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NOVEMBER 23, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

DEFEND THE 40-HOUR WEEK!

LABOR ACTION

ONE CENT

Congress Filibuster Threatens to Kill Anti-Poll Tax Bill 10,000,000

An Analysis of Imperialist Diplomacy—By Max Shachtman

# Nine Lessons of the North African Invasion

By SUSAN GREEN

Are Still

Disfranchised

**By Poll-Tax** 

As this issue of LABOR AC-TION goes to press, it is the fifth day that the majority leaders in the Senate have been unable to bring before that body for action the Pepper - Geyer anti-poll-tax bill.

The minority bloc of Southern Democrats from the polltax states is using every possible parliamentary trick to keep the measure from the floor of the Senate. And if it does reach the floor, this clique of rotten reactionaries is prepared to filibuster till the end of the present session of Congress-when the bill will automatically die.

The poll-tax disfranchises 10,000,000 United States citizens of black and white skin -BECAUSE OF THEIR POV-ERTY. Through the operation of this kind of "democracy" in the states of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, 264,419 votes were cast in the 1940 elections out of a population of 9,300,000. The other four poll-tax states are Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. Senator Bilbo, leader of the filibustering gang, comes from Mississippi, where only 10 per cent of the citizens vote because it costs \$2.00 to exercise the rights of citizenship. People have the notion that only the 14 to 20 filibustering senators are the culprits and that the rest of the 96 are as innocent as new-born babes. This is wrong. What of the fact that this anti-poll tax bill has been bottled up in the Senate for more than one and a half years? Nothing was done to bring the issue to a head sooner. Now there is the possibility of a filibuster continuing until the end of the year. In 1938, an anti-lynching bill was killed by thirty days of continuous talking. There is also a popular misunderstanding about the terms of the anti-poll-tax bill in question. The impression is that it aims to give the citizens of the poll-tax states full voting rights. However, if the Pepper-Geyer bill should be passed, it would repeal the poll-tax laws only so far as they refer to primary and general elections of nominees and candidates to FED-ERAL offices. The Southern oligarchy could still keep the poor from participating in local and state elections.

By W. CLIFF

strike

The invasion of North Africa by Anglo-American troops is indeed a sensational event. It ought to be studied by every thoughtful workingman. There is a good deal that can be learned from such a study as to the nag ture of the war and the way it is being conducted.

Of all the lessons worth learning from this invasion, and the circumstances surrounding it, there are nine that are of special value:

**1. THE QUESTION OF WHO FIRES THE FIRST** SHOT IS NOT IMPORTANT IN JUDGING A WAR OR THE PARTICIPANTS IN A WAR.

When one power is secretly or half-secretly preparing for war with another power, each side tries every trick in

the book to put the moral onus of "starting" the war upon the other. Half the business of diplomacy is to cover up the war preparations of its own side and to provoke the other side into acts to make it look as if "they" are the aggressors, and "we" are the defenders. The other half of the business of diplomacy is to shoot out a

steady stream of rumors about the enemy getting ready to attack us. Whether the rumors are based on fact or not is of secondary importance, because both sides are doing the same thing. The really important thing is to prepare public opinion to accept the fact that "our side" finally fires the first shot-to prevent the enemy from getting the jump on us by doing the same thing.

That is what the Japanese imperialists did at Pearl Harbor. That is what the American imperialists did at Casablanca, Algiers and Oran. The Japanese attacked an American colony, that is, they "freed" it from American imperialist rule in order to enslave it to Japanese imperialist rule. The Americans attacked a French or a Franco"I have not become the King's Prime Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."

(Winston Churchill, November 9, 1942.)

German colony, that is, they "freed" it from the rule of one master in order to enslave it to another.

Imperialist wars are caused by the social system of imperialism. They are caused by the rivalry of the big imperialist powers for the control of the earth and its wealth, of raw materials, of cheap labor, of fields of investment, of markets and the like. Anything else they say is a lie to

Wars are not caused by the one who fires the first shot. The shot merely announces that the long period of preparation for the war has come to an end and the hostilities are on in earnest.

Imperialist wars are not divided between "defenders" and "aggressors." The only possible difference between two camps in such wars is that loot stolen in the past is defended by one bandit from the attacks of another bandit.

#### 2. DIPLOMACY IS HYPOCRISY AND DECEIT PRACTICED WITH EQUAL CYNICISM BY THE IMPERIALISTS OF ALL COUNTRIES.

On the lips of imperialists, be they fascist or democratic, all talk of "open diplomacy," of "honest dealings with other nations," is a fraud from beginning to end.

If there were any doubts about it up to now, Secretary of State Cordell Hull's recent justification of his "Vichy policy" should be enough to dispel them.

Do you remember the tricky policy of Japanese diplo macy in Washington, of the protracted "peace negotiations" by Nomura and Kurusu while Tokyo secretly prepared to strike its military blow? Remember how this, policy was used for cold-blooded military, imperialist reamen and editors were after Pearl Harbor?

Cordell Hull says that the policy of "friendliness' and 'negotiations" with Vichy had just as cold-blooded a series of objectives. It aimed at making.possible Allied espionage in France and her colonies. It aimed at steaming up French politicians to undermine and overturn the government with which Washington was ostensibly maintaining friendly relations. It aimed "to pave the way and prepare the background in the most effective manner possible for the planning and sending of the military expedition into the western Mediterranean area, and to assist the movements supporting present British operations further east in Africa." (New York Herald Tribune, November 9.)

Change a couple of words here and there, translate it. into Japanese, and you have the instructions Tokyo must have issued to Nomura and Kurusu.

The beginning and end of all imperialist diplomacy, in

Berlin or Paris, in Rome or London, in Tokyo or Washington, is trickery, hypocrisy, dishonesty, cynicism. That is, it is trickery, hypocrisy, dishonesty and cynicism when the "other side" practices it. When "our side" does exactly the same thing, it is honorable, noble, unselfish and, above all, damned clever. On all sides, however, its purpose is to keep the masses of the people in a state of ignorance and befuddlement. All they are supposed to know is how

to obey orders and keep their mouths shut. MIDDLE CLASS LIBERALS AND INTELLEC-TUALS ARE NOT TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY

WHEN SERIOUS MATTERS ARE INVOLVED. Between windjammers like editors of The Nation and sons? Remember how indignant all the American states- New Republic, like self-styled liberal columnists with (Continued on page 3)

# **Boss Stooges** In Congress Aim Barbs at **Overtime Pay**

Washington politicos are now waging a vicious fight against the forty-hour work week. And the bosses are cheering them

Their pretext is the developing shortage of manpower.

But the real objective is OVERTIME PAY and the lowering of labor standards. They talk about manpower shortages, but refuse to employ millions of Negro men and women.

The big bosses and their political mouthpieces see a golden opportunity to lengthen the work week and shorten wages -to make the workers give more and get less.

Their motivation is to force labor back to pre-union wage standards. And, if they succeed now, they know that labor will have a tough job regaining after the war what it loses during the war.

'Take the Truman Committee report on manpower made public the other day. It comes out for the forty-eight-hour week with overtime to be paid in war bonds-NOT IN CASH.

For all practical purposes this proposal would lengthen the work week WITHOUT ANY ADDITIONAL PAY. Workers would toil and sweat even more than now but have nothing to show for it to meet their daily needs-nothing except the possibility of converting the war bonds into cash in the DIS-TANT FUTURE. Already the Department of Commerce is talking about the "IMMOBIL-IZATION" of war bonds in the post-war period.



So it can hardly be said that the (Continued on page 2)

Sit-Down Wins Pay Raise for Sperry Workers

AFL Foundry Workers and CIO Grinders Join in Proof That Militant Shop Action Gets Best Results Every Time

Mike Orfinik, president of Local 450, because of his union activity. Sperry Gyroscope Co., which has The union acted quickly to prebeen conducting an all-out offensive vent action by the workers on this against its workers in an attempt to issue, but resentment had been at white heat. stymie the union drive, came a-cropper on Friday the 13th, when work-

On Friday, when the pay slips were distributed, the men discovered that the company was attempting to cheat them of one hour's overtime pay by taking advantage of the twohour holiday on Election Day.

leadership of Local 450, UE-CIO, AFL-CIO Sit-Down Indignation reached its peak in the foundry among the foundry workhas been trying to split the workers ers, who have a closed shop contract with the AFL, and the grinders, who are almost 100 per cent UE. They had demanded a raise from the company and were expecting it in this pay check. When they saw that they had not received it, but instead had been penalized for voting on Election Day, they went ahead.

They sat down - unanimously both AFL and CIO. As one of the UE stewards put it: "It was nobody's idea; everybody thought of it at the same time. The foundry stood still. The boss came running down and told the enraged workers that they were hurting production by striking. The men didn't move.

"This isn't a strike," they said. "Every man has a right to stop working when he's not getting paid. We don't think we're getting paid for our work, so we're all stopping together."

Faced with this solidarity of the workers, the company promised the men their raise. "You'll get it in your next pay check," they said. "Nothing doing," answered the\_ stewards. "You promised us that... last week. We don't go back to\_ work unless we get it today. No. pay, no work."

The AFL rank and file chose a delegation to go to the personnel office. Since they belonged to a union which had left such things to the "business agents," none of them were acquainted with such procedure, so they asked the CIO stewards to go with them. The UE stewards

took leadership of the stoppage and have learned the type of tactics to took the AFL militants to the office. 1150

#### Grant Wage Raise

Twenty minutes after the sit-down began the company agreed to grant raises, effective immediately, and the men went back to work. The victory was complete. Later in the day the men received their raises.

