STUPENDOUS VOLUME OF WAR PRODUCTION.

Again, what is true of milk—which is particularly close to the everyday needs of us all—IS EQUALLY TRUE OF THE PRODUCTS OF ALL INDUSTRY.

The fundamental solution for the high cost of living IS TO TAKE THE PROFITS OUT OF WAR. That means taking profits out of war industry—which is practically all industry in a total war like this.

Neither the Roosevelt Administration—not any other bunch of capitalist politicians—have the slightest intention of doing this.

THAT, FELLOW WORKERS, IS WHERE WE COME IN. IT IS UP TO US TO DEMAND WORKERS CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.

THE WORLD AT WAR

British Forces Pound Lybia In Race to Beat Nazis to Vital Caucasus Battlefield

By MAX STERLING

On the eve of the British advance into Lybia, Churchill declared to the British forces:

"For the first time British and Empire troops will meet the Germans with ample equipment in modern weapons of all kinds. The battle itself will affect the whole course of the war. . . ."

The present campaign in Lybia is important. This second front is important not because it will divert any German forces from Russia. The new Nazi offensive on the entire eastern front in Russia hardly indicates any easing of the Russian situation. On the contrary, whatever connection the Lybian front has with the Russian front can only result in more sustained and greater efforts on the part of the Germans to break through in Russia.

Why Important

The new front in Lybia is not the kind of a second front that Stalin has been talking about. Stalin was very specific. He wants a second front in Europe. Such a front, if possible, would certainly effect a division of the German forces but, unfortunately for Stalin, Churchill has ruled that this is not possible at the present time.

While the campaign in Lybia is not intended to divert the enemy from the hard pressed Russians, it will undoubtedly put an end to all the clamor in London for action on a second front. The British offensive in Lybia has its own objective and a very important one too for the Allies. The British aim is to eliminate the Axis threat to their flank in the Middle East in preparation for the coming great battlefield in the Caucasus, Iran, Iraq and Syria.

How important this coming battle is considered can be judged from General Wavell's statement that "The Caucasus, Iran, Iraq and Syria may very well prove to be the great battlefield of 1942."

Wavell goes on to say that "It is very difficult to predict whether any particular phase of the war will be decisive, but obviously when and if the Germans strike out for the oil in the Caucasus and the oil in Iran and seek to attack our Middle Eastern position this region will become the main theater of the war. This is a possibility which we have clearly foreseen and are preparing against. In this region we shall be fighting in the closest cooperation with the Russians."

The fighting in Lybia between the British and the Axis forces is therefore an important preliminary to an even greater battlefield. What has developed is a race for the Caucasus. It is significant that the offensive in Lybia started, with the German breach of Rostov, the gateway to the Caucasus. Churchill's aim is therefore to prevent the escape of the German forces in Lybia. He must engage them quickly in battle, destroy them and clean up all of Lybia in order to concentrate his full forces in the still greater battle of the Caucasus and the Middle East.

Germans Oust Weygand

German strategy, therefore, is to block these efforts of Churchill. The Germans are increasing their efforts on the Russian front. They will attempt to reach the Caucasus before the Axis flank is eliminated from North Africa. To prevent the latter from happening is the reason for the so-called "Weygand crisis."

The Nazis never trusted General

Weygand, who as delegate-general of France in Africa, headed the French forces in North Africa. Hitler tolerated Weygand only so long as it was necessary. The British plans for Lybia naturally put an end to such tolerance. A British victory in Lybia would have placed them in a position to influence Weygand in a pro-Ally direction. Even if Weygand kept aloof from Britain and limited his role in North Africa to the safeguarding of that area from both British and German intervention as he publicly avowed, the Germans would have had to remove him. Hitler removed Weygand because he plans to use the French North African bases to maintain his threatening position on the British flank in Africa.

German commentators have frankly acknowledged that if the Axis forces in Lybia are compelled to retreat, French Tunisia must remain open to them. The Germans are determined that even a British victory in Lybia will not uproot them from North Africa. If necessary they will extract from the French not only their bases but also their fleet and, when the time comes, Spain too, will be brought into the open as an ally for an attack on Gibraltar.

