

Missouri Croppers "Stay At Home" in Fight for 30¢ Hourly Minimum!

Special to LABOR ACTION

One of the most oppressed and exploited sections of the American people is now beginning to rise up in a struggle for a decent life. The sharecroppers and day laborers of Southeast Missouri, both black and white, have organized for a struggle to "stay at home" unless they gain their demand of a minimum wage of 30 cents an hour.

This strike, fought against unprecedented odds (the traditional Southern anti-Negro prejudice, the terror of the landlords, the sabotage of the Stalinist union leaders, to mention only a few) is now beginning to develop. It does not take place as does a strike in a large factory, when all the men leave work en masse. It consists of a series of scattered, piecemeal actions of small groups of workers. That is why it is, as yet, difficult to determine its extent and success.

Below we publish a preliminary account of two friends who went down to Southeast Missouri to investigate the situation for LABOR ACTION.

Sunday, May 24 — Southeast Missouri has just experienced the first tremors of a shock, the full force of which it now awaits with hope and fear — hope among the workers, fear among the landlords.

On Thursday morning, like a visitation on the heads of the landlords, it suddenly began to rain union pamphlets and leaflets. We didn't get into Missouri until late Friday night. We spent Saturday in Charleston but continued to move around from Sunday on. Scarcely a person in the whole cotton producing area (except in the more remote areas) had not seen or read a pamphlet of Local 313 of the Missouri Agricultural Workers Union, affiliated with the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers, CIO.

The meeting of croppers at Charleston (reported in last week's LABOR ACTION) climaxed, it seems, two or three weeks of intensive work. By Monday morning, groups of workers were coming out on strike all over the place.

To give a picture of the general situation: Charleston is a little town of six or seven thousand inhabitants. Twenty miles away is Sikeston with about the same number. Ten miles from Sikeston, or maybe 15, is New Madrid, with two or three thousand; a few miles from New Madrid in another direction is Lillbourn. Five miles from Lillbourn is Catron, a few miles further on is Portageville. Little towns stretching along the highway, with villages and clusters of settlements and isolated houses or two or three together along the road or on tracks stretching far into the forest.

Need for Labor

Now that the cotton chopping season is on, the trucks go to centers such as Charleston or Sikeston and collect workers at a certain price. Since the landlords have driven off the sharecroppers and made them day laborers, the securing of these workers becomes of extreme importance. Formerly the landlord only needed a few to help the cropper and his family. Now a big landlord needs scores of these laborers. A small landlord may need only five. But he must have them and while he is chopping must have them every day.

Monday morning all Southeast Missouri was talking about the Charleston meeting and the union pamphlets. Thirty cents an hour. The landlords were raving mad. The real mass-chopping season begins tomorrow and will get into full swing in about a week. And quite a few were chopping already.

How much to pay? Some around Charleston raised the offer at once from \$1.25 to \$1.50, \$1.75, \$2.00. We heard of one landlord who reached \$2.50. This meant no philanthropy but that his cotton was ready early and had to be chopped at once.

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Steel Convention Leaves Basic Problems Unsolved

By DAVID COOLIDGE

CLEVELAND — The convention of the United Steel Workers of America is over and the delegates have returned to their locals to report on what went on while they were legislating for 600,000 organized steel workers. It would be interesting to hear what these 1,700 delegates will report: not only their formal report but what they'll say "off the record."

Furthermore, it would be interesting to discover what the rank and file steel workers think of the convention which made rules and regulations for governing them.

Perhaps the mass of the steel workers are not doing much thinking these days. There is reason to believe that the majority of the delegates did not do much serious thinking on the important issues before them. Quite often many of them demonstrated an alarming intolerance toward the bolder delegates who wanted to have a frank discussion on some of the things that press heavily on the steel workers.

DIFFICULT FOR WORKER TO DISSENT

It is difficult for the ordinary worker at the steel convention to get anywhere with a dissenting opinion. The leadership has its plans well organized. They come to the convention with commitments already made to Roosevelt, Donald Nelson and other high government officials. The no-strike agreement; the agreement to give up "premium pay" for Sundays, Saturdays and holidays; the establishment of the management-labor

committees had already been agreed to by the top leadership long before the steel workers' convention.

These commitments were made by Murray, Green and other labor leaders without consulting the workers in their respective organizations. The ranks of labor had no say about these agreements. Theirs was simply to gather in convention and clap their approval of what was really an accomplished fact.

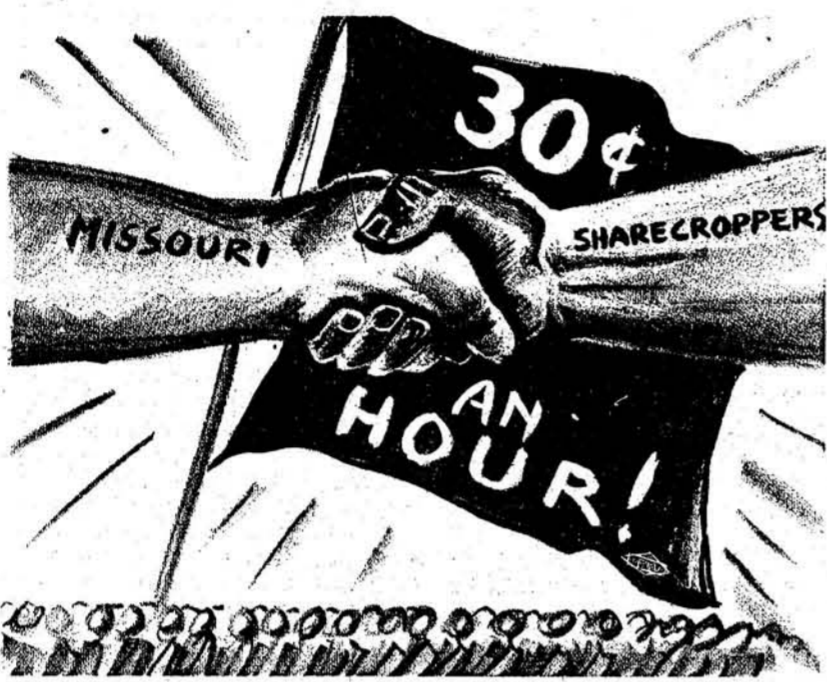
This made the steel convention a dull and stereotyped affair. Aside from the necessity to come together to adopt the new constitution, the convention was a waste of time and money. It was important to get the constitution; it was important to go through the formality of setting up an international. But what happens in the future will depend largely on the rank and file membership.

CONVENTION WORSE THAN THAT OF UAW

The last UAW conference, where the automobile workers adopted the "ten-point program," was bad enough, but this steel convention was worse. At least at the UAW conference there was spirited discussion on giving up overtime pay for Sundays and the question of labor sacrifice and the bosses' profit-grabbing, but here most of the talking was done by Murray and the other officials on the platform.

I have never heard Murray make so many speeches

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The Voice of the Sharecroppers:

"We Fight for Decent Wages!"

Local 313's Pamphlet

(LABOR ACTION reprints below the main sections of a pamphlet published by Local 313 of the United Cannery, Agricultural Packing and Allied Workers of America, CIO. This local has its headquarters in Lillbourn, Mo., and is now in a leading position in the struggle of the Missouri sharecroppers for a minimum wage of thirty cents an hour. We are certain that all our readers will be greatly interested in reading this pamphlet, which is the voice of the most oppressed section of the American working class.—Editor.)

WORKERS OF SOUTHEAST MISSOURI: Cotton chopping is beginning. The landlords are going around offering \$1.25 here. Then over they offer \$1.50. Then, where they think the workers are strong, they say they will pay \$1.75 if other people will pay it. Workers, white and colored, have none of this. We want 30 cents an hour or we will not work.

Brothers and sisters, for years we have starved at \$1.00 a day. Then \$1.25. We work from can to can't for \$1.25. All of us know that we can't do that any longer. The government is buying up all the cotton. The landlords are getting a good price. They are prosperous. Only we who produce the cotton are starving. The cost of living is higher than ever, but we still get the same pay.

The government said it would help the croppers through the AAA. The landlord made us into day laborers and stole the money we should have got. Now they give us a little crop of six acres. We can't live on it, but by that they hope to tie us down so that we can do day labor for them. They are fooling themselves if they think that they are fooling us. Long ago we used to make a little corn on the side. They stopped that. Little by little we are starving to death. We live in shacks where the rain comes in through a hundred holes and we have nothing to wear. Year after year it's the same thing, only worse. Now when at last we start to organize, they tell us to sacrifice for the war. We have nothing to sacrifice with.

We can't go on like this. We have to better our position. We have had nothing to do since picking finished in December. After the chopping is finished in June, we will have nothing to do until September. For eight months of the year we starve. Now that a little work is coming we must get a decent pay. Otherwise we are not men and women, we are

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LABOR ACTION

JUNE 1, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

FDR VETOES RAISE FOR PLANE WORKERS

Rush Aid Now to Sharecroppers!

It is a long time, we believe, since LABOR ACTION has published so stirring a document as the pamphlet published by Local 313 of the Missouri Agricultural Workers (UCAPAWA-CIO) which appears in this issue. Its drama takes on added significance in view of the fact that the sharecroppers and day laborers of Southeast Missouri have now begun a struggle to achieve for themselves a minimum wage of 30 cents an hour.

Workers who are organized into powerful unions may not be able to readily understand the significance of this struggle of the Missouri sharecroppers. "A mere 30 cents an hour," they may say to themselves, "why, those are starvation wages! How can a man live on that kind of a wage?"

And remember that the croppers work three or four months out of the year at far worse wages, that they can't even get work for the rest of the year!

But though the workers in such industries as auto, or steel, or shipyard may consider 30 cents an hour an impossibly low wage, it represents a great forward step for the sharecroppers of Missouri who have been so terribly exploited that they worked last year for half that amount.

