#### Half of U.S. Workers Earn Less Than \$800 a Year

In 1939, the 38,322,420 workers in the United States had the shockingly low "median" income of \$800. The median income of 27,458,200 men workers was \$967, and of 10,846,220 women workers was \$540.

Those are some of the unpleasant facts in a report published last week by the Census Bureau. The bureau obtained the facts, for the first time in history, when its "enumerators" went from door to door in 1940 asking a question: "How much wage or salary income did you receive last year?

Median income simply means that half the workers got incomes above that amount and half got incomes below it. In other words, half of all American workers received less than \$800 a year in 1939.

Only 1 per cent received \$5,000 and over, only 0.5 per cent received from \$4,000 to \$5,000, only 1.9 per cent from \$3,000 to \$4,000 and only 2.1 per cent from \$2,500 to \$3,000. Adding these figures, only 5.5 per cent, or about 1 of each 20, had a wage or salary income over \$2,500.

Incomes from \$2,000 to \$2,500 were received by 5.4 per cent of the wage and salary earners. Adding this group to the 5.5 per cent over \$5,000, we find that only 11 per cent of the total are earning the \$2,000 minimum required to support a family on a decent standard

In the income groups from \$2,000 down to \$1,000 are 30 per cent of the wage and salary earners, and the remaining 59 per cent range from \$1,000 down to the unemployed who had no income whatever.

In other words, practically six of each ten wage and salary workers earned less than \$1,000 in 1939, which was more prosperous than most of the other years in the depression.

## If Odell Waller Dies on June 19...

-An Editorial

Perhaps it will be too late. Perhaps by the time you pick up this copy of LABOR ACTION and glance over it on your way home from work, or read through it carefully after supper, it may be too late. Parhaps by then the body of Odell Waller will be lifeless, burned to death in the electric chair.

If that is so, if this poor Negro sharecropper of Virginia is burned to death, as he is scheduled to, on midnight June 19, then you, a white worker who believes in decency and fair play and equality for all people, or you, a black worker who believes that his people too have the right to live as human beings-then you must know why Odell Waller died, and you must remember.

You must know and remember that Odell Waller was burned



by the state of Virginia because he was poor and because he was a Negro, a voteless citizen disfranchised by the poll tax and by Jim Crow. That he was convicted by a jury of white poll tax payers, ten of whom were of the same class of landlords as the landlord whom Waller shot in self defense during a quarrel over crop shares.

"What!" thought these ten worthy specimens of democracy (poll tax, lynchings, Jim Crow) "shall we set free this black man who dared to insist on his equal share of the crop he farmed? That would give people ideas."

And so the great commonwealth of Virginia denied Odell

Waller his constitutional right to trial by a jury of his peers when it sentenced him to death.

Remember, then, on whose hands the blood of Odell Waller rests. Remember the Democratic Party politicians of Virginia, the landlords, the Jim Crowers.

was supposed to have packed with "liberals." Some liberals!

Twice they refused even to grant Odell Waller a hearing in his claim that his trial was unconstitutional since he had been tried by a poll tax jury, one which was not made up of his peers.

But the august, majestic assembly of nine old men—the patrons of our "democracy," the dispensers of justice—turned its head the other way and did not listen to Odell Waller's voice. After all, the voice of a black man who spent his life as a sharecropper!

Remember them, too, these nine old men who twice refused to even listen to Odell Waller's case-when Odell Waller's lifestream

But perhaps it is not too late. Perhaps you are reading these lines before midnight of June 19. If so, add your voice to the thousands who have already written to governor of Virginia, Colgate W. Darden. Write him or wire him. Let him know that you want Odell Waller to live. Let him know that you want not merely Odell Waller, the individual, to live; but that you see in Odell Waller a symbol of the oppressed of this country, a personification of all those to whom democracy is denied.

# LABOR ACTION

JUNE 22, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

# SHOULD LABOR SUPPORT THE CRY FOR A SECOND FRONT?

OUR FRONT --- THE THIRD FRONT



## Dependents Get Handout

But remember, too, the U.S. Supreme Court—which Roosevelt "Freedom from Want"—But Not for Soldier's Wife and Child

By SUSAN GREEN

The military pay allotment bill approved by the Senate and sent to the House is as good as passed. It makes at least one thing certain in this world of uncertainties:

While the men in arms will be fighting in foreign lands supposedly for the "four freedoms" - one of which is stated to be freedom from want-their families will be engaged in the centuries-old fight of the poor to keep the wolf away from the door, provided there is a door. For it is going to be as impossible for families to pay for rent. food and clothing out of the flagrantly low allowances for soldiers' dependents as to get an elephant into a dog house.

A woman with two children will have to get along on \$72 a month or \$16 a week for all three. This drop in the bucket, even in peacetime be-

fore the cost of living rose to its present levels, meant a sub-subsistence standard of living. Today it means a sub-sub-subsistence level of existence. Tomorrow - when prices climb higher, as they are already doing in spite of the farcical ceilings -the only thing \$16 a week will buy for three people is starvation.

To call this travesty "support of the dependents" of the men in arms is-to say the least-a misnomer. To call a spade a spade, Congress is passing a bill to force women into industry. For no mother will sit by and see her children "supported" in starvation. Small children certainly need a mother's personal care and attention, but first they need bread, shoes and a roof. Women will have no alternative except to go to work. So the "preservation of the home"which is supposed to be another war

aim-will be put in dead storage by this very "generous" bill that Congress is passing.

The old and feeble will also suffer. A soldier's mother and father without support will be allowed \$47 a month, or about \$10 a week for both. Figure that out in terms of shelter, food and clothing. And these will be the lucky parents whose sons are not married. Dependent parents whose sons are married will have bestowed on them the still more "bounteous' sum of \$30 a month, or \$7.00 a week. for both.

Other provisions of the bill are even more niggardly than the above -hard as this may be to believe. For instance, if an unmarried soldier has one parent and one sister dependent on him, they will be allowed \$42 a month, or about \$9.00 a week. If the

(Continued on page 2)

#### The signing of the Anglo-Russian alliance, and the White House announcement that "full understanding was reached with regard to the urgent tasks of creating a second front in Europe in 1942" has brought to a head all previous discussion on the second front. Every individual, every group and organization is discussing the issue: Shall the United Nations invade Europe?

Although the military aspects of the matter (when shall the attempt be made, where, what forces shall be employed, etc.) remain a deep secret known only to the general staffs, the problem is openly discussed in the press, over the radio, among the people as a whole.

The second front is a question in which great populations are intensely interested because they realize the enormity of the proposal and the effect it will have upon the outcome of the war. The issue of an invasion of Europe is not simply military, but has be-

come POLITICAL as well. For the whole problem of what the various nations are fighting for is involved.

Of special importance is this issue to the labor movement. For within the labor movement the Stalinist Communist Party and its friends have begun a consistent campaign to get the unions to support the second front; and in a number of instances have succeeded. Those unionists who do not adopt an attitude out of a mere unquesKremlin Dictator



tioning and reckless subservience to the needs of the Stalin regime in Russia as do the American Stalinists, must realize the grave responsibility involved for the labor movement if it actively champions the second front. It is for that reason that the issue must be carefully considered.

First, let us note who are the advocates of the second front. Foremost—and by far the loudest—are the Stalinists.

Allied with the Stalinists on this issue are the most jingoistic of the American papers; the most imperialist-minded radio commentators; the most ambitious militarists.

But it must be emphasized that ALL of the United Nations governments are aredently pro-second front although they may disagree as to just when. That is, all the ruling powers of the "democracies"—the capitalists, the officials, the imperialists, the public spokesmen—all of them want the second front

Naturally, each group has its own motive.

That of the Stalinists and their friends is not hard to discover. They seek ONLY to serve their "beloved leader," Stalin, and his totalitarian regime in Moscow. The intensity of their shrieks for a second front increases directly with the intensity of Hitler's military pressure on the Russian front. Their purpose in demanding a second front is to relieve this pressure—regardless of its possibility or advisability.

They base their line not on the interests of the world working class as a whole, nor on the interests of the American and British workers, nor on the interests of the European workers oppressed by Hitler. As a matter of fact, they are not even greatly interested in the military consequences of a second front for the Allies. They serve the Stalinist bureaucracy, and that exclusively. They do not even discuss whether a second front would bring genuine freedom to the European people. Nor are they really interested in its mili-(Continued on page 3)

THE WORLD AT WAR

#### Stalin Completes His Entry into Imperialist Arena By Signing London, Washington Pacts

By WILLIAM BRAD

The alliance which Stalin signed with Churchill last week marked the culmination of his regime's movement onto the arena of world imperialism. It is the logical outcome of Stalin's whole policy in the war thus far. It marks the complete failure of the theoretical rationalization of his policy—the theory of "socialism in one country."

Stalin's defense of the Soviet Union was based on military means alone. He tried to match the Nazi Wehrmacht soldier for soldier, tank for tank and plane for plane. The industrial capacity of the Soviet Union, however, especially for the production of war goods, proved itself unequal to this task. So long, therefore, as this was Stalin's strategy there could be but one outcome: increasing dependence upon imperialist Britain and imperialist America for military

Stalin's politics have been to conduct a nationalistic war in the name of "defense of the Russian fatherland." To the German soldiers he offered nothing but destruction. To the German people he made no appeal, no gesture. To the people of Europe he remains the invader of the Baltic states. Finland and Bessarabia and the partner of Hitler.