High Stakes

The imperialist stakes in the Mediterranean, the Middle East and the Caucasus are high and Hitler will stop at nothing. The removal of Weygand signifies that the French capitalists have definitely thrown in their lot with German imperialism. That is above all their intention to the class struggle in France.

The American imperialists tried very hard to win Weygand for their own schemes. They sent him food and supplies in North Africa. He even promised Washington that in his position of delegate-general he would bar the way to German intervention. Alas for Washington, he did not even break his promise to them, since he is no longer delegate-general. The reactionary Weygand can thus "honorably" retire from the scene, leaving Roosevelt holding the bag.

Since Weygand's "retirement" there are reports that Darlan and Petain will meet Goering or Hitler or both for a deal that involves the cession of French North African bases to the Germans. It is practically certain that Hitler will get what he demands. If that is the case the British perspective regarding elimination of the Germans from North Africa must necessarily be lengthened.

However that may be, the present fighting in Lybia has its own important meaning. A British victory or defeat in Lybia will have a tremendous effect on morale in the Allied camp, either lifting it to a new high or depressing it to a new low. If the British win in Lybia this will demonstrate for the first time that the Allies have mastered the art of mechanized warfare that will win the war in the end. American tanks and airplanes are receiving their first important test in the Lybian deserts. The relatively isolated battle in Lybia, if won by the British, will demonstrate the military shape of things to come. If the British beat the Germans at their own game it will be a pre-view, providing there is sufficient time, of the kind of Allied armies the German Wehrmacht will have to face in the future. The United States, to be sure, will be a part of those armies.

We Demand: A Capital Levy on Wealth To Pay for ALL War Appropriations!

Editorials

The Stalinists Offer Railroad Labor a Bill of Rotten Goods

MINNEAPOLIS

As "Sedition" Trial Draws to a Close

By IRVING HOWE

I have just returned from the now famous "sedition" trial being held in Minneapolis, in which 23 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO have been accused of advocating the forcible overthrow of the U.S. Government and preparing to do so. In my dispatches to LABOR ACTION, which covered the main section of the trial—namely, the prosecution witnesses and the beginning of the defense case—I have attempted to show the completely reactionary character and the patently absurd and false nature of the prosecution. Now, it is necessary to sum up some of the legal and political issues of the trial, which are of utmost importance to the entire working class movement.

1) **THE CONSPIRACY**—When the government finished its case, it immediately became apparent that it was involved in one great contradiction: Where and what was the alleged "conspiracy?" The government had produced innumerable enemies of Local 544 who swore that V. R. Dunne et al. had informed them that the SWP planned to overthrow the government (though all these witnesses admitted knowing nothing else about the SWP); it had introduced as evidence innumerable Marxist works which have been public property for years, in order to show that they too advocated violent overthrow. BUT IT DID NOT PRODUCE ANY CONSPIRACY. It did not produce that "meeting of hands" as the legal phrase goes, which would show that a group of people deliberately and consciously came together in order to achieve the aims alleged by the prosecution.

In reality, the prosecution functioned on two theories of conspiracy. Theory One was that the SWP itself, its mere existence, was the conspiracy. But this is utterly fantastic. For, where is the element of secrecy, of plotting, alleged in the indictment and implicit in the definition of conspiracy? The SWP conducted its activities publicly, available for all who wished to see them. If it is held that a conspiracy is merely an organization publicly advocating a set of Marxist ideas, then it is clear that civil liberties are dead—if that theory be upheld by the courts.

Government theory No. Two was that the conspiracy was a secret group, mainly within the SWP, functioning through it and utilizing it, but not completely congruous with it.

If this government rests on this theory, then it must (a) present evidence of the existence of a secret, organized group composed of a definite number of individuals, a group with a definite organization and composition, and b) it must admit it has no case against Goldman, Cannon and the other New York SWP leaders who have not been implicated by any witnesses, and who cannot therefore be bound by this "secret conspiracy" in Minneapolis, of which government testimony has shown they had neither knowledge nor connections.

