

Fight for 30 Cents an Hour Continues
Big Rains Stall
Mo. Croppers

Special to LABOR ACTION

MISSOURI, June 22—Torrents of rain have been falling here day after day. After a long period of drought, in which the croppers hoped for rain so that they could bring their struggle for a minimum wage of 30 cents an hour to a climax, the rain has come in unprecedented quantity. So much so, that the struggle between the croppers and landlords, described in previous issues of LABOR ACTION, is now at a standstill. The showdown is expected in a few days, as soon as chopping can begin.

Whatever happens in the next few days, however, one thing is certain. Even if the men do not succeed in getting their 30 cents an hour, even then they will have written a glorious page in the history of the sharecroppers' struggle for a decent wage. As it is, they have already won many gains by their display of militancy.

They have won a 60 per cent wage increase—the wage rate now universally being \$2.00 a day. They have organized themselves into unions of their own choosing and under their own leadership. They have flexed their muscles and shown their strength; and many have learned the lesson of white and Negro workers fighting together for their joint needs.

The landlords' attitude has alternated between open threats and a new-found respectful cajoling. On the one hand, some of them and their red-necked stooges have spread much talk about "finding who is the leader of the CIO and stringing him to a tree."

One boss, with a pistol in hand, actually threatened to kill a member of Local 313, which is conducting the struggle. The Sikeston "Polecat" (editor of a local paper) speaks freely of making Cleo Wright's lynching look like small-time stuff.

But these tactics have not worked. Bland, courteous, silent—the masses of workers just refuse to go on the trucks. The landlords, most of them in debt to the banks, know that they must

(Continued on page 2)

Negroes, March
on Washington!

By Ria Stone

By RIA STONE

The Negro people are justly proud of their demonstration at Madison Square Garden on June 16. Out of New York's 330,000 Negroes, 20,000 attended.

The Negro who formed the backbone of that rally was the "New Negro," as many speakers noted. Sticking out his jaw instead of turning the other cheek, the "New Negro" is ready to fight for his democratic rights now. He wants social, political and economic equality everywhere.

From the militancy of the gathering, several things are unmistakably clear. The Negro masses recognize that their main enemy rules in the Jim Crow Congress, in the administrative departments, and among the Southern bourgeois. They are ready for action against this enemy. And they are seeking leadership to carry them into action through a concrete and immediate program to gain their democratic rights. Today, even more than in 1941, the Negroes are ready to march upon Washington.

Any speaker at the rally could have established himself as a real leader of the Negro masses by saying: "We've had enough! We're ready to march NOW!" By saying that, he would have provided the kind of leadership demanded by the Negro masses. This is clear from the play staged at the rally which told the stark truth of the Negro masses' feelings about the last war and this war.

NEGRO 'LEADERS' TRAIL MASSES

However, most of the so-called "Negro leaders" are not leading the Negro masses but trailing behind them. They are making a minimum response to mass pressure instead of developing this mass pressure to its maximum strength.

One Negro "leader" after another sought by his lengthy eloquence to outdo the preceding speaker in repeating the multitude of grievances and bitter miseries which the Negro masses already know so well. Not one of these "leaders" proposed a concrete series of actions for the Negro masses to follow to realize the demands of the eight-point program advanced by the March on Washington Committee.

But orators the Negro people have always had. What they are looking for today is the "New Negro" among their leaders to match the "New Negro" who makes up the masses.

Of the galaxy of Negro speakers at the rally, only two—A. C. Powell, Jr., New York City Councilman and editor of the People's Voice, and A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington Committee and president of the Brotherhood of Pullman Car Porters—appear to the Negroes as candidates to lead them in their struggle.

(Continued on page 2)

"Negro Victory Conference"

Why the Stalinists Don't
Fight for Negro Rights

NEW YORK—A "Trade Union and People's Victory Conference" has been called here for this week-end by a number of Negro organizations which are heavily under the influence of, or directly dominated by, the Stalinist Communist Party.

This conference is being called by the National Conference of Negro Youth, a Stalinist front group; the Negro Labor Victory Committee,

composed of Stalinist trade union functionaries; and by the People's Voice, a Negro weekly, which, while not Stalinist, has pursued a similar policy and shown traces of heavy Stalinist influence.

This conference has obviously been called as the answer of the Stalinist Communist Party to the recent great mass meeting held in Madison Square Garden by the March on Washington Committee last week. For several days before the Madison Square Garden rally, the organ of the Communist Party, the Daily Worker, attacked the March on Washington Committee on the grounds that it laid too much stress on the struggle for Negro rights and not enough stress on prosecution of the war.

No such accusation can be made against this "victory conference," however. This conference, according to its statement of purpose, faithfully pursues the Stalinist policy of subordinating the interests and needs of the Negro people to the prosecution of the imperialist war.

Thus, for instance, it makes the main point of its statement the proposal to open a second front in Europe now by the Allied armies. There

(Continued on page 2)

Waller Execution
Postponed Again

Governor Colgate Darden of Virginia has granted to Odell Waller, Virginia Negro sharecropper under sentence of death for shooting his white landlord, a reprieve until July 2 to allow time for a hearing on a petition for commutation of his sentence. The hearing has been scheduled for June 29.

Waller's case has aroused great indignation among labor, liberal and Negro circles, since he was deprived of his constitutional right of a trial by his peers, his jury having been made up of poll tax payers, from which non poll tax payers were excluded.

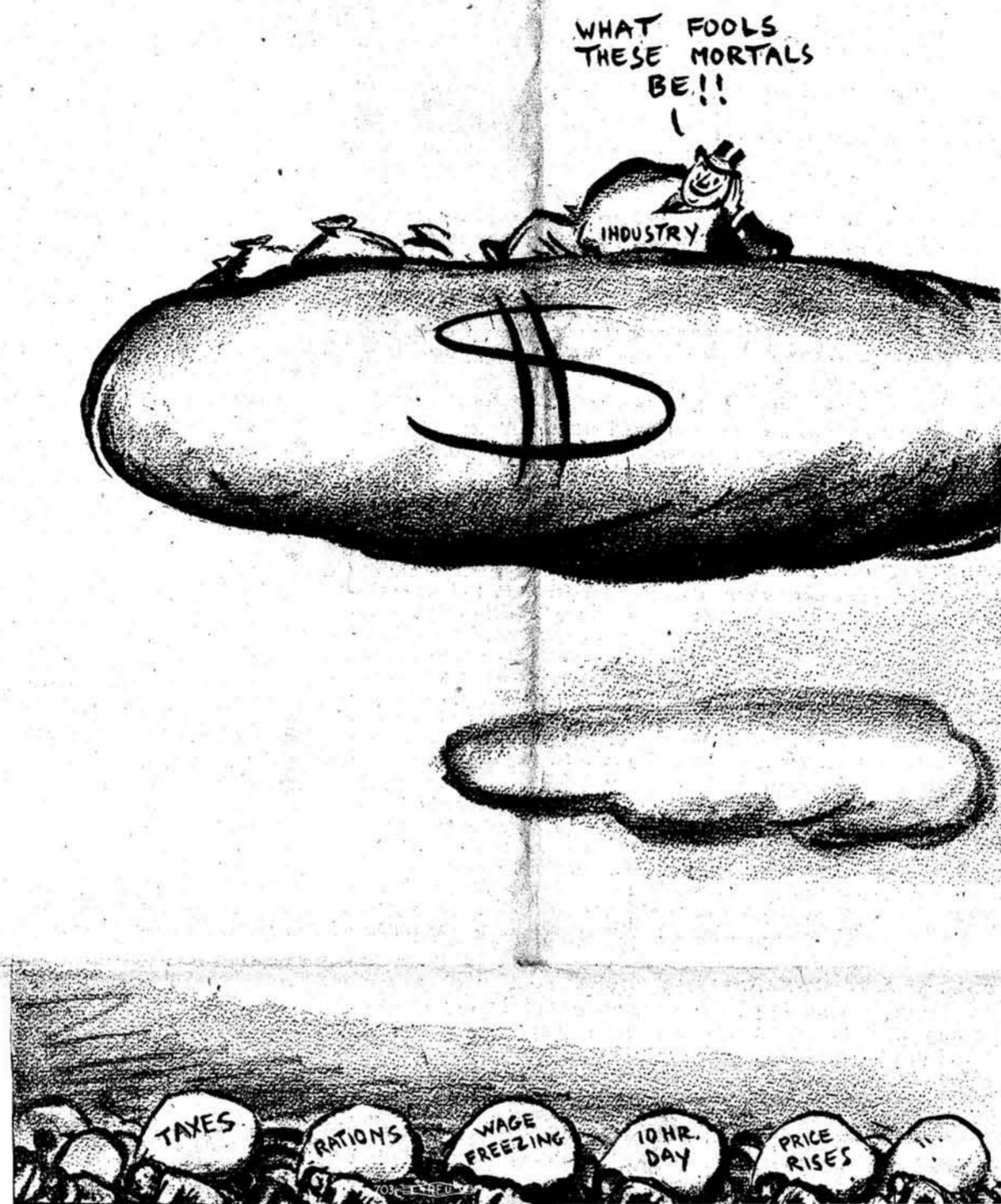
LABOR ACTION

JUNE 29, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

PROFITEERS TAKING SWAG--
NELSON GIVES OK SIGNAL!