These political considerations continue to exert a strong influence, despite any admiration which has grown up for the military achievements of the Stalinist armies.

Results of Stalin's Policy

It is natural, therefore, that there has been no response from the European masses, no signs of sympathy with the Soviet Union except in France, where this has largely been produced by Stalinist agitation. From inside Germany has come not a word. Stalin has succeeded only in forcing the German soldiers and workers further into the arms of Hitler!

The masses of Europe, and of Germany especially, would have been the natural and most effective supporters of a revolutionary Soviet Union. But the Stalinist regime has in-

(Continued on page 2)

## Missouri Croppers' Struggle Reaches Climax

Hoped-for Rain Brings Cheer to Croppers, Who Continue Fight for 30 Cents an Hour

MISSOURI, June 15-The rain has come at last, tons of it, pouring down all over the place - the rain for which the day laborers and sharecroppers fighting for 30 cents an hour minimum wage have been waiting for. Because of the rain, few people were able to go into the fields last week. Everybody has been waiting. But one thing is certain. The wages in all Southeast Missouri already have risen from \$1.25 a day to \$2.00.

This is a victory due entirely to the militant struggles of the workers out here. There are rumors all over of wages higher than \$2.00. It is reported that the white workers around Parma were offered \$2.50 and the colored workers around Parma were offered \$2.00. Both groups understood that this was only a plot to divide the white and colored. Both refused to work and are still holding out for

In New Madrid, Wardell, Sikeston, Portageville and Lilbourn the work-

#### Famous Last Words

"Well, General (Stillwell), were the pow-wows a success? He laughed. 'Yep,' he said, 'Yep, yep, yep. The Gissimo (Chiang Kaishek) handed it to everybody, including his own generals, straight. So did (General) Alexander. So did I .... Yep. Everybody took it right out of the spoon.' ... I could report to my constituents, he said. that the situation is now well in hand. Then his eyes twinkled." (Clare Boothe, interviewing General Stillwell in Burma-LIFE-June 15, 1942.)

their demand of 30 cents an hour. ers are all getting \$2.00 a day. In various places the workers devised their own method of "relief." Many accept the \$2.00 for the time being, for they have not worked since December and they had reached the point where they could no longer hold out. What they did was to work for one or two days out of the week in order that they might have some food to strike for a few days. They are watching the weather and the cotton closely and they know when the landlord will feel the pinch.

Wednesday Crucial Day No chopping was done on a large scale last week and the workers feel that this week is the crucial period. With no more rainfall, chopping should begin about Wednesday. All over the area the workers feel that if they can hold out until Friday, the landlords will have to pay the All this they are working out

by themselves. The Stalinist leadership of their union, the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing & Allied Workers (CIO), has not taken one concrete step toward organizing the mass of workers.

It has been reported that the Southern Tenant Farmers Union has

#### A Reminder

President Roosevelt, do you remember your suggestion, when you gave your economic program for the war, that all individual salaries should be limited to \$25,-000 a year?

Well? When do you start? LABOR ACTION.

accept it from anyone who'll give it. Not only has the UCAPAWA leadership failed to send any organizers to help the workers. Its local representative, Otis Nation, came into the white project at Lilbourn and promised that the UCAPAWA was going to send, in the near future, an organizer to organize there for two months. The men all ask: "Why doesn't the Henderson lead-

formed a local around Wardell. No

one knows what its aims are in re-

gard to raising the wages of day la-

borers of Southeast Missouri. But

the workers express a desire for or-

ganization and say they're ready to

ership do something now, when the men need help, when they're out fighting for 30 cents an hour? Why do they promise an organizer for after the chopping season, when it

(Continued on page 3)

## Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Third Camp

#### ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE OCCUPIED COUNTRIES

The ruthless terror of the Nazis against working class parties and trade unions both inside Germany and in the occupied countries is only equalled by the relentless wave of terror against the Jews in the occupied countries, which aims at their complete destruction. The chief Nazi aim is to find a scapegoat for their every shortcoming and also to warn every potential enemy: "If you do not behave as we want you to, we are going to use the same methods against you."

But here again we can notice a failure on the part of the Nazis. The Nazifostered wave of anti-Semitism has proved to be a complete boomerang. Whereas there existed a more or less strongly rooted "native" anti-Semitism nearly everywhere in Europe before the Nazi occupation, the Jews are now much more popular than ever before among the largest sections of the population. Since they attract so much hatred of the Nazis, they are considered worthy of friendship.

When, for example, the Nazis forced Paris shopkeepers to announce the Jewish faith of an owner by a large yellow poster, these stores did an unprecedented business. Frenchmen considered it a pleasure and an easy affront to the Nazis to buy in these shops.

Jewish refugees from Germany who have arrived here recently unanimously report that they always got the choicest pieces of meat from their local butchers, despite the fact that they had fewer ration cards, merely because these people wanted to show that they were against the regime and desirous of helping its enemies. Throughout Germany the Jew has become the chief confidant of many people who would not dare to speak to anybody else about their hatred toward the regime.

When Jews were recently forced in Belgium and Holland to wear the socalled Star of David, scores of Gentiles wore these signs in the streets to show their sympathy for the Jews and their contempt for the Nazis. The official Nazi papers complained repeatedly about this modest but very effective sabotage of their administration. The Nazis then announced that they were going to arrest all such gentiles and treat them as Jews, but the practice of non-Jews wearing the Star of David continues nonetheless.

The Dutch Nazi paper "De Misthoorn" related in the following manner the evacuation of all Jews from the city of Weesp:

"At one o'clock the Jews were seen for the last time in the town and people took leave from them. The people of Weesp, who are in general quite good and honest Christians, degraded themselves by carrying the luggage of the Jews. On the walls many posters were to be found carrying in big letters: 'AU REVOIR.' We even saw a Christian school teacher named Bouhuys who wept like a child. This man carried lately a David Star when he entered his class room and told the children: 'Children, all Jews are forced to wear this. We from Weesp should do the same thing, as did those from Amsterdam; we should remove our hat when we see a Jew wearing this insignia."

It has been a tendency in this country for many years to stress the sufferings of the Jews, to play upon their fate under the Nazis, while scarcely mentioning the fate of the workers under fascist domination. The chief reason for this could be found in the fact that some of these Jews were well off, and the average reporter is much more moved by the suffering of a Jewish banker deprived of his stocks than by the plight of an anti-fascist tortured to death in a concentration camp because of his active participation in the un-

Socialists, however, stand on the side of all victims of barbarism and oppression. The aim of socialism is not only to liberate the working class but to build an order in which there will be no oppression of any kind because of creed, religion or color. The attitude of the population in Europe, in face of the Nazi-created wave of anti-Semitism, deserves our attention and support. While certain reactionary and fascist newspapers in America are trying to whip up a new wave of anti-Semitism with the demagogic cry that this is a "Jewish war," the people of Europe, on the contrary, are becoming more friendly each day to the Jews because they see in the Jews fellow victims

Europaeus.

#### Soldiers' Dependents Get Inadequate Handout--

(Continued from page 1)

soldier is married, then a dependent with the left. parent and sister will "wallow in the good things of life" at the rate of \$25 a month, or about \$6 a week for both. If, however, there is a second dependent sister of either the unmarried or the married soldier, the poor girl will be "smothered in luxuries" costing \$1.00 a week-for that is all the additional allowance made for

These allowances, picayune as they are, will not be paid by the government. The soldier's contribution will be out of all proportion to his pay. Every married and unmarried soldier with dependents will have to turn in \$22 a month. If a married soldier also has parents or sisters or brothers dependent on him, he will have to plunk down \$27 every month.

What then becomes of the increase in soldier's pay voted by Congress recently? The rise from \$21 to \$50 is all but eaten up by deductions for dependents. It is a case of giving ble

If you scrape the camouflage this military pay allotment bill and see it as above analyzed, it becomes another illustration of the fact that the little people are paying for the big war.

will not have enough money for even their most elementary needs. Soldiers will be deprived of their very inadequate pay increases. But war profits will bulge the pockets of the industrial big-wigs for whom a war is a bonanza—and just when this bill soaking the poor is being passed in Congress, the luscious quarterly dividend checks again come in to swell still further the bursting bank accounts of the parasites.

for the confiscation of all war profits to pay for the imperialist war. And if those are not enough, how about the ill-gotten fortunes of the "Sixty Families"! Let the rich pay for the war for which their class is responsi-

with the right hand and taking away

"We must believe in our economic Women, children and old folks system, we must believe that a free capitalistic economy is the most efficient..." to combat the totalitarian nations which do believe in their systems. So believing, we will win the war and preserve the American way, whereas if we continue to expect economic disruption after the war everybody will be under a psychological handicap which will impede the war effort. After this prologue, Arnold por-

So again LABOR ACTION calls

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## Critical Situation in Shipworkers Local 9

Conservative Officials and Stalinist Fakers Unite to Spike Union's Needs

SAN PEDRO, June 15 - What has happened in the last three months to Shipyard Local 9's campaign to bring union conditions and a signed contract to the Bethlehem San Pedro

Three months ago, or a little more, a joint shop stewards' meeting of representatives of both yards and both shifts worked out a proposal for a militant union demonstration against the anti-labor policies and practices of the Bethlehem corporation. Under the pressure of the "unity with the bosses" chatter of the Communist Party clique, and confused by the faint-heartedness of the union officials, the membership rejected that proposal. Instead it endorsed a committee to "investigate" and "bring pressure" on Bethlehem."

