

All Out on July 1 for the Negro March on Washington!

The full meaning of the march on Washington being organized by Negroes for July 1 is beginning to penetrate the heads of the government and the employers. Negroes from all over the country are preparing to march to Washington and demonstrate "for jobs and equal participation in national defense."

Two weeks before the march and demonstration takes place, Roosevelt issues a "memorandum" to the Office of Production Management (OPM), charging its directors-general to take steps to eliminate racial discrimination from the employment policies of the "defense" industries. In the memorandum, Roosevelt stated that he had received com-

plaints "that available and much-needed workers are being barred from defense production solely because of race, religion or national origin . . . also that discrimination against Negro workers has been nation-wide . . . immediate steps must be taken to deal with it effectively."

JIM-CROW IS A MATTER OF FEDERAL POLICY

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION are very glad to learn that the President has discovered that discrimination against Negro workers is nation-wide. We have known that fact for some time and have written on the subject repeatedly. But the wider fact is this: discrimination against

Negro workers is not only nation-wide—it is a matter of national policy extending throughout the economic, political and social life of the nation. This is true of private industry; it is equally true of the federal government, at the head of which stands Mr. Roosevelt. It is therefore interesting and significant that Roosevelt does not refer to discrimination against Negroes by the federal government. However, the march on Washington is correctly directed at Jim-Crow in the federal government as well as in industry.

Roosevelt limits his exhortations to the "defense" industries. "No nation combatting the increasing threat of totalitarianism can afford arbitrarily to exclude large segments of

its population from its defense industries." "Even more important," says Mr. Roosevelt, "is it for us to strengthen our unity and morale by refuting at home the very theories which we are fighting abroad."

The President is concerned exclusively with the "defense" industries because they are the industries producing war supplies. He seeks to mitigate the grievances of Negroes and others because this is necessary for the successful prosecution of the war. The "memorandum" is a war measure. There is a shortage of workers; production of war material is not going ahead fast enough. Roosevelt says: "Look—so far

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Workers! This Is Not Our War!
It is a War for Boss Profits!
Join Hands in Independent
Labor Action Against the War!

LABOR ACTION

We Say—
Conscript War Industries
Under Workers' Control!

JUNE 23, 1941

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

THREE CENTS

DEFEND LABOR'S RIGHT TO STRIKE!

Austin Local Joins CIO--Follows 544

The latest developments in the break of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 from the AFL and the Tobin international is the strike called Tuesday by the furniture section against 19 furniture firms in Minneapolis. Three hundred drivers and inside workers are involved. Also, the Tobin local in Austin, Minn., has voted to follow Local 544 into the CIO.

We print below a statement of the executive board of Local 544:

Little Men, What Now?

The action of Local 544 in accepting the invitation of A. D. Lewis, chairman of the United Construction Workers organizing committee, to join the ranks of the CIO produced varied reactions, including one funny one, to wit:

The Minneapolis Star-Journal, issue of June 10, reports Leonard Lageman, state CIO secretary, as saying: "As far as the membership of Local 544 is concerned, we welcome them into the CIO. However, the leadership of 544 will have to carry out the policies of the CIO or they will have to be removed. Our unions are run democratically."

We have never met the gentleman with the removal complex, but we advise him, before he sounds off any further, to get in touch with Daniel J. Tobin and ask him how he is feeling after his ill-starred attempt to "remove" the duly elected officials of Local 544. He might learn something that would do him some good and save him from future trouble.

Unions that are "run democratically" are unions which select their own leaders and permit no one else to interfere. Local 544 is such a union. If it wouldn't stand for the threats and orders of a real dictator like Tobin, what chance has a pint-sized imitation in Minneapolis to push in his nose without getting it caught in a winger?

Cool off, Mr. Lageman, and behave yourself. The only way we know how to play is rough.—From the Northwest Organizer, June 12.

In explanation of the action taken at the regular membership meeting of General Drivers Union, Local 544, on June 9, 1941, when the union voted overwhelmingly to disaffiliate from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers, and the AFL, and to join the Congress for Industrial Organizations, the executive board makes the following statement to the organized labor movement and to the general public:

Local 544 has taken these actions because it has been unable to continue its normal life and functions owing to the dictatorial, arbitrary and un-tradeunion-like demands made upon this local body by President Daniel J. Tobin and his international executive board. Responding to the promptings of the Minneapolis employers and reactionary interests, both inside and outside of the AFL, Tobin proposed to the delegation sent to protect our union at the Washington meeting of the international executive board on June 3rd, that a dictator-receiver be appointed over Local 544 who would supersede and have power to remove the lawfully and democratically elected leadership of the union.

Tobin has schemed with the reactionary author of the Minnesota slave labor act, Governor Harold E. Stassen, to bring about the downfall of Local 544. Although every provision and law of the Teamsters' International Union has been observed by Local 544 since its return to the International Union in 1936, Tobin has disregarded all of the solemn prom-

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THE WORLD AT WAR

Hitler Is Pushing Stalin Deeper Into Reich Orbit As War Tension Mounts

By MAX STERLING

The air is full of rumors and report German troop movements toward the Russian borders, while accounts pour in of Nazi forces entering Finland in great numbers. Travelers have been prohibited from going into Finnish territories adjacent to Russia unless they have special permission from the authorities. At the same time, the Finnish capital of Helsinki has ordered the evacuation of women and children. German armies are reported to have left the Balkans and to have massed in Rumania and Poland.

The newspapers are full of all this plus what are supposed to be the demands made by the Germans on the Russians. Some of these demands

forces in the Far East and Axis use of Russian bases there.

There are additional reports that Moscow is already negotiating a new trade treaty with Berlin which will satisfy the German demand for increased deliveries from Russia. Another report says that Germany and Finland have signed a quasi-military pact. One can add to these rumors and reports others of an equally sensational character.

Naturally nothing of a positive nature can be said while matters are thus suspended on rumors. Rumors are useful weapons, in a war, and one can readily see why the Nazis for example would be interested in spreading just such rumors at the present time. To confuse the enemy, to disorient it, to divide it and throw it off-guard are also important. There are moreover plenty of people—wishful thinkers—who have been reporting innumerable ruptures between Germany and Russia and who are only too eager to seize hold of these rumors, expand them and give them world-wide publicity.

Nevertheless if this new crop of rumors is nothing more than rumors, it is difficult to understand why Moscow has come forth to dignify them by official denials published in Tass and broadcast to the world by the Moscow radio. Instead of squelching the rumors, the Kremlin's denial of them has had just the opposite effect. The rumors and reports are now more widespread than ever. It is necessary to add that the manner in which Tass denied the rumors is largely responsible for this result.

Let us examine the Tass statement. It declared: "First, Germany did not present any claims to the USSR and does not propose any new, CLEAR (my emphasis—M.S.) agreement, in view of which no negotiations on this subject could have taken place."

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Defeat the Anti-Labor Bills Now Pending in Congress

Fellow workers, shall we be reduced to the slavery of forced labor?

During the last two weeks that question has become for us one of the direst reality. Hard on the heels of the Administration's bayonet attack on strikers at North American have come a series of orders and proposals that would deprive us of liberties and rights won in a hundred years of sacrificing struggle.

Congressmen kept pace with the President's strike-busting actions by pressing bills, or amendments to bills, which, in the words of CIO President Murray, mean "involuntary servitude for American workers"—that is, FORCED LABOR.

In the House, the Case amendment was tacked onto a war appropriations bill. The Case amendment outlaws strikes and establishes compulsory arbitration by the National Defense Mediation Board. How? By creating a federal blacklist against all workers who take part in a strike or aid a picket line at a war plant. No investigation of the facts is required; all the board need do is declare that the strike would impede war production.

Did the Soldiers Like Their Fink Job?--They Didn't!

Special to Labor Action

LOS ANGELES—How did the soldiers feel about being ordered to break the strike at North American Aviation?

Insofar as it was possible to find the answer to this question, we've tried. Here is our report.

First, let us bring out this significant little item: The 3,000 troops sent here were kept on the move for 16 hours previous to their arrival at 9 a.m. at the picket line. The loss of sleep, the constant moving, etc., were calculated by the officers to put the soldiers in the right mood to face a picket line. Perhaps they'd take their resentment out on the strikers.

Second, about 10 per cent of the soldiers were hardened veterans, with service in China, and with special training in strike-breaking. (Special note for liberals: Yes, the army throughout America is training entire regiments in strike-breaking.) The huge majority of men were draftees, with three or more months' service.

Once the tense period last Monday was over, and the strikers' repeated efforts to fraternize with the soldiers brought some friendly smiles, it was possible to talk with them.

Naturally, the soldiers talked guardedly, opening up to a few people only when convinced the folks were all right. One woman literally interviewed 40 soldiers and we heard her report. Only one of the soldiers liked this job of strike-breaking. Five were indifferent. The rest disliked it. These were men drafted from an eastern state.

One of the soldiers was a member of a very prominent and militant union. You can well imagine what he said about the army's role, and his officers.

Another also was a union militant. Ditto on the comment.