The Sperry Co. was beaten by the unity and militancy of the workers in the shop, foremost among which were the UE shop stewards, who acted as real spokesmen for the men.

Where the union leaders had hesitated, restrained the men and confined their activity to petitions, the shop leaders conducted real union activity and won a real union battle. While the men had received nothing from the "do - nothing." telegramsending policy of the organizing drive, twenty-minutes of their own determined action had defeated the company and gotten them what they demanded. The foundry workers

Sperry workers are slowly learn-

ing the strength that lies in their unity, the victory that comes when they act together. They are learning that unionization can succeed only by an offensive against the company, based on militant action, an offensive that must depend upon the shop stewards and the other militants of the rank and file. They have a right to demand that the union

leadership learn this lesson also. Where they have once succeeded they can succeed again. The success of the sit-down was explained by one of the UE stewards in the following words:

"The men won because they knew they were strong when they acted together. Every man knew he could count on the guy next to him to back him up."

When the rest of the Sperry workers learn this lesson they will take real union action for a real union contract.

In making this proposal for the payment of overtime in war bonds; the Truman Committee merely paves the way for wiping out all overtime pay for the eight hours worked from forty to fortyeight a week. THIS IS THE REAL AIM OF THE BOSSES, because it is a known fact that workers in war industries are already working 48, 60 and in some cases 72 hours a week.

The New York Times, which (Continued on page 4 in edit. col.)

# David Coolidge Reports on CIO Convention-**Political Questions Dominate Floor at Boston CIO Convention**

#### By DAVID COOLIDGE

The fifth constitutional convention of the CIO held in Boston last week was a political convention. Not, however, a working class political. convention, despite the fact that all of the delegates were working people and all represented working class organizations.

It was a political convention in that the overwhelming majority of questions which came before the convention and on which discussion was held and position taken were political questions. They were, most of them, questions involving decisions by the government because they were matters that have to do

primarily with the prosecution of the political convention when he pointed war.

ers in the foundry at the Nassau

plant staged a successful sit-down

The company, taking advantage of

the "do-nothing" influence of the

which is leading the organizing drive,

by various means, among them a

"raise" granted a few weeks ago,

which jacked up the pay of the new

learners, but "froze" the pay of "un-

skilled" workers and denied increas-

es to most second-class and first-

class men. Few workers (as reported

in last week's LABOR ACTION)

were fooled by this trick, and cor-

rectly directed their resentment

The situation had been further

provoked by the arbitrary firing of

against the company.

Labor is obviously involved, but the way that this convention proceeded was just about the same way the Democratic Party or any group of employers would have approached the questions under consideration. This isn't completely true, of course, because a group of employers would have put their private business interests first, war or no war. This was brought out again and again in the convention when the various resolutions were under discussion.

One delegate emphasized the fact that the convention was really a

out, in the discussion of the resolution on "Recent Elections," that the

majority of the resolutions to come before the convention dealt with "politics." They dealt with questions

in which the government was involved and which the government by act of Congress or by decree has taken under its control. They were matters, therefore, that throw the trade union movement not so much into relationship with the employers but with the federal government. Furthermore, it was clear from the discussion that many of the delegates had come to the convention with the feeling that the government

pleased, and it was only labor that was being controlled by the government.

This was the situation that faced this fifth annual convention. The leadership of the CIO had given up the right to strike. They had yielded to the employers and Roosevelt on the "premium pay." They had tried to set up Nelson's labor-management committees as a substitute for Murray's industrial councils. They had subordinated the entire struggle of the mass production workers for greater security to the demand of Roosevelt and the bosses that labor sacrifice for the war. had not done so well. The employers That is, the leadership had said that

were doing pretty much as they labor must wait until the war is won and over before the CIO can make any further advances or even hold its own.

> We have said that it was a political convention. Here are the main resolutions of a distinctly political nature that were acted on favorably: a resolution commending Murray for his support of Roosevelt and the war, total war mobilization, manpower, labor unity, United Mine Workers of America. labor-management production committees, recent elections, stabilization of national economy, the second front, Atlantic Charter and India, poll-tax, Hitler's puppet

states, agriculture and the war, farm workers and the war, war program for federal workers.

Not only was the convention given its political nature by the content of these resolutions but also by the presence of government representatives, notably Assistant Secretary Bard of the Navy Department and Senator Pepper. To these one must add Sidney Hillman, who was present to make a come-back and to whoop it up for unconditional unity with the AFL in the interest of the "war effort."

Hillman consumed the time of the convention with a long speech trying to vindicate his record in the OPM. The only impression that one could possibly draw from Hillman's remarks was that here was a labor leader who had been discarded and kicked out by Roosevelt and the bosses when they had no further use for him.

The speech made by Bard was a very crude and dull affair. The only things that made it possible to listen to it without falling asleep were his demand that the workers produce more per man and his remarks about the second front. "We can increase the output per man in our war industries," said Bard, "and labor can carry the ball and furnish the lead-(Continued on page 2)

### LABOR ACTION

Sell-Out Clique Seeks to Capture Ship Local 9

ers was that he remembered writ-

ing such a letter, but didn't re-

member what it said or who au-

thorized him to write it. Naturally,

such an "absent-minded secretary

makes a perfect candidate for the

Stalinists and Reactionaries, Emboldened by Union Defeats, Band Together in State for Union Officers

pany.

Who Is Lopez?

with the other mouthpieces.

In Local 9, Lopez's record is

fairly clear-he has voted for prac-

tically every sell-out and every re-

treat. He is one of the boys who

helped put over the staggered shift

and more lately the smashing of

the hiring hall. His talents along

these lines have been given some

practice in the past, for so long as

the Stalinists are alive and kicking

in any union Lopez has a job. In

the past few years Lopez has been

a furniture worker, sheet metal

worker, he has made phonograph

records and now is a driller. For

a while his boys had him elected

vice-president of the Los Angeles

him again.

the same expense.

CIO and now they are rewarding

Maybe you don't know it, but

Lopez is also a big shot in the Los

Angeles Yard. He is nothing less

than chairman of the labor manage-

ment committee. No doubt his wide

industrial experience (as we have

mentioned), plus his expert knowl-

edge of shipbuilding (rapidly ac-

quired in the last six months), per-

mit him to make many valuable sug-

gestions to management on how to

get more work out of the men with

Closely associated with Lopez is

Hursel Alexander, also a more or



## NEW RECRUITS FOR THE FRONT OF DEMOCRACY

In the week since American imperialism made its first real military push against Germany, the genuine character of this war has become crystal clear. The myth of the fight for democracy and freedom, the myth of the war against fascism is definitely exploded.

Page 2

Darlan, right hand man of Petain, chief among the collaborationist, vicious labor-baiters responsible for the imprisonment and shooting of many labor leaders; Darlan, the man under whose guidance, the French Labor Statute, which took away all rights from the French workers, was elaborated; Darlan, who held weekly conferences with the representatives of Hitler in Paris-this Darlan is governor of North Africa as a gauleiter for American imperialism.

This offensive for "democracy," initiated in deals with Petain's officers, with the most reactionary cast of French officials in North Africa; this war for "democracy" which puts into leading positions as virtual allies of America a gang of fascists-all this is an illustration of what we have said over and over again.

What better proof could there be that this war is not being fought for freedom or any other idealistic aims. The hard-boiled realists of the State Department admitted it with a cyni-

#### ALL IS NOT WELL AMONG THE FRENCH GENERALS

The de Gaullist headquarters must on the French front and that he then have been an interesting sight when it was announced that Giraud and Darlan were to be appointed American gauleiters of North Africa. Suddenly, all those beautiful dreams of the "Leader" seemed to vanish. He now realizes that he has just been a convenient tool of Allied power politics; to be abandoned for another more suitable tool the day he proved of no more use. De Gaulle, while a monarchist at heart, always tried to clothe himself with a veil of left lent. wing ideology. Some former socialists were found among his courtiers. He also sought to put up a show of democratic leanings to suit those great democracies to which he so assiduously offered his services as the future leader of France. And now all this seems to be of no avail.

What do imperialists care if you have this or that ideology, if you come into the struggle late or early? The only thing they are concerned about is, are you suitable to do the job for us? If 30, you are the man. De Gaulle sits in London and states that he is "rather bewildered," but Giraud and Darlan reign in North Africa and heigh at his righteous indignation.

Giraud was an anti-collaborationist throughout. He escaped from a German prison camp and it was clear from the outset that some day he would try to go over to the Allies. But Giraud is not only more out-

cism rarely attained in modern diplomatic language: We simply maintained diplomatic relations with Vichy France in order to get into contact with French leaders (i.e., fascist leaders) to buy them off.

Millions of Arabs live in North Africa. For centuries they have been oppressed by different imperialisms. Nobody even mentions. them now. The old masters make a deal with the new masters, the populace will probably get a few cans of condensed milk, and that is that. For the rest, Mr. Darlan, our distinguished brother-in-arms. will continue to maintain order as heretofore.

These sordid deals with French fascists who yesterday treated with Hitler and today treat with the chiefs of the American army on the fate of the millions which they continue to dominate do not excite us much. We did not expect anything else. Nevertheless the pace of events is quicker, the lessons clearer than we expected. But what about those "liberals" who were claiming that this was a democratic war? They are uttering a few feeble squeals and proceeding to sell themselves on hardboiled "realpolitik." saying that this stage must necessarily be passed. These are the rude exigencies of war. But after the war, you will see how

wonderful everything is going to be.

between these two. Rivalries among

bride is a good match nevertheless.

