LABOR ACTION

JUNE 8, 1942 — A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR — ONE CENT

CIO RANKS SHOULD HALT SPLIT CRISIS!

By JACK WILSON

The deeply-rooted crisis in the CIO reached an acute stage this week with the presentation to the CIO executive board of the demands of the policy committee of the United Mine Workers of America.

Since the UMWA has long been considered the backbone of the CIO—witness its record of assistance to the building of the industrial union movement—and its 600,000 members constitute a powerful organized labor body, the issues involved can hardly be treated lightly by any serious CIO unionist.

For months the CIO unionists have watched with growing concern the impending struggle between the various tendencies in the leadership of the CIO unions, fearing another costly internal fight such as marked the Auto Workers Union in 1938 and 1939.

This concern has not been lessened by the provocative attitude and policies pursued by the Stalinist party clique in the CIO which has sought at each turn of events to force a split of the coal miners from the CIO under the guise of "isolating John L. Lewis," as their May Day manifesto declared.

Acting as a spur to Philip Murray, CIO president, the Stalinists have inflamed the entire CIO with a bitterness which is designed to have one effect: Get Murray and other non-Stalinist CIO leaders to split irrevocably from the miners, so that only they and the Stalinists will be left in the leadership of the CIO.

The plan of the Stalinists is to try to take over the CIO by making a captive of Murray after the miners have been forced out or have departed from the CIO.

The reason for this strategy of the Stalinists is obvious: they want to hogtie the CIO completely to the war machine, giving up all elementary union rights, and they want to be in a position to put more pressure on Roosevelt on various international policies which will aid the Stalin regime in Russia.

While the differences between Murray and John L. Lewis are of vital importance, they are overshadowed in the long run by this fundamental difference which exists between all CIO unionists and the Stalinist clique in the CIO.

Split Would Be a Tragedy

It would be a major tragedy for the CIO union movement if it permitted a split on the present issues of dispute between the present leadership and the John L. Lewis forces.

The CIO was founded on the principle of a democratic union organization, united on basic economic issues despite difference of race, creed, color or political views.

Of the present demands of the United Mine Workers—and it must be remembered that the policy committee has the legal authority to outline these policies—all can be discussed and decided democratically within the CIO if the rank and file intervenes against a split attitude.

The miners' union demands that unity negotiations with the AFL be renewed under the leadership of the committee chosen by the CIO convention in 1938. The members of that committee are John L. Lewis, Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman.

What can possibly be lost by the CIO in having an "exploratory" talk on labor unity? Surely the CIO ranks are for unity with the AFL, unity based on industrial unionism in the mass production industries.

The prestige considerations of Lewis, Murray or anyone else must be secondary to this basic approach. Yet here the ranks of the CIO have seen, month in and month out, the top leaders playing prestige politics with too little concern for the basic issues involved.

The bureaucratic regimes in the coal miners, and the steel workers, and many other CIO unions have made it possible for the top leaders of the CIO to get away with this kind of irresponsible leadership. This lesson must not be forgotten by the ranks!

Everyone in the labor movement knows that the Stalinists are bitterly opposed to labor unity because they fear that in a combined union movement they will be reduced to second-what orders Stalin's commissars give ary power or purged! But what CIO unionist is concerned with preserving the power and prestige of the

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CIO PRESIDENT

PHILLIP MURRAY

Missouri Croppers Fight On to Gain Minimum Wage of 30¢ an Hour

Special to LABOR ACTION

Monday, June 1—The cotton workers in Southeast Missouri continue their hard and bitter struggle for the right to live as human beings. These men, women and children, who work for six weeks out of thirty-six, are trying to raise their wages of from 12 to 15 cents a day to 30 cents an hour.

Arrayed against them are the landlords and local government; the Farm Security Administration; and, in their own way, the treacherous leadership of the national and state offices of their own union, the United Agricultural, Cannery, Packing and Allied Workers (CIO). These misleaders are Donald Henderson, national president of the UCAPAWA; Owen Whitfield, state secretary of the UCAPAWA; Billy Fischer, state president of the UCAPAWA, and Hughes, state vice-president of the UCAPAWA.

The lengths to which this latter bunch have gone to sell out the sharecroppers' action seem almost inconceivable. Without their vile sabotage, the fight would have already been won.

As it is, the croppers have been so aggressive on their own hook that they have already won certain victories. Wages are now $2.00 almost everywhere. In some places they're higher. And there is still the possibility that the demand for a 30-cent an hour minimum will be gained, depending on what happens around Lilbourn and New Madrid during the next few days.

The Role of Whitfield

In this article, we shall present a detailed account of the terrible treachery of the Stalinist leaders: Henderson, Whitfield, Hughes and Fischer. This story must be told in full, for the workers of Southeast Missouri must learn who are their real friends and who are their ENEMIES masquerading as friends. Let us begin at the beginning.

On May 16, a meeting was held in Charleston, Mo., by Local 313 of the UCAPAWA to consider what action to take in order to get 30 cents an hour. Several hundred croppers were present from all seven counties of Southeast Missouri. Here the workers decided to "stay at home" until their three demands (30 cent an hour minimum, 45 cents an hour for tractor drivers and time and a half for overtime) were granted.

Now here is the important fact. Present at this meeting were Billy Fischer, Blanche Fischer, his daughter, and Hughes. All three spoke and not one raised any doubts as to whether the meeting was properly organized or authorized by the union. In fact, all three approved of the demands and plans which the croppers were making.

Henderson's Statement

What is more, all three were present when Booker Clark, secretary of Local 313, read a letter from Donald Henderson, the UCAPAWA national president, which authorized Local 313 to publish pamphlets, hold meetings and work to get 30 cents an hour.

(In another statement, published in the UCAPAWA News, and sent to every local, Henderson called upon the workers to use every possible means to gain 30 cents an hour.)

Remember these facts. They are very important in what is to come.

The Charleston meeting took place on Saturday, May 16. Two days later, Monday, May 18, groups of workers all over the seven counties began to "stay at home." Here was the great chance for the leaders of the UCAPAWA to help them gain their victory.

But the UCAPAWA leadership, unfortunately, is controlled by the (Stalinist) Communist Party. These people have as their sole aim to sacrifice the workers in order to please their new-found friend, Roosevelt, and send war materials to their masters in Russia. During the last two years, as a result, they've done little to organize the Missouri workers.

And so now, when a few of the locals asked for permission to do something, Henderson said "yes." He probably thought that nothing serious would result.

Whitfield's Actions

But as the movement spread, the Henderson-Whitfield group realized that the workers were serious about **fighting** for 30 cents on hour. So they set out to hinder the struggle of the croppers and laborers.

On Friday, May 22 (six days after the great Charleston meeting) Owen Whitfield came to the Lilbourne project, along with FSA authorities. With him were Billy Fischer and Hughes. There were about 60 workers at this meeting and it was here, as some of them have since said, that they first became suspicious of Whitfield.

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Labor Must Aid The Croppers!

AN EDITORIAL

The struggle of the sharecroppers and day laborers of Southeast Missouri to gain a minimum wage of 30 cents an hour is reaching its climax. Taking the form of a mutual decision arrived at during a meeting of their Local 313 of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers Union (CIO) to "stay at home" until they are assured of gaining their demands, these men are continuing their struggle against great odds.

They have aligned against them the following forces:

)1 The local landlords, long known for their brutal and terroristic methods in quelling any attempt of their workers to gain a decent wage as well as their use of race prejudice to divide the workers.

2) The local government agencies, which are merely the tools of the landlords, as well as the local press, which is merely the spokesman of the landlords.

3) The Farm Security Administration in the area, long touted as a darling of the New Deal, which is working closely in cooperation with the landlords to break the action of the workers.

4) Last—and most treacherous—the (Stalinist) Communist Party leadership of national and state offices of the UCAPAWA, which has indulged in open strike-breaking actions against its own members! It is a hair-raising story, reported in detail in this issue of LABOR ACTION, of how these Stalinist fakers have bent their every energy—not to help the men they are supposed to lead, not to fight with them for 30 cents an hour minimum pay—but to get them back to work at all costs, regardless of whether the workers get their demands or not. These criminal betrayers are selling these workers (as well as all other workers) down the river in behalf of the Stalinist policy of not fighting for any workers' needs just as long as military aid is sent to Stalin.

But the workers fight on. Grimly, with courage and determination, with fearlessness and heroism, they raise high their banner: For a 30 cent minimum wage for laborers, for a 45 cent minimum wage for tractor drivers, and for time and a half for overtime!

Is that so much to ask? Is that so terrible or exorbitant?

They fight on, continuing to organize their locals, continuing to preach the gospel of labor organization.

And they have found new aid and new means of struggle. They have discovered, many of them, that their struggle is a common one, regardless of race or color. They have discovered that they must fight for 30 cents an hour together—regardless of the color of their skins. That is a great, new weapon.

And they have heard the voice of the St. Louis CIO Council, whose fine resolution in support of the croppers we reprint in this issue of LABOR ACTION. They have been cheered by this hand of labor brotherhood which the St. Louis CIO Council has extended to them.

They fight on. Regardless of the odds, they continue. Every worker, every union member, every friend of labor must look to their struggle with pride and admiration.

And more. We must help—each and every one of us. Every worker must publicize the story of the fight—breaking the conspiracy of silence of the boss press. Every worker must urge his union brothers to rally to the support of the croppers. Messages of support and financial aid must be sent immediately.

Remember, 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!

St. Louis CIO Aids Croppers!

ST. LOUIS—At its regular meeting last week, the St. Louis CIO Council voted to endorse and support the struggle of the Missouri sharecroppers for a minimum wage of 30 cents an hour. The full resolution of the CIO Council follows:

RESOLUTION OF ST. LOUIS CIO INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCIL SUPPORTING STRUGGLE OF SOUTHEAST MISSOURI COTTON CHOPPERS FOR 30 CENTS AN HOUR

WHEREAS wage rates in Southeast Missouri bear directly upon wages in St. Louis, and

WHEREAS the struggle of the white and colored day laborers of Southeast Missouri is of the greatest importance in the drive to organize the South, and

WHEREAS the present struggle of Local 313, UCAPAWA, for 30 cents an hour for cotton chopping needs immediate support, both moral and financial, be it therefore

RESOLVED that the St. Louis Industrial Council stands behind Local 313, UCAPAWA, and recommends that all possible support be rendered by CIO affiliates; and furthermore that assistance be given in bringing about a successful conclusion to the present situation, and be it further

RESOLVED that the CIO Industrial Council sets up a committee to investigate their needs and to render any possible aid or relief in the struggle for their demands of 30 cents an hour for cotton chopping, and be it finally

RESOLVED that this committee shall confer with representatives in charge of the situation and dispatch representatives to the field of struggle to bear any material aid and especially moral support so that the workers will know that they have the backing of other CIO affiliates.