The opposition which these croppers are meeting is truly tremendous. The landlords use every means at their disposal: attempts to incite racial hatred, to divide the ranks of the workers by inflaming racial antagonisms; outright terror and threats of murder, lynching and kidnaping; the pressure being brought against the workers by the officials of the Farm Security Administration who are attempting to undermine the morale of the workers. And not the least of the obstacles which these workers face is the treacherous misleadership of the Stalinist officials of the UCAPAWA, whose main interest is getting lease-lend aid to Stalinist Russia, regardless of the wages of their members.

And yet these croppers and day laborers are fighting back—with magnificent courage, with complete determination. Despite their utter poverty, which so completely handicaps their attempt at organization; despite their lack of organization, they have organized and struck.

They too want to be free men. They too want to join the great fraternity of American labor. They too want to join the ranks of the militants of the CIO, to carve out a new chapter in the history of the American labor movement, a chapter that will stand alongside the sit-down strikers of rubber and auto, alongside the militant miners and steel workers.

These are the crucial hours. The union has appealed for aid from the labor movement and all friends in the country. Its members are penniless and it needs money to carry on its fight.

As a labor paper, LABOR ACTION is happy to relay this appeal to its members. We hope that it will be taken up by other labor papers, that it will meet the widest response among all workers.

Rush your aid now. Address it to Local 313, Lillbourn, Mo.! Labor must not fail the croppers and day laborers of Missouri. Wherever any branch of labor fights for freedom and security, there must the hosts of labor stand beside them and lend them aid and comfort!

The Stalinists Start a New Union-Busting Drive

By Max Shachtman

The Stalinists have started a new campaign in the unions. It is a sinister drive ostensibly directed at purging the unions of "Trotskyists," who, it seems, are only a fifth column for John L. Lewis. It is given an official send-off in a series of two articles appearing in the Daily Worker (May 10 and 11) written by one Elmer Luchterhand. From the text of his articles, it appears that Luchterhand is an agent of the Stalinist spy bureau in the trade union movement.

There is nothing very distinctive about the style of the two articles. It is filled with the usual Stalinist combination of outright falsehoods taken from thin air, half-truths which are as bad or worse than bald lies, and dirty insinuations of the type characteristic of the police-brain. Thus, trade unionists are designated by this Luchterhand as "Trotskyists" merely because in one way or another, for one reason or another, they do not go along with the Stalinist line, and despite the fact that they have nothing more to do with the Trotskyist movement than the Stalinists have to do with socialism.

A case in point is his reference to Henry Johnson, who was recently involved in a factional struggle in the New York Transport Workers Union, a person who is totally unknown to the Trotskyist movement which, unfortunately, has virtually no connections with the TWU.

We Have Their Number

Luchterhand, like all informed Stalinists, is well aware that "Trotsky-

ism," or more simply, revolutionary socialist internationalism, is the deadliest enemy of the Moscow despots and their henchmen throughout the world. He knows that no matter how the Stalinists twist and turn, no matter how they camouflage themselves, we have their number, and that we cannot be coerced or ca-

A Dramatic Reply To Jim Crow In Baseball!

A dramatic and convincing answer to baseball's continued Jim Crow rule, which prevents outstanding Negro athletes from participating in the major leagues, was given last week when a team of former big league stars who are now in the armed services was defeated by the Negro Kansas City Monarchs by a score of 3 to 1. The great Negro pitching star, Satchel Paige, still one of the best in the business despite his advancing years, pitched the first seven innings against the all-star team and gave them only two hits.

The all-star team was glad to play against the Negro team. The Negro players showed their competence. A tremendous crowd of 29,000 people paid to see the game. Everyone had a good time. Then why the devil can't the Negro boys be admitted to the big leagues the same as any others?

The aircraft workers of two Pacific Coast plants—Vultee and Douglas corporations (two of the biggest war profiteers)—were the first to feel the real meaning of President Roosevelt's "stabilization of remuneration" policy last week, when he issued a statement attacking wage increases which these two corporations had agreed to give to their workers. President Roosevelt declared that he opposed the wage raises on the ground that it would force the other aircraft production plants to raise their wages also. This statement clashed directly with the position of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) which has had a long-standing policy of raising the comparatively low wage levels of the aircraft plants to the levels of the automobile industry with which the

Ranks of the Budd Workers Firm in 2nd Strike Week

Special to LABOR ACTION

PHILADELPHIA—The strike of the Budd workers, organized into Local 813 of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, to bring down this arsenal of open shopism in this city, has entered its second week. Led by a strike committee composed of rank and file workers from the plant, they are putting up a battle that has E. G. Budd worried sick.

The conflict which started as a protest demonstration against Budd's firing of union men has grown to a strike of large proportions. It began in the welding department, where the men sat down and won a 25-cent per hour wage increase three weeks ago. Budd, after waiting a few days for things to quiet down, began to take the raise away and to shift the leaders of the sit-down to other departments. Firing of the most active participants of the welders' sit-down also began. This brought on a protest demonstration and then a general plant-wide strike.

One by one the vital departments of the Budd plants are closing down. The bomb shop men are out. So are the machinists, the tool grinders and turret lathe operators of the B shift. Department after department have voted to strike and are joining their brothers on the picket line.

The entire labor movement of

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UAW also has contracts.

The two plants in question have been among the most tremendous war profiteers in the country. Douglas increased its profits (after all taxes and deductions) from \$10,831,971 in 1940 to \$18,176,690 in 1941. This represents a jump of about 75 per cent. Vultee had an even more sensational increase in profits. After all taxes and deductions, it jumped its profits from \$374,457 in 1940 to \$3,100,735 in 1941, an increase of about 800 per cent!

It is readily obvious from these figures that these two aircraft corporations—as the entire aircraft industry, for that matter; its average profit rate for 1941 was 65 per cent—can readily afford to give the workers a wage increase to at least partially make up for the rising cost of living.

FDR's New Economic Policy

But in line with President Roosevelt's new economic policy and the declaration of the War Labor Board that wage raises would be granted to compensate for only 50 per cent of the rise in the cost of living, the aircraft workers will probably not get their raise—unless they fight for it, and fight hard.

Exactly what would be wrong with the idea of workers in other aircraft factories fighting for raises if the workers of Douglas and Vultee got their raises, President Roosevelt did not say. Certainly the workers in the other aircraft plants deserve those raises!

The ironic aspect of the whole question is the fact that the companies were already willing to grant the increases: Douglas to try to head off a unionization drive and Vultee to quiet the scandal about its fantastic profit figures.

President Roosevelt has made crystal-clear to the aircraft workers of the country what his policy toward them is. He is opposed to their getting wage increases which should rightfully come to them. And he has made clear that this attitude applies not only to the aircraft workers, but also to all of the workers.

Proof of this was his recent telegram to the shipyard workers "advising" them to forego wage increases which they were entitled to by a previously signed agreement, providing that their wages would increase in harmony with the rising cost of living.

Now it can be seen that all this talk about the President's policy not meaning wage freezing is so much

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African Socialist Labor Leader Sent Into Exile

Wallace Johnson, well known Negro labor and socialist leader of West Africa, has been exiled from Sierra Leone, according to British Under Secretary of State Harold McMillan in reply to a question placed before him by a member of Parliament.

Johnson was the first Negro to organize trade unions among the native miners and dock workers in West Africa.

As soon as war was declared in 1939, the governor of Sierra Leone ordered the arrest and imprisonment of the labor leader under the defense regulations, which give every British colonial governor power to hold any native in prison without trial if he believes the native "dangerous to the security of the empire."

Johnson has since been removed from the internment camp in Sierra Leone and exiled to the island of Sherbro off the mainland colony.

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Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Third Camp

THE NAZI STAND ON SHAKING GROUND

Never was the Nazi hold on Europe less secure than in these last months. It has now become quite evident that all the efforts which the Nazis have made to win over to their side great parts of the population in the occupied countries, have completely failed. Nowhere have they been able to get the support of the population, nowhere are they able to rely on any one else but the local quislings, who are hated by the population and completely isolated.

The wave of hatred that flows through Europe has been steadily mounting these last months. As we have repeatedly pointed out, we do not think that sabotage and anti-German terrorism as such can be approved from a working class standpoint, as these acts are very often nothing else but an auxiliary action in defense of imperialism, rather than an attempt to stage independent working class action. On the other hand, it would be absurd to imagine that, with things as they actually are, there will be "pure" working class movements without certain confusion with regard to nationalism and simple anti-German feeling. What is important is that several reports of recent weeks point to the fact that the workers get increasingly active in their fight against oppression and do not rely on help from the outside but are determined to act independently. Here is a report from Czechoslovakia which is typical:

"Workmen in the immense Skoda works in Pilsen took advantage of the confusion caused by two RAF raids last month to sabotage extensively. Dynamite or sledge hammers put many vital machines out of commission in addition to those damaged by air bombs, without risk of detection and subsequent execution. Skoda workers are not afraid to challenge their Nazi overlords openly, however. They struck recently over some minor matter, even though there is a death penalty for striking in Nazi Germany in wartime. SS troops fired on a strikers' meeting at the works and killed 17 men. Since that time Nazi guards stand over each of the important machines with machine guns. The workmen boast they have immobilized that many more Germans, who would otherwise be fighting the Russians on the Eastern front."

MAY DAY IN LAVAL'S FRANCE

A report from France, emanating from de Gaullist sources and thus certainly overstressing the enthusiasm for de Gaulle, is nevertheless very interesting because it shows that the workers of France, undaunted by terror, did not forget that May Day is their holiday.