Darlan is now the most important

send out appeals from Darlan in the

name of Petain, who is said to have

tion, indeed.

feat. What is this clique? It has been in the process of forming for many escaped. This might be quite a good months, but the preparations for the performance for a man past middle union elections in December have age but does not necessarily qualify caused it to come out in the open. him for great military knowledge. This clique is a united front of Before the war Giraud commanded two elements: the Stalinist gang of part of the Eastern region of France Moscow patriots in the union, head-(Maginot Line) and de Gaulle served ed by Lopez and Alexander, PLUS under him. The reports say that the group in the union that has they did not get along together. We been out and out reactionary, the will still see a good deal of dispute

worst red-baiters, headed by Mul-French generals are notoriously vioholland. But both are now overshadowed This united front of two varieties by Darlan. Of course Darlan's poof sell-out artists will seem strange only to people who think the Comsition would have been much strongmunist Party gang are still labor er had he succeeded in bringing over radicals, instead of stooges for whatthe French fleet as his dowry. This was rather disappointing, but the ever the Kremlin dictator happens to

most company-minded and the

Angeles Yard - the sell-out of the

Two things which flash an emer-

tant who wants to preserve the un-

First. the series of questions in

which the union leadership let

down the interests of the members

has produced the reaction against

which LABOR ACTION has often

warned-a growing disinterest by

the rank and file in the union

whose leaders truckle to the com-

pany at every opportunity. Two

union membership meetings have

been called since the new contract.

Less than fifty members showed

up for the first, and it was prompt-

ly adjourned for lack of a quorum,

and less than 100 for the next, at

which nominations for union offi-

LABOR ACTION warned that this

would be the sell-out line of the

union officials. But every thinking

union man in the yard has got to

fight against this tendency. It is

just what the company aimed for

when it began its attack on the un-

ion and its gains. And it lays the

union wide open to the second dan-

The possibility that the union,

undefended by the rank and file,

may be cantured by a poisonous

clique that is raising its head more

and more boldly in proportion as

the union suffers defeat after de-

cers took place.

ion:

union hiring hall - was put over?

SAN PEDRO-What has happened in want at the moment. Right now Local 9 of the shipyard workers Stalin wants aid from his American since the new contract with the Los ally; and so now the sole thought of the Stalinists, in Local 9 as in the whole country, is the war program and to hell with unionism. That's Stalinist clique-and for the comgency alarm signal for every mili- why they can unite with Mulholland.

#### Announce Slate

In any case, the fact that this united front exists is in the open. A slate for the union elections has been announced-Lopez, Mulholland and Alexander, for president, searetary and vice-president, respectively.

"Patrick Henry" Mulholland is known to the union members as the man who can be counted upon to make a thumping speech for the company side of every question that comes up. He is the bird who was business agent of the union when the AFL first succeeded in squeezing its way into what was the CIO-controlled shipyard and repair industry in the Harbor Area, through the back door agreement with Consolidated Steel. Mulholland in those days so hated the Communist Party that he refused to cooperate even with the local Longshoremen, so much did he fear Bridges' coastwise control; and that was a big factor in losing the Consolidated strike. But today the Stalinist gang is reactionary enough even for Mulholland or any company man.

This same Mulholland is now the financial secretary of Local 9. Few of the members know it, because he was never elected secretary. His appointment to fill the vacancy left by Brunnick was never ratified by the membership, The few who do know it found out about it under the following circumstances.

About three weeks ago, the Los Angeles Yard compelled repair workers to come to the yard at 7:30 a.m. to take a ferry to their work a half hour's ride away. They were not paid for this time, despite the fact that the company had always paid men for traveling time. When this matter was taken up as a grievance, the company presented the committee with a letter signed by Mulholland, the secretary of the union who was NOT elected, saying that the company's stand was OK. Mulholland's answer to the angry repair work-

#### **Report on CIO Convention** figure: he tightly has in hand most of the civil and military leaders of French North Africa. American controlled radio stations in Morocco

(Continued from page 1)

repudiated him. An amazing situaership in doing so.... There is a limit to the manpower even in this great. Yesterday French soldiers, were country, and the time has come to ordered to fight against American talk about more production from the soldiers by Darlan. Today those manpower available.... Our big same soldiers are ordered to fight chance to increase production is to with American soldiers against Gerincrease it with the same force that man soldiers by the same Darlan. we now have. We must, therefore. The French soldier and the Algerian direct our efforts to the increasing and Moroccan Arab are dealt with of our per capita production, which in true imperialist fashion; they are know can be done."

to your our appreciation for your words of inspiration and encouragement.'

**Pepper Speaks** 

Senator Pepper also made a speech to the convention. His speech was important mainly for what he revealed about the manner in which the bosses are running the war. Pepper, for example, read a letter which he had received from a prominent awver in Florida, protesting agains

siderations of empire had not been eliminated from the objectives of war.... If we haven't learned that humility and humbleness of spirit which transcends all material considerations, if we are not sincere when we say we fight for democracy, we prepare to betray another generation."

As we listened to Pepper we wondered just what OTHER generation

in Local 9 and is a living disgrace to the Negro people, widely despised by his racial brothers in the yard. He votes the way Lopez does. Watch him some night at a union meeting. He's the clique's candidate for vicepresident.

#### Hollywood Helps

The Stalinist drive to take over and scuttle the union as an organiza-The clique's candidate for presition fighting for the workingmen dent, Mr. Lopez, is the chore boy for has been furthered in the past weeks the Communist Party in the union. by a private forum, run in the LA He has always been a good chore Yard at lunch time, which is led by boy and done exactly what he was two recently imported Stalinist hattold. During the life of the Stalinchet-men. The organizer of this Hitler pact he went all over the CIO "Forum for the Advancement of the movement selling little booklets Interests of Joe Stalin" is a Johnnycalled "The Yanks Are Not Comcome-lately named Gandell, who has ing," and making fire-eating speechbeen using his oratory to put across es against the bad capitalist counthe phony LA contract. This chartries, the United States and Britain. acter may have come into the LA According to Lopez, then, what poor Yard and the industry only recently, little Hitler wanted was just a place but he knows enough about the loin the sun and peace. Naturally, cal to present to the handful of men when Russia switched, the Stalinists who stood around one day the "next here switched too, and Lopez along secretary of the union," "the most honest and sincere man in Local 9" -none other than Mulholland him-

"A Manhattan bank vice-president

heard about a new job at the Board

of Economic Warfare, applied for it.

awaited the answer. Meanwhile, a

BEW official dropped in at the bank,

asked the president to recommend

someone for the job. The vice-presi-

dent was suggested and hired on the

spot. Days later, when the banker

was hard at work in Washington, he

got a letter on BEW. stationery,

mailed to Manhattan and forwarded

to his new office. It regretfully in-

formed him that his application had

been refused because he was un-

qualified for the job. Looking closer,

he found he had signed the letter

He was right about one thing,

Under-Secretary of Commerce W.

C. Taylor predicts that 300,000 of the.

2,000,000 small businesses of the

United States will go broke by the

Marx made approximately the

himself."-Time.

anyway.

self. The only men who applauded this heartfelt introduction were Lopez and Lionel Stander.

'The "mechanic" of this outfit is Gandell, but his chief "helper" and applauder is this same Lionel Stander, Hollywood actor and known previously in Hollywood Stalinist circles, now making a career for himself as a burner in the yard. Stander trained for his present casting in the union by acting a number of stooge roles in the movies. All of which has given him experience enough to make speeches at the forum denouncing LABOR ACTION and the Trotskyists in language lifted from the People's World.

This is the reactionary clique-of stalinists and company rooters-who want to sneak into office at the coming elections. Their only hope is the lack of participation in the union by the rank and file. If somehow they get counted in, this would be a worse blow to the men than anything the LA yard has yet managed to do to the union.



training of one year for the 14-17 class as 'understudies.' "-New York Daily News,

High school principals have partly anticipated this by including war subjects in the required curriculum.

"There will be no more short cuts to commissions unless a man is highly skilled or has some rare technical training." - Secretary of War Stimson.

"Getting an Army commission directly from civil life is still possible, but the getting isn't so easy any more."-Wall Street Journal.

It's all in the language-the point of view is the same.

.. The primary present and future problem is that of dealing with the American-born United States citizens of Japanese ancestry. I consider that at least 75 per cent of them are loyal to the United States. .. (The government) has made no particular effort to develop their loyalty ... except by permitting them to attend public schools. They have been segregated as to where they may-live by zoning laws, discriminated against in employment and wages.... Of the Japanese - born alien residents, the large majorityare at least passively loyal to the United States. There are among the Japanese ... certain individuals . . . who would act as saboteurs or enemy agents. This number is estimated to be less than three per cent of the total .... The last Issei (Jap-

D

less open Stalinist. Alexander, like Lopez, has a perfect score as a faker

end of 1943 unless they are somehow buttressed. same prediction a century ago. something that indicated that con-

"Representative Melvin J. Maas, a colonel in the Marine Corps Reserve, who recently returned from active." duty in the South Pacific, said that America was losing the war in the Pacific. He charged that Washington had misled the people in regard. to some of our 'victories' over the Japanese."-AP dispatch. Someone in both Congress and

the armed services is in a particularly good position to learn unhad betrayed

rightly reactionary than de Gaulle. he is also a completely old-fashioned military man. While de Gaulle at least had some ideas on modern warfare, Giraud is completely a man of the old school. His most remarkable . achievements were that he was captured the day he took over command

to die on the battlefield and to from morning to dawn, but they shall not ask why, they shall not think: all that is required is obedience to new or old masters. We wonder if they dare ask about the "Four Freedoms"!