Submitted by
United Retail & Wholesale Employees,

Approved by the St. Louis CIO Council,
Wednesday, May 27, 1942.

New Tax Proposals Drive Heavy Blows at Workers

Last week's decisions of the House Ways and Means Committee with regard to taxation "carry the threat," in the words of Ralph Hetzel, CIO economic director, "that war profits and war profiteers will benefit at the expense of workers and other low income groups."

While the recommendations of the Treasury Department were very severe with regard to taxing the incomes of the poor and quite reticent about nibbling at the wealthy, the revised tax schedules of the powerful House committee are even more discriminatory.

The Treasury asked the committee to provide $3,000,000,000 of new revenue this year from corporate taxes and $4,500,000,000 more from increased individual income taxes, most of them hitting the poor. But the committee's scale of taxes would provide only about $2,300,000,000 in corporation taxes and $3,500,000,000 in income taxes. Such a move would leave the door wide open for proposals for a sales tax, or some kind of "forced savings" plan.

Leaves Loopholes Open

The committee has also rejected proposals for closing some loopholes in taxes affecting the rich, which would have provided $600,000 in additional revenue. Nor has the committee even considered the idea of placing a $25,000 limit on incomes. As was predicted in LABOR ACTION, those proposals in President Roosevelt's seven-point economic program which hit hard at labor's standard of living have been eagerly seized upon by Congress; while those which would in any way modify the war profiteering of the industrialists have been drowned in a well of silence.

"The committee's corporation tax," writes Hetzel, the CIO economist in the CIO News, **"looks on the surface much heavier than it actually is. The committee laid a 93 per cent tax on all excess profit, a heavier rate than that asked by the Treasury. But in doing so it reduced the rate on the corporation flat tax and surtax in such a way as to reduce by $700,000,000 below the Treasury figure the amount of new taxes on corporations."** In other words, another boon to the industrialists.

Who Should Pay for War?

It should be remembered, as LABOR ACTION analyzed at the time,

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Why Not Try the Other Plate?

'All Negro' Ship Plant Is Just Jim Crowism in Reverse

The New York Times of May 27 reports an announcement by John G. Pew, president of the Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., that all the 9,000 workers at a new shipyard now under construction in Chester, Pa., will be Negroes. "It is our intention," Pew stated, "to make the shipyard ... an all-Negro project."

At first glance this appears to be a boon to Negro workers in the Philadelphia area. Nine thousand jobs suddenly opened up — for workers who have needed jobs, demanded jobs, and found heretofore the doors of the plants closed to them because of race discrimination. Skilled jobs, semi-skilled jobs, even special training courses are being set up for the new employees.

But second thought reveals to Negro and white workers alike the pernicious and deliberate scheming of the Sun company bosses. The new plan is obviously to segregate Negro workers in a Jim Crow plant, to isolate them from their white fellow workers and to foster antagonism and division between the two groups of workers on the basis of their color. **There is nothing essentially different between this plan to set up special Jim Crow plants from the Navy's plan to set up special Jim Crow naval units.**

Both the Navy scheme and the defense plant scheme disclose the plan of the government and the bosses in stimulating and developing racial division between workers. Under the pressure of the war needs and the mass pressure of Negro workers the government and the bosses are forced to make some concessions to the Negroes. But, with calculating foresight, looking to the post-war days, they isolate and segregate the two groups of workers from each other, hoping thus to prevent solidarity in the working class.

'Freeze Labor' Proposal Made In Washington

A hint that the Roosevelt Administration is planning a vast program of forced labor was given last week in a statement issued by Paul McNutt, head of a board created by the President to solve the "labor supply problem."

While LABOR ACTION will comment on this proposal in detail next week, a few questions are in order now:

1) Isn't it a fact that this proposal smacks a good deal like the forced labor of Nazi Germany, fascist Italy and Stalinist Russia?

2) Why is it necessary to speak of forced labor when there are still several million workers unemployed?

3) Why, if there is a labor shortage, are not Negroes employed in war industries?

"March on Washington" Movement Stirs Again

By RIA STONE

In the spring of 1941, A. Phillip Randolph aroused the hopes of the Negro masses by proposing a March on Washington. This march was to demonstrate how Jim Crow discrimination against Negroes could no longer be tolerated. It was planned as a movement to put pressure on the Roosevelt Administration, which was then moving toward a war abroad while forms of Hitlerism against the Negro existed at home.

About a week before the scheduled march, when all over the country Negroes were preparing to move, Randolph "postponed" the march. The reason for the "postponement" was the fact that Roosevelt, after conferences with Randolph, and in the face of a mass Negro march, issued an executive order against discrimination in the war industries. The order also set up a Fair Employment Practices Committee to investigate discrimination in the war industries.

Nearly a year has passed since the issuance of that executive order, No. 8802. **On all sides it is admitted that Jim Crow is still boss in the war industries.** Except for a few "token" jobs, Negro workers find themselves either refused "defense" jobs or given the most menial jobs. Meanwhile grievances pile up.

Throughout the South and even in the North, scandalous pogroms, known as army camp "riots," are visited upon Negro soldiers. Secretary Knox sets up a Jim Crow naval unit through which Negroes who aspire to be sailors can be employed in shipyards at low military pay instead of the usual civilian rates. Colored women can only obtain domestic work, despite the daily cry of the press for more women workers in the defense plants. In the South, as Mark Ethridge, former president of the FEPC recently stated, the poll tax denies to Negro workers **"even the right to protest"** against the exploitation of cheap labor.

Mass Pressure Needed

In the face of this mounting injustice, the March on Washington Committee in New York has planned a mass protest rally to be held at Madison Square Garden on Tuesday, June 16. This mass demonstration deserves the support of every Negro. The white workers must prove their solidarity with Negro workers by showing up en masse at the Madison Square Garden rally. **MADISON SQUARE GARDEN MUST BE PACKED ON JUNE 16 WITH ALL THOSE WHO HATE DISCRIMINATION AND INJUSTICE**

The March on Washington Committee is demanding more enforcing power for the Fair Employment Practices Committee. It is demanding the opening of the armed forces

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Bendix Profits Skyrocket

The profit figures for the six months ending March 31, 1942, of Bendix Aviation Corp. — one of the leading war profiteers in the country — totalled $8,122,679 as compared with $5,904,862 for the previous six month period.

These profit figures should be very interesting to Bendix workers, who are about to negotiate a new contract and new wage scale.

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Third Camp

A FIRST-HAND REPORT FROM FRANCE

We have been able to talk to a Frenchman who has just arrived from Southern France. Most of what he told us confirms other reports which have appeared regularly in this column. It is always the same tale of food rations at near starvation levels alongside of the Black Market, of hatred for the Germans and of support for the Vichy regime. He also confirmed the reports that the Stalinists are extremely active and by far the most powerful underground organization at present.

It is interesting to hear this person—by no means a revolutionist—say that de Gaullist propaganda is completely unsuccessful. De Gaulle is a sort of national hero, a kind of new Joan of Arc among the high school boys and the younger students; but the rest of the population is too well informed on his monarchist and reactionary tendencies to have any confidence in him. Everybody is against the Germans and wants them to lose the war, but the English are not popular either. A person to whom he spoke about the war situation put this sentiment in a rather drastic way: **"I hope only that the English beat the Germans, but they are pigs, nevertheless. . . ."**

Our informant had the impression that the people to whom he spoke (shopkeepers, intellectuals, petty bourgeois, but no workers) were still completely bewildered, not knowing at all what to do and even what to think, without any clear ideas about the state of things to come.

There are still some former members of the Socialist Party who cling to the idea of a resurrection of this party, but generally speaking it shared the fate of all the parties of the Third Republic: it is completely dead.

Our informant participated in one of the food demonstrations in Southern France, of which we wrote in this column. He confirmed that they were rather powerful and had a certain success. The government released some additional food in order to appease the furious housewives. In general it is the policy of the government to give more food every time the police report that in a particular region sentiment reaches a breaking point. In this way they have thus far been able to check any widespread movements.

Our informant particularly emphasizes the change in the cities since prewar days. Police forces are to be seen everywhere. New kinds of police troops have sprung up. Besides the different services which existed in prewar days, there are now three or four special police services which control everything and dominate the streets completely. Some of those little, usually quiet town of the South now look asif they were in a state of siege. Those young well-fed and well-clad elite police guards are the only elements on which Laval and Petain can really rely. But even in the older police services there are many anti-collaborationists. It is not uncommon to see members of the police who have been sent into villages in order to prevent listening to foreign broadcasts, themselves sitting in the village inn listening to and discussing the English broadcasts.

Doriot, an ex-Stalinist and now the most violent pro-Nazi leader, has succeeded in building up some storm troop units according to the Nazi model, but this movement has never assumed mass proportions. Its adherents are to be found among the "lumpenproletariat" and it is mixed with outright criminal elements. While they occasionally hold spectacular parades, their real influence in unoccupied France is negligible.

THE SHOOTING OF THE "HANGMAN"

Heydrich, one of the chiefs of the Gestapo, who is responsible for the slaying of thousands of men and women; Heydrich, whose name was a symbol of ruthless terror and oppression, has been shot in Czechoslovakia. This news spread like wildfire throughout Europe and has brought happiness to millions of people in the terrorized countries. We are not advocates of individual terror, because we do not believe that the course of history can be decisively influenced by individual actions. Nevertheless an action like this is good news because it is an indication that Europe is stirring again, that the deadly quiet that settled over the countries which Hitler has conquered is now definitely a thing of the past.