When the soldiers were ordered to force back the picket lines, a few of the soldiers shrugged their shoulders in a gesture of helplessness to

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ON THE SPOT . . .



are: 1) passage of German troops through the Caucasus into Iran to establish a pincers against Great Britain from the east; 2) increased shipments of Russian grain, oil and other products to the Nazis; 3) German management-control over the Ukraine for the purpose of guaranteeing adequate production and delivery of these products; 4) outright cession of the Ukraine to Germany; 5) surrender of the territories annexed by Russia in partnership with Germany; 6) lend-lease to Germany and Japan of Russian naval and air

Army Keeps Its Bayonets Poised at North American

By JACK WILSON

LOS ANGELES—Although the strike was ended here almost a week ago, the North American Aviation plant still resembles a Gestapo concentration camp.

For the U. S. Army has over 3,000 men at the plant, bayonets gleaming

in the sun, the dull thud of the military boot and march resounding through the plant, and Col. Brandshaw in full control of hiring and firing.

The purpose of this crude display of military strength and brutality is two-fold:

1. The army hopes to inject the dauntless spirit of the union militants before it leaves this area.

2. The army is aiding Richard T. Frankenstein, CIO aircraft division director and sell-out artist, in purging the union of its militant leaders.

Army Role Exposed

The only real effect of the Army's presence here is to expose its strike-breaking role to the entire American labor movement. Its effect on the ex-strikers is just the opposite of that intended: the men have been sorer than ever before because of the dictatorial rules and injustices practiced by the army officers.

After the strikers voted to return to work in a wise strategic retreat, and carry on their fight within the plant since they were deserted by the CIO top officials, the army officers immediately broke the promise made by President Roosevelt that there would not be any discrimination.

At bayonet points, each of the union negotiating committee members who had been arbitrarily suspended by Frankenstein were taken from their jobs and to the police station for endless questioning about "communism."

Colonel Brandshaw simply declared that "these men were not allowed to return because their faith was inimical to the government."

No proof. No trial. No hearing.

Just a Hitler-like order carried out against the vehement protest of the North American workers who were held back by bayonets.

The men have filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board and expect other action as soon as the army leaves the plant.

Meanwhile union militants at "Vulture Aircraft," at Chrysler, Willys-Overland and other plants were summarily discharged in a co-ordinated plan between Frankenstein and the employers in this area to "purge the union of reds."

Hillman Sends "Reserves"

Frankenstein's blundering tactics have antagonized so many unionists in this area that Sidney Hillman, arch-red baiter of the CIO, is sending a crew of "experts" to help him out. Among them are Frank Daniels, alleged socialist of the Textile Workers, and Leon Kryzcki, social-democratic bureaucrat from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a Hillman hatchet-man from way back.

Thus far, Frankenstein's attempts to build up an opposition within the North American union against its own duly elected leaders has not met with success. Only a few company rats are backing him.

The struggle within the union caused by Frankenstein's "rule or ruin" policy—which he learned from his previous association with the

Stalinists—is a smoke-screen to keep the workers from thinking about the wage increases they want and need.

The duly-elected leadership of the union is trying hard to concentrate on the main issue: get the signed contract with the "75-10" provision. But Frankenstein is deliberately shifting the issues and trying to split the union by setting up a fake negotiating committee which will sign a less agreeable contract. He has taken over the headquarters, while the regular union officials have another office, at CIO headquarters.

The entire question of removing Frankenstein and repudiating his strike-breaking policies will not be settled until the CIO autoworkers convention in August in Buffalo.

The obvious strike-breaking of the army brought a reprimand from Philip Murray, president of the CIO, who sent a letter to all CIO unions to mobilize against the union-busting legislation before Congress and the use of troops to force compulsory arbitration.

Murray's letter was a blow at Frankenstein, since Frankenstein had nothing but highest praise for the Army and its brass hats.

The position of Murray was adopted by the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council last Friday night at a densely filled meeting, which was expected to bring to an open head the clash between the "purgers" and the union

militants of all shades and kind.

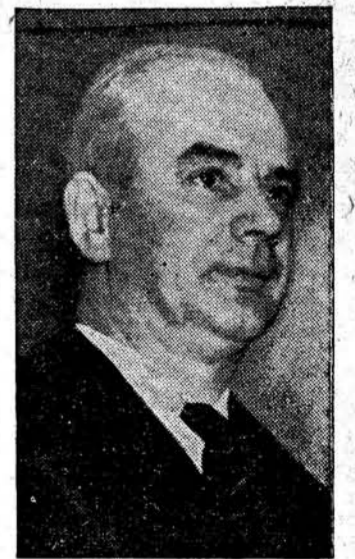
Phillip Connelly, executive secretary of the council, made a report on his activities in supporting the strike, as unanimously instructed by the previous meeting of the council. Debate on his report would have

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White Soldier Provokes Race Fight in New York

A white soldier in the uniform of the United States Army is dead today with a slashed throat which he got in a free-for-all fight on New York's Lower East Side early last Sunday morning. The soldier, Thomas J. Joyce, accosted a white woman accompanied by a colored man and demanded to know why she, a white woman, was with a Negro. The woman replied that Joyce should mind his own business. Joyce made some further remarks and a fight between Joyce and the woman's escort resulted. A crowd of about 100 Negroes and whites gathered and the conflict went on for about ten minutes. Joyce collapsed and died in an ambulance on the way to a hospital.

PHILIP MURRAY



Denounced Roosevelt strike-breaking—but first he had burned his fingers. See editorial on page 4.

to decide which cases will come before it.

For the workers thus affected that can have only one meaning: FORCED LABOR.

Placed in the context of the President's actions proclaiming the government as Strikebreaker No. 1—in the North American strike and on the withdrawal of draft deferments for strikers—these measures present so serious and devastating a threat to American labor that every section of the labor movement (even the most timid and conservative) joined in denouncing the march toward forced labor.

So, for example, Bill Green, who is usually almost as much irked by labor militancy as are the bosses and

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With the Labor Unions On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

ROCKEFELLER EXPECTS A RETURN ON HIS INVESTMENT

John D. Rockefeller, who is all for United States entry into the war, has given \$100,000 to the United Service Organizations. This is the organization that has as its function the providing of recreation for the army and navy. Mr. Rockefeller, speaking at a dinner in New York to raise funds for the drive, said that he had always considered giving to charity and social service organizations an "investment." That is, such giving brings a return to the giver. Mr. Rockefeller said that the return was satisfaction in knowing that some service had been rendered to those who had missed many of the good things of life.

There is adequate basis for the belief that this is not all the returns that Rockefeller and others receive from such investments. Rockefeller came out for the war right at the time when Hitler's troops were approaching Iraq, Asiatic country where

Standard Oil owns 90,000 square miles of oil lands. Of course, therefore, Rockefeller wants to raise the morale of the troops. Morale to him means the willingness to go docilely to their death fighting to keep that oil land from falling into the hands of the German imperialists.

This must be a very pleasing outlook for the workers in the various Standard Oil plants scattered all over the United States. These workers have a fight right here to win better working conditions, union organization and the defeat of the company unions maintained by Standard Oil.

All that Rockefeller has done is give a hundred thousand dollars for checkers, dominoes and pool tables for the soldiers so that they will play instead of sit around wondering whether or not they will be sent to Asia to protect that 90,000 square miles of oil lands.

ANTAGONIZED UNION MEN



RICHARD FRANKENSTEEN



25¢ SUB DRIVE

The national drive to obtain 200 introductory 25 cent subs to LABOR ACTION is one month old with this issue. To date, 66 subs have been received outside of New York City. The total quota, excepting New York's quota of 75, is 125 new subs, so that, in 50 per cent of the time allotted to this drive, we have achieved a 50 per cent result.

Received this week were nine subs from Lynn, two from Chicago Central, five from St. Louis and one from Akron. The national office has already obtained eight subs on its quota of ten. Seven were received this week from a non-member of the party, a member of the lumber and sawmill workers union, who writes an enthusiastic letter, and states that he expects to send in more subs shortly.

New York is this week beginning an intensive campaign to fill its quota of 75 subs. This drive has been held up until now pending the city convention, which was held last week, and which enthusiastically endorsed this drive. They expect to fill their quota within a few weeks.

The only branches that have filled their quotas to date are St. Louis, which has sent in 27 subs, and whose quota was only 10, and Lynn, with a quota of five, has obtained nine subscriptions. Other branches that have obtained several special subscriptions are Chicago Central, Akron, Columbus, Boston and Syracuse.

But too many branches have not yet even begun work on this drive. Among them are: Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago South Side, Baltimore, Worcester, Kansas City, Buffalo, Cleveland, Philadelphia and Washington. Several of these have written promising to send in some subscriptions soon. What are you waiting for?

We ask that all branches bend every effort for this campaign. . . certainly not a difficult one to carry out, and with an extremely low quota to fill. We urge all branches that have not yet responded to this drive to begin now, today, to obtain the subscriptions required of them. We expect to hear from ALL branches concerning this drive during this week.

DISTRIBUTION DOPE

Los Angeles took an additional 1,000 copies of last week's issue containing stories on the North American strikers. They report that the paper was enthusiastically received. They distribute the paper regularly at the CIO council, at the shipyard workers union meetings and at an aircraft plant.