"Fifty thousand people demonstrated on Place Carnot, Lyons, in a May Day parade lasting from 6:30 to 7:30 p.m. At 7:30 a thousand people gathered in front of a statue of the Republic, singing the Marseillaise and shouting: 'Long live de Gaulle. String up Laval!' The police broke up the demonstration. Nevertheless the crowd continued to march and call slogans. Street cars were forced to stop and trolley lines were disconnected. On Place Bellecour, the police arrested some of the participants. The crowd broke through the police barriers. Street fighting of not too great gravity took place."

Sometimes the Nazi controlled press itself gives clear hints of the degree of hatred held by the occupied peoples against the Nazis and their local stooges. For example, the following note appeared in the Nazi-controlled Volk en Staat in Antwerp, Belgium: "If we wished to answer all the letters filled with hatred which we receive, we should have to hire two more editors to do the job."

Or in the Nazi-controlled Pays Réel of Brussels a columnist says to future volunteers for the Russian front: "If you are sad because you are not understood by your family, or if you have the misfortune (there are such cases) to depart cursed by your mother, write to me. A Rexist woman of good character has offered to be your volunteer mother."

Radio Brussels gave a talk on "Reading, the favorite pastime on long winter evenings" and the speaker plaintively remarks:

"But what happens? What books are most in demand at the library and in book stores? Books on Napoleon. And what books? Those, and only those, dealing with his defeats." And the speaker concludes: "This is the spiritual food of those who refuse to read German communications."

A German propaganda film showing the wonders of the Belgian worker's life in the Reich was interrupted so often by the audience that the Nouveau Journal, a Nazi paper in Brussels, was prompted to remark the next day that the unsuccessful showing of the film was "evidence of the scorn and misunderstanding" of the public.

But Hitler's hold on Germany is also slowly deteriorating. Several reports state that demonstrations of women have taken place at the Schlesische Bahnhof in Berlin when trains with heavily wounded soldiers from the Russian front arrived. The police cordon was broken when the wounded were carried out on stretchers. Spontaneous outcries of hatred against the war and the regime arose when the crowd saw that even the gravely wounded were bound only with paper bandages. Even the most brutal Nazi police were powerless against the furious demonstrators.

A German broadcast on May 22 announced that "fourteen persons in Mannheim have been sentenced to death for high treason in connection with the uncovering of a 'communist' organization in this great industrial city. Those sentenced were charged with listening to enemy broadcasts, treasonable support of the enemy and disintegration of German defensive strength."

Europeans.

Ship Workers Local 9 Repels Another Bridges Smear Drive

The Bridges blitzkrieg against Local 9, IUMSWA, San Pedro, has failed in its drive toward organizational control, but has succeeded in a big way in helping the ordinary garden variety of conservatives and bureaucrats and politicians to put over the first big steps in the program that threatens destruction of the union in the course of this war.

After years of paying no attention to Local 9 (when it was small and his clique of supporters there was insignificant) Bridges suddenly has no place else to spend his idle time. He makes a speech on company time and in the union hall (but still with company ideas); and then, carried away with enthusiasm, he shows up to make his speeches at not one, but two successive shop stewards' meetings. And what speeches! He attacks the union militants as being trouble makers. He accuses the union members of loafing and sleeping on the job.

He attacks as undemocratic the fact that the union conducts its business in its own membership meetings instead of at meetings on company time and property. He even has the utterly unbelievable company union gall to say that anyone who opposes carrying on union business at meetings in the yard is "selling you out." He brazenly whipslashes the union members and leadership—"Local 9," says Bridges, "is not producing the goods. It couldn't stand up under investigation of the jobs it controls." Is this supposed to be a union man talking, or is it a stool pigeon, or a company spotter?

Hundreds of members are asking themselves and each other how it is that Bridges can suddenly spend so much time in spreading company propaganda to Local 9? The answer is that there are two reasons. First, Bridges is carrying out the job of the government and the bosses in

cramping down the throats of the membership the destruction of union standards: the giving up of double time, reduction of overtime pay, putting off grievances until after the war, speedup, and now the outright steal of half the raise promised in the union contract, and guaranteed by the government.

That is his first job, and in that job he has been fully successful, aided by all the conservatives, reactionaries, and company men, and aided by the apathy of the membership which figures the sell-out is being crammed down their throats anyway and there's no possibility of resisting it.

Clique Control

Bridges' second purpose is to put his henchmen, the Communist Party clique, in control of the local, so that he can be assured that whatever zig-zag he and the party line make in the future, this large and wealthy local will be forced to go down the line behind him. For this purpose he must not only defeat the militants with majority votes, but must drive them out of all posts and discredit them to the membership by lies and slanders. (Of course, once the militants are disposed of, the present incompetent bureaucrats in the union offices who cooperate with him against the militants will find the skids gently but firmly slid beneath their behinds and the clever Communist Party clique will slide into office.)

Three steps in the drive to accomplish this second purpose have so far failed: first, two attempts to jam the Labor Herald down the throats of the members so that the party line would be carried into every member's home every week; second, the attempt to drive out of his post the progressive chairman of the shop stewards in the LA yard, and the attempt to take over the leadership of the shop stewards generally; and, third, the attempt to slip one of the

clique into the vacant office of recording secretary of the local. These three failures and the general reaction of the membership against Bridges' uninvited interference mark the failure of the original Bridges blitzkrieg.

But the Bridges-Communist Party attack will continue and is likely eventually to conquer the local unless the membership keeps itself very alert, and also develops the courage to take a more militant policy.

Bridges and the CP clique of chameleons ("red" one day and "red-white-and-blue" the next) for the present will ride high on the rising super-patriotic wave. They will have the aid of the government, the bosses and all the company men and reactionaries in attacking and slandering all the militants, and any who have the courage to fight for the maintenance of the union. The only answer, the only defense for the union, is the same as in every union fight against the bosses: hundreds and thousands of men must have the courage to fight to defend the union and union standards; then there will be too many to be slandered or picked off individually.

New York City Convention of WP

NEW YORK CITY—The New York local of the Workers Party held its convention recently and voted to assist LABOR ACTION in doubling its circulation in this area during the next period.

Over thirty delegates and fifty visitors attended the gathering, which took stock of the gains and the failures made during the war period. Among those gains listed in the report by City Organizer Jack Wilson was an increase in membership in the New York organization since the war began, the stabilization of party finances, the doubling of LABOR ACTION circulation, and the progress in the field of Harlem work. Tightening up of organizational activities was stressed at the convention.

A REQUEST

The New International, which is now compiling bound volumes covering the years 1940 and 1941, has sent us the following request:

It needs copies of The New International for:

July, 1941,
August, 1941,
September, 1941.

If you have any of these copies,

The New International would appreciate receiving them.

Say, Bud!

Why not get this paper regularly? Whether you agree with it or not, you'll always find it interesting.

Turn to page 4 for a special subscription offer.

What Stafford Cripps Said When He Was a Socialist

"The Edinburgh conference decision on rearmament showed that the delegates did not realize that the basic cleavage in this country in the political field is a class struggle. Can we trust the government with more armaments? I would not trust it with a single man in any conceivable circumstances, even if it told me it wanted him to fight Hitler, because I have been told that sort of thing before. I believe at some time it may be necessary for the workers of the country to protect the England which belongs to them, but I am not prepared to reinforce the strength of the Duff-Coopers of this country. I want to get rid of them and we cannot do that by supporting the main planks of their policy."

Asked what the working class attitude should be toward a future war, Sir Stafford said it was right in certain circumstances to fight, but not for something which is inherently wrong.

If the National Government engaged in another war he was practically certain that it would be fought for capitalist and imperial ends which were basically wrong, and he would not fight to support them in any circumstances.

"My greatest hope at the moment is that there may be a conscription Act, for there is absolutely nothing that would give us a better propaganda basis in the country. If we can only persuade the country to make a mass protest and refuse to be conscripted we shall have the government beaten."

Manchester Guardian, November 16, 1936.

"We Fight for a Decent Wage" Sharecroppers Pamphlet

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just animals. We are worse than animals. The landlord feeds the animals when they are not working. They don't feed us. We have to change these conditions and we can only change them by struggle.

YOU REMEMBER THE GREAT DEMONSTRATION IN 1939. In 1940 Governor Stark heard that we wanted to make another one. He offered us 10,000 houses. But it was only to fool the workers. We only got 800, but we got SOMETHING because we struggled.

TO GET A DECENT WAGE WE MUST STRUGGLE AGAIN. Now is the time. The cotton must be chopped or it will spoil. We don't want the cotton to spoil, but we want to live. The cotton is carefully cultivated. The animals are tended. The landlords are carefully fed and housed. They see to that. All of this comes from the cotton. But we who plough the land and plant the cotton and chop the cotton and pick the cotton—we are treated worse than stray dogs.

NO MORE OF THAT. That is going to stop now. We want a decent wage. If we get it, we will work. If we don't get it we will not work. A child can understand our demands.

DEMANDS: 1. Thirty cents an hour for a day of ten hours. 2. Tractor drivers to get 45 cents an hour. 3. Time and a half for overtime.

HOW TO STRUGGLE: To win these demands is simple. You must join the union. The old locals must be revived. New locals must be formed. If even you haven't a charter, call a meeting, write for a charter, saying you will pay afterwards, and begin to function like a local. All you have to do is to get in contact with Local No. 313, Lilbourn, South Delmo Project. The UCAPAWA gave us full authority to fight and if need be strike to raise our wages. Bring everybody from your district in.

White and colored together like one race, the race of labor. United we stand. Divided we fall.

Every man pledges himself not to lift a stroke until he and all the others with him get 30 cents an hour. If the landlord offers 29½ cents don't take it. If he offers 30 cents an hour to 99 workers and leaves out one, don't take it. That will divide us and if we are divided we are lost. If you have started to work, stop.

