# Croppers Ask For 30¢ an Hour

The sharecroppers and day laborers of Southeast Missouri, one of the most oppressed and exploited of all economic groups in the country, are now organizing themselves into locals of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (CIO) around the demand they are raising of a minimum wage of 30 cents an hour. The cotton chopping season will begin in a few days and the men in Southeast Missouri are determined to fight for a minimum of 30 cents an hour.

After a period of comparative silence, Owen Whitfield, local UCAPAWA leader; has also come out in support of the demand for a 30-cent minimum in his speeches to the croppers and day

One of the locals—Local 313—has issued a leaflet appealing to Negro and white croppers and day laborers to fight together for 30 cents an hour. Its leaflet says: "We are asking all sharecroppers and day laborers to cooperate with us in our demand for a 30-cent per hour wage to meet the rising cost of living. This means that white and black workers must unite together to better our living conditions.... We want decent food and clothes to eat and wear and we cannot obtain it at the present wage. And we must have a living wage to meet the rising cost of living. We must win. And will win. Workers, please unite and join the union for our own welfare."

This demand, which the UCAPAWA local has issued, has aroused wide interest among the croppers and laborers. The landlords have also sensed the determination of the men to fight for a (Continued on page 3)

# The Case of Senator Walsh

-An Editorial-

In a series of sensational, copyrighted articles the New York Post has carried on a campaign against "Senator X" who, according to that paper, was guilty of having had very close connections with a house of male prostitution in Brooklyn, which, it was also alleged by the Post, was owned by a Nazi agent, was frequented by leaders of a Nazi spy ring and was also used as a place to which to entice American sailors and soldiers presumably in order to gain military information from them. The owner of this homosexual dive, one Beekman, signed affidavits to the effect that "Senator X" had habituated his place.

While no explicit statements were made in the Post, the reader was given considerable room to infer that the visits of "Senator X" might not have been exclusively for recreational purposes and that the presence of Nazi agents might have had something to do with his visits.

Now we are in no position to know whether these charges are true or false. We are not even very interested in the moral aspect of the question. It would certainly disrupt the ordinary functioning of our national life to a disturbing degree if a senator were to be pilloried . . . merely for that!

But the political aspect of the question is of grave importance. And that was why a hue and cry was raised in Washington until the Post finally named Senator Walsh as the person against whom it had made the above charges. Walsh, a prominent member of the Senate "isolationist" bloc, promptly issued a stock statement calling the charge "a diabolical lie" but has thus far failed to go into any substantial detail.

### THE PRESS CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

What is really important and interesting is the treatment which this matter has received in the daily press. No daily paper, except the Post, has printed any comment on the sensational exposé. The stately Times, the sensational News, the Mirror, the sultry World-Telegram, the Journal-American, even the liberalin-knee-pants PM, have said nothing.

Imagine what would happen if some labor leader were charged with some kind of "suspicious activity. Every capitalist paper would smear it over its front page. Look, for instance, how the press has distorted and smeared the campaign of the United Mine Workers to organize the dairy farmers.

Of course, the daily press merely continues its tradition of burying or refusing to print any material inimical to the capitalist class and its political representatives. It whitewashed, both by distortion and silence, the Merchants of Death whose recent activities in cooperation with Nazi Germany have just been discovered. Now it does the same for Senator Walsh.

Whether or not Walsh is guilty of the charges, the matter should be publicly aired. Too many capitalist leaders, too many capitalist politicians have recently been shown to be sympathetic toward or in contact with Nazi fascism to allow this incident to be buried in oblivion.

# Ford Inst. Local Rejects **Overtime Pay Cut Plan**

In a stinging rebuke to the general officers of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (CIO), the membership of Ford Instrument Workers, Local 425, emphatically rejected the proposal to surrender overtime pay for Saturday, Sunday and holiday work falling within a consecutive five-day work period. At their meetings last Tuesday, all four shifts of the local carried the motion presented by the local's executive board to protect their union and living standards by turning down the general officers' proposal on Saturday and Sunday pay. There was a total of only five votes for the general officers' proposal.

Resentment against the national officers had been running high in this local of 3,000 members from the time that the proposal first appeared as an advertisement in the New York Times last March. Workers in the Ford Instrument plants felt that the general officers had made unwarranted use of union funds by buying advertising space in the reactionary Times to present a plan generally opposed by many UE

It was further felt that the proposed plan weakened the union and endangered the living standards of all workers.

Realizing that they would lose 65 (Continued on page 2)

# LABOR ACTION

MAY 18, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

# Labor Unions, On Guard

# AGAINST WAGE FREEZING!

# Odell Waller Will Die-Unless...

On June 19, Odell Waller, Negro sharecropper from Virginia, is scheduled to die in the electric chair.