Buffalo has increased its bundle of LABOR ACTIONS from 30 to 100 copies and is distributing it through means of house-to-house work near a large factory.

St. Louis, at a recent America First meeting in that city, sold NINETY-TWO copies of LABOR ACTION. They write that back issues were sold as readily as the current issue and that this sale established an all-time high for their branch.

Other branches please note these reports. Go and do likewise.

FROM OUR WEST COAST CORRESPONDENT

North American Strikers, With Spirit Unbroken, Shift Battle to New Field

LOS ANGELES, June 10—Filled with pride and determination, North American Aviation strikers went back to work Tuesday in a strategic maneuver to carry out their struggle for "75-10" on a new field of battle.

Deserted by the national CIO leaders, whose support was crucial for immediate full victory, the strikers wisely chose to carry their picket lines into the plant, where the U. S. Army bayonets could not break them.

This decision was made by cheering strikers numbering over 3,000 who attended a special meeting fifteen miles away from the plant, while other strikers remained as near the "concentration camp" as possible.

The meeting was called by the strike leaders to analyze and recommend further action in the walkout.

STRIKERS' RANKS WERE SOLID

It was evident that not over 1,000 production workers out of 9,000 had gone back, despite the sending of 15,000 individual telegrams by the company, appeals by Roosevelt and the U. S. Army.

Key machinists and welders' departments in particular were still solid on strike, and without them no production was possible.

Although the army's bayonets had dispersed all picket lines, even those which retreated five miles from the plant, full victory was certain if the national CIO gave support, because army tactics had been too crude and Roosevelt's hand was overlapped.

Instead, as the strike leaders pointed out, Hillman, Murray and Frankenstein were doing the opposite: praising Roosevelt's strike-breaking and trying to isolate the strikers from the entire labor movement.

Since pressure had been placed on the government and the company for a real wage increase through the strike, and the union had become a living, fighting reality to the North American workers, a strategic retreat could bring real results if the strikers understood clearly what was involved.

WORKERS UNDERSTAND THE STRATEGY

This was explained very clearly to the mass meeting by Wyndham Mortimer, veteran of the General Motors strike and key strategist in the present situation.

The cheering response to the idea when it was presented by the local strike and negotiating committee and outlined by Mortimer showed that the workers had learned the lesson and saw the strategy.

"We licked the company and the cops and we stood the army off. If we had half the equipment they had there wouldn't be any need for a retreat,"

Local 544--

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ises he made at that time to grant our union complete autonomy over its local affairs so long as it observed the constitution of the International Union.

544 Achievements

Local 544 is proud of its achievements and its leadership. Since 1934 this leadership helped to build a powerful union of 6,000 members and has greatly raised the wages and working conditions of its members. It has given aid to many local organizations of labor and to every progressive movement. It has helped organize and secure uniform contracts for several hundred thousand over-the-road drivers in the eleven-state area. All this has been done within the organizational framework of the AFL.

Join the CIO

In order to continue this constructive work, it now becomes necessary for Local 544 to change its allegiance. Local 544 has accepted the invitation to join the Congress of Industrial Organizations in order to liberate itself from the dead hand of a reactionary dictator and to align itself with a more progressive section of the American labor movement. Its CIO charter will permit it to move forward at a faster pace and on a wider scale to protect and promote the interests of its membership, to secure new wage gains to offset the swiftly rising war cost-of living and to find for itself and its members a place in the American labor movement where liberalism, militancy and progress will be rewarded rather than punished.

June 9, 1941.

Soldiers--

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the picks as though to say: "We can't help it!"

CIO Misses Chance

During the evening, soldiers were given brief leaves and drifted in the crowd. A few of them obviously had orders to try to talk the strikers into going back to work. But many of them didn't. And they told the strikers they didn't relish the job given them.

One of them told a group of strikers: "If you don't like your conditions you can still strike, but if you even protest it's the jug, and if you disobey it's the firing squad."

Generally, the strikers felt that the soldiers didn't like the job they were ordered to do. That about sizes up the situation.

The CIO missed a glorious opportunity to show that it was with the

one of the members of the negotiating committee pointed out!

"We've welded together a militant union and built up a do or die spirit which no bayonets can take away from us. Let's adopt the strategy of the committee and carry on the battle," another explained.

"We've publicized to the entire world the fact that while we are getting only poor wages, the company is rolling in profits and our demands are justified," it was said.

"The conditions under which we return are the following:

1. No discrimination against anyone.
2. Removal of the troops immediately.
3. Immediate negotiations for 75 cent minimum and 10 cents an hour general raise.
4. Removal of Richard T. Frankenstein from the scene and the substitution of George Ades, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers.
5. Immediate reinstatement of our suspended officers and international representatives.
6. Withdrawal of the army order to tear up union cards of all returning strikers.
7. A march as a body of union men into the plant.

STRIKE THREAT IS ACE IN HOLE

If these were not granted—and many of them were agreed to immediately—the strikers proposed to parade to Vultee and other plants and call a general strike of all aircraft workers.

This threat was the ace in the hole the strikers had to assure themselves that the retreat would bring proper results.

Roosevelt's pledge to the strikers was read to them by Phillip Connelly, state CIO president, who reminded them that "the entire labor movement is watching to see that he keeps that promise."

"Otherwise it will be clearly demonstrated to all those people, including the national CIO leaders, that the only purpose of the army here was simply to bust our union."

These promises included adjustment of wage scales and full recognition of the union.

"But don't forget that the government isn't running the company, the company is running the government," one strike leader added, to the cheers of the mass meeting!

UNION WAS NOT BEATEN!

The crimes of the United States Army, its false arrests of the 19 strike captains, its breaking up of all picket lines were pointed out by the union attorney, who urged the strikers to have long memories on this score, and they applauded this idea strongly.

Since the major purpose of the Roosevelt strat-

conscripts by not utilizing this situation to come out with some demands for protection of soldiers' rights and for a wage raise for them too. In fraternizing with the soldiers, the strikers showed they instinctively understood the need for a joint front against the boys on top.

Washington Audience Hears Shachtman Blast Jim-Crow

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 13—An audience of 40 Negro and white workers heard Max Shachtman launch a bitter attack against Jim Crow, "the American Way of Life for the Negro," here tonight.

The meeting, one of the last in the coast to coast tour of the national secretary of the Workers Party, was publicized by 1,000 leaflets calling on Negroes to fight Jim-Crow in the army.

Shachtman discussed the stated war aim of President Roosevelt, the preservation of the American way of life, and pointed out that to Roosevelt and big business that meant preservation of huge war profits, foreign trade and foreign markets. To the workers of this country, especially to the Negro workers, defense of the American way of life means the defense of exploitation and misery and Jim Crow.

The speaker compared the huge increases in profits of the war corporations, reaching several thousand per cent in one year, with the lot of the Negro worker who faces discrimination, unemployment and lynching from the day he is born to the day he dies. Even when he is drafted into the army to fight for "democracy" he is segregated and discriminated against.

The audience responded favorably to the presentation of the Workers Party position of mass struggle by Negro and white workers to end the scourge of racial discrimination. People who had never heard of the party before displayed unusual interest in our literature and our press. Several valuable contacts were made.

Overflow Crowd in Philly--

PHILADELPHIA, June 16—An overflow crowd heard Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, present a clear-cut and unambiguous program on "How to Stop Hitlerism."

In brilliant fashion Shachtman analyzed the program and the personnel of the Churchill, Daladier and Roosevelt governments, the reasons for their inability to stop Hitlerism, and their willingness to fasten Hitlerism around the necks of the workers at home.

"Free the colonies," said Shachtman, "and give the workers of the world a real reason and belief in the democratic forces of society. Maintain labor's rights at home and give the German workers an example to follow. Nationalize the war industries under workers' control."

For one hour and a half he hammered away, laying down a program of revolutionary action that stirred the audience.

In the appeal for funds, the Workers Party raised more than \$15. The meeting closed with the singing of the Internationale. Several people expressed their readiness to join the party.

under the leadership of Local 1, Bakery, Confectionery Workers International Union of America, AFL.

After eight weeks and five days, during which the company closed the bakery, vowing it would not reopen until completion of its great new bakery in Long Island City, the strike was won.

Local 1 had announced that on Saturday, June 7, a mass picket line would walk before every Huyler store in New York City (there are 10), and stores in Newark, Boston, Baltimore and Chicago—25 men to a store! On June 6, the company yielded and recognized Local 1 as sole bargaining agent for all Huyler bakers.

Still to be agreed upon are the issues of almost nine weeks' back pay for these men and specific wage increases. These questions are now in the hands of the Joint Board, to be

decided on the basis of prevailing standards in other Local 1 shops.

In addition to this, all bakers will receive one week's vacation with pay and if any member should not be rehired he will still receive that paid vacation.

All the men who struck must be rehired before any new hiring is done. There will be no discrimination against pickets and full seniority. There will be no more depriving the men of their lunch hour and there will be an end to working five hours overtime for half a dollar!

We Demand: Higher Wages and Workers' Rights for Conscripts!