These seemingly abstract legal points are of the utmost importance both to this specific trial and to the civil rights of the working class generally. They must be carefully considered.

2) **THE JUDGE**—What capitalist justice means in practice could once again be seen when Judge Joyce gave his decision denying the dismissal motion of the defense (except for the five defendants who were freed).

He compared the defendants to Hitler, who, he said, had also begun with a group as small as the present SWP. (That the SWP is a mortal enemy of fascism didn't disturb him.) He defined "conspiracy" in such a vague and general way as to set another dangerous legal precedent which can be used against the labor movement.

According to him, there need not have been any common agreement among the defendants, any specific plan for overt action, or any possibility of realization of alleged aims, in order to prove the existence of this so-called conspiracy. What, then, remains? Nothing but a common belief in socialism, which the defendants share, and for which they are being tried.

The Judge utilized the old threadbare argument that the defendants had no right to the protection of the Constitution since they intended to destroy it, and merely were using "constitutional rights" as a pretext. It requires a moment's reflection to realize the entire reactionary implication of this statement. The defendants are held liable to the punishment the government wants to mete out to them because of alleged violation of this Constitution—they can go to jail for that; but they are not entitled to its protection. IN OTHER WORDS, PEOPLE WHO DON'T BELIEVE IN CAPITALISM ARE NOT ENTITLED TO CIVIL RIGHTS!

3) **THE SMITH ACT**—Another instance of the fantastically prejudiced character of the court rulings deals with the Smith Act. This act, which makes illegal the advocacy of violent overthrow of the government, was passed in June, 1940. Yet the Judge admitted evidence in connection with the Smith Act of events and quotations that took place before its passage on the grounds that it would show their "state of mind." Just consider how monstrous this is! The "state of mind" of people in relation to a law that was not yet passed, or even considered, can be used as evidence to prove they violated the law!

4) **THE POLITICS INVOLVED**—With obviously pre-determined purpose, the entire case of the government is pointed especially at V. R. Dunne. The reason is clear. Dunne is the outstanding leader of 544-CIO; the purpose of the government is to "get" 544-CIO because it refused to submit to the jingo will of the Administration. In the maze of the daily testimony, it is very easy to lose sight of the main objectives of the trial. From a superficial examination of this daily testimony, it might appear that the political position of the SWP is the ONLY cause for the prosecution. The anti-war position of the SWP is a definite factor. But the GENERAL political line of the SWP is largely a pretext for the frame-up. The destruction of 544-CIO and the suppression of anti-war sentiment are still the major objectives of the prosecution.

OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

1. Against both imperialist war camps! For the third camp of World Labor and the colonial peoples!
2. For the right to strike! For the defense of civil liberties and all workers' rights! Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day plans and war-time dictatorship.
3. Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars minimum pay! Time and a half wages for overtime above 30 hours. For increased wages to meet the rising cost of living.
4. Let the people vote on war! For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18—old enough to fight, old enough to vote!
5. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war! A capital levy to cover the costs of imperialist war. No indirect taxes on the people.
6. Conscript the war industries under workers' control!
7. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the three per cent of the people who own ninety per cent of the wealth!
8. No government contract without a union contract!
9. Abolish secret diplomacy! Open the files of the State Department.
10. Full workers' rights for conscripts—the right to organize and to bargain collectively with the officers, the right of free speech, press and assembly.
11. \$60 a month minimum for conscripts. Former employers to pay the wage differential and guarantee return of the job.
12. Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America!
13. Down with Jim-Crow and anti-Semitism! For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and in the trade unions.
14. For Workers' Defense Guards against fascist and vigilante attacks!
15. For an Independent Labor Party.
16. For a workers' government and a people's army! No confidence in the Roosevelt government.
17. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the World Socialist Federation.

political front for the emancipation of labor from boss rule. And just as labor must have a trade union to fight for its economic demands, so must it have a political party, composed primarily of the trade unions, to fight for its political needs.

Let us have nothing to do with the Democratic, or the Republican or the American Party.

LET US BUILD AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY!

That's Enough Out of Them!