New disclosures of tremendous war profiteering on the part of the great industrialists were made public last week by a report on the House of Representatives Military Affairs Committee. The report underlined and re-emphasized what had previously been disclosed in more detail by the Truman committee, the Vinson committee and by the public press: while the poor are being soaked with tremendous taxes in order to pay for the burden of war, the rich industrialists are raking in fabulous profits through government war contracts, often negotiated with friends or former business associates who are now acting as dollar-a-year men.

House Drops \$25,000
Salary Limit Like
A Hot Potato!

The powerful House Ways and Means Committee has dropped the proposal to limit salaries of the top industrialists to \$25,000 (exclusive of profits). And it dropped it like a hot potato.

Under the pretext of postponing the proposal for "further study," the committee dropped one of the few points in the Roosevelt seven-point economic program which would have hit the rich. In the meantime, other points, such as wage freezing, have already been hitting against the workers' standard of living.

The Military Affairs Committee tried to soften the effect of its disclosures by giving the dollar-a-year men a pat on the back and by burying its disclosures about war profiteering in the midst of a harangue against social reforms. But one key paragraph stood out like a sore thumb in its report and that paragraph read:

"Evidence developed by the committee reveals a 'sordid' picture of excessive commissions by so-called defense brokers, huge profits by vendors, exorbitant salaries, bonuses and fees for management and related services in many War Department contracts."

And the report continued: "There has been evidence of widespread and inexcusable waste of public funds amounting to millions of dollars. Nearly every conceivable type of extravagant waste has been reflected by these investigations."

"The time has come, however, when the contractors' honeymoon at the expense of the taxpayers of the nation must end."

Congress Doesn't Hit Profiteers

Exactly how seriously Congress takes these startling revelations can be seen by the fact that it has done nothing to cut down on war profits in any substantial way.

Proof of this statement can be seen by the fact that the House Ways and Means Committee has voted an excess profits tax of only 80 per cent instead of the originally proposed 94 per cent, the additional 14 per cent to be repaid after the war as a rebate (while retaining the so-called alternative method of calculating excess profits, which gives corporations the possibility of keeping plenty before even getting around to excess profits).

This means that the government is going to force the corporations to save a large amount of money for the post-war period but that it's not going to tax them for that amount to pay for the war. That privilege is being reserved for the workers.

It was the testimony of Donald Nelson, war production chief, that swung the balance to a lower profits tax on the industrialists. He said that their "incentive to production" may be lowered if a larger excess profits tax is put on them.

A revealing statement! The workers have their jobs and wages frozen, their taxes hiked, their standard of living cut. Many of them may sacrifice their lives in the Army. Yet the bosses won't produce unless they make the kind of profits disclosed in the House Military Affairs Committee's report.

We say: If labor can be drafted, if lives can be drafted, then wealth can be drafted, too!

Place a 100 per cent tax on all war profits! Make the rich pay for their war.

Stiff Payroll Tax
Will Dent Income
Of U.S. Workers

The working people of America will soon be faced with a new economic burden—a withholding payroll tax that will cut sharply into their incomes. According to the new tax schedules, workers who are single and earn \$30 a week will have \$1.90 a week taken out of his pay envelope. That is 10 per cent of his pay above his personal exemption of \$11 a week.

But that isn't all. This single worker will have to pay an additional \$100 on his income taxes next March 15.

All told, the average worker will pay about seven weeks' salary to the government during the year in the form of federal income tax payments.

If you're married but childless and making \$50 a week, the deduction from your pay will be \$2.40 a week. Personal exemptions are to be cut from \$750 to \$500 for single persons and from \$1,500 to \$1,200 for married couples.

After you have taken these credits and made the other small deductions allowed, you'll have to pay 18 cents of every dollar that is left.

In other words, if you are an ordinary worker making the wage of an ordinary worker, you are going to find that a tremendous slash will be made into your wages by this new tax. It stands in sharp contrast to the failure of Congress to place a 100 per cent tax on war profits, on those who can shoulder the burden.

In the meantime, it can be expected that this new payroll deduction tax will stimulate anew a demand among the workers for \$1.00 a day wage increases with which to try to maintain their present inadequate standards of living.

War Contracts Still in
Grip of \$-a-Year Stooges

Since the sensational revelations of the Senate Truman committee some three months ago, which showed that the entire war production program is in the hands of big business representatives parading under the title of dollar-a-year men, a great stir has been created around the issue. But nothing has been done. The dollar-a-year men still run the entire war show.

These accusations fell into line with previous disclosures that dollar-a-year men had held up conversion to war industry, causing priorities unemployment, in order to make more profits and blackmail the government into more profitable war contracts.

Donald Nelson, war production czar, entered the fray with a heated defense of big business' dollar-a-year men, although he could not deny any of the specific charges of the Truman committee. What apparently incensed Nelson most was that the

committee's recommendation that dollar-a-year men not only be allowed to negotiate government contracts with their own firms, but that they not be allowed to negotiate contracts with any firm in their own industry. Such a proposal, while by no means breaking the stranglehold of the dollar-a-year men, would cut down on their power somewhat; and Donald Nelson is against any such thing.

Simultaneously, several disclosures were made of the activities of other

(Continued from page 3)

GE Head Got \$1.00
—Plus \$120,000!

Phillip Reed, dollar-a-year man who is head of the War Production Board's industry division, is managing to get by on a little more than his \$1.00 a year. A recent report shows that Reed is also getting the tidy little sum of \$120,000 a year salary from the company of which he is the president, General Electric. That, of course is besides whatever profit he may make from the various stocks he owns.

So we guess that it ain't so tough to live on \$1.00 a year after all. (Cripes, the way taxes are going up these days, plenty of workers will really have to live on almost that little!)

That was the conclusion of a supplementary report issued by the Truman committee last week.

The report sharply condemned the activities of Phillip Reed, chairman of the Bureau of Industries branch of the War Production Board, who also happens to be the president of General Electric Corp.

It accused Reed of not taking "the necessary action to obtain the maximum conversion of private industry to war production in the shortest possible time." It accused Reed of failing to take account of future shortages in crucial raw materials.

Sugar, Sugar Everywhere But
Only a Half Pound To Eat

By SUSAN GREEN

A shortage of sugar in this country? Banish the thought! There is so much sugar that there are not enough warehouses to hold it all.

Then why the rationing? Well, thereby hangs a tale—another tale of the inefficiency and the anarchy in the capitalist management of national affairs.

It wasn't much of a mistake that the Office of Price Administration made in calculating the available supplies for 1942—only a small matter of 3,200,000 tons, or almost half of all the sugar consumed in the year 1940! OPA expected the sugar stock to be 5,300,000 tons for 1942, whereas it will actually be 8,500,000 tons, which is 400,000 tons more than even the extraordinarily large 1941 consumption.

Of course many reasons are given why this boner was pulled. OPA counted upon 1,300,000 tons of the Cuban crop being used for alcohol needed in explosives, whereas only 400,000 tons of it were so used. Also it was surprised by the domestic crop, which was a bumper one. Fi-

nally more sugar came in from Hawaii than was expected, but so much more that to date it already equals the estimates from that source for the entire year. Think of that for national planning!

We have a sneaking suspicion that national planning means to have a more or less accurate idea about just such things as these. A mistake of a hundred thousand tons one way or the other is understandable—but 3,200,000 tons! The inherent anarchy in capitalist production is the explanation. National planning and capitalism just don't take to each other.

Now sugar refiners and producers are hammering on the doors of the OPA to increase domestic and industrial rations. The president of the Amalgamated Sugar Co. insists that "All the reliable sugar statisticians are convinced that there is enough sugar available so that rationing is unnecessary."

So difficult indeed has become the problem of storing the huge sugar surplus, while you and I have been

(Continued from page 3)

THE WORLD AT WAR

Nazi Advances in Libya
Forecast Long, See-Saw War
Between Rival Imperialists

By WILLIAM BRAD

The fall of Tobruk and the Axis advance to the borders of Egypt, plus the German successes in the siege of Sevastopol have resulted in a tremendous let-down in Allied optimism.

It is obvious that, whatever the original intentions of Churchill and Roosevelt, the suddenness of the Axis advances last week took them off guard. That is the reason for their cagey statements and the absence of mention of a second front. In England the cry for immediate aid to the Middle East suddenly over-

came the cry for a second front. The week-old pact with the Soviet Union, which is intended to run for 20 years and which calls for a second front, was side-tracked momentarily in favor of "saving the lifeline of the empire."

Neither Tobruk nor Sevastopol are of decisive military significance, in themselves. The reasons for the violence of the Allied reaction are to be found in three factors:

1. That, contrary to what the Allied propagandists have led everyone to believe, Hitler's regime

(Continued from page 3)

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Third Camp

ERNEST BEVIN SLANDERS THE GERMAN WORKERS

Ernest Bevin, British Minister of Labor, made a speech the other day directed to the German workers in which he said:

"Can it be true that you, of all people, members of the working classes in Germany, can be a willing party to the torture of your fellow trade unionists in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, etc.? The longer you allow it, the greater price you will have to pay because—I speak for the working classes throughout the United Nations—they will never give up until this regime is obliterated. It may be that it is no use to appeal to you, but if it is not, then at least let this be a warning of what your fellow workmen feel in other countries about your acquiescence in and support of this terrorist rule."

This is the most impudent stuff that has come to our notice for some time. Bevin, the obedient servant of British imperialism, speaking on behalf of the "working men throughout the United Nations" is already something impudent in itself; but the sight of this betrayer of labor telling the German workers to revolt—in behalf of British imperialism, of course—or else face the consequences, is pretty disgusting. It is not accidental that he speaks from the same broadcasting station that transmits the Vansittart propaganda for dismemberment of Germany!

