

WLB STALLS STEELWORKER PAY BOOST

Auto Workers Union Threatens Rent Strike in Detroit Area!

Landlords Organize Nation-wide Rent Gouge

By SUSAN GREEN

The latest attack on the workers' wages via the road of boosting prices has come from the landlords. In the war against the standard of living of the workers, there is no lack of fronts.

Just as the Office of Price Administration has "cooperated" with the food monopolists in raising the ceiling on canned goods, so it works agreeably with the landlords in raising rents on workers' dwellings.

Half a million workers in the Detroit area are faced with the new familiar picture of the OPA itself inflating the cost of living this time by yielding to the pressure of the landlords for higher rent.

Every hovel in the Detroit area is rented and nets the owner plenty, but that isn't enough for those who own the roofs over the workers' heads. They want to reap a war harvest equal to the demand for housing—according to their own profit-seeking light. So they have put in a demand for a 10 to 15 per cent increase.

The OPA has indicated its willingness to go along to the extent of 5 per cent. But the 100,000 members of the United Automobile Workers are not going to pay a penny more for rent than they paid on April 1, 1941. In this, at least, they have the backing of their leaders.

Victor G. Reuther, in charge of "consumer problems" of the union, stated to reporters that the unrest among the Detroit workers is growing daily. In the last year there has been a 14 per cent increase in living costs. Prices continue to rise. The government blesses the bosses and landlords seeking to boost the prices of their commodities. At the same time it mutters curses under its breath and shouts its opposition to

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Henderson Orders Halt on Action At SE Missouri Cropper Confab

Special to LABOR ACTION

ST. LOUIS—On Sunday, July 12, at Cape Girardeau, Mo., Donald Henderson gave the Missouri workers an example of the brutal, bullying, dictatorial rule characteristic of these Communist Party bureaucrats wherever they have workers under their control.

Henderson had called this conference to do three things: (1) to place before the workers the policy of the CIO and the war; (2) to discuss the wage situation arising from the cotton chopping; and (3) to plan the organization of the UCA-PAWA in Missouri.

Despite the fact that the conference was held some 60 miles from the center of the cotton working area, some 200 persons turned up, including about forty delegates.

Henderson told the conference that he had been sent there by the UCA-PAWA executive board to organize the work in Southeast Missouri. His proposals were as follows: He suspended the whole of the Missouri Agricultural Workers' Council. In its place he appointed an organizing committee of seven people. The chairman of this committee is one Unger, an organizer from Arkansas. On it also are Fisher and Hughes and a few others, not a single one of whom took any active part in the organization of the recent action.

Henderson made the body explicitly understand that nobody was to undertake any sort of action for the next three months. All activity is to be left in the hands of this organization.

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Leaders Give Up Strikes--- But Strikes Continue!

Mr. Johnston, newly elected president of the Chamber of Commerce, goes calling on Messrs. Murray and Green, respectively presidents of the CIO and AFL. They shake hands and agree that everything is jake between capital and labor—because labor has given up the right to strike.

Does that say "labor" has given up the right to strike? LABOR ACTION doesn't want to be guilty of making such a false statement, so it is hastily taken back. In its place let us put the truth: LABOR'S TOP LEADERSHIP HAS GIVEN UP THE RIGHT TO STRIKE. The rank and file has not!

All over the country workers are striking or engaging in sit-downs or protesting in other ways. Here are only a few incidents occurring in the last two weeks:

In Lorain, Ohio, 3,500 CIO steel workers struck at the pipe mills of the National Tube Co., seeking wage adjustments. Not only have these workers not given up the right to strike, they are in fact exercising it for the first time. In this subsidiary of the United States Steel Corp. there has never been a strike in the 46 years of its history. William F. Donovan, district director of the United Steel Workers of America, declared the strike "illegal" and pleaded with the strikers to return to work. His appeal went unheeded.

In Minetta, N. Y., 600 members of Local 129, Textile Workers of America, walked out. Bliss Turner, chairman of the executive board, hastened to announce that the walkout was "not sanctioned by the union." He said it was a "spontaneous protest" by the workers at the company's refusal "to arbitrate a request for a general increase of five cents an hour."

In the rubber plants at Akron, Ohio, sit-down strikes constantly occur and are not reported in the press. Also, recently, the workers in Goodyear's broke off with the labor-management committee in their plant because the company refused to confer with them on the question of draft deferment.

In Lackawanna, N. Y., workers in Bethlehem Steel struck in connection with their unionization drive. A crew of 13,000 workers were scheduled to walk out but were persuaded by the director of the union local to await the decision of the WLB in Washington, to which their grievances were referred.

It is reported that in Detroit plants there were half a dozen "unauthorized" strikes in the last two weeks—strikes of United Automobile Workers without the blessing of their union leaders.

The list can be lengthened, but it is not necessary. The point is made.

In some countries strikes are "verboten." In others union leaders betray the rank and file and "give up" the workers' right to strike. But in every country—alike in Nazi Germany and "democratic" America—WORKERS GO ON STRIKING.

THEY HAVE TO!

They have no other way of putting up a real fight for their rights!

NEWS ITEM: EUGENE GRACE, HEAD OF BETHLEHEM STEEL, GETS SALARY RAISE FROM \$271,000 TO \$375,000 A YEAR



Murray Can't Solve the Situation by Appeasement

By DAVID COOLIDGE

While the nation's steel workers toil at a terrific pace in the sweltering heat of the furnaces, coke ovens, rolling and blooming mills, the War Labor Board stumbles along from hearing to hearing but delivers no decision in the "Little Steel" case.

For several months the board has had the brief presented by the United Steel Workers. The demand of the steel workers is for a dollar a day increase in pay and a contract calling for "maintenance of membership" and the checkoff of union dues. The steel workers' demands are rock-ribbed and airtight. The argument made in their brief is irrefutable.

A fact-finding commission of the War Labor Board, composed of Arthur S. Meyer, representing the "public"; Richard Frankenstein, of the UAW, for labor; and Cyrus Ching of the U. S. Rubber Co., for the employers, has recommended the \$1.00 wage increase, the union shop and the check-off.

Not only this, but the WLB commission reported that the four Little Steel companies in 1941 made the highest profits in their entire history. Furthermore, Tom Girdler, chairman of Republic Steel, had his salary raised from \$100,000 in 1940 to \$176,000 in 1941. Eugene Grace of Bethlehem Steel was boosted from \$271,000 to \$375,000. But the owners of these two companies are opposed to giving their workers the small increase of \$1.00 a day.

This same WLB commission also had something to say that should close the big mouths of those who are always talking about something known as "inflation." The commission discovered what the steel workers already knew. They found out that if the steel workers are refused an increase in pay their standard of living for 1942 will drop even lower than for 1941.

There must not only be an increase in pay but that increase must be no less than 21 per cent in order for labor to hold its own. The increase asked by the steel workers is only 11 per cent.

The commission based its findings on an estimated increase of 21 per cent for the national income for 1942 as well as on the rise in the cost of living.

This means that if the national income for 1942 increases 21 per cent and the workers receive only an 11 per cent increase, the bosses and others who can afford to get along without it will get this additional income.

What this means is that if there was \$100 to be passed out in wages in 1941, there will be \$121 in 1942. According to the proposal, the workers will get \$111 of this amount. The bosses will get the other \$10. That is, the difference between the \$121

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The Crisis in the Needle Trades

Southern Scab Shops Must Be Organized!

By H. Allen

Eighty-four thousand garment workers in New York City are today completely unemployed. Less than 12,000 of New York's 300,000 needle trades workers are employed on war contracts. David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and Frank Rosenblum, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, state that before long the number of unemployed needle trades workers will be increased to 100,000-150,000.

This situation among the needle trades workers in New York City exists at a time when war demands have been absorbing the unemployed in other parts of the country. The source lies in the policies and actions of the Army and War Production Board in systematically ignoring the New York unionized shops and awarding contracts for making army clothes to sub-standard and non-union (scab) factories, many of them newly-built, in several states in the South.

The thousands of men and girls who are required for these Southern plants are drawn from farms in the cotton, grain and tobacco fields. The wages of these workers, who are nearly all engaged in industrial production for the first time, are 40 cents an hour, the minimum legal rate. The weekly average is \$16—a figure not even remotely close to the wage standards prevailing in the union shops in New York and elsewhere.

The Government, says President Dubinsky, "is creating a new trained force, new factories and a problem which will create post-war havoc."

The leaders of the ILGWU and ACW unions charge that

Southern congressmen have been successful in their pressure on the Roosevelt Administration to set up a scab garment industry in the South, with the ultimate objective of smashing the unions after the war through the non-union Southern plants. The needle trades union leaders correctly charge that the government policy is resulting in the beating down of established union standards and conditions.

To remedy the situation the needle trades unions demand, first, a "legitimate" share of the government contracts in order to assure work for the close to 100,000 unemployed garment workers. The unions state that almost every fabricated textile product that is needed for war purposes can be produced in New York's women's garment industry.

President Dubinsky also proposes that local manufacturers, particularly the large number of small shops, pool their resources to meet the competition of the Southern shops. Union officials also propose a program of retraining the needle trades workers to engage in new trades in light industry related to war production.