John L. Lewis spoke a mouthful when he verbally slapped down a few Southern labor-hating congressmen who yelled "traitor" during the recent coal strike. Lewis suggested that the less said by people who represent poll-tax and lynch-law states, the better.

We can understand their complaint. But the charge their hurled, "traitor," is misapplied. A labor leader is a traitor only insofar as he betrays the interests of the working class. The Southern congressmen can't, however, offer us much enlightenment on what those interests are—their own policies and actions do not bear the slightest resemblance to anything desirable from a working class point of view.

Nor will we call them traitors. They can't betray labor, because they don't represent labor. And it's more than a cinch that they are not traitors to their own cause of Jim-Crow, racial terror and anti-labor violence. On the contrary, they are staunch upholders of their particular conception of "Americanism."

Lewis set an example for every working man to follow. Every time one of these Southern gentlemen spews a little of his anti-labor bias, or presumes to speak for the welfare of American labor, there ought to come a not too subtle cry: "What about poll-tax? What about lynch-law? What about low wages?" Before they even dare ask for something less than the contempt and hatred they deserve, much less the ear of any working man, let them first legislate an end to lynching, let them first do something to end that horrible oppression of the Negro masses on which they thrive.

You're in the Army Now!

And whether you are enlisted in the regular army—which, among other blessings, entitles you to a free trip anywhere on the face of the earth—or whether you are a national guardsman or draftee—which limits your travel possibilities to anywhere in the Western Hemisphere or in the territorial possessions of the United States—you are likely to do some very unique kinds of soldiering in some very remote places.

For instance, there is Alaska and there are the Aleutian Islands, which run from the Alaskan mainland across the top of the Pacific Ocean to within a short distance from the Asiatic mainland and the islands of Japan.

Maybe such names as Dutch Harbor, Kodiak, Sitka, are so much Eskimo to you. But there are bunches of soldiers WHO HAVE MORE THAN A SURFACE KNOWLEDGE OF THESE PLACES.

For these soldiers are engaged in the job of uprooting forests, blasting rock and clearing these northern wildernesses so that the construction of naval and aerial outposts of American imperialism may go on apace.

Yes, a very unique kind of soldiering this is. But you're in the army now and you do what you're told to do.

AT \$30 A MONTH THE GOVERNMENT GETS ITS LABOR DIRT CHEAP!

The soldier doing hard labor in exile is supposed to console himself with the thought that it is better to dig rocks out of the stubborn Alaskan earth than to be dug out of a bombed trench somewhere.

But wait. That privilege is also yours.

We Demand: Conscript the War Industries Under Workers' Control!

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By MIKE STEVENS

The treacherous trade union policy of the Stalinists is manifesting itself typically in the threatened railroad strike. The Stalinists have no strength in any of the railroad unions, with the exception of three of the railroad centers. But they have published a number of pamphlets on the subject and their "Stop, Look and Listen" regular Monday Daily Worker column is reprinted by the thousand and distributed throughout the country.

The railroad workers have been lending a more or less willing ear for the past two years because the Stalinists were the only group which spoke to them about their corrupt union officials, industrial unionism, trade union democracy, and speed-ups. In general they "talked" progressive compared with the conservative, moribund union leaders. Today the workers want to strike and the Stalinists are against it. How to tell the workers to lay down and let the bosses walk over them and at the same time maintain the sympathetic ear of many of the militant railroad workers is the Stalinists' headache, and it is amusing to see how the Daily Worker attempts to handle the problem.

Pendulum Swings Back

The last five months' swing of the Stalinist pendulum is fully revealed in their press. In June the Stalinists published a pamphlet by William Z. Foster, "The Railroad Workers and the War." Its first paragraph was entitled "American Imperialism Goes to War." On November 10, when the railroad workers, sick to their stomachs with what American imperialism has offered them in wages, are ready to slug it out... the Daily Worker in headlines advises the railroad workers: "Let's Keep Our Shirts On!"

During the past three weeks the Stalinists have attempted to write railroad news in the form of "impartial" journalism. This they do by conducting their Daily Worker railroad column in the form of a dialogue between workers, one of whom presents the CP line. This is given as the opinion of "cooler heads" who see the wrongs done by the Fact-Finding Board but still insist the railroad workers should not strike.