Europacus.

# Poll Tax Bill

#### (Continued from page 1)

majority in the Senate, now supposedly willing to vote for the Pepper-Geyer bill, have been untiring crusaders for full political rights for the disfranchised poor of the South. Many of these politicians are merely begrudgingly yielding to the pressure from the masses in the South. who don't quite get the point of fighting for "democracy" in every part of the globe except the USA ..

The final act of this farce in the Senate is not inconsistent with what has gone before. Jokes are bandied about by lolling senators-hot air is being dispensed hour after hoursergeants-at-arms rush around "arresting" senators who hide out to prevent the body from functioning -while 10,000,000 black and white citizens still wait to be granted only partial release from political serfdom in the USA-to be granted the stingy hand-out contained in the Pepper-Geyer bill.

These 10,000,000 have waited tor long. Rights have never been deliv ered on silver platters to the under privileged by the protectors of privi lege. This is clearly labor's fight The political shackles of the poll-ta: will be struck to earth when labo; vaises its mighty arm to do so.

**25 Cents Will Bring** LABOR ACTION to your home for six months. Send your subscription to LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York City.

And then Bard got off a real zem: "It's largely your war. There are more workers than there are lawyers or bankers or corporation executives." We don't know whom Bard was representing at the convention. It was clear, however, that he was saying just the things that the private shipbuilders and other large employers of labor like to hear: more per capita production, more work, more production from each man. No more hours of work for which more wages would have to be paid, but more production for the time you AL **READY** work and for the wage you are ALREADY being paid.

On the second front Bard said th he understood "many of you hav been demanding the immediate or ening of a second front. Well, you'v got it. And I am sure that you now realize your increasing obligation in producing the necessary war equipment to maintain this second from This adds another area ... which requires tanks, guns, planes and ammunition. This is your responsibility. You asked for it. You've got it." When Bard had finished Murray

felicitated him on such a wonderful and cooperative address by saying: "So again, Mr. Bard, let us express

the quartering of WAACS in the hotel where he is living because he was "thus inconvenienced" and threatening to beat Pepper in the next election if he and the other tenants were disturbed.

Pepper also reported to the convention some of the anti-group-medicine practices of the American Medical Association, which has charge of the procurement and assignment of doctors for the armed services. In the state of Washington, the head of the Medical Association is head of the procurement of doctors for that state. In the Kaiser Shipyards, hospital facilities had been set up. "The head of the procurement and assignnent services of the state of Washngton," said Pepper, "told these docors in Kaiser's hospital that if those loctors treat the wives and children of these workers that is 'offensive group medicine to us,' and we will see to it that they are, through Seective Service, inducted into the armed services of the country."

It was also in this speech that Pepper referred to the remarks of Churchill to the effect that he did not become Prime Minister in order to sit in at the burial of the British Empire. Pepper said that "the leader of a great nation said

generation that had fought the First Imperialist World War. And does Pepper himself have some vague doubt that this war is being fought for democracy? If he does-and we know that Pepper knows that this is not a war for democracy in the sense that the ranks of labor mean it -then he is far in front of Murray. Murray probably honestly believes that the United States and England and fighting for democracy and that when the war is over all the promises that have been made by Roosevelt and the bosses will be kept. Of course, Pepper knows better than this; he is not so infantile and stupid as Murray.

In future articles in LABOR AC-TION we will discuss the most important resolutions passed at the convention and the effect of the convention on the labor movement.

# **Buy Labor Action** In No. Philadelphia:

S.E. Corner-19th and Columbia. N.W. Corner-19th and Master. N.E. Corner-20th and Turner.

pleasant facts and spout them. For example, Lodge and his pointed. remarks about tanks. The day after Maas' speech the House passed a ruling prohibiting its members from serving in the armed forces.

"The terms 'colored' or 'Negro' will not be used as an inseparable part of a colored unit's designation. When it becomes necessary to indicate that a unit referred to is a colored organization, the unit may be distinguished by placing an asterisk before the designation of the unit. A footnote asterisk will indicate 'Negro enlisted personnel' or 'Negro commissioned and enlisted personnel,' as the case may be."-Army Regulation 220-5, paragraph 7.

That is undoubtedly what the Stalinists refer to when they say Jim Crow is breaking down.

"Flogging is still authorized in the-British Navy, although it's used only for mutiny and such."-Yank. But Dorothy Thompson says Britain is socialist now.

"As soon as the 18-19 year old draft bill is passed, look for another measure demanding compulsory military

anese-horn alien) to enter the United States did so, in 1924-18 years ago.

... The Japanese themselves do not consider the Nisei (American-born Japanese) loyal to Japan. This has been reflected in many of the official acts of the Japanese consul at Los Angeles.... The entire Japanese problem has been magnified out of its true proportion ... It should be handled on the basis of the INDI. VIDUAL ... and NOT on a racial basis."-Report of an Army Intelligence officer, reprinted in Harper's.

Evidently a carefully prepared, honest and fair report. It is without a doubt just as carefully filed somewhere in Washington.



A press release of November 18, issued by The Militant, announces that the Post Office Department has barred its is. sues of November 7 and 14. No reasons were given by the Post Office authorities for this action nor was The Militant informed that its paper had been withheld from the mails. Upon inquiry they were referred to the Postmaster General in Washington.

Further details on this extremely significant and antidemocratic action of the Post Office—one which is a threat to the entire labor movement will be reported in the next issue of LABOR ACTION.

# Buy LA and NI In Detroit:

- (1) Arcadia Book Store-Seldin and Woodward.
- (2) Carl's Book Store Clairmount
- and Woodward.
- (3) Book Store Baltimore and Cass.

Facts on MESA **Detroit Walkout** 

Over 9,000 members of the Mechanics Educational Society of America in fifteen plants walked out in a "labor holiday" during the afternoon of Friday, November 6. Matthew Smith, secretary of the MESA, called the walkout in protest against the "strong-arming" and firing of several MESA members at the Briggs Manufacturing Co., aircraft division, by UAW (CIO) officials and the company.

Dear Editor:

Smith said the labor holiday was called to see whether "there is any. law and order in this town-if a man can join a labor union of his own choosing."

The walkout was settled the day after it was called and the men returned to work over the week-end. The chief point in the settlement

ing the status of the men at Briggs, would get an early hearing before the War Labor Board in Washington. Smith's comment after the settlement was that "this was a labor holiday to force rapid action and

we got it. Previously the eight men at Briggs were permanently fired. We could not even get a WLB hearing. Now we have a hearing arranged and I am fully confident that these men will be reinstated with back pay."

R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW, charged in Boston that Smith was "punishing his own membership by calling strikes in plants with MESA contracts because UAW workers would not join his dual union." The dispute in part results from dissatisfaction which has arisen in the ranks of the UAW over the fact that the maintenance workers did not share proportionately in the small gains achieved by the union

was that the whole matter, includ- in the recent WLB decision granting limited pay raises to Ford, Chrysler and General Motors workers.

Jhe Readers of Labor Action Jake the Floor

David J. Craig and George Pilkiewicz, who were secretary and chairman of the UAW Maintenance Workers Council, quit the UAW recently to become organizers for the MESA. The MESA, which is an independent union and which covers substantially the same jurisdiction as the UAW, although its main strength is among the highly skilled workers, inaugurated an organization drive

among skilled UAW workers. To combat this drive, the UAW called a meeting of maintenance and tool and die workers less than a week before the MESA walkout. At this meeting Walter Reuther and other UAW leaders promised to reopen the case of the highly skilled men before the WLB.

Harold Becker. Detroit, Nov. 6.

## **General McNair on** The 'Lust to Kill'

Dear Editor:

There is something tragically wrong with the American soldier. Something vital is lacking in his personality. At least, Lieut. Gen. Mc-Nair, chief of the army ground forces, thinks so.

In a speech before the arm ground forces in Washington, D. C., on November 13, the general complained because the American soldier was not "in a killing mood." Said the general: "We must lust for battle; our object in life must be to kill: we must scheme and plan day and night to kill. Since killing is the object of our efforts, the sooner we get in a killing mood, the better and more skillful we shall be when the real test comes."

The general's complaint was a long one. He did not stop there. He said:

"You are going to get killing mad eventually; why not now, while you have time to learn thoroughly the art of killing?"

General McNair went on to quote statistics of a recent Army survey which disclosed that in a group of 30,000 voluntary Army enlistments only 5 per cent wanted service in the infantry or armored force, the arms

means that "our soldiers prefer the gentler forms of warfare." Other surveys disclosed, according to the general, that only one-fourth of the men wanted to fight, one-half of those in combat divisions expected to fight and one-half of the Army expected the war to end in two years.

change their attitude on killing and proclaiming "the struggle is for survival-kill or be killed," the general said: "There is no doubt that Americans can and will fight when they

are aroused; they are brave in bat-Yes, General, you are right on

both counts. The American soldier does not have the "lust to kill." The "lust to kill" is the sign of a reactionary mentality. To fight wholeheartedly, or to kill-if you prefer that-he needs something more than the inspiration of Darlan, the fascist

-as brave as any other soldier. Many of them have given their lives on the picket lines as militant unionists fighting your class. The willingness to gladly offer their lives is something that can only be inspired in them by socialism-the fight for THEIR interests-NOT YOURS!

of close combat. He asked if this

American soldier is brave in battle

stool-pigeon who may rule North Africa in the name of Roosevelt instead of Petain; or the inspiration

that British capitalists may continue to rule and exploit India's millions. Yes, General, you are right. The

After advising the soldiers to

William Garfield.