What has become of that committee? What did it do? Has Bethlehem signed a union contract, established union conditions, dealt in good faith with the union? Has there even been any discussion of what to do about that labor-hating corporation at any recent union meeting? Why is it that this most important union issue has almost been forgotten in Local 9, which in the old days could boast that it controlled the only unionized Bethlehem plant in the United States?

For an answer one has only to refer to the recent membership meetings. It was almost the very day after the demonstration proposal that Bridges began to try to move in. He personally, and his clique of followers in the union, have kept the union and every membership meeting in turmoil ever since. The membership has been so busy fighting this cancer from within that it has had no time to plan and carry out a fight against the main enemy outside-the bosses, and especially Bethlehem.

#### Bridges' "Hymn of Unity"

While Bridges and the Communist Party clique in the union have sung / hymns of "unity," have told union members that grievances should be put off till after the war, have tried

"... The war is going to revive the

capitalistic system." Here it is, in

black and white, an admission of

what this war is about. The writer

is Thurman Arnold, Assistant Attor-

The article with the above title

appears in the Saturday Evening

Post for May 30, 1942. It is written

for two reasons: one, because Arnold

can win additional support for the

war among those who fear "social-

ism" and other "terrible things" from

it. Arnold offers them a panacea.

trays the beauties of the post-war

world under a newly efficient capi-

talism. He is the savior announcing

the Day of Resurrection of the dead.

Mass production of consumer goods

by the re-converted war industries,

new light materials and plastics and

therefore cheap prices, a rebirth of

competition and cheaper transporta-

tion will establish the closest possi-

ble approximation to Utopia. Small

business, severely hurt by the war,

FRESNO, Cal. - At the CIO state

conference held here on May 30 and

31 to endorse political candidates for

the coming elections, the Stalinists

again rammed their program down

The candidacy of Governor Olsen

for the governor was endorsed. The

program accepted for political action

was the outworn and thoroughly

discredited Gompers policy of "re-

ward your friends and punish your

enemies." All the Stalnists spoke of

endorsing one or the other of the

old boss parties' candidates and took

that for granted. The idea of an in-

dependent labor party based on a

working class program and working

class separation from both boss par-

ties, did not even occur to the Sta-

The usual motion for all-out sup-

port for Bridges was passed. But an

attempt by a delegate outside, the

Stalinist machine to amend this mo-

tion to include support of any and all

labor men who are discriminated

against and persecuted, was ruled

out of order.

California CIO

**State Conference** 

Special to LABOR ACTION

the organization's throat.

ney General of the United States.

to make the shop stewards into company stool pigeons, the Bethlehem corporation has gobbled up greater gobs of profits. It has smiled to see the "oh-so-very-militant" clique of once-upon-a-time unionists doing a perfect job of disrupting any possible union action to force the company into line. Has Bethlehem stopped firing shop stewards? Or quit its ten-hour shift established in violation of the union agreement? Or stopped hiring at the gate? Or paying attention to senfority?

Unity is a lovely thing, brothers of the Bridges clan, but some of us more stupid union members think that a little of the sacrifice for unity ought to come from the Bethlehem side. And some of us, from our experiences and from the history of labor's fight for a hundred years, have learned a couple of things:

You can't defend the union by appeasement. Stop retreating and begin to fight. The corporations understand only the language of militant action.

Why has the union practically forgotten about the problem of forcing Bethlehem into line? Because all the time has been taken up with retreats, with trying to make the union and the shop stewards take over the company job of speed-up and stool pigeoning. Members are demanding the union get back on the track. A man is supposed to get something for his dues besides one proposal after another to give up hard won union condi-

The main job of the union is preserving and improving conditions. Let's let the company put on its own speed-up pressure and do its own stool pigeoning. The union's job is to fight back.

#### How to Preserve Union Rights

Members are asking: How can conditions be preserved and improved if grievances are put off until after the war and if shop stewards are to be production men and stool pigeons? Union conditions that are given away

**Arnolds Trust-Busting Bluster** 

will be revived by new opportuni-

"We have been afraid that the

war was going to destroy competi-

tive enterprise, leaving the big

corporations as the only survivors

after the war.... The intensive in-

dustrial effort necessary to win the

war is going to shake us out of

that sort of nonsense. Defending

our capitalistic institutions is going

to revive our faith in them.... To

win the war we need a ringing af-

firmation of our belief that a free

capitalistic economy is able to dis-

tribute all the goods that its ma-

chines can produce. The competi-

That's all we need: "a ringing af-

firmation of our belief." Hope and

pray and instead of hay, presto, we'll

have food, clothing and shelter. Why?

Because Arnold says so. The depres-

sion is only psychological. Remem-

ber that argument? Well, that's what

Arnold's views amount to. He pays

no attention at all to the existence

of economic crises dring the nine-

teenth century when there was a

For years there have been plastics,

aluminum, magnesium, airplanes,

great industrial capacity and a tre-

mendous supply of labor, largely un-

utilized: For eleven years the coun-

try was nevertheless in the throes of

depression and even now millions

are unemployed despite the draft and

the demands of war industry. Small

business is increasingly pushed to

the wall. Labor's hands are tied by

false leaders. Taxes soak the poor

as never before. Direct representa-

tives of big business take over the

direction of the government and the

war through dollar a year men. But

Arnold says: hope, believe all will

be well, and I, Thurman Arnold,

promise that suddenly that which

previously produced depression, mis-

ery, starvation and war will now

usher in a new era of peace and

Theodore Roosevelt, when presi-

dent of the United States, launched

a trust-busting campaign. During his

administration, the greatest trusts in

the history of the United States were

formed! For thirty years the process

of industrial concentration contin-

ued. Today Trust - Buster Arnold

preaches the same message while the

great corporations expand through

factories and machines supplied by

the government of the people of the

bureau drops prosecutions against

them so as not to hamper war pro-

duction. Small industry is either

wiped out or assimilated. The proc-

ess of industrial concentration con-

Arnold lives in a dream world all

his own. The whole tendency of

modern economy is toward large-

"free capitalistic economy."

Believe in What?

tive system ... will be reborn.

Won't Save Capitalism

and put in cold storage don't keep that way. They die, and it is one hell of a job to win them back again.

Union conditions must be preserved now! A just grievance is a union duty! A shop steward is a grievance man, not a company man! A union man who fails to take up his just grievances is himself cooperating with the company to break down union conditions. It's the duty of a shop steward to take up every such grievance to the best of his ability.

Some union officials (and some "would - be" officials) never tire of reminding the union membership in flights of eloquent oratory that "We are at war." Two varieties of "patriots," the reactionary super-patriots of long standing and the Johnnycome-lately super-super patriots of the Communist Party clan, drag in "patriotism" and the war on every possible and impossible occasion. They are trying to build up their own prestige and especially trying to block any militant action by the membership, and to cram each new retreat down the union's throat.

This is a war, union members are told, to save democracy and unionism and the "American way of life" and to defeat fascism. But at the same time union members are asked by these "super-patriots" to give up union conditions one after another. The kind of "American way of life" that union men are interested in preserving means union conditions, democracy, freedom of speech and of opinion, jobs-but not ten hours a day so that you have no time left to enjoy life.

What are the chances that these things will exist after the war? The only guarantee we have is that the union be kept strong and in good working order-if day by day and week by week union men keep fighting to maintain conditions.

We must beware of these "superpatriots" who urge one concession after another to the bosses in the name of "national unity." Beware of the union wreckers who parade as patriots! If this is supposed to be a war against fascism abroad, don't let

a process of fifty years' duration by

legislation and prayer. The legisla-

tion hasn't worked, and one doubts

that prayer will. Competition will

be revived, says he, while its death

rate increases. Also, he knows how

ruinous competition can be. Com-

petition in the coal and oil industries

caused the government to step in to

control production and prices before

The basic problem is ignored. How

provide the means to purchase thes

cheap commodities? What good are

they, no matter how cheap, when

people can't buy. It's not so long ago

that cotton was plowed under, corn

and wheat burned and hogs slaugh-

tered because their prices were too

cheap. Until that problem is solved,

all the rest is futile talk and Arnold

has no answer to that simply because

capitalism, his faith, has no answer.

Even granting his expected boom af-

ter the war, how long will it last?

There was a boom from 1923 to 1929

and then what a fearful crash! Ar-

nold promises nothing better, and

remember that he's only PROMIS-

ING and that for the purpose of

By this time the lesson that capi-

talism does not produce for con-

sumption but only for profit and

sometimes for war and destruction

also has been well learned. Capi-

talism developed a powerful prodc-

tive system in its day. It has failed

to maintain it or to provide for the

distribution of its products. It can-

not satisfy the elementary needs of

the people. Socialism alone can ex-

winning support for the war.

they were bankrupt.

them prepare the way to fascism at home by breaking down the unions.

Local 9 has a union job to do of preserving conditions, of fighting back against reactionary proposals, not a company job of breaking down conditions and retreating on every front. Union men are demanding that the union do its union job. Some may be discouraged because they see no effective challenge to the wreckers. If they see a program, and people fighting for it, they will speak

Shop stewards must take up and win grievances NOW! The policies of appeasement and retreats must stop, and the corporations must be talked to in the language they understand: militant union action.