ANOTHER SYMPTOM OF WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE AFL

The scrap between the Brewery Workers International and the executive council of the AFL is about to be brought to some sort of conclusion in the courts. The fight has been going on since 1933. The Brewery Workers, before the coming of the CIO, along with the Miners, was the only industrial international in the AFL. They included all the workers in and around the breweries. In 1933 the AFL executive council ordered the Brewery Workers International to transfer all drivers to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the brewery engineers to the Union of Operating Engineers. The brewery union refused and was suspended. The union then went to court and won. The AFL appealed to a higher court and the lower court was reversed. The brewery workers later got a stay of action. They are holding on today under that stay of action. When the final court order is issued they will be out of the AFL.

unless they give up the teamsters and engineers.

Should the Brewery Workers International abide by the decision of the AFL and the court their union will be smashed. That is, if they lose the drivers and engineers the union will be so weakened that the remains will be ineffective against the brewery owners. It is fairly certain that they will not submit. This means that either they will remain independent or go to the CIO.

Significant things are happening in the AFL. The International Typographical Union voted to remain independent. Local 544 of the teamsters in Minneapolis has bolted to the CIO. The brewery union will in all probability get out. AFL and CIO machinists are acting in union in the San Francisco shipyard strike. They have just voted to remain on strike against the demands of the "Mediation" Board.

"LAW" MAKERS IN A LATHER AGAINST LABOR

The two houses of Congress got on their white horses last week and dashed off in all directions against the unions. The "law" makers worked themselves up into a white heat on the sins of the unions. Holman, of Oregon, wanted all strikers put into the army and forced to work in the plants under military command. Byrd of Virginia threw in an amendment saying that strikes during the "defense" emergency are "contrary to sound public policy and are condemned by the Senate." This amendment passed after a little softening. It was rewritten to include lockouts and refusal by employers to accept collective bargaining. The Connally amendment then was put through. This amendment is a "rider" to the new \$10,000,000 army appropriation bill. It directs Roosevelt to take over all plants in which strikes occur or are threatened. Even if the President suspects that labor trouble is about to occur he can take over the plant.

The final result would have been far worse if some of the congressmen with at least a minimum of common sense and decency had not interposed vigorous objection to the amendments offered by such sterling

stoooges as Joe Labor of Alabama and Howard Smith of Virginia.

Starns wanted to bar all workers who had been on strike for ten days from receiving any portion of the appropriation. Even Hutton Summers of Texas got scared and refused to support the Starns amendment. Summers is the poll tax congressman who suggested electrocution for strikers. Hutton has probably discovered that the workers are not afraid of his threats.

There is no doubt that the militancy of labor had a great deal to do with the "defense" of labor put up during this debate by its "friends" in Congress. The workers must not put too much dependence on the continuation of this "support." The bosses and of course many of their stooges are worried today. There is division in their ranks. They were heartened when Roosevelt ordered out the army but they are not certain what the reaction of labor will be. The bosses have no taste for the kind of picket lines the workers have thrown around their plants. They fear that these picket lines will swell. And, too, the workers might begin devising ways and means for dealing with the army of strikebreakers.

FTC CATCHES FORD ON A FAST ONE

Not only has Ford been gypping the workers in his factories but the car buying public also. The Federal Trade Commission ordered the old scoundrel to stop telling lies in his advertising about the low interest rate charged purchasers of his automobiles. Ford advertised that buyers paid only 6 per cent interest when they bought one of his jalopies on

the time payment plan. The FTC found that Ford really charged 11 1/2 per cent interest. Ford appealed to the federal court but the FTC was upheld.

Of course the capitalist press did not feature this. It was afraid of losing the fat Ford advertising contracts.

AND THE CANNERY WORKERS GOT GYPED TOO

The cannery workers have been holding up their government by refusing to bid on army orders for canned foods unless they were released from the provisions of the Walsh-Healy Act. Then the government decided to buy supplies in the open market. But the jobbers were good "pay-triots" also. They ran up the prices. Then the braided stuffed shirts in the War Department decided that the only way out was to ask the cannery workers to consent to the demands of the cannery.

The cannery unions, both CIO and AFL, foolishly decided to yield to the War Department generals. They keep the basic 40-hour week but give up time and a half for overtime. This really means giving up the 40-hour week. There will be overtime but it will be paid for at the straight 40-hour rate. The unions, also stipulated that this should last only during the 1941 canning season.

These unions say they are doing something to aid the "defense" program. All they have done is give the cannery the opportunity to increase their profits at the expense of labor. These workers are among the most exploited in the country. Their wages are extremely low and the work is seasonal. What do the cannery care today about the 1942 season? They are looking out for the season of 1941. That is what the workers and their unions should have done. The workers can't eat in 1941 on what they think they are going to get in 1942.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER!

25¢ For Three Months

LABOR ACTION
114 West 14th Street
New York City

Enclosed find 25 cents for which please send LABOR ACTION for three months to:

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____

For a Capital Levy on the Rich to Pay for Imperialist War!

Labor News and Notes from Britain

The following material was gathered by the American Committee for the Fourth International:

PARK AVENUE SHELTERS: "After building the finest air raid shelter in the country at a cost of \$98,000 in the garden of her mansion overlooking Torbay, Mrs. Ella Marion Rawcroft, 81 year old millionaire, has died without using it..."

"A lift took us more than 30 feet down below the ground into a 50 yard long corridor with rooms opening out on each side. Then we went into the bedroom the millionaire had planned for herself. At the head of the bed was a bronze plate with the words: 'Angels are watching overhead. Sleep sweetly then. Goodnight.' Mrs. Rawcroft left over \$6,000,000. She was a daughter of a director of the Imperial Tobacco Co., Ltd." (Daily Express.)

.....**SOLDIERS:** The number of soldiers in military prisons and detention barracks on March 1, 1941, was 2,971. This represents four times the number there were in March of 1940. (British New Leader.)

SAVING TIME: An unexpected difficulty in the conduct of the war has now arisen, it appears. Great Britain has so many allies (all defeated) that the BBC hasn't time on Sunday evenings to play all the appropriate national anthems.

The Minister of Information told the House of Commons last week that it was under consideration whether it would not be a good plan to play a few in turn. James Maxton showed the House a way out of the difficulty.

"What about saving time and playing 'The International'?" he asked. (British New Leader.)

TAXATION: A man earning \$10.00 a week must pay \$1.00 a week income tax.

DANCES: Recruits to the army stationed at Ayr were assembled to hear a lecture on dangerous pleasures to avoid. These included dances at the local Independent Labor Party hall which were henceforth banned!

ON THE BRITISH LABOR FRONT:

(1) Dunfee has joined the apprentices' movement. An apprentices' committee of young workers has been formed.

(2) Three thousand coal miners in Durham have come out on strike.

(3) About 400 employees of Stepaney Council cleaning department stopped work in protest against the dismissal of a worker who refused to drive a truck during night air raids.

(4) The South Wales Miners Federation decided to demand an immediate increase of wages of \$4.00 per week.

(5) At the annual conference of the Scottish Trade Union Congress, 75 out of 173 delegates voted against the pro-war, pro-Churchill resolution of the union bureaucrats.

(6) The British Broadcasting Company has been forced to lift its ban on Hugh Robertson, conductor of the Glasgow Orpheus Choir. The ban was placed because he is a member of the ILP and a pacifist.

What the Ford Workers Need To Complete Their Victory

By MIKE STEVENS

A fortnight ago the Ford workers won a tremendous victory. Much has already been written on the significance of this gigantic first step. With one blow the workers crushed the Ford myth of invincibility and cast aside his "paternalism." Threats of terrorism, red-baiting, approaching war and suppressive legislation, Bill Green and his sell-out tactics were swept away like tiny cobwebs.

In the past the Ford workers have suffered much because of the AFL bureaucracy's selfish craft interests. Now the workers must be careful that their victories at the picket line and in the election are not watered down across the negotiating table for interests that are not theirs. The election electrified the workers of America and the results of the contract negotiations will either speed forward the American workers or else arrest the impetus for organization that the election has given the entire country. The Ford vote was a vote for militancy! The Ford workers would not be organized today if it were not for their own militant tactics. These tactics must be continued and developed by demanding immediate autonomy for their local, by their method of negotiating and the agreement they sign and by playing a progressive role at the coming Buffalo convention of the UAW.

Local Autonomy

The Ford local will be larger than many an entire international union. It will deal with one of the most vicious anti-union companies in the country. Competent, progressive leadership is necessary if the Ford local is to develop into a militant union. Conservative, routinist officials will develop the local along innocuous, company-approved union lines. The Ford workers already have a few traditions under their belts, but the real development of their union lies ahead.

During the organizational drive, on the picket line, in the shops, during negotiations, the real leadership is developing. Not hand-picked Charlie McCarthies, but the type that forced the recent General Motors strike.

The organization of the other Ford plants and a delegated body from all the plants to check on the negotiating committee; the creation of shop committees in all departments; the organization of the AFL voters into the CIO, elimination of the recent speed-up developments, election of progressive delegates to the coming convention—these are only a few of the immediate problems, and only a rank and file controlled union can militantly cope with them.