# Max Shachtman Discusses:-**Nine Lessons of North African Invasion**

#### (Continued from page 1)

heads as big as watermelons-on the one side-and serious representaives of imperialism, like Roosevelt or Hull or Churchill-on the other-the latter have much more to recommend them.

The imperialist-liberals clamorously demand that the imperialist war be fought with democratic means (more or less, in any case). You might as well demand that murder be committed without killing anyone, that robberies be conducted without lootings, that oppression be organized to free-the oppressed.

The imperialist-liberals whined and wept and begged that Washington break off all relations with Vichy, stop "appeasing" Vichy, and concentrate on supporting a democratic popular movement of the French people. Washington paid no attention to such nonsense. You don't fight an imperialist war with any but imperialist, that is, reactionary, methods. You don't fight an imperialist war for the purpose of promoting democracy or but reactionary imperialist means.

a democratic popular movement. Keeping up the game of collaboration with Vichy was necessary for the Allied imperialists, on the one side, just as it was necessary for the Axis imperialists, on the other. When the Allied imperialists had gained sufficient military strength to do without Vichy (but not without many of Vichy's pillars), they turned their backs on it without so much as a fare-you-well. Similarly, now that Hitler no longer needs the semi-fiction of an unoccupied France, he occupies it without a moment's hesitation.

That is serious imperialist politics, the only kind imperialism knows how to play, or can play, and the only kind you will see in an imperialist war.

All that the self-appointed liberal experts accomplish with their "democratic" babblings is to promote confusion among the already confused, to deceive people into hoping or believing that a reactionary imperialist war can be fought with any

## 4. THIS WAR IS AN IMPERIALIST WAR, THAT IS, A WAR FOUGHT FOR THE PRES-**ERVATION OR ACQUISITION OF EMPIRES AND IMPERIAL POWER.**

Hitler talks of a "new order," but all his actions are directed toward expanding and consolidating the power of German imperialism, subjecting to it as many slaves as Nazi arms can conquer. Tojo talks of the "Asiatic Co-Prosperity Sphere," but all he means is the ousting of Western imperialism from control of the Pacific and of Asia, and the substitution of Japanese imperialism.

London and Washington talk about "four freedoms" and "Atlantic Charters" and the "century of the common man." But that's just to throw sand in the eyes of the people. Do you expect them to say right out in so many words that we must fight for imperialist domination of the slaves and the wealth of the world? Yet, sometimes they do just that!

Reporting to Parliament on the African campaign, Churchill said: "We mean to hold our own. Ishave not become the King's Prime Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." (New York Post, November 10.) By the way, Churchill was telling this not so much to Hitler, or even to Gandhi-but to American imperialism, which has a covetous eye on the disintegrating British Empire which a thousand Churchills will not succeed in holding together for long. But be that as it may, the fact remains that, according to Churchill, England is fighting to maintain her empire, her profitable control of hundreds of millions of colonial slaves, of their lands, of their natural resources, of their markets.

What about America, however? Isn't she fighting for freedom for all peoples? Let us learn the answer from the latest invasion!

In Africa alone, France, with a population of 42,000,000 and an area of 212,000 square miles, rules a colonial empire of 41,000,000 people with an area twenty times as large, 4,208,000 square miles. How did France get this empire? By treachery, by deception, by cruel repressions, by cold-blooded violence and massacres of the natives, in other words, by the means always employed by imperialism to extend its sway over other

peoples, by the same means now employed in Europe by Hitler and his gangsters. By what right does France rule her African empire? By the right of the sword, of the rifle, of the machinegun, of terror. What do the people she rules over have to say about it? Nothing, absolutely nothing, because they have been deprived of their fundamental right-the right to govern themselves-just as Hitler has deprived the Poles and Czechs and Belgians and others of the same right. What does elementary democracy demand? What do the "Four Freedoms" demand? What does the "Atlantic Charter" demand? That not only the Italo-German fascists be driven out of the French African Empire, but the French imperialists as well! That the French Empire be blown sky high! That Algeria be returned to the Algerians, Morocco to the Moroccans, Tunisia to the Tunisians, Madagascar to the Madagascans.

But that is not what happens in an imperialist war!

General Eisenhower's first proclamation to the French said: We have no designs either on North Africa or on any part of the French Empire." To make perfectly clear what he meant by this, he added a few days later, in a proclamation of tribute to the memory of the French Marshal Lyautey: "It is particularly fitting that I should pay tribute to Marshal Lyautey, since the forces under my command bring with them a solemn assurance that his achievement-a North African empire-shall remain French." (New York Times, November 12.) General Patton, on the same day, led the tribute to Lyautey in Rabat in exercises commemorating his birthday.

Who was Lyauey? He was the subduer of the people of North Africa. He was the imperialist bandit-in-uniform who put the natives to the sword, in no essential different from what Hitler is doing in Europe today. He directed the massacre of the Riffs, the natives of Morocco who rebelled against French imperial rule the way Serbs and Croats are right now rebelling against German imperial rule. We pay tribute to his memory! And this great hero, General Giraud, whom the Americans have just appointed commander-in-chief of the French forces in North Africa-who is this paladin of popular freedom? He is the man who led the French imperialist troops in the bloody suppression of the Riff uprising in Morocco in 1925, under the leadership of Abd el-Krim. Certainly he is uncompromisingly opposed to Hitler. He is firm in his belief that if people are to be made slaves and kept slaves, at the point of sword and pistol, it is French and not German imperialists who should wield that

sword and pistol!

In an imperialist war, expect nothing but imperialist leaders. In an imperialist war, expect nothing but a struggle to preserve imperialist power or to extend it or to acquire it. Churchill fights to keep his empire from German robbers; Giraud fights to keep his empire from German and Italian robbers; American imperialism fights to carve out for itself, at the expense of everyone else, the biggest empire in history.

# 5. THIS IS NOT A WAR FOR DEMOCRACY AND AGAINST FASCISM, FOR PROGRESS AND AGAINST REACTION. THOSE WATCHWORDS ARE ONLY COVERS FOR THE

### REAL WAR.

As we have already said, the most elementary principle of democracy demands that the first act of victorious democrats in a territory should be the proclamation of self-government, of national sovereignty, for a people that has been deprived of it.

Instead of calling upon the disfranchised peoples of North Africa, the Anglo-American invaders promptly sat down to negotiate with such notorious reactionaries and fascists and semifascists as General Giraud, Admiral Darlan, Admiral Michelier, General Nogues and others of their stripe.

In face of the almost universal protest against this open collaboration with ultra-reactionaries, Roosevelt has explained that it is due only to military considerations and is not supposed to substitute for eventual popular democratic government.

That will not wash! A genuinely democratic, liberating army would, or at least might, negotiate and maneuver with all sorts of political elements in the course of a war, including the most reactionary, for reasons of military expediency. To facilitate a victory, to prevent the needless loss of life of soldiersthat justifies military negotiations and maneuvers with anyone. But only to facilitate a democratic victory, which means, at the very least, to facilitate the liberation of oppressed peoples.

Negotiations, maneuvers, tricks, "temporary." expedients that mean the perpetuation of oppression for the peoples, that mean imposing upon them an old tyrant or a new one-that's a typical imperialist crime!

That is what has been done in North Africa. Darlan-the infamous Darlan-has been made the governor of the more than 40,000,000 African slaves of French imperialism! Giraud, who crushed the rebellious Riff tribesmen, is made commanderin-chief of the French imperialist troops in Africa! Who appointed them? The "liberating" invaders! With the consent of the governed? Of course not! The governed in North Africa are gagged and fettered slaves of imperialism.

Is it any wonder that every reactionary scoundrel who could get out of Vichy is flocking to the camp of the invaders in North Africa-people like the sinister Flandin, admirer of Hitler and adept of Hitlerism, and Pucheu, another of the same kidney? Why not? Imperialists can make themselves at home in either imperialist camp. Reactionaries can make themselves at home in either reactionary camp. They know that this is no fight for democracy, or for the freeing of the oppressed peoples. It is high time everybody else learned these truths.

## 6. THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS ONLY IF THE MEANS ARE IN HARMONY WITH THE END. AND IF THE END ITSELF IS JUST.

"What terrible people the Marxists are," the capitalists always say. "They preach the immoral doctrine of any means to an end."

But just pick up your paper. See how cynical they all are -the generals, the statesmen, the editors, the columnists, all the apologists of imperialism. Did we practice a game of deception with Vichy? Yes, but the end justifies the means. Are we collaborating with Darlan and others whom we denounced so violently as Hitler's stooges only yesterday? Yes, but the end justifies the means.

The point is that the Marxists sanction only those means that are in harmony with a just end, a progressive and noble end -socialism, the end of exploitation, of oppression, of all class rule, and therewith, by the way, of all war.

In a sense, the imperialists are like the Marxists, too, in that the means they employ to attain their ends are in harmony with their ends! What is their aim? The preservation and confore, if in reaching that aim they employ reactionary and imperialistic means? That's what the ox-headed liberals and imperialist-democrats cannot understand. Yet it is as simple as ABC.

Once you understand this simple idea, you can understand such things as, the Kurusu mission to Washington, the Leahy mission to Vichy, the Murphy mission to North Africa, the fraternal embrace between England and Monarchist de Gaulle, the welcome extended to reactionaries like Giraud, Darlan, Nogues and their ilk, the secret efforts that are undoubtedly being made to win over Italian fascists to the "camp of democracy," and more and more of the same.

For imperialist ends, imperialist means. Nothing is more inevitable.

(Concluded in next week's issue)

# Municipal Ownership of Utilities - -What Should Labor's Attitude Be?

By HARRY ALLEN

erably the electric and gas rates on

hour time consumed is \$1.65. Through ownership of public utilities and Merit status for jobs and pensions A proposal for New York City to the purchase of the Staten Island other enterprises, it is because, in a are welcome; from the workers' proposal for New York City to purchase and operate a power plant, it is hoped to reduce consid-limited and small sense, they can standpoint they are a legitimate part benefit the masses.

By C. T. ROBBINS

working men to obtain an improved conditions? Do they provide free Westbrook Pegler is undoubtedly life for themselves and their chil- health benefits and insurance and dren is a stomach-turning exhibition retirement pensions for an equal

solidation of imperialist reaction! What is surprising, there-

Page 3

(the Staten Island Edison Co. )is before the City Council for consideration. If adopted, the proposition would go before the city's voters on a referendum to, be held next January 30. Meanwhile, a committee representing 36 organizations, composed almost entirely of commercial, real estate, local Chambers of Commerce and taxpayers' groups from the city's boroughs, voices the "most intense opposition to the purchase," according to former United States Attorney, Charles H. Tuttle, the chairman of these groups. They are opposed on principle, to municipal ownership, or to the city's participation in "private business."

On the other hand, trade unions, civic organizations and the American Labor Party favor the purchase of this public utility. Representatives of the CIO, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the American Labor Party and other labor and civic organizations have appeared before the City Council on behalf of the proposition.

#### The Real Issue

These groups cite that there are more than 2,000 municipally owned power plants in large and small c' is where far cheaper rates prev I than in privately owned utilities. For instance, the 1941 residential s vice rate in Cleveland was 80 cents from the city plant and \$1.00. from the private owners. In Manhattan the charge by the Consolidated Edison Co. for the same kilowatt

Auspices: LABOR ACTION

Staten Island and throughout the city.

It is well known that the profits of privately owned public utilities are enormous. Only through the pressure and exertion from small salaried and wage worker groups have municipalities been able to take over the ownership and direction of such utilities. True, municipal ownership of utilities has always been a political football. Opportunist politicians and reformists have been agitating this question for decades, while never daring to pose the real issue of private property as an institution

and as the basis of the social order. But even their prostitution of the issue is not a sufficient objection against real socialists demanding the limitations on private property when possible.

#### Not Socialism

Municipal ownership of power plants, markets, etc., are palliatives and meager ones too. Those who talk about this as "socialism" in any sense at best confuse workers on what really constitutes socialism-namely, the social ownership and control of the means of production and distribution by the masses and the ending of the profit system. Under municipal ownership, profits continue for private investors; that is, the bankers, capitalists, etc., who purchase the city's bonds and receive their profits in the form of interest and dividends.

If, nevertheless, labor favors city

**New York Workers Attention!** 

overwhelmingly workers and small petty bourgeoisie. They benefit from the cheaper rates and avoid thus. being gouged by the utility corporation. The high prices of monopolies are indirect taxes passed on to the workers to supplement their basic exploitation at the point of production-in the workshops.

#### With Workers' Control Revolutionists qualify and supple-

ment their support of city ownership in given instances by specific worker-protecting proposals. Just as, nationally, the Workers Party advocates, in respect to the basic industries - e.g., the war industries - the nationalization or conscription of these industries by the government under workers' control; so, on a small scale, the acceptance of city ownership of a given enterprise or utility is accompanied by a demand for workers' control. At union meetings and public gatherings, municipal ownership must be explained or advocated from this broader social and labor standpoint.

# Strong Union Necessary

Further, it must be pointed out, efforts are made, in the case of cityowned enterprises, either to prevent unionization or to limit union rights of the workers in these plants. The pretext for this on the part of the local governments, supported by employers, is that employees already have "sufficient" protection as civil service workers and through the re-

ceipt of pensions.

THE NEW CRISIS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

JOHN L. LEWIS\_THE CIO\_TRADE UNION UNITY

WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF A LECTURE BY

DAVID COOLIDGE

(National Labor Secretary of the Workers Party)

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6, at 8:00 P.M.

IRVING PLAZA-IRVING PLACE AND 15th STREET

of employees' rights. shows that a strong union, maintaining full union rights - the right to strike, etc.-is the best protection not only for retaining these benefits, but likewise for general working conditions-wages, hours, etc.

With this understanding and approach to such questions, revolutionary workers are in favor of such a specific proposition as the municipalization of the Staten Island Edison Co.

# **Plan to Boycott Jim Crow Bus Line**

WASHINGTON, D. C. - An all-out boycott is being planned against the Capital Transportation Co., operator of the surface buses here, because of its continuous refusal to hire Negro bus drivers.

Although the draft has been depleting the ranks of white drivers, the company has refused to hire capable Negro drivers who are now unemployed in the city of Washington but instead has been bringing in white men above draft age from places as far away as Georgia. It is also contemplating the hiring of white women. Anything, just so it will avoid hiring Negroes,

**Questions and Discussion** 

the toughest journalist now writing in America. At least that's his pretension. He is the original "hard guy," the legendary mug who chews nails and spits railroad tracks, the cement-headed yegg who knows his strength and totes enough chips on his shoulders to start a lumber yard. He is the unrelenting bloodhound of American journalism, the prosecutor who tars his victim with a slaphappy brush, feathers him beyond recognition, then deftly massages the guy's throat with a razor blade.

Westbrook Pegler

Now the tragic element in all this is that Pegler takes himself seriously in this role. He imagines himself as a righteous crusader for a set of ideas that form a quite familiar pattern of reactionary fallacies which he fancies is the "True American Way of Life." By persistent bludgeoning, a favorable set of circumstances and with a fierce writing style, he has managed to assume the proportions of a national menace.

#### A Reactionary Catalogue

A list of the things that Pegler hates reads like a dictionary of reactionary thought. To mention a few, he is opposed to unions, union leaders, Negroes, Negro newspapers, the Wagner Act, refugees, intellectuals, college professors, education past high school, idealists, reformers, liberals, radicals, New Dealers (especially Eleanor Roosevelt), Europeans, artists, feminists, etc., etc. These he attacks with a fury and cynicism that caused one of his intimates to remark that his reactions belonged in the realm of psycopathia.

This can be more easily appreciated when one understands that Pegler is perhaps the most acute defender of a dying and desperate capitalism. Common inhibitions are absent from his outspoken opinions. The analysts who have attempted to explain what makes him tick attribute this to his sports writer's background, which to a certain degree accounts for his colorful vocabulary. What is more important in this

fact is the likelihood that the corruption in some fields of American sports (by professional bettors) has infected him with a kind of jaded disbelief in all surface values involving the organized activities of American life. However, Pegler defends some of capitalism's slimiest institutions with extreme fidelity.

#### Unions His Pet Peev.

Unions, union leaders and the labor movement are Pegler's pet peeves. His suspicion and sabotage of the simplest efforts of American

unequalled for sheer spleen in American journalism. Day in and day out he assails the "unioneers," charging them with mulcting American workers in the form of dues. He smears the entire labor movement indiscriminately because it contains within it a minute number of racketeering elements. He rails against the Wagner Act because it provides labor with a thin, legal cover for its own organizational efforts.

**Crusader for Reaction** 

People who have cherished a smoldering but silent animosity to the tremendous growth of the labor movement in the last dozen years have been thrilled and rallied by Pegler's anti-union crusade. The case of Bioff and Brown, allegedly "exposed" by Pegler (with the aid of a considerable number of stool-pigeons) became a talking point for every labor-hater in the country.

Now what are the simple facts about unionism that galls Pegler so much?

Racketeering: this evil has been a black mark against the labor movement since long before Pegler was born. Behind every union racketeer is an equally corrupt boss who would rather deal in bribes with a few dishonest officials than grant his workers their just demands. Racketeering is prevalent mainly in a few isolated AFL craft unions as a hangover from the days when thugs were hired to combat strikebreakers hired by the boss. The thugs simply muscled in or bought the regular officials out of office.

Workers belonging to these unions are usually cowed by threats of violence but eventually they become sufficiently strong to deal hammer blows against both the racketeers and the bosses. At any rate, cleaning the house of labor is its own function, and labor has already shown that it is alive to its responsibilities in this respect.

Union Dues: Where does Pegler get his nerve to call this "extortion"? Will Pegler or the class he speaks for feed the workers when they are

premium? Will they provide labor with the money required to administer the economic organizations of labor, with money to fight the antilabor plans constantly being cooked up in the state legislatures and in Congress? Yes, Pegler has shrewd business sense. STRIP THE UNIONS OF THEIR TREASURIES AND THE DRIVE TO DESTROY UNIONISM TAKES A STRIDE FORWARD.

With all this Pegler thinks he is doing labor a service by magnifying its faults out of all proportion to the facts. But his influence and intentions are far more insidious than his ridiculous pose as a friend of labor. He would not compromise with or accept unionism even if its deficiencies were overcome. His proud boast that he is a reactionary marks him as one who would obliterate unionism, lock, stock and barrel.

#### On Road to Fascism

There are a few elfin individuals who do not consider Pegler a fascist because he is not anti-Semitic. Give the boy a chance. In a recent column on the leaders of the American Labor Party he showed definite indications that he is getting there.

A recent issue of LABOR ACTION commented on his attitude toward America's foreign policy in the war. The Four Freedoms are correctly tabbed as phony propaganda. Germany's workers must be persecuted for their "war guilt" and Germany as a nation must be wiped off the map. This is sufficient evidence that Pegler belongs to that section of American public opinion that is pressing for a fascist policy of world domination and uncontrolled suppression at home.

Alert unions both AFL and CIO. have recognized the danger that Pegler represents and have passed resolutions condemning him for his union-busting crusade. A more permanent immunization would result if every union would educate its membership to combat Pegler's ideas with a knowledge of the facts of lalocked out or go on strike for better bor's struggle for growth and power.



PO Box, 1805, Detroit

Editorials 40-Hour Week--

#### (Continued from page 1)

expresses with admirable accuracy the designs of the capitalist class against labor, dangerous silence on the question of in editorial after editorial hammers on the idea of no overtime pay until after fortyeight hours of work.

Thus on November 7 it wrote: "It is desirable to suspend the forty-hour provisions of the Wage-Hour Act, so that overtime rates do not become legally obligatory until forty-eight hours."

On November 9 it finished an editorial on "Our Short Work Week" with the statement: "The first need is to remove the present legal compulsion for almost prohibitive overtime rates." In the eyes of the New York Times profits never become "prohibitive"---only wages do.

Workers have only one stock in tradetheir labor power. If they work long, exhausting hours they are burning up that power at a faster rate. They are producing more profits for the boss while they suffer greater exhaustion and greater danger to life and limb for themselves.

The forty-hour week gives the workers some little protection, and payment of overtime rates gives them at least a little compensation for using up bodies and energies more rapidly. Like insatiable gluttons, the capitalist class is grabbing to take away from the workers this small measure of protection and compensation.

In this boss campaign against the fortyhour week, President Roosevelt is playing a shrewd and two-faced role. Headlines read: "President Is Against Longer Work Week." Thus the impression is created that the President is still labor's "dear friend."

But actually the President is talking about the virtues of a forty-eight hour week -NOT OF A FORTY-HOUR WEEK. He doesn't go along with O'Daniel, the rabid senator from Texas, who advocates a twelve-hour day and six-day week. The President knows that such a fast one cannot be put over on labor. It has always been his method to blast an extreme proposal, while sneaking over a milder and "less obnoxious" version of it.

Note that he subtly plays ball with the more cautious Truman Committee, the Kilgore Sub-Committee, the New York Times, the whole alert boss class, who see a chance of putting over the forty-eight-hour week -MINUS OVERTIME.

Thus, when the President was asked for his opinion on the Truman Committee report, he uttered no word favoring the continuance of the forty-hour week. What he said was that "the country practically had a forty-eight-hour week."

### nal to labor's enemies in Congress, while making a virtuous stand against the "Pass-the-Biscuits" O'Daniel type.

Murray, Green & Co. are maintaining a lengthening the work week - at any rate their opposition has not assumed the volume of a deafening roar. These generals who-since the war began have led labor from one defeat to another, may again capitulate to the pressure from the master class.

If these lieutenants of President Roosevelt in labor's ranks saw fit to surrender the basic right to strike, may they not also lay down the forty-hour week on the altar Roosevelt "FRIENDSHIP"! Then, after of the treacherous event, as has become their custom, they would call special conventions to get the "consent" of the workers to their own undoing.

Where is the voice of the rank and file of labor? We know that in the shops indignation is at white heat. Labor knows what all this means. But this indignation has to be crystallized in acttion. Union meetings should resound with hot protest against any surrender on hours and overtime. Organized mass pressure on Congress and the bosses is indispensable. This is one time when labor must dig in for a fight to win.

They try to draw labor's fire on the sensational O'Daniel proposal, and put over the milder Truman recommendation under cover of the shooting. It has happened before. But once the "mild" proposal is put over, a chink in labor's armor will have been opened through which other and worse proposals will crowd.

To lose the forty-hour week now would mean a retreat that would continue further and further during the post-war depression. Labor would then once more have to start from scratch. THIS MUST NOT HAPPEN. Rank and file militancy NOW will prevent it from happening.

# 60¢ a Week Raise

Mayor LaGuardia made the front pages of the press on November 17 with the announcement that the 32,000 employees of the New York City transit system would get a \$1,000,000 wage increase within ten days.

The Mayor, of course, uses the timehonored trick of the bosses. They always announce a picayune wage increase in the aggregate so that it will look like something.

Douglas MacMahon, president of the New York local of the Transport Workers Union pointed out that a \$1,000,000 raise for 32,000 employees breaks down to less than half a drop in the bucket, namely, SIXTY CENTS A WEEK FOR EACH WORKER.

# Sir Beveridge's Post-War Paradise

# \$1.75 a Week for a Child

### By JOHN BERNE

United Nations spokesmen are expending a great deal of hot air on the subject of a post-war paradise for workers. At last a blueprint of this paradise has been prepared for the workers of Great Britain. It covers no stingy page or two

-but is an 80.000-word manuscript. Sir William Henry Beveridge, commissioned by Parliament to concoct scheme for meeting post - war problems, after eighteen months now submits the result of his labor. His scheme "may be the economic Magna Carta for the common man," gush the reporters.

Though the entire scheme has not yet been made public-only a summary having appeared in the press -the high spots are very clearly stated. Let us have a look at them. First, the Beveridge plan includes "the establishment of a national income below which none would fall." How much will this minimum income be? Hold your breath! Two pounds a week for a man, his wife and one child: IN UNITED STATES MONEY THAT IS EXACTLY \$8.00 A WEEK. No more need be said!

If the man and his wife are prolific, they will get eight shillings more a week for each additional child. IT TOOK SIR BEVERIDGE EIGHTEEN MONTHS TO FIGURE OUT THAT \$1.75 A WEEK IS ENOUGH TO BRING UP A CHILD -NATURALLY, NOT HIS LORD-SHIP'S CHILD.

Considering the wonders of modern machinery, the high degree of labor's productivity, the possibility of producing in great abundance everything that human beings need for a good life-HIS LORDSHIP'S SCHEME IS A SLAP IN THE FACE OF THE WORKING CLASS DE-LIVERED BY THE MASTER CLASS

A sub-standard level of existence is apparently the idea of the ruling class for a post-war paradise for workers. Definitely, it is not the workers' idea of something worth fighting for.

But, softly; we go much too fast. This sub-standard minimum income is-such as it is-still only ON PA-PER. Sir Beveridge's big-hearted scheme is going to meet with stiff opposition from the ruling class, ac-

cording to reports. The argument of the opposition will be: That's fine; but who will pay the bill?" ahead.

SO C320 -

Under socialism - where the workers themselves are the owners of industry, and all production is for consumption by the working population—this question could not possibly arise. But under capitalism-where the bosses own the industries and all production is for boss profit - they instinctively clutch their moneybags to their heaving bosoms and yell: "Who's going to pay for this bone you, Sir Beveridge, want to throw to. the underdog?"

But Sir Beveridge has that all figured out. "A heavy income tax" is his answer. In fact, the reporters say that "what he seeks to accomplish is a continuance of national planning on a wartime scale." So one must suppose he expects to have "national plan" financed the the same way in which the war is being financed.

The shameful truth is that this war is being paid for by the working people. The masses are being taxed down to their toenails. Their sweat - drenched earnings are the main source of war revenue. It looks as if Sir Beveridge plans to continue this squeeze to get the money for his post-war scheme. The government's hand will be in the workers' pockets-even as now. When employed the workers will be propagandized to sacrifice - so that the doubtful benefits of his lordship's paradise may be extended to these same workers when unemployed, old, sick.

The care of the needy is, of course, a better use for taxes extracted from workers' wages than the destructive uses of war. But in this day of advanced industrial development, it is not necessary for workers when employed to be constantly deprived of an adequate living standard, so that they may provide a pittance for themselves when the rains come-meaning unemployment, old .age, sickness. THERE COULD BE PLENTY OF EVERYTHING, FOR EVERYBODY, AT ALL TIMES-IF THERE WERE NO CAPITALISTS TO GRAB THE

LION'S SHARE. The above criticism should relegate to the waste basket the Bev-



Sugar Company Uses Violence to Hold Badly Paid Negro Workers

#### By R. CRAINE

The indictment by a federal grand jury of the United States Sugar Corp. and four of its employees on charges of peonage has thrown some light on the continued existence of virtual slavery in the South.

The same jury also brought in indictments against Charles A. Gaskin, wner of a Florida turpentine plan-

were hunted down by the sheriff and resented no money out of the overstuffed coffers of the corporation. returned to the fields by force. The wage rates follow:

In addition, the indictment reads that the company compelled the field hands, all of them Negroes. to remain at work against their wills by "force, threats and by divers other means of coercion and intimidation," which included beating, striking and by imposing other forms of bodily punishment.

eridge blueprint for a post-war paradise. But there is more writicism

> If "heavy income taxes" will be the source for financing the scheme, employment after the war will have to be fairly widespread. But Sir Beveridge himself points out that unemployment has been abolished in the lives of people living in the United Kingdom only TWICE, and "EACH TIME BY WAR!"

See the vicious circle. According to the schemer's own words. there is unemployment after a war. So how are the mass of unemployed workers to be taxed to pay for their unemployment insur-

Or will the bosses foot the bill? They are getting away with murder during the war boom. Who is innocent enough to expect them to pay for "social benefits for the workers" when factories will be closed down in the post-war slump?

The planners who base their plans on the continuance of the capitalist system are like dogs running after their tails. THEY GET NOWHERE!