This propaganda has done more to fasten Hitler's tie on the German people than anything else. With what cool and complacent arrogance Bevin asks the German workers to revolt! Does he know anything about the terrible conditions of the anti-fascist fight in Germany, does he know about hundreds and thousands who are in concentration camps because of their fight against the Nazis? Where does he get the courage to dare hint that the German workers "acquiesce in and support this terrorist regime?"

In these last few weeks even papers like the New York Times have been carrying reports which indicate the growing resistance of the German people to the Nazis. For the first time the Nazis officially recognized in an announcement about so-called terrorist attempts in Berlin that they were the work not only of "Jews" and "Communists," but also of "Third Fronters," whatever they may mean by this term. Some days later a broadcast, prominently placed by all German stations, carried an official announcement about the intensification of the fight against "anti-social elements" in which political enemies of the regime are linked with criminals, drunkards, prostitutes, etc.

THE GESTAPO TAKES OVER FULL POWER

The Gestapo is given full power to deal with them in whichever way it likes. This means that the Nazis will now completely dispose of any legal apparatus in their attempt to stem the growing tide of resistance.

"Individuals incapable of living in a community are all those who, owing to their mental attitude, are incapable of satisfying the minimum requirements of the national community... the anti-social is therefore anyone who, owing to criminal, anti-state or querulous inclinations, continually enters into conflict with penal law, the police or other authorities... persons incapable of living in the community are considered dangerous for our people."

The Nazis would not give such wide publicity to this announcement if they did not feel opposition growing among the German people. This announcement indicates that such opposition is mounting. But Mr. Bevin is not satisfied with the German workers; they do not revolt as soon as the shining banner of Allied imperialism is unfurled before their eyes.

Indeed, what can be the effect of declarations like that of Sumner Welles two weeks ago: "The final terms of the peace should wait until the immediate tasks of the transition period after the defeat of the Axis powers have been completed by the United Nations and until the final judgment can be coolly and rationally rendered."

The conclusion which a German worker will reach after hearing such a statement will often be: "So they don't even want to declare a peace immediately; they want a period of complete freedom of action without any formal legal status, just as Hitler now has in France. That can only mean they want to police Europe and dismember Germany, occupy us militarily and destroy us as a nation. In that case, all the horrors of the Versailles Treaty are going to be repeated and even aggravated. I want to get rid of Hitler, of course, but not in order to exchange his domestic tyranny for a foreign variety." It is this reaction, caused by the Allied propaganda, which helps keep Hitler in power.

Mr. Bevin complains of the lack of anti-Nazi action in Germany. But in a way Allied propaganda is conceived in order to check such opposition. So then it can be said: "Since the German people do not revolt now, since it does not help the Allies, it is really a barbaric nation which should be destroyed."

In spite of all the Vansittarts and Welleses and their "labor valets," opposition in Germany is growing. Last week the Stockholm correspondent of the Times reported that 800 German soldiers had been ordered home from Norway, since they showed "too much understanding and commiseration toward the local population." There have also been several reports about unrest in German garrisons in the occupied countries... These are signs that the Vansittarts have not succeeded, that the German people are war weary and are less and less favorable to the Nazi regime.

It would accelerate this process immensely if they would get some help from the outside, if they would know that Welles is not the American people and Bevin and Vansittart are not the British. It is the urgent task of revolutionary socialists all over the world to raise again the banner of independent working class activity. The Third Camp must be made a living reality. This war cannot be ended by military means. Neither a second front nor a third front of imperialist battle will end it. It is only independent action of the workers all over the world which can bring about a workers' peace. And let Mr. Bevin rest assured that those who have been "acquiescent in and in support of imperialist rule" shall not be forgotten.

A Review of the June New International

It is a long time since we read an issue of this Marxist periodical that contained such interesting and provocative contents. This issue is twelve pages larger than the usual 32-page format since it contains a special 12-page supplement containing "China in the War," by Max Shachtman.

Shachtman's article is a reply to an attack on the Workers Party position on the role of China in the war, written by John G. Wright in the April issue of the Fourth International magazine. Characterizing Wright's article as belonging to the "snort-sneer-and-snarl school of polemics," Shachtman proceeds to an intensive examination of the Marxist attitude toward colonial wars. We believe that this article has value beyond its polemical context, and also beyond the specific question of China's role in the war. It is a valuable study of the Marxist attitude toward the war of colonies for independence and the wars of imperialism for colonies.

The first section of the magazine features a study of "England's Political Crisis," by Henry Judd, which describes, with documented detail, the economic and political situation in that country.

Perhaps the most unusual feature that has appeared in American Marxist literature for a long time is Albert Gates' study of the life of James Connolly, the great Irish socialist, whose career has been far too neglected. The study is extreme-

ly interesting, especially as an introduction to this remarkable socialist leader. It bears, unfortunately, the characteristics of attempt to cram the tremendous amount of material which is available to the author, into a few pages; and it is to be hoped that the author will return to Connolly and his time in a series of articles which will have the necessary space and be able to go into the detail which the subject requires.

The editorial Notes of the Month discuss Vice-President Wallace's recent speeches on war aims and the "people's revolution." In addition, the magazine contains another discussion article on the national question by Zachary Jackson; the first part of H. Allen's and R. Stone's "World War I in Retrospect" and the concluding section of Zinoviev's "Social Roots of Opportunism." This latter study, it should be remarked, has not received the attention it deserves; it is a splendid Marxist document on a vital topic.

This issue is rounded out by three book reviews: M. Gordon's review of Kernan's "Defense Will Not Win the War"; Irving Howe's review of Steinbeck's "The Moon Is Down"; and H. J.'s sparkling dissection of Granville Hicks' "Only One Mortal Storm."

This is a fine issue, worthy of the tradition which The New International maintains. Every reader of LABOR ACTION is urged to purchase and read this issue of The New International.

Will Shipworkers Local 9 Accept 8 Point Sellout

Resentment Rises Among Militant Members Against Proposals to Surrender Union Standards

Special to LABOR ACTION

SAN PEDRO—Will Local 9 be the first CIO shipyard local union to reject the eight-point program of union retreat? This program, sacrificing union conditions, was agreed to at Chicago by the union leadership of both the CIO and AFL under the pressure of Roosevelt and the Navy. It is meeting with some tough membership resistance.

At the last union meeting the president abruptly adjourned the meeting, announcing that he would not allow the few members still in attendance at the late hour to adopt the program for the thousands of members of the local, and stating that a referendum vote would be held. Every union militant welcomes the proposal of a rank and file referendum, but every militant also knows that the real reason the meeting was adjourned was because a vote at that meeting would certainly have gone against the sell-out program.

While the membership at a previous meeting was hrowsmugged into accepting the proposed eight-cent raise in place of the thirteen cents clearly demanded by the terms of the contract, it threatens to balk at swallowing any of the rest of the eight points. Especially hard to swal-

low for Local 9 (and for any unionist with a grain of sense in his head) is the proposition to strike out of the contract the requirement that if the cost of living goes up, wages shall go up accordingly. This is an especially bitter dose for Local 9, because, as one speaker pointed out, Local 9 was the father of this idea in the shipbuilding industry, having such a provision in its contracts prior to the original shipbuilding stabilization conference.

The yielding of this guarantee and the proposal for a rotating work week are arousing bitter opposition throughout the membership—an opposition so strong that many are now proposing the eight points as a whole be rejected.

Role of the Stalinists

Of course all these retreats have the very active and vocal support of the reactionaries and the Stalinists in the union. One super-patriot pompously demanded of the membership whether "they wanted Local 9 to be the only CIO local to reject these proposals." He was very properly answered by some rank and file member, who shouted out: "We want to be the leaders."

Another of the super-supers, who would probably gladly sacrifice his

right to walk on his feet to crawl on his belly instead (so long as American imperialism stays on the same side as Russia) let loose a sickening mass of pseudo-patriotic tripe about the bombing of Alaska and the danger of bombing here. How surprised the poor boy must have been to find himself met from start to finish with spontaneous and enthusiastic booing from every section of the hall!

Among those whom the Bridges clique have brought into Local 9 is a Negro, a clever and capable speak-

er. He is one of the most ardent supporters of sacrificing the whole union if that is necessary to aid U.S. imperialism. To genuine unionists who are conscious of the immense amount of discrimination practiced against the Negroes every day in every part of the United States this slavish support of the imperialism that oppresses his race is disgusting. When this colored brother, after all his experience with racial discrimination at the hands of the ruling class in this country, can get up and plead for unlimited sacrifice in this "war for democracy," then one sees a little of what a terrible thing is the false education of the Stalinist Communist Party.

If this brother's job is to deliver the Negro vote in Local 9 in support of the sell-out program of Roosevelt and the union big shots, then he has undertaken a task too big even for his abilities.

Negro Brothers Won't Retreat

Negro workers who can't live in San Pedro, except in a hovel, who have not yet been able to win for themselves equal rights or decent conditions, will not be bludgeoned into giving up what little they do have of rights and conditions. Nor will these colored brothers vote for retreats that will weaken and per-

haps destroy the union whose constitution demands a fight against all discrimination. Not in union retreats, not in concessions to the bosses, can equality for black and white be built—but in strengthening the union, in fighting to maintain and advance union conditions for all, in opposing American (AND EVERY OTHER) imperialism and demanding the right of the people of each country, whatever their color, to rule themselves.

We know that the bosses are enriching and strengthening themselves. They are preparing for the time when the war will be over, when the next terrible depression will come. They do not want to have to deal with any organized workers then. They are determined to destroy our organizations between now and then, and each step or retreat that we take is aiding in their plan. Many workers may not believe that now, but when they meet the terrible crisis after the war, then they will realize it.