This kind of program will unmask and defeat the union wreckers: Communist Party and reactionary alike. This is the kind of program around which union men can rally in de-

the hands of all the partners of this

alliance. But Molotov did not return

to Moscow with a clear statement of

There will probably be, however,

intensifiéd bombings, commando

raids and even symbolic joint actions

What Molotov did bring home was

concrete promises of increased lend-

lease aid from the U.S., for which he

signed a new master agreement; and

more economic assistance from Brit-

As to territorial claims, Stalin ap-

pears to have gotten nothing but

British assurances. Stalin stated

openly, after Sumner Welles' speech

two weeks ago, that he would claim

the Baltic states, Latvia, Lithuania,

New York Post reports that Stalin

asked for all of the territories he

had taken before the rupture of his

pact with Hitler. This includes, in

addition to the Baltic states, Eastern

Poland, Bessarabia and a section of

Stalin completely disregards the

desires of small nations and differ-

ent nationalities. At the same time

that he approves the Atlantic Char-

ter, with its "four freedoms," he

seeks approval for his annexations.

Stalin wants to expand his bureau-

cratic rule, and what better cover

to do it under than the "four free-

He is anxious to put in his claim

early. He does not trust his allies

any more than they trust him. He

does not like the failure of the U.S.

to declare war on Finland. And he

does not like the intrigues of Sikor-

ski and his exiled Polish "govern-

Southern Finland.

doms"?

and Esthonia. Ferdinand Kuh of the-

place, date and numbers.

in Europe (joint air raids).

## Stalin Enters Arena of Imperialism --

terested itself only in counter-revolution, as in Spain and France.

So Stalin finds himself among his own kind, the Allied imperialists. Precisely what does Stalin want from England? 1) A second front this year.

- 2) A great increase in the amount of military material sent to Russia.
- 3) Recognition of his claims to territorial aggrandizement. 4) A post-war alliance so that Sta-

lin will not find himself isolated

after the war is over, and at the mercy of his present allies. 5) Joint policing of Europe for the suppression of any working

#### The Second Front Issue

class revolutions.

Stalin did not get all he asked for either in London or Washington. On the second front issue, Stalin did not get final and complete assurance. While he signed an alliance with Britain for a second front, all he got from Roosevelt was "a common understanding of the problem." This does not necessarily mean that there will not be a second front this year. But it is clear that Britain alone cannot give it to him. Indeed, Britain is no longer the master of its own destiny on such questions. It is the hand of Washington that holds the decisive card.

It is unlikely that Roosevelt will agree to launch a second front until he is fairly certain of success. Roosevelt would rather take responsibility for a second front when he is more certain of Germany's defeat and of Russia's

Not that Roosevelt doesn't wish the victory of Russia. Quite the contrary. But he is following the same tactic he employed toward Britain. He waited till Britain had taken a terrific beating before he offered full military support.

Each of the imperialist powers within the United Nations seeks not merely mutual victory, but also to gain its own imperialist ends, even at the expense of its partner.

But for all the imperialists, the second front is simply a matter of reconquering Europe. Not one of them, Stalin included, hesitates at the impending slaughter of a generation of youth. And not one of them can indicate a genuine set of war aims, which can show that the political motivations of this second front will really lead to the liberation of Europe and the freedom of the world. No Definite Commitment

There may still be a second front in 1942. Circumstances may force

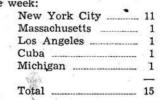
#### A Double Edged Game But here too the hand of Washington makes itself felt. Roosevelt wants no commitments now. He wants to be able to dictate the peace after the war is over. So Britain could not grant Stalin these claims.

The pact with England is to run for twenty years, not merely for the duration of the war. Both England and Russia are afraid of isolation. Both are afraid of the U.S. upon which they are increasingly dependent for prosecution of the war. That is why they formed a twenty years alliance-with an eye cocked to possible joint collaboration against their North American partner-rival after the war's end.

This is the old game of "balance of power in Europe. The old diplomacy of jockeying and maneuvering for position in the imperialist line-up. It is in effect laying the basis for the Third World War. Despite all their talk of "freedom" and "democracy," all of the powers seek to maintain the capitalist status quo in Europe: private property, investments, profits-the old structure which brought Europe to its present state. They plan to disarm Germany and to police and divide her. The 20 years, alliance fits right into such a position. Stalin will not be left out of the imperialist redivision of a postwar Europe and he is building his fences now.

## Finally Stalin wants to make cer-

Twenty-two thousand five hundred copies of last week's LABOR AC-



mately thirty of the LABOR AC-TION rate-cards that we are offering at \$1.00 each.

your rate cards!

LABOR ACTION agents in New York City distributed 5,000 copies of the paper to the special Madison Square Garden "March on Washington" meeting reported in this week's

Post-War "Policing"

tain that Europe will be effectively "policed." For him, as for England and the U.S., a workers' revolution is the main threat to his power. The suppression of revolution is not merely a service which Stalin renders to imperialism, it is a prerequisite for the continued existence of his own regime and the reactionary bureaucratic class he heads. These are Stalin's war aims.

With the signing of this pact, Stalin's integration into the camp of reactionary Allied imperialism is that much more effective. Gone is the talk of "building socialism in one country"; now he is dependent on the most powerful imperialist powers for his very existence. Gone, in fact, is all talk of socialism; Stalin represents, rather, a cynical, barbarous, brutal and reactionary bureaucratic class whose war aims and perspectives are just as reactionary as those of the other participants. Stalin, the gravedigger of the revolution, has signed his agreement for the perpetuation of the imperialist war and the establishment of the imperialist peace. To speak, under such conditions, of "defending the Soviet Union" is not merely a bitter mockery; it is to lend objective political support to a camp of imperialism. And that no international socialist

#### masses of the people. Socialism alone will bring peace and plenty. Knitgoods Union **Gives Vacation Pay**

NEW YORK-A worthy instance of how the trade union movement can retain its contact with those of its members who are now in the armed forces was given here last week when the Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, announced that all its members in the armed forces have been sent vacation money. In a letter sent together with the

To Soldier Members

vacation money, Manager Louis Nelson of the Knitgoods Union stated in

United States. Arnold's anti-trust "While you are gone, the union will protect the rights and conditions you won in our industry. When you return you will be welcomed back into our ranks...."

The action of this union could well serve as an example to other unions on how to strengthen the loyalty of those union members now in the scale organization. He would reverse armed forces.

# **PRESS**

pand for production, distribution and consumption in the interests of the TION were printed and distributed to our agents throughout the United States. This was the largest issue in the history of LABOR ACTION! The following subscriptions were

sent in to LABOR ACTION during

-	" CCIL	
	New York City	11
	Massachusetts	1
	Los Angeles	1
	Cuba	1
	Michigan	1
	1861	_
	Total	15
In	addition we have sold	appr

Many agents have yet to take ad-

vantage of the rate-cards that we have been advertising for the past few issues in LABOR ACTION. This offer for six-month subscriptions (four of them for \$1.00) will not be indefinite, and we suggest that you take advantage of it while it lasts. Send to LABOR ACTION for

### The Annihilation of Lidice

By SUSAN GREEN

In further reprised for the assassination of the unlamented Reinhard Heydrich, the whole Czech town of Lidice was wiped out by the Nazis in one ruthless stroke of violence.

All the men were shot. All the women were sent to concentration camps or other dreadful fate. All the children were taken to "educational institutions." Nazi style. The town itself was "levelled to the ground." The job of extermination was complete. The Berlin radio reported that "the name of the community was ex-

The front pages of the daily press featured this frightful news and people reading shuddered at this additional act of Nazi terror. The horror of annihilating a whole town-its families and its homes-and leaving nothing but emptiness, is indeed more shocking even than the coldblooded execution in larger cities of a well known Nazi custom.

But such foul acts against humankind, such businesslike extermination of all opposition or suspected opposition, was not instituted by the Nazis nor is it only a Nazi custom.

For instance, the British imperialists are also well acquainted with such inhuman practices. Once upon a time-but not so long ago that the Hindus do not remember-entire villages in India were snuffed out because their inhabitants stood in the path of British imperialism, just as today a Czech town meets the same fate at the hands of the Nazis and for the same reason.

For instance, the "gentle" Belgian imperialists are likewise not strangers to the murderous methods of imperialist conquest. Native villages in Africa were inundated by the blood of the natives who were bold enough to oppose the white invaders of their land. Many an African village went up in smoke as did the

individuals en masse-which is also Czech town of Lidice and for the same reason.

Instances can be multiplied to show that the imperialist record of the United Nations is also red with the blood of conquered peoples and black with the smoke of burned villages. Definitely imperialist terror is not solely a Nazi custom. It is a universal imperialist custom.

To label the arsenic in one bottle "poison" and the same deadly stuff in another bottle "tonic" is undeniably dangerous to human life. Similarly is it dangerous to the future of humanity to make false distinctions between the imperialist nations.

That is why the class conscious worker-wherever he is and whatever the color of his skin-looks on the Nazi extermination of the Czech town of Lidice as a symbol of international imperialist brutality. The class conscious worker responds by gritting his teeth, clenching his fists and pledging himself to the cause of world socialism.