Negotiations

During negotiations Ford will attempt, as his spokesmen have already admitted, to give the union the well-known run-around. The company will insist on an open shop agreement on the phony grounds that it will not be a party to an "undemocratic" agreement that forces workers who

voted against the CIO into joining it. Ford will claim that his company is different from all others, and in stalling for time may even suggest a government survey. Wage determination should be arrived at on some different basis, he will argue; his production methods are different, etc. The UAW is not a new union having to work out for the first time, point by point, an agreement in conformity with the peculiarities of the industry. Nor does it have to question whether the workers are willing to strike—they've proved that. Ford is swamped with government and private orders, there is money in the UAW and CIO treasuries and the entire labor movement is behind the Ford workers. In other words, hand Ford the closed shop union agreement and set the deadline for his signature or strike.

Within the top officialdom there are elements that are part and parcel of Roosevelt's war machine and they don't want to expose their chief to the dangers of a strike. Also they have illusions that government mediation boards will favor the workers rather than Ford, who has shown a hostile attitude toward FDR. No siree! Not one single important point must be left up to a mediation or arbitration board, and the agreement should not be signed unless the Ford workers discuss and ratify it.

Convention

At the recent Michigan CIO state convention and in a newspaper release, R. J. Thomas announced that he would bring up on charges those "radicals" in the union who hold caucus meetings and, he added, "I do not mean by this the members of the CP; either." This statement reveals that Thomas is aware that at the convention there will be opposition to him and to the other officials of the union who did not carry out the militant demands of the workers during the past year. Thomas hopes with such threats to prevent the organization of an opposition group within the union which will seriously challenge the re-election of himself and his co-thinkers. If an opposition group with a progressive program develops, the Ford workers should be part of it. The present leadership dilly-dallied in the GM negotiations and attempted to stop the workers from striking even long after they should have called the strike as instructed. If the GM workers had not struck they would never have received their wage increase, and the Ford campaign would have suffered tremendously. When the Ford workers decided to strike, Michael Widman wired Washington that he was afraid he could not prevent it, much as he would have liked to.

The Ford workers owe it to themselves and the rest of the UAW membership to place real progressive leaders in the place of those officials who not only have revealed no leadership qualities but have refused to carry out the mandates of the membership.

Anti-Semitism on Capitol Hill

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The death of M. Michael Edelstein, New York congressman, after making an impassioned plea for racial tolerance, has finally brought to light the rising tide of anti-Semitism in the nation's capital.

EXCLUSIVE

Despite the "hush-hush" attitude on the question, observers in close touch with Congress have seen this vicious tide begin as a mere ripple at the outbreak of the European war and finally rise to a point where it is about to break out into the open.

WHO IS TOM ABBOTT?

The beginning of the war brought two things to Capitol Hill—a sudden influx of anti-Semitic mail and the appearance in the halls of Congress of a mysterious figure, one Tom Abbott. Abbott, a tall, slender man, who always wears an American Legion pin, has successfully kept the entire staff of reporters and employees on the hill guessing.

As far as anyone knows, his only employment during the two years he has been walking around Congress has been a two-week job as investigator for the House committee investigating air crashes. Yet he is always well-dressed, carries an expensive brief case and eats in the high-priced Senate restaurant.

Every morning, he eats breakfast with "Our Bob" Reynolds, alien-baiting senator from North Carolina and head of the "Vindicators," a native American type of fascist organization. During the rest of the day, Abbott spends his time cornering any Aryan-looking person who will listen to him deliver long anti-Semitic harangues.

Occasionally he has a batch of literature for distribution, including Pelley publications, and he professes to be a strong admirer of Father Coughlin, fascist radio priest. Abbott has popularized a slogan among some of the numerous Capitol Hill employees who listen to him that:

"The Jewish theme song is 'Onward Christian Soldiers.'"

Abbott consistently argues that this war is a "Jewish war" and that "our kind of people should have nothing to do with it." He hints darkly that several congressmen who voted for the Lend-Lease Bill told him "I know this is a bill sponsored by a lot of Jews, but I have to vote for it."

INFLUENCES MANY IN ISOLATIONIST BLOC

That his influence is being felt was evidenced by a speech made during the Lend-Lease debate by Rufus Holman, Oregon senator, who is a close friend of Reynolds. Holman, in his speech, said it must be admitted that Hitler freed Germany from "international bankers."

"Although several of the best reporters in Washington have inquired into Abbott's past record, they know nothing more than his own explanation that he is a former war veteran. Other than that, he is just 'a fellow named Tom Abbott.'"

His influence at the present time is more apparent among isolationist senators opposing President Roosevelt's war policies. Yet several of the stronger administration supporters—such as Carter Glass of Virginia and Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana—have said privately that "the lid is going to blow off in this Jewish question some one of these days."

Burton K. Wheeler, leader of the Senate isolationist bloc, is a strong believer in racial tolerance but he has kept quiet on

the subject out of fear he will lose men like Reynolds and Holman.

Edelstein's death followed a House speech by Jeanette Rankin, Mississippi demagogue with "scared hair," in which she referred to our "international Jewish brethren" who are allegedly causing the war. What the papers did NOT say was that Miss Rankin has been making such speeches almost daily for the past two years.

Newspapers, fearing to lose circulation, ignored Miss Rankin completely until Edelstein's death forced them to print the story. Furthermore, other members of the House refused to take her speeches seriously.

FAMOUS FORGERY IS CIRCULATED

Meanwhile, office after office is flooded with anti-Semitic mail, including the famous forgery, "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which has been mailed free to various congressmen with NO indication of where they came from. Another publication is a weekly known as The Pink Slip—a four-page sheet printed on pink paper and filled with vicious anti-Semitic material.

The author of The Pink Slip is unknown and NO name appears on the masthead. Under questioning, NO congressman will admit that he can trace its source.

The latest issue contained a chart known as "The Jewish Hierarchy" which repeated the underground rumors that President Roosevelt's real name is "Rosenfeld" and listed all Jews in high government positions. The chart apparently did NOT try to be accurate since such well known "Aryans" as Attorney General Robert H. Jackson were included.

Join The March on July 1--

(Continued from page 1)

Hitler has been victorious; we haven't much time, we must have the guns and planes; there are millions of Negro workers; you must hire some of them; this is imperative if we are to be prepared."

ROOSEVELT SPEAKS IN THE BOSSES' INTERESTS

Roosevelt is saying to the white bosses that in their own interests, in order to assure the continued existence of American capitalism, it is necessary for them, at least temporarily, to modify their Jim-Crow employment policies.

This should be done not only to increase production, says Roosevelt, but also to "strengthen our unity and morale." That is, you can't get Negroes to believe that this is a war for democracy and against fascism if you deny them the simple opportunity to earn a living in the "defense" industries. Roosevelt and the ruling class fear that Negroes will become "radical." We suspect that they are a little alarmed that so many thousands of Negroes are going into the trades unions, particularly the CIO. Negro workers are joining hands with the white workers and fighting on the picket lines. They don't dare talk about

Negro "fifth columnists" and Negro "subversive elements." This will fly back and slap them in the face. They know as well as the Negroes themselves how valid the grievances of the Negro are.

This "memorandum" of Mr. Roosevelt is, therefore, not the act of any "great humanitarian," but the act of an arch imperialist hell-bent for war.

We do not mean of course that Negroes should not welcome this partial victory. They should welcome every concession. They should seize on and exploit this small beginning for all that it is worth. They should not be misled, however. They haven't got the jobs yet. And Jim-Crow still exists in the federal government. Roosevelt strangely left this out of his "memorandum." Furthermore, his statement to the employers could have been made far stronger. If he does not already have the power, he could have insisted that Congress grant him the authority to withhold contracts from industries that practice discrimination.

THE NEGRO MUST FIGHT FOR HIS DEMANDS

When we say that Negroes should not be misled, we mean concretely that they should intensify preparations

for the march on Washington. The Roosevelt statement increases the necessity for the march. The head of the government has officially admitted that all the things that Negroes and their friends have been saying about Jim-Crow are true. But conditions will not change just because Roosevelt admits the validity of the grievances and says that something must be done to see that Negroes get jobs.

The Negro people must continue to press their demands. RIGHT NOW THE BEST MEDIUM FOR THIS IS THE MASS MARCH ON WASHINGTON. This is the only effective way to translate into fact Roosevelt's "memorandum." Mere literary assertions of agreement in the Negro press will accomplish nothing. Negroes should show Roosevelt that they appreciate his "memorandum," by a great organized, militant mass demonstration in Washington. This is the kind of demonstration that the committee in charge has called for.

The Workers Party gives its support to this demonstration. THE PARTY CALLS ON ITS MEMBERS AND FRIENDS EVERYWHERE TO AID IN EVERY POSSIBLE MANNER TO MAKE THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON A REAL SUCCESS.

Hitler Puts the Squeeze on Stalin--

(Continued from page 1)

Now, what does Moscow mean by the word CLEAR in the above sentence? Does this mean that the Germans did in fact propose a new agreement but that the Russians did not consider it clear enough? Does Moscow mean by that that it didn't like the German terms and found them incomprehensible?