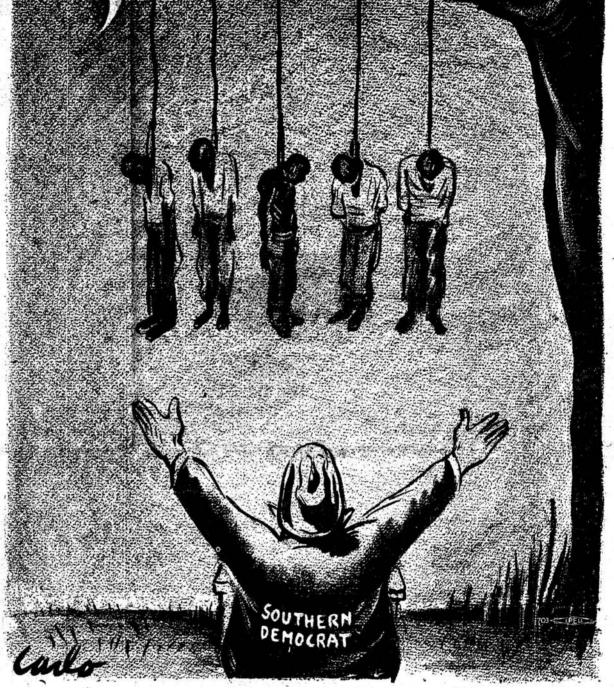
Waller, a young Negro whose case has become a cause célèbre, was convicted of firstdegree murder by a jury of 10 planters, one carpenter and one businessman — all of them white poll taxpayers.

It is true that Waller killed a man. He never tried to deny that.

But a study of the conditions that led Waller to kill Oscar Davis will show that Waller is himself a victim of a system, of oppression and inhumanity.

Odell Waller had tried desperately to eke out a living for his wife and mother by sharecropping on the Virginia estate of Oscar Davis. But it had been no go. So, one day in 1940, Waller had left the farm in desperation and gone to Baltimore in search of work. None was to be found.

farmed. Davis refused. An ar- ford to pay poll taxes. gument ensued. Davis drew for shot first. . . .



Waller came back only to see supposed to have. He was not the Supreme Court should rethat his family had been evicted tried by a jury of his peers. He verse the judgment of the lower from its shack. He went to land- was tried by a poll tax jury. He courts. But the Supreme Court lord Davis, demanding that Da- was tried by a jury chosen by a refused even to take the matter vis give him his just share of a system that excluded Negroes under its jurisdiction. It was too wheat crop they had jointly and poor whites who can't af- busy with other things. . . .

of trial which every American is in behalf of Waller, claimed that Waller!

. But the labor movement, the That was one of the grounds workers everywhere, cannot be his gun. So did Waller. Waller upon which the Workers De- too busy. Now, while there is fense League, labor defense or- still time: let labor's voice be Waller did not have the kind ganization conducting the trial heard in defense of Odell

# Standard of **Living Down** To '32 Scale -- Henderson

Further severe blows at labor's standard of living were struck in Washington last week. Following on the heels of President Roosevelt's seven - point economic program, analyzed in last week's LABOR ACTION as directing its main shafts against the working people of the country, the following were some of the blows struck at la-

1) Leon Henderson, Federal Price Administrator and close associate of President Roosevelt, made a speech in which he predicted that the living standards of the American people would take a sharp dive downward.

"It is probable that in the next 12 to 15 months we will get a civilian standard of living equivalent to 1932, which was the low of all lows during the depression."

2) Following that speech, Henderson took another crack at labor when he called for "wage equalization and stabilization." While he afterward clumsily tried to retreat with a denial that this meant wage freezing, it was apparent that that was exactly what he had in mind. For what he meant was that wages should not be raised-and that's a blow at labor which needs a wage raise to make up for the rising cost of living.

### Would Freeze Wages

3) In the meantime, the outright spokesmen of reaction, lacking even the subtlety of President Roosevelt and his aides, began an outright campaign for wage freezing. The Ford Motor Co., in rejecting a demand of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) for a \$1.00 a day wage increase and coming out for wage freezing, gave the signal for a boss offensive to freeze the present state of wage poverty from which the workers suffer. Representative Gore of Kentucky promptly acknowledged the signal when he introduced a bill into the House of Representatives to freeze wages.

4) While all this was going on, a sham battle took place between the House Ways and Means Committee and the Treasury Department. The Treasury favored lowering income tax exemptions from \$1,500 to \$1,200 for married men and from \$750 to \$600 for single men as a means of getting more revenue. The House committee is reported by the New York newspaper, PM, as secretly favoring a sales tax. The irony of the situation is that both proposals would strike body blows at the poor;

(Continued on page 3)

# **SWOC Holds Vital Convention This Week**

## Democratic Union Regime and Militant Labor Program Main Issues Facing Steel Workers

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The first constitutional convention of the steel workers called for May 19-23 in Cleveland is long overdue. These workers in the basic industry in the United States, dominated by the Morgan controlled United States Steel Corp., have had only an organizing committee for six years, or since the beginning of the CIO.