## FDR Might Ask the Greek King

Still another specimen of brokendown European royalty was paraded in this country last week as a representative of a "free" government. We refer to King George of Greece, who was welcomed by President Roosevelt and Mayor La Guardia and who reviewed the big war parade held in New York City last week.

King George also made a speech, coming out for a "new order" (very fashionable these days) and pledging himself to restore "democracy" to

All we can say is that if King George is promising to restore the kind of democracy that existed in Greece while he was still there on the throne, he's not going to provoke much enthusiasm among the Greek people. And that if the soldiers in the New York parade who sweated their skins off to be reviewed by this decrepit King really knew the kind of regime that existed in Greece while he was there, they also would not have gotten very enthusiastic.

But certainly President Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia must have known. Certainly these two great "liberals" must have been aware of the facts.

But just in case they weren't, LA-BOR ACTION-always ready to do a good deed-herewith supplies them with a few embarrassing questions which they might ask "His Majesty" the next time he starts babbling about a new order. We give these questions free of charge:

1) Isn't it a fact that when you, King George, were on the throne Greece suffered from a brutal fascist dictatorship in which General Metaxas was the Fuehrer?

2) Isn't it a fact that this regime, established on August 4, 1936, came to power directly with your aid and

3) Isn't it a fact that this regime wiped out the civil liberties of the Greek people, and that you had not one word of protest?

4) Isn't it a fact that this regime imprisoned trade union leaders, exiled them to the dreaded islands and destroyed the trade unions or completely deprived them of their power and rights?

5) Isn't it a fact that the Vice-Premier of this regime, which you supported and of which you were the nominal head, was a man named Constantine Kotzias, notorious as a friend of Hitler and Goering?

6) Isn't it a fact that during this time the Greek youth were trained in fascist organizations patterned after the Hitler and Mussolini models? 7) Isn't it a fact that during the

war with Italy your government spent 29,000,000 drachmas for the war budget and yet over 25,000 Greek soldiers lost arms or legs or died from the cold, while fighting the Italian army, because they did not have any sweaters, wool hose or warm clothing? And is it not a fact that a large portion of this budget, originally earmarked for the Greek people, went into the peckets of the fascist politicians?

8) And now, "Your Majesty," King George of Greece, now that Hitler drove out your fascist outfit and substituted his own, what right have you to speak in the name of democracy

These questions, we repeat, we offer free of charge. We wonder if President Roosevelt and Mayor La Guardia will use them.

## How the "Freeze" Labor Plan Will Affect the American Labor Movement

About two weeks ago, the War Manpower Commission, through its chairman, Paul V. McNutt, announced directive "freezing" essential workers in critical war industries and designating the United States Employment Service as the "sole hiring agency for critical skills in critical areas." With one stroke of the pen, McNutt-who was once known as the "Hoosier Hitler" because of his strike-breaking activities while governor of Indiana-took a long step toward depriving American labor of whatever freedom it now has and a long step, as well, toward the creation of a totalitarian war economy in this country.

This is a very important problem for the American working class and deserves serious consideration. In this article, we shall present only a few of the more obvious points for consideration, each of them questions requiring thought on the part of the American workers:

The "freeze" labor program is required, presumably and according to Washington officials, in order to solve the problem of a larbor shortage. It is obvious that with the tremendous labor needs of war industry and with the great section of the male population being gobbled up by the Army, that there is a labor short-

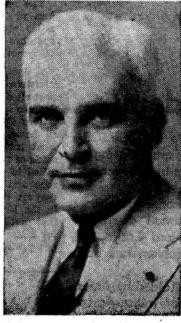
#### A Special Kind of Shortage

But there is a labor shortage in a far different sense than is at first hand apparent. There is not a labor shortage in the sense that there are no workers willing to work. There is not a labor shortage in the sense of there being more jobs in the country than there are workers. Not yet, in any case.

The present labor shortage is a direct result of capitalist inefficiency. At present there are still several million people unemployed. (The exact figure is difficult to determine since estimates vary; but it comes to at least 3,000,000, and probably more.) However, these millions of unemployed lack the skills necessary to

get jobs in the war industries. They phrase describes a situation in which lack these skills because capitalism never bothered to teach them any trade during the depression period. Then there was a "surplus" of labor: the government was uninterested in labor. It is only recently that trade

Labor "Freezer"



PAUL V. McNUTT

training has been attempted, and that with great inefficiency.

So that the basic premise of the "freeze" labor program - the socalled labor shortage-is very questionable. The effects of priorities unemployment are still present, especially in such places as New York

Behind the "Freeze" Proposal

What is really behind the "freeze' proposal is a desire to prevent what is now called "labor pirating." This one factory entices a worker from another by offering higher pay. But what's wrong with that - from the point of view of the workers?

By "freezing" a worker to his present job, and by "freezing" his present wage level, the government is to all effects and purposes saving that workers can no longer improve their conditions. It is saying that you no longer have the right to get a better job. It is saying that your boss now has the right to get tough with you because he knows that you can't quit your present job, that you're not supposed to strike and that if you present your grievances to the War Labor Board it will take months before they're even considered.

Pretty nice set-up-for the bosses!

This is still another aspect to this so-called labor shortage. Just think back to the depression era. Would the bosses have stood for labor conscription then? Of course not. Then they were in favor of the "law of supply and demand" because then the competition between hungry and desperate unemployed workers seeking a job tended to lower wages. When the line at the employment window is long, wages are low.

But when there is a sudden increase in the demand for laborunder capitalism, this can happen only during a war; capitalism produces only for destruction and not for life-then the bosses want labor conscription. For then the bosses have to compete among themselves for labor by offering higher wages in order to attract workers to their fac-

#### Foretaste of Fascism

If labor is drafted, however, and its wages fixed (and militant workers threatened with blacklisting by the government hiring agency) then the bosses don't have to worry any more about paying higher wages. They get their labor supply; they pay their

usual wages; and the workers get ... a foretaste of fascism.

For that is how the labor conscription plan can be considered. The American politicians, the liberals and New Dealers, have waxed eloquent about forced labor in Germany and Italy; but now the crisis of capitalism in this country is forcing them to adopt the same essential program, though in thus far modified form.

They may try to make lawyer's distinctions but there can be no doubt that a forced labor plan in America bears striking similarities to the Nazi pattern. As the late General Hugh S. Johnson wrote on March 14, 1942:

"If Mrs. Roosevelt's 'draft us all' plan (essentially the same as that proposed by McNutt-Editor) hecomes part of the law we shall have here a complete Nazi pattern of forced labor."

But while this catastrophic antilabor device moves toward realization, no serious steps have yet been taken against the war profiteers. The Merchants of Death still ply their trade. War profits still continue. Labor must inquire: If we, the

workers, can be drafted for the Army, if we can be drafted into permanent jobs; why isn't capital draft-Labor should answer the "freeze".

labor proposal with the following

1) Conscript the war industries under workers' control. If the workers can be drafted, then capital can be drafted!

2) Abolish all war profits! If our wages are to be stationary, then the capitalists can afford to live off their accumulated wealth. No one should be allowed to profit from this war!

3) For workers control of production! Let labor decide if there is a labor shortage and let labor decide how to meet it, if need be!

## Stalinists Attack Negro Meeting

The (Stalinist) Communist Party showed its true colors on the struggle of the Negro people for social, political and economic equality when it attacked, in the Daily Worker of June 14, 1942, the March on Washington mass meeting which was held in Madison Square Garden on June 16, 1942.

Written by Ben Davis, Jr., this article bitterly condemns the mass movement expressing itself through the medium of the March on Washington mass meeting. Davis follows the basic Stalinist position of subordinating the struggle for the improvement of the conditions of the workers and Negroes to the interests of the imperialist war and Russia's role in that war. He denounces the March on Washington movement because of what he calls its "defeatist" character and because of its failure to evince sufficient enthusiasm for the war. Writes

"Taken as a whole, the publicity of the March on-Washington Committee for the June 16 meeting takes no sharp and clear position against the main enemy, Hitler, and says nothing about the chief foe at home, the fifth columnists and defeatists."

It is necessary for every Negro worker to ponder these words so that he can understand the extent of the Stalinist treachery.

#### THE MAIN ENEMY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE

1) The March on Washington Committee has issued publicity demanding that Jim Crowism be abolished in American life. Without in the slightest minimizing the fact that Hitlerism is an enemy of the Negro people (as of all minority groups) it is a fact, nonetheless, that in America the main enemy of the Negro people are the Jim Crowers, the Southern crackers, the industrialists and those in the Administration which Jim Crows them and tolerates their discrimination and segregation by its various branches. It is these forces that have given the Negro people one taste of Hitlerism right here in Amer-

What business is it of this particular committee to say anything in support of the war? If certain Negroes wish to support the war, then they can do so through the innumerable organizations for that purpose. If other Negroes understand that it is precisely those economic and political forces conducting the present "war for democracy," which are the Jim Crowers, then they, too, can act according to their

But all Negroes, regardless of their war attitude, can unite to fight against Jim Crowism. And that's what they're doing in the March on Washington Committee. The tragedy of the situation is that this committee is insufficiently militant, and not that it has failed to define its position toward the imperialist war.