Above all, no fighting, no disorder. The landlords will try to start race riots. They will provoke us. They will spread lies and rumors about Jap agents and Reds. Pay no attention. Listen to your leaders and the instructions of your committee. We are law-abiding citizens exercising our rights. It is better we die than live as we have been living.

Solidarity, laborers of Southeast Missouri. White and colored together. One for all and all for one.

TO THE WHITE WORKERS ESPECIALLY

Brothers, you are workers just like we are. The landlords tell you not to join us because we are black. What we want is to unite with you in the union. Don't you want 30 cents an hour just like us? You want it as much as we want it. If we only join together and fight the landlords together, they will have to pay. Their only hope is to keep us apart. We must join together. WE MUST. If we don't join we will continue to be as we are. Form your

local. Get together a little group of workers. Then go to any colored worker you know and ask him what his group is doing. We are coming to you but do not wait on us. You come to us too. Let us meet half way. Forget the old prejudice. We have suffered more from it than you and we are willing to forget it. You must forget it too. For years you have listened to the politicians and the preachers of race prejudice. What have you got for it? Nothing but starvation, just like us.

Join the union with us. Then we will tell the landlord that he will pay us all 30 cents an hour or he will chop his cotton himself. If he wouldn't pay then we won't work, white and colored together. All the troubles we have had in the past we must forget. This is no time to remember them. There was a lynching in Sikeston the other day and the Negroes are bitter about it, but that lynching was a landlords' trick to divide us. All our brothers in Sikeston are ready to join with you in the most important thing before you and before us—the fight for 30 cents an hour.

LIES ABOUT JAP AGENTS

The landlords and the newspapers, and their secret and open supporters, call the union men Jap agents. Simply because we demand 30 cents an hour. So a man is a Jap agent when he says he will not work for \$1.25 a day. If that is so, every landlord, every worker in the government, every county prosecutor is a Jap agent. For not one of them would work for \$1.25 a day. We are not Jap agents. We are American citizens. Our labor built this country and we don't want any Hitler, or Mussolini or any Japanese ruling us. We say again that we are not Jap agents, but loyal American citizens. But a man who has to live on 12 cents an hour only is a citizen in name. In reality he is a slave.

Are we traitors to our country because when we work for six weeks out of 36 we say we should make at least 18 dollars a week? Cursed is

Los Angeles Labor Action Forum Presents:

A GUEST SPEAKER

MAX SHACHTMAN

National Secretary of the Workers Party

— O N —

SOCIALISM—the ONLY Answer to Fascism

SUNDAY, June 21 EMBASSY AUDITORIUM
At 8:00 P. M. Room 201, 9th & Grand St.
ADMISSION 20 CENTS LOS ANGELES

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION FROM THE FLOOR

the man who calls a worker a Jap agent because he demands 30 cents an hour. He is a slanderer. He is the enemy of democracy, not the worker. He is the traitor, he is the fifth columnist and he is the sixth columnist too, because he is spreading lying rumors to discredit honest workers.

TO THE OFFICIALS OF THE FSA:

We look to the officials of the FSA for support. You and the home economists and the county demonstrators are always coming around to us telling us to eat liver and to eat eggs, for Vitamin A and Vitamin B. You tell us to give the children cod liver oil and milk. We can get eggs only if we learn to lay them and we can give the children milk only if we turn into cows. We are willing to give the children all you say. You see them once a month when you come around. We see them every day growing up hungry and starving and cold without clothes to wear. Thirty cents an hour will not be much but it will be a beginning. We shall look to see if you are with us in this struggle.

We want to see if you really want us to have eggs and liver and Vitamin A and Vitamin B. Don't you come telling us to think of our responsibilities to American labor and the duty to the nation. We know our responsibility to American labor. It is to get 30 cents an hour. Go and tell the landlords about their duty to the nation. We are part of the nation. If you want us to get vitamins, come out in support of our demand for 30 cents an hour. Say that we need it and must have it and that the landlords must pay. Otherwise we don't want to hear any more of your Vitamin A and Vitamin B.

TO LABOR ALL OVER THE COUNTRY: But it is to labor all over the country we appeal to, our brother workers. You have struggled for what you have, your 60 or your 80 cents an hour and time and a half for overtime. You get it every day in the year, at least while the war lasts. You have the right of collective bargaining. We have nothing. We are trying to get something. We appeal to you for support. We appeal to you to pass resolutions, to send telegrams to John L. Lewis and William Green and Philip Murray. Ask them to help us put an end to this criminal state of affairs where workers work for 12 cents an hour, where landlords come in and break up our meetings. The police help them to do it as they did at Carruthersville.

The workers in coal, in steel, in shoe factories, the garment workers, the warehouse workers, all of the truck drivers—remember us. Take up the battle for us. If we are compelled to come out on strike, send us food and money and raise your voice for us. We followed all the big battles you fought. We were always with you. We are proud to be in the ranks of organized labor. Help us now to win a simple living wage for six weeks out of thirty-six. We shall be ready to support you when the time comes. We are labor men fighting for labor's rights.

THE PREACHERS

All the preachers must get their flocks together and preach to them about the union and solidarity in the struggle. If a preacher is not with us he is against us. That is the Voice of Scripture. Also the laborer is worthy of his hire. That is Scripture also. We are worthy of 30 cents an hour. God helps those who help themselves. That is Scripture too. Solidarity in the union, that is the way to get the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth.

The Role of Stalinist Russia In the Imperialist War in Light of Recent Events

By WILLIAM BRAD

At the time of Hitler's invasion of Russia, the German army was at the peak of its triumphs and the universal expectation was that Hitler would win a quick and easy victory. The rapid advances of the German army in the first three months seemed to confirm this view.

While the immediate, subordinate causes for Hitler's attack are not clear even to this day, the general strategy of the attack was obviously designed in order to gain an eventual victory over Britain. Russia was to be conquered for its great riches and bases in order to use them as a support with which to conquer the British Empire—which aim was and is Hitler's chief war strategy.

But the winter stalemate and Hitler's subsequent inability or great difficulty in reopening a decisive offensive has resulted in a re-evaluation of the Russian defense. The final outcome of the Russian war is now in doubt. Hitler openly stated that he expects to spend another winter on the Eastern front. One thing is certain—no decisive finale can be expected either way on the Russian front.

The Russian defense has amazed the world. In England, and to a lesser extent in this country, admiration for the Russians has developed into a popular sentiment. In the minds of some people, the validity of this sentiment is increased when a comparison is made with the military incompetence and futility of the Allied countries.

No Love Lost for Stalin

Nobody, except the devout Stalinist fanatics, is any more impressed by the social regime of Russia; nobody has any greater love for the brutal Stalinist dictatorship. The increased admiration for Russia evident in Britain and America, even among some sections of the working class, is based purely on its military record.

There is, of course, a certain false and dangerous way of looking at things inherent in this approach. Why should the military prowess of any country, in itself, necessarily elicit admiration? Why should the military prowess of Stalinist Russia, achieved at the expense of millions of people, impress a worker any more than the military prowess of Hitler Germany, also achieved at the expense of millions of suffering people? It is the social character of a country's regime, the social aims for which it conducts a war, that should determine one's attitude one way or the other toward a given war. With that in mind, it must be seen that there is no logical reason for the increased admiration felt for Russia in certain circles—other than the fact that this admiration is a symptom of the feeling of mistrust and lack of confidence which the masses of people have in the ability of the Allied regimes to defeat Hitlerism.

But, if there is no good reason for any increased friendliness toward Stalinism on the part of the workers

in the Allied countries, why, then, do the workers of Russia support the war with enthusiasm?

Character of Russia's War

Every indication points to the fact that they do support the war. It may well be that there are many workers in Russia who do not and who are bitter opponents of Stalinism. But as far as we are allowed to discern, it is clear that Russian workers do support the war.

The masses of Russia do not see Stalin's war as it really is: an auxiliary aspect of the Allied imperialist struggle; but rather as a national war against the invader. Their reactions are similar to those of the Yugoslavians or the Greeks, who likewise suffered from the delusion that their countries were fighting, not as an integral section of a world imperialist conflict, but rather national wars of liberation.

Stalin's whole tactic at home and abroad has been to inflame this nationalism. In fact, that is his chief program for rallying of the masses. Stalin does not fight for the defense of the Russian Revolution, but rather he discounts it.

Role of Nationalized Economy

The instrument for the Russian success is the nationalized economy. Accustomed by 25 years of practice to planning on a national scale, co-ordinated and centralized as no other economy is, with an enormous class of trained bureaucrats well accustomed to running industry, the Stalin government had in its hands what it took Hitler from 1933 to 1939 to achieve—a war economy. All the enormous advantages of nationalized property are at Stalin's disposal.

Likewise, the Red Army is not a product of improvisation. For two decades the masses were stripped of fruits of the nationalized economy in the name of building the Red Army.

This is how the war has been conducted and these are the reasons for its success. But, unfortunately, the masses of Russia do not hold their destiny in their own hands, no more than the Chinese who, though fighting a popular war, have been tied to and subordinated to the strategy and war aims of the United Nations imperialists.

Stalin's war aims have nothing in common with the desires of the Russian masses. Stalin's fight is to keep power for himself and the class of bureaucrats he represents. He seeks to perpetuate the exploitation of the Russian masses.

Secondly, Stalin wants to keep and if possible extend his conquests. In his May Day speech he made clear that he does not intend to surrender the Baltic state, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, or the newly acquired territories in the Balkans after the war. Stalin has participated with the British in what amounts to a division of Iran.

Pledges Anti-Communism!

Stalin seeks to assure his allies that he has no desire to spread communism after the war. His ambassador to London, Maisky, has become an honorable member of the exclusive and reactionary St. James Club. Maisky lectures to prove that "although the revolution of September, 1917, made Russia for a while communist, this situation could not be continued without the co-operation of all other nations," according to the New York Times.