Will there be any chance to beat the bosses then? That depends, brothers, on what we do now; on whether we maintain the strength of our unions now; on whether we learn from history and prepare for the future.

GM President Got \$328,000

Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, is famous for his violent opposition to the demand of the CIO United Auto Workers for a \$1.00 a day wage increase for the workers of his plant. But he is apparently more liberal with his own salary. For a report of his 1941 income shows that Wilson drew a salary of \$149,803 (what are those extra three bucks for?) and was given a bonus of 4,500 shares of GM common stock valued at \$39.61 a share.

The March on Washington Meeting--

(Continued from page 1)

Powell's appeal rests on his noisy and frank self-advertising and on the seemingly militant slogans which make up his speeches. However, an analysis of Powell's speeches and of his editorials in the People's Voice shows very clearly that Powell, like the Stalinists with whom he is closely associated, pleads for the breaking down of Jim Crow primarily on the basis that this is a factor which would help the United Nations to win the war.

NEGROES APATHETIC TO THE WAR

The Madison Square Garden rally clearly demonstrated that direct exhortations to support the imperialist "war for democracy" receive only a lukewarm response from the Negro masses who have never known "democracy" at home. For the most part, the Negro views the imperialist war as creating a domestic emergency which requires his Jim Crow oppressor to grant some concessions in the Negroes' struggle for democratic rights at home. The capitalists need the support of the Negro masses in order that their imperialist objectives may be achieved. In the case of the Negroes, who have had nothing they have had to grant a few concessions in order to gain even a minimum of support for the imperialist war.

Randolph recognizes this element of urgency and embarrassment in the Jim Crow administration of a country which is presumably fighting for the "four freedoms" abroad. The Negro masses have found talk of the "four freedoms" in America a mockery and a fraud. Randolph, therefore, brands American democracy a "miserable failure." Asking America to justify herself before the bar of world opinion, Randolph hopes to capitalize on the embarrassment of the American capitalist class to achieve substantial concessions for the Negro masses.

THE ROLE OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Unlike Powell, who is mainly interested in "Winning the War for Democracy," Randolph's main interest appears to be in "Winning Democracy for the Negro." It is this emphasis on Negro rights which constitutes Randolph's main source of strength among the Negro masses. That is why many Negroes trust in Randolph's political sagacity to gain them concessions through negotiations. But they stand ready to exert the necessary mass pressure to back up negotiations whenever they are given the opportunity.

Randolph, however, regards President Roosevelt as the "world's greatest champion of democracy." As he has said: "We believe we are upholding your [Roosevelt's] hand when we fight for the 'four freedoms' for Negroes in our land." It is Randolph's confidence in Roosevelt which leads him to stress the value of negotiations in achieving the Negroes' objectives, and also to support Roosevelt's war for the "four freedoms" abroad.

What Randolph does not point out to the Negro masses is the fact that Roosevelt, whatever may be his personal humanitarian "sympathies" for the Negro people, depends for his political strength on the Jim Crow congressmen and the Jim Crow employers whom these congressmen serve.

Rains Delay Outcome of Missouri Croppers' Fight--

(Continued from page 1)

work their crops to meet their payments. Cursing and muttering, they have been forced to raise their wages from \$1.25 a day to \$2.00—and they may still have to raise them to \$3.00. As one Local 313 member said: "For the first time in history, Negroes in the South have told the boss how much they would work for."

It is because of this situation that a number of the bosses and their press spokesmen have temporarily discarded threats of force and are trying to convince the workers not to "stay at home."

Thus, the Charleston Enterprise-Courier talks about the "Negro citizen" in an editorial entitled "The Black Man's Magna Charter" in its May 28 issue. The paper tells the Negro laborers about the blessings of the Constitution and then adds: "Don't you know that there are poor down-trodden peoples on the earth today who would almost sell their souls for your wonderful blessings and privileges?"

This, of course, will hardly persuade any Negro worker that he doesn't deserve a 30 cent minimum wage per hour; nor that he should leave his union and grow enthusiastic about the lynch-law and poll-tax Jim Crow South!

Landlords Seek Ally

In their frantic search for allies, the landlords have turned to the local Farm Security Administration. The FSA is hitherto bitterly attacked by them because it "changed the way of life overnight of thousands of families" (what a crime!) and set up standards of decent housing.

The landlords threaten the workers that they'll be thrown off the FSA projects if they don't work for

the old wages. But the workers answer by threatening to move off the projects if the FSA officials try any such stunt. And they know that the FSA officials wouldn't do such a thing because they'd lose their soft jobs if the workers moved off the projects.

FSA Officials Try Tricks

So the FSA officials resort to indirect attacks on the "stay at home" action. They say they're for 30 cents an hour—only they're against the union!

There must be "no organizing on the projects; there can be no headquarters on the projects; all charters must be removed from the projects; only Whitfield can hold meetings on the projects." A dozen similar rules were made up overnight. Unionists were cross-examined about their funds, their mail was opened and even the union equipment (paper, typewriters) was investigated.

Naturally, the landlords, in their supreme effort to keep from paying a decent wage, have not left the smallest stone unturned. They've canvassed all the local stores to force them to deny credit to those who were in the "stay at home" (without success, we are glad to say.) They have widely publicized the statements of the Stalinist national and state officials of the UCAFAWA which have attempted to discredit the Local 313 leadership of the "stay at home." But the fair article which the rural edition of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch printed, together with thousands of Local 313 handbills, have served as an answer.

In spite of every trick and dodge, the landlords here are yielding ground. Whether the men will get their full \$3.00 a day remains to be seen. The climax of the struggle will take place in a few days.

The Negro masses cannot rely upon the hope of charity from their liberal and humanitarian "friends." Whatever they achieve in the way of substantial concessions will not be a gift of Roosevelt's "democratic" spirit, but conquests wrested through their demonstrations of strength. Organized mass pressure through meetings like the Madison Square Garden rally and through a March on Washington must buttress any negotiations.

Randolph does not point out that Roosevelt and his government are part of a capitalist society which exploits all labor and especially colored labor. A greater consciousness of this fact on the part of the Negro masses would start them on the road to making demands and proposing measures of a militant, class nature. A fear of such militant class action which can turn in a revolutionary direction largely explains Randolph's continual putting off of the March on Washington, which he might not be able to control. Randolph prefers to use only the threat of such a march to wrest concessions.

THE BREVITY OF RANDOLPH'S GARDEN SPEECH

This fear of a mass action which he may not be able to curb may also partially explain the brevity of Randolph's remarks at the Madison Square Garden rally. At the March on Washington Committee meeting a week before, Randolph said to a few hundred Negroes: "If they don't break down the Jim Crow policy, we are going to march!" In a press release after the Tuesday night rally, Randolph again said: "If the President does not issue a war proclamation to abolish Jim Crow in Washington, the District of Columbia and all government departments and the armed forces, Negroes are going to MARCH, and we don't give a damn what happens!"

If Randolph had said these words to the 20,000 Negroes assembled in Madison Square Garden, the masses would have shown with a tremendous outburst of applause and enthusiasm their full agreement with this proposal. They would have left the Garden with full confidence and belief that Randolph and the March on Washington Committee intended to go ahead with all necessary militant means to achieve the eight-point program. By his failure to speak out clearly at the meeting, Randolph tended to dissipate the spirit of the Negro masses.

Randolph explained the brevity of his remarks at the rally by stating that the hour was late. However, at such a significant gathering, the leader of the Negro masses should have made sure that he would be able to make a full address. Randolph also explains his failure to address the meeting by stating that the "main objective" had been achieved with the "assembling of the Negro people. The whole objective was to corral the Negroes so that they might exemplify by their unity their desire to secure the eight points."

In other words, Randolph believes that the measures taken thus far are all that are necessary at this stage of the Negroes' struggle for their democratic rights.

A MARCH ON WASHINGTON IS NEEDED NOW

Examination of the March on Washington movement, however, leads to the conclusion that the Madison Square Garden rally, a significant mass action, must be supplemented by the announcement of a date in the near future for a mass march on Washington. Mere threats of such a march, while not unimportant, can only obtain, as in 1941, executive orders, which do not abolish Jim Crow in the defense industries, in the civil service, or in the armed forces, as the Negroes well know. To gain any substantial portion of their legitimate objectives, the Negro masses must MARCH ON WASHINGTON NOW.

The March on Washington movement thus far has been an all-Negro movement. Randolph explains this fact thus: "The March on Washington movement believes that the Negro must assume the major responsibility for the solution of his problems and must supply the money to pay the price, make the sacrifice and lead the fight. This doesn't mean that it is anti-white, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-Protestant, anti-Holy Roller or anti-inter-racial."

THE WHITE "FRIENDS" OF THE NEGROES

Class conscious militants recognize that many of the leaders in a movement for Negro rights must for the most part be Negroes. What seems to be strange, then, is the reported invitation by the committee to such "liberal white friends" as Pearl Buck and Wendell Willkie to address the rally. The refusal of such people to lend sanction to this meeting is clearly an indication that they are only fair-weather friends of the Negro people. They are interested in winning the imperialist war and only profess interest in the Negro struggle for that purpose. Negroes who continue to depend upon such fair-weather friends and "liberals" will continue to be disappointed.