UNION OFFICIALS PROPOSE WAGE CUTS

Clearly, these "solutions" do not suffice for the New York needle trades workers, who in any case must wait a long time for these jobs to materialize, if they ever do. Hence officials of the ILGWU declare their readiness to accept, and are themselves proposing that the garment workers accept wage cuts in order to get contracts for New York. But when the officials

propose such a "solution," they are STARTING ON THE ROAD TO COMPLETE DESTRUCTION OF THE LIVING STANDARDS FOR THE NEEDLE TRADES WORKERS, AND THE SWIFT WEAKENING AND DISINTEGRATION OF THE UNION ITSELF.

Union officials themselves have admitted that nothing short of "complete destruction of living standards of the New York workers and their families would enable New York factories to compete with Southern employers, who get their labor for 40 cents an hour." (New York Times, July 5.)

Nor does such a "solution" suffice for the thousands of garment workers in the Southern factories who are being exploited by the employers with the connivance of the government.

These proposals are no answer to the problems and needs of the garment workers. Nor is the answer as meaningless, or meaningless, as that of an unnamed ILGWU leader who, when asked about this proposal to accept wage cuts, said:

"What else can we do?"

This may be the reply of the union officialdom, at a time when living costs have risen 18 per cent; but it can hardly be the answer of the hundreds of thousands of needle trades workers. The effective answer to the union-breaking policy of the Roosevelt Administration and the Southern manufacturers lies elsewhere.

President Dubinsky, reporting on the state of the ILGWU to the general executive board in session at Atlantic City, June

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More Merchants of Death

Charges Scrap Rubber is Bonanza for Profiteers

Daily become more maddening the evidences of war profiteering on the one hand, while on the other the people are exhorted to make sacrifices. There is a shortage of rubber, all right—but certainly no shortage of profits for the big companies handling the scrap which the public has been giving up.

Certainly, Mrs. Housewife, hand over your hot water bottle! And what about that rubber mat in the bathroom? And how about Junior's rubber soled sneakers? Don't hold out, Mrs. Housewife! Of course, you'll get "paid" for your scrap rubber—

paid at the rate of one cent a pound.

Then what happens? "Four large scrap rubber concerns, acting as agents of the Rubber Reserve Corp.," reap "enormous profits." These are the words of Elliott E. Simpson, counsel for the House sub-committee which was instrumental in getting the rubber collection campaign under way—and Mr. Simpson ought to know.

This bunch of "merchants of death" are H. Muehlstein & Co., Inc.; A. Shulman, Inc.; Nat E. Berzen, Inc.; and the Loewenthal Co.

Here is how they scoop it up:

First, they get commissions of \$1.50 on every ton of scrap rubber which the public gives to the government—whether or not they have anything to do with collecting it. And they get this \$1.50 per ton even on sorted scrap which is shipped directly to the reclaimers—without these four agents even handling it.

Second, these profiteers are paid a considerable sum for sorting the unsorted scrap once it is in their warehouses.

"But the greatest bonanza of all will come after the scrap is sorted, after such items as crepe soles—worth \$462 a ton—are separated from run-of-the-mill grades," reported Mr. Simpson. What a bonanza! For the crepe soles for which the public got one cent a pound, the "merchants of death" will get \$462 a ton. For the inner tubes for which the public got one cent a pound, the war profiteers will get as high as \$165 a ton. And all kinds of floating rubber, for which the public got one cent a

pound, will bring into the pockets of the leeches from \$220 to \$360 a ton.

How come? The people have a right to know!

These "merchants of death" are not operating on their own. They must have an arrangement with the government—probably with the Rubber Reserve Corp. or the WPB direct. The President promised not to disturb the profit system by his policies. Government agencies are definitely making his promise good—with a vengeance.

These war profiteers followed the usual pattern for getting theirs, according to Mr. Simpson. The method is to employ "inside men," so to speak. One of the above mentioned companies is known to have got some of its own employees into the War Production Board, and in posts throughout the country, which enabled them to look after the interests of their real boss.

The only remedy for war profiteering is—as LABOR ACTION continually points out—conscription of all war industries under workers control

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Third Camp

SECRET RADIO PROPAGANDA IN GERMANY

Since the Nazi attack on Russia several illegal radio shortwave stations have been heard which attack the Nazi regime, but which do not seem to be official Allied stations. There has been much discussion about these stations and many theories have been advanced as to who uses them and where they are located.

It is, of course, impossible to know anything definite about this, but at least this much can be said: one of them, the "Voice of the Chief" station, is either situated in Germany itself or in a neutral territory (possibly Switzerland). This station can be heard every day every hour for exactly seven minutes. Exactly seven minutes before the end of the hour a voice says "The Chief is talking now" and exactly seven minutes later the same voice announces "The Chief has spoken."

Such a regular transmission must involve quite a technical apparatus; it seems almost impossible that such a station could be established in Germany without the Gestapo finding out about it in a rather short time. On the other hand, the information given by this station is unusually detailed. It seems to stem from such an intimate insight into day to day happenings that it seems to originate in Germany itself—not in England or Russia. There remains as the most probable hypothesis that some powerful group inside Germany is backing this station and shielding it from the Gestapo. The only group which might possibly be able to do so would be the army, or at least a certain clique of high officers inside the army.

In fact this is corroborated by the character of the news and comment this station is sending. It attacks the Nazi Party in the most outspoken manner. It shows the cowardice, stupidity and graft of the high Nazi officials. But, on the other hand, it does not attack the army. Nobody knows who "The Chief" is, but there is a strong probability that this is a station of "oppositional army leaders." They do not present a definite political program. They are neither pro-Ally nor, of course, has their propaganda anything in common with revolutionary socialist propaganda. In fact, it is almost entirely negative, leaving it to the listener to draw his political conclusions.

INSIDE THE NAZI APPARATUS

The most interesting thing about this station is that it seems to have an amazingly thorough inside knowledge of the happenings in the high Nazi apparatus. Nearly every day it relates some "sensational" stories of graft and dereliction of duty inside the apparatus. It speaks of the Black Market operations in which high officials are engaged. It tells of the clashes between Catholics and Nazis, between the SS, the Gestapo and the army, etc.

Here are two very typical stories: The district leader of Mulhausen, Karl Muhrer, on May 8 made a patriotic speech to the inmates of the hospital of this town, attacking the lack of patriotism on the part of the Catholic priests. Sergeant Mahias Graef, getting very furious by these attacks, made the remark that three of his friends, members of the clergy, had already died in the field, but that he had never heard that a "district leader" had ever been in an actual battle. In spite of the protests of the leading doctors and of the superior of the sergeant, Muhrer ordered that the man be punished for his insolence and transferred him to the prison of Gernersheim. After a week he died in this prison from "blood-poisoning."

Another of the short reports related in detail how a certain number of packages of chocolate destined for the army went from one high Nazi official to another, always with a doubled price, until it reached the very top of the bureaucracy. Many other similar stories are told.

Friends of LABOR ACTION who have some knowledge of Germany unanimously state that in so far as names of places, streets, etc., are concerned, they are exact. On the other hand, it is obviously impossible to check on the exactitude of the information itself. But there is reason to believe that it is correct. Since such data can be checked by thousands of listeners inside Germany, it would be senseless to invent these stories and would only defeat the purpose of the station. A listener who is able to check on an incident occurring in his neighborhood and finding out that it is false would obviously lose all interest in the station.

The speaker uses very bad Berlin slang and a rather poor vocabulary, such as is probably spoken among soldiers and members of the SS in saloons and canteens. It is a vocabulary so similar to the language the Nazis have been using these last few years that it seems, for this additional reason, that the station cannot be established in England or Russia by refugees.

DISSENSION AMONG NAZI RULERS

It is obvious that this station has nothing to do with the aim of the revolutionary German workers. On the other hand it is a rather good indication of how far the differences inside the ruling clique have already gone. Dissension must be pretty bad if circles related to the Reichswehr employ such illegal means in their struggle against the Nazis. The aims of these people are obviously to get rid of the Nazi inner clique in order to run the apparatus themselves. They are just as much for the suppression and crushing of the workers and their organizations as are the Nazis.

The existence of this station proves that everything does not run as smoothly behind the scenes as many superficial observers, impressed by the military successes of the Nazi machine, may think.

A recent report in an American paper told of other illegal radio stations. In this paper it was asserted that there exists a station called the "Voice of European Revolution" which supposedly sent "Marxist," "Third Camp" and anti-Stalinist propaganda. Unfortunately it was not indicated from which source this information was taken.

There is also a station, supposedly influenced by people around Otto Strasser, which comes out for a new National-Socialist revolution and seems to reflect the views of certain Nazi extremists. Again, all this information is rather vague. I should be glad if those who are able to hear shortwave stations from Europe or who would otherwise come across information on this propaganda would let me know about it. Since nearly all channels to get direct news from Europe are closed, this kind of radio news would be of the utmost importance for all those who try to evaluate the course of events over there. (A report on the "Voice of the Chief" can be found in Newsweek, June 29 issue.)

Europaeus.

San Pedro Shipyard Local Pressured into Retreat

Bridges Men and Conservatives Push Eight-Point Sell-Out, but Militants Give Them Run for Their Money

SAN PEDRO—Pressured by a combination of Bridges men, conservatives and company men, Local 9 of the IUMSWA at its membership meeting this week finally gave ground. By a considerable majority the meeting accepted the eight-point shipyard stabilization program selling union conditions down the river for the duration (and God knows how much longer).