In England and the United States, books are widely circulated to prove that Russia is not communist, that even if it were Stalin has no desire to "export" communism. The Communist Parties offer no word of protest to all this, but seek rather to make themselves acceptable to their own boss class.

Stalin seeks in every way to subordinate his politics to those of the rulers of the United Nations. He has tied his kite firmly to the Allied cause and has made no attempt to distinguish it politically from the Allies. He utilizes the demagogic nationalist appeal, which is the stock in trade of every reactionary power fighting a reactionary war, and does not even make a pretense at conducting a revolutionary war.

Inside Russia, the Stalin regime remains the same bloody executor of the rights and liberties of the Russian workers. It is the regime of the purges and the frame-up trials. Stalin's totalitarian rule has, if anything become tighter since the outbreak of the war.

There is no reason for the workers to base their attitude toward Stalin's war on either the temporary successes or failures of his military machine. A genuine working class attitude must be based on the social character of the Stalin regime and a concrete analysis of the war it conducts. Such an analysis can lead only once more to the conclusion that Stalin's war is fought as an integral part of the Allied imperialist war effort and must therefore be considered as reactionary and unworthy of support by the workers.

Steel Workers Convention Leaves Basic Problems Unsolved

(Continued from page 1)

in the period of a short four-day convention. He was always taking the floor to "explain," to "clear away confusion" and to "clarify the minds of the delegates."

The reason that the steel convention found itself in this dilemma should be clear to any worker who has followed the degeneration of the CIO since its convention last November. A delegate to the UAW "Victory Through Equality of Sacrifice" conference in April hit the nail on the head when he said: "In Buffalo last August we elected our officers to negotiate for us, but they have been negotiating with our enemies against us."

It means that the pressing problems of the CIO workers are given second place to matters for which labor has no direct responsibility.

For the duration of the war, at least, Murray has abdicated the leadership of labor and turned it over to Roosevelt, Nelson and the War Labor Board. This means that the leadership of labor has been turned over to the bosses; because it is the bosses who man the various government boards, who pull the strings in Congress and who control the government.

THE REAL ISSUES BEFORE THE STEEL WORKERS

This becomes very clear when one considers concretely the deliberations of this convention. What were the important questions that came before the convention or that should have been before the convention? They were: The union shop, the Little Steel cases, the demand for a \$1.00 a day increase in wages, completing the organization of the industry and putting the union on a better dues-paying basis, the so-called "premium pay" for Sundays, the adoption of a constitution and election of officers.

This was enough to occupy a convention of 1,700 delegates for two weeks if there was to be adequate discussion from the floor. This convention was in session only four and a half days. But a large part of this time was consumed in speech-making and other ceremonial frippery that one has become accustomed to associate with AFL conventions that usually go on for a minimum of two weeks. There was the usual address of welcome by the mayor and the reply by the chairman. These were speeches that were no more than window dressing.

What is more fundamental, however, is the deeper reasons that this convention could not tackle the main problems in a forthright manner. A channel had already been cut for the convention to operate in. That channel was blind, obedient, unqualified and unquestioning support of the war. Murray again and again impressed on the convention that it was the winning of the war that was put first and all-important. Murray and the CIO leaders, under the blandishments of Roosevelt, say to CIO labor that it is the workers who really have the main responsibility for winning the war. And so they talk about "victory through equality of sacrifice," and the steel workers promoting winning the war "through the promotion of national unity."

All of the speeches were concerned with telling labor that we must sacrifice and how much depends on the willingness of labor to sacrifice. There is no need for Murray continually to be saying that he supports the country in the war and he supports Roosevelt. No one can possibly have any doubt on this point. But Murray seems to be afraid that he will be looked upon as one not sufficiently patriotic. And so at one point in his discussion of the demanded wage increase he remarked:

"Now might I have you understand before I sit down and particularly the newspapers understand, that there is no griping, grasping selfish desire prompting the officers of this organization to seek this so-called wage increase. We are merely attempting to acquire for the people that we are privileged to represent a proper, equitable readjustment of their living conditions, having in mind that as we go down the road, the long, weary road of war, that of necessity each of us, all of us, will have to make sacrifices to bring about this expeditious, very speedy winning of the war."

TO WHOM IS MURRAY APOLOGIZING?

This is Murray's round-about way of saying that the steel workers should have an increase in wages. He wants a "readjustment" in the living conditions of the workers but he doesn't want anybody, especially the capitalist press, to get the idea that the officers of the CIO are "gripping" or "grasping."

This is the same fear that has been manifested by these leaders all along. It was evident at the UAW conference. There they wanted to do everything possible to prove to Congress and its bosses in Wall Street and the National Association of Manufacturers that labor will not be unreasonable, that the working class is prepared to take the first step in making sacrifices.

The report of the wage-scale committee was just as apologetic. "The dollar a day is not a wage increase but a wage adjustment" says the committee. "It is a partial replenishment of the losses in real wages suffered by the steel workers through rising living costs during the last 14 months." What hifalutin' nonsense!

The steel workers are miserably underpaid. They have the lowest wages of any of the major groups in

in the war industries. This is traditional in the steel industry. What the steel workers want is more money in their pay envelopes. Of course the cost of living has gone up and is still going up. Profits are going up and the salaries of the big shots in steel are being quietly boosted while Murray and the wage-scale committee are talking about "replenishment."

This was the tone that the leaders set for the convention right at the start. This made it impossible for the convention to come to grips with the real situation, with the real problems of the steel workers. The lead-

Sidelights on the Steel Convention

CLEVELAND—The delegates and officers at the steel workers convention were somewhat different from those at other CIO conventions.

Philip Murray, Van Bittner, Clinton Golden and David J. McDonald were pretty old and tired looking. And they were obviously afraid of any serious dispute. A case of Lewis jitters, I call it.

The Murray forces, running the convention in traditional miners' convention style (if you know what I mean), made it a point to distinguish themselves from the Stalinists there.

How the Stalinists pleaded for a resolution opening a second front! But Murray, although behind a resolution for all-out support of the war, refused to give the Stalinists this concession.

Many delegates laughed and some were sore at the "party line" speeches on the second front idea. The Stalinists pleaded for the right to introduce an amendment to the Murray resolution on the war, but Murray bluntly refused. I guess he learned from John L. Lewis' and his own sad experience with the Stalinists in the past.

One of the most frequently discussed subjects after convention sessions was the John L. Lewis problem. Opinions varied. The Lewis forces kept silent on the convention floor. William Mitch, Southern director of the SWOC and a Lewis man, didn't even show up at the convention. He was conspicuous by his absence.

The Stalinists insisted Lewis was an outright fascist. Some delegates expressed a desire to see Lewis as president of the CIO again: "He doesn't give concessions as easily as Murray." Others feared for their bureaucratic posts if Lewis regained power. By no means was there any definitive opinion, such as the daily press would indicate, of 100 per cent support of Murray.

If Murray had come to the convention with a dollar a day wage increase and the union shop in Little Steel granted, his future as steel leader and CIO president would be assured. But he didn't—J.W.

ers were afraid that they would be accused of "gripping" and "grasping." Afraid they would be accused of standing up like real laborers and fighting for more of the billions in wealth that labor is producing today!

A VERY DANGEROUS RESOLUTION

Many of the resolutions could have been written in the White House or in the offices of the big steel companies. The resolution on "Labor and the War" declared, among other things, that "the United Steel Workers of America pledges itself to the continued drive to rout out of our national life defeatists, disrupters and fomenters of disunity... and the United Steel Workers of America calls upon the government to take aggressive action against such elements." There was no word as to whom they are going to "rout out" or just what people they want the government to take "aggressive action against." Some day this section of this resolution will rise to crucify some steel workers who may try to get "a proper, equitable readjustment of their living conditions!"

There were resolutions on "economic policy," "political action" and "victory in the peace." All of these resolutions were weak in that they had almost nothing to say about the way the bosses are conducting themselves. There was no criticism of Roosevelt's "seven-point program" and his demand for the "stabilization of wages." There was no vigorous defense of labor and its rights. Everything was pushed into the pro-war, pro-Roosevelt mold that had been fabricated before the convention by the leadership.

It never seemed to occur to anybody that immense profits are being made by the bosses out of the war and that it would be only proper for labor to demand a larger share of this wealth. Every reference to the just demands of labor was couched in veiled words as though the workers were responsible for the "treason" of Standard Oil of New Jersey and the alliance of General Electric with the Hitler electric trust.

HOW THEY "HONORED" LABOR'S MARTYRS

Grimly ironical was the passing of a resolution on "labor martyrs." The convention was meeting 50 years after the murder of the steel workers by government troops and the connivance of government officials. It was ironical because this convention demonstrated none of the fighting spirit of the Homestead martyrs but complete capitulation to the bosses and their government.

The convention was a gathering of steel workers but it was Roosevelt's convention. Philip Murray appeared there as the chief labor lieutenant of Roosevelt. This means in very simple language that Murray was there as the negotiator for the boss class, working in its interests, doing its will, holding labor in check, chaining it to the Second World Imperialist War, piling burdens on the back of labor that the working class will only be able to remove by long, determined and uphill struggles.

Ranks of the Budd Workers Firm in 2nd Strike Week

(Continued from page 1)

Philadelphia is backing UAW Local 813 in its struggle against Czar Budd. Carl Beising, president of the CIO Industrial Council; James McDonough, president of the AFL Central Labor Union, and James Casey of the Railroad Brotherhood have issued a joint statement condemning the anti-labor policies of the Budd Co.

The UAW has issued a statement in which it declares that although it made a no-strike pledge, the pledge was made on the assumption that the industrialists would not discriminate against union activities and since Budd has not ceased persecuting unionists, then the UAW had no recourse but to use the only real weapon labor has: the strike.