WORKERS ARE THE REAL ALLIES OF THE NEGROES

What many Negroes have yet to learn and what Randolph as a trade union leader should teach them is that, in the long run, the staunchest allies of the American Negroes (who are mainly workers) are all the workers, of whatever color, race or creed. Blindness and ignorance on the part of white workers and a few labor unions has in the past and in many cases still lead the white workers to play into the hands of the bosses, who wish to divide the working class.

But, as Frank Crosswaith pointed out at the Garden rally, the fate of the Negro working men and women rests with the fate of the working class. It is both unfortunate and erroneous, therefore, that the March on Washington Committee has not and does not call upon the organized working class movement (the unions, in particular) to participate in and support the objectives of the March on Washington movement. Some sections of the organized workers' movement, certain CIO unions in particular, are beginning to realize that discrimination against any part of the working class weakens the entire working class. Organized support by the trade union movement of the March on Washington movement will be living proof of, and will develop, the solidarity of the entire working class against the industrialists who seek to divide them.

Organized mass action of the Negro masses against their oppressors is necessary. But mass action and militancy alone within the capitalist system cannot achieve for the Negroes the full economic, social and political equality for which they have waited so long. In the final analysis, it is only when the Negro masses take the socialist road, alongside of their fellow workers at home and abroad, that social emancipation can be achieved for themselves and at the same time for all the working masses.

To take this road, the Negro masses must develop from within their ranks the leaders who understand the class nature of the Jim Crow problem and the class solution which must be achieved.

Negro Victory Conference--

(Continued from page 1)

is something grotesquely reactionary about such a proposal. Here is a situation in which the Negro people have been consistently denied their democratic rights, where the period since the war has witnessed, if anything, an increase in anti-Negro violence and discrimination. And yet the Stalinists who are running this conference say that the task of the Negro people is to agitate for a second front.

The second front is the business of the general staffs of Britain and America; it is the task of the Allied imperialist powers to decide that. The Negro people, for their part, have a full right here at home; the fight to establish their right to full social, political and economic equality.

The statement of this conference says that "some progress" has been made "under the leadership of President Roosevelt." What progress? The Sikeston lynching? The Sojourner Truth riots? The Fort Dix killings? The Fort Bragg shootings? The Hempstead riots? The Knox Jim Crow naval scheme?

What Progress?

What progress? We challenge Joe Curran, Winifred Norman, Vito Marcantonio and the other stooges of the Stalinists to show one proof that President Roosevelt has done anything to end Jim Crow, to show that he has done anything to make his anti-discrimination executive order into anything more than a verbal sop. We challenge them to deny the fact that the incidents we have listed above have been in the Army of which President Roosevelt is commander-in-chief, in the country of which Roosevelt is President.

Isn't it a fact that if President Roosevelt really wanted to end Jim Crowism in the Army and Navy and in the war plants, if he wanted to pass an anti-lynching bill and end the poll tax, he could force these things through? Isn't that a fact?

Then why do the sponsors of this conference speak of "progress" made "under President Roosevelt's leadership"?

The reason is that these people don't want the Negroes to protest and militantly fight against Jim Crowism. The purpose of this conference is really to prevent any effective action against Jim Crowism. For a March on Washington

And here is the proof of the above statement: When you, a Negro worker who wants to fight Jim Crowism, and who may have attended the magnificent Madison Square Garden rally; when you go to the mass meeting being held by this "victory conference"—listen to the speakers and see if they propose anything concrete and militant. See if they propose what the great majority of Negro people so fervently want: a March on Washington.

Yes, Curran and McNutt and Norman and Collins will wax eloquent about the evils of Jim Crow; that can be done by any political rabble-rouser who wants to get some votes from the Negro people in the coming elections. But they will propose nothing more militant than post cards, petitions, negotiations.

Here is the true test of those who pretend to be Negro leaders. Will they propose a concrete method of struggle against Jim Crowism? Our proposal is a March on Washington, now. The proposal of the Stalinists is to do nothing about Negro rights and bray about the second front. That is the choice.

Of Special Interest To Women

—By Susan Green

There has been great jubilation in Leon Henderson's price-fixing department over the results of a special study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the cost of living for the period since the so-called ceilings went into effect. Mr. Henderson—after first offering his resignation to the President, presumably because he couldn't do the impossible job of fixing prices—now pretends to be rubbing his hands with satisfaction. "At last the upward movement in living costs has been checked," he says.

But this department of LABOR ACTION responds: "Says who?" It has conducted a little study of its own regarding the cost of living. Not having the facilities of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, it had to use the home-spun method of looking up the prices advertised by the A&P Super Markets during March, 1942, and comparing them with prices charged by the A&P today. A&P prices are about the average.

The information sought pertained to those foods that Mr. Henderson—for reasons best known to himself—did NOT put under the so-called ceiling. They constitute a good half of the food needs of a family and include fresh fruits and vegetables, dairy products, fowl and some meats. For these products—if she can still afford to buy them—the housewife is paying through her nose.

In the category of fresh fruits and vegetables, for instance, oranges and cabbages have gone up 33 per cent. Oranges were 12 for 25 cents in March and are now 8 for 25 cents. Cabbage was 3 cents a pound and is now 4 cents. Among the dairy products, butter costs 7½ per cent more, having risen from 39 to 42 cents a pound, while sharp store cheese climbed 16 per cent, from 32 to 37 cents a pound. At the meat counter, the dollar is a poor contender for what is sold there. The price of fowl is up 18 per cent, from 28 to 33 cents a pound. Leg of lamb costs 25 per cent more, from 28 to 35 cents a pound. Loin lamb chops top the list with an increase of 50 per cent, from 33 cents a pound in March to 49 cents a pound today.

To state these increases and write this is not to tell the whole story. The final denouement is the inevitable lowering of the standard of living of the lowest paid workers. When oranges go up 33 per cent in price, children of the working class are drinking less orange juice. When chickens and lamb reach the high notes, it means that the working class family has to forego even the occasional indulgence in these "delicacies."

So "equality for all" is—as always under capitalism—a matter of dollars and cents. Those who have, get—and those who haven't, just do without. And this is the way in which "the upward movement of living costs has been checked by Mr. Henderson.

In spite of the fact that war prosperity is supposed to have landed in the lap of the little people, the evidences of economic insecurity keep piling up. The title of ownership of that "cottage small by a waterfall"—which has ever been associated with family well-being—continues to pass from the name of the little man and his wife to that of the loan corporation.

As of April, 1942, in the imperial state of New York the Home Owners Loan Corporation, sponsored by the government, has had to "take over for non-payment of obligations FORTY PER CENT of all the homes upon which it had made loans!

One-third of these unlucky "home owners" or over 10,000 of them, were compelled to surrender all their worldly goods since the outbreak of the war, that is, in the two and a half years from October, 1939, to April, 1942—the period of the very acme of war prosperity, at least judging by corporation profits.

Whether in a particular case the cause of misfortune was priority unemployment, the breaking up of a family due to the draft, or the need for the bread-winner to pack up and try his luck elsewhere, the fact remains that economic insecurity is the iron law of capitalist society.

That alluring picture of a happy family protected behind the pretty starched curtains on windows one can call one's own, belongs exclusively to the movies.

It is necessary at this time, when glib statesmen make elaborate promises for a "brave new world" after the war, to remember that the First World War was also euphoniously fought "to make the world a better place in live in."

But during the post-war period and right up to and into the present war period, 90 per cent of Kentucky's mountain children did not go to school and do not now go to school. Those comparatively few youngsters from the southern mountains who have a minimum of clothing to cover their nakedness so that they can attend school are so undernourished that "the education does them little good." The schools themselves can hardly be grace by that name, for they are one-room buildings no better than shacks. The Save the Children Federation, whose "charity" makes no halt to the spread of poverty, has recently once again called public attention to the above situation in the South.

This is, however, only a little peep into one of the dirtiest of the dirty backyards of America which—you remember—the last war made "a better place to live in."

The story is told of a young soldier who entered a USO club and made a very unusual request. The apology for normal life which these clubs specialize in could not fill the need of this particular soldier. His yearning was not quieted by any of the ordinary make-shifts, such as dancing, watching a floor show or movie, listening to a radio, or what have you. For what this young man wanted, above all else, was to have the feel of a three-month-old baby in his arms. His own baby back home is just three months old, he said.

This department has no desire to use this touching incident as a tear-jerker. The useless tragedies of this war of ruling class rivalries are of proportions greater than the natural yearning in one man's heart. Yet in a peculiarly succinct way this young soldier does exemplify the monstrous distortion of life to which war subjects humanity.

For this reason the socialist cries out to the parents of today: "You owe something more than facile love to your children. Your parents were caught in World War I, because of the capitalist struggle for markets and raw materials. You are the unwilling participants in World War II because of the same world-wide imperialist competition. When your children reach maturity, their destiny will be to fight in World War III because of the same lust of ruling classes for power for profit—unless you, the parents of today, pay your debt to your children and to the future. What is that debt? Support the cause of world socialism for universal peace and plenty!"

British Rich Set Example of "Sacrifice"

Three months ago Sir Stafford Cripps called for austerity. "Personal extravagance and all unnecessary expenditure must be eliminated," he demanded.

How has England responded? The mass of the people have had precious little choice but to pull in their belts. If they failed to do so, the authorities jerked them in a notch or two by reducing the value of "points" coupons, by reducing the meat ration, by cutting out white bread?

But how far have the rich changed their ways? What sort of example have they set to the people they think they were born to rule?

On the day Cripps called for aus-

terity, Imperial Tobacco Co. declared dividends of 10 per cent. Since then shareholders seem to have been doing much better; innocents thought Cripps' speech augured the opposite. Tunnel Portland Cement have just announced 20 per cent dividends; James H. Lamont & Co. have paid out 22½ per cent; Short Bros. managed 25 per cent.