The fact that it was possible for a group of trained terrorists to shoot one of the leading Gestapo men, in spite of the elaborate machinery of protection which the Nazis have devised, gives tangible proof to millions that the Gestapo is not all-powerful. The monster surrounded by a seemingly invincible armor had its weak spots. Hitler will not be overthrown by attacks such as this one; his system will not even be decisively weakened by them; for one hangman slain there will be two to rise in his place; but there can be no doubt that such action, in this specific instance, will help stir the masses out of their apathy and despair and give them tangible proof that all is not lost, and thus help prepare the ground for future mass actions. One of the most powerful reins on such mass actions—the myth of the invincibility of the Gestapo—has now been removed.

Europacus.

THE WORLD AT WAR

Sumner Welles Paints a Picture Of the Post-War World Where U.S. Imperialism Rules Supreme

By WILLIAM BRAD

On Memorial Day, Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State, presented the most concrete statement thus far made by an official government spokesman of Allied war aims.

Welles drew a picture of a postwar world which would be policed by the Allies with the United States as the chief base. There would be no restoration of the status quo. A super League of Nations with a large military force capable of conducting military struggles on a large scale and under the influence of the United States is projected as the form of world organization.

"A world organization with the United States as its base will determine the final terms of a just, honest and durable peace."

The peace will be dictated as the Versailles Treaty was. This peace will be shackles upon the losers, regardless of consent or justice.

That the Axis nations will be in no position to challenge the power of the victorious Allies will be assured by the **"disarmament of all nations, as set forth in the Atlantic Charter, which may threaten aggression outside of their frontiers."**

The peace conference will take place between jackals with and jackals without fangs. Germany will be demilitarized and the military, naval and air power of Germany, Japan and Italy will probably be turned over to this new league under the aegis of the U. S.

There are no promises here of "universal disarmament." Not even the wishy-washy phrases of a Woodrow Wilson are utilized. The world has traveled a long way since 1918 and world imperialism has forgotten even how to make promises.

"The United States alone will have the strength and the resources to lead the way toward a world order in which there can be freedom from want." There can be no mistake as to the meaning of this statement. Unlike what happened after the First World War, the U. S. will not reject participation in a League set-up. Far from it! The U. S. will be the only nation with the military and economic power to rule the world, to enforce its decisions and its dictated peace.

Consternation in Downing Street

It is easy to imagine, for instance, the consternation in Downing Street upon the reading of this sentence of Mr. Welles. These gentlemen already know that wherever armed forces of the U. S. land, the American influence soon begins to displace the British. These gentlemen must be sadly reflecting: "Will we be spared nothing?"

Wells' speech is a clear statement of Roosevelt's intentions for world domination by the United States. When Welles states that "the age of imperialism is ended," he is not lying. He is expressing the desire of the Administration to end all rival imperialisms, or at least to subordinate them—that is, imperialism as it has existed to date. He proposes, instead, universal American rule.

Generalities on "Freedom"

Welles' words about the rights of peoples to freedom are but repetitions of the Atlantic Charter formula. It is interesting to note that in this section of his speech, Welles resorts to the vaguest of generalities, in sharp contrast to his concrete statements on policing and the peace structure.

Mr. Welles should answer certain questions.

1) Does your statement that the United States will be the chief base for a military force to police the post-war world mean that a huge army of occupation will continue in all the defeated nations long after the end of hostilities?

2) Does this mean that millions of American boys will not be demobilized after the armistice but will be kept in the Army indefinitely? If so, by whose authority do you promise this?

3) Does freedom apply to the colonies of Britain, France and the United States? Will India, Porto Rico and the Philippines, Burma and Indo-China be given their independence?

The astonishing thing about Mr. Welles' speech is that even at the present stage, when the Allies are so far from victory, he is able to promise so little. Yes, the imperialists have even forgotten how to promise.

Missouri Croppers Continue Their Struggle--

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He took an in-between attitude (or so it seemed at the time). He said he was for 30 cents an hour, but that he was against 45 cents for tractor drivers and time and a half for overtime. The last two demands, he said, were the work "of the Trotskyists."

Some workers pointed out to Whitfield that Donald Henderson had written, saying that 30 cents an hour was just the minimum and that they should raise it, if 30 cents an hour weren't enough. And, they said, 30 cents an hour wasn't enough for a skilled tractor driver; he deserved at least 45 cents an hour. Whitfield said nothing about this.

Whitfield's Peculiar Question

Then Whitfield suddenly asked how many of those present thought that the May 16 Charleston meeting (which had decided on the demands and the action) was held under the auspices of the CIO. Everybody's hand went up. Yes, they said, it was a meeting of the CIO local. Who else had held the meeting?

After all, both Fischer (the state president) and Hughes (the state vice-president) had come to the meeting and spoken there and agreed to what the men had decided to do.

While Whitfield was asking this peculiar question (peculiar because every worker knew that the Charleston meeting had been officially organized, with permission from headquarters!) both Billy Fischer and Hughes sat with their mouths shut!

Finally, Whitfield, seeing that he wasn't getting anywhere with this kind of talk, said that he was for the action and that he'd organize some assistance for it.

Workers Dissatisfied

The workers went away dissatisfied, however. Why had Whitfield acted so strangely? Why was he against 45 cents an hour for tractor drivers and time and a half for overtime? Why was he trying to muddy up the waters by asking if the Charleston meeting was authorized?

And why had Whitfield said that the first time he heard about the Charleston meeting was through "federal agents"? Could it really be possibly that Whitfield didn't know about this meeting of his own union, that was so widely publicized in Local 313's pamphlet, and that was the talk of Southeast Missouri for days? Whom was he trying to scare with talk about federal agents?

The men had stayed at home; and here was Whitfield acting so peculiar at the very time he should have been leading the fight!

News of this peculiar behavior of Whitfield spread over the seven counties. Whitfield found himself on the spot. Workers began to say that he was on the side of the landlords. Obviously, Whitfield was losing the confidence of the workers, who were determined to fight for 30 cents an hour.

Enter: Otis Nation

So the national office of the UCAPAWA, headed by Donald Henderson, sent in a new "organizer," Otis Nation, a white man, whom the croppers didn't know, to help Whitfield. As soon as Nation arrived, say the workers on the Lilbourn project, he proceededn—ot to organize the croppers' action, not to lead them to victory—but to pester them (together with the FSA officials and "other persons") with questions about "Trotskyists."

But the men knew nothing, and cared less, about 'Trotskyists.' They wanted 30 cents an hour—and they expected their union leadership to fight for it.

In the meantime, the "stay at home" action continued.

In some parts of Swampeast, the workers went back to work for $2.00 a day. In other parts they continued to hold out. In New Madrid, one morning, 12 trucks came—and went away empty. (A truck can hold 50 to 100 men.)

Then Whitfield and Henderson—seeing that their previous game had failed—went the whole hog in their attempt to break the "stay at home" action. They put their cards on the table.

Whitfield's Letter

First, Whitfield published a letter in the Charleston paper, the Enterprise-Courier, of May 28, 1942. It is nearly two column long. In it Whitfield suddenly calls the Charleston meeting of May 16 a **"wildcat"** meeting. He said it was held **"without the knowledge or endorsement of our international UCAPAWA or any of its officials."**

And this was where Whitfield overplayed his hand. Because that last statement was a lie, told against the workers of Southeast Missouri. It was a lie because both Fischer, the president, and Hughes, the vice-president, spoke at the Charleston meeting!

Whitfield went on to write that while the national office of the UCAPAWA backed the demand for 30 cents an hour it didn't call for 45 cents an hour for tractor drivers and didn't call for time and a half for overtime. (Remember, this was written at the very time the croppers were "staying home" for precisely these demands!)

"Guilty" of What?

Whitfield also wrote:

"The high officers of our union are down in this state helping me and others in an investigation to find all guilty parties and determine their purpose. As soon as this is done we will release the facts to every paper in America."

Whitfield also complained that "some outside person or group of persons have taken advantage of our union by bribing or hiring one of or more of our local officers or men into calling" the Charleston meeting of May 16.

Now just think this over: Here are thousands of workers "staying home" in a fight to get 30 cents an hour. What does their so-called leader, Whitfield, do? Does he organize them? Does he get money for them? Does he fight for them? No, he does not.

Instead, he writes a lying letter to the local press (the press that is controlled lock, stock and barrel by the landlords and which has always been the enemy of the croppers) in which he denounces and lies about the locals which are carrying on the fight!

Is Whitfield fighting hard for the local workers? No, because, according to his own account, he is busy looking for "guilty parties." ("Guilty of what? Of fighting for 30 cents an hour?)

That is the picture of Owen Whitfield, the man who is supposed to lead the workers in Southeast Missouri.

But is that all? No. For Whitfield has stooped so low as to plot a frame-up against Local 313 and all those Missouri workers who are leading the struggle for 30 cents an hour!

Whitfield's Resolution

In the same letter to the Enterprise-Courier, he enclosed a "resolution." Using a well-known sell-out trick, Whitfield first agrees that 30 cents an hour is just, and then he ends up by proposing nothing for the men to do to get the minimum wage, except to call off the action and to put their trust in some government agencies, which couldn't possibly get into the situation until after the season is over! Then comes the following statement:

"Passed by the locals of the Missouri Agricultural Workers Council, UCAPAWA-CIO, in their trade union councils, said resolution to become effective May 10, 1942."

What does this mean? Whitfield would have people believe that the council had met and passed this resolution!

What About This "Resolution"?

But when did this so-called meeting of the council take place? Where? Who presented this "resolution"? And, above all, why didn't Billy Fischer and Hughest say anything about this so-called "resolution" (supposed to be passed before May 10) at the meeting in Charleston on May 16? And why didn't Whitfield, when he spoke at the Lilbourne project on May 22, say anything about this so-called "resolution"?

Why? BECAUSE ALL THIS TALK ABOUT A RESOLUTION IS A LIE! BECAUSE IT IS AN INVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND OF WHITFIELD, WHO IS WORKING AS AN AGENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY!

IT IS AN ATTEMPT TO BLACKEN, TO SLANDER THE REAL FIGHTERS OF SOUTHEAST MISSOURI IN ORDER TO FORCE THE CROPPERS TO LOSE HEART AND SURRENDER TO THE LANDLORDS. THAT IS WHAT WHITFIELD AND HIS FRIENDS WANT!