All the unions of Philadelphia are joining in this fight. The great Marine Shipbuilding Union, Local 1, of Camden has passed a resolution supporting the strike and pledging aid. The Westinghouse local of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers has sent \$75 and dozens of pickets to help the strikers. Several AFL locals have also sent pickets to help maintain the line. The Ford local is planning a mass picket line.

All the unions have come to realize one undeniable truth—that if Budd remains an open shop, he will set an example to all other industrialists as a boss who knew how to keep his workers in subjection. An open shop at Budd is a threat to unionism in Philadelphia. It strikes at the living standards of millions of workers in this area.

Teamsters Pitching In

One local sending particularly effective aid is Local 107 of the AFL Teamsters Union. Not one truck signed by this union is crossing the picket line. The vital flow of raw materials to the plant and the movement of finished products from the plant is at a standstill. Such a condition cannot exist long before the entire plant is shut down tight.

It is no secret that several hundred girls in one department were sent home the other day because there was no work for them. The same fate awaits the remaining few misled or timid workers who are crossing the picket line. They will soon be sent home because of the solidarity of unionism.

The strike at Budd's has stirred into action long dormant plants which have awaited only the leadership of those who dare act. The workers of the SKF plant, the huge ball bearing manufacturing plant, have already had one sit-down and the plant stirs with activity for unionism. The workers of this plant were crushed five years ago in a strike which lasted several months. Since then they have borne their oppression in silence. Now they are only awaiting the outcome of the Budd strike to rise and demand what is rightfully their own.

The Midvale Steel plant is another shop that is awaiting the outcome of the Budd strike. Several departments in the plant have already voted to strike. The AFL leadership has succeeded in smothering the discontent but not for long. It is inevitable that the Budd action will be the spark that kindles the flame of industrial unionism at this plant also.

Press Conspiracy of Silence

The venal Philadelphia press, as always, is under the thumb of the industrialists and bankers of the city. They have maintained a death-like silence about the strike. They hope to isolate the strikers and kill them with silence. But they are mistaken, for slowly the news spreads and the whole labor movement of Philadelphia becomes increasingly aware of the situation.

All the forces that the bosses own are at the disposal of Budd. Dozens of police with riot sticks surround the plant, guarding every gate and glowering at pickets who march solidly around the half-empty building. All sorts of petty regulations, aimed at crippling the strike, are employed. No crossing of driveways, no speaking to scabs, no corner gatherings. For a while they attempted to silence the sound truck, but they were defied by the strikers and after several arrests the truck now roars over the slogans of the UAW without interruption.

And so the strike moves on, rousing thousands of workers to union consciousness and breaking the bonds of inertia and fear that the bosses and their hirelings, the politicians, have attempted to bind them with in the period since the war began. The Budd workers are on the march. They will not be stepped until victory is in the palm of their hand.

The Stalinists Start Another Union-Busting Drive

(Continued from page 1)

what the monopolists and the government do to labor's standard of living and to labor's political rights. Two, everybody must shriek at the top of his voice and create all possible pressure for the opening of a "second front" in western Europe. Anyone who won't go along with these two lines of action may expect to be denounced by the Stalinists as "Trotskyists" or "Lewisites" and even "fascists" and "fifth columnists" and "Coughlinites." And wherever the Stalinists are desperate, frame-ups, at which they are experts, may also be expected.

Every worker who has recently come in contact with the Stalinists in factory or union knows that their policy makes them the worst and most outspoken speed-up artists known in this country in years. They are the most violent in shouting down strike action by workers even when the grievances are the most legitimate imaginable and when every other means of satisfying the demands of the workers has been exhausted—company stooges would not dare do so blatant a job for the bosses as the Stalin gang.

Every criticism or complaint of the workers against the company,

immediately runs head-on into an apology for the company by the Stalinists, accompanied by a little-veiled threat that "national unity must be preserved" and "this is no time to attack our patriotic corporations." Every anti-labor move—the surrender of overtime pay, the no-strike pledge and the like—finds the Stalinists as its most enthusiastic supporters.

The Stalinists' Motives

Why is this? Is it because the Stalinists want to protect the basic interests of the workers and the labor movement? Is it even because they are tools of big business in this country? Is it even because they want the United States and the other "great democracies" to win the war?

Not at all. It is none of these. They are for "all-out war production" regardless of the cost to labor or the benefits to capital only because they were and still are the tools of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia. That bureaucracy is interested in one thing only—keeping itself in power at all costs. To keep in power it wants the good will and the products of American industry. To get both at the same time, the Kremlin gang hires out its American henchmen to Roose-

velt and the capitalist class to serve them in the capacity of watchdogs to see that labor keeps its nose to the grindstone and its mouth shut.

Nobody saw the Stalinists in this country act the way they are acting now when the Kremlin bureaucracy was in a cozy alliance with Hitler. Just the opposite! Stalin's tools ran up and down the land denouncing the war as an imperialist war and Roosevelt as a warmonger, shouting for the right to strike and exercising that right on all occasions, both suitable and unsuitable. That was when these scoundrels, who have the unvarnished gall to label us as "fascists," were packing Lindbergh's meetings with cheering squads and organizing meetings for the most reactionary isolationists, like Joe Curran's Madison Square Garden meeting for Senator Wheeler.

What were they doing then? Protecting the interests of the labor movement? Not any more than they are doing so today. They were, as always, protecting only the interests of their employers, the Moscow bureaucracy. They don't give two hoots in hell for anything else.

So it is today with the hue and

cry for the "second front." As our readers know, we are no supporters of the imperialist war on any side or any "front." But even from the standpoint of a worker who is honestly supporting this war because he believes it means a defense of democracy from the menace of fascism, the Stalinist hysteria about a "second front" merits only the most suspicious and skeptical scrutiny.

The "Second Front" Issue

You don't have to be a military expert to understand what the Stalinist demand for a "second front" would mean right now. Given the state of preparedness, training, equipment and reserves of the United Nations, a serious attempt to invade the European continent now would lead to one of the most horrible slaughters of human beings in history.

Maybe, cry the Stalinists, maybe. But Hitler wouldn't hesitate to take the chance if he were in the same position. That's just the point! Hitler wouldn't for the simple dreadful reason that this human hyena and his crew regard the masses, including the masses in uniform, as mere cannon fodder to be sacrificed by the millions, if need be, sacrificed even in "ten-to-one shots" to satisfy the insatiable lust for power and plun-

der of the German ruling class. What does Hitler care? He can replace millions of dead by millions of prospective victims merely by ordering Germany's women to breed like sows.

And let us add that the masters of the Kremlin care not one whit more about what happens to the masses in uniform than do the rulers of the Third Reich. To keep their power they have already sent to their death a whole generation of revolutionary socialists and labor militants. To keep their power they are ready to pile up mountains of corpses in the war. Fighting a reactionary war, they know only the reactionary way of fighting: by piling corpse on corpse on both sides of the battle, without being able to ruin the enemy and end the war by a successful appeal to the troops to fraternize.

Their Main Interest

Just as they don't give a hang about how many casualties they accumulate, so they don't care how many more are added by other countries, by their "allies." That's what the agitation of the Stalinists for a "second front" is all about, and nothing more. They are interested, it must be repeated time and again, only in preserving their Kremlin masters in power. If that power can

be prolonged by a futile, hopeless slaughter of hundreds of thousands of unsupported or unsupported troops on a "second front" in the West, they're all for it.

What we are dealing with in the case of the Stalinist movement is as cynical, cold-blooded, unprincipled band of exploiters of the labor movement as has ever been known in its history.

Stalinism and its abominations cannot stand the light of day. They know how thoroughly we know them and their motives and their practices. They know that we keep the light of the irrefutable truth focused on them at all times. That's why they want to "exterminate" us, so they can operate more freely among the workers of this country. That's why they want to put out the light, so that they can operate in the darkness, where it is safe to sulk and drive a knife between labor's ribs.

That's why the latest Stalinist drive against "Trotskyism" is nothing less than a drive against the independence, against the integrity, and above all against the future of the American labor movement.

Let us be on guard against this sinister pestilence!

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

On Who Helps Hitler Spread Fascism

Dear Editor:

I have indeed read your paper! By its opposition to what you like to call the "capitalist war" it is helping Hitler to spread fascism all round the world. You justly blame the Stalinists for inconsistency in first supporting Russian neutrality and then supporting the war as soon as Russia became involved, but it is better to turn to the right at last after having been wrong than to persist in error. As for me, I have always been for resisting Hitler, at every moment, in every way, everywhere.

P. S.

Ann Arbor, Mich.

There is a certain peculiar logic in the thinking of those people, like reader P.S., who say that anyone who believes that the United States and Great Britain are fighting a reactionary capitalist war is thereby aiding Hitler. They would have the people believe that there are only two choices: the imperialism of Hit-

ler or the imperialism of the Allies. Fascism—or its German variety, Hitlerism—arises out of the social decay of the capitalist system. It is a last desperate attempt of the capitalist class to utilize demagogically the social discontent of a dispossessed middle class in order to establish their own iron dictatorship. The groundwork for the rise of fascism is laid by the continued existence and decline of capitalism. Those who support the imperialist war of the Allied camp sharpen the social contradictions leading to the rise of fascism.

The great masses of the people in the Allied countries sincerely believe, of course, that they are engaged in a genuine anti-fascist war. But a genuine anti-fascist war, which would break the tie between Hitler and the German people and stimulate revolt against Hitler in Germany is possible at present only under the auspices of socialist governments in the Allied countries. Only such governments would have sufficiently attractive political weapons—in contrast to the shabby platitudes of the Atlantic Charter—to fight a

genuinely revolutionary anti-fascist war.

That is why, in our opinion, the most effective way to struggle against Hitlerism is to fight for socialism, wherever you may be.—Editor.