The November 10 article, "Let's Keep Our Shirts On," raises the same argument against the strike that every reactionary labor faker has used since the birth of the labor movement. They remind the workers that wage increases may not make up for wages lost while on strike. "Of course, along with the disappointment and cursing went some figuring on how much bigger our paychecks would be. Cooler heads also gave thought to the effects a railroad strike would have on the production and shipment of war materials for the liking of Hitler. As one good brother said: 'If we had Hitlerism in America, we'd be getting cuts instead of increases—and we wouldn't be cursing our unions, because we wouldn't have any to curse.'"

In October, the Railway Carmen Brotherhood held its first convention in six years. They re-elected the same officials, did nothing about their Jim-Crow policy which does not permit Negro members to attend union meetings, hold office or ever be promoted on the job. But to the Stalinists "first in importance at every gathering of labor these days is the question of safeguarding America by way of a military defeat of Hitler in Europe. The Carmen's convention did itself proud in that respect. The opening remarks of President Felix Knight and all of the other speeches carried an awareness that world domination by Hitler constitutes the major danger to American democracy and American trade unionism."—DW, October 14.

At least the Negroes are assured that the union leaders and the Stalinists are for democracy—in Germany!

The Pendulum Swings Back

(All quotations with the initials WZF are from the pamphlet "The Railroad Workers and the War," published in June; DW is for Daily Worker.)

"The basic purpose of this Mediation Board is to strip the workers of the right to strike, to poison them with pro-war propaganda and generally to tie the trade unions to the war machine of the imperialists."—WZF.

"The militant actions of the CIO have particularly caught the admiration of the railroad workers who are expressing their indignation against the obstructive railroad 'mediation' red tape."—DW, June 14.

"Under false slogans of 'national unity' and 'national defense' this whole pro-war campaign is being supported and participated in by reactionary labor leaders."—WZF.

"The official union leadership is so tied up with the government's war program and is so fearful of causing offense to the railroad companies that it is incapable of protecting the rank and file's interests."—WZF.

"The only way to put a stop to fascism, hunger and war, which are the inevitable and ever-increasing products of the decaying capitalist system, is by eliminating the evil at its root."—WZF.

"The public and organized labor is looking for the government to recommend and help negotiate such arrangements as will eliminate industrial disputes which threaten to interrupt defense production."—DW, Nov. 10.

"... the government and the boards created under the Railway Labor Act must step in."—DW, August 25, only two months later.

"In the interest of national unity the government must intervene to secure further negotiations between carrier and employee committee."—DW, November 10.

"While a strike date will be set by the leaders of our organization... rail labor realizes that we can't afford to help Hitler by interfering with the production program of America—the Arsenal of Democracy."—DW, November 10.

"... those who do not want to play into the hands of Hitler must advocate national unity behind President Roosevelt's program of all-out aid to Britain and the Soviet Union. It goes without saying that organized labor—including the railroad unions—must be the backbone of real anti-fascist national unity."—DW, August 25.

Coal Retreat - -

(Continued from page 1)

man and Stalinist forces) stood ready to stab the UMWA in the back at the first possible opportunity, and thus weakened the struggle of the miners.

Of course, any progressive union leadership in a similar situation might have had to accept the Roosevelt offer. But its statement explaining the situation would be so clear that the entire CIO union movement would understand exactly what was involved in this dangerous precedent, even if its acceptance was actually unavoidable.

Where They Blundered

Here the UMWA leaders, by ignoring a factual analysis of the situation and by establishing as a main point in approving of the arbitration proposal that the miners were patriotic, blundered in not pointing out that the main issue was the union shop versus the open shop, and not the miners' patriotism.

The miners did a good job in resisting the ganging up of the press and Congress and Roosevelt against their interests. Their solidarity on the picket line was proof.

And when scabs poured gunfire into the strikers, its only effect was to strengthen the determination of the unionists. It also showed how despicable the newspapers acted in this strike, for there weren't any editorials in leading newspapers deprecating or deploring the violence. Nor did the labor-hating congressmen have any speeches to make about "lawlessness." These speeches and editorials are reserved solely for use against unionists protecting themselves. Violence and lawlessness by scabs is perfectly acceptable to the gentlemen of the press and Congress.