But hats off to the 50 to 100 union militants who had the guts to stand up and vote "NO" after it was obvious that the eight points had carried by a vote of 300 or 400. By voting for the eight points, this union gave up the very clause which it initiated on the West coast last year. This is the clause which provides for and REQUIRES that a wage raise be considered at the end of the year on the basis of the rise in the cost of living as indicated by the Department of Labor index figures. The new contract provides for an eight-cent hourly raise, although,

according to the Department of Labor index figures, the men were entitled to at least a 13-cent raise! Also, the eight points provide for the rotating week.

Militants Fought Hard

Despite the array of pressure on their side, despite the eagerness of so many union members to get any raise quickly and despite the feeling that the thing was settled regardless of how Local 9 voted, nevertheless the crowd that sold this phony bill of goods to the union members got a run for their money.

Those who stood up and fought for union conditions were men who will not soon forget who put over the plan to give away conditions. Many of those who voted for the eight points either knew they were voting on the wrong side or will soon be convinced by experience. When the continuing wave of rising prices hits the union membership, as it will before long, the officials and the Sta-

linists will have their hands more than full in answering the questions of the members.

Bridges Men Lead Attack

As usual nowadays, the main reactionary speeches were made by the shirt-sacrificers of the Bridges and People's World variety, though the officials and the ordinary run-of-the-mill reactionaries did their part. The Stalinists lined up before the microphone in a long queue and each vied with the other as to who should make the best pro-company, most anti-union speech. One Kremlin patriot attacked LABOR ACTION and The Militant for their support of the fight against the sell-out and for their stand against the imperialist war. He attacked by name the union progressives who had the courage to take the floor in defense of hard-won union standards. And as each Bridges stooge succeeded the other, they hit lower anti-union depths.

The Bridges clique put it up to a Negro to present the main line. Instead of fighting for freedom and equality for his people, he championed the imperialism that enslaves his race. His line was the expected line, that line by which the militant workers have learned to know and hate the Stalinists throughout the world. In Local 9 the Stalinists don't dare openly attack the union militants as agents of Hitler and Hirohito—but they are leading to that. He attacked the union militants as disrupters whose opposition to sacrificing union conditions interfered with the union campaign to organize Western Pipe & Steel.

How any statement could be more thoroughly false is hard to see. First, it whitewashes the do-nothing officials who, in the case of Western Pipe & Steel, as in the cases of California and Consolidated before then, tried to close the barn door after the horse was stolen. Second, it tries to place blame on those very progressives who have been demanding a vigorous organizing policy from the very beginning and who have been ignored by the officials. And third, it tries to put over the idea that the way to organize new yards is to adopt a phony sell-out program of union retreats.

The colored brother knows well enough that his statement is a lie from all three angles but, unfortunately, worse things than lies and slander are carried on in the cause of Stalinism.

Must Stand Up!

In this way Local 9 was shoved down the road of retreat. The bosses and chiselers of every variety are happy. It is only the rank and file workers in the yard who are not so happy—hundreds and thousands of

work in the production of precision ordnance material will be paid salary while learning on special machinery."

The lesson of this demonstration brings results. Those Negroes who have the courage to take advantage of the present crisis to put the so-called advocates of democracy on the spot can wring concessions from them. Efforts should be made to draw the St. Louis CIO, which has gone on record against discrimination in war industries, into the next action. This will broaden the base and help draw white workers into the fight. The role of the Stalinists, those great self-styled champions of the Negro people, was particularly instructive: St. Louis Negroes are learning that they can depend only on their own initiative against these slow-down artists.

St. Louis MOW Committee Sets Real Example in Fight Against Jim Crow

ST. LOUIS, June 30—The St. Louis March on Washington Committee on June 20 set a stirring example of effective action against the Jim Crow practices of American industry.

Four hundred Negroes, carrying slogans proclaiming "20,000 workers employed in this plant and Not One Negro in production," staged a march to the United States Cartridge Co., local stronghold of industrial discrimination.

The U. S. Cartridge Co., biggest war plant in St. Louis, employs only 600 Negroes as porters and janitors out of the 20,000 workers. This flagrant example of Jim Crow, emphasized by the great publicity given this huge plant locally as an "arsenal of democracy," so aroused the St. Louis Negro community that various groups, including the industrial section of the Urban League, entered into negotiations last winter with the management to secure the employment of a fair proportion of Negroes. The company promised to open a special Jim Crow unit in May, then in June. But the end of June brought only continued stalling and then the company fired 125 of the 600 Negroes for no reason at all.

Stalinist Obstructionism

This was the final straw. The Stalinist-led United Electrical Workers, which is conducting a half-hearted campaign to organize the plant, protested, but then accepted the management's phony explanation that these were the last of the construction workers who were being laid off. Other Negroes saw no reason why the company should fire 125 old employees, who happen to be Negroes, while hiring new white employees every day: it smelled too much like Jim Crow.

The St. Louis March on Washington Committee then got into action. Preliminary meetings were held, plans were laid. The local Stalinists tried privately to discourage such action, claiming that "the white workers will see it as a direct threat to their jobs and the whole thing will just provoke a race riot."

This idea was too ridiculous to bear even cursory examination, since everybody knew that the company plans to hire 10,000 to 15,000 more workers and even if all 10,000 were Negroes it would not threaten the jobs of the present employees. The Stalinists were willing to stop all action because of the prejudices of the most backward white workers. However, it is elementary union poli-

cy that all workers must fight together against Jim Crow. Those white workers who don't know this must be educated, not given in to.

Final plans were laid and the march began. An hour before they reached the plant, the company hastily announced that it planned to train and hire Negroes for production work in the immediate future. This didn't prevent the small arms plant being encircled with banners reading:

"Negro Robert Brooks died first in the firing line at Pearl Harbor. Why must we be last in the production line at Small Arms?"

"We fight for the right to work as well as Die for the victory of the United Nations."

"Racial discrimination is sabotage."

"Where is your conscience, fellow Americans?"

"8,000 Women Employed in this plant and not one Negro woman."

The local boss press played up the company's last minute gesture and dismissed the march as an anti-climax. But St. Louis Negroes knew that it was this militant action ALONE which was responsible for the announcement of policy and the granting of long overdue pay increases of five and ten cents an hour to the Negroes already employed.

Negroes to Fight On

In the telegram sent to the management following the march, the committee stated in part:

"Today's demonstration before your plant was a mere token of what the Negro people think and of how they resent the discriminatory policies and anti-democratic attitudes of the U. S. Cartridge Co. All of which flagrantly violate the declared policy of the American people as expressed in President Roosevelt's Executive Order No. 8802. Your discriminatory practices forced us to take this issue into the streets. We propose to keep it in the streets until it is settled and settled right. We are, preparing to return to your plant and will return in constantly increasing numbers until President Roosevelt's Order No. 8802 has been complied with in good faith, adequately and without any deceptive avoidance of its true spirit and import."

The concretization of this threat by plans for a second demonstration of 2,000 brought the following two column ad in the St. Louis papers on June 28: "War Production Jobs for Colored Workers. Men to do set-up-

them—plus their wives who have to pay the bills. Thousands more, who perhaps think NOW that the sell-out was OK, will think AGAIN and DIFFERENTLY when prices go as high as a kite and wages lag far behind or stay where they are.

How can union men expect to resist the attacks of the bosses and of the American fascists if they haven't even the courage to stand up and vote for what they believe in their own union meeting? Union conditions were never built up by weak-kneed people who vote with the majority even when it is wrong.

Militant union men who did have the courage to fight for the union and to stand up and vote are wondering what to do now. There are two special things for them to bear in mind. First, an old "Wobbly" principle: that the basic strength of the union is on the job—in taking up grievances and in fighting in support of brother members, and not waiting until the war is over and the shipyards are overgrown with weeds. Second, they must remember that "time is long and tides have to turn." Think how weak was the union movement in the second half of the 1920's, and in 30, 31, 32 and 33—and then how

it leaped forward in 34, in the early days of the CIO and just before the war. Our time will come again!

Today the bosses and the government use the war to club the unions into retreat, and inside the unions the Stalinist People's World crowd and conservatives help them. Today this combined attack succeeds because very many of the rank and file do not see what is happening. But time will show which group has really been fighting in their interest and which has been traitors to unionism—and with what force they will then react against these scoundrels and fakers, and against the bosses behind them!

For that day militant unionists must prepare, for then we shall win back all the conditions they have given away and advance to new ones. But these victories can be won only if the real union men keep up their courage NOW and keep fighting NOW! The union must be maintained by fighting for conditions on the job.

A just grievance is a union duty! Shop stewards must be grievance men and not company men. The corporations understand only the language of militant action!

THE WORLD AT WAR

Hitler Strategy May Fall Afoul of Mass Unrest As Hunger, Terror Grow

By WILLIAM BRAD

The German grand offensive was well under way this week. Starting a month ago in the central area around Kursk, the Nazis began nibbling forward, feeling out the Russian lines, establishing advance positions and straightening out their lines, which had been dented at various points during the winter war.