WHITFIELD DOESN'T CARE ABOUT ORGANIZING THE WORKERS! HE DOESN'T CARE ABOUT HELPING THEM IN THEIR "STAY AT HOME" STRUGGLE! NO, ALL THIS MAN DOES IS TO RIDE AROUND IN HIS NEW RED CAR, ASK SOME STUPID QUESTIONS ABOUT "TROTSKYISTS"—AND THEN, WHEN THE WORKERS TRY TO DO SOMETHING, HE WORKS TOGETHER WITH THE FSA AND "OTHER PEOPLE" TO SPREAD LIES AND SLANDERS SO THAT THE WORKERS MAY BE DEFEATED!

The Role of the Stalinists

The Communist Party in control of the UCAPAWA office wanted somebody to play that role because they don't give a damn about the workers, because they are only concerned with military aid to Russia. **And Whitfield, using the reputation he gained years ago when he really did fight for the croppers, drives around in his nice red car and does the dirty work for the Communist Party!**

But Donald Henderson, the man behind it all, does not leave it all up to Whitfield. What does he do? Does he send the workers one penny to help in their struggle? No.

Instead he uses UCAPAWA money to buy a full-page ad in the Enterprise-Courier of May 28, the same issue in which Whitfield's lying letter appears.

Whole Story in the Ad

The whole story is there in that ad. There you can see how the workers starve at 12½ cents an hour for six weeks. Henderson has to admit that. There you can see how, not only in Missouri, but also in Arkansas and Tennessee, thousands of workers went into the fight and that there are tens of thousands more, only waiting for leadership. That Henderson has to admit in his ad.

And there you can also see how Henderson, instead of rallying the workers to action, instead of supporting the action which the workers have already taken, how Henderson tells the workers to depend on the War Labor Board and the Department of Conciliation (which never paid any attention to workers of Southeast Missouri). What Henderson and Whitfield are doing here is to tell the croppers to go back to work now and wait until some Washington board takes up their case—if it ever does. But in the meantime the chopping season will come and go—**AND THE MEN WILL NOT GET THEIR 30 CENTS AN HOUR.**

It is a bad record, is it not? It is a record of betrayal. It is a record of Henderson, Whitfield, Nation and the rest fighting against the members of their own union. But do you think that is all? Do you think they have committed no other treachery? If you think so, you are wrong! There is still more to tell, still other evidence of the role of Whitfield, Henderson and their friends.

Nation's Sell-Out Role

There is still the misleader, Otis Nation. He went to the Lilbourn project and there he said to the workers: Go back to work. Work for $2.00 a day. But take note of the days you work and the landlord for whom you work. That is what Nation said.

And then he, Nation, would see to it that they would later get the extra 10 cents an hour which the landlords wouldn't pay now. But how was Otis Nation to get that extra 10 cents an hour? Nobody could get that money once the men had finished chopping—and Otis Nation knows that!

Nation used a slightly different tack than Henderson and Whitfield. He said that the Charleston meeting was good, that it had shaken the whole South. He didn't say, as did Whitfield, that the meeting was unauthorized. But he came to the same conclusion: give up the fight, go back to work.

Yet, of all their doings, Whitfield, Nation, Fisher and Hughes have committed perhaps the most dangerous of all in their attempt to split the new-found solidarity of the white and Negro workers in Missouri.

Negro-White Solidarity

One of the most striking things about this great movement, which Local 313 so courageously and skillfully led, is the wonderful way in which white and colored workers have gone around together organizing. On the Lilbourne project, whites and Negroes have worked hand in hand, while in New Madrid, a typical Southern town, it is reported that there are four to five hundred workers, colored and white, ready to join the union tomorrow, begging for CIO buttons, begging for the things that Henderson and Whitfield won't give them.

Lose Chance for Unity

Now Nation and Whitfield have acted together to hinder this unity so as to be certain to crush the movement.

Nation called a meeting in the New Madrid area on Friday, May 29. On Friday afternoon and in the early evening he went around to the white project at Lilbourne and told them how he was going to get the extra 10 cents for them, that everything had already been arranged, and that there was no need for them to come to the meeting that night! The result was that only six whites turned up out of the 150 who came to the meeting. A real chance to solidify unity was lost. This unity, as much as anything else, has made the planters bitter. As the Sikeston Standard of May 22nd write, describing the Charleston meeting:

"The planters listened grimly or indulgently, dependent upon their relation to their field hands, and looked with cold disapproval upon the white workers who came to the meeting. Mingling of the races in labor matters or in anything else is not approved in Charleston and the country round about. There was some fear that the presence of some white workers in a Negro meeting might cause trouble but it did not."

The only trouble it would cause would be caused by the planters. The struggling workers have fought for unity.

Results Clear

The results of the treacherous actions of Whitfield and his allies were clear to many people, and the strong resentment against them forced Whitfield to try to cover up a little at the Friday night meeting.

After Whitfield's appeal to put the whole matter to the War Labor Board to get the other ten cents an hour, a worker got up and said: **"I don't like this at all. Let the War Labor Board see about the war, and let us see about the 30 cents an hour."**

This statement was greeted with thunders of applause. Rev. Willie Echols, who has been carrying on in behalf of Local 313, then took the floor. He made one statement that went home to the audience: **"After what we have heard, one thing is clear: Whitfield is on the side of the landlords."**

Whitfield then got up again and made a last speech, saying he was wrong, that the demands were justified, that they had the right to struggle, and other remarks to sort of get back in some favor. But his role has been too obvious. It would be a mistake to think that he has changed. It looks like his sun is setting down here!

Luckily for the workers, the CIO is not controlled by Whitfield and his communist clique. Local 313 had sent men to St. Louis urging assistance, and the CIO Industrial Council heeded the plea. They are helping out in many ways.

The struggle is still going on. Hungry people have no choice but to fight!

And so the fight goes on—grimly, bitterly. It is a fight against tremendous odds, conducted with great courage.

What has cheered the croppers greatly is the visit of a delegation from the St. Louis CIO. They expressed great enthusiasm when a member of this delegation told them to keep on fighting.

Louisville Negroes Fight for Equal Rights in City's Library

Special to LABOR ACTION

LOUISVILLE—Many times in the past Louisville Negroes have demonstrated for complete and unrestricted use of the library facilities. So the recent request by fifteen Negro civic leaders is nothing unusual. The library board gave each member of the delegation a chance to be heard, but refused to enter into a discussion. Unless more forceful methods of persuasion are found, this is as far as the matter is likely to get. However, the statements made to the library board must have made their ears tingle, and will interest readers of LABOR ACTION.

The leader of the group stated that present library service for Negroes was inadequate. Another delegate stated that **"There is no law on the statute books prohibiting the use of libraries by Negroes."**

A teacher said: **"In my classes I teach the children we are living in a democracy and tell them that they have a free and equal chance with everybody else. But sometimes I feel like I am teaching a farce. I could tell them: 'It is your right to use the libraries, but don't go to the main library or you might be embarrassed.'"**

Another claimed that "We are not asking for anything that is not justly our due, the same as those of any other American citizen."

Finally a veteran of the last war declared: "I do not care whether I am white or black or red or blue. I am a citizen of the Commonwealth of Kentucky entitled to the rights and privileges of any other citizen." Reminding his hearers that he served overseas after the last war and heads a post of the American Legion, he said that Negroes were promised full citizenship at the close of the First World War, but "economic and social slavery still exists."

Los Angeles Labor Action Forum Presents:

A GUEST SPEAKER

MAX SHACHTMAN

National Secretary of the Workers Party

—ON—

SOCIALISM—the ONLY Answer to Fascism

SUNDAY, June 21
At 8:00 P. M.
ADMISSION 20 CENTS

EMBASSY AUDITORIUM
Room 201, 9th & Grand St.
LOS ANGELES

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION FROM THE FLOOR

New Tax Bill Hits Poor--

(Continued from page 1)

that the original Treasury proposals also worked according to the principle of making the poor pay for the rich man's war. The House committee really took up the idea with glee and went the whole hog. Latest reports, appearing in the New York newspaper PM, are that the Treasury Department is considering, in addition to the tremendous new taxes being planned for the workers, to institute a "forced savings" plan which would further cut labor's standard of living.

In the face of this concerted attack, the labor movement must reply with a plan for a tax program which puts the burden where it belongs: on the backs of the rich. LABOR ACTION proposes four points for such a program:

1) Confiscate all war profits; if lives are drafted, then war profits should be drafted.

2) A stiff capital levy on accumulated wealth.

3) A stiff tax on undivided profits.

4) An income top of $20,000 per year.

PRESS ACTION

Last week we published, distributed and sold 17,000 copies of LABOR ACTION! That was our largest press run to date and we're heading straight toward 20,000!

The following subscriptions have come in to LABOR ACTION for the past two weeks:

New York City	8
Buffalo	5
Akron	2
Detroit	2
Los Angeles	2
St. Louis	1
Pennsylvania	1
Total	21

Literature Agent: Have you acted on the rate-card offer of LABOR ACTION?

LETTER PRINTED

Readers of LABOR ACTION will be interested in knowing that the letter we sent to the California Eagle in reply to its attack against our policy has been printed in full in the latest issue of that paper. The letter was printed in LABOR ACTION of May 25.

IN THE BRONX

Readers of LABOR ACTION may purchase this paper, as well as The New International, at the following Bronx newsstands:

Boston Road and Southern Boulevard (candy store).

Freeman Street and Southern Boulevard (candy store).

Simpson Street and Westchester Avenue (SW).

Prospect Avenue and 160th Street (NW).

149th Street and Third Avenue (SE and SW).

161st Street and Jerome Avenue (NE).

167th Street and Jerome Avenue (SE).

170th Street and Jerome Avenue (SE).

Mount Eden and Jerome Avenues (NE).

Burnside and Jerome Avenues (SE and SW).

Fordham Road and Jerome Avenue (NE and NW).

Moshulu Parkway and Jerome Avenue (NE and NW).

Of Special Interest To Women

—By Susan Green

Do you remember the highest prices in March for all the commodities supposed to be under the ceiling? If your memory is exceptional, you may recall the exact prices of a few items, but no more. That is quite natural. In day to day buying one knows when an item is higher than the last time it was bought. One also knows too well when the dollar is bringing home less bacon. But for every housewife to keep in mind exact prices paid for individual items as far back as March—and for the whole month to boot—is out of the question.