2) Davis says that the "chief foe at home" of the Negro people are the "fifth columnists and defeatists." Fortunately for the Negro people, however, the fifth

columnists are not in power in this country. The fascists and Hitlerites are not in a position to enforce their vicious doctrine of racial inequality. If they were in power, the position of the Negro people would be even

But the fact that the fascists are not in power does not mean that Negro people do not suffer from fascist racial doctrines. Everyone knows the kind of conditions the Negro people live under. And they suffer this treatment under an Administration which pretends to be liberal and calls itself the New Deal. It is the great "democrats," the New Dealers, who tolerate the continuation of Jim Crowism. It is the leaders of the Democratic and Republican Parties who tolerate lynchings, anti-Negro riots, job discrimination and the poll tax. The fact that Hitlerites would be worse is no reason for the Negro people to stop fighting against those who perpetuate Jim Crowism today (and it's no reason to "cooperate" with the national administration, as Davis advocates they do).

Davis, by thus urging the Negro people to subordinate the struggle against Jim Crow to the imperialist war, is showing himself a traitor to the Negro people.

#### STALINISTS OPPOSE NEGRO RIGHTS

Davis doesn't want the Negro people to march on Washington because that might embarrass those conducting the imperialist war-and Uncle Joe Stalin has given strict orders that those conducting the imperialist war must never be embarrassed, even if it means sacrificing the rights of the workers and the Negroes.

That is why it is possible for the Stalinists to so viciously denounce the legitimate desires of the Negro people, as expressed by their adherence to the March on Washington Committee. LABOR ACTION, for its part, has made many criticisms of what it considers the inadequate program and lack of militancy of the March on Washington Committee; but whenever this committee has taken any kind of action against Jim Crow, we've given it unstinting support.

The Stalinists and their stooge outfit, the National Negro Congress, have endorsed the Jim Crow naval scheme of Secretary of the Navy Knox. But they denounce the March on Washington mass meeting to protest this kind of Jim Crowism. By that action they show their true colors-traitors to and enemies

### Labor's Attitude to the Second Front -perialist publicists and spokesmen, perialist war into which the world

(Continued from page 1)

feasibility. They serve the temporary interests of Stalin. That is why they are the most cynical of the second front advocates and can lead the labor movement to the brink of disaster if their advice is followed.

The imperialist leaders of America and Britain as well as the various im-

pieces of favorable publicity which

the struggle of the day laborers and

favor a second front for somewhat different reasons. While they disagree as to the immediate advisability of a second front they agree as to its eventual necessity.

Continuation of Imperialist War For them, the second front is the next phase, a continuation of the im-

the recognition it deserves. Part of

the Post-Dispatch article said:

has been plunged for three years. In the world struggle between the two warring camps, the United Nations seek to wrest from Hitler and his Axis partners those territories taken from them by the force and military violence of Hitler and Co. The Axis overran Europe; the Allies in turn seek to recoup their losses.

The Allied camp seeks to subjugate Europe and its peoples to ITS arms, just as Hitler has already subjugated Europe to HIS arms. wave which is now sweeping Europe as a result of the crimes of the Hitlerite occupation forces, the United Nations wish to utilize this justified sentiment of the European people for their war advantages, and at the same time prevent the nationalist uprisings against Hitler from developing into revolutionary working class action for socialism. To do this they must occupy Europe militarily.

All of the reactionary war aims of the United Nations are revealed even before the second front has been attempted. Shall the young workers and soldiers of England and America be called upon to cross the Channel for the purpose of putting the reactionary monarchist de Gaulle in power over France; or setting the fascist King George back on the Greek throne; or re-establishing the anti-Semitic and military dictatorship of General Sikorsky over Poland; or putting Queen Wilhelmina back on the Dutch seat of royal honor; or again shackling Germany and its people with a new version of the old Versailles Treaty? What other aims do the Allies have when they call for a second front?

After three years of war they have yet to state their war aims as regards the peoples of Europe! What do they offer to the European working class, now under Hitler's heel? A NEW occupation, with English, Russian and American troops instead of German troops? If even on the EVE of launching the second front the Allies refuse to state their political aims, what reason do we have for believing they are anything but what we have indicated-namely, the restoration of the status quo, with Anglo-American imperalism ruling the Continent in conjunction with totalitarian Russia.

And when all this is kept in mind, what reason is there for the labor movement in America to assume the responsibility for urging the immediate creation of a second front? If the labor movement were in a position to control what will happen in Europe after a second front were established, if it were in a position to see to it that the people of Europe gain genuine freedom, then it would be a different matter.

But the only way in which that

could be possible would be if the labor movements in Britain and America established labor governments. Then they could guarantee the progressive political character of an invasion of Europe, for then there would be a revolutionary war of socialist liberation against Hitlerism instead of a capitalist war as at present.

But granting the present situation, why should the labor movement take responsibility for an invasion and a possible reorganization of Europe over which it will have no decisive say or control?

#### A Futile Slaughter

Furthermore, what of the terrible slaughter-win or lose-that admittedly will occur when the second front is launched? All authorities agree on one point: it will be one of the greatest blood-baths in history. We revolutionary socialists are not pacifists: we recognize the fact that military struggle with enormous losses is sometimes unavoidably necessary and justified - PROVIDED it serves a just and progressive cause. If a socialist, workers' government existed in England, it would undoubtedly be the duty of the English workers to invade Europe against Hitler and help their German comrades to free themselves from his dictatorship. But this is not the case

The labor movement must not allow itself to be sucked in by the Stalinist schemes to take even partial responsibility for such a situation. Those who conduct and control the war will decide the advisability of a second front on the basis of their own imperialist perspectives and

The labor movement, for its part, has plenty of tasks cut out for it: the defense of labor's gains during the coming difficult period, the improvement of the conditions of the working class, the organization of the unorganized.

#### German Workers Preserve Militancy

The revolutionary tradition of the German working class has not been wiped out by Hitler-not by a long shot. The Nazis try to gouge out the brains of the youth. But when a young worker enters a plant he is immediately "big brothered" by an older German worker tempered by the pre-Hitler militant action of the German workers.

Gradually the new young worker is familiarized with the great strike movements in Germany, especially the great strike of 1919 with its widespread political effects. In this way young workers are saved from the ideological clutches of Hitler.

Such incidents as these are reported by Curt Reiss in his book, "Underground Europe."

## Missouri Croppers Action --

(Continued from page 1)

doesn't matter so much? And what has Nation done down here except to intrigue in behalf of the Stalinist leadership of the UCAPAWA and not organize a single worker?

Everyone except a traitor can see that NOW is the time to organize."

No Confidence in Otis Nation

Otis Nation because he has not been in the area for the last week and the workers thought that he was of the season, which would make

supposed to help organize. Yet at \$4.00 a day. this crucial period he disappears. Owen Whitfield has not shown his face in the area for some time. Why? The workers don't know exactly but the ice cold freezing reception he has got in the last few weeks may have had something to do with it.

It has been reported that around Morehouse one landlord has offered to pay \$2.50 for the season and that The workers have no confidence in if the workers worked for him the whole season he would give them a bonus of \$1.50 each day at the end.

Individual landlords, aware of the coming need for labor, have been making all sorts of proposals to get the workers back to work. The coming week will be the real test. Grass is very thick in the cotton fields. The cotton must be chopped immediately, otherwise it is ruined. The landlords will pay 30 cents an hour, if only the workers hold fast.

Plan Decisive Action

The workers themselves are getting ready to make one last drive to

"Booker T. Clark, Negro financial sharecroppers of Southeast Missouri secretary of Local 313, asserted that has yet received in these parts apthe meeting (held in Charleston to peared here in the June 8 issue of the authorize the action and afterward St. Louis Post-Dispatch. A full colchallenged by the Stalinist leadership of the UCAPAWA-Ed.) was umn article detailed the struggle of called with the authorization of the

action could no longer be ignored by pers had been paid \$1.00 to \$1.25..."

St. Louis Paper Gives Fair

Writeup of Missouri Action

ST. LOUIS, June 15-One of the first the daily press and must be accorded

the croppers, including an objective international and cited the later supreport of the case of Local 313, the leading force of the struggle. port of the minimum wage demand The Post-Dispatch article also reby Henderson and the St. Louis CIO Council. He said that while the reprinted part of the resolution of the St. Louis CIO Council in support of fusal of cotton choppers to accept less than the minimum has been describthe croppers.. The Post-Dispatch article was inas a 'stay at home strike,' it is in no sense a strike since the workers have terpreted in labor circles as recognot walked off from regular employnition of the strength of the croppers' movement and of the influence of Local 313 and was expected to give much encouragement to the croppers in Swampeast when they

ment but have merely refused to accept work offered. "Clark said that the demand already had some effect since planters were offering \$2.00 a day for 10 hours work, where formerly cotton chop-

get their 30 cents an hour. A meeting counties feel that now is the time to is to be called for Tuesday night, they have announced. There they will decide what is to be done. It is planned to call two mass "stay at home" days for Wednesday and Thursday. Everybody must stay at home for

saw it. It was interpreted as an in-

dication of the fact that the croppers'

landlords will pay 30 cents an hour, for the cotton must be chopped and chopped immediately. The struggle has been very long and militant. The morale has been and still is very high. The workers have not lost their faith. But they

are begging for organization, for

official people to come around and

the workers do stay at home, the

give charters, etc. This whole situation is obviously the beginning of a long struggle. Workers are leaving the area for Michigan, St. Louis and the industrial centers to get higher wages. Soon there'll be a tremendous shortage of labor down here. The cotton picking begins in a few months. On the outcome of the present action depends the course of struggle dur-

ing the coming picking season. The

St. Louis CIO Sends Aid The St. Louis unions are still send-

ing support to the workers and delegations to visit them. Everywhere the workers feel that the St. Louis CIO is their friend and ally. But the these two days, say the men. And if hands of the St. Louis CIO are tied. They can stimulate and encourage but they cannot actually organize a local. For then, Otis Nation, the Stalinist policeman, will raise the cry that the St. Louis CIO is interfering in the affairs of the UCAPAWA.