In retrospect the Russians succeeded only in holding up the German steam-roller and in inflicting immense losses rather than actually defeating the German armies during last winter. The losses inflicted are not irreparable. Hitler, according to one Russian dispatch in Red Star, has not only largely replaced his losses in material but has even improved types of planes and tanks and increased the number in operation. There is no doubt that the Germans were able to hold all the essential spring-board points they wished to hold.

Anti-Nazi Wave

It is possible that the German offensive starts late not because of the effectiveness of the Russian armies primarily, but rather because of the political situation in Europe. There is a tremendous anti-Nazi wave in all the occupied territories, constituting in effect a permanent stage of guerrilla warfare by means of sabotage, non-cooperation, assassination, slow-down at work and that immense wall of hostility which cannot be destroyed by terror or hangings. The workers of Europe have found many and ingenious ways of expressing their discontent with the Nazi overlordship.

Another vital factor is the impending hunger and wave of epidemics which threaten. After the summer comes the winter. And what a winter is in prospect for Europe this year! All Europe, especially the Balkan and Eastern peoples, will be dominated by one primitive need: to obtain the very minimum necessary to sustain life.

Such hunger as Europe has never seen is in store. In its wake will come disease. Can Hitler ever slightly ameliorate this condition? From what sources?

Third, it is apparent that beneath the imposing facade of the German military Colossus cracks are beginning to appear. The Nazi bureaucracy itself is losing a good deal of its grip. Fissures are appearing in the economic structure. The Black Market grows without cessation and the bureaucrats in their unofficial capacity of consumers participate in it.

Even the machines themselves are beginning to protest, what with continuous operation, lack of good lubricating oils in sufficient quantities and lack of replacements.

Base Less Solid, But...

Hitler's offensive this year is, therefore, launched from a less solid base than his previous offensives. Not that the Nazi machine is on the verge of collapse. Nor is there as yet a leadership to organize the discontent of the workers of Germany and Europe for revolution. Hitler is capable of great military efforts and devastating blows. But fascism has no more solved the contradictions of society than has democratic capitalism. It is in war that these problems take their most acute form.

Hitler's drive this summer is urgent. He must reach certain objectives in order to be able to last the winter without severely impairing his strength. If Hitler fails to gain his major objectives this summer he will find it all the more difficult to keep Europe under this terroristic domination during the ensuing winter.

The main German drive is toward the Caucasus. Here Hitler wants oil, 23,000,000 tons of it, produced annually. With this oil he will be able to refurbish his Panzers and Luftwaffe and be prepared to continue the war on a grand scale. German industry needs lubricants. Equally, Russia will be deprived of most of its oil. Strategically, the wedge to the East will have been won; that is, a road to a juncture with the Japanese. Also, Russia will be cut off from her chief source of supplies. All offensives which Hitler may undertake around Moscow, Leningrad, etc., are secondary or diversions and feints. His main drive is in the South.

In this offensive Hitler is employing Hungarians, Rumanians and others on a large scale. For Hitler these are mere cannon fodder. He levies on these subject states a levy in men just as the Romans used to levy a tax on each subordinate province. These troops he employs in the fiercest battle areas and their losses are devastating.

The plains of Russia are piled high with dead. From Hitler came orders for continued offensive. From Stalin came calls for a second front—more slaughter. These useless butcheries serve only to advance the objectives of the imperialists on both sides. Both can only call for new battles, new fronts. Neither knows how to end the war.

For the answer to this we must keep our eyes on the peoples, the masses of workers of all Europe, including Germany.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

"Saw a Copy For First Time"

Dear Editor: Please find a money order for 60 cents for a year's subscription.

Today I saw a copy of LABOR ACTION for the first time, enjoying it very much. It recalled pleasant moments spent listening to Socialist Youth oratory outside Sather Gate in neighboring Berkeley at UC. Have been a doormat socialist for many years but feel that a little activity now might be productive. The string I love to twang is public ownership of natural resources and lately it seems to me that nearly every time I hit it unexpected vibrations reward me.

K. R.

Oakland, Cal.

\$-a-Year Men Get Fat Allowance

Dear Editor: Your paper still doesn't have the full truth regarding the money earnings of the dollar-a-year men. You have played up well enough the salaries they get from their old companies—but the average man still says: "But they do give their services free to the government." And that

too is not true because they get a per diem allowance for "incidentals" of no less than \$10 for every day they work.

Neither is the travel allowance anything to be sneezed at since all travel expenses, whether by rail (always Pullman, needless to say) or air or boat or clipper, throughout the United States or the world, is paid for by the government.

I'd appreciate it if you would put this in the paper since there are many salaried people like me who get only \$3.00 a day and who are more than a bit irked at the \$10 a day allowance of "non-salaried" patriots.

Government Employee.

Negro Correspondent Asks a Few 'Whys?'

Dear Editor: In the United States of America all men are supposed to be created equal, regardless of race, color or creed.

All men living here in America are expected to defend this country, which is right. We are fighting to preserve our democracy, freedom and liberty.

The colored man is expected to do his share. He is no slacker. He is

more than willing to do his share.

After the war is over, what has he gained? He has gained the right to mop, sweep and do porter work to clean up behind the white man.

If we have to fight the Japs and Nazis over there, why can't we be given some decent jobs over here? We are human. Our lives are just as dear to us as any one else's is to them. Why can't we enjoy equally the democracy we have to die for? Why should his life be the payment for a country he can't enjoy?

His training and ability are useless because he isn't even given the chance to prove himself. Why can't he stand side by side and send aid to our boys like the other races are doing? Why die over there for what they are doing to someone else when they are doing the same thing to us

over here?

Let us be on the front line in earning our living just as we are in the front line on the battlefields.

Why?
Buffalo, N. Y.

Much More of This'd Bust Our Buttons!

Dear Editor: That was a swell editorial, "How Long Will This War Last?" in your July 6 issue. Simply written, realistic, and—alas!—entirely true. The kind of truth that needs public statement these days. Congratulations.

Dwight Macdonald.
P.S.—While I'm handing out bouquets, may I add that LABOR ACTION has become, in the last year, the best popular paper I've seen in the American leftwing movement up to now.

New York, July 9.

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Have you subscribed to LABOR ACTION? Twenty-five cents will bring it to you for six months.

A Note of Commendation

Dear Editor: Enclosed find \$2.50 to pay for a bound volume of your newspaper, LABOR ACTION.

I only hope that your future issues are as well written, interesting and militant as have been the past ones.

I. S.
New York.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The New York branch of the Civil - Rights Defense Committee, observing a year of struggle for civil liberties in support of the Minneapolis labor defendants, will hold a roof garden dance on Saturday, July 18, from 9:00 till 2:00 at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd Street. The price of admission is \$1.00. Don Henry's orchestra will syncopate.



The LABOR ACTION rate-card campaign is now completed. New York City did the best work on this. If all the rate-cards that were sold are filled out and mailed in LABOR ACTION will have added about 300 names and readers to its growing mailing lists.

Our agent in Buffalo has done fine work, particularly toward getting new readers for LABOR ACTION. Below we list subscriptions received during the last two weeks:

Ohio	9
New York City	8
Buffalo	7
California	2
Akron	2
Chicago	2
Tennessee	2
Philadelphia	1

Total 34
Los Angeles 1

We are now printing, selling and distributing each week a minimum of 20,000 copies of America's fastest growing labor paper—LABOR ACTION!

The Facts Speak Clearly: Socialism Points the Way to Progress!

By GERTRUDE SHAW

If there is anywhere a boss suffering from an inferiority complex, the average worker has certainly not come in contact with him. The average boss battles labor's demands for betterment, holds out for his war profits on government contracts, pushes the OPA for higher prices for his commodities, has his dollar-a-year representative in Washington to go-get for him.

But the Saturday Evening Post is of the opinion that "One of the worst handicaps of our system of free enterprise has been the fact that so many of its beneficiaries (meaning the bosses) have inferiority complexes." In the issue of July 11, one-half of its editorial page is devoted to advising the "beneficiaries" of the capitalist system to "STOP NURSING THAT GUILTY FEELING!"

And why have the "convinced believers in individual initiative and free competition" a guilty feeling? You'd be surprised. They "are disturbed by the fear that there is something to the charges thrown at them by pinks and collectivists." These sensitive bosses wonder if they have not "produced for profit and not for use, or been just plain predatory."

FACTS TEACH THEIR OWN LESSONS

Time was when these "sufferers from an inferiority complex" blamed all their labor troubles on the "reds."

Akron Incident Proves Need of Labor Solidarity

By MARY BELL

A fresh lesson in how economic rivalry for jobs sets worker against worker was obtained in the three-day unauthorized strike at the General Tire & Rubber Co., June 24 to 26.

Last December, amid the war hysteria and as a factor aiding such hysteria, thousands of aliens were removed from their jobs. After a long period of unemployment, social discrimination, subjection to police investigation, arbitrary suspicion of fifth column activity, some of the aliens are just being re-employed. It was with the return to work at General of 25 aliens that the reactionary stoppage of work there occurred.

The reason for the sit-down, according to the strikers themselves, was the fear that some "citizens" would be ousted because the department was not working full time. The returning aliens, union members and union protected, would receive prior ratings.