Furthermore, many commodities are not in the class of day to day purchases. Such are dry goods, house furnishings, clothing, shoes, etc. So that housewives who did not buy these more durable goods during March have absolutely nothing to go by today.

In spite of this unquestionable situation, Mr. Henderson and his OPA have—with a grand sweeping gesture—passed on to the individual consumer the job of enforcing the price ceilings. In the past week he has been appearing on the screen of every movie house and put it up to the consumer to keep retail prices in line with the March highs.

This means that Henderson cannot do the job of enforcing price control—and admits it. He drops the hot potato into the hands of the consumer.

All right. Let us take Henderson at his word—but not as individuals.

Housewives can handle the hot potato of price control if they put on the protective glove of consumer organization, namely, neighborhood housewives' committees. By pooling their recollections of what prices were in March they may be able to check on the prices charged today. What one housewife doesn't remember another or another will. And by using the strength of their united purchasing power they can exert pressure where pressure is needed.

Will you pardon LABOR ACTION if we say: "We told you so!"

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While this column is indulging in a we-told-you-so mood, it would like to remind the reader about a prediction it made long ago, namely, that prices will rise in spite of so-called price control. Not only does the OPA wash its hands of the boring though necessary detail of checking up on retail prices, but official Washington actually expects prices to raise the roof—let alone the ceiling.

A reliable information service writes its clients under date of May 16th that **"the pressure of boosting price ceilings is already beginning."** After late summer or early fall, **"higher prices seem SURE."** The word SURE is written in solid capitals in the original letter of information, which adds that **"many officials now say so privately."**

So prices are taking the high road, but actual wages are taking the low road. Freezing wages, raising income taxes, levying withholding and sales taxes, to say nothing of slashing wages through compulsory bond purchases, will leave a beggar's mite for the working class housewife. Congress will also decide for her how much of that may be spent and for what.

Therefore, this whole question of the standard of living of the working people during the war involves more than the control of prices—which can be done only by workers as producers of goods and by housewives as consumers of goods. The other edge of the sword cutting into the standard of living has to do with paying for the war. Not the workers but the rich must finance the war for which they are responsible.

There is a lot of accumulated wealth in the hands of Americas "Sixty Families"—squeezed out of the toil of the workers. Let the government compel them to disgorge. There are unprecedented war profits making the rich still richer. Let the government confiscate every bloody million of war profits.

Not a man, woman or child will have less to eat if the rich cough up the price of the war. Yet the burden of financing a war which costs $1,000,000,000 each week is being loaded onto the working class. That means that the cupboard of every working class family, if not entirely bare, will have many empty spaces. That means privation for people—privation that is avoidable by soaking the parasites instead of the workers.

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Devious indeed are the ways of "democracy" under the system of profit for power and power for profit, as the following story once more illustrates:

The unlamented dictator, Huey Long, who has gone to his redeemer, had built his powerful political machine in close unison with organized vice in New Orleans. Undoubtedly he was very reluctant to leave behind him such a useful device, but there are some things even a political dictator cannot do. So his machine, and all its corruption, were inherited by his successors, of whom Robert S. Maestri, mayor of New Orleans, is one.

Today New Orleans is the hub of a section of the country harboring some of the biggest military camps and naval bases. The business acumen of the owners of bawdy houses has not been wanting in the circumstances. The "war profits" have, of course, been shared by the mayor's machine. As the New York newspaper PM puts it: **"The tremendous take from the vice racket its the very lifeblood of the machine, flowing from pimps, prostitutes and gambling operators through ward politicians and police officials."**

To continue unwinding the thread of cause and effect, the men concentrated in the military camps and naval bases around New Orleans go there for relaxation from the unnatural and arduous life in the armed forces. Unfortunately for them, they are carrying back with them from the quaint streets of New Orleans something that makes them less manly. In fact, PM reports that venereal disease accounts for more man-days lost in the armed services than any other ailment.

Army and Navy heads don't like that. Damaged goods won't make a fighting Army and Navy. Hence, a problem: to save the armed forces by cleaning house in New Orleans—or to save the Huey Long political machine of corruption by not disturbing its main source of revenue. That is the question which is stumping the experts.

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Mrs. Roosevelt is cutting a rather ridiculous figure these days. She wails and whines about the cruel curtailment of accustomed peacetime social services. In one column she is "distressed" because of a slash in housing appropriations. In another column she is "very much troubled" because everything has been ruled out of the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps programs except training for war work.

Just what does the First Lady expect? She cannot have her cake and eat it. She cannot have her all-out war and the blessings of peace.

The only people who can state their preference for peace and deserve serious attention are those who have the one and only program for peace: WORLD SOCIALISM.

CIO Ranks Should Halt Split Crisis--

(Continued from page 1)

Stalinist clique, which turns and shifts on every issue, depending on out?

Vicious Aims of Stalinists

All the flag-waving of the Stalinists against any opponents of its union-strangling policies is merely smokescreen to hide the nefarious aims of this gang of Kremlin stooges in the union movement!

The second demand of the coal miners is for recognition of a debt of $1,680,000 by CIO unions to the UMWA!

The proposal of the UMWA that this money be returned by deducting it monthly as a per capita tax payment to the CIO treasury puts the CIO board on the spot. How can the Murray-Hillman-Stalinist forces get around it without taking the blame for a split in the CIO?

All the shrieking of the Daily Worker and its new-found ally, the New York newspaper PM, against John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers was based on the hope that if they hurled enough slander and violent charges, the United Mine Workers would depart from the CIO without these two major demands receiving any consideration. At this moment the strategy has not yet worked.

The third demand of the UMWA, which was not carried in detail by the press, was that the "attacks against the UMWA and its leadership desist!"

If this means that in practice no one has the right to disagree or dispute with the UMWA policy committee proposals, it is a bureaucratic demand worthy only of the Stalinists, who always seek to establish a totalitarian atmosphere in the labor movement!

"Calm Down" the Stalinists

But if it is a demand to Murray and Hillman that the present CIO leadership call a halt to the utterly inflammatory "rule or ruin" attacks of the Stalinists which go beyond the border of serious trade unionists in disagreement over policy, then the entire CIO would welcome a "calming down" of the Stalinist hatchetmen and their allies.

Behind the dispute on the union issues involved in the present struggle in the CIO and part and parcel of the whole situation are the differences between the various tendencies in the top leadership of the CIO on how to support the war.

The Stalinists are for all-out surrender of labor gains and rights, no matter what happens to the working class.

The Murray forces are wavering on this issue, tending one week to unite fully with the Stalinists in this policy and next week seeking, however feebly, to obtain some concession for labor like the union shop in steel and auto, and the dollar a day wage increase.

The Lewis forces have appeared to remain more intransigeant on giving up labor's gains and rights, with Lewis carefully exploiting the growing resentment on a national scale among the industrial workers against the inequality of sacrifice program prevailing today.

Incidentally, not the least of the reasons why Murray is so hot and bothered against Lewis is that he fears Lewis will recapture control of the CIO by this present policy. Of course this prospect is a nightmare to the Stalinists even more so!

Only the intervention of the CIO ranks to preserve the industrial union movement can halt any disastrous developments which might occur in this period!

British Miners Go on Strike

Some 15,000 of England's 60,000 miners are reported to be on "unofficial" strikes. They want more wages.

The miners who daily risk their lives in the pits are tired of being treated like step-children. This is especially true of the younger workers who have brought into the mining industry a desire to upset the unjust status quo. Specifically they demand wages comparable to those paid in war production factories.

Do Citizens of Japanese Descent Have Any Rights?

A Long Trek--And No Sinai in Sight

A long and dismal trek has been begun by 100,000 people on the Pacific Coast—a trek from their homes and little farms to...nobody knows where.

These people are not accused of any crimes. They are not accused of being "disloyal to the American government." They are not accused of any overt act in any way impeding the war effort.

They are accused of but one thing: they are Japanese or of Japanese descent.

And so, they have been hastily and hysterically driven from their homes, put at the tender mercy of the Army apparatus, settled in congested "reception centers"—and nobody knows what comes next. They have never been given a hearing. There has been no attempt to differentiate between ordinary Japanese citizens and those few who may perhaps be aiding Japan in the war.

As a matter of fact, the congressional Tolan Investigating Committee and the Army command of the Pacific Coast have admitted in so many words that the evacuated Japanese are not even suspected of any fifth columnism. They are suspected of...being Japanese.

CITIZENS WHO ARE DEPRIVED OF RIGHTS

Every American citizen is supposed to be entitled to certain rights. He is supposed to be entitled to a fair trial by a jury of his peers; he is supposed to be entitled to the right of demanding a writ of habeus corpus so that he shall not linger in jail overly long before he is given a trial on specific charges.

But here we see the unique situation, setting the tremendously dangerous precedent of 100,000 people being uprooted from their homes without any trial or hearing. Of these 100,000, some 70,000 are American citizens. Many of these are "Nisei" (second generation in America) who have lived and been educated in this country. Yet, they have been deprived of their most fundamental rights.

Their crime is that they have slant eyes and yellow skin.

(That is the eternal pattern of capitalist justice...just as another's crime consists in having black skin and kinky hair and still another's crime consists in having been descended from Jews!)

These people are being crowded into race tracks and county fair grounds, many of them sloppily knocked together a week before being used for evacuees. According to the Tolan committee report, in many instances they have been forced to live in impossibly crowded huts and stables, unable to move beyond the narrow confines of their concentration camps **(for that is what they really are—no matter how ugly the word may sound!)** and even deprived of the right to do some kind of work. The camps have neither recreational nor educational facilities and thus the people in them are forced to live like trapped animals without any useful function.

They pay the penalty for having yellow skins and slanting eyes.

EVACUEE DESCRIBES HIS PLIGHT

As Hideo Hashimoto, the minister of the Japanese Methodist Church in Fresno, is quoted in the Bulletin of the Chicago Fellowship of Reconciliation: **"Unless one is actually subject to the evacuation order, it is extremely difficult to imagine what it means to families to be evacuated en masse, to families average age of whose heads are about 61, who have lived in the locality for 25 to 60 years. This is not entirely unlike the evacuation of the Polish Jews by the Nazi regime, only ours is tinged with palliative, a bit of hypocritical humanitarianism...."**

Why is it that American citizens of Japanese descent suffer indignities which even German and Italian aliens are spared?