A Letter of Protest

Dear Editor:

Being not merely contributors to, but enthusiastic readers of LABOR ACTION, we read Susan Green's review of "Native Land" in last week's issue and decided thereupon to immediately see the picture. Imagine, we said to ourselves, a movie that is favorable to labor!

Well, we went, we saw—and we think that Susan owes us a \$1.30 refund for two tickets.

"The cumulative effect of the film," writes Susan, "is even greater than the sum of these gripping incidents." Now, how does she figure that one out?

What the Stalinist producers of this film have done is to put together a few repertorial scenes, depicting, for the most part, factual incidents with considerable accuracy. That's OK. It's a good thing to show the

Memorial Day massacre again, to reenact the beating of Shoemaker and Poulnot by the KKK.

But when the Stalinists deliberately misuse these incidents, when they deliberately lie about their social significance, that is another story. What the Stalinists are doing here is implying that the present imperialist war is merely a continuation of the struggle of the American workers and they should unite with their exploiters of yesterday (and today!)

When Susan Green sees the movie, she may remember the Memorial Day massacre more vividly than the Stalinist blatherings spoken by Paul Robeson. But that is because she understands the politics involved. An ordinary spectator may quite easily be taken in by the political chicanery of this film.

Nor is it merely a question of disagreeing with the politics of the film's producers. Their Stalinist politics protrude through every inch of the film. This results in a hazy vagueness about who are the exploiters, a positively embarrassing deli-

cacy about the meaning of the incidents depicted.

Susan says that the "cumulative effect" of the film "is accomplished by the writing of David Wolfe." We beg to differ—and strongly—on this. The script is pretentious and impossibly wordy. It has neither beauty nor truthfulness; it is a typical job of a Stalinist hack, bearing the unmistakable signs of a close study of the prose style of Mike Gold.

Well, we suppose we've gotten across the idea that we think that "Native Land" is a big fake concocted by the Stalinist propaganda machine.

What about that refund, Susan?

Irving Howe,
Henry Judd.

Article Reprinted

Readers of LABOR ACTION will be interested to know that a large section of a recent "Of Special Interest to Women" column which Susan Green contributes regularly, has been reprinted in The Chronicle, official organ of the Cincinnati AFL organization.

"No Money Can Measure Its Value"

Dear Editor:

So far as I am concerned, no amount of money would be enough to measure the value of the copies of LABOR ACTION which I have already received and reveled in—and made good use of among some of my friends: Good luck and best wishes! Wish I could send you enough to cover a million subscriptions—but, alas! I am only another wage slave without too much dough!

C. E. L.

California.

Acknowledgements

Two weeks ago LABOR ACTION printed an item about the connections between the Stalinist Dean of Canterbury and Father Coughlin. Due to an unfortunate oversight, we neglected to say that this item was based on a longer story in the social democratic paper, the New Leader. The proper acknowledgement, though somewhat belated, is herewith made.

Editorials

Jim Crow in The WAAC

The newly formed Women's Army Auxiliary Corps starts its career with the same racial regulations as characterize other branches of the armed forces. According to reports in the daily press, it will admit Negro women, but they will be segregated into separate Jim Crow units.

Such a procedure was clearly indicated when Congress refused to pass three proposed amendments that would have prevented the extension of the Jim Crow policy to this new organization.

And the appointment of Mrs. Oveta Colp Hobby, of Texas, as director of the WAAC insures a Jim Crow status. Mrs. Hobby is the wife of a former Texas governor and while she was director of the women's interest section of the Bureau of Public Relations of the War Department, she consistently refused to name a Negro woman to her staff.

It is doubtful if many working class women will participate in this new outfit. According to the reports of Pearson and Allen, Washington columnists, it will be pretty much the property of useless society females alleviating their boredom by playing at war.

But even if we imagine some Negro woman leaving her home or her job, she will have the opportunity of fighting for "democracy"—in strictly Jim Crow fashion.

The response which this will evoke from Negro women can so readily be imagined that comment would be worse than superfluous.

Stalin's Role in The Near East

Russia and the government of Iran (English controlled) have just completed an important undertaking—with marked success, according to the correspondents.

Operating jointly, Russian and Iranian troops (with British assistance) have suppressed a revolt of Kurdish tribesmen who were conducting raids in a section of the country.

We remember the day (not too long ago), when the Stalinists used to condemn in no uncertain terms the military operations of the British in Northern India, directed against tribesmen of that country. Then, it was called "imperialist terror against backward, undefended people." Today it goes under the name of "team-work"—with the "Workers' Fatherland" collaborating smoothly with the English imperialists!

Having polished off the tribesmen, it is reported that an improvement in Russian-Turkish relations has resulted. No doubt the Turks were impressed with the efficiency and military finesse of the soldiers of the "Workers' State"!

We Have Not Forgotten

It is five years now since the Memorial Day Massacre in Chicago, when ten steel workers were murdered by the police because they were fighting for the right of American workers to organize into their own unions and to win a decent standard of living.

A lot of water has flowed under the bridge since then. The labor movement has won new, signal victories; the once tiny Steel Workers Union is now a large mass organization.

But much has been forgotten, too. The spirit of undaunted militancy, the realization that labor can win its goals only by continuous struggle against the bosses, the class struggle spirit—these are being spurned today by the leaders of the labor movement.

Let it be remembered, however, that the victories of American labor have been won only by struggle, that the position of the steel workers in America today is the result of the heroism of the Memorial Day martyrs who gave their lives for their class. Let it be remembered that it was they, the bold and fearless fighters, who built the true foundations of the Steel Workers Union today—and that it is only by perpetuating their spirit that the labor movement can continue to exist and flourish.

It is five years since these martyrs of American labor were murdered. But in the hearts and minds of all freedom-loving workers, their memory lives: they held nothing back, not even the rivers of their own lifeblood, in their struggle for liberation.

Are These the 'War Wages'?

Madame Secretary Perkins of the Department of Labor has just issued some highly significant facts and figures about factory wages in this country.

They prove what a lie is that fairy-tale of anti-labor congressmen about "unwarranted" high wages being paid to war industry workers. Here are the facts:

(1) Out of some 10,500,000 workers engaged in industry, 6,000,000 make under 80 cents per hour (that is, \$30 or less for a 40-hour week). This means 58 per cent of the workers!

(2) Out of this 10,500,000, only 2,000,000 (18 per cent) make \$40 per week and over!

(3) Out of this 10,500,000, 2,000,000 (18 per cent) make less than 50 cents per hour (that is, less than \$20 per week)!

(4) Out of approximately 6,000,000 workers in the war industries, 2,500,000 (40 per cent) make \$30 or less for a 40-hour week!

(5) The average hourly wage of all industrial workers is 76 cents per hour—\$30.40 per week; the average hourly wage of war workers is 80 cents per hour—\$32 per week. So the great difference in war wages doesn't even amount to TWO BUCKS a week!

Who has been throwing us the baloney about high wages? Instead of "wage freezing" it's high time that labor raised more workers from the lower brackets into the \$1.00, \$1.10 and \$1.20 per hour categories!

Croppers "Stay at Home" in Fight for Decent Wages

(Continued from page 1)

In Charleston, in Sikeston, groups of workers began to refuse to work. In Charleston nobody worked at all. In Sikeston, of about six truckloads demanded by the landlords, only two were gotten.

During the week, we had authentic information of incidents like the following: A distributor of pamphlets stopped to give them out to a group of 60 workers. They dropped their hoes and came running. They (and the boss too) started to read the pamphlets. The distributors left them all reading. Work had ceased.

Next day when he passed that way nobody was working and the boss warned him not to come that way again.

In Kewanee, a white worker went into the fields and convinced 60 Negro workers to stop working.

Around Parma we met a Negro worker who said that he had organized nine other workers and they were going to see to it that no other workers worked.

What is most striking is that for the first time colored and white are agreed that they must work together. Every white man we talked to agreed on this. He didn't know exactly what to do, but knew that he and the colored worker had no quarrel. This was widespread from one end of the county to the other.

In Portageville we spoke to white men who said they had sent to the headquarters of the CIO begging for an organizer to organize them into one local with the Negroes. "One union," he said, "one local in the same room. Unless we are in the same room we wouldn't feel that we are united with the Negroes."

In Charleston

Perhaps the most powerful center of the strike movement is Charleston. There on Wednesday or Thursday, cooks and waiters were also walking out on strike, asking for 30 cents an hour. Not far from Charleston is Wyatt, a government project, and Negro workers there, some 60 of 70 of them, were solid. They will not go out to work for less than 30 cents an hour. They are very active. They say that they went out to Cairo, Ill., and that they have stopped the workers there from chopping. They are busy contacting the white project at Wyatt, hoping to make them solid.

At the Libbourn project, the colored and white are solid together. They swear they will not go to work unless they win.

But in Libbourn town itself the workers are not yet out on strike, although they are waiting to see what will happen this week. The police have told the workers that if they do not work they will run them out of town.

On another project, Wardell, the whites and blacks appear to be at variance. They are gingerly trying to contact one another. These government projects, where 50 or 60 white families live and a similar number of colored, are important. They are concentrated groups and their action usually sets the tone for the surrounding district.

The Libbourn Local

Who are the organizers of this action which is seething through the countryside and forms the main topic of conversation in all the towns and villages? The Libbourn local of the UCAFAWA says that it is publishing the literature officially. We did not meet any actual organizers.

We asked for and were asked frequently about Owen Whitfield, the man supposed to be the leader of the union in Missouri. There was no sign of him, though we had heard he was in the district on Friday night. Some week ago, the national offices of the UCAFAWA issued a statement calling on the workers to do all in their powers to raise their wages. But the UCAFAWA national and state leaders seem to be doing nothing at all. We were not surprised.