But-for a "Sir"-Sir Beveridge is indeed "progressive." He even has a few words to say AGAINST "private control of the means of production." Ah, but that's an old one. Workers have already learned about "government control" that leaves the OWNERSHIP of industry in the hands of the profit-seeking capitalists. The strictest government control ever exercised in all history is happening right now in Nazi Germany-AND PROFITS WERE NEV-

ER BETTER FOR THE TOP, CAPI-TALISTS.

The workers must, of course, aim to establish government control-but to be of use to the workers, it has to be WORKERS' GOVERNMENT CONTROL. And the control has to be exercised over industries from which the capitalists have been ousted and which the workers have taken over.

This is the only sound basis for post-war security-and for a warless world. This is SOCIALISMEand it will not be handed to the workers in an 80,000-word or even in an 80,000,000-word manuscript:



Page 4

American forces have taken over huge portions of North Africa and are well on their way to seizure of the remaining area (Tunisia). From the standpoint of the American war leaders the whole campaign is indeed a great military success, for:

1. Hitler has been forced to extend himself to even greater areas and to take over a territory whose population is intensely hostile to him (Vichy, France). Many hundreds of miles of coastline, huge cities and centers must now be policed and controlled by the overtaxed and heavily drained German army.

2. Springboard positions of immense value for landing in Europe and deluging helpless Italy with . a shower of bombs have been gained. Thus, the United Nations forces are in a much better po sition for their REAL offensive of the war: the open invasion of the European continent and the march on Berlin.

3. The supply route to Egypt, the Near East and India may well be shortened if the aim of regaining control of the mediterranean Sea is achieved. Furthermore, the Italian and German hopes of African Empire will be destroyed forever.

These and other military and strategic victories have been described in detail in all the capitalist newspapers. But here we are interested in the POLITICAL aspects of the new American front in North Africa.

#### A VICTORY FOR POLITICAL REACTION

In the short space of less than two weeks Roosevelt and his supporters have revealed to the world the sort of post-war Europe they favor. It is a Europe based upon reaction, militarism and foreign occupation; a Europe in which "law and order" will be preserved and revolution distinctly. frowned upon and crushed.

1. The whole policy of keeping up relations with Vichy, instead of breaking and making an effort to go directly to the French workers and people, was a deceitful, "clever" game-as Secretary of State Hull now brags. In the words of Dorothy Thompson, we played a "Kurusu mission" with Vichy! Dirty politics, horse-trading, open bribery (one correspondent spoke about the "well greased" French officers), raw deals, etc .--this was American "democratic" diplomacy, according to the very words of the diplomats. .

2. When the invasion began, "the British radio and General de Gaulle's headquarters broadcast frequent warnings to the French population to refrain from premature uprisings .... " (New York Times). That is, the Anglo-American forces dreaded (almost as much as Hitler) a rising of the French masses against the forces of occupation and tyranny that sit upon them!

Is not that "strange?" We "are supposed to believe that the Americans and English are coming into France ONLY in order to help the people get rid of Hitler, to aid them in their revolution. Is that the way to encourage the French to obtain their freedom? It shows, once more, how accurate is the LABOR ACTION accusation directed against both Churchill and Roosevelt that these gentlemen only want uprisings in France and the other occupied countries when they (the military forces of America and England) are ready to land and to take over. That is, they want the European revolts against Hitler to serve only in a military, auxiliary capacity; to aid them in their imperialist reconquest of Europe from Hitler.

3. Look at whom the Americans have negotiated with and are helping to set up in a new "French" regime in North Africa, Collaborator, pro-Nazi Darlan; reactionary General Giraudand now the open French fascist, Pierre Flandin, has arrived on the scene! America wants France, under the reactionary tutelage of hated French imperialists, reactionaries; open fascists and monarchists. 4. And what did Roosevelt say was his object in seizing the Vichy colonies? In addition to inflicting a blow upon the Axis, he said twice that he wishes to see the French Empire restored. We may be very skeptical about the sincerity of his wishes, since we understand that American imperialism is likewise interested in grabbing off a few valuable colonies in this war, but even if we accept him at his word: such an objective is reactionary through and through! The French colonial empire is and was viciously imperialistic, exploiting and oppressing tens of millions of Algerians, Moroccans, Negroes, etc.

This is a fact. But it sounds suspiciously like a veiled instruction: if we practically have a forty-eight-hour week, why not decree or write into the law forty-eight hours? And why not go a step further and rob labor of that eight hours of overtime pay? Remember this: the Administration has announced it favors a return to the 1932 standard of living. In a word, labor's "good friend" in the White House is giving the "go" sig-

The reason why transit workers are getting other jobs should be apparent even to the Mayor, but he has the nerve to hand out this unmentionable pittance and at the same time call upon the experts of the War Manpower Commission to consider the problem. The problem is how to get Boss LaGuardia to shell out.

tation for "arresting" James Johnson, a Negro workman, and holding him in servitude until he worked off an alleged debt of \$22. At the same time, Sheriff Jeff Wiggins of Glades Country, Fla., was indicted for working county prisoners on his farm without pay.

In indicting the U.S. Sugar Corp., its personnel manager, M. E. Von Mach, and three camp superintendents, the grand jury charged that the defendants had violated the 13th amendment to the Constitution, which abolished slavery, and it listed at least twenty overt acts on the part of the company. Since November 1, 1941, and for a "long time prior thereto and upon subsequent days thereafter" the company is accused of recruiting laborers for work in the fields by paying their fare. When the men arrived there they were told that they owed the company the railroad fare and that they would have to work off this debt before they could leave the

100 PAGES

114 West 14th Street

The Department of Agriculture has long been interested in the sugar corporation and has been granting it millions of dollars in subsidies over a period of years. Under the federal sugar act, certain conditions regarding wage scales, living and working conditions, were set up. These the company tried to escape by resorting to the practices for which they were indicted last week. What They Were Paid

One has but to look at what the conditions set up by the Department of Agriculture were to understand the real heinousness of the crime. On November 5 of this year, the Department of Agriculture announced the new rates of pay for harvesting sugar. These are supposed to represent an increase of from 8 to 12 per cent of the stipulated pay for 1941, and the increases were granted, according to the Department, "because of increased sugar prices and higher government payments, and because of the rises in general farm wages and in the cost of living." plantation. Those who tried to leave. In other words, the increases rep-

work are to receive three-fourths of the rates established for the adult worker. These are only the top rates. For other work, such as tractor driving, truck driving, hoisting, piling, scrapping, the wages vary from \$2.30 to \$1.25 for a nine-hour day.

The highest paid jobs on the

sugar plantation are cutting, top-

ping and stripping of the sugar

cane. For nine hours of hard,

back-breaking work, adult male

workers were awarded the gran-

diose wage of \$2.45 per day; adult

females \$2.00 per day. Children

between 14 and 16 doing the same

The above represent an increase of about 10 per cent over what the prevailing wage was SUPPOSED to have been since 1941-an increase that is actually covered by government subsidies (indirectly by taxpayers), and by higher sugar prices -directly by consumers. Even these minimal conditions the sugar barons sought to avoid by the introduction of slave conditions in their fields

The company of course denies these charges. Each defendant was set free on a \$1,000 bond and the case is to be tried some time in 1943. The penalty, if and when there is a conviction, will most likely be a fine of several thousand dollars and the sugar company will be set to continue its old methods.

#### LIBERATION-OR IMPERIALIST DEALS

What happens to the Atlantic Charter, under whose auspices we are supposedly fighting?" If the American soldiers come as a force of liberation, does that not mean that they must liberate the millions of Berbers, Moors, Arabs, Negroes who reside in these colonies? In what sense is restoration of these areas to French reactionaries and imperialists a progressive, democratic step? Isn't it rather an imperialist deal between French and American capitalists?

If America was occupying North Africa for revolutionary, liberating purposes, it would restore those areas to the colonial peoples who live there! It would say, in effect, to the Arabs and the Moors: "We have helped you win freedom. Now govern and rule yourselves as you see fit. That's what the Atlantic Charter says." Instead, it negotiates with Darlan, Gicaud and Flandin to set up, in another form, the old colonial, dictatorial regime of French imperialism-this time resting upon American bayonets, LABOR ACTION says: Turn over these colonies to the people and their parties. In Algeria, a powerful nationalist and socialist organization known as "Etoile du Nord" (The Northern Star) once existed. It stood for an independent, workers' and peasants' Algeria. This is what we have in mind.



LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF! TO THE DRAFTEES!

WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

Against Both Imperialist War Camps! For the Victory of World

Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory

- 1. Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- 2. \$1.00-an-hour minimum pay! Time and a half for overtime; double time for Sunday and holiday work.
- 3. Wage increases to meet rising costs. No wage or job freezing! Equal pay for equal work!
- 4. For a greater share of the increasing national income. For a higher standard of living!
- 5. No sales tax on consumer goods! No tax on wages! Against forced savings!
- 6. For control of price fixing and rationing by committees of working class organizations, housewives and farmers' organizations. Freeze rents and consumer goods prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living.
- 7. No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
- 8. Maintain and increase all government social services!

### SOAK THE RICH-LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

- 9. A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
- 10. Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
- 11. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"-the three percent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

- 12. The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces.
- 13. The right of soldiers to vote in all elections.
- 14. The right of all youth, male or female, to vote at the age of eighteen. Old enough to fight; old enough to work; old enough to vote!
- 15. For adequate dependency allowances paid by the government with NO deductions from the soldier's pay.
- SMASH JIM CROW!
- 16. 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!
- 17. For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes!

#### BE PREPARED!

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

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