There are several reasons, a few of which are:

1) The West Coast press is particularly venal and reactionary. It has been trying its damndest to whip up some kind of jingoistic frenzy and has seized upon the Japanese as an easy target.

2) The National Administration, faced with what it considered a Japanese problem, has handled it in typical bureaucratic and hysterical fashion. It has preferred injuring grievously a large group rather than to handle the matter fairly.

THE BANKERS HAVE A STAKE

3) The large corporate agricultural interests (that is, the banking interests) are maneuvering behind the scenes to take over the little farms which many Japanese have laboriously built up and incorporate them into their large farms. In 1941, the Japanese were producing 35 per cent of California's garden crop and the elimination of this group wll prove a boon to the corporate farms and banks. They will both be rid of competitors and be able to take over their property.

Well, why should anyone get excited about this? After all, they're "only Japs...."

Perhaps, but Japanese are people, too. The great mass of Japanese cannot be held responsible for the war effort their dictators have imposed upon them. Especially is this true of those Japanese who are now living in America.

Socialists stand for justice and equality for all. We fight for all the oppressed—be they black, white, yellow or brown. We believe that there is no need to move the great majority of Japanese from their homes and that if any are to be moved they should have the right to a fair hearing before an impartial jury of their peers.

It is a dangerous precedent—this business of deporting people from a state without a hearing. Today it is used against the Japanese; tomorrow it may be used against labor. That is why the precedent must be condemned by all trade unions and the rights of Japanese in California upheld.

An Unsweetened Story of Sugar:

Peonage in the Shadow of the Rockies

By SUSAN GREEN

Sugar is being rationed as a war measure—a war, we are told, "to preserve the American way of life." Sugar, therefore, looms large in the public consciousness. What could be a more opportune time for learning something about the production of sugar?

This story will not go far afield into those backward places like Hawaii and Cuba, where sugar is a major crop. There one expects to find—shall I say—backwardness, meaning extreme exploitation of labor and dire poverty among the sugar-crop workers.

But here in the land of the free and the home of the brave, the picture is not different. This is attested to by many students of American agriculture.

Dr. R. W. Roskelley, referring to the sugar-beet industry, wrote: **"There is a human drama in Colorado which is almost as spectacular as 'The Grapes of Wrath.'"**

Carey McWilliams, in his book, "Ill Fares the Land," states: **"It is a drama which involves 25,000 Mexican sugar-beet workers, who, for twenty years or more, have been whirled around on one of the giddiest merry-go-rounds in America. It is one more illustration of the complicated patterns evolved in 'rural' areas where industrialized agriculture has become entrenched. The appearance of rural slums in a pioneer Western state—the development of a caste system in the shadow of the Rocky Mountains...."**

The Great Western Sugar Co. is the big boss of the beet-sugar industry of Colorado and other Western states, controlling one-third of the whole beet-sugar output in this country.

HOW THE COMPANIES LURE LABOR

By the system of circulating lying handbills promising high wages and a farm-laborer's paradise—re-enforced by local labor-herders—the company lured 25,000 Mexican laborers north to the sugar-beet fields. To ensure their remaining, the company used such gentle devices as withholding wages. In the years 1933 to 1938 there were never less than 500 unsettled wage claims by Mexican sugar-beet workers. The unique operation of the machinery of justice made it impossible for wage claims to be settled sooner than two or three years. This stranded the worker, threw him further upon the meager mercy of the company, and virtually made him a peon in free America.

Thus the company shackled workers to the fields by the simple expedient of keeping them too poor even to move away. To ensure a sufficiently low wage level, it encouraged a constant stream of migratory workers. To perpetuate poverty every effort was made to divide the workers by artificial means and prevent unionization. The Mexican born in this country was encouraged to look down his nose at the Mexican from Mexico. Each group was settled in its separate slum. When the "Okies" and "Arkies" began to pour into the region, still more dissension developed and was blessed by the company.

In 1938 the average yearly earnings per worker in the sugar-beet fields did not exceed $70. Therefore to be able to exist by seasonal work—even on the very lowest subsistence level—every member of the family becomes a slave in the beet fields. In fact, sugar-beet labor is almost exclusively "family contract" labor, thus securing for the employer the unpaid labor of women and children. During the 1940 season a man and his two sons had made a total of $165, according to Carey McWilliams.

THE "HERITAGE" OF THE CHILDREN

In 1929 it was reported that 5,000 Mexican children of the sugar-beet district, of school age, were not attending school. One-half of the sugar-beet families were living in one and two room shacks. Five, six, seven, nine and even eleven people were jammed into disgraceful one-room hovels. Infant mortality rates are shameful. Disease among children and adults runs rampant. Because the children have no opportunity for advancement, the tendency is for the peon status of the parent to remain that of the children. These are some of the high points of the "American way of life" of the sugar-beet laborers.

Reports in 1938 show that little if any improvement had been made in the decade from 1929. Carey McWilliams states in his "Ill Fares the Land": **"As long as Mexican labor has been employed in Colorado, these conditions have prevailed; and they are as bad today as they were in 1920."** Larimer Street, the main thoroughfare of the Mexican district of Denver, is known as "Hunger Street."

The Great Western Sugar Co. made sure that relief payments and WPA jobs would not interfere with its labor supply. With the coming of the sugar-beet season in the spring, public welware agencies take all Mexicans off relief. All people with Spanish names are automatically assumed to be sugar-beet workers. If the Great Western doesn't employ them, well, that's just too bad. The Great Western also majestically places orders with the Colorado State Employment Service, and workers are taken off WPA when the big sugar boss asks for them. The control exercised by Great Western over state and local politics is by no means remote.

MISERY LEADS TO WESTERN'S PROFITS

The abject misery of the sugar-beet workers has been transformed into gilded profits for the Great Western Sugar Co. By 1939 it had tripled its assets. Its profit realization was 736 per cent on its original investment.

The domestic sugar industry has been a special pet of the federal government, receiving at times large subsidies and the "protection" of a high tariff. It is estimated that of the proceeds taken in by the sugar companies from the sale of beet sugar, only 27.6 per cent really represents the value of sugar at world market prices. The other 72.4 per cent—or about $350,000,000 a year—is today contributed by the housewives of the country because of the "protection" the government has given its favorites, such as the peon-owning Great Western Sugar Co.

THE "AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE"

The "American way of life" is rather nice for the beneficiaries of the Havemeyer estate and for the members of the Boettcher family, who own large blocks of the stock of Great Western Sugar Co.

Quite obviously the "American way of life" hasn't worked out quite so well for the sugar-beet workers—who number a great many more than the stockholders of the Great Western Sugar Co. A final word on the plight of these human beings: On October 20, 1940, the newspaper PM reported an interview with one A. Halleck Brown—presumably an agent of the big boss—on the subject of sugar-beet labor. Mr. Brown stated, without intending to be sarcastic: **"Wages are better than they used to be. Why, a hard-working family now can clean up as much as $240 a season."**

When pressed for information on how the workers live during the off-season, Mr. Brown added—possible as further evidence of the well-being of the sugar-beet workers: **"You'll see those Mexicans on a winter morning going around with their little second-hand express wagons, getting stale bread from restaurants and people that know 'em and picking up food from garbage cans."**

For the sugar-beet workers in free America, life itself has been on very strict rations indeed—a rationing system ruthlessly imposed by the profit-grubbing big sugar bosses supported by the federal government.

Wallace and Hoover on the War Economy

—By Irving Howe

Which road for American capitalism—an open, frank espousal of the methods of fascism in order to conduct its total war; or an attempt to conduct the war on the basis of continued reforms, partial maintenance of the people's living standards and at least platonic adherence to the shibboleths of so-called "free" capitalism?

This vital question is posed in two recent speeches made by two prominent spokesmen for different sections of the American capitalist class: former President Herbert Hoover and Vice-President Henry Wallace.

Hoover advocates the first road. In his speech of May 20, he frankly says: **"We must start our thinking with a disagreeable, cold fact. That is, the economic measures necessary to win total war are just plain fascist economics. It was from the war organization developed by all nations, including the democracies, during the first total war that the economic department of fascism was born."**

And again: **"To win total war, President Roosevelt must have dictatorial economic powers."**

While this provoked a howl of dissent and righteous abuse from such "liberal" papers as the New York Post and PM, as well as the New Republic and The Nation, it was a reaction based not really on a genuine disagreement as to how to conduct the war, but rather a belief that such things should not be spoken of so bluntly. It might give people ideas.

Yet, it is a fact, becoming as plain as Hoover's stiff collar, that each day's progress of the imperialist war indicates that it cannot be conducted in any way other than by the imposition of totalitarian economic and political controls on the mass of the people. In the economic sphere this is already quite evident: President Roosevelt's seven-point program, the labor-freezing proposal, the no-strike agreement—to mention but a few of the more obvious ones. Capitalism cannot organize itself for total war on the basis of a planned, mass participation of the people to run the industrial and military machines; that would spell the end of capitalism. Its only other recourse, if it is to win a victory, is to gain efficiency at the price of freedom.

PRODUCTIVE EFFICIENCY AND FREEDOM

Genuine productive efficiency and real economic and political freedom can now be reconciled only under socialism. When the capitalist regime faces the need to choose between the two, there is no doubt that it will choose the kind of productive efficiency based on totalitarian fascist controls.

A virtue of Hoover's speech is its frank—if cynical—recognition of the fact that the development of fascism is connected with the decay of the capitalist economic system. He sees the interlocking connection between the First Imperialist World War, the development of fascism and the Second Imperialist World War. He sees that cause and effect are in this case inextricably interwoven; that the decay of capitalism, the rise of fascism and the outbreak of war are retroactive characteristics of our society.

Only, since he is a frank spokesman for the ruling capitalist class, he is ready to sacrifice the remains of our freedom in order to establish American imperialism as the dominant force in the world.

HOOVER'S PIOUS QUALIFICATIONS

True, he qualifies this proposal with a pious hope that political liberties will be maintained and that the fascist controls he advocates should not be frozen into our post-war economy. But neither qualification can be taken seriously. First, because it is wrong to believe (as the experience of Europe conclusively proves) that economic totalitarianism will not, sooner or later, bring in its wake political dictatorship; and second, because it is just as wrong to believe that once the war is over, the pressing contradictions and difficulties of capitalism will suddenly dissolve and permit of the lifting of fascist controls. If anything, the contrary is more likely.