The whole steel organization of over half a million workers has been controlled from the top by Chairman Murray, MacDonald and a few regional and sub-regional directors. This made the SWOC a strange outfit in the CIO with its mass internationals such as the UMWA and the UAW. This situation in the ranks of the steel workers also has been a source of much dissatisfaction. The continued concentration of authority in the top leadership, the use of the appointive power, the manner of negotiating contracts, made for bureaucracy within the union and tended to smother the development

of internal democratic procedure and held to set up a real international

#### Lack of Democracy. The steel workers simply did not

and could not feel that the SWOC was their union in the sense that the automobile workers could feel that the UAW was theirs. In the SWOC it was the appointed organizers who directed all operations. It was they, along with the higher officials and approved union officers who comprised the bulk of the delegates to SWOC conventions. Furthermore, these conventions were operated in a most bureaucratic manner: the usual democratic procedure of a UAW convention, for example, was always absent from a gathering of the SWOC.

There has been little or no educational work carried on and developed by the SWOC. Here again one can point out the vast gulf between the SWOC and the UAW. The trade union educational level of the

SWOC is therefore woefully low. Now that a convention is being

union it is presumed that all of these defects and delinquencies will be corrected: that the delegates will leave the convention feeling that now they have a real

### A New Race?

A new race of people will have to be bred in this country; people who can eat grass, exist without clothing, live naked in caves, or lit out in the ditches like wild animals. People who will work for others until they themselves drop dead of exhaustion, never uttering a word of protest against injustice, never daring to think that they have human souls or human rights.

Either such a race will have to be found or there must be an other government

From Torch, Irish labor paper.

powerful, democratic union that can do the job for them.

Whether or not this occurs will depend on several considerations. First, the quality of the delegates to the convention. Will the majority of the delegates really come from and be representative of the ranks of the organization? Just how far has the leadership gone in order to assure themselves that "safe" people are delegates to this convention?

### Issue of Democracy

Next, will the convention be run in a democratic manner so that the real sentiment of all or any group of delegates will have proper and adequate chance to be expressed? This has not been the practice at former

Of course if the delegates are steel workers who really have their roots in the mills and among the workers, they will probably not be so easily turned away from insistence on their democratic rights. They will know that what is done

at this convention will require the utmost attention and scrutiny. This is a constitutional convention in a very important sense: it is a NEW BEGINNING for the steel workers and is of tremendous significance. A new constitution will be adopted at this time.

The constitution will be the fundamental law of the international. It will set forth the provisions for operating this large international union from top to bottom: duties and powers of the officers, how often conventions will be held, how delegates to conventions will be elected, the duties and authority of shop committeemen and shop stewards, salaries, joining fees and monthly dues. What measure of control the national officers will have over the affairs of the locals, what amount of autonomy the locals will have will be written into fne new constitution.

And then there are such important matters as negotiations, the signing of contracts and the matter

(Continued from page 3)

# Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Third Camp

#### FREE GERMANY, INC., OR THE CASE OF MR. G.

We must apologize to our readers for a certain delay in reporting a world historic event which took place some tims ago in Washington. A new movement for "German freedom" has been founded which is led by an eminent representative of the "freedom-loving Germans" in emigration, Albert Grzesinski, a former chief of police, a former Prussian Minister of the Interior and a long-standing member of the Social Democratic Party. This news has really filled us with delight. What better representative could have been found for those who represent the Atlantic Charter variety of "freedom" than a former chief of police? Who else could be so well suited to inspire German workers to revolt against Hitler than Grzesinski, who was, as the then Minister of the Interior, responsible for the bloody crushing of the Berlin workers on May Day, 1929? Who else is so qualified to speak in the name of socialists and democrats as the man who wrote in his autobiography on the beginning of the revolution of 1918 in Germany:

"Everything happened unexpectedly. Not even the leaders of the Social Democratic Party...had thought of an overthrow of the entire governing system (i.e., the Hohenzollern monarchy-E.) and of its replacement by a democratic republic. In truth, they had not even desired it.... Although I am a convinced republican, my understanding of the German people and their mentality led me seriously to doubt the final demise of the German monarchy.... Ebert disliked the revolution and his main desire was to bring a speedy end to the present disorderly situation. Leaders and members of organized labor (members also?-E.) fully realized the need for order and an authoritative government. The task of rebuilding the state was not easy...." (Quoted from Grzesinski's Inside Germany, New York, 1939.)

Decidedly the leading statesmen in both war camps seem to have had ill fortune in choosing their foreign stooges. Hitler picks Lavel, the most hated man in France, and Washington picks G.... Mr. G. goes to town and tells everybody that he speaks in the name of true Germany. But in whose name does he really speak? We can think of nobody except certain officials of the "old school" in the Berlin police and Prussian Interior Department. G.'s popularity was and is limited to cops and plainclothesmen. Of course, those who already dream of an Allied occupation and dismemberment of Germany may seriously consider the necessity of having experienced "native" policemen at their disposal.

So far, so good. But there still seem to be people who think that Mr. G., a social democrat, may have influence among the workers of Germany. Never has there been a leader more unpopular with the German, and especially the Berlin workers. They might have had some consideration for certain leading social democrats, but for G. they had only hatred. G. has had the career of a typical social democratic bureaucrat: metal worker, trade union official, president of the workers and soldiers council of Kassel during the revolution and then