It is very likely that there was established over the week-end a behind-the-scenes agreement between top CIO officials around Phillip Murray and the Roosevelt regime, of which the coal arbitration proposal was one part. Certain minor concessions may be forthcoming from the Roosevelt regime in an effort to further isolate Lewis within the CIO and to soothe labor with bread crumbs.

But the coal strike illustrated that the fundamental issues dividing capital and labor can not be diverted for long into pacts, arbitrations, soft-soap and bland promises of something better in the future.

The SWOC, for example, still has on its agenda the matter of a closed shop in the steel industry. The struggle will continue.

Budd--

(Continued from page 1)

interesting facts. This corporation has shown a hundred per cent increase in its profits over last year. For the third quarter of 1940 there was a profit of \$182,612. This year it amounts to \$351,617. Not bad for a struggling firm. The first nine months of 1940 showed a measly profit of \$577,057 but this year, thanks to the war for "democracy," the profits are rolling in to the tune of \$1,056,480.

The wage of the worker today is inadequate to meet the tremendous and criminal rise in prices. Day by day the worker in Mr. Budd's plant finds that the dollar he has earned after a hard day's work is swallowed up by the landlord and the meat trust and the bakers. His clothes are dearer, his shoes cost more and wear out sooner. The wage earner knows by bitter experience that the dollar he earns today cannot buy as much as the fifty cent piece of two years ago.

In the face of all this, the profits of the Budd Co. and the struggles of the worker to make ends meet, the government steps forward and proposes what? A heavy tax on Mr. Budd, who can certainly afford it? No, it proposes to take from the worker 15 per cent of his income. What a friend of labor the Roosevelt government is turning out to be!

For the Budd worker there can be only one road. That is the road of unionism. Only through his union will he be able to meet the new blows that Roosevelt and Budd are planning. Only through his union will he be able to fight the rising cost of living by a rising wage scale. Alone he is helpless. A prey to the boss and the boss government. Together with his fellow workmen in the UAW-CIO he will be able successfully to stave off the inroads on his standard of living.

We Must Build A Labor Party!

There is some talk about a new party being formed by the Lindbergh-Wheeler isolationists: the American Party. That's "sucker bait" for the anti-war masses. Any worker who bites is a fool.

The Lindbergh group represents a particularly vicious and reactionary section of American capitalism. For its own reasons, it opposes entry into the war. It prefers a deal with Hitler which will divide the world into two large spheres: one dominated by Hitler, the other by U.S. imperialism. Its opposition to war has nothing in common, therefore, with the requirements of a working-class opposition to war.

More than that, it's very deceptiveness makes it doubly dangerous. Because it appears to speak the mind of the masses who are against the imperialist war, its basically rotten nature is sometimes obscured. LINDBERGH IS AN ANTI-SEMITE! HE REPRESENTS A SPECIES OF HOME-GROWN FASCISM!

There can be no question that American labor vitally needs a political party. But that political party must be a party of ITS OWN. A Labor Party independent of the two big boss parties, a Labor Party independent of the boss class!

Labor must repudiate the Democratic and Republican Parties. Of course! But labor must also repudiate every spokesman of the boss class, even if he speaks for a dissident section of that class. The American Party, if it is formed, will act for the specific interests of those capitalists which it represents, just as the Roosevelt-Willkie parties act for American imperialism as a whole.

Fascism is our mortal enemy. It is our enemy whether it appears in Germany or the United States. It is our enemy whether it is pro-war or cloaked as anti-war. Lindbergh's anti-war position is of the same caliber as Roosevelt's anti-fascism. The one can no more advance labor's interests in the fight against war than the other can advance labor's interests in the fight against fascism.

Yes, we must have our own party. For too long a time, for a dangerously long time, has American labor been content to champion its interests exclusively on the economic front. That is important. That is necessary. But the great issues of today are political as well as economic, the decisive battles will have to be fought on the

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