Let us proceed now to the second paragraph of the statement. "SECOND. ACCORDING TO INFORMATION AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE USSR, Germany abides by the provisions of the Soviet-German pact of non-aggression as unswervingly as the Soviet Union, in view of which, IN THE OPINION OF SOVIET QUARTERS, rumors on Germany's intention to disrupt the pact and undertake attack on the USSR are devoid of any ground, whereas the dispatching of German troops relieved from operations in the Balkans to eastern and northeastern districts of Germany which now is taking place is connected, IT SHOULD BE ASSUMED, with other motives having no bearing on Soviet-German relations" (emphasis mine throughout—M.S.).

According to Tass, therefore, Germany is abiding by the provisions of the Soviet-German pact ACCORDING TO INFORMATION AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE USSR. Now, doesn't Moscow really know? Is it hinting that perhaps it doesn't have all the information on this vital point? Or does it have all the information and pretend that there are some things that it has not been informed about and which it doesn't like?

It is to be noted that there is one thing the above statement unambiguously confirms, and that is that German troops were actually moved from the Balkans to eastern and northeastern Germany. It is a fact then that German troops have been moved to face the Russian frontiers along the entire line of the Russian annexed territories of Lithuania and Poland. And this the Russians say SHOULD BE ASSUMED to have no connection with German designs on Russia! Why does the Kremlin only assume this? Here again isn't it sure, doesn't it know?

Finally there are the third and fourth paragraphs. "Third. The USSR, as follows from its peace policy, abided and intends to abide by the provisions of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact, in view of which rumors to the effect that the USSR is preparing for war with Germany are false and provocative."

"Fourth. Summer camp drills of the Red Army reservists held at present and forthcoming maneuvers have no other purpose than the training of

reservists and the checking of the work of railroad organization, carried out, as it is known, every year, in view of which to present these measures of the Red Army as inimical to Germany is, at least to say, absurd."

Paragraph three of the statement, of course, says nothing new. Moscow's dogged clinging to the Hitler-Stalin pact is once more emphasized and if possible even more frantically than ever. It is indeed false to spread any rumors that Russia intends to attack Germany. It is not provocative, as the Tass statement says. Only those who are suffering from hallucinations would spread any such rumor. The truth is that nobody has.

The same thing goes for paragraph four insofar as it can be interpreted as preparations on the part of the Red Army to attack Germany. However, what is significant in this paragraph is its references to the training of reservists and to the work of railroad organization. This is equivalent to saying that Russia has called out the reservists, or in other words, Russia is fully mobilizing in the event of a German attack. The Russians also want the Germans to know that they are perfecting their railroad organization as it is this which is considered the weakest part of the Russian military structure. This weakness was demonstrated to the whole world during the Finnish-Russian war.

Up to now Stalin and Hitler have acted more or less in concert while sharing their spoils. So long as Hitler was engaged on a vital front in Europe Stalin was bribed for the invaluable service that he rendered by keeping the eastern front in a state of benevolent neutrality and by supplying the German war economy with important Russian products. Up to this point it was a give and take proposition. It is because of this that we have maintained since the beginning of the war that Stalin will stick to Hitler so long as the latter remained strong. We said also that Hitler would "collaborate" with Stalin and bribe him so long as the former still had before him the formidable British adversary. We predicted that if there should be a break between Hitler and Stalin while Hitler was still strong this would be because Hitler would do the "breaking."

Germany has not yet won the war. To achieve this she must not only finish off Great Britain but also contend with the United States. However, with the conclusion of the Battle of the Balkans and the "Battle of Crete" he has become the absolute master of Europe. It is this fact that gives the reports of German-Russian tension an indubitable validity.

Let us consider the present situation. The first thing to be observed is that Hitler no longer is faced with the danger of a war on two fronts. If Germany were to invade Russia on what other front could Russia expect an ally to attack Germany? The British could hardly expect to invade the Continent from the British Isles, at least not for some time to come, if at all. If the English Channel has been a real enough obstacle to the Germans, how much more is it to the British, who are not nearly as strong?

The other possible bridgehead on the European Continent for an allied army is Greece and Greece is gone. In Europe today Hitler has at every point an undoubted superiority—in men, mechanized equipment and air power. An allied invasion of Europe at the present time is scarcely a possibility. The Germans on the other hand feel that they can take the Russians over without too much trouble.

It is natural that if Hitler sees a long war before him because of American intervention he will attempt to consolidate his position at Russia's expense. That means in the first place to acquire the food with which to feed Europe in the dark winters to come. It also means to acquire oil and raw materials for the German industrial machine. It means further the opening up of the Russian market to facilitate the organization of Hitler's "new order" in Europe. In addition to all this, Hitler's path to the Suez Canal from the East, to the Middle and Near East and even to India lies through the south of Russia.

It is this reality that makes it impossible for us to dismiss the present rumors and reports of Russia and Germany. We have pointed out previously that with the conclusion of the Battle of the Balkans, Moscow's brief show of independence toward Berlin had come to an end. This was confirmed by Russia's subsequent severing of relations with the governments in exile of the countries occupied by Hitler and the extension of Russian recognition to the short-lived anti-British government of Iraq. These moves showed which way the wind was blowing. The new international situation—Germany on the Black Sea and the Dardanelles, Britain excluded from the European Continent and American aid as yet in the preliminary stage—has frightened the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Whatever the claims that Hitler is pressing against Stalin (these are still in the secretive stage) we know that the latter will go a long way toward meeting them rather than run the risk of war. Stalin knows that war with Hitler will mean the end of his ignominious régime. To hold on, to maintain himself in power, is

All Out!

DEFEND LABOR'S RIGHTS Against FDR's Strikebreaking Drive

PROTEST the use of the Army as scabs!
LEARN what we can do to defend Labor's rights!
HEAR a challenging answer to the question:
HOW TO SMASH HITLERISM AND REACTION; HERE
AND ABROAD!

MAX SHACHTMAN

National Sec'y, Workers Party—Just Returned from
Coast-to-Coast Tour

FRIDAY EVENING, JUNE 27, at 8:30

Yorkville Labor Temple

Hall No. 10

243 East 84th Street

New York City

the beginning and the end of all his wisdom.

We have written that it was just for such a situation as exists at present that Stalin took over the premiership of Russia. We said that for the leaps that Stalin will have to take into the unknown it is necessary for him to assume the mantle of leader or head of state whose decisions are unquestioned and who demands complete faith from the masses. In such a position Stalin will attempt to go very far in meeting Hitler's demands, however unpopular such a course may be with the Russian people. We have seen the same thing happen to Pétain in his capacity as head of the French state.

We do not believe that Hitler is going to invade Russia now. What we do want to emphasize, however, is that for the first time since the beginning of the war he is in a position to do so without running any terrible risk. What is more, Stalin knows this. If Hitler does not attack Russia it will not be because he is bluffing. Rather it will be because Stalin will give in to his demands. Continued "collaboration" between Germany and Russia can be expected for the time being. Hitler does not yet have to demand the Ukraine. He can demand its products and install German technicians to see that he gets them with the greatest possible efficiency. The demand for the Ukraine itself can be made later on and once German "technicians" are there the separation ought to be accomplished with greater ease.

Another claim that Hitler may be making on Stalin is that the latter the prospects of peace recede ever

accord him the aid and the facilities whereby he can drive against the Suez Canal from the East. Here too we think that Stalin will yield. For the present all this yielding will be done in a way that will attempt to give the impression that Stalin and Hitler are still bosom pals. However, even after this Hitler will not be through. It is to be expected that he will press one claim after another on his unfortunate partner and the next one will always be more drastic than the one before.

It is not beyond the realm of possibility that Stalin would even go so far as to give up the Ukraine should Hitler move to attack him in case of refusal. This prospect once advanced by Trotsky shortly after the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact does not look as remote as it looked then. It is possible that Stalin had just such an eventuality in mind when he took upon himself the formal headship of the Soviet Union.

Finally Hitler's squeezing of Russia is bound to have an adverse effect on the chances for victory of Great Britain and America. The threat of war against Russia will no doubt raise some hope in the camp of the "appeasers" both in England and the United States. However, even war against Russia can not now bring about a negotiated peace. Such a peace will leave Germany too strong and Britain too weak to be acceptable to either the British or American rulers. What is more likely is an intensification of the war effort on the part of all the protagonists. As the war approaches its third year the prospects of peace recede ever

Editorials

OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

1. Against both imperialist war camps! For the third camp of World War 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. Double the wages of the 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 America, for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the World Socialist Federation.

Let Us Act Now to Defend Labor's Right to Strike - -

(Continued from page 1) who has done a little strikebreaking of his own, branded the Vinson bill as "a blow to free labor in America."

And Philip Murray (the same Murray who shamefully joined in the hue and cry against the North American and lumber strikers, the same Murray who is a member of the Mediation Board) spoke out against the Vinson bill in terms far more positive and forthright, of course, than Deacon Green. Murray charged that to defer the right to strike for 30 days would destroy the right to strike "since it forces workers to refrain from acting to defend their rights while allowing the employers to proceed with attacks on the union."