The bosses and the boss press were panicky because the sit-down disrupted the continuous flow of materials for war. But it is they who bear the direct responsibility for such actions. It was they who fomented distrust of alien workers and aroused the fears of their fellow workers against them. It is the bosses who are responsible, since it is their war for profits, for the disorganization of production, which makes the workers fear from one day to the next a cut in the days worked per week or the loss of their jobs.

The United Rubber Workers Union, because it is committed to uninterrupted production, accidentally found itself on the progressive side of this issue. It supported the return of the alien workers and threatened to remove the strikers from union membership.

The union, however, since it supports the war for profits and all-out production, finds itself hard put to dissolve the antagonisms between citizen and alien workers competing for jobs and wages.

Only the socialists know, but the workers will learn in the lessons of the war, that all workers are brothers—that the problem of one is the problem of all.

Saturday Evening Post Makes a Feeble Effort to Cure Capitalism of Its 'Guilty Conscience' — But It Can't Be Done Because the Rotten Capitalist System IS Guilty and Incurable!

Everything would be for the best in the very best of all possible worlds, if it weren't for the socialist trying to give the worker a social goal and the union organizer trying to give the worker the leadership for organization. There was nothing wrong with the "system of free enterprise." IT WAS ALL PROPAGANDA.

To which nonsense both the socialist and union organizer replied: "Poverty, unemployment, industrial crises, wars are not the product of the socialist and the union organizer. They are the stink weeds of the capitalist system. They smell to high heaven. Conditions make the workers learn the lessons of industrial unionism and conditions compel the million masses to strive for a better social system."

Now if, as the Saturday Evening Post claims, the capitalists have acquired an "inferiority complex" about their system of society, it is not the propaganda of the "pinks and collectivists" that has done them in. Conditions have been the workers' best teacher, and conditions have shaken the faith of capitalists in their own system. If the editorial of the Saturday evening Post has any meaning at all, it spells fear on its part that the "beneficiaries" of the system of free competition no longer have faith in it.

So this smooth-sheet journal en-

gages in a frantic effort to re-sell "good old" capitalism to the faithless capitalists. But before we know it, it is putting sales pressure on the workers. "After all, it ought not to take unusual powers of observation to note that, if social gain is translated into terms of living standards, food, clothing, shelter, leisure and opportunity for spiritual development, our free enterprise system has produced more social gains than any other yet devised." This is definitely meant for the lower crust.

But to the sane human being the above looks like an ill-advised joke at this time. Fires, explosions, destruction, death, maiming, sickness, want, starvation are running riot over the face of the world in the throes of war—a war as natural and inevitable an outgrowth of capitalism as old age is a natural and inevitable sequence of youth—and the gib editors of capitalist sheets blab about "the social gains" of capitalism.

These spokesmen for an outworn and vicious social system—for their own reasons—make no distinction between the scientific and technological progress of today and the capitalist system. The former sets the mark for production, but the latter determines how that production is used. History proves that the supreme use of capitalist pro-

duction is total war.

AN ARGUMENT THAT WON'T HOLD WATER

The apologists of every social system that has passed into history have always sought to justify its continuance by saying: "It's the best yet." Doubtless the patricians of the doomed Roman Empire used that limping argument, also the feudal lords, and now the whitewashers of capitalism. But human progress continues only by mankind looking forward—not back.

The Post editor tries to give some justification to this reactionary argument by pointing to the "collectivism" of Germany and Russia. Is what exists in these countries better than the system of free competition? He implicitly asks. But this is only giving humanity a choice between different kinds of cancer. The answer is very simple. Humanity wants no kind of social cancer.

Not the totalitarian Nazi dictatorship which is the ultra-ruthless and efficient organization of capitalism to wage the most daring imperialist war in history. Not the equally ruthless dictatorship of the Stalinist bureaucrats who have betrayed the October Revolution, fastened themselves on the backs of the Russian masses to exploit them, and participate in the imperialist war with no

other purpose than to continue their own power. And not the "system of free competition" which has long ago become a myth—the reality is American monopolist capitalism rapidly being transformed by the war into its own brand of totalitarianism.

REALLY! THIS GAG IS TOO, TOO OLD!

To the socialist accusation that capitalism "produces for profit," the Post editor asks: "Who got the real profit from our automobile industry—the stockholders or the owners of 30,000,000 automobiles?" That is so old a gag that it has long flowing whiskers.

The vast capital accumulated by the automobile industry tells the story of who got the "real profit." It might be mentioned—in passing—that the 30,000,000 "automobile owners" include millions who own tireless, brakeless, roofless jalopies used by them in their ceaseless hunt for a livelihood which capitalism does not allow them.

As if to clinch his case for capitalism, the editor declares: "Because there have been confusion, stupidity, bad distribution and poverty amid plenty" under a free economy, we mistakenly assume that such things are not possible in a socialist economy. That all-inclusive "we" will

be handled later. But it is no mistake for the workers to assume that the socialist society will make bad distribution and poverty amid plenty impossible.

For under the socialist society the means of production will be free to provide for the needs of the people. The capitalist profit-makers will have passed into the limbo of history. The working people will be in control of industry and government. A little confusion, a little stupidity, there may be. However, not as the characteristics of socialism, as they are the characteristics of capitalism; but merely as the natural mistakes made by human beings on the road to a better life.

THE FACTS SPEAK FOR SOCIALISM

And now to the kernel of this significant editorial. There is purposely a merging of the classes—the use of "we" to indicate both the exploiters and the exploited. There is also the deliberate fusing of all so-called "collective systems" into one. No distinction is made between fascism and socialism. However, out of this studied mishmash emerges the editor's twofold purpose: To turn the eyes of the workers away from socialism—and the eyes of certain of the "beneficiaries" of "our system of free enterprise" away from fascism.

But the editor himself indicates the futility of his effort. His final cry is for "a new and better propaganda technique." He concludes: "It ought not to be beyond the means of a great productive society to make its virtues so apparent that people will stop hankering for socialist beehives. Up to now, however, the precise means of accomplishing this easy exercise in persuasion has eluded us."

Precisely. Because history is made by facts, not fictions. The fact is that "our system of free enterprise" will not survive the war—not because of lack of "a new and better propaganda technique," but because it is outworn. Whether fascism or socialism will be the order of society after the war depends on what the working class does. Its struggle for socialism cannot be postponed.

Missouri--

(Continued from page 1)

ing body. If at the end of three months this organizing body has not been successful, then a new organization will take place.

The new organizing committee will take a paper to Local 313, which the local will be asked to sign. As soon as the local signs it, it will be given a representative on the organizing committee. If it does not sign, it will be thrown out at the end of three months.

What It Means

What does all of this mean? We can say at once without hesitation. Counting three months from July 15 will bring us to October 15. By that time the cotton picking season will have started for two or three weeks. The time to organize for cotton picking is now.

Henderson, by appointing this committee, composed for the most part of UCAPAWA stooges, has made sure that no action will be taken to put over a powerful program such as Local 313, La Forge Local, Matthews and the others put over to win the resulting increases for cotton chopping. Once more the UCAPAWA is acting as the agent of the Stalinist bureaucracy, hamstringing the workers' struggle and leaving them to be devoured by the landlords.

For the rest the conference consisted of long speeches by Hughes and Henderson about the war, and a final speech by Henderson in which he told them what he had decided and what his stooge committees proposed. He called the Southeast Missouri workers together, he appointed his own committees, then he himself said what the committees recommended, the resolutions were rushed through and the workers were sent home again. This is the way Hitler and Stalin carry through their conventions.

An Achievement

One good thing came out of the conference. The price for cotton was placed at \$3.00 per hundred.

And one bad thing left the conference. At the end Owen Whitfield, who turned up when it was half way through, said good-bye to the Missouri workers. He had been transferred to another area, he said.

He went unregretted. His treacherous behavior had caused the workers to lose all confidence in the UCAPAWA leadership and to ask permission to organize their own action, which has been so brilliantly successful.

But the new leadership is the same as the old. Hughes and Fisher are the same stooges of Henderson that Whitfield was. But the fact that Whitfield had to be driven away shows that the old tactics of fooling the workers are no longer good enough.

The organizing committee will have to show results or, as sure as day, it will go the way of Owen Whitfield.

The Unemployment Crisis in Needle Trades---

(Continued from page 1)

13-14, pointed with pride to the growth and strength of the ILGWU today, as compared with its status ten years earlier, in 1932. The union now has 310,000 members, as against 40,000 a decade ago. The union is operating in twenty-nine states and has 325 locals. The industry, he reported, was 90 per cent organized. Greatly improved standards of labor—wages, working conditions, etc.—have resulted.

"In these ten years," Dubinsky boasted, "we have succeeded in virtually eliminating general strikes, substituting negotiation, arbitration and mediation in their place."

Yet, without here discussing this aspect of union policy and development, it needs to be pointed out that the union's growth flows from the great militant struggles conducted for years by the garment workers against the garment employers; struggles led and participated in by tens of thousands of fighting, union-conscious, even socialist-conscious workers, over the heads often of the conservative leadership (Sigman, et al.). The older garment workers will remember these facts graphically. The fruits in recent years have been reaped by the union membership because of these earlier struggles, and not because of the abandonment of a fighting policy for preserving and building the union. That is what Dubinsky failed to point out. And it is this aspect which bears directly on the present and future of the needle trades unions.