This, then, is the advice of Hoover to his class: march on the totalitarian, fascist road.

Vice-President Wallace, however, is not quite reconciled to that proposal. His speech is an effective piece of rhetoric designed to paint the picture of the war which only a liberal can see. It is a war to end want, to bring a new, more beautiful world into existence.

"The people are on the march," says Wallace. **"Everywhere the common man must learn to increase his productivity so that he and his children can eventually pay to the world community all that they have received. No nation will have the God-given [?] right to exploit other nations. Older nations will have the privilege to help younger nations get started on the path to industrialization, but there must be neither military nor economic imperialism."**

WHAT WALLACE REALLY ADVOCATES

It is for these generalities that Wallace has received such enthusiastic plaudits from the liberal journals. But when one examines the speech concretely, it is seen to consist of nothing but well-meaning and empty platitudes. How can anyone possibly believe that the capitalist nations will voluntarily cease their imperialist competition after the war? ((Certainly no such sanguine hopes are entertained by the New York Daily News, which urges women to bear more children in order to have new cannonfodder for the Third Imperialist World War!)

Who can really believe that after such a bitter war fought precisely in order to determine which imperialist bloc shall dominate the world, the victors will voluntarily relinquish their booty? Wallace's co-cabinet member, Secretary of the Navy Knox, more realistically envisages the need for American imperialism to patrol the world for the next century if it is to establish itself as the dominant force.

We said at the beginning of this article that Hoover and Wallace proposed two divergent courses for American capitalism. Roosevelt and Wallace desire to fight what they please to call a "people's war." Hoover, representing the most reactionary section of the American capitalist class, proposes the outright institution of fascist economic measures—an essential ingredient of which is the destruction of the present standards of the working class.

But Roosevelt and Wallace, because they are pledged in principle to the maintenance of a profit economy, find themselves in greater and greater contradictions. In practice, they find it ever more necessary to move toward the economic program proposed by Hoover. The gap between them is brindged by the economic dictates of a decaying capitalist order: its war needs require constant movement toward totalitarian economy. That is the price which the people pay for its survival. And the role of the Wallace program becomes increasingly that of rhetorical mayonnaise with which to dress up the bitter dish of total war economy.

Editorials

A Bootlicker Gets Kicked

A bootlicker always gets a kick in the face from the contemptuous master!

Ask Harry Bridges. He knows!

For that's just what he got from the Roosevelt Administration for all his efforts to hogtie the labor movement to the war machine since Hitler marched into Russia.

If this were the only consideration involved in the order of deportation by the Department of Justice against Harry Bridges, many unionists would just smile at the grim irony involved.

But we must warn the labor movement. Much more than Harry Bridges is involved!

We speak with authority in this case because we speak, not as friends of Bridges and his Stalinist clique, but as their irreconcilable opponents within the union movement.

The government order is a direct intervention in the affairs of the union movement. It violates a sacred right of the union movement to choose its own leaders, and officers.

It substitutes a dictatorial ruling for the democratically expressed wishes of the union ranks. And we are, as is the labor movement, strongly opposed to dictatorship imposed on the labor movement. It smacks too much of Hitlerism.

Therefore we feel compelled to warn the labor movement to resist the autocratic ruling of the government agency against Bridges, irrespective of whether one agrees or disagrees with his policies.

Coventry Cologned Cologne Coventried

Cologne—a large German industrial city—was wiped out last week by 1,000 British bombers. From the reports of the returning pilots they must have done quite a job, with their many thousand tons of dynamite and high explosives.

When the Hitler hordes of aviators blasted the city of Coventry into the earth last year, the world was shocked and a great cry of indignation rose up against this sinister and criminal act of destruction.

But now the "other side" has done it; and they tell us this is only the first of similar raids to come. In describing their flight of organized terror over the cities of the Ruhr, the warmongers and imperialists of Britain use **exactly** the same words that were employed by the warmongers and imperialists of Nazi Germany when their Luftwaffe flew over London and Coventry. Both sides delight in depicting the horrors, the lurid glows that filled the skies, the fright of the people, the explosions and the fires, the smashed and crumbling buildings, the fantastic and nightmarish atmosphere of the whole bloody thing.

This is no accident. For both camps—as LABOR ACTION has contended from the start—are dominated by the same motives in this imperialist slaughter: a lust for destruction of the enemy, a lust for power and control by brute force; an utter disregard for the masses of people, victims of both camps.

Neither imperialist camp is likely to gain victory in this manner. Hitler's air blitz failed. The only result is a further piling of suffering and misery upon the working people who never wanted this war in the first place. This is capitalism—be it English or German—today. Nothing but destruction, a collection of "rubbled" Coventries and Colognes.

Come Clean on War Profiteering

The Securities and Exchange Commission published last week a list of those persons whose salaries were the largest in the country. Many people gain a certain false impression from these figures, since they see that movie actors and actresses get among the highest salaries in the country, often higher than those of the capitalists. What is forgotten, of course, is the fact that the capitalists' salaries are only a small addition to the profits they make.

But what is most interesting in this report is that the SEC has deliberately withheld the salary figures of certain leading industrialists, like Eugene Grace of U. S. Steel, because such figures may be considered as war secrets.

To which we reply: nonsense. The money grabs of the Merchants of Death and the war profiteers are not war secrets. This information should be public property. Let the people know how much the big shots are raking in.

We aren't very much interested in the movie stars' salaries. They, at least, entertain millions for their money. But the salaries of the war profiteers definitely do interest us. Bring them out into the public. No censorship of war profteering!

Exporting 'Civilization' to India At Wage Rate of $1.60 a Week

NEW DELHI, May 30 (Wide World)—Americans have not gone native in India, but a number of natives definitely have gone American.

Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's personal minister, has taken up quarters in a Cochin house that once was the city dwelling of a maharajah. On his arrival, eleven servants moped about, thinking themselves jobless.

Although having no appropriation for it, Johnson hired them all **at a total outlay of $69 monthly.** Promptly all blossomed out in fresh white robes and around their turbans wound red, white and blue ribbons pinned on by a Yankee brass eagle clutching a handful of arrows. Their splendor arouses popeyed admiration in other flunkeys.

But the American influence is not confined to flunkeys. As one Indian department head smilingly observed: "Americans think Indians are slow, so now every time Americans ask for anything we fall all over ourselves to get it for them in a hurry."

The "March on Washington" Movement Stirs Once More

(Continued from page 1)

to Negroes on the basis of equality. And it is demanding the abolition of all economic and political discrimination against the Negroes.

The making of these demands is obviously necessary. But even their **partial achievement is possible only if they are backed up by militant mass Negro pressure and mass action, and supported by trade union and workers organizations.**

But an examination of the March on Washington leaders reveals their reluctance to arouse real mass pressure. **The leaders to whom the Negroes look today are those with a history of labor struggle.** For example, the standing of A. Phillip Randolph in the Negro community is based upon his record of militancy in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Negroes are predominantly workers. Those to whom Negroes look for leadership are those who function as leaders of labor organizations.

Leaders Curb Mass Pressure

At present, however, the labor leaders of the Negro masses are those who prefer negotiations with the top people in Washington. They curb the natural inclinations of the masses because they, as leaders, are afraid that mass action might go "beyond bounds."

These Negro reformist leaders make specific demands, grantable under pressure without seriously disturbing any of the powers-that-be. Such was the demand in the original March on Washington call—for an executive order to stop discrimination in industry.

The Negro people find little satisfaction in these orders. **General orders to cease discrimination or specific punishments for those who have discriminated mean very little to the Negro masses.** These measures are necessary and acceptable as far as they go. But the Negro masses as a whole do not have the time nor the money through which they can bring action against discriminating firms. **Such orders can help only one individual here and there—isolated cases and not the masses as a whole. They are face-saving devices for the Administration and the masses know this.**

The Negro masses felt betrayed when the March on Washington was called off last year. They had been promised militant mass action but were given only wordy concessions. **They were refused the opportunity to demonstrate their strength publicly. They did not get jobs en masse.** They didn't want simply an investigation of a few cases when Jim Crow pervades the whole rotten employing system.

Today the Negro masses still want to march. They want Randolph to live up to the militant words which are characteristic of his speeches. They want him to lead them into the mass actions which he has told them over and over again is the only means to achieve results. **The Negro masses want a March on Washington.**

Randolph Remains Reluctant

But Randolph, since Pearl Harbor, is even more reluctant than before to call for a March on Washington. Like most of the other leaders of the March on Washington movement, he supports the war for "democracy" abroad. In the New York March on Washington Committee, as reported by one of its members, there has even been discussion of "postponing" the Madison Square Garden rally because it may disturb "national unity." But the pressure of the Negro masses is too great and it is unlikely that the leaders would dare to "postpone" even an indoor rally.

The New York March on Washington Committee raises the slogan "Winning democracy for the Negro is winning the war for democracy." This slogan, simple and "militant" as it may sound, is nevertheless just another way of sponsoring the "Double V" campaign of the Pittsburgh Courier. Pretending to fight for democracy at home while at the same time sponsoring the imperialist war abroad, these campaigners for "Double Victory" actually straddle the issue and **subordinate the struggle against domestic oppression to "national unity."**

The Negro leaders wish to be appointed to positions in the war administration to carry out more efficiently the job of **rallying the reluctant Negro masses behind the imperialist war effort.**

White Workers Must Support Movement

The Negro leaders are equally hesitant in calling upon white workers' organizations for support of the March on Washington movement. They have in fact excluded white participation in the movement. From one point of view this exclusion of white participation is understandable. It is understandable that Negroes want to demonstrate their own mass strength. The development of an organized Negro mass movement and of Negro leaders is a crying need of the Negro workers. Moreover, the Negroes do not want an influx of Stalinists who may dominate the movement and then betray it if the needs of Stalin require a quick shift of the party line.

However, while excluding white workers' participation, the March on Washington committee invites such white "friends of the Negro people" as Pearl Buck and Wendell Willkie to speak before them. The report is that both these "friends" have declined the invitation. Evidently they fear that even a Madison Square Garden Rally may disturb too drastically the "national unity" which they treasure more than the struggle for Negro rights.