Further: "THE BILL AUTHORIZES THE BOARD TO ENFORCE ITS ORDERS THROUGH THE USE OF COURT INJUNCTIONS WITH VIOLATIONS TO BE PUNISHED BY CRIMINAL PENALTIES FOR CONTEMPT OF COURT. UNDER THIS SECTION THE WORKERS WOULD BE SUBJECT TO CRIMINAL PUNISHMENT FOR EXERCISING THEIR BASIC AMERICAN RIGHT TO STRIKE."

More than that, however, Murray realized that he had burned his fingers, and the fingers of the whole labor movement, by his ill-advised remarks on the lumber strike and its leaders. In a letter issued earlier in the week to all affiliated unions of the CIO, he came out flatly against witch-hunts in the union movement, denounced press stories of impending purges in the CIO as slanderous and affirmed that "democratic and constitutional controls are provided" in the CIO.

The sharpest challenge against the Administration's schemes came from Labor's Non-Partisan League. Without mincing words, the League, of which John L. Lewis is chairman, branded the week of June 9 as "the blackest in American labor history."

"In a virtual tidal wave of reaction—said the LNPL statement—the Administration sponsored legislation that advances far along the totalitarian path of forced labor. It embraced compulsory arbitration, perverted the conscription act into a strikebreaking weapon, deserted the unemployed [by slashing relief appropriation 35 per cent], accepted a blanket condemnation of strikes and,

Bayonets--

(Continued from page 1)

brought out the two main lines of capitulation or struggle against the Roosevelt union-busting campaign.

Fearing to take a clear stand on the matter, Connelly, backed by Wyndham Mortimer and L. U. Michener, UAW leaders who directed the strike, introduced a substitute motion to endorse Murray's letter, and thus the whole debate was avoided.

The Murray letter, incidentally, contained some sharp and absolutely false statements about "subversive" groups within the CIO.

The strategy of the unionists slated for the widely-publicized Hillman purge apparently is going to be a defense around the slogan of "unity in this hour of crisis," etc.

While the CIO continued its turbulent life and activities here, the AFL machinists signed a sell-out contract at Consolidated Aircraft covering 14,000 workers at San Diego. Wage provisions are a 55 cent minimum after three months' service—8½ cents less than that obtained by the CIO at Vultee.

Behind this entire story of the struggles within the union movement and the role of the army, etc., lies one basic fact: the 75,000 aircraft workers want higher wages and are determined to get them. All these moves are directed by Roosevelt or Frankenstein or the army to help the companies stop this demand.

We should add that the army's presence here is supposed to terrorize not only the North American workers but all aircraft workers. "This is what you'll get if you ask for wage increases," is the unspoken speech of the army officials for Roosevelt.

But to no avail. The squeeze of the cost of living and lousy conditions and wages is a more powerful force than the army in determining the future of the struggle.

Bosses Run Plant

Since so many newspapers speak about the army control of the plant, perhaps it's worth reminding our readers that this is pure bunk.

The company officials are in full control of production, their profits haven't stopped one second, they are living in paradise right now, since that terrible thing called the union isn't bothering them at present with negotiations.

The company didn't have the nerve to fire the union committee. It was scared of the union's strength. The army graciously performed this flimsy job for the company.

The army didn't seize the plant. It smashed the picket lines and opened the plant so that company officials could again run production and make profit from labor.

The army had only one role here: strike-breaking which made the old National Guard activities look like the work of little angels.

the past few weeks a great many . . . fantastic stories have been printed in the public press about splits, purges, red hunts, etc., taking place in the Congress of Industrial Organizations. . . . I did not deem it advisable to dignify idle or malicious gossip with formal denials, nor in any other way to add fuel to a press campaign which was little concerned with the best interests of the CIO. . . . We have no ulterior subversive purposes, nor do we tolerate attempts to divert our efforts to these or other ends foreign to collective bargaining and the advancement of labor's interests. . . . at the same time the CIO has never engaged in witch-hunting . . . neither by word nor deed have I lent any encouragement to the current slander campaign against the loyal Americans who represent the CIO and its unions."

What Murray perhaps still does not understand is that although this campaign against the CIO was malicious, it was not "idle." It was well planned and timed by the government and the bosses. The bosses and the government knew that a tangled web had been woven about Murray. They knew of Murray's anti-communist attitude and his staunch and fervent patriotism. They schemed to take advantage of this and succeeded. They were willing to forget their fright and apprehension over Murray's speech at the last CIO convention in which he took a sock at those who said that he would be easier for the bosses to deal with than Lewis.

Bosses Haven't Finished

At the proper time Roosevelt and the bosses struck a blow at labor. They did it with the army. They took this drastic step because they were convinced that they had the top CIO leadership on their side. They used the North American situation as a laboratory, as a testing ground for ideas and actions which the bosses have had in mind for a long time. They didn't dare act because they feared the CIO workers. They still fear the workers but they feel somewhat reassured after the performances of Murray—and Frankenstein on Murray's orders.

Murray should get it clearly in his head that Roosevelt and the bosses are not finished yet. They have other tricks up their sleeves. Murray's mild statement about "malicious gossip," and "malicious slanders" by the bosses will not be very effective in stopping the drive against the unions. Bosses have never been known to be influenced by statements from labor leaders unless the statements were directives to the workers to take to the picket line.

Murray Must Choose

Also we would like to say a word on that part of the Murray statement where he talks of "democratic and constitutional controls" in the CIO. This statement is only partly true. The CIO and some of its constituent unions, especially the SWOC, could be greatly improved by a little more internal democracy. Also we are not convinced that the procedure at North American was a democratic one. The workers voted to strike and they voted to remain on strike. They never did vote to return to work. They were driven back by soldiers with bayonets, and by Murray and Frankenstein. Not only this but the leaders of the local were arbitrarily and bureaucratically removed from office and barred from the plant. This means that they lost their jobs and therefore their means of livelihood. This all happened in line with the plans of the government and the bosses because Murray submitted and in this situation, at least, capitulated to the bosses.

Murray's headaches are not over. He will be compelled to go even farther in his collaboration with their bosses and his government. They will tolerate no half-hearted support. They are about to embark on the most brutal and extensive imperialist adventure in the history of the world. They must smash the unions and the working class. The workers show no inclination to lick the boots of the bosses. The ruling class can only succeed if they can get the support of men like Murray and Green.

Murray must make a choice. Either complete and militant leadership of the workers or become a captive of the bosses and their government. The workers should demand that Murray choose. The first concrete step in choosing the side of the workers today is for Murray and all labor leaders to get off the "Mediation" Board. They should resign from this and all similar boards: repudiate them and all they stand for. They can not serve two masters: the bosses and the workers. They can only serve one or the other.

finally, ordered federal troops with bayonets drawn on strikebreaking duty. . . . What makes the situation especially grave is the fact that none of these sweeping assaults on labor could have succeeded without Administration sanction."

"Along the path of totalitarian forced labor" is right. Without the right to strike, without the right to act in its own protection, labor is confronted with the alternative: work on the bosses' and the government's terms . . . or you'll be FORCED to work. And on the march along this totalitarian path, all that body of legislation which the New Deal "friends of labor" so graciously "gave" us (under the pressure of labor's demand)—the Norris-La Guardia anti-injunction act, the Wagner act, etc.—all this will be dumped overboard.

For a time Roosevelt went easy. Here and there an anti-labor bill or amendment was passed by Congress. Many were passed in state legislatures. But, for the most part, Roosevelt preferred to go easy, preferred not to risk the wrath and resistance of labor. Now, however, now that war—"shooting" war—is a matter of days or weeks, Roosevelt has dropped the friendly mask and gone after labor with both barrels blazing.

Labor didn't want war, wouldn't join the boss army—he forced conscription.

Labor has refused to work for

starvation wages in the face of rising prices and 'stupendous profits—he acts to FORCE labor to work.

Labor can resort to its unions in its own protection—he moves to smash the unions, to bind them in totalitarian bonds. Will the concentration camps come next?

The answer to that, and to every one of the union-busting machinations of Roosevelt's war dictatorship, rests with us. The union movement, save for a few rats like Sidney Hillman, that horrible lickspittle of the bosses, and OPM errand boy, has spoken. All that needs to be done now is to translate verbal denunciation, and speeches, and letters into action:

Up to now labor has struck against a specific set of plant or industry grievances. These strikes have proved labor's might.

Why not a strike to defend the right to strike?

Why not a strike to warn the government against imposing the bondage of forced labor on us?

Why not mass demonstrations? Why not united union action?

WHY NOT?

LABOR HAS THE POWER TO DEFEAT EVERY REACTIONARY BILL IN CONGRESS!

LABOR HAS THE POWER TO DEFEND EVERY GAIN IT HAS WON!

LABOR HAS THE POWER TO WIN NEW VICTORIES!

'Nothing to Lose But Their Chains'

By TED LYONS

We found the building. It was one of the block after block of ramshackle slum tenements that lean against one another for support. The hallway was dark and dirty, and the steps moaned and groaned as we made our way up to the third floor. Each floor in the building was sub-divided into many little apartments. Before the door of one of these flats we stopped—and knocked.