You think these dividends are all put into National Savings by the patriotic shareholders? Don't be deluded! Then who is it keeps the high class hotels and restaurants busy, patronizes the expensive dress shops, bugs up jewelry and art treasures at fantastic prices?

Who is it buys meals at the Dorchester Hotel? Look at the menu they now print: Potato soup, sir? Yes, sir, 50 cents, sir. Cold salmon, a succulent morsel for \$1.60. A little asparagus, \$1.50. And then, say, a bit of rice pudding, 70 cents. And don't forget it takes three or four people to serve these meals. Notice the saucy note at the foot of the menu: Lord Woolton is satisfied.

The newspapers tell me all this is to be stopped. No meals will in future exceed \$1.00 in value. I fancy their lordships and their ladyships will not be alarmed. All sorts of extra charges to the \$1.00 are still to be permitted. "The cost of a meal (excluding drinks) and entertain-

ment in even the most expensive type of restaurant will not be allowed to exceed \$3.30, the Times reassures them.

In the past many restaurants and hotels have thrown in cabaret shows and other attractions free and taken their cost, as well as their overhead, into account when fixing the prices of meals. All they now have to do is to divide the charges up: \$1.00 for the food, \$1.50 "house charge" for overhead, 50 cents for entertainment and service and drinks extra.

Such is the austerity of the rich after nearly three years of war.

From the British New Leader, May 15, 1942.

Latin-American 'Democracy' in Action:

Paraguay Dictator Jails Anti-Fascists

These days, when nearly all the countries of North and South America are paying lip service to the so-called "Continental Defense," it is interesting to see what life is really like inside them.

Let us take up Paraguay, which, like the other nations, pretends to head the movement to preserve America from Nazi-fascist penetration.

Its government, headed by Morinigo, whose dubious political origin is enough to discredit him before every sincere anti-fascist, conducts an intense persecution of workers, students, teachers and intellectuals who do not agree with his policies.

It is a paradox that a government claiming to be anti-fascist and which was represented at the Rio Conference—supposedly a union of countries for the purpose of drawing up plans for defense of this hemisphere

against fascism—finds it necessary to dismiss the principal of the Villa Rica School, without previous notice—an act that caused a strike of the students. The strike became very strong, since workers and professors joined in—so strong that the government found it necessary to establish the death sentence and two to thirty years' imprisonment for political crimes. The right to strike was abolished, even to the extreme of a two-year prison sentence for anyone who provoked strikes.

Repressions do not end with this. As the student body maintained and still does maintain its attitude of revolt, the government smuggled into the student assemblies some extremely right wing and reactionary students and gave them swords! Many serious wounds resulted from this.

We also want to comment on the

jailings, which are very serious since the government takes reprisals on the families of those who do not submit, throwing them into concentration camps at Pena Hermosa, Santa Margarita, Pó, Olimpo, etc. Here militant students and workers rot away, jailed for the crime of resisting the reactionary measures of Morinigo & Co.

These dispositions have come to the attention of the press, which is controlled, in reality, by government-appointed editors. The press is not allowed to speak for the opposition parties nor are teachers and workers permitted to organize into unions.

We must point out that the opposition, which continues—hounded and hidden—is not fascist, but clearly democratic and anti-imperialist. Everyone knows that this is the stand of the teachers, students and work-

ers who are fighting against the Morinigo dictatorship.

The proof of how false the "democratic" position of the Paraguayan leaders is, is the fact that they do not find collaborators, but only enemies, in the most diversified sections of the population. Their enemies are real and determined democrats in the real battle against Nazi-fascism.

The reason for this is that the people cannot trust a man like Morinigo who has no scruples about selling out his country to American imperialism, in order to obtain concessions and fabulous profits. North America knows how to reward him.

The anti-fascist population of Paraguay cannot but repudiate Morinigo's "democracy" (in words) and his fascism (in action).

From Contra La Corriente, Uruguayan Fourth Internationalist newspaper.

Libya Defeat Forecasts Long War--

(Continued from page 1)

is far from the verge of military collapse. Admitting all the internal weaknesses which are undoubtedly deep-going and fundamental, they have not yet reached the point where Hitler's military efforts are negated; weakened and hampered, yes; but he is still able to launch powerful and even overwhelming offensives!

2. The United Nations have not reached the point where they are matching Hitler blow for blow. They are still on the defensive. Hitler still holds the initiative, even though his general situation has deteriorated.

3. Tobruk and Sevastopol represent the prelude to the summer offensive. They are two great prongs menacing the Allied Near East, which threaten the Caucasus and Egypt simultaneously.

No End in Sight
The sum of these factors is that there is no end in sight for the war. No one is so foolhardy now as to predict an Allied victory this year. In the light of these recent events

it is obvious that the second front, when and if launched, will prove bloodier and more destructive than even the most pessimistic estimates.

If Hitler can take the Caucasus and Egypt, the whole war will tend toward a stalemate. Neither side will have such overwhelming force as to destroy the other. Economically, militarily and politically, both sides will be insufficiently strong. In this war it is not only necessary to be stronger than the enemy; that will not assure victory. It is necessary to be overwhelmingly superior in everything—in men and materials, in strategy and tactics, on land and in the air and above all in a political program for rallying of the masses. The whole trend of the war to date is not to grant either side such superiority. Each advance is negated by the fact that the struggle is a world struggle and victory always seems further off.

Dollar-a-Year Men Grip Contracts --

(Continued from page 1)

big business outfits in conjunction with dollar-a-year men:

1) Copper production is being slowed down by dollar-a-year men drawn from the three big U.S. copper companies—Kenebecot, Anaconda and Phelps Dodge—which have held up applications from independent producers for more contracts. These companies are still not producing at maximum capacity, because of their "dissatisfaction" with excess profits taxes. They figure that they can get larger profits by mining some of their copper after the war, when excess profits taxes will be eased up, than they can at present.

2) Steel production is at present not up to capacity, according to Senator Joseph O'Mahoney of Wyoming, because steel companies are using the "blast-furnace" system instead of the more efficient "sponge-iron" method. The Bureau of Mines has tested the latter method and found it superior. According to O'Mahoney: "The sponge process has not been

utilized in the past probably because the big steel executives who have opposed the expansion of steel capacity do not want to have their investment in blast furnaces impaired."

3) Senator Robert LaFollette of Wisconsin charged that the production of airplanes is being held up, and thousands of American soldiers are dying because of that, by the policy of the aluminum branch of the War Production board (headed by dollar-a-year man Arthur Bunker) of allowing the ALCOA monopoly (recently exposed as participating in a cartel with the Nazis) to maintain its monopoly and thereby restrict production.

All of these incidents merely reveal once more that as far as big business is concerned this war is one grand grab-bag from which to drag out a tremendous amount of profits. They look at it from the point of view of their class interests; they control the war and the war program and they're going to get theirs!

And it's about time labor began to look at things from the point of view of ITS interests!

Sugar, Sugar Everywhere --

(Continued from page 1)

limited to half a pound a week, that one of the largest sugar refineries has resorted to putting it under tarpaulins on open lots. So that the sugar that the public has not been permitted to consume may now easily be ruined by the weather.

The repercussions of the unnecessary sugar rationing will be felt in Cuba and other Caribbean sugar-growing lands. With unused surpluses piled up all over these United States, imports will have to be curtailed, which will bring unemployment and economic crisis to those lands whose economy is largely de-

pendent on their sugar exports to this country.

It will be interesting to see how the OPA tries to crawl out of the mess it has created. In the meantime, it is reported that thousands of dollars worth of strawberries as well as a great quantity of small fruits and other berries used for canning, have actually gone to rot—unpicked because the stupid sugar rationing has reduced the demand for canning fruits.

So here is another tale of the waste, inefficiency and anarchy of the existing system. The demand of LABOR ACTION for workers' control of industry is certainly urgent.

The Second Front Issue In England

—By Irving Howe

During the past week a number of celebrations in honor of the first anniversary of Russia's participation in the war were held in England. Important, let it be noted, not for the gallons of rhetoric spilled at these meetings about the glories of Stalin and his regime, but rather for their bearing on the domestic political situation within England.

For some time now, the Churchill cabinet has been in difficult straits. Representing a coalition of the various sections of the capitalist class together with the representatives of the reformist Labor Party, this cabinet has had great difficulty in working out a consistent policy with regard to both internal affairs and the war. It has been drawn in all directions at once by the different factions within the cabinet. In addition, it has suffered a series of staggering military defeats in recent months, the most important being at Singapore and Tobruk. It has succeeded in one department only: its official liar to the public (sometimes known as the Minister of Information) has invariably issued the most optimistic statements about those very fronts on which Britain was soon to meet a stunning defeat.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Churchill government has maintained power primarily because of the support which Roosevelt has given to it. Roosevelt's reasons for propping up Churchill are readily apparent: he finds in Churchill a pliant puppet who offers little resistance to the continually increasing domination which American imperialism exerts over its British partner. And Churchill, for his part, feels that the difficulties of the British military situation make such a course unavoidable.

THE TINDERBOX SITUATION IN ENGLAND

When this portrait of the British cabinet is placed against the background of the British political and economic crisis (described in detail in Henry Judd's "England's Political Crisis," in the June issue of The New Internationalist) it is readily seen that there is a tinderbox situation in England which can explode at any moment. The masses, while supporting the war, feel an increasing sense of futility and desperation. They make every conceivable sacrifice while the disproportion between rich and poor remains and grows ever greater, the much-vaunted equalization of social classes existing only in the minds of American reporters.