"APPEASING" ADMINISTRATION WON'T GET JOBS

The officialdom of the needle trades unions, (Hillman, Dubinsky, et al.) are the strongest supporters of the Roosevelt Administration and the imperialist war. Even as terrific unemployment is hitting the New York garment workers, the ILGWU is pledged to purchase \$25,000,000 in War Bonds! The ILGWU, like the other needle trades unions, has pledged full support and collaboration to the government on its labor policy. It hence gave up the right to strike in the interests of war production, "national defense," "national unity" and "labor peace."

But what good have scraping and bowing, concessions and surrender done the needle trades workers? The Administration has had its way and will continue to have it. The "good will" of the needle trades workers has been answered with a "thank you" in reverse: namely, government initiative, sponsorship and financing of a non-union (scab) needle trades industry in the South!

Needle trades workers, with such a large proportion of Jewish workers, probably see and feel the menace of fascism, of Hitlerism, more sharply than other workers. Yet right now they might well ask, "What price glory and war now?" as they observe the Roosevelt Administration dealing blows at their union and unionism itself.

COMMON PROBLEMS OF NORTH AND SOUTH WORKERS

But what about the newly industrialized Southern workers? They must also be considered. They too are workers and have rights and problems in the present difficult situation. Their problems and rights, and those of the needle trades workers in New York and other organized areas, must be considered as one common problem or there will be no positive solution in this

period for either the New York needle trades workers or the Southern workers.

Not a word has been said in their behalf in all the comments and proposals of the union officials. But failure to consider also the plight of the Southern workers is reactionary from a worker's viewpoint. There is the right to earn a living. There is no "law" that says that garments are to be made only in the East.

The industrialization of the South, in the last analysis, is to be welcomed by unionists, militants, class-conscious workers. The tens of thousands of men, women and girls who are being taken from the farms and thrown into industry will be different people in relatively swift time. True, today they will bring all their backward views and prejudices with them into the towns and cities and factories. But industrial life will go a long way to change their outlook and practice. They (the so-called Southern "crackers," "hillbillies," etc.) will come to see, think and feel like the Northern needle trades workers as they face identical problems with profit-seeking, labor-hating bosses. These new Southern workers will learn fast enough, as did Southern coal miners, steel workers, and others, that their wages are too low for a decent living. They may be backward now. But they will respond to appeals and proposals to remedy their conditions by union organization.

So the right of these new Southern needle trades workers to earn a living in a new way must not be questioned, directly or indirectly, above all by unionists. The Southern workers are here to stay.

ORGANIZE THE SOUTHERN WORKERS!

What, then, is the answer to this very real problem of existence confronting hundreds of thousands of needle trades workers in New York City? The answer is the only one that has ever proved successful in similar situations: ORGANIZE! ORGANIZE THE SOUTHERN WORKERS INTO BONA FIDE LABOR UNIONS—INTO THE RESPECTIVE UNIONS IN THE NEEDLE TRADES INDUSTRY!

The masses of needle trades workers must demand that their officials from top to bottom, from Dubinsky and Hillman down to the last local union official, undertake a fighting policy to ORGANIZE THE SOUTH!

This means, first of all, that the needle trades unions shall cease to depend on "favors" from their "friends" in government; shall cease to rely on the Administration to protect their interests. The Administration, whose real friends and allies are the Jim Crow congressmen and the labor-hating oligarchy of steel and coal barons, manufacturers, landlords and planters, will not seriously help the needle trades workers out of their economic predicament. The government—now engaged in the big business of running an imperialist war in the interests of capitalism—seeks the highest profit level and the lowest labor cost level. In helping to establish new factories in the South on a non-union basis, the government is only doing what it has been doing all along in other trades and industries—namely, passing the burden of the war costs onto the backs of labor by "freezing" wages and union organization, exacting no-strike pledges, etc.

IT'S BEEN DONE BEFORE! DO IT AGAIN!

The ILGWU has \$9,000,000 in its treasury, says President Dubinsky. Other needle trades unions undoubtedly also have large sums in their treasury. Use this money—as much of it as is necessary—to organize the new factories in the South. Money will never be better spent. There is no doubt that this means a great struggle. But unless the policy of no strikes, no strikes, is abandoned, the needle trades workers will find that all the remedies proposed by the union will not bring back jobs to the vast and increasing mass of unemployed needle trade workers.

Class collaboration and a non-struggle policy will get the needle trades workers nowhere. Unionization—and, certainly, the maintenance and extension of all the present standards of the workers—is the answer to the Southern bosses.

When factories were set up in New Jersey, Maryland, upstate New York and Delaware, the New York needle trades workers confronted a situation similar to that in the South today. They proceeded to organize and establish the union in the factories in these states. It was not easy, as the history of the needle trades unions shows. But the job was done.

FIGHT BACK AGAINST WAGE CUTS AND SCABBERY

The South has been the scene of great labor struggles in the organization of the textile and steel workers, and in the efforts to organize the rubber and other workers. The job is a long way from being finished. For the present situation, the Roosevelt Administration is directly responsible. Garment workers—and all needle trades workers who are or may be involved—must pick up the challenge to labor's rights and fight back against wage cuts and scabbery.

Needle trades workers must campaign for and DEMAND THAT THE GOVERNMENT GRANT NO WAR PRODUCTION CONTRACTS WITHOUT A UNION CONTRACT. That will bring work into the already unionized shops of the East.

An organized industry is in a position to make this and other demands—such as a 30-hour week to absorb the unemployed and the minimum union scale—upon the government and industry in connection with war industry or production. An unorganized or yielding industry is in a position only to ask, to plead, to beg, but not to achieve its demands. That is why the demands and needs of the needle trades unionists can only be made effective by a union drive to organize the Southern plants.

UNIONISM IS THE ISSUE

The needs of the needle trades workers today can be approached soundly only if the fundamental issue of scab shops versus union shops is met head-on. With millions of dollars in their treasuries and with large numbers of available organizers—plus new ones from the ranks—the needle trades unions must cooperate in a campaign of organizing the South and any unorganized plants elsewhere. The officialdom of the needle trades unions, in their own narrow bureaucratic interests, as well as in the interests of the workers, must understand this as a No. 1 task. Needle trades workers have to take the lead again to beat back the attacks of Southern employers who are backed by the government.

Roosevelt and Other Officials Gave Waller Delegation the Run-Around

Randolph Reports: "President and Government Have Failed Us"

By RIA STONE

The New York division of the March on Washington Committee, at its meeting on July 8, made plans for a silent parade on Saturday, July 25, to protest the legal lynching of Odell Waller.

Twenty-five years ago, just a few months after America entered the First Imperialist World War, Negroes held such a silent parade in New York to protest the inhuman brutality directed against them in the East St. Louis pogrom when Negroes were killed in cold blood.

Today, during the Second Imperialist World War, the electrocution of a sharecropper has aroused in the Negro people an equally passionate desire to make a mass protest against a social order which denies to 13,000,000 people freedom from want and fear.

Get Royal Runaround

Waller was slated to die in the

electric chair early Thursday morning July 1. On June 30, a delegation of prominent Negro leaders, among them A. Philip Randolph, national director of the MOWC, went to Washington to request a reprieve, to ask President Roosevelt to issue a public appeal to Governor Darden of Virginia and set up a commission of inquiry. The runaround which these Negro leaders got was bald and bold in its insulting disregard of the fact that they represented the demands of millions of Negroes.

The behavior of Harold Young, the Texan executive secretary to Vice-President Wallace, is typical. While the delegation of Negro men and women sat in his office and made eloquent pleas for commutation of Waller's sentence, Young sat with his feet on his desk and patronizingly waved a cane at them. Vice-President Wallace himself—who has been so highly praised by the Negro and white

"liberal" press alike for his recent rhetorical speeches in behalf of the little people—cavalierly shoved the delegation aside when they ran after him on the steps of his office building. Brusquely he told them that he had no power in the matter.

Elmer Davis, director of the Office of War Information, summoned the delegation to his office only to warn them that "national unity" would be endangered if they carried out their proposal to picket the White House in a last-minute desperate effort.

Eleanor Roosevelt, tears in her voice, confessed she didn't even know Waller was going to be electrocuted the next day. Having been informed, she went to the President three times and pleaded with him, finally giving up because she was afraid the President might become "annoyed" with her.

Roosevelt, himself, would not employ his powers as wartime Presi-

dent to intervene, accepting instead the decision of the notoriously reactionary Department of Justice officials that he had no power to act. Roosevelt, when asked, also refused to make public a letter which he had sent to the Governor of Virginia previously—on the grounds that the letter was a personal and not a public or official matter.

"National Unity" Plea Used

The last-minute action of the Negro leaders demonstrates their blind faith that those in the Administration who mouth beautiful phrases about democracy can or will back up their words with action. These Negro leaders rely for humanitarian reforms upon the so-called "new capitalists," differentiating them from the "reactionary capitalists" who are recognizably and outspokenly anti-Negro and anti-labor. These leaders do not see that ALL CAPITALISTS must keep all workers, and the Negroes

especially, in their place, if the ruling class is going to continue to live off the profits of the workers' toil.

"National unity" is the catchword used today to discourage militant struggle by the oppressed. To get this "national unity" the ruling class, by and large, does not make concessions but demands concessions!