A young Negro girl, with an infant in her arms, opened the door. She looked at us with both suspicion and surprise. It isn't customary for white people to pay any social calls to the homes of Chicago Negroes in their South Side ghetto. We explained our visit:

Buried in the back pages of the morning paper was a brief article. It said that the federal grand jury had returned an indictment charging William Toliver Cunningham, a cotton planter of Oglethorpe County, Ga., and his attorney, Hamilton McWhorter of Lexington, Ga., with conspiracy to keep Negroes in slavery and peonage. The article further stated that the complaining witnesses were three Chicagoans who fled from Georgia. Their names and addresses were given; and that was about all of this startling piece of news.

What we, as reporters from LABOR ACTION, wanted, was to hear the story of these men who had escaped from this Georgia hell. We made clear what sort of a paper LABOR ACTION is and where it stands on the question of Negroes' rights. We were invited in.

NO WONDER THE BOSS PRESS BURIED IT!

It was a small place and every bit of space was made use of. Beds seemed to be all over the rooms. The inevitable chalk statue of Joe Louis rested on a prominent spot. A few pictures of some movie stars, clipped from the rotogravure section of the Sunday papers, hung on the drab, colorless walls. An impressive looking, well built young Negro came forward to shake our hands and ask us to sit down while he went to call in a couple of the fellows who had been involved in this slave case.

No wonder the boss press didn't give this story a big splash! To call Cunningham's prison a "plantation" would be about as accurate as calling Hitler's concentration camps "health resorts." We just sat and listened to what these "free" Negro citizens of "democratic" America had to say.

A gray haired, thin, crotchety old Negro was talking. He was Dennis Thomas, 55 years old. We leaned close to him because he spoke in such a weak voice.

"You'll have to ask your questions in a loud voice, young 'un. They beat me so hard and long over my head so I'm a little deaf. Cunningham hired me to work on his plantation. He agreed to pay me \$10 a month with my room and board. I was there for all of four months and two weeks and during all that time I got \$4.75, and I had to keep beggin' to get that.

"We worked hard, from sunup to sundown, and we got beaten and kicked. We got fatback and meal for our food from Cunningham's own commissary."

The other Negroes nodded their heads in agreement. The young husky Negro said, "Tell 'em, Old Man; tell 'em what they did to you."

"Well, I got so I couldn't stand it any more," Thomas continued, "so I went to Cunningham and demanded my pay and told him I was leaving. Cunningham said, 'You black sonofabitch, no nigger leaves this place alive.'"

"He then took me down by his commissary and him and his helper stripped me buck-naked and laid me over a barrel. They beat me like you beat a snake. They kicked me about the head and stomach, then they give me 52 licks with a whip. Cunningham grabbed me as I was bleedin' and sore and told me to go back to work!"

"That night I ran away to Atlanta. The boys told me that Cunningham was powerful mad. He ran to the cabin and grabbed the old woman. When she told that she didn't know where I'd gone, he called her a lot of names and then kicked her in the belly."

THERE WAS LAW—FOR THE PLANTATION OWNER

A child began to wail in the kitchen. The young Negro got up and returned with the little one in his arms. He turned to one of the men sitting about and told us that this man, James Fleing, had driven a tractor on the Cunningham slave plantation for 10 years.

"What was your rate of pay?" we asked.

At this question all of the men began to laugh. Fleing smiled and said, "Boy, Cunningham didn't let you know what money smelled like."

"Did many people run off, what of the law? Did they protect you? Did Cunningham try and get you back?" We rattled off all of these questions we had in mind. All of the men joined in answering.

We heard that there were close to 80 people working under brutal conditions on this slave plantation. All 80 hated Cunningham and were looking for the chance to escape. But there was the law. The righteous, democratic, just and sacred law. The law in Lexington, Ga., was run for and by the plantation autocracy. The law was slave owner Cunningham and his attorney, McWhorter. Whenever a Negro slave was "bad" and tried to run away, he got the law. He would be clapped into chains, bound and fed like a wild beast, and would find himself working for the law on an 18-hour a day job; breaking rock and building roads in a Georgia chain gang.

When a Negro did get away and fled up North, Cunningham tried to bring him back. In this room in which we sat was living proof of escaped slaves who were saved from extradition by the benevolent bosses of the North. Cunningham had tried to extradite Otis and Doc Woods and Solomon McCannon on the charge that they had stolen two bushels of corn! Remember, this is 1941 . . . not 1841!

We left the building. We shook hands once more with the husky colored youth who had first invited us in. Back in the "white neighborhood" all that transpired above seemed a million miles away. But the words of that well built Negro, spoken just as we left their penniless, downtrodden life, still rang in our ears. For these words are a warning. A warning to the Cunninghams and McWhorters, to their class and to their law. "These words are: 'I would of killed Cunningham right on the spot if I knew it would have freed those 80 people. I don't care what they'd have done to me. They could of killed me too, but I'd have done it. I was fed up on watching him take the little kids out of school and turn them into slaves, whipping them into line. I would of killed that dirty dog if I knew it'd free my people . . .'"

THE NEGRO'S FIGHT

FDR's Latest Trick Is So Old It's Moth-Eaten

By J. R. JOHNSON

Brothers and sisters! We merely say we are going to march, we announce that we mean business, and lo and behold! Franklin Roosevelt writes a letter, actually writes a letter, about the Negro in war industries.

Isn't it a grim comedy? American capitalism voting billions to defend "democracy," Roosevelt catching fits over Hitler's persecution of the Jews, getting heart disease over Stalin's invasion of Finland. And the thought of Japan getting on the backs of the poor natives in the Dutch East Indies (after pushing off the Dutch)—at the mere thought of this crime Roosevelt has to send the fleet to the Pacific. How he l-u-u-e-s liberty! He loves liberty in foreign countries (and capitalist profits) so much that he is too busy to see the Negroes being kept out of war industries and discriminated against all the time.

THE PRESIDENT SUDDENLY REMEMBERS

But when the Negroes say that they are going to march on Washington, when they sell buttons, when they collect money—that is another story. It looks as if they mean business. Therefore Franklin Roosevelt now remembers that Negroes are being kept out of war industries. So he writes a letter to the Office of Production Management. He says that Jim-Crow must stop. He gives no fiddle chat, he makes no speech in Congress, he sends no fleet, he sends no troops as he sent to California. He doesn't do one thing except write a letter.

Now this is exactly what Roosevelt has been doing to Negroes for years. And a Negro who lets that fool him today is a dope; in big letters: D-O-P-E.

ONE OF HIS MOTHEATEN TRICKS

Roosevelt is preparing to pull off one of his notorious tricks. First thing he hopes to do is to make Negroes feel that something is now, at last, going to be done so that they can take it easy about the march. Secondly, he wants to be able to have that dust ready to throw into the eyes of the marchers when they reach Washington, particularly in the eyes of the leaders. Either he or one of his stooges will stand up on his hind legs and relate how he has always been keenly aware of the discrimination against Negroes and has actually written a letter, etc.

The letter says "Industry must take the initiative in opening the doors of employment to all loyal and qualified workers regardless of race, national origin, religion or color." Now what kind of a blithering fool does the President take the average Negro for? Industry must take the initiative! But it is industry which is turning the Negroes back from the factory doors. The Negro isn't preventing himself getting jobs. It is Roosevelt who must take the initiative! Stop the Jim-Crow in the army, stop it in the navy, stop it in the air force; stop it in the federal government, stop it where war contracts are given, stop it in the hotels and cinemas of Washington, stop it in the Congress Restaurant, stop it in the White House, Mr. President. You take the initiative and when you do that industry will begin to take what you say seriously. Otherwise they will do what we do—just laugh.

WE CAN'T WAIT FOR ROOSEVELT

Meanwhile we are not waiting either on you or on industry. Your letters, as far as we are concerned, are not worth the paper they are written on. We have had enough of this nonsense. We shall march, we shall make our demands; they must be granted as our rights, not as favors; and if there is any attempt to turn us off with soft words and phony letters written at the last minute, we shall picket and demonstrate and proclaim to all the world what a thundering piece of hypocrisy is your supposed war for democracy.

No, sir. No last minute repentance and soft words to get us out of Washington as soon and as gently as possible. We are going to be heard.

Next week we shall have a few words on those who are leading the march. We expect action from them. We don't expect them to draw their swords and gallop down Constitution Avenue on foaming chargers. We don't expect them to lead any revolution either (God help the revolution they will lead). But there are certain things that we shall demand from them. And while (for the moment) we cannot control the President, the marchers can control their own leaders if they want to. Franklin Roosevelt is up to his old tricks and we must be on guard.

Shachtman Meeting

In Lynn - -

Subject: THE WORKERS' WAY TO BEAT HITLER

Place: 235 SUMNER STREET
Time: MONDAY, JUNE 23, at 8 P.M.

LABOR ACTION

Official Organ of the Workers Party
Published weekly by the
Labor Action Publishing Company

Vol. 5, No. 25 June 23, 1941
114 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.
(3rd Floor)

Editor: JOSEPH CARTER
Managing Editor: EMANUEL GARRETT
Business Manager: JOHN BILLINGS

Subscription Rate: \$1.50 per year,
\$1.00 six months
(\$2.00 per year or \$1.50 six months for
Canada and Foreign)

Re-entered as second class matter May 24, 1940,
at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the
Act of March 3, 1879.