And at the same time they feel a growing disgust with the British military situation. They resent the incompetence, the complacency, the red tape, the conservatism and the rank stupidity of the military apparatus. They look with great suspicion at the optimistic statements of the cabinet members, knowing full well that this is merely a sugar-coating for the facts.

It is in this inflammable situation that the coalition, which has been formed between Lord Beaverbrook and his friends of the extreme right and the Stalinist Communist Party, now enters. Beaverbrook is one of the most notorious of British reactionaries and has long been known as the British Hearst. For reasons that were never made quite clear he left the Churchill cabinet some time ago and has since been conducting a campaign in collaboration with the Stalinists and a semi-Stalinist wing of the Labor Party, led by Aneurin Bevin, MP, around the issue of a second front.

THE MOTIVES OF BEAVERBROOK'S CAMPAIGN

In conducting this campaign, Beaverbrook has several motives. There is, of course, the desire for power, for the substitution of his clique for the Churchill cabinet. But there is a lot more than that, too.

Beaverbrook represents a group within the British capitalist class which desires the creation of a total war economy, together with the war dictatorship which such an economy requires. That is what they mean when they campaign for more "efficiency." Such a regime would require the ousting of those elements which desire to "muddle along" (that classic description of Churchillian policy offered by Churchill himself) with a more or less democratic bourgeois rule, which means first and foremost, the representatives of the Labor Party.

Beaverbrook speaks also for those in the British capitalist class who are becoming a bit worried about the fact that while British imperialism fights to prevent its annihilation by Hitler, it finds itself being picked apart piecemeal by its American partner. They would very much like to cut down the influence of Washington in British affairs and may be counting on the support of the third section of the United Nations trinity—Stalinist Russia—as a counterweight against Washington. And the price of such a counterweight would be, of course, the second front.

Beaverbrook is also confident that Stalinist Russia represents no threat at all to the capitalism for which he speaks; in that, at least, he is quite right. That is why it is possible for him to say, as he did at a recent second front meeting: "We believe in Stalin's leadership and this is the day to proclaim our faith."

It is difficult to estimate the exact response which this second front campaign has elicited, but there is no doubt that it has gotten considerable support among the English workers. This is due in the main to a feeling of desperation, a desire to have an end with the "muddling through" policy. The dangers which are, however, inherent for the British workers to support this reactionary Beaverbrook-Stalinist coalition are obvious and it is at present the task of the socialist forces in England to patiently explain these dangers and point out the need for a workers' government as the solution to the problems of the English people.

In Underground Europe

"...What, then, is the true picture of underground work as it had been carried out by organized workers? Consider the following example: The management of the Siemens Works in Berlin, a very large electrical manufacturing plant employing some 40,000 workers, one day announced that salaries would henceforth be paid every ten days rather than every Friday, as had been the custom. In itself, this was an insignificant change and would certainly have resulted in no hardships.

"But in a few moments the workers seemed almost to have undergone a transformation. Without it being obvious, and with no indication of where it had started, word now made the rounds from one man to the next—'We must protest—we must protest unanimously!'"

"The following morning, wives of the workers massed in the courtyard of the plant. They were immediately joined by their husbands. An enormous gathering was thus created. Enraged women cried out: 'We have to have wages on Friday so that we can make our purchases!'"

"...What took place here actually? Wasn't this all a great fuss over nothing? No, it represented much more than a protest against an insignificant regulation, which was subsequently rescinded. This was an attempt—a successful attempt of the underground organization—to arrange a movement of general solidarity."

From "Underground Europe," by Curt Reiss.

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Editorials

That Word Socialism

Pierre Laval, as everyone knows, is a vile traitor to the French people. He is an agent of Hitler and is rightly called "the most hated man in France."

Last week Laval consummated a deal with Hitler in which he promised to send French workers to slave in Hitler's factories. Laval, however, faces the problem of enticing the French workers to go to Germany. In order to do that, he made a speech, the most interesting part of which promised the French workers that after the war and a victory of the Axis, there would be "socialism."

Now everyone knows that Hitler is a bitter enemy of socialism. Everyone knows that he has murdered thousands of socialists and trade unionists in his concentration camps. And everyone knows, too, that Laval is just as bitter an enemy of socialism as Hitler is.

Why then does Laval promise socialism to the French workers? Because he knows that, despite the defeats which the European workers have suffered at the hands of the fascists, the yearning and desire for socialism remains one of their strongest feelings. Laval tries to entice the French workers for his reactionary purposes by appealing to their most sacred desires. In that he will not succeed, of course. But by that appeal, Laval pays unwilling testimony to the hold which the socialist ideal maintains on the French working class.

The Tragedy Of Tobruk

Once again the port of Tobruk, strategic point in Libya, has changed hands. This time the Axis forces of Rommel have scored a decisive victory, capturing a large quantity of supplies, 25,000 British troops, as well as the use of one of the few first-class harbors in the dismal land of Libya.

In the see-saw slaughters which have been taking place on this desert battlefield can be seen the tragic futility of the imperialist war. Two mechanized armies, composed of men who have never been in Libya or Egypt before and who have little interest in either place, mutually slaughter each other. They fight under the most unbearable conditions in one of the most barren and miserable of countries. They have no interest in this country. They are Englishmen or Germans, Indians or Italians. It is the insanity of a terrible world economic order gone berserk to the point of international warfare that forces them to lay down their lives on the Libyan desert.

A war for a "new order," as the Axis claims? Ask the people of Libya, brutally exploited by Italian imperialism, or ask the people of nearby Ethiopia!

A war for democracy and against fascism? Ask the people of Egypt, who for years groaned under the heel of British imperialism, and who are today still under its domination, despite the paper "independence" which London has granted them.

Men give up their lifeblood in Egypt over the question of which great imperial bloc shall control the decisive Suez Canal, which is the gateway to the riches of Asia and the cornerstone of the empire which Britain today possesses and which Germany covets for tomorrow.

On both sides there are colonial people fighting in the armies. The British are using Indian soldiers and the Italians are using some Libyans. Both of these groups consist of oppressed colonial people, denied their independence by their masters, who fight in a war which offers them nothing. They are the unwilling victims of this world conflagration.

This is likewise true of the people of Egypt and Libya who are not in either army. They find their lands ravished by the monster machines of war. They are not asked for consent for the use of their countries in this war; their land is made into a battlefield by two would-be rulers.

And so the grim tragedy of this Second World War continues. It is a tragedy which can be ended only by the advent of socialism, which would root out the causes of this war and leave the peoples of Egypt and Libya to their own destinies.

A Delegation Of 'Democrats'

Washington, the new center of the universe, and our country are being honored by a bevy of visiting "democrats" and renowned leaders.

There are five of them:

- (a) **Molotov**—Right-hand man of Stalin, the new "Czar" of totalitarian Russia.
 - (b) **Queen Wilhelmina**—Former royal dictatrix over 45,000,000 colonial slaves in the Dutch East Indies.
 - (c) **Churchill**—Head of the British colonial empire which counts its slaves in Asia and Africa by the hundreds of millions.
 - (d) **Prince Peter**—The royal ruler of Yugoslavia, anxious to get his job back on the old throne.
 - (e) **King George**—The ex-fascist King of Greece, just as anxious to get back on the job as Prince Peter.
- Representatives of democracy?
There's not a genuine one in the whole lot!
- One imperialist leader; one dictator's stooge; three unemployed!

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WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

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

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

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 Crow 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!

No War Contract Without a Union Contract!

How the Garment Workers Can Avoid Losing Their Jobs

The problem of "priorities unemployment" with which 100,000 garment workers in New York City and adjacent areas are now faced, highlighted the meeting of the executive board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL, held last week.

This "priorities unemployment" is of a unique kind. It is not caused by a shortage of materials for the trade. It is not caused by a lack of orders for the trade.

On the contrary. Government orders for uniforms are large enough to keep the entire garment industry employed for a long time to come.

But the overwhelming bulk of government orders have not gone to the shops organized by the ILGWU. The national government, through its War Production Board, has pursued a deliberate policy of granting contracts to Southern sweatshop plants which barely pay enough wages to meet the Minimum Wage Law's requirements. And the WPB has even gone so far as to finance the construction of new garment plants in the South in order to fill government uniform orders, at the very time that thousands of unionized garment workers were being thrown out of work.

The reason that the Southern bosses can afford to make lower bids on uniform contracts is, of course, that their plants are often not unionized and therefore pay miserably low wages. But the WPB has ignored this factor and proceeded to grant the contracts to the Southern sweatshops, thereby helping to deprive thousands of unionized garment workers of their jobs.

ON DUBINSKY'S "ASSURANCES"

When the executive board of the ILGWU met last week it was greeted with an announcement by its president, David Dubinsky, that "the War Production Board, we are assured, will now see to it that its policies in the future will conform with the more enlightened standards of the New Deal."

What Dubinsky is supposed to have meant by this mess of verbiage is that the unionized shops will get some contracts.

But how Dubinsky apparently got this "assurance" was disclosed the next day when he declared that his

union would even be willing to take a wage cut in order, in other words, garment workers to get these contracts. In other words, who have spent a third of a century building up their powerful union and their union standards, would now voluntarily commit these standards to a hara-kiri knife in order to get contracts. Apparently this was the price that Dubinsky paid for his "assurance."