In the name of "national unity," the ruling class demands that the workers give up their right to strike. It demands that the colonial nations postpone their fight for national independence. It demands that Negroes should not march on Washington for their democratic rights. And it demanded on June 30 that Negroes should not picket the White House—because such an act might expose the contrast between Roosevelt's fine abstract phrases about democracy and his actual refusal to act in the Waller case—a concrete case of a Negro sharecropper denied his democratic

rights through the poll-tax system. Only when the workers, white and colored alike, have adamantly insisted and shown by militant actions that their own struggle comes first has the ruling class appeased the workers by granting some concessions to maintain "national unity."

Answer False Call

Randolph's own admission (in the Waller case) is that "the President and the government have failed us," and (in general) that American democracy is a "miserable failure." Nevertheless, the March on Washington Committee, in a petition recently issued, still demands democratic rights for Negroes "in the interests of national unity and of effective defense," and "of the victory of the United Nations over the Axis powers." By motivating their petition in this way, the Negro leaders, like the Stalinists in this instance, obscure the fact that the demand of

the Negroes are for rights which they need even for a modest degree of freedom from want and fear at all times.

The Negroes legitimately utilize the exigencies of the "national emergency" to obtain all possible concessions from their Jim Crow oppressors. But they cannot afford to subordinate their demands for simple justice and democratic rights to the needs of the war machine. For, if the Negroes in any way subordinate their own struggle at home to the imperialist struggle or to "national unity," they will find this "national unity" boomeranging to enable the ruling class to exact rather than to give concessions.

THE NEGROES OF THE COUNTRY MUST TURN OUT IN FULL FORCE ON JULY 25. THE PROTEST OF 13,000,000 AGAINST THE LEGAL LYNCHING OF ONE OF THEM MUST RESULT IN A MIGHTY DEMONSTRATION OF MILITANCY.

Editorials

Another Lynching!

Almost before the body of Odell Waller is cold—Odell Waller, the victim of an official and legal lynching—comes the news of the mob lynching of another Negro.

Willie Vinson, resident of Texarkana, Texas, 25 years old, color BLACK, was kidnapped from a hospital, dragged behind a speeding auto and then lynched.

Though the lynch mob was unmasked, Sheriff Monroe Watts made no arrests, said he had no clues. Of course, he "had investigated the lynching." With the lynchers unmasked and no arrests made, it is easy to draw conclusions on the thoroughness of the investigation.

Vinson was taken to a hospital, wounded in the stomach by the bullet of a white man chasing him after he had been accused of attacking a white woman.

When the woman whom Vinson was supposed to have wanted to attack came to the hospital to identify her would-be attacker, all she could say was that he "looked like the man."

Was it by mere coincidence that Vinson was on a lower floor—"like a basement"—of the hospital, making it very easy for the lynch party to get their prey? And why is it that with nurses on duty, the hospital lighted and the lynch party unmasked, "Nobody seems to know who they were"?

There was reason, however, for not recognizing Vinson's body, for when it was found hanging to a winch at a cotton gin outside the city, its identity had been considerably marred by the "free automobile ride" the living Vinson had received.

Lynch "justice" has, of course, received a new lease of life by the legal lynching of Odell Waller. This and the pall of silence that has settled around the anti-lynching law still buried somewhere in Congress are responsible for the continuance of lynch law.

A trial by a jury of their peers will never be the unquestioned right of the 13,000,000 Negroes of this country until they themselves fight for that right. Negroes must get marching — MARCHING ON WASHINGTON.

The lynching of Willie Vinson is the latest compelling reason.

Old Enough to Vote

There's a bill in Congress to give soldiers the right to vote when they are outside their own state or district. Restrictions on "absentee votes" now require that the voter be in the state or district. The Ramsey bill would establish election centers at army camps and naval stations within continental United States.

That's a good bill, as far as it goes. BUT IT DOESN'T GO FAR ENOUGH! Its object is to give the men who are expected to die for their country the right to speak their piece on election day. Fine. BUT...

Where is the provision to give the vote to ALL citizens at the age of eighteen?

Already there are considerable numbers of 18-year-olds in the Army. It is to the

18-year-olds that the Army is making a special appeal. The Army big-wigs want the 18-year-olds added to the draft list. Moreover, young men and women operate the machines in the gigantic war plants. Well, OLD ENOUGH TO FIGHT, OLD ENOUGH TO VOTE! OLD ENOUGH TO WORK, OLD ENOUGH TO VOTE!

Lower the voting age to 18 years!

An End to Poll-Tax

And while we're on the subject of the vote, there is another point to be considered. What about the poll-tax?

There are in this country 10,000,000 people who do not, in practice, have the right to vote. They are disfranchised by the poll-tax.

Think of it in connection with the Ramsey bill discussed above. That bill would make it possible for soldiers to vote—but not those who come from poll-tax states or, more properly, those who are among 10,000,000 too poor to pay a poll-tax. Here then are men considered good enough to give their lives—but not good enough to vote, even if the Ramsey bill is passed.

But will it be passed? The bill was referred to the House Rules Committee. On that committee are the following representatives of poll-tax states: Colmer of Mississippi, Cox of Georgia, Dies of Texas and Smith of Virginia.

Assuming that it is passed, it doesn't help those soldiers who on their soldier's wage will be unable to pay \$1.00 to \$2.00 in poll-tax.

These soldiers will be disfranchised. And the 10,000,000 now disfranchised in the South will be no better off.

The poll-tax bloc is holding up the Ramsey bill—in the same way that they've held up the bill to abolish the poll-tax. Nothing that will spread democratic rights sits well with these gentlemen.

But, for that matter, these gentlemen don't sit well with the masses of people. They ought to be made to feel it with a vigorous and general campaign, backed by the unions, to put an end to poll-tax!

WLB Stalls on \$1 Pay Raise Demanded by Steel Workers

(Continued from page 1)

available and the \$111 which the workers would receive, will go to the bosses. This will make it possible for the bosses to raise their fat salaries again in 1943 and to pay bigger dividends to the stockholders of Little Steel and other corporations.

Furthermore, the commission reported that the buying power of steel wages had declined 13 per cent since the last increase in wages. This means that the 1942 dollar of the steel worker will buy only 87 cents worth of food today. The steel worker therefore can eat less today than a year ago. The dollar will not go as far at the store and the wife of the steel worker will have a tougher time making ends meet.

The Cold Facts

This is the situation that faces the country's million steel workers. They face increasing poverty and misery. This is true even if they get the dollar a day increase demanded. Prices will continue to rise, they will have to pay higher income taxes, their wages will be spread over the purchase of war bonds, USO drives and Red Cross campaigns.

These are the cold facts. No amount of talk about "inflation," "sacrifice," and "we must beat Hitler" will feed the steel workers and their families. And it won't mean much to a steel worker who goes to

the grocery store with a dollar and comes out with only 87 cents worth of meat. And it won't satisfy the steel workers to tell him that Mr. Grace and Mr. Girdler also got only 87 cents' worth of meat for their dollar.

Mr. Grace, of Bethlehem Steel, has at least \$7,000 each week with which to buy the best priced meat. Sam Jones, the steel workers, has only a pitiable \$35 to \$40 with which to buy that same meat plus other necessities for a family of five to ten.

No one can say now what the decision of the War Labor Board will be. President Roosevelt, "friend of labor," has come out against the increase. Evidently he and the Republican and Democratic Parties think that it is OK for Mr. Grace to get \$7,000 a week while Sam Jones, who makes the steel, gets only \$40.

Murray's Dilemma

Philip Murray, leader of the CIO and of the steel workers' international, is making a fight for the demands of the union. But Murray's friend Roosevelt has given Murray a slap in the face and a sound, swift kick. And what can poor Murray do?

He has told the steel workers that they must produce, produce, produce, in order to win the war. He turned the steel workers' convention into a Roosevelt rally and a war rally. He

has permitted the War Labor Board to loaf along for months and not grant the steel workers' demands. He has permitted the steel companies to spit on the workers in the plants.

This has gone on while Murray and other CIO leaders have been putting in their time helping Roosevelt, the Democrats, the Republicans and the bosses run their war. In the meantime the workers at Bethlehem and other Little Steel companies have no contracts and are being kicked around by any little superintendent or foreman in the pay of the steel corporations.

Recently the workers at Bethlehem Steel Co. at Lackawanna, N. Y., made a slight gesture of protest. The open hearth workers of two furnaces walked out. The strike continued for only about 30 hours. Perhaps these workers are smarter than Murray and the other CIO leaders. They know how to make the War Labor Board talk, and talk the kind of language that is beneficial to steel workers.

Perhaps a short holiday would be good for all the steel workers. Also this might make the steel makers, the WLB and Roosevelt understand. Cold open hearth furnaces and deserted coke ovens all over the United States will teach Roosevelt, the WLB and the steel bosses a few things that they may not be able to learn by any other means.

Anti-Semitism in Polish Army

Several months ago, charges of anti-semitism were leveled against the "Free Poland" government in exile and its British subsidized army. While denials were issued against this charge, the proof of its existence was verified by the promise of the government and army leaders that all necessary steps to eradicate this situation were being taken.

Little was heard of this matter for some time, but now the press reports from England that the question was again raised in Parliament by several members. Eleanor F. Rathbone, independent member of the House of Commons, charged that anti-Semitism was the practiced policy among "officers in command and the rank and file in certain units."