It is the workers who will have to fight and win, as best they can. Luckily, the leaders know that. And thus it is that they make all their preparations and form their little committees and arrange their meetings, all the time looking over their shoulder to see what schemes and plots and sabotage Henderson and Whitfield are planning. So clear is their treachery to everybody that when Otis Nation had the gall to ask the St. Louis CIO to send the aid to his Stalinist cronies, Fischer and Hughes, the CIO refused. Instead it send the money to the real workers from end to end of the seven leader of the men, Local 313.

Labor Movement's Responsibility

## Editorials-

### **British Democracy Shows Its Colors**

The governor of Sierra Leona, an African colony of the British Empire, has banned LABOR ACTION and The New International from entering his province. No reasons were given for the ban. In addition to the above-mentioned periodicals, four other working class papers-The Militant, the Fourth International, the Fighting Worker and the Workers International News-were also banned.

The governor acted under the dictatorial powers given him by the Undesirable Publications Ordinance of 1939, which allows him to ban papers without even giving any reason for his action.

This action comes after the exile of Wallace Johnson, leader of the West African Youth League, a militant fighter against British imperialism and for the freedom of the African people. It is but another instance of the oppressive, dictatorial rule exercised by British imperialism over its African colonies. Let those who go into rhetorical raptures about "British democracy" explain it!

#### Supreme Court on Wages and Hours

One of our editorials last week discussed the recent Supreme Court decision which, by permitting local cities to impose license fees on organizations distributing political or religious literature, struck a blow at the right of free speech. We did not, however, comment on a simultaneous decision of the Supreme Court—again by a five to four margin—which affects the workers at least as much. And that decision was one which law insofar as a large part of America's American army overrunning India." workers are concerned.

very complicated but the effects of it will

As all workers know, the wages and hours law provides that workers are to get time and a half for work over 40 hours per week. Along came a Texas chiseler who worked out the following scheme. This chiseler, the boss of the A. H. Belo Co., made his workers sign individual contracts saying that the pay was the lowest minimum wage permissible under the law and that overtime pay was calculated on this basis. When the workers figured this out, however, they discovered that they were getting a total wage less than they'd made before the wages and hours law was passed. So the good-hearted boss inserted a provision that he'd give them a "bonus" to make up the difference. Result: the workers did not get an additional penny from the overtime provisions of the wages and hours law!

And it was this latest variation of the yellow-dog contract, this nauseous piece of chicanery, which was upheld by the decisive five of the nine old men.

Those workers who aren't organized into unions and therefore can't force their boss into a signed collective bargaining contract will suffer most. For they'll be intimidated, according to the precedent set in this case, into signing these individual contracts and thus lose the benefits of overtime pay. It will be the unorganized workers who'll suf-

Which is just one more proof that the only protection the workers have from the onslaughts of Congress, on one occasion, or the Supreme Court, on another occasion, or the bosses, on all occasions, is their own independent, militant union organization.

#### India Still Wants Freedom!

Lest we forget, there are still 400,000,-000 people in India who are refusing to support the United Nations in this war and

The press has largely ignored India since its nationalist leaders turned down the phony "offer" of Sir Stafford Cripps, but that doesn't mean the problem has been solved—far from it.

The British imperialists (aided by America) have gone ahead in their military preparations to meet the inevitable Japanese attack upon India, and they have ignored the leaders of the Indian National Congress—particularly Gandhi and Nehru.

Nehru, the nationalist leader who tried hardest of all to come to an accord with Cripps, has been hurt by this slighting by the British and has moved closer to Gandhi's position of opposition to any settlement. "Axis powers are India's enemies," he said recently, "but the British government is also our enemy. We will fight the British government until India is freed and we will resist aggression.... Americans knifed the guts out of the wages and hours are our friends, but we would not like an

But this bold statement is meaningless The reasoning behind this decision is without any action on his part or on the part of the other nationalist leaders, to be very simple. The situation is something arouse the people in their own defense against both British and Japanese impe-

> The question of India still hangs fire; the revolutionary crisis has not subsided and still calls out for a solution by the peo-

#### LABOR ACTION

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#### WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

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

#### LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- 1. Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- 2. Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars the minimum wage; time and a half for overtime! Rehire the jobless millions by a six-hour shift!
- 3. Wage increases which meet rising costs! No sales tax on consumer goods; no taxes on wages! Freeze rents and food and clothing prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living!
- 4. No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war in-
- 5. Maintain and increase all government so-

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

- 6. A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
- 7. Conscript all war industries under work-
- 8. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3 per cent of the people who own 26 per cent of the national wealth!

# fer most from this decision.

who still demand freedom.

ple's own action.

## The Lessons of the Recent Strike in the Budd Plant

Special to LABOR ACTION.

PHILADELPHIA - The Budd strike

is over. It has been broken and once

more the Budd workers and the en-

tire labor movement of Philadelphia

have received a temporary setback at

the hands of the local industrialists.

may be, it is necessary for the Budd

workers to carefully analyze the

events of the past month in order

that they may profit from both the

sound tactics and the mistakes that

were made during the strike strug-

gle. Only in this way can they pre-

pare themselves for the new strug-

gles that inevitably loom ahead,

struggles that will take initial form

in an all-out offensive by the Budd

corporation against its workers and

their living standards. And it is cer-

tain that when this offensive comes,

the Budd workers will organize once

more to meet it. If the lessons of the

recent defeat are learned, then the

Budd workers will be able to achieve

A great share of the blame for the

failure of the strike must fall on the

"no strike" pledge of the CIO in gen-

While the national leaders of labor

eral and the UAW in particular.

a victory in their next encounter.

No matter how unpleasant a task it

(3rd Floor)

June 22, 1942

Managing Editor: Irving Howe 75 Cents for Canada, New York and Foreign

of the Third Camp of Socialism!

#### TO THE DRAFTEES!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

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

#### SMASH JIM CROW!

- 11. Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!
- 12. For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes.

#### BE PREPARED!

- 13. For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilante and fascist attacks!
- 14. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
- 15. For Peace Through Socialism! For immediate independence of all colonies! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism. For a League of Socialist Nations!

## Thousands Jam New York Meeting for Negro Rights

Special to LABOR ACTION

NEW YORK-On Tuesday evening, 20,000 militant, fighting-mad Negroes of New York City jammed into Madison Square Garden to attend a meeting held under the auspices of the March on Washington Movement.

They came there to protest Jim Crow discrimination in the American Army and Navy; to demand equal job opportunities in America's war industries and for the achievement of full democracy at home.

The spirit and fighting enthusiasm of the 20,000 attendants was miles ahead of the remarks and speeches of those who addressed the meeting.

A dozen speakers, mostly Negro

ministers, addressed the meeting. Almost all of them had the same theme: Negroes must support the war for victory abroad, and fight for freedom at home. Much militant language went into the speeches, much was made of the fact that Negro boys are called to fight for democracy in Europe and Asia and Australia, while they are denied real democracy within the United States. The very fact that not one single speaker called for a March on Washington, that each one praised this protest meeting but own behalf through organizing and

textile mill in Fall River, Mass.

shows clearly that support of the war prevented their urging of militant action in defense of minority

#### Powell's Speech

New York City Councilman, the Rev. A. Clayton Powell, took advantage of the meeting to announce his candidacy for congressman from Harlem. He too made an ardent prowar speech, but threw in enough talk about fighting for freedom on the home front to satisfy an audience hungry for militant advice.

It was significant that although the committee had invited many white "liberals" and politicians who pose as friends of the Negro, to speak at the Garden, they all declined with the exception of one single person, the Rev. John La Forge, associate editor of the Catholic publication, America, and he did not say any-

Frank Crosswaith made the only pro-labor speech of the evening. He stated categorically that the fate of the Negroes rests solely with the working class of the United States and the world. He spoke of the power that the Negroes could use in their

War Labor Board Tries to

The War Labor Board openly entered the strike breaking busi-

The textile workers involved have been seeking a \$3.00 a week

The War Labor Board, rather than agree to the modest wage de-

mands of the striking workers, proceeded to issue a statement de-

nouncing them, then threatened them with blacklisting if they failed

to return to work and then instructed the boss of the textile mill to

This the boss gladly proceeded to do, but all he could muster was

a grand total of eight people willing to act as scabs-and these

weren't of any use to him because they couldn't work the machines.

The result is that the WLB has decided that it just can't get away

with this sort of thing and has called the leaders of the local textile

In the meantime, the War Labor Board has openly shown its

cards. It has pursued an open strike-breaking role in this instance.