But there's a little catch. It is a procedure in the ILGWU, as in any union pretending to democratic practices, that any contract or change of contract must be ratified by the membership in order to go into effect. And Dubinsky's appeasement statement has definitely not been ratified by the membership. In fact, it comes as a bolt from the blue as far as the ILGWU membership is concerned!

THE PLIGHT OF THE GARMENT WORKERS'

On the contrary, many garment workers have recently been hard pinched to make ends meet—what with an 18 per cent increase in the cost of living and no raises in the recent period. A wage cut at present would be catastrophic for them.

When questioned by the press as to why the ILGWU leadership agreed to a wage cut, an unnamed ILGWU spokesman is quoted as saying: "What else can we do?"

The answer is: plenty. The ILGWU can start a nationwide campaign of garment workers' demonstrations demanding that government contracts be given only to unionized shops, so that the union standards may be maintained. This campaign must be conducted even if it means attacking the role of the Roosevelt Administration—which is directly responsible for the situation. Instead of belly-crawling so miserably before the Washington officials on this question and instead of pledging his membership to an uncalled-for wage cut, President Dubinsky would do the cause of labor in general, and his membership in particular, a great service if he lined his union up for a national campaign around the slogan of:

**NO GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS WITHOUT UNION CONTRACTS!
 FOR THE CLOSED SHOP IN ALL WAR INDUSTRIES!**

Akron Women Workers in Goodyear Sit-Down Strike

Special to LABOR ACTION

AKRON—In spite of a tremendous war propaganda campaign, 300 women in the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.'s balloon room went on a sit-down strike in protest against outrageous piece-work rates. The four-day work stoppage which began June 6 was the most militant demonstration of Goodyear workers since the outbreak of the Second World War.

In transferring the sewing of life vests from day work to piece work the girls were asked to step up pro-

duction from 13 vests a day to 28. Their wages would be increased from 83 cents an hour to 88 cents an hour. An increase in production of 115 per cent with an increase in wages of 6 per cent!

The rate affected only twelve girls but the others had been threatened with proportionate rates when their jobs hadn't been put into effect at the same time the foreman told them the company wanted "only one fight at a time."

The girls absolutely refused to work under the rates in spite of the insistence of union officials that they return to work. And in other sections of the balloon division, where they make life boats, rafts, pontoons, etc., 1,000 other employees were awaiting only the slightest signal to join them in their protest.

The employees did go back to work for about two hours to give the union a chance to negotiate, since the company refused any negotiations while the department wasn't working.

The company's only offer, however, was that the girls return to work under the proposed rates and receive retroactive pay adjustment if the rates proved to be too low. When the girls heard of this offer they immediately stopped work again.

The workers at Goodyear are too suspicious of retroactive pay. They get it perhaps one time in ten when it's deserved, and then they usually

receive only part of it after two or three months of waiting.

Only when a government conciliator entered the case did the girls return to work. A rate was negotiated by which they would have to make 16 vests a day instead of the proposed 28.

When the usual hue and cry about holding up vital war materials was raised by the company the girls only laughed it off. This was not because of lack of patriotism but because they knew the company had thousands of life vests and boats ready to be shipped at any time, with no one raising a finger to stop them.

Workers in Goodyear defense departments are tired of being the lowest paid on the company's production line. Since the manufacture of tires and tubes has been reduced to a minimum, war materials such as gas masks and balloon products have become the bulk of production. It is from these things that Goodyear is reaping huge profits. And the profits are increased no little by the fact that workers in these departments are the lowest paid in the company.

A section of the rank and file workers at Goodyear have shown that in spite of the capitulation of the top leadership of the CIO and the United Rubber Workers of America to the government's "no strike" demands, labor realizes that in the last resort the strike is its only real weapon against the bosses.

125 Teachers Face Loss of Jobs in New York City

As things now stand, 125 school teachers in New York City will be fired on August 31. Six months later an undetermined additional number will lose their jobs.

What is involved here is a matter of \$3,093,000 which the real estate interests of the city have induced the "liberal" La Guardia to slash from the Board of Education's budget.

To save this petty sum—no bigger than a pin point compared to the enormous war expenditures—classes will have to be larger, teaching that much more difficult, and hundreds of teachers trained for this special work will be jobless.

Thus the political and economic overlords play no favorites. The jobs of the professional workers are as precarious as those of the industrial worker. Neither own their jobs, but are beholden to those who do.

Though there are funds available in other city departments that could be transferred to the Board of Education to save these teachers' jobs, the Mayor, for his own reasons, is opposed to the idea.

After some delay, the majority of the city's teachers have finally felt the threat implied to everyone in the school system and have realized the need for united action. The Joint Committee of Teachers' Organizations, representing the 35,000 school employees of the city, is now launching a petition campaign to get the aid of parents, political, civic and other groups in their demand for an adequate educational budget.

In conformity with their present party line in all unions, the Stalinists have tried to put a wet blanket on militant action. But this is the only method that will bring the teachers success. LABOR ACTION urges its readers to support their campaign.

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ONE YEAR:

America and Russia As War Allies

By Henry Judd

The war between Russia and Germany is a year old this week. It has been, and will continue to be, the most massive and deadliest part of the world-wide struggle.

Over a front of 2,000 miles from Murmansk to Sevastopol, the youth and working class of Soviet Russia and fascist Germany are engaged in the futile and tragic destruction of one another. With the exception of the Chinese war, the Russian front of the imperialist war has been the field of one of history's greatest slaughters. Never before have so many (three and a half to five million) soldiers died in such a brief span of time (one year)! Never have such human and material forces locked in such devastating battle; never before has such a great military deadlock occurred.

Germany, the nation whose proletariat always felt closest and most sympathetic to the revolutionary workers of Russia, has failed to break the Red Army and the Russian nation. Russia, whose working class always expected and looked primarily to the socialist workers of Germany to break the capitalist encirclement, has succeeded only in holding on grimly, fighting for dear life. But the workers of both nations (Russian and German alike) have been completely estranged from one another, as though the bonds of former years never existed. The war has found no internationalist echo in the ranks of the people; it has had no political reverberations among the masses. It is a war between German fascist imperialism (with the duped German workers as fodder) and the Russian totalitarian rulers (with the Russian people as foils).

America, from the beginning of this struggle, has taken a leading role—if not militarily, then politically and economically—in the Russo-German phase of the World War.

ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN RULERS

The attitude of the American ruling class, as expressed in the deeds of Roosevelt, can be summarized as follows: They brilliantly illustrate typical methods used by American imperialism for the gaining of its ends.

(1) Roosevelt, immediately recognizing the value of the Red Army's struggles in so far as weakening his main enemy—Hitler—was concerned, placed America unhesitatingly by the side of Soviet Russia.

(2) Roosevelt, recognizing that this job he had allotted to Russia in weakening German might, was determined to keep the Red Army in the field, fighting with American lend-lease aid. Even at the risk of weakening other fronts, Roosevelt insisted upon supplying the Russo-German front.

(3) Roosevelt, realizing the political significance of relations with Russia, has tried (with success) to draw Russia and its ruling authorities into ever closer political ties and dependency upon the United States.

All this has occurred during the past year. Lend-lease aid has gone in large quantities; American air forces are in the Crimea; Stalin has signed various economic and political agreements binding him to the Atlantic Charter, post-war political and economic planning, etc.

But the relationship is not so simple as all this. That it is not merely a matter of aiding our friend and ally, Russia, in the common struggle has been proved by the recent visit of Molotov—a visit which, seen in retrospect today, proved to be singularly unprofitable—for Molotov!

Molotov wanted a firm agreement for the opening up of a second front this year—he got an ambiguous statement instead. Every event since indicates there will be no second front for a long time.

MOLOTOV'S TRIP A SORRY FAILURE

Molotov wanted a firm alliance, or treaty—similar to that he had just obtained from England. All he got was an extension of the former lend-lease agreement. In a concrete sense, his trip must be chalked up as a rather sorry failure.

Now, why? Is it not to Roosevelt's interest to do everything possible to draw our country closer to Russia; to prove the sincerity of his pro-Russian position?

The answer can only be that Roosevelt's relations with Stalin and the Soviet Union are determined by Roosevelt's imperialist designs. It has always been the classic method of American imperialism to allow its enemies to mutually destroy, weaken and undermine one another and then step in—to dictate the terms. Russia is no exception to this law. Roosevelt is quite pleased to see the mutual destruction of Germany and Russia by one another; while his own war machine grows stronger and mightier. He does not want his hands bound by any twenty-year treaty or any formal alliances. Yes, he will support Russia with all he has—so long as Russia fights the main enemy, Germany. But this support is motivated by other interests than love of the Soviet Union.

Our relations with Russia during the next year (or for the duration of the war) will run along the same pattern. American imperialism is quite content to see the Russian people clear the path to Berlin by continuing its resistance to Hitler's legions. In this case also, Roosevelt is far more sagacious than the isolationists and the narrow-minded American capitalists who shudder at "relations" with "Red" Russia.

Under capitalism, relations with your neighbors are based upon expediency and self-interest. The policy that prevails is: does this suit the interests of our ruling class and its imperial objectives? If it does, then we are "allies" and "fellow-democrats."

War After the Next War

Charles F. Kettering, of General Motors Corp., reputed to be a hard-headed realist, doesn't place much credence in the "permanent peace" talk bandied about these days. He not only expects a "next war," but also a "war after the next one." Here are his words:

"We are going to fight this war with what we now have. I mean that new inventions aren't going to play too important a part in this war. They will do their stuff in the war after the next one."

He forgets one important factor: The international working class is pretty well fed up with wars, and its next step will be to do something about it.