The national and state offices of the UCAFAWA are controlled by the (Stalinist) Communist Party. These gentlemen are not concerned with the croppers' wages. What they want is work, work, work at five cents an hour "if necessary" to send lend-lease aid to their Uncle Joe Stalin in Moscow and to prove to Roosevelt that they are good boys.

We tried to explain this to a few puzzled workers but they couldn't grasp it. No wonder! And we didn't do much in that line because we were merely observers seeking information.

Landlords Worried

The landlords we spoke to were badly worried. In Charleston we heard that three of them had set off to Washington on Monday morning. Near Libbourn one landlord told us that the workers were perfectly justified in what they were doing; but that the landlords were not going to pay. They were meeting three times a week and they were going to break up the strike, first by starvation and, if that failed, they would find "other means." He wouldn't say what they were when we pressed him.

But presumably he meant some

sort of organized violence, kidnapping of a leader, or some attempt at a lynching for rape or some kind of similar frame-up. It wouldn't be so easy this time. The white workers are not likely to fall easily for any such scare.

The great strength of the movement seems to be the simplicity and clarity of the demands put forward, and the extraordinary speed and thoroughness with which the preliminary distributions of literature were carried out. The Charleston meeting was a great success, very well organized and some notable speeches are said to have been made. Even landlords spoke about it with some astonishment. But who are to organize these scattered thousands of workers is another story.

Attitude of the FSA

One man whom we met near Libbourn and who seemed to be an organizer, though he wouldn't say so, told us that as long as the important centers hold the rest would follow. We wanted to go into Libbourn but he said no. We were white and strangers and would only do harm. Local 313 of the Libbourn project was leading the movement and the government authorities were giving them a lot of trouble, coming in and asking a lot of questions. He seemed very bitter about the Farm Security Administration.

We asked him if he had heard the rumor undoubtedly spread by the landlords that Whitfield had been arrested in Sikeston and taken by a mob of 30 cars to Little Rock, Ark. He said he had heard the rumor, but that it was nonsense. Wherever there was any activity, the landlords always spread the rumor that Whitfield had been arrested. He said that the landlords wouldn't arrest Whitfield.

We tried to get him to talk some more, but he wouldn't. It is very likely that this man is an organizer and understands the whole situation,

particularly that Whitfield is playing a double game.

One landlord spoke about the Trotskyists. But few landlords and practically no workers at all had heard anything about Trotskyists, though a certain number of people read LABOR ACTION.

Situation Summed Up

The general situation can be summed up as follows. From one end of the countryside to another the workers are sitting up with their ears open. The whites are 100 per cent for the movement, many of them ready to join the union. But it would take tremendous organization to do this and those who could organize the workers, the Stalinist leaders of the UCAFAWA, are actively engaged in sabotaging the movement.

But that is not the end. The needs of the workers, the justice of their case and the range and appeal of their agitation make the situation explosive to the highest degree. If the workers in Charleston, Sikeston, Libbourn, New Madrid, Dexter, etc., only get a few telegrams from unions, a few dollars and maybe a van or two of food and a promise of more to come, the movement could and probably would spread like wildfire. The labor movement in Nashville, Memphis, Louisville and even Chicago and New York could help.

Much also depends on the workers. Three or four days of rain will compel the workers to stay at home, send the cotton and weeds shooting up and create a new and sudden demand for labor. If the workers feel that any help is coming to them at all they will fight.

So far only about 500 workers were on strike last week. But everyone is waiting. It is the organized labor movement which can say the decisive word. The workers themselves are full of hope.

FDR Vetoes Wage Raises For Aircraft Workers--

(Continued from page 1)

malarkey. While the wages of a few of the most miserably underpaid may be slightly raised, the wages of the average-paid worker (what the daily capitalist press calls the "high paid worker") will be frozen at existing unfair levels if the Administration has its way.

This, plus the rising cost of living, plus the staggering tax burden which Congress is planning to place on the American workers, means that in reality the aircraft workers and all the other workers will suffer wage decreases. They may continue to make the same amount of money nominally, but they'll be able to buy less with it and will have to pay a larger portion of it back in taxes.

What will the union movement say? What will Phil Murray and Bill Green say? Will they continue

to knuckle under to every "sacrifice" proposal made for the workers, while capital goes its greedy way seeping in war profits? Will they continue to surrender, to backtrack before every anti-labor proposal?

Clearly enough, if the American workers are to resist the proposal and the threat put forward by Price Administrator Leon Henderson that their standard of living go down to the 1932 level once again—that is, to the semi-starvation level of the worst depression years—then it is necessary to begin a militant fight now for a general wage increase for all workers to catch up with the cost of living increase in the past year.

There is little time to be lost. Wage freezing is knocking at labor's door. You can't hide under the bed. It's surrender or fight for a decent standard of living.

Make Sure to Get The New International

The latest issue of The New International, one of the best yet, should be of interest to all our readers. It contains a political biography of John L. Lewis by Jack Wilson; editorial Notes of the Month on Roosevelt's seven-point program; James T. Farrell's "Literature and Ideology," Henry Judt's "War in the Far Pacific," Susan Green's Women in Industry" and R. Craine's "Napoleon's Invasion of History."

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JIM CROW

Who Will Win the New Orleans Race?

By IRVING HOWE

The most vicious twist given to Jim Crowism in a long time—and the most obvious exposure of the fact that its main social purpose is as a means of dividing poor Negroes and whites for the benefit of the Southern ruling classes—is seen in a report in the May 22 issue of the New York Daily News headlined "Shipyard Race to Pit White Vs. Colored."

In New Orleans, the Higgins Industries, Inc., produces 15,000 ton freighters for the American war machine. We do not know exactly, but we're willing to bet our last plugged nickel that Andrew Jackson Higgins, the owner of the plant, is doing very nicely for himself insofar as war profits are concerned. If he's doing only as well as the other shipbuilding corporations, he's wallowing in profits!

But Andrew Jackson Higgins faced a problem—the labor shortage. The way to solve that problem would appear to be obvious: hire Negro workers who have never before had a chance to work in skilled trades but who have been confined to the most menial tasks. This the South has previously refused to do; but the exigencies of the war crisis bring many changes. And it brought a change here.

HOW TO DIVIDE THE WORKERS?

But, thought the wily Higgins, how shall we hire Negro workers for our shipyards and still maintain the color line? For if Negro and white worker toil together, right next to each other, then they're liable to see that this color line is just a lot of malarkey and get together for wage increases within one union.

And here Higgins had a brainstorm. He would set up two mile-long assembly lines, one colored, the other white. And then there'd be a race... to see if the idea of "racial supremacy" were really valid. The foreman of the Negro workers would say: "Here's your chance to show that you're just as good as those white men." And the foreman of the whites would say: "Are you white men going to allow those Negroes (only he'd used a less polite word!) to beat you, to show you up? Work faster!"

And who'd gain from all this? The Negro workers? The white workers? No, of course not! Regardless of which group won the race, what good would it do them? Would they get more pay? Would they have better working conditions? No, all they'd have would be more sweat from speeding themselves to death. If the Negroes won the race, that wouldn't end Jim Crow. And if the whites won, that wouldn't help them any.

THE BOSS PROFITS FROM JIM CROW

But regardless of which side won the race, the boss would really profit from it, because he'd get more labor done in less time and would therefore have to pay less wages! Because he'd succeed in keeping the Negro and white workers separated and inflame their racial prejudices, with the result that they wouldn't work together for their mutual working class needs.

Was there ever an incident which so clearly showed up the fact that Jim Crowism is a weapon used by the Southern bosses to divide the white and Negro workers to the economic and social disadvantage of both? Was there ever a grosser incident illustrating the basic fact that Jim Crowism is a means used to perpetuate capitalist rule in the South, low wages and open shopism?

We don't know what the reaction of these workers will be. But they would do well to look at the example of the sharecroppers of Southeast Missouri, who have united, across color lines, in defense of their common economic interests as workers.

Whatever their present attitude, their experiences in being speeded up for the advantage of their common enemy, Boss Higgins, will necessarily bring closer to them the basic message that must be brought home to all workers: **Jim Crowism is a means of splitting and destroying the labor movement!** The road to salvation for the Negro people leads clearly along the lines of unity between Negro and white workers!

This is not merely a general idea. It is a concrete lesson which must be learned—and is being learned by the labor movement to survive.

To Our Readers

We fear this is becoming a weekly refrain, but we must again apologize for the fact that the press of labor news prevented us from printing a number of important articles dealing with domestic political events. These articles are either set in type or are in manuscript. They include an analysis of the problem of consumer goods production in a war economy; a comparison of two recent speeches of Henry Wallace and Herbert Hoover which discusses the different political trends within the American ruling class; an article on the evacuation of citizens of Japanese descent from the West Coast.

All of these articles were planned for this week but were squeezed out by our labor news. But then there's the compensation that in this issue, LABOR ACTION prints exclusive labor reports not available in any other paper in the country!

LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

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WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

Against Both Imperialist War Camps! For the Victory of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory of the Third Camp of Socialism!

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars the minimum wage; time and a half for overtime! Rehire the jobless millions by a six-hour shift!
- Wage increases which meet rising costs! No sales tax on consumer goods; no taxes on wages! Freeze rents and food and clothing prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living!
- No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
- Maintain and increase all government social services!

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WART

- A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
- Conscrip all war industries under workers' control!
- Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3 per cent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

- The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces!
- Sixty dollars a month minimum for draftees!

SMASH JIM CROW!

- Down with Jim row and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy, or by employers in industry, must be made a criminal offense!
- For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes.

BE PREPARED!

- For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilantes and fascist attacks!
- For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
- For Peace Through Socialism! For immediate independence of all colonies! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism. For a League of Socialist Nations!