It deserves the condemnation of the entire labor movement for its

behavior in this affair. And the labor movement must demand the

withdrawal of labor leaders from a board which acts in such a

wage increase. Since the outbreak of their strike, conducted by an

independent local union, they have met the most determined oppo-

sition from every possible source: the local employers and city ad-

ministration, the press and the Washington administration.

union to Washington to try to work out a settlement.

11 6 me 10 20 3 3 - 5

ness this week when it ordered the hiring of strike-breakers to take

the place of striking textile workers at the Arkwright Corporation

**Break Textile Strike** 

#### Present Dramatization

The Rose McClendon Players produced a dramatization of the evils which are faced by Negro workers. They presented very forcefully the Jim Crow practiced by the Navy, by city hospitals, by the War Department in the handling of Negro gold star mothers in the last war. In contrast to the speakers of the evening. these actors presented the struggle for equal rights FIRST, as a necessary prerequisite to the attainment of democracy. They asked that first the Negro be given democracy at home. As they pictured the colored draftee before his local board, he asks: "What have I got to fight for? And don't give me any of the 'fight for democracy' crap!"

However, it is unfortunate that these players did not treat the union problem in a very sympathetic manner. We must recognize the need for opening unions to Negroes without becoming anti-union in this struggle. There were also some anti-white remarks in the course of the play, which did not tie up very well with the previous pleas for black and white cooperation to end discrimination.

A. Philip Randolph was placed as the last speaker, and it was expected that he would give the real speech of the evening. However, he presented a few resolutions, one on Odell Waller, another on a mixed regiment in the Army, another endorsing the eight-point program of the March on Washington movement and then closed the meeting.

#### A Big Disappointment

This was the big disappointment of the evening. No mention was made of holding a real March on Washington, no plans for future action were proposed, nothing was said to lead the audience to think about the next step after this meeting.

In summation, we can say that 20,000 people came to protest the place assigned to them in the present order, came to hear plans for action. They cheered every speaker when he became militant, and every speaker knew enough to make some militant remarks. They were especcially enthusiastic in their response to a play which advised them to fight the battle against Jim Crow at home. They came to hear plans for action, but heard none.

(Next week's issue will contain a fuller report of this meeting as well as an analysis of the March on Washington meeting program.-

defeated a formidable combination of

enemies. There was E. G. Budd, a

powerful industrialist, a local repli-

ca of the great labor hater, Henry

Ford. He runs his factory like a fas-

cist dictatorship, with a company un-

ion, spy system and a ruthless purg-

There were the police, performing

There was the press. They imposed

a strict censorship on all news about

the strike from the first day to the

very end of the conflict. Not a line,

not a word appeared in any of the

Philadelphia papers. It was one of

the most successful censorships and

deliberate suppressions of news that

has ever been accomplished in this

Behind Budd stood the Metal

Trades Association, a powerful com-

bine of big iron and steel interests,

and the Philadelphia Chamber of

Commerce. It was against this or-

ganized gang of labor haters that the

And yet in spite of these tremen-

dous odds, so great was the power

of labor organization that the mili-

tant Budd workers came within a

hairsbreadth of success. The citadel

the services that police are created

ing of men every month.

Press Censorship

In the past few weeks the official spokesmen in America have come forward in lengthy speeches and editorials stating their "war aims." They seek to answer the perpetual question that arises in the mind of all working people: What are we fight-

Wallace has made at least three speeches (including this latest), all of them on the same theme of "the people's war," "the common man's war." He has emerged as the left wing spokesman of the

his voice in an effort to allay these incessant demands of the people to know what the shooting is all about. In a letter to our soldiers abroad he wrote: "You are not only fighting for your country and your peoples-you are, in the larger sense,

The New York Times, commenting upon the Russo-American lend-lease agreement, says: "It is to establish freedom, security and economic prosperity upon this earth that we plan to increase our lease-lend shipments to Russia, and that the United States and Britain have committed themselves to a second front."

Why this sudden and furious interest in "war aims" and the post-war world? "When the Greeks come bearing gifts, let us beware!" When the imperialists and the war-makers, when the "economic planners" and the men who cure poverty by plowing under, when the phony politicians and the "liberal" New Dealers come to us with grandiose promises and enchanted pictures of the fu-

#### PREPARATION FOR THE SLAUGHTER

They have something up their sleeves? This slew of statements, describing our "war aims" and our "victory objectives" have something more behind them than to allay the people's fear and nervousness regarding WHY the war is being

These speeches and statements seek primarily to prepare the mind of the American people, to lay the ideological groundwork for the greatest military and economic suffering that our country has ever undergone. They seek to make us believe that the enormous sacrifices in lives that a second front in Europe will mean; plus losses in the Asiatic wars; plus a still greater curtailment of living standards and goods in America—they seek to bamboozle us into believing that all this is worth while. Nav. that we should be only too willing and ready to make the sacrifices of life and material wealth, because we shall reap rich

This is what lies behind the hypocritical statements of the American Vice-President and his colleagues in deception. The American ruling class, bursting at the seams with war-like energy as it embarks to wage war at every front scattered throughout the world, wants to pull the wool over the eyes of the working class with its chatter about "a pint of milk and a pair of shoes."

But bitter hardship will teach all of us that flying fortresses and machine guns do not yield milk or make shoes. Only those who have a program for ending the war in the name of the people, for constructing a new world order based upon the working class-only they can guarantee the peace and prosperity that will give "a pint of milk and a pair of shoes" to all of us.

Plans Nearly Miscarried Budd felt sure that when he deliberately fired the militant welders that there would be no retaliation from the UAW or the CIO. He was almost completely correct. We say almost because his plans nearly miscarried. The welders plus other militant workers were determined not to take his blows sitting down. They resolved to break the chains that their own representatives, Murray and Thomas, had welded around

voluntarily surrendered labor's only

real weapon, the strike, the indus-

trialists have by no means aban-

doned their age-old methods of deal-

ing with the workers: the lockout,

the spy system, discriminatory fir-

ings of union men. These, and more,

are still the favorite methods of Budd

and his ilk. When you add to this

the fact that the boss is assured in

#### Max Shachtman Writes On:

### CHINA IN THE WAR

Marxism on the Wars of Colonies for Independence and the Wars of Imperialism for Colonies A 12 Page Section attached to the 32 page issue of The New International for June

#### The First Section Will Contain:

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

#### advance that organized labor will for: protecting the interests of the not hit back with its only potent wealthy and in this case deliberately weapon, the strike, then his arroattempting to intimidate and provoke gance and viciousness exceed all the strikers. Arrests on trumped-up technicalities were frequent.

them and so they struck.

And in striking they wrote one of the finest pages in local labor history. Single-handed they faced and almost

## of the open shop in Philadelphia tot-

men had to battle.

tered, wide cracks appeared in its imposing structure and it almost fell. What were some of the factors that saved it, for the time being in any case, we shall discuss next week in a continuation of this article.

#### The Myth of **Superior Races**

Hitler may shout his lungs out about superior races, but as far as the German workers are concerned, it goes in one ear and out the other. For, according to Curt Reiss, in his book, "Underground Europe," the German workers treat like brothers the enslaved workers imported from subjugated Europe.

## WALLACE:

#### 'A Pint of Milk And Pair of Shoes'

By Henry Judd-

Let us give the man his due! Vice-President Henry A. Wallace is the first of the United Nations leaders and spokesmen to give a specific and concrete statement of what his war aims are.

After we have won the war, said Wallace in a recent speech, we intend to see to it that every man and child throughout the world has "a pair of shoes" and "a pint of milk per day." Here, at last, after three years of waiting, after endless speeches filled with pious hopes and empty phrases, here, at last, is something we can sink

"A pint of milk and a pair of shoes!" In a world where destruction reigns supreme, where the greatest efforts of the powers that be are directed solely toward the ruination of the means of livelihood and production, this demand is nothing to sneeze at. The tens of millions of white and black sharecroppers in the South have neither; nor do the people of Europe's ruined territories, nor the great masses of the Orient. If by this aim Wallace means the social advancement of the masses everywhere, the raising of universal living standards, the achievement of social security and economic liberation-then that is the revolutionary program of LABOR ACTION. But shall we take these phrases seriously?

Whose words are they; from whose mouth? Is this not the same man who-as Secretary of Agriculture-advanced his program of "a pair of shoes and a pint of milk," during the days of bitter crisis after 1929, by originating the program of plowing under cotton, burning wheat, slaughtering hogs and pigs, curtailing all farm and dairy production? Of course it is! It is the same Triple-A Wallace, now ambitiously maneuvering for the 1944 presidential race. It is the same man who, in the name of American capitalism, said we could pave our way back to prosperity by destroying the means of life.

Furthermore, how can we take seriously this 'war aim" when it is put forward in the name of the very opposite: capitalism, a system of class exploitation and production for profit. Wallace tells us that we must first win the war (that is, achieve the destruction and prostration of our enemies' economic system in Asia and Europe) and then we shall have abundance. Abundance under what social order? Abundance without freeing Asia from Western imperialism; and America and Europe from the stranglehold of capitalism? Abundance through militarism, and war, and bombardments for years on end? We canot take this seriously.

#### WHAT ARE OUR WAR AIMS?

New Deal democrats-the "radical" Vice-President.

delegates of freedom."

Even the Atlantic Charter has been revived, after lying dormant for many months!

ture—then, too, let us be on our guard.