In reply to Earl Winterton, spokesman for the government, who denied the charges, D. N. Pritt stated that "there is plenty of evidence of ill treatment of Jews in the Polish army."

The publication of this affair only brings to light once again the fact that racism is not only the policy of the Axis, but it is found rampant throughout the United Nations. Official propaganda notwithstanding, the

conduct of many in leading positions in the United Nations is definitely anti-Semitic, anti-Negro and anti-foreigner.

The pretensions about race equality and race freedom fall to the ground in real life and this is one of the real dangers for all the peoples of the world. The official colonial policy of the British government makes inevitable the growth of race and national prejudices within Great Britain. But if it is all right for the British rulers, why should not the anti-Semitic Polish rulers pursue their age-old policy of discrimination and persecution. The fact that the Poles are themselves persecuted and discriminated against does not deter their reactionary rulers from practicing their own form of Hitler's racial policies.

This entire problem, however, is not confined to Great Britain and the Poles. It is one of the most important problems in the United States. In this country, it affects not only Negroes and Jews. Racism and national prejudice know no bounds. Artificial incitement and stimulation from above, even by congressional leaders, keep alive race prejudice

and discrimination against all "aliens," Italians, Mexicans and the American Poles.

Each section of the country has its own prejudices. In one place it is the Jew, in all places the Negro, in other parts the Italian or the Pole, etc. The net effect of it all is to divide the people, cause them to lose sight of their common problems, to fight among themselves while the native industrial and reactionary leaders egg them on to take the attention of the people away from their real problem.

The elimination of this cancer which afflicts many people requires a policy of education, among other things. But such an education cannot begin so long as such policies are nurtured and stimulated by people at the top, by governments in exile, by leaders in the military forces, by congressmen, by big industrialists and by reactionaries at large. But a good beginning could be made if race discrimination of any kind and in any form would be made a criminal offense and those who fostered it were prosecuted for such offenses.

Threaten Detroit Rent Strike--

(Continued from page 1)

the workers' demands for a higher price for their commodity.

Detroit workers know a thing or two about rent strikes. During the depression—when jobs were not as plentiful in Detroit as they are for war work—UAW members organized militant squads to see to it that the need of people for a place to live in took precedence over the workings of capitalist justice. When a family was evicted, these squads appeared and in short order moved the victims back where they belonged. Many times they materialized on the spot to prevent evictions and save themselves the trouble of moving their fellow workers back to their homes.

In recent weeks members of the UAW living in trailer camps in Detroit engaged in a rent strike. They stopped paying rent to force the OPA to extend the Rent Control Act to cover them. There was plenty of rent profiteering in these trailer camps. The workers won the fight, compelling the OPA to extend the ceiling. This is merely a pocket edition of what a rent strike of 200,000 UAW in Detroit will look like.

The landlord front against labor extends pretty nearly over the entire length and breadth of the country. Not only in Detroit are the property owners getting out their big tanks for action. In New Haven, Conn., there have been attempts at wholesale evictions of tenants refusing to pay more than ceiling rentals—this in spite of the fact that the law presumably forbids evictions on this ground.

In Newark, N. J., landlords are trying to maneuver around the penalties for evicting tenants who refuse to be gouged for housing. In Mobile, Ala., property owners have petitioned the federal court to block enforcement of the rent freeze in that district. In South Bend, Ind., the "constitutionality" of the rent freeze is also being questioned in court by the landlords.

Finally, from Seattle, Wash., comes the announcement of a nationwide gathering of property

owners to force rent ceilings upwards. One Floyd Oles, the head of this newly organized landlords' organization, states that it has representatives from 24 cities.

THE EXAMPLE OF RESISTANCE SET BY THE 200,000 UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS IN DETROIT WILL HAVE TO BE FOLLOWED BY ORGANIZED LABOR THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THE OPA HAS A LARGE AND SOFT SPOT IN ITS HEART FOR THE OWNERS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY. THE WORKERS CANNOT TRUST THE OPA. THEY MUST DRAW ON THEIR OWN ORGANIZED STRENGTH TO DEFEAT THE

ENCROACHMENTS OF THE WAR PROFITEERS ON THE WORKERS' STANDARD OF LIVING.

A complete understanding of the Detroit situation cannot be had without relating the part Henry Ford has played in support of the real estate men of that district. This "benefactor of labor" is fighting tooth and nail the government housing project designed for 60,000 workers' families near the Willow Run bomber plant.

Ford's representatives are in Washington using money and legal phlegm to stop the housing project. The landlords of Detroit—needless to say—are backing Ford to a man. He has strengthened their hand in demanding higher rents—which Ford workers and others are NOT going to pay.

CHINA:

Is U. S. a Friend Of Chinese People?

By Henry Judd

Last week America commemorated the fifth year of China's resistance to the invasion of that country by Japanese militarism. The United China Relief Association opened a drive for the collection of many millions to be sent to China for war relief purposes.

"Six rickshaws, banked with flowers donated by florists... were drawn beneath the flags of the United Nations yesterday in Rockefeller Plaza... The rickshaws were then distributed to points throughout the city," reports the New York Times. They have forgotten that a rickshaw—a carriage pulled by a MAN, a Chinese coolie—far from being a symbol of a "Free" China, has always been a symbol of an imperialist-dominated China, whose people are forced to pull and haul for the ruling foreigner, the white and yellow imperialist.

When the rulers of America celebrate the fifth anniversary of China's resistance to the Japanese invader, it is with an entirely different meaning than will be given that event by China's 450,000,000 people. Among the Chinese MASSES there is an indestructible impulse toward independence. It is for such independence that they fought so valiantly until Chiang completely subverted their struggle to the interests and dominion of Allied imperialism. And if the end of their fight today is not independence, it is not because the masses do not desire it, but rather because China's fight is in the hands of imperialist powers. So that what was once decidedly progressive has ceased to be.

Wendell L. Willkie—whose election ambitions make him the most hypocritical and insincere politician in America today—heads the list of prominent Americans who heap praise upon the Chinese people. Aware of Asia's huge marketing potentialities and immense wealth, they are disturbed by Roosevelt's concentration on defeating Hitler in Europe and the Middle East. They would have America pay far more attention to China, particularly in view of the fact that China is now virtually cut off from all overseas supply routes and that the Japanese campaign to isolate its capital, Chungking, is perilously close to succeeding.

But Roosevelt, primarily concerned with Germany—his enemy No. 1—pays little heed. Result: China celebrated its fifth anniversary with an outcry of terror and a warning of approaching defeat and collapse. One by one, beginning with Chiang Kai-shek and his invaluable wife, Mme. Chiang, and ranging down through the entire collection of generals and ambassadors, there came a plea for planes, munitions, machinery, troops, etc. But, so far as can be determined, the cry for help has gone unanswered by Washington, and China stands close to being ousted from the war before the sixth year rolls around.

A HISTORY OF IMPERIALIST POLICY

This behavior of Roosevelt and the leading American imperialists toward China gives us the key toward a realistic analysis of American relations with that country. Like everything else in this capitalist-imperialist world, our relations are determined first and last by economic and political motives, based upon capitalism. The "natural" bonds between us and China—so often cited by the clique of Willkie supporters—is rather an imperialist love for the resources of China and a strong yen for the right to exploit its 450,000,000. (THEY do not mean the genuine natural bonds which unite Chinese and American workers.) For our entire history of dealings with the Chinese consists of one reactionary crime on top of the other.

Today, when we seek to use China's masses and China's soldiers in the imperialist war (the use of Chinese troops to retain Burma for the British Empire is an excellent example of what we have in mind), we are merely completing a 50-year-old period of participation in the game of who can swindle China "mostest and firstest."

- (1) American imperialism—side by side with Japanese, German, English and French—aided the suppression of the "Boxer Rebellion" in the 1900's, when China first began to be divided up among the Western powers.
- (2) Side by side with other imperialist powers we deprived the Chinese people of their independence, brought slums, factories, exploitation to China, subjected the nation to white rule.
- (3) When the Chinese workers and peasants struck out for their independence in the great 1925-27 period, American gunboats, destroyers, airplanes and troops fought them on the Yangtze and Pearl rivers.
- (4) When Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the conservative Chinese ruling class, turned on the revolutionary workers at Shanghai and Hankow during the 1927 period, we threw our full support to him and aided his criminal assaults upon the revolutionary centers.
- (5) When Japanese imperialism invaded China five years ago we rejected a policy of boycott (it was to appease Japan in those days) and continued to sell oil, scrap metals, munitions to these militarists who were shooting down "our friends" on a dozen Chinese fronts. "Business was business" then.

After Pearl Harbor things changed. We stopped sending munitions to Japan, and we found Chinese troops were mighty handy for use in Malaya, Burma and a few other points. They could serve well in the imperialist struggle with Japan—so Roosevelt became still more friendly to China. But the Chinese people have learned to be suspicious of such friendships.

The relation between Washington and China is based upon imperialism and its perpetuation; the relations that should (and will) exist between the American people and the Chinese workers and poor peasants will be based upon common understanding and concord in the mutual struggle against all imperialists and forms of imperialism. The American workers should stand for China's COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE from both Washington and London as well as Tokio.

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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. Conscription 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 vigilantes and fascist attacks!
14. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
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