Trade union and white workers' support for the March on Washington movement is essential if the Negro masses are to achieve some of their immediate objectives and demands. **Day by day, trade unions are realizing that white workers cannot be free while black workers are branded. The basic interests of the two groups of workers are identical and the colors of their skins mean nothing in their common struggle against exploitation.**

The Negro workers want jobs. **They want equal jobs—not Jim Crow jobs such as the Higgins and Sun Shipyard Jim Crow projects. Only when they get jobs on an equal basis with other workers will the color line be broken down politically and socially. Solidarity in the shop and in the union between black workers and white workers is the only genuine and effective weapon against Jim Crow.** The employers want to segregate Negroes from other workers. They refuse to employ Negro workers on an equal basis because they fear solidarity in the working class. Racial antagonism is fostered and the supply of cheap labor can be maintained because competition between workers can be intensified on the basis of color.

The Jobs Are There

Today millions of jobs exist for all workers in the war industries. To get these jobs, despite the Jim Crow attitude and policy of the employers, the masses of Negro workers must demonstrate publicly and militantly. White workers must give their full support to these demands.

The Negroes must march on Washington to prove to government officials and to employers all over the country the mass strength which lies behind their demands!

They must march on Jim Crow plants to prove to each empolyer that Negro workers will not longer stand by passively and suffer want and privation while jobs are available!

They must demand that workers, Negro and white, be the enforcing power for any executive orders ostensibly leveled against Jim Crow

In the final analysis it is only when workers themselves, Negro and white, through their labor unions and factory committees, regulate the assignment of workers to jobs in production and in fact establish workers' control over production, that the demands of the Negro workers can really be achieved.

The Workers Party supports the March on Washington proposal. Class conscious workers understand that **through the initiative and mass actions of Negro workers in conflict with their political and economic oppressors, Negro workers will develop their class consciousness.** They will thus come to realize that only by joining in class solidarity and independent class political action of all workers, Negro and white, will they enter upon the road toward the social, political and economic emancipation of all the oppressed.

The March on Washington movement can really become a mass movement if the Negro masses insist on making it their movement; if they demand of their leaders a MARCH ON WASHINGTON, and if they build a leadership which will carry out their demand.

ALL OUT TO MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, TUESDAY, JUNE 16!

Stalinist Stool Pigeons at Work:

Stonkus Runs to 'Comrade' Biddle to Help Do a...Job

We learn from the Daily Worker of May 28 that the executive board of Local 475 of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (CIO) has sent a request to Attorney General Biddle that he investigate "the activities of Trotskyists" in two Brooklyn war plants and that he "halt the sale and distribution of LABOR ACTION and The Militant."

This letter is signed by Charles Fay, president, and Albert Stonkus, business agent of the local.

Nothing could more completely characterize the stool pigeon nature of the action of Fay and Stonkus than merely to record the fact that they ran to Biddle to have his dicks wipe out a group within the labor movement with which they disagree, only to have this very same Biddle to whom they had appealed, turn around on the very next day and order the deportation of their friend and co-thinker, Harry Bridges!

So you ran to Biddle, eh, Stonkus? So you want the dicks to wipe out militant workers who won't subscribe to your sell-out trade union policies?

But don't you know, Stonkus, that every time the dicks hear someone yelling about "Trotskyists," they know damn well that he's a Stalinist, like you, and they mark him down in their little book?

Pretty ironic, wasn't it? On Wednesday, Stonkus runs to "Comrade" Biddle—and on Thursday, the by-now "fascist appeaser" Biddle answers, so to speak, by ordering Bridges deported!

That should teach you a lesson, Stonkus, to be more careful about running to the dicks.

And then you have the gall to say that we print articles of the type "for which your office banned Coughlin's Social Justice from the mails." Whom are you trying to kid? Where do you think you're living—in Stalinist Russia, where nobody can raise his voice in dissent?

Those Local 475 members who read LABOR ACTION—and thousands of them read it faithfully every week!—know damn well that we've always been the most forthright enemies of Coughlin, of Hitlerism and of fascism. What gripes you is that these workers know that we're also enemies of Stalinism—and that they approve!

You say that we are "carrying on activities" in Bliss Co. and Mergenthaler Linotype Co. "to line them (the workers in those plants) up with saboteurs and Nazi sympathizers."

What unadulterated hokum! Remember, Stonkus, it wasn't we, the Trotskyists, who made alliances with Hitler. It was your own Uncle Joe Stalin!

And as for these plants, we don't know what's going on in them, except we'd bet a few pennies that the people whom you're calling "Trotskists" are just plain workers who insist on improving their conditions and maintaining their union standards in opposition to your sell-out.

We have a suggestion to you, Stonkus, which we're certain most of Local 475's membership would approve. Instead of spreading lies about labor papers, like LABOR ACTION, why don't you pay attention to the job you were elected to do—and are paid for—and fight for better union standards for your members... for a change?

Max Shachtman Writes On:

CHINA IN THE WAR

Marxism on the Wars of Colonies for Independence and the Wars of Imperialism for Colonies

A 12 Page Section attached to the 32 page issue of The New International for June

The First Section Will Contain:

Notes of the Month, by A.G.
England's Political Crisis, by Henry Judd
James Connolly, Irish Rebel, by Albert Gates
The National Question in Europe, by Zachary Jackson
World War I in Retrospect, by H. Allen and R. Stone
The Theory of Offensive War, by M. Gordon
The Social Roots of Opportunism, by G. Zinoviev (final installment)
Book Reviews of Steinbeck, Corbit, Hicks, Farrell, Petegorsky

IN BRITAIN:

The Labor Party's Annual Conference

By Henry Judd

"The conference broke up with cheers for Churchill and the singing of 'The International.'" (PM.)

And that's enough to break up any conference!

•

The annual conference of the British Labor Party met last week for three days. Numerous resolutions and heated debates, reflecting the tension in British politics, marked the gathering.

The atmosphere was largely dominated by two important factors: (1) The campaign for a "second front" in Europe now being conducted by "His Majesty's Royal Communist Party," otherwise known as the Stalinists; and (2) the disgust and discontent existing among the rank and file millions of the Labor Party because of the pussyfooting of their leadership and their support to the Churchill National Government.

Like every Labor Party conference, this one was dominated by the bureaucrats and functionaries of the trade unions and Labor Party branches. The delegates present do not cast individual votes, but votes that represent **(without any prior consultation)** the total membership of the separate union or party constituency which the delegate supposedly represents. Thus, delegates from large mass unions cast "votes" of 200,000 or even 300,000! At this, the 41st annual conference, there were 600-odd delegates (union and party officials) claiming to represent over 3,000,000 workers! This system obviously has its advantages for the conservative officials; even though it crushes out in advance genuine democratic representation.

Among some of the resolutions adopted were:

(1) The Laski resolution advocating "A Planned Economic Democracy" after the war. In the course of his speech, Professor Laski accused Churchill of evading the question of a "people's peace" and failing to state war aims. This resolution was typical of dozens adopted at previous conferences, and never put into practice by organized campaigning.

(2) Resolutions urging a continuation of the discussions with the leaders of Nationalist India and an extension of the Atlantic Charter throughout the Empire were adopted. The thought of demanding freedom for all of England's colonies never entered the heads of the delegates. As Chairman Walter Green said, in closing the conference: **"We assure Churchill we stand behind him... Never has a Prime Minister had a more loyal party to follow him in this effort than has Churchill in the Labor Party."**

SURPRISE VOTES ON TWO ISSUES

But a real surprise and upset took place on two important matters.

By a vote of 1,244,000 to 1,231,000, a motion to lift the ban on the Stalinist newspaper, Daily Worker, was passed over the opposition of the leadership and the party executive committee. This defeat of the executive puts Herbert Morrison, the man responsible for banning the paper and a leading party figure, on the well known spot. It also indicates the extent to which the Stalinists have succeeded in influencing workers, due to the efforts of the Russian Army.

Most important of all, when on Tuesday the conference had reaffirmed its position of participating in and supporting the Churchill government by a vote of 2,319,000 to 164,000, they, in effect, almost reversed this stand on Wednesday, when a resolution stating that the electoral truce between the Labor Party and the Conservatives should continue was adopted only by the narrow vote of 1,275,000 to 1,209,000! This resolution showed how angry many delegates were at the policy of joining hands with Britain's leading Tories and reactionaries under the leadership of Churchill.

As one reporter wrote (New York Post): **"Not since Ramsay MacDonald split the Labor Party in 1931 has a party conference witnessed such a storm as occurred Wednesday when the party executive asked for continued support of the truce whereby all parties are pledged to back government candidates."**

A delegate from Edinburg said that **"the coalition government was a cockeyed, one-way partnership because the government had control by three votes to one."**

Rhys Davies, a left wing Laborite, attacked Hugh Dalton, the Labor president of the Board of Trade. He said that Dalton had promised to wring Hitler's neck in six months, but **"all Dalton has done is shorten our shirts by two inches."** He also denounced Bevin, the Labor Minister, for **"sending miners to prison because they refused to return to the pits"** during a strike.

And then the conference ended with "The International" and cheers for Churchill. The battles and disputes that took place were obviously not settled and will burst out again in the near future with more heat and fierceness than ever. The rank and file membership of the British Labor Party is fed up with the Churchill-appeasement gang of leaders.

Bolivian Trotskyists Jailed

Nine members of the Bolivian Workers Revolutionary Party, a Trotskyist organization, have been arrested by the police on the charge of "planning to overthrow the government." These workers are accused of forming party branches in the Bolivian capital, La Paz, as well as numerous mining towns.

The arrested comrades are accused of having received literature from New York, Argentina and other countries. They are likewise accused of having pasted up leaflets on the city walls of La Paz during the past year.

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!

1. *Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!*
2. *Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars the minimum wage; time and a half for overtime! Rehire the jobless millions by a six-hour shift!*
3. *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!*
4. *No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!*
5. *Maintain and increase all government social services!*

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

6. *A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war Confiscate all war profits!*
7. *Conscript all war industries under workers' control!*
8. *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!

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

SMASH JIM CROW!

11. *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!*
12. *For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes.*

BE PREPARED!

13. *For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilante and fascist attacks!*
14. *For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!*
15. *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!*

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