

Labor's Victories Are Won On the Picket Line! — That's The Lesson of the Ford Strike

AN EDITORIAL

The flivver king has had to take a licking!

And that's one of the most heartening pieces of news that a labor paper can report.

Long entrenched in his reputation as open shopper No. 1, Henry Ford has at long last been compelled to recognize the existence of a union, to approve an election in his plant to determine the union bargaining agency selected by the majority.

There is no doubt of the outcome of the election. The men who struck the River Rouge plant were men who had signed up with the UAW-CIO.

On the face of it, what the men gained may not appear to be enormous. But the slightest examination of the facts, reveals it as the wonderful victory it was. Other gains will come in quick succession. The main point has been won.

Open-shopper Ford has been compelled, in fact, to agree to unionization. The UAW, which toppled Ford from his open-shop throne by months of painstaking and consistent organization work, can be relied on—ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE TEMPER OF THE WORKERS WHO STRUCK SPONTANEOUSLY—to force other concessions from the motor mogul.

Strikers Had to Stand Off Terrific Attack

It wasn't an easy job, and the completion of it won't be easy either.

When the huge River Rouge plant was shut down, the whole capitalist world screamed in outraged fury. The boss press, kept in the style to which it is accustomed by advertising contracts, shouted itself hoarse against this "sabotage of national defense."

Wall Street's Congress outdid itself in reviling the "labor agitators." One tender-hearted champion of "democracy," no less a personage than the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, seriously advocated the death sentence for strikers.

All of them—boss, press and politician—labeled the strike as the work of "Communist plotters," "saboteurs" and "fifth columnists." What a stupid and infamous lie!

Sure, union organizers—they're called "labor agitators" in the boss press—had something to do with it. They worked to organize Ford. BUT THE REAL IMPULSE FOR THE STRIKE CAME FROM THE MEN IN THE PLANT WHO WERE DEAD SICK OF FORD'S SPEED-UP AND HIGH-HANDEDNESS.

The Rank and File Forced the Strike

The union leaders were in fact much too conciliatory, much too concerned with promoting "national defense"—that dressed-up version of imperialist war. Michael F. Widman, Jr., director of the union's Ford drive, anxiously wired Knudsen-Hillman a few days before the strike that "it is becoming increasingly difficult to prevent a strike at the Ford factory." R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW, was equally conciliatory.

No, the union leaders helped the strike by their organization work before the strike and by their leadership after it was called; but the credit does not go to them. THE STRIKE WAS FORCED BY THE MILITANT RANK AND FILE, BY THE BULK OF THE FORD WORKERS THEMSELVES. And anybody who doesn't know that doesn't know a thing about this strike or, for that matter, about a good many of the strikes called in recent months.

How was the strike called?

The men in the plant were joining the union in great numbers. They were fed up with the concentration camp atmosphere of the place. They were tired of struggling along on miserable wages in the face of a rising tide of living costs. They began to unite for collective action.

Ford's goons tried to break up the organizational drive.

The notorious "service men" went through the plant beating up isolated unionists.

Ford continued to thumb his nose at weakly issued government decrees. Ford continued to enjoy the staggering profits of war production on government orders.

The unionists got together, began to fight back, showed strength and gained new strength.

When conditions got worse, each night of the week prior to the strike, the men in the plant got together.

They slowed down, stopped work altogether and finally sat down in the plant the night before the strike.

That meant a showdown.

Thousands upon thousands of Ford workers now joined hands.

They walked out of the plant, formed their picket lines and had the place closed down within two days.

All of this while the leadership was vainly—and foolishly—trying to get action from the OPM.

River Rouge Was a Victory for ALL Labor

When the plant was shut down, labor all over the United States watched with keen interest. Here was a battle being fought of utmost importance for every last working man and woman in the country. And the Ford workers did not let them down!

No "labor agitator" could have done this. No "saboteur" in the world could have moved 8,000 men out of their jobs and onto the picket line.

The men struck because they had good and sufficient reason for striking.

And they won because they organized their ranks, raised their fists and showed the company, the press and the government that they meant business.

By that same determination, they will yet wrest out of the wizened wizard of industrial exploitation a union contract, wage increases and better working conditions. The spectre of their marching lines will haunt all the conferences. And the Ford dynasty will think twice before trying to cross these men.

The union leaders should have learned something from this too. Appeals to the OPM, the government and NLRB don't amount to a damn. In the last instance, labor can appeal only to its own strength. That's what the River Rouge men did. That's why they won.

They and all of American labor can go forward from there. IF FORD CAN BE TAKEN, NO FORTRESS OF PROFIT AND EXPLOITATION IS SO IMPREGNABLE THAT IT TOO CANNOT BE TAKEN.

Ford and Bethlehem were the toughest gangs the bosses had. They were taken down more than a peg. Other would-be Fords and Bethlehems should offer less difficulty—if the picket line is used as the main weapon.

Forward to the organization of the war industries.

Forward to the closed shop in every factory in the land.

LABOR ACTION

APRIL 21, 1941

Organ of the Workers Party of the United States

THREE CENTS

NO GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WITHOUT UNION CONTRACT!

Akron Labor Is Flexing Its Muscles

Special to Labor Action

AKRON, Apr. 11—The United Automobile Workers has announced the beginning of a drive to organize the 1,000 aircraft workers now employed by the Goodyear Rubber Co. in its aircraft subsidiary.

Organized recruiting has been going on for several weeks. Reports are that the efforts are very successful. A basic reason is that the bulk of the workers are earning 50 cents an hour building parts for the Glenn L. Martin firm. Most of the workers are young and have had no experience with factory life prior to their being employed in the plant.

The real drive in aircraft will come in the immediate future, when the Goodyear Company erects plants which, according to a company source, will employ close to 10,000 workers.

Since there are only 33,000 rubber workers in Akron at present, it will be seen what a tremendous shift in the composition of the working class in Akron will be effected. A militant organization plan in aircraft will have a revitalizing effect upon the whole labor movement in Akron.

War orders are kiting the cost of living in Akron. Food is up much more than the government reports would indicate. Housing is very scarce. All of this is going to be reflected in stirrings in the ranks of labor. The companies, of course, are having a banner year, even with the loss of foreign markets and factories.

Other events are impelling the

(Continued on page 3)



Carlo

Party, YPSL Aid Negro Bus Campaign

All Harlem Joins in Demanding Jobs for Negroes on New York City's Bus Lines

By HENRY PELHAM

NEW YORK—On March 13 the bus drivers, a section of the Transport Workers Union (CIO) headed by Michael Quill, went on strike for wage increases and better working conditions. Negroes have never held jobs as drivers or mechanics on any of the New York City bus lines.

The Harlem Labor Union, which for long has been waging a campaign for jobs for Negroes in the mercantile establishments in Harlem, seized this opportunity to get employment for Negroes.

They sent pickets out and they walked in the snow for 12 days with

the striking busmen carrying signs which read: "We support the TWU in their strike demands but we also demand 100 Negro bus drivers and 100 Negro mechanics in bus garages."

On March 22 the bus owners agreed to negotiate with the TWU and the strikers returned to work. The pickets of the Harlem Labor Union remained on duty, however. To date they have been on picket duty 36 days.

The HLU has been joined by the Greater New York Coordinating Committee for Jobs for Negroes, headed by Rev. A. Clayton Powell and the Manhattan branch of the

National Negro Congress, headed by Hope Stevens.

Their efforts are now consolidated and supervised by three co-chairmen: Straughn, HLU; Powell, Coordinating Committee; and Stevens, National Negro Congress.

The pickets consist of workers, unemployed and employed, professionals and white collar workers, ranging in age from kindergarten kids to men and women in their eighties. They are militant and determined to win this fight. They are being aided in the picketing by the Workers Party and YPSL.

Henry Armstrong spoke at the first

mass meeting held several days ago stating he had ceased fighting in the ring but had just begun to fight for his race. He also contributed \$25 to the committee fund.

Later Don Redmond, famous musician and orchestra leader, appeared on the picket line with a group of chorus girls.

On April 8 a mass meeting was held at Golden Gate Ballroom attended by 5,000 people, which was reminiscent of the meetings held in Harlem a score of years ago when the Garvey movement was in its heyday.

After listening to stirring speeches by various members of the committee, the audience responded heartily to the appeal for funds.

When the meeting adjourned about 40 cops were stationed at all strategic intersections near the hall. The situation was tense but to date there has been almost no violence.

The bus owners and union officials have attempted to pass the buck from one to the other but the boycott has caused the bus companies (according to their own estimate) to lose around \$3,000 per day.

The committee has threatened to extend the picketing to the midtown area (42nd Street) if their demands are not met by this week-end.

The latest report is that the bus owners, TWU and boycott committee have reached a compromise agreement. It remains to be placed in written form. Until this is done the pickets will march on.

Union Buster Is Named for 'Public' On Mediation Bd.

By MIKE STEVENS

WASHINGTON—Alternates were appointed by President Roosevelt during the past week to the 11-man National Mediation Board.

Listed as one of the representatives for the public is Attorney Charles Wyzanski of Brookline, Mass., who was nominated as an alternate for William Hammatt Davis.

Designation of Wyzanski as a representative for the public gives us an insight as to what Roosevelt ex-

(Continued on page 2)

Congress Can Be Forced To Legislate Our Demand

Fabulous profits are pouring into the pockets of the war industrialists.

The greatest part of these profits are the result of huge government orders.

In placing these orders, the government has by law guaranteed the war hawks of industry their sizeable profit return.

WHY SHOULD LABOR NOT BE GIVEN A SIMILAR GUARANTEE?

It is labor that makes production possible . . . and profits too. Without labor not a wheel can turn, nor a cargo move.

In addition, it is out of the pennies turned in by the great mass of people in a thousand direct and indirect ways that the war orders are paid for.

Labor wasn't asked what it would like to produce. Labor, in charge of production, would produce necessities of life . . . not weapons of imperialist destruction. Nevertheless, it is labor which, by its sweat and by its toil, makes possible every machine or weapon now on production.

Labor has won encouraging victories in the last few months. Picking off one industrial plant after another, labor has been successful in demanding union contracts and better wages and conditions.

While labor continues to press its demands on the picket lines before this or that institution of swollen profit, it must undertake an organized and nationwide campaign to demand that the government, which has already guaranteed profits, guarantee union conditions in the plants working on government orders.

An unreasonable demand? Hardy!

An impossible demand? By no means!

Industry after industry has tried to skirt around unionization. Bethlehem did. Ford did. Harvill did.

Backed up against the wall they were compelled to yield to labor's demand. It's sign on the dotted line—or no work!

Bethlehem had no choice. Nor did Ford. Nor did any of the others. They either accepted the workers' demands or gave up production. If they gave up production, that meant giving up profits. And profits are the only thing the capitalist industries live for.

By the same kind of action, by the same kind of militancy and determination which won victories at Vultee, Lackawanna, etc., labor can win this demand too.

There are already on the books all sorts of laws which theoretically demand compliance with government wage and hour regulations before a company is eligible to a government contract.

In the case of Ford and others, these laws amounted to so many scraps of paper until the workers went out on strike and did a little enforcing in their own way.

Labor can now accomplish the same end on a more sweeping scale. It can draft the kind

(Continued on page 3)

Next Week--The May Day Issue

A special May Day issue of LABOR ACTION is now in the process of being made up and will be ready for mailing so that it reaches all parts of the country before May 1. A great deal of effort, planning and expense has gone into what promises to be the most interesting and attractive paper in the history of the Trotskyist movement.

Articles and special features will include:

- A Manifesto by the American Committee for the Fourth International
- A Review of the Past Year's Labor Struggles
- The Negro and the Struggles of the Working Class
- The Prospects of the Proletarian Revolution
- The Shop Steward Movement in England
- Women and the Working Class—A May Day Survey
- One Year of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION
- Numerous Cuts and Pictures

A two color front page will improve the appearance of this special issue and should attract a good deal of interest in distribution and sales. A tripled press run will make available sufficient extra copies for all branches to make plans for special distributions.

It is not too late to send greetings and contributions to finance this large undertaking which the editorial board feels is the duty and responsibility of every branch, member and sympathizer of the Workers Party. The importance of this May Day calls for the greatest possible sacrifice, and it will be this sacrifice alone that makes the special issue possible. Rates for printed greetings are:

\$1.00 for 1 inch, 1 column; \$3.00 for 2 inches, 2 columns; \$5.00 for 4 inches, 2 columns; \$10.00 for 4 inches, 3 columns; \$25 for a quarter page.

The deadline for greetings is Monday, April 21st. They should be sent to: LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York City. There is no deadline for contributions.

Send orders for extra copies to the same address no later than April 22.

ACT NOW!

Of Special Interest To Women

By Susan Green

The all-powerful FDR has just appointed Leo Henderson as federal price administrator and told him to see that prices do not go up.

To the working woman who has seen the value of the dollar cut down alarmingly, this may sound like good news. With food, clothing and household necessities steadily mounting in price, she is anxious to grab onto any straw that looks like help.

But the fact is that the help Mr. Roosevelt's new food administrator can give a poor woman is not even a bent straw!

In an interview to newspaper men Mr. Henderson has already indicated that he is interested primarily—though he's not sure he can do it—in keeping down the prices of those commodities directly needed in building the capitalist war machine. He is not concerned, you see, with making life more bearable for the women of the working class. So don't kid yourself.

But that isn't all Mr. Henderson has let on to. He said further: "We will watch wages as a prime cost factor. If unwarranted wage rises are in prospect, we will have a decided interest in them."

At least you can give him credit for putting his cards on the table. His policy is definitely anti-labor. When the workers demand higher wages to meet the cost of living which Mr. Henderson is not even going to try to keep down, he will be on the side of the bosses.

However, labor is ably demonstrating its ability to look out for itself in spite of Simpson, Knox, Knudsen, Roosevelt. It can add Henderson to the list.

Soon working women will be joining the good fight. They will be forming housewives' committees to battle against starvation prices, by picketing, boycotting and doing whatever else is necessary.

Working people can get no help from the trenches of their class enemies.

Under a picture of Mme. Colette Sarraut smilingly charming beneath a new spring bonnet, newspapers carried the story of this daughter-in-law of Albert Sarraut, who served the ruling class of France in various political capacities. The lady in question is the wife of his son, Lieut. Omar Sarraut.

Mme. Sarraut, who arrived in this country several weeks ago, has spoken very bitterly about the Hitler occupation of France, and said that the name Unoccupied France is a hideous illusion. Even that part of the country supposed to be ruled by Petain is so firmly in the grip of the Gestapo that it might just as well be occupied. All of which is most certainly true—as is also true that the "right" people, like Mme. Sarraut, somehow manage to slip through the Gestapo gap.

However, Mme. Sarraut did not come here to stay. She and her three children have already sailed for Asia on the comfortable liner President Garfield. They will join Lieut. Sarraut NOW ON DUTY IN FRENCH INDO-CHINA.

This lady, so sensitive about Hitler's occupation of France, said nothing against the French dictatorship over the Asiatic people of Indo-China. That unhappy exploited country was conquered many years ago by the then flourishing imperialist army—and is still occupied by what is left of the French imperialist army.

Therefore, my dear Madame, excuse me if I ask what you are squawking about? Is it OK for the French imperialists to bleed Indo-China white and for your husband to function in the equivalent of the Gestapo there? Then—according to your own standards and those of your class—it can't be wrong for the Germans to occupy France under the iron heel of the Gestapo.

Lady, your case is thrown out of court—the court of human progress. It will hear only the case of the enlightened working people of the world who play no favorites and are AGAINST ALL IMPERIALIST OCCUPATION.

The government is going to great lengths to assure the worried mothers and sweethearts of conscripts that their boys are getting plenty to eat in the training camps. At a dinner given to 500 women—at which I assure you the food was a little more elegant than that at the camps—a grand pageant was staged to prove that mothers and sweethearts do not have to send boxes of tidbits to their loved ones.

A Miss Berber, food consultant to the government quartermaster corps, who arranged the affair, had soldiers dressed up in period uniforms from the war of 1776 to the present war, and each carried a tray of food supposed to duplicate exactly a meal of the buck private of that time. So there on the trays the guests could see the progress from beef, rice, coffee and bread in 1776, to soup, beef, string beans, spinach, potatoes, bread butter, apple pie and coffee in 1941.

Maybe yes—and maybe no. SO WHAT? Turkeys are also fed up before their heads are chopped off and undoubtedly they are fed more scientifically now than in 1776!

If Miss Berber had asked my advice, I would have added the touch of completeness to the pageant with a view of a modern battlefield strewn with the piteous monstrosities, the victims of imperialist war today. After all, one wants to know the destination of all that good food!

A blob of spit cannot be considered a political weapon, but certainly it can show which way the wind is blowing—as anybody who has experimented with saliva knows.

John T. Whitaker, describing in the New York Post the rising discontent among the Italian people, tells the story he heard about a wounded soldier. This battered victim of Italian imperialism rose from his hospital cot and spat full in the face of Countess Ciano.

The countess was serving as nurse at the time. She is one of the many women of the ruling classes of all the belligerent countries, doing their bit to ram the war down the throats of unwilling people. These helpful females—helpful to their own class—roll bandages, serve in hospitals, distribute alms and smile bravely. They "allow" themselves to be interviewed by newspapermen and they harp on the theme: "War is a marvelous lever. There are no longer any classes. See how we all sacrifice!" And they modestly cast down their eyes.

Yes, every warring country has its feminine bamboozlers. England has the ever-gracious queen and the ladies this-and-that who "solidify national unity" with their genteel fingers. The German wounded soldier is supposed to forget about the "hell" he went and got wounded for when Frau Goering smiles at him on her hospital rounds. And the American working stiff who has everything to lose and nothing to gain by the war he is being railroaded into is supposed to think it is all for the good because Mrs. Roosevelt—first aid to American imperialism—spouts a few liberal phrases at him.

When wounded soldiers begin to spit at these female frauds, THE WIND IS BLOWING THE RIGHT WAY!

FROM OUR WEST COAST CORRESPONDENT

Unions Go to Town on Ford Victory

LOS ANGELES, Apr. 14—There probably isn't a workman in a thousand who isn't feeling happier this week as a result of the strike victory at Ford's River Rouge plant. And the rejoicing is fully justified. Where men have been slugged and shot for daring to wear union buttons, for showing their determination to organize and fight for their right to a decent living, there is now open recognition of a powerful and militant union. The Detroit dictator has been brought to terms.

But if the two-week strike at the main Ford plant is to be given its due applause, the local UAW should be acclaimed to the skies. The strike for recognition at Ford's southern California plant has been in progress for no less than three years! A long pull, brothers, and a tough one.

It took a long time. It took plenty of pushing. Most important of all, it took the strength that came from unity with their Detroit brothers. And now that the automobile autocrat is going to have to sit down and negotiate with the union's representatives, the local UAW can proudly claim a prize lock from Henry Ford's scalp.

UAW HAS "HARDLY BEGUN TO FIGHT"

With victories like these, it is only inevitable that the United Auto Workers should move ahead. Already the largest of the southern California CIO locals, the UAW has "hardly begun to fight."

A tentative contract has already been drawn up at North American Aviation Corp. Negotiations are being forced by the union.

Another triumph was scored by the aircraft division of the UAW last week at the Western Aeronautical Supply & Mfg. Co. in Glendale.

The company, which makes airplane and auto parts, tried to hide behind the "national defense" smokescreen. The union threatened a strike and thereby won a number of noteworthy improvements.

Wages were lifted from the criminal low of 32

cents to 50 cents an hour for beginners, with five-cent raises up to 65 cents set for three month intervals. Vacations with pay, compensation and bonuses for night shifts, seniority and grievance machinery were also guaranteed by the contract. The management can't fire workers without consulting the grievance committee and the union still has the right to strike if grievances aren't settled within one week.

WHAT A UNION DOES FOR WORKERS

What does a union do for workers? Take a look at the gigantic Douglas Aircraft Co., where the UAW-CIO has only announced its organizational drive, has signed a considerable number of men, but has withheld its full force until other and smaller companies have been fully won.

Donald Douglas, the Henry Ford of the West, is trembling in his breeches. Fearing the union drive, Douglas has already been forced to come through with a number of plant-wide raises.

A Douglas worker writes in:

"Harvill, Vultee, North American, etc., have already brought results at Douglas. Effective April 3, there was a general rate increase of 2½ cents and an additional 2½ cents for night shift to bring its bonus up to a nickel. On account of I just had a nickel raise with Friday's check, this makes me a dime in TWO WEEKS!"

"All of which isn't hard to take—AND ALL OF WHICH I OWE TO THE UAW-CIO!"

If money talks, Douglas is screaming: "Union, stay away from my door!"

ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATURE RUNS WILD

On the political front, the state legislature was still running wild last week in its determination to annihilate the California labor movement.

While a pair of old-line AFL bureaucrats did their best to sabotage labor in Sacramento, both

the AFL and CIO in Los Angeles organized campaigns against the vicious legislation.

By this time, there are some 4,000 anti-labor bills up for consideration. If it took a minimum of one day each for careful and honest consideration, it would take over ten years to pass them all! But the Sacramento labor-haters are determined to jam through as many of these bills as they can. The labor movement here has got to learn the lessons of its current successful organizational drives. Only militancy and more militancy is going to win this growing battle against the bosses and their stooges, the politicians.

FOR AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY!

In a sense, this lesson came home to the Santa Monica Central Labor Council, AFL, recently.

Last election, they sincerely decided to organize and throw their combined electoral weight behind a candidate who promised to work for the interests of labor. For greater strength, they joined with the Los Angeles Central Labor Council. The Los Angeles bureaucrats plumped for Leland Ford, Santa Monica followed. As a result, Congress now includes among its members a particularly vicious labor-baiter and tool of bosses' interests.

Yes, it's the same guy—Leland Ford. The Santa Monica Council woke up.

It doesn't make any difference how many votes you put behind a rat or which boss party he serves. He's still a rat—he still works for the other side—against labor.

Now the Santa Monica Labor Council has passed a resolution to give political support to nothing but a genuine labor party!

Santa Monica is on the right track. With the expansion of aircraft production, Santa Monica is rapidly becoming an industrial city. Why should not the workers—the majority—elect their own spokesmen and representatives to office. The Santa Monica Labor Council could well initiate such a labor party itself.

JACK BORDEN.

A Series on the Aircraft Industry

Profits A-Plenty in Death on Wings

By BOB FELLOWS
Aircraft Worker

(Continued from last issue)

The influence of the war on the expansion of the aircraft industry is unbelievable. From rags to riches in a day is the story of some companies. For example: a small aviation company in California, the Northrop Aviation Corp., started in August, 1939, with 60 employees. Through the sale of stock it attracted \$1,250,000. Without a penny of investment the original founders now claim that in July, 1941, they will have 6,000 men employed and a backlog of \$25,000,000 (and it's done without mirrors).

Consider the Consolidated Aircraft Corp. of California, producer of Navy patrol planes. It started off in Buffalo with 300 men in 1935 and did about \$6,000,000 worth of business. With the aid of the Lehman Bros., who are heavy stockholders in the company, and the war, the company expects in 1941 to have 16,000 employees and a backlog of \$320,000,000.

Republic Aircraft, located at Farmingdale, L. I., in December, 1939, had 1,200 employees. It expects to have 9,000 in December, 1941. Wright Aeronautical in the winter of 1939 had 3,800 employees. They expect to have 18,000 men working full time very shortly. The Brewster Aero Corp. had 800 men in January, 1940. In July, 1941, they expect to have 10,000 men.

In 1933 there were about 7,000 workers employed in aircraft. At the end of 1941 semi-official estimates have it that there will be 1,000,000 men employed in the industry. Aviation shows plenty of life for an industry whose main product is turning out death dealing machines. It would seem that the only industries that can grow today are those that specialize in dealing out death on a mass scale.

Profits—Plenty of Them

It is somewhat difficult to estimate the amount of profit made by the various companies. They hire expensive lawyers and accountants to conceal from the public the millions of dollars that they make on the war slaughter.

In spite of the attempts made to minimize their profits, the figures cited above give you a birds eye view of how the aviation bosses are starving themselves to the bone for the sake of pay-triotsism.

These are just a few samples. The average rate of return on money in-

Company	1940	1939	Per Cent Increase
Bell Aircraft	\$284,745	\$9,203	3,000
Vultee Aircraft	374,457	25,488	1,370
Douglas Aircraft	10,831,971	2,884,197	275

vested in aircraft in 1939 was 34 per cent! A small business man is glad if he gets back 7 or 8 per cent on his investment. A large bank is glad if it gets 2 or 3 per cent on the money that it lends out. But the aircraft bosses are the real pay-triots—they get 34 per cent!

The total backlog of the aviation industry is estimated at three to three and a half billion dollars! In 1939 it was \$178,000,000. And all of this is made possible by the working people.

Guaranteed Profits

The workers in aviation are asked not to strike for their rights—for the sake of England. The aviation bosses, however, in many instances will not produce unless 20 to 30 per cent of the order is paid in advance by their foreign trade, England included.

The radios blare forth every day on how much financial sacrifice the aircraft companies are making for new plants. Yet the simple fact remains that both England and France built new plants in this country for various companies in order that the companies might fill their orders.

The Aircraft Chamber of Commerce shouts about the risks they take. Yet France had millions of dollars deposited in banks in order to protect the companies who were building planes that might be undeliverable to her. England similarly has millions of dollars in the banks here for the same purpose. Various contracts contain escalator clauses. If the cost of building the planes goes up, the company reserves the right to charge the customer more money. Vultee has an army contract with an escalator clause for \$29,000,000 worth of planes. In other words, if the workers do get a raise, it doesn't cost the company a cent.

Under the authorization plan, the government will build a plant for a company and permit them to buy it five years later at a nominal price. Under the terms of this agreement the government is building Douglas Aircraft an eleven million dollar plant; Grumann gets a three and a half million dollar grant for plant

improvement; North American Aviation \$7,000,000, United Aircraft \$18,160,000, Consolidated Aircraft \$1,000,000, Ford \$23,604,285—and the workers get \$000,000,000.

The profit limitation clause is a fiction. The 12 per cent clause is gotten around by expert accountancy methods. The government is still trying to figure out what U. S. Steel owes in taxes from the last war. There is no profit limitation on foreign orders.

Summary

Summarizing the article, we would say the aviation industry has grown tremendously in the course of a few years. It is making millions of dollars for bankers and industrialists who already have millions of dollars. The industry is in the hands of relatively few men. Seventy-five per cent of all government orders went to five companies. The working people are the ones who make all this possible. It is they who pay the bulk of taxes and it is they who get a pittance of a wage.

Next week we shall analyze the rôle of aviation in the war.

PART II

Now what is the rôle of aviation in the preparations made for the present war as well as the smaller wars heralding this major imperialist conflagration, all of which made possible the stratospheric growth of profits?

Aviation bosses have no scruples concerning "the milk of human kindness." In the past, whenever war or uprisings threatened to break out, the aviation salesman was always there, Johnny-on-the-Spot, to deliver a sales talk on his latest death-dealing model. First he would speak to one of the prospective combatants about how much more effective he could be with one of the latest models: shoot more people, drop more bombs, etc. After getting an order, he would see-saw over to the enemy; tell him about the very latest model and persuade him to buy twice as many models. Then he would start the rounds all over again. His arguments were always very effective. Every one would buy for fear of being left behind in the armament race.

With these enterprising methods, the aviation interests helped Bolivia and Paraguay slaughter each other in a war that was caused by the conflicting interests of the Standard and Shell oil magnates.

In 1931, when the Japanese imperialists invaded Manchuria, they were kind of short on planes for murdering the Chinese people. The aviation bosses immediately came to their rescue and supplied them with all the planes they needed, naturally at a good stiff price. At that time no democracy was involved. It was OK then for England to sell China out to Japan. Now Roosevelt and Willkie suddenly awaken to the fact that Japan is attacking China and so they are running parties and affairs, etc. This after Roosevelt permitted the sale of planes to Japan

which were responsible for the slaughter of unknown thousands of Chinese people.

In 1935, Mussolini bought many American made planes for use in his war against the Ethiopian people. The fact that these planes would be used to bomb innocent Ethiopian villages did not seem to concern Roosevelt or the aviation industry. Today Roosevelt and Churchill are much concerned over Ethiopia.

During the Spanish civil war when the Spanish workers were battling against the combined hordes of Franco-Hitler-Mussolini for some real democracy, Roosevelt banned aircraft shipments to Loyalist Spain although the orders had been paid for well in advance. It is well known that American made planes found their way to Franco, but not to the Loyalists. Roosevelt has evidently discovered democracy only recently, for he certainly didn't recognize it in 1937, the time of the Spanish civil war.

And here is the trump card. American aviation helped build Hitler's blitzkrieg air machine. From the day Hitler came to power until very recently, American aviation sold Hitler planes, parts and accessories, motors, etc. Pratt & Whitney has supplied the Bavarian Motor Works for many years with its motors, its latest patents and designs. Hitler planes drone all over Europe powered with American designed motors. Many American doughboys are going to be killed by airplanes designed by American aviation officials. Rumor has it that Hitler once declared that he would not ride in any plane unless it was powered by an American made engine.

This is the record of American aviation bosses who now call American workers Nazis, fifth columnists, saboteurs and the like whenever the workers ask for a tiny increase in their wages.

(Continued in next issue)

Mediation--

(Continued from page 1)

pects of these boards. The recent strikes were forced on the leaders of the unions by the workers. In order to remain in office and not lose prestige with the workers, the top bureaucrats had to go along with the workers, for they had no "excuse" to do otherwise.

Wyzanski is one of Felix Frankfurter's bright young boys from Harvard who helped draft the Wagner Act. Shortly after the Wagner Act became law, he left the services of the government to work for various corporations and teach them how to get around the National Labor Relations Board.

Among his many jobs, he helped break the AFL paper and sulphite local on the North Shore in Massachusetts and at the present time is trying desperately to ruin the newly established CIO Box Workers Union in Lynn. The local is negotiating with the Hoague-Sprague Box Co., a subsidiary of the United Shoe Machinery Co., and Wyzanski is the attorney and chief negotiator for the company. So far he has pulled every trick in the bag, but without success. The United Shoe Machinery Co. is also being organized by the UER & MWA (CIO) and Wyzanski will represent this monopoly giant in its efforts to keep the union out.

A Thrilling Drama of the War and Labor

—by Paul Temple

Mr. Boss was ambling along one day when Frankie, his messenger boy, dashed by yelling: "Stop thief! Murder! Robbery! Sabotage!"

"What's the matter, Frankie?" asked Mr. Boss. "Did somebody steal your fireside?"

"It's worse than that," said Frankie. "My friend John Bull is in trouble. You know us—Frankie and Johnny—we're like that." And he scratched his palm.

"Tsk, tsk," said Mr. Boss. "I know Johnny Bull has hardening of the arteries, but what's the matter now?"

"Arteries my eye," said Frankie. "The big bad wolf is trying to burn his house down and steal his chickens."

"That's terrible," said Mr. Boss. "It's true, John Bull is a rat, but he's got to be MY rat. I'll call my worker, roll up his sleeves and get to work right away."

So Mr. Boss put a case of Knudsen's guaranteed wolfbane on a wagon, hired a cheering squad and called Mr. Worker.

"Brother Worker," he said, "the big bad wolf is raving John Bull's chickens. We've got to sacrifice everything to help him. So you and I are going into partnership together. You can start work now."

"Why?" inquired Mr. Worker.

"Listen, Baby Snooks," said Mr. Boss, "if we let him get away with it, he'll be after MY chickens next."

"No, he won't," said Mr. Worker. "I'll get them first."

"Come on now, Snookie," cooed Mr. Boss, "you know YOUR chickens are in danger, too."

"I haven't got any chickens," said Mr. Worker.

"That's just the point," said Mr. Boss. "It's the chickens you haven't got that are in danger. As soon as we get through with this job you'll see so many chickens around you'll be laying an egg yourself."

"There's something screwy about that line, but I don't know what," said Mr. Worker. "I think I go home."

"OK," said Mr. Boss, turning to the cheer leader. "Turn it on, boys."

The cheering squad yelled:

"Jefferson, Thomas—Washington, George, Jackson, Lincoln, Valley Forge, Gettysburg, Grant and General Lee, Red, White and Blue—DEMOCRACY!"

"I'm convinced," said Mr. Worker. "Let's go."

"Fine," chortled Mr. Boss. "All you have to do is get into those shafts and pull the wagon, partner. I'll be working up on the driver's seat."

So off they went; and Mr. Boss amid great rejoicing donated the case of wolfbane to John Bull, in exchange for all of Johnny's loose change and a mortgage on his barnyard.

When they got back, Mr. Worker said: "OK, partner, I'll take my cut now."

"Cut? Cut?" said Mr. Boss. "Oh, yes. As a matter of fact, I've already got the knife out for you..."

And suiting action to words, he made a deep slash in Mr. Worker's pocket.

"You have just created a rift," said Mr. Worker. "I'm going on strike."

"You can't do that," said Mr. Boss with another chorle. "Ask the cop."

Along came Frankie swinging a club in one hand and a fireside gas bomb in the other.

"I'm the cop," said Frankie. "You can't go on strike for two reasons: First, because Jefferson, Jackson, Washington and Lincoln never went on strike. Second, because I'll bash you head in if you do."

"I'm a law-abiding citizen," said Mr. Worker. "All I want is liberty, justice, and a half portion of equality."

"Very well," said Frankie, "we'll arbitrate this."

He put aside his club and put on a set of whiskers.

"I'm the arbitration board," he said. What seems to be the trouble?"

"Well," said Mr. Worker, "Mr. Boss and I went into partnership to help John Bull by sacrificing everything. But first he makes me do all his work, and then he keeps all the profits. It's not fair."

"Hm," said Frankie. "Here's my ruling: Whereas, albeit and ipso facto: You are defending the chickens you MIGHT get if John Bull wins, so Mr. Boss is sacrificing the profit he MIGHT get if he squeezes you a little harder. Might makes right. QED. Secondly: You make the product and he makes the profit. That's a fair division of labor. In addition you sound to me like a dirty red. Now get into those wagon shafts or I'll get my club."

"Hell," said Mr. Worker to himself, "there must be another club around somewhere."

Relative Values

—A SHORT, SHORT STORY

"Gimme about a dozen copies of LABOR ACTION," Lloyd said to me. "I'm off today and I want to take some papers and pamphlets to some of the fellows at the shop."

"How come you're not working?" I asked Lloyd. "Are you on a vacation?"

"Vacation—hell," Lloyd said with some heat. "I'll be docked for it."

I know the size of Lloyd's family and I also know what a calamity the loss of even a single day's pay is to him.

"You see," Lloyd continued, "the vice-president died and they're closing up the shop as a tribute to his memory."

Lloyd was silent for a minute, then he went on, "We'll sure miss the old corder. How will we know what time it is? You see, we ain't got a clock in the shop but when his chauffeur brought him down in the morning we knew it was 10:30 and when his chauffeur called for him in the afternoon we knew we had only 2½ hours to do. Yeah, we'll sure miss him."

Lloyd lapsed into silence again, then suddenly broke out in a mirthless chuckle. "What's the joke?" I asked.

"Well," said Lloyd, "it's like this. About a month ago one of our men tripped over a lever in the shop that releases a crane. Joe Stevens, a guy I've worked with for 12 years, was under the crane and it killed him dead as hell. It was a mess—he wasn't just mashed, he was splattered all over the place. A couple of men nearly puked up their lunch and quit for the day. Of course, they were docked for the time they lost. But here's the pay-off! This same vice-president came storming out in the shop to see what the commotion was all about. He ordered everybody back to his bench. He said the accident was unfortunate but the welfare of the country came first. Nothing can interfere with the defense program."

"So the undertaker came to pick up what he could of Joe. And nothing interfered with the defense program. Two days later a danger sign was put on the lever."

Lloyd was silent again. I had nothing to say either. Suddenly he jumped up straight and made ready to go. "Gimme them LABOR ACTIONS," he said. "While I'm selling them I'll figure out some way to find out what time it is."

A St. Louis Worker.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

"WE ARE GLAD WE ARE GETTING LABOR ACTION"

Dear Brother and Sisters:

We are laboring class of people. We know old boss has ter have our labor. Why not we demand a decent living in Southeast. We are now in a position to command it rite now. We are now in our labor group Home at . . . Mo. Are jest sitting here. But now I am fixen to get better and organize these sixty family that in this Home. Old boss said they is goin to freeze us out not goin to give us no work here to do. We are goin to stay here if we havter eat bread and water. Now we all like our Home fine and we are goin to make this a swell place at these group labor Home project in Southeast Mo. We are don left old boss farm and we are singing I know the boss is goin to miss me after while. Now we are very glad that we are getting these LABOR ACTION paper where we can publish our news to let our people see what laboring classes of people is doin and can do now.

Now brother and sister let us laboring class of people come together at once and not be fool no more. Now we all love the LABOR AC-

TION paper. They have good news in them to read.

(The above letter was signed by a group of sharecroppers. For obvious reasons we cannot print the names. Once again we appeal to our readers to send us contributions, however small, so that we can increase the distribution of LABOR ACTION among the sharecroppers and cotton hands of southeast Missouri.—The Editors.)

A CARPENTER ON GREEN'S REPLY TO NORRIS

To the Editor:

According to the press, William Green defended the principle of high initiation fees in the unions in a letter to Senator Norris. Inasmuch as the accusations were directed toward two organizations, the carpenters and laborers, Green could do little more toward improving these organizations than to state his personal views.

As a member of the Brotherhood of Carpenters for many years, I find it amusing to hear the cry raised about "this exorbitant initiation fee racket." The press has covered numerous pages with stories about how in Fort Dix, Fort Meade, Fort

Edwards, etc., chauffeurs, cobblers, cooks, ex-cops and newspaper reporters are making from \$60 to \$90 a week working as carpenters. There were undoubtedly a number of these and I do not want to defend them because they were hired while regular carpenters, union men for years, were unable to get jobs. Now that the jobs are finished, or near being finished, comes Senator Norris with his defense of the cobblers and cooks, who, whatever their intention, were, under the circumstances, taking jobs away from regular members of the trade and of the union.

In the carpenters union, we have worked for many years against the high initiation fees and assessments. These high fees keep many carpenters out of the unions and force them into becoming competitors with the union on the labor market. Furthermore, under the present set-up in the organization, the high fees go toward building a huge treasury which in turn gives considerable power to the union bureaucrats.

Many of these "cooks" were put to work by union officials because, as newcomers, they would have to pay initiation fees and because they were able to bargain financially with those in charge of the given job. A great number failed on the job because they didn't know the trade. A number of others hesitated to risk the initiation payment because they lacked experience. In any case, many carpenters were thus prevented from getting jobs. But when these people and men like Senator Norris attack the initiation fees, they are merely protecting their own particular kind of interest; they are not protecting the union which is hurt by the Hutcheson leadership.

New York City with its 32 carpenter locals has a little history of its own on this matter. During the last ten or twelve years the questions of fees, leadership, dues, salaries and racketeering were several times raised. The outcome was that at least two local unions had their charters revoked by Hutcheson, another is in bad standing with him and hundreds of the best union members dare not show their faces around the bigger jobs. Yet no senator came to their assistance; quite the contrary.

Hutcheson is in complete control of the New York Carpenters District Council, and Hutcheson has all the cards stacked in his favor. The council got along nicely with the administration of former Mayor Walker, hasn't had any difficulties with Governor Lehman and is pulling nicely with La Guardia. Most of the officials have held their jobs for 10 or 15 years. Should a local oust an official, Hutcheson would immediately undertake an investigation, and the salary of the deposed official would have to continue.

It was during the years of 1938-39 that the U. S. assistant attorney-general, Thurman Arnold, claimed to, have caught up with Hutcheson. The latter, however, won his case and Arnold appealed for further redress. Hutcheson in turn levied an assessment of 50 cents per month for six months on all of his 300,000 members and we paid it regardless of our protests. Now we say, "Thank you Mr. Arnold. You went after Hutcheson, and he got us!"

Then, our 24th general convention was coming up. Notices to send delegates were sent out to all locals by the general office. Though the written rules provide that the membership must be notified, the local officials ignored the rules and at poorly attended meetings succeeded in electing these delegates—plus \$500 to \$1,000 per delegate for expenses.

Protests against this procedure and charges were drafted and sent to Hutcheson, who in turn dismissed them with the result that all those who had their name signed to this appeal are now on charges as follows: "For causing to be put in type-written form certain statements which are false and misleading, and which tend to impugn a character as a member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, etc."

Hutcheson's cabinet was re-elected and for the first time in the history of the carpenters, invitations were sent out to local unions to send delegates to the installation and inauguration of the general officers. Half an hour after this invitation was read off it was complied with in the same manner—plus expenses.

As a result of this situation, which is obviously very bad, there has arisen a feeling among the membership for the government to step in and take over. This, in my opinion, would be dangerously wrong. Far from helping the situation, it would worsen it. I am not merely referring to the fact that the boss politicians have played ball with the union officials, even getting them well-paying jobs, and that a bunch of city, state or federal politicians would be, if anything, worse—they might even appoint back the same leadership with increased powers. I am referring to the dangers involved in government interference in union management. The government, quite obviously, would not be interested in building a militant union. In fact it would want to do the exact opposite—impose all kinds of restrictions, and, above all, use this as a precedent to interfere in all unions. What is the solution? I am waiting for an answer.

Fraternally,
Bill Carpenter.

(Unfortunately the solution is not an easy one, nor one that can be accomplished quickly. You are absolutely correct that government interference would not help, but instead would damage the union. When the government goes after a union racketeer—somebody like Scalsie or Bambrick—it is not in order to rid the union of a corrupt official, but rather in order to discredit the very idea of independent union action. The government has no objection to a union, provided it can control its activities, keep it from being militant. This is especially so in the present situation where all the energies of the government are bent toward preparing for war. The government in control of a union would seek to cripple the strike arm of the union, and otherwise prevent it from acting in the interests of the members where these interests conflict with war production and war profits.

Hutcheson's record in the union movement is pretty lousy. He has fought most of the progressive trends in the labor movement. He has been the agent of boss politics. It is high time that the carpenters get rid of all the old conservative and reactionary officials from Hutcheson down. That, however, is a job that has to be accomplished inside the union itself, with such help as can be gotten from other unions. It is a painstaking job, one that may take a long time. But it has to be done. That means the organization of all the progressive elements in the union, however long it might take, to replace this present leadership with a leadership that speaks the mind and acts in the interests of the membership—and does so in terms of modern, militant unionism. There have been other unions with bad and corrupt leaders who, in the course of time were cleaned out. But the cleaning had to be done by labor itself. Only labor can clean its own house.—The Editors.)

WHAT'S THE USE OF BUCKPASSING SURVEYS?

Editor:

After a two day strike, linemen and trouble-shooters employed by the municipal light plant of Columbus returned to work on the promise of the city council to adjust wages. A survey is to be conducted at great expense to find who, if any, of the city employees are to get raises. The money to be wasted on the survey could be much better spent in giving out wage increases.

Building department employees, who also went out on strike, went back to work after being out four hours, on the promise of the survey of city wage scales.

The usual "sabotage of national defense" ran through the smelly boss press. It was subtly pointed out that the municipal light plant was supplying power to several plants having "important national defense contracts."

Shortly after the linemen, members of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, went back to work, the Engineers Union and Firemen and Oilers Union, both AFL, announced they had voted in favor of going on strike. However, they would not be called out, their business agent said, so long as the city goes ahead with its survey.

This looks like a 'bad move on the part of the unions. They have gone back to work when they actually had the bosses frightened for fear of losing valuable contracts. Men, you are only delaying the day of reckoning and making the fight harder for yourselves. Stick together and present a united front to the bosses.

Don't go back till you get your wage increases. Buckpassing surveys won't put any hardcash in your pay envelopes.

Richard Swift.

Columbus, Ohio.

WHEN IS AN AMERICAN NOT AN AMERICAN?

Dear Editor:

When is an American not an American? "Why," answers the government, "when he is an American Indian."

That, in effect, is what the alien registration act of 1940 said to the American Indians. Not only is the Indian treated as an inferior being by the farmers throughout the country and not granted equal opportunities for work in any of the large plants, but now of all things he is accused of being an alien. The Indian is treated in this manner because whenever he is offered work condescendingly, he resents it. If he is treated at any time by his employer as an inferior being he immediately senses it and is militant in his reaction.

To add insult to injury, now the government, after having forced the Indian to register under the alien act, is trying to include them in the selective service act, which is not receiving a good reception by them.

In talking with members of the Crow Reservation in the Dakotas, the Cherokees in Oklahoma, the Papagos in Arizona and the Onondagas in New York, their talk has been the same. "We are not slaves," they say, "we are workers. When land was taken from us we were allowed to keep only the forest-land which with our numbers forces us to a very low standard of life. When we attempt to mingle we are treated as inferior beings and only hired if a labor shortage exists. Then the attempt is made to force us to take a lower standard of wages. When, if ever, relief is granted we get the very lowest in whichever section we happen to be. Fight together with all men regardless of race or color for equality of all we will surely do. Why have we not heard more about this before?"

Jimmie Little.

WP Proposes United May Day Action to SWP—No Reply Yet

On March 31, the following letter was sent by the Workers Party to the Socialist Workers Party. To date no answer has been received. The Workers Party branches are therefore going ahead with their own May Day arrangements, though these are subject to a last minute change should the Socialist Workers Party decide to accept the proposal. Announcements of time and place of our May Day meetings will appear in next week's LABOR ACTION. New York is trying to get permission from the Park Department to use Madison Square Park.

Political Committee, Socialist Workers Party,
116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Dear Comrades:

The Political Committee of the Workers Party has considered the organization of May Day meetings and demonstrations and the possibilities for the organization of a united front for May Day with the Socialist Workers Party around the appropriate slogans.

In our view it is desirable that such organizations as the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party join in common May Day gatherings. Our Political Committee therefore proposes to the Socialist Workers Party consideration of united front May Day gatherings, and suggests the following slogans as the basis for joint meetings and actions:

1. Maximum 30 hours week—minimum \$30 a week, or, Rising Scale of wages.
2. Defend the democratic rights of the workers.
3. Let the people vote on war. Down with the war and the warmongers.
4. Nationalize the war industries under workers' control.
5. A capital levy for all federal war appropriations.

The foregoing offer is, in our opinion, a minimum basis for joint efforts on May Day. We are, of course, prepared to discuss any revisions in these slogans you may propose. Would you advise us as to your views at the earliest opportunity?

Fraternally yours,

March 31, 1941.

Sharecropper Now Day-Hand What Is the Cotton Day-Hand to Do?

By A ST. LOUIS WORKER
(Continued from last issue)

The leaders of the January, 1939, roadside demonstration were Owen Whitfield, a Negro, and William Fisher, a white day-hand. Their first move was to appeal to the Southern Tenant Farmers Union for assistance in feeding the people who were camped in make-shift shelters along the southern Missouri highways. They were turned down by the STFU because, said the top leadership of that organization, "we were not consulted prior to the demonstration."

Whitfield, hunting help where he could find it, appealed to the CIO council of St. Louis, where he was promised immediate aid, with the proviso that his organization in Missouri join the UCAFAWA, affiliated with the CIO. Thus it happened that the Missouri cotton-field workers separated from the STFU and became part of the CIO.

After several weeks camping along the highways, the state police took a hand in the affair and drove the demonstrators away, some to churches, some to empty buildings, some to the hovels they had left. But the action had attracted nation-wide attention and as a result of their courage the cotton-field workers won some tangible gains. They scared some landowners into dividing the government payments with their sharecroppers in 1939 and 1940. The Department of Agriculture claims that \$25,000,000 in each of these years

went to sharecroppers that they would not have gotten without the demonstration. Also, the threat of a repetition of the demonstration in January, 1940, caused the construction of 500 houses which are available to cotton-field workers and which are certainly a big improvement over any of the hovels that these workers occupied.

But the demonstration also taught a great many landowners this lesson: "The law provides that we must divide our benefit payments with the sharecroppers. So, if we have no sharecroppers, we have no one to divide with." And from then on the eviction notices increased. While landowners were supposed to continue operation of their plantations as they had in the past, they found all sorts of subterfuges to change their method of cotton production. Phoney sales of land, falsifying of records and other means were used to enable landowners to change from making a crop with sharecroppers to making it with day labor. In some counties no subterfuges were needed, as the county committees, which decide whether or not a landowner had complied with the law, were composed of landowners who were completely in sympathy with the subterfuges employed. In fact, they practiced them themselves.

The result is that in some counties there is hardly a sharecropper left. Pemiscot County, Mo., is the best example that I know of. The result is a standard of living among cotton day-hands much like that of the Chinese coolie.

(To be continued)

An Article By Trotsky

will be featured in the next issue of The New International, which is now in preparation. Hitherto unpublished in English, the article is on Bureaucratism and Anti-Semitism.

Other material in the issue will include:

A second article by CDE on the Army.

Articles by Albert Gates and Dwight Macdonald on German Fascism.

Joseph Carter on the Communist Party War Position.

Paul Temple on Sidney Hook. Joseph Arnold on Mexico.

Book reviews, editorials, etc.

When a Rich Man's Son Gets Pushed Around

Special to Labor Action

LOS ANGELES, Mar. 31—Workers can get beaten and murdered year in and year out—and nobody gives a damn. But let a rich man's son get pushed around, and things begin to pop!

Carter Barber and Donald Allan, Stanford students, went down to San Francisco's Skid Row as a sociological experiment. While they were slumming, they were picked up on vague charges and slugged brutally by Policemen Greene and Desmond.

Stanford University houses some of the most reactionary professors of political apology in the country; they have been party to the vilest anti-labor activities, but the University got an acute attack of social consciousness when this occurred. Greene and Desmond were brought to a speedy trial. Accusations from other victims who had been afraid to speak out before began to pour in.

Typical example was the case of Sam Long, 15-year-old high school student. For snitching a ride on a street-car he was viciously beaten by Patrolman John Liston, who knocked two of his teeth out. Another suit was brought by a man who had been slugged and kicked because of a TRAFFIC VIOLATION!

The entire police department is playing deaf and dumb, and the police commission is trying to sidestep the issue. Prize of the week went to Commissioner Walkup who said to Barber and Allan: "I think that some of the cops are lying; honest I think that. But I also know that you fellows are lying" (Barber has a broken nose.) Then he topped himself by asking the two students to remember Patrolman Greene and his three children in their prayers!

This phoney sentimentality won't fool anyone, but the San Francisco workers shouldn't be fooled by anything that is done in the specific cases in question. Greene and Desmond may be fined or even fired, but the fundamental policy of the San Francisco Police Department won't be changed one iota. There will still be plenty of blackjacks, tear gas and kicks in the groin for pickets or for unemployed workers who get hauled in on cooked-up charges.

Contract--

(Continued from page 1)

of law it thinks adequate, demand and secure its passage, and then enforce it, put teeth in it, by a demonstration of its force.

ORGANIZED LABOR MUST TAKE ITS STAND THAT NO PLANT IS TO BE GIVEN A GOVERNMENT WAR MATERIALS CONTRACT UNLESS IT HAS SIGNED A CONTRACT WITH THE UNION ON THE UNION'S STANDARDS.

Must take this stand aggressively and unitedly.

Congress is now in session. It is occupied with preparing a war labor does not want, that labor has not been asked to approve.

It is also occupied in trying—at the behest of the bosses—to figure out ways and means of crippling the organized labor movement. A basket full of anti-labor bills is before it; bills designed to free big business of any restrictions on its profit-making.

But if we act, and act in a fighting spirit, we can force Congress to pull in its reactionary horns—as it has in part begun to do. We can force Congress to ditch the anti-labor bills. We can force Congress to occupy itself with OUR needs. We can force it to legislate our demand:

NO GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WITHOUT A UNION CONTRACT!

Shachtman Tour Audiences Praise the Party's Program Against War and Fascism

SYRACUSE—Speaking before a very enthusiastic audience of Syracuse workers, Max Shachtman presented a program on how to crush Hitlerism. Several members of the audience, among them good militant unionists, expressed themselves after the meeting as definitely interested in the work of the Workers Party and asked to be informed of future meetings and activities. LABOR ACTION and The New Internationalist were sold to virtually all present.

ROCHESTER—Although circumstances made it impossible to announce the Shachtman meeting in this city by leaflet and public advertisement, the meeting held at the Labor Lyceum was eminently successful. Close to 20 people were brought to the meeting by word-of-mouth advertising. At the end of the meeting Shachtman met with several of the audience, who expressed themselves as more than satisfied with the WP program on the strike wave in the U.S. and on the war. The branch expects one or two new members as a result of the meeting.

BUFFALO—A small but extremely attentive audience heard Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers' Party, speak here last Friday on the subject of Strikes and the War: Hitlerism at Home and Abroad. After reviewing the strike situation throughout the country and explaining why workers are "absolutely justified" in going out on strike at this time, Shachtman proceeded to outline the program of the Workers Party for smashing fascism. The expressed aims of Lord Halifax and President Roosevelt, that is, "defense of Christian civilization" and "defense of our way of life," were assailed by Shachtman as vague and deceptive. He contrasted them with the fighting program of the Workers Party, which, he said, "has at least the merit of being simple and clearcut. And we feel that if you think about it you will be convinced that it is the correct program for the working class of this country."

The audience was very impressed with Shachtman's presentation of the question and several individuals made arrangements to meet later with local party comrades to discuss some of the issues at greater length.

AKRON—Speaking before an audience which stayed until after twelve o'clock to discuss various points raised in his talk, Max Shachtman addressed a very successful meeting in this city.

The subject of his talk was "A Program to Fight Fascism."

The 30 contacts made were universally enthusiastic about the talk, several individuals praising the practicality of the proposed program to fight fascism. Others were especially pleased, in addition, with the dispatch, with which the meeting was run off.

Ten dollars was raised for the relief of militant working class refugees. Over five dollars' worth of literature was sold at the meeting.

Following the formal meeting, refreshments were served and the audience had a chance to meet the speaker and to mingle socially.

The success of the meeting augurs well for a larger meeting upon the return trip of Comrade Shachtman.

With the Shachtman tour getting off to a good start in up-state and Ohio, other branches are completing preparations for the meetings in their cities. Los Angeles, for example, has planned an extensive week of activities around the Shachtman meetings. In addition to a series of internal party meetings which Shachtman will address, and specially organized conferences with the branch and party members on their work, Shachtman will speak at a public meeting on Tuesday, May 13, and at another meeting before a Negro audience on May 16. On the following Sunday, a meeting has been arranged in San Pedro.

Schedule of Shachtman National Tour

Chicago	Thursday to Tuesday, April 17-22
Madison	Wednesday, April 23
Minneapolis	Thursday-Friday, April 24-25
Butte	Tuesday, April 29
Seattle	Friday, May 2
Portland	Saturday, May 3
San Francisco	Tuesday-Wednesday, May 6-7
Oakland	Thursday-Friday, May 8-9
Los Angeles	Sunday to Saturday, May 11-17
Houston	Friday, May 23
Kansas City	Tuesday, May 27
St. Louis	Thursday to Sunday, May 29 to June 1
Streator	Monday, June 2
Chicago	Tuesday-Wednesday, June 3-4
Louisville	Friday, June 6
Cincinnati	Saturday, June 7
Columbus	Sunday, June 8
Akron	Monday, June 9
Youngstown	Tuesday, June 10
Pittsburgh	Wednesday-Thursday, June 11-12
Washington	Friday, June 13
Baltimore	Saturday, June 14
Philadelphia	Sunday, June 15
Reading	Manday, June 16
Mt. Carmel	Tuesday, June 17
Newark	Wednesday, June 18
Massachusetts (Boston, Lynn, Worcester, Fitchburg)	Friday to Monday, June 20-23

Los Angeles Labor Action Institute Announces

The fifth in our series of classes. Your continued and increased attendance spurs us to offer a series of classes which will culminate the whole course of education we featured at the Institute this winter.

These classes will deal with the problems of building the revolutionary movement in the various epochs of capitalism. They will serve as an excellent history of the working class movement. Our instructors will be Seldon, Norman, Bartell and Wilson.

They will be held as usual on Tuesday nights at 8 p.m. at 320½ West Second Street, Los Angeles.

Here is the outline and schedule of these classes:

1. The Paris Commune and the First International under Marx and Engels. April 22.
2. The Rise of the Second International and its collapse in the World War. April 29.
3. Bolshevism and Stalinism—The Third International of Lenin and Trotsky. May 6.
4. Bolshevism and Stalinism—The Communist International in the grip of Stalin. Its rôle in Germany and China. May 18. (On Tuesday, May 13, we are not holding a class so that those interested can hear Max Shachtman lecture at Embassy Hall.)
5. Building the Fourth International for world revolution. May 25.

Don't miss this opportunity to learn about history and history-makers. We're confident you'll benefit immensely from these studies.

Jack Wilson, Chairman,
Labor Action Institute.

Akron--

(Continued from page 1)

AFL and the CIO to work together through common consultation. The immediate cause of the moves was the sentencing of Harry D. Jones, vice president of the AFL Trades and Labor Assembly and seventh vice president of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, to jail on a charge of having had bombed a CIO construction job.

In general, labor in Akron is flexing its muscles again. No one should be surprised to see a repetition of the pioneering and stirring days of 1936.

Editorials

OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

1. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war. All war funds to the unemployed.
2. For a rising scale of wages to meet increasing cost of living. Thirty-Thirty—\$30 weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers.
3. Expropriate the Sixty Families. For Government ownership and workers control of all war industries—aviation, steel, chemicals, railroads, public utilities, etc.
4. Against both imperialist war camps. For the Third Camp of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples.
5. Let the people vote on war. For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18.
6. Abolish secret diplomacy. Open the files of the State Department.
7. Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America.
8. Against compulsory military training and conscription.
9. For the defense of civil liberties and workers' rights. Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day Plans and war-time dictatorship.
10. For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and trade unions.
11. For an independent Labor Party.
12. For Workers' Defense Guards against Fascist and vigilante attacks.
13. No confidence in the Roosevelt government. For a workers' government and a people's army.
14. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, and for the World Socialist Federation.

What's the Line?

It must be plenty tough to be a Communist Party bureaucrat. With the line subject to change without notice, the Communist Party "policy-makers" have to work overtime at keeping their left hand from knowing what their right hand is doing.

When Stalin quit the "democratic" imperialists for a pact with the fascist imperialists, all his little hirelings dropped yesterday's gospel to preach a new one. Under the terms of the new friendship, the Stalinist flunkies soft-pedaled Hitler's crimes against the working class and concentrated, for the time being, on the crimes of the "democratic" nations.

Lately, however, there has been evidence that Stalin is more than a little troubled by Hitler's southeastward sweep. His pact of "friendship" with Hitler is still in force, but should Hitler sweep a little too far south or east, Stalin may find it expedient to switch allies. Anticipating the possibility, the local GPU-Stalinist staff has taken precautions against being caught by a change in line with all the embarrassment of explanation and rationalization it would entail. Thus, while still touting the Stalin-Hitler line, they have cautiously begun to drop a few "proofs" of their anti-Hitlerism. Should the line change, they can then fall back on the "evidence"—and proclaim to all those who are foolish enough to listen: "As we have said all along, our line," etc., etc.

Such a drop of "evidence" was issued last week in a widely distributed leaflet wherein the Stalinists suddenly became aware of Ernst Thaelman's persecution at Nazi hands. Thaelman was the leader of the Communist Party when it stood in the way of a real struggle against the onrushing hordes of Hitler. When Hitler took over, Thaelman, along with others, was arrested and in the famous Reichstag trial sentenced to jail. For a long time the Communist Parties carried on quite an agitation for his release. It subsided with the Hitler-Stalin pact. But now, preparing for eventualities, they cry has once more been raised for his release—at least in one leaflet.

"Our line's been changed again," says the song about the Stalinist policy. But the flunkies in the United States will be the last ones to know. They'll probably have to read about it in the papers. In the meantime, an ounce of prevention is worth . . . exactly nothing!

A Commentary

Back in 1929 a strike in the Gastonia textile mills electrified the country. The strike, a long and exhausting one, was caused by working conditions so foul that disease was rampant in the country.

That conditions in the 104 textile mills in Gastonia County have not improved very much is indicated by the report made to the Civitan Club, March 27, by Dr. C. H. Pugh, local medical examiner for the draft board. Dr. Pugh finds a situation in which "fully 50 per cent of the boys have been rejected on account of one physical defect or another . . . an alarming commentary on our life." Alarming indeed! And certainly a commentary!

"One has to have only six good teeth to pass the requirements," said Dr. Pugh—but many men do not have that minimum. Other causes of rejection are underweight, overweight, asthma, high blood pressure, defective vision, hernia, pellagra, heart trouble, diabetes, chronic bronchitis."

You can't expect much interest among these people for fighting for a "way of life" that has brought them disease and vicious exploitation. But you will find an increasing sentiment among them to join the Textile Workers Union, CIO. As one worker told a union representative: "No, it would not surprise me to see these people get up enough courage to join the union—and it won't be the AFL either—they got enough of that back some years ago. Don't use my name, but look around and make your own investigation and you'll find that what I'm telling you is gospel truth."

It is unlikely that the transport workers will yet tell La Guardia to go chase a fire engine. But we must help them in that. And the first thing we can do is to join with them in blocking the anti-labor Wicks Transit Bill.

Pleasant for Whom?

"The fact that in Britain itself—where strikes without prior attempt to mediate are outlawed—several thousand workmen and apprentices are out on strike does not make the American strikes any more pleasant."—William H. Stoneman in special cable to the New York Post, from London.

"Defense" Migrants Work Under Frightful Conditions

By FRED MORRIS

Witnesses testifying before the House Committee Investigating Destitute Migrants unanimously agreed that conditions at "defense" centers throughout the country were to be characterized by terms no weaker than "frightful," "unsanitary," "immoral" and "inadequate." Jonathan Daniels, South Carolina newspaper editor, attributed the fact that no epidemics had as yet developed to luck, and nothing else but pure luck. Said he: "Thousands of men—and women and children too—were pulled into little towns, some of them without any sewage facilities, most of them without adequate housing, health and feeding facilities, not to speak of school and recreational opportunities." Yet the newcomers to these towns are people of "strength and ingenuity," well aware of the economic insecurity which menaces them and not at all spendthrift of the high wages which they are supposedly getting, as some papers have attempted to picture them.

For these people plunged in economic insecurity in the midst of boom jobs and boom wages, preparations must be made for "the day when it will be necessary to send agents into some of these communities" as was done in starving European countries in the World War.

Thus speaks Samuel Grafton, a first-class warmonger. And the first witness compared the rotten living conditions of the American worker to those of the very worst in other countries. No decent facilities are available to the workers who go into the humming rural areas where the new construction is going on. The "defense" campaign hasn't indicated the slightest concern for the defense of the health of these workers, their wives and their children.

"Hoover Villages"

In one military section alone there were 58 recent women arrivals who were expecting babies within three months. For them, there was no proper place. Under the circumstances, a California health officer could boast that "No woman has had her baby in the street yet, but a good many births take place under very undesirable conditions."

What else can be expected when the only jobs available, and then only to a limited number, are in places where the families must live in "houses which are anything from gunnysacks to tin can shelters." After eight years of the New Deal all that the workers can get are models of the "Hoover Villages" of the first depression years—models not at all improved upon.

Another writer corroborated this

in testifying that workers "lived in everything from chicken coops to garages and trailers." Meanwhile the wives of the men live in terror of the approaching spring thaw because of the lack of sewage systems.

The greatest war concentration points are in those sections of the South where health provisions are the poorest—and where cheap, unorganized labor is available in quantity. No requirements are imposed upon contractors to provide decent housing and health accommodations in these areas. That would be interfering with "free enterprise." The Hoosier Hitler, Paul V. McNutt, federal security commissioner through appointment by Roosevelt, naively asks what we are fighting for when conditions within the country are so bad. He utters a profound truth when he says that "external defense is no good" under such circumstances but the significance of his remark is not apparent to him. He is, however, aware that the plight of the workers in general is little better than that of the migrants. Of course he offers no solution—merely a stop-gap relief.

The war boom is supposed to be working wonders so far as unemployment and bad living conditions are concerned. Nevertheless McNutt makes it clear that migrants will need greater relief because of the war program. He is worried that civilian morale will be at a very low ebb with "this large number of families with insufficient resources to meet even their subsistence needs." Discontent back home must not be allowed to interfere with the slaughter campaign on the battlefield. Hence McNutt's concern with the welfare of the workers and with civilian morale—although he has not been above ordering troops against workers on strike.

Same for Cities

So much for conditions in the new, usually rural war centers. How about things elsewhere? Shall we take as our example that great and glorious city, the capital of the world's richest nation? C. F. Palmer, defense housing coordinator, pointed out the windows of the committee hearing room, saying: "I can go two blocks over there and find one of the worst slums in the world—and I have seen the slums of Moscow, London, Paris and Naples."

In many cases, parents with two to five children live in one basement room, for which they must pay \$30 to \$40 a month. Beds temporarily vacated by their regular occupants are rented, so acute is the housing situation. Schooling for children is practically non-existent for the newcomers, not only in the rural sections but also in Washington. Increasing numbers of measles cases are being reported, tuberculosis is "an ever-present problem" especially among Negroes, hospital admission applications are on the rise and applicants at venereal clinics have had to be turned away because of lack of facilities. For guns, planes, tanks and ships here will soon be "no lack of facilities." Plenty of funds to provide these facilities are being handed out.

An interesting comment by another witness dealt with the talk of the great opportunities now open to labor, of the new frontier for jobs and careers and homes. But, said this reporter, it is a "phony frontier," involving several months to several years of work for different men. And when the war boom collapses, what then? What will these workers do, in strange towns with hostile populations, with employers who have hired them now because they feel that migrant workers are preferable to home town workers since they are harder to organize into unions and might go back home when the boom was over? And if they did not go back home, these generous employers would no doubt show them how much better it would be for them if they'd leave town. Vigilante groups have been organized in the past—these bosses know the tactic well.

No, for the migratory workers, industrial and agricultural, there is but one solution, just as there is but one answer for the non-migratory workers. Real prosperity, the guarantee of a decent life in a genuinely democratic society, is not to be found in preparations for war with its bloodshed, destruction and deprivation of the workers' elementary rights. Only a socialist society can bring the peace and freedom and well-being so earnestly desired. For us there can be no support to this mirage, this false illusion of better times to come when we can see that, despite enormously increased production, millions remain unemployed, the workers live in "frightful" conditions and the great corporations rake in greatly increased profits—while the world is being made safe for . . . imperialist plutocracy.

READ, SUBSCRIBE TO NEW INTERNATIONAL

THE NEGRO'S FIGHT

Merguson Has An Obligation To the Negroes

By J. R. JOHNSON

Walter Merguson is a Negro foreign correspondent for the Pittsburgh Courier. He and George Schuyler, the Courier columnist, are two of the best journalists in the profession. Merguson some months ago beat the big capitalist press in a news scoop from Paris. He is the only correspondent in Europe whose account of the Battle of France makes sense to me.

What really happened during those seven days or so when the French line was falling steadily back to Paris? Both Hitler and the French general staff have published figures of a few thousand dead on both sides. Most people seem to have accepted it. I don't. I believe there is a deliberate conspiracy to prevent the mountains of dead from being known for fear of the terrible revulsion against the war which the revelation would cause.

Merguson says that the French retreat was covered by three-quarters of a million black soldiers. He says they were not all killed in the fighting, but that they were captured, disarmed and then shot down like animals. His figures are probably exaggerated but I believe he has more of the truth than I have seen anywhere else.

The importance of Merguson was that he was sent to France especially to report on Negroes and in so doing he has been able to throw illumination on many aspects of the imperialist struggle which have escaped the other commentators.

MERGUSON FINALLY SEES THE TRUTH

Now Merguson, ever since the war began, has been a fanatical admirer of French civilization. Week after week he sent factual, vivid descriptions of the life of the African troops in France. He praised their quarters, their food, the absence of race prejudice, the freedom with which they mingled with the French population. He approved entirely of these hundreds of thousands of Negroes being fattened to die for French democracy. When some Negroes in Great Britain denounced the French imperialists, Merguson attacked them. No use to point out to Merguson the merciless exploitation of millions of French colonials. No, the French in France treated Negroes well. It was therefore good to die for French democracy.

Then came the French collapse. Overnight the French capitalists found that fascism was better than democracy. Merguson's eyes have been opened and he starts to howl. Listen to him in the Courier of April 5:

"I am convinced that I, like so many of my countrymen, have been duped, have been led into a fool's paradise.

"I am witnessing on the scene the passing of a France that was, if nothing more, unfaithful to the trust that we had placed in her and unmindful of her obligations to her subjugated black colonials."

Well, well. So Mr. Merguson has learned something. We have nothing to lose from the downfall of France except our yoke. She was as ruthless, cunning and diabolical as any other imperialist power."

BUT HE NOW HAS A CHANCE

Fine words, Mr. Merguson, but what of all these years that you were encouraging the blacks to fight for French democracy? What are you going to do to atone for the mischief you helped to cause? Yes, you, Mr. Merguson, helped. You did not know any better? OK. Anyone can make a mistake. But you were more intelligent than most. You had knowledge and opportunities of information. But you made a mistake. Top bad. But you have a chance now to show that you are an honest man and not an opportunist faker.

French imperialism cheated the Negroes, did it? British imperialism, German imperialism, all you see are no good! What about American imperialism? This is your chance, Merguson. Tell the American Negroes how French imperialism deceived you and warn them against American imperialism. When you do that, when you tell them to fight against the enemy at home, then we will believe you. But you are no ordinary worker who has not had a chance. You had every chance and we want more from you than simple repentance.

With the Party

The Harlem branch is going well at last and is not only working hard, but what is better, is making headway. It has been in the thick of the bus fight, has picketed night after night and at the big meeting of 5,000 Negroes in the Golden Gate ball room, Rev. Powell introduced Reva Craine to the audience as a member of the Workers Party, "the only white organization which was on the picket line with us." Not altogether correct. Ours is not a white organization. We have Negro workers who were picketing, and three Negroes have joined the Party and YPSL during the last two weeks. We are in the fight to the finish and will be looking for another fight before this one is ended.

Watch for the new Negro bulletin during the first days of May. Articles by Pelham on Party Education, by Johnson on the Imperialist Stake in Africa, by Lynn on the Negro in the War Industries, and material dealing with the work of the party among Negroes. More information next week. But prepare.

LABOR ACTION
Official Organ of the Workers Party
 Published weekly by the
 Labor Action Publishing Company
 Vol. 5, No. 16 APRIL 21, 1941
 114 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.
 (3rd Floor)
 Editor: JOSEPH CARTER
 Managing Editor: EMANUEL GARRETT
 Business Manager: JOHN BILLINGS
 Subscription Rate: \$1.50 per year,
 \$1.00 six months
 (\$2.00 per year or \$1.50 six months for
 Canada and Foreign)
 Re-entered as second class matter May 24, 1940,
 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the
 Act of March 3, 1879.

THE WORLD AT WAR

What Is the Meaning of the Japanese-Russian Pact?

By MAX STERLING

The pact with Russia that Tokyo has for a long time sought and which Berlin has pressed for since the beginning of the war, has now been signed by the Russian and Japanese foreign ministers. While the pact has definite anti-German implications (hence the considerable confusion in estimating the pact on the part of the English and American spokesmen), it is nevertheless executed and designed in the framework of the Axis diplomacy.

Mr. Cordell Hull notwithstanding, the success from the Japanese and German point of view cannot be underestimated. Whatever dangers are latent in the pact, so far as Germany is concerned, Hitler gains this much—and to him it is all-important: Japan is now free to engage American forces in a battle for control of the South Pacific and Asia.

Both in its terms and in the warmth shown the Japanese foreign minister by no less a person than Stalin himself, who went to the unprecedented trouble of seeing Matsuo off on the train, the pact is eminently satisfactory to Japan. It goes beyond a mere affirmation of neutrality. Russia, by the terms of the pact, recognizes the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo—a concession of no mean importance in view of the effect it will have on China's morale. There are no doubt other "understandings" not written into the pact which will be exposed in the course of time as inimical to China's interests.

How much injury the pact will do China's fight against Japan remains to be seen, but it will certainly have the effect of discrediting the Chinese Stalinists in the eyes of the Chinese masses and facilitate Chiang Kai-Shek's repressive moves against them. It may further the movement of dissociation from Moscow of those Chinese Stalinists who are above all concerned with the struggle against Japan.

In order to direct Hitler toward the West, Stalin made his deal with Hitler. Now, 21 months later, he is compelled to sign a pact with Japan because, with German troops on the borders of Russian Poland, the Ukraine and the vital Dardanelles, he is more than ever in the closing grip of Hitler.

Aside from the pressure that may have been applied by Berlin for the conclusion of the pact, Moscow at

any rate finds it necessary to safeguard her rear in Asia in order to concentrate all her attention on the fires that threaten to reach her frontiers in the West. Moscow hopes that by pledging neutrality to Japan the latter will advance the hour of her attack on the Dutch East Indies and Singapore. With Japan engaged in deadly conflict with Great Britain and the United States, Russia's eastern borders will be free from attack, while in the west Germany would first have to finish off her new antagonist, the United States, before she would risk an attack on Russia. Stalin's strategy is to avoid being drawn into the war at all costs. No matter how weakened his position is as a result of Hitler's successes, he risks all on the final exhaustion of the imperialist combatants.

To many, the pact with Japan may appear as an about-face after Russia's pacts with Turkey and Yugoslavia and her admonitions to the Bulgarian and Hungarian satellites of Hitler. However, this is not at all the case. Those moves were made in accordance with the Kremlin's hopes that the allies, aided by America, would make a real stand in the Balkans. After the Nazis' astonishing victories there and in Africa, Moscow has reverted to a pessimism so black that it will make her cringe as never before.

From now on, the Kremlin gang will hold on for dear life to their pact with Hitler, accepting whatever crumbs are thrown them. For the Nazis, the Soviet-Japanese pact achieves the aim of dividing whatever aid America was prepared to render Great Britain in Europe, Africa and the Near East. America must now divert a considerable force to the Far East in order to meet the threat of Japan. American imperialism has therefore received an important diplomatic defeat and her efforts to woo Russia have met with disappointment. Save in the event of a Hitler attack on Russian territory, Russia will remain wedded to Germany.

The fortunes of war favor the Nazis but it is too early to say what the final outcome will be. There are still the battles for the Mediterranean, the British Isles, the Atlantic and the war in the Far East. Whatever lies ahead, Germany feels more sure of Russia than ever before. And this despite the additional forces that the pact has freed for Moscow's stand in the West.

Dear Mary:

It has been a couple of weeks since I have had time to write you. Of course you must have guessed that with all the strikes, threatened strikes and new contracts coming up that I was very busy. I have been waiting word from you as to whether Joe's union has been planning for raises. But even where there is no special activity there is plenty of work for union guys as everyone is now signing up.

The most encouraging sign I have seen is the fact that even in places where strikes are threatened the men are signing up and paying back dues and getting themselves in good standing.

The papers haven't had much to say about the strike situation during the last few days, and I am sure it isn't because everything is settled. The miners are not yet back, U. S. Steel has not yet signed, although they are expected to every day. And Ford has recognized that there is a union—which is quite a gain. However, they haven't yet settled the question of a raise, grievance committees, etc.

You remember my friend Jessie—she just got a job in a steel plant, semi-skilled labor—30 cents per hour, \$12 per week. Some nerve.

Well with the cost of living going up and with the boss making increased profits in hundreds of per cent there is no reason why we shouldn't get raises. And it is plain that we are going to get them. There's fight enough in enough important places to show that we aren't fooling!

Give my best regards to Joe and my love to the children. And let me hear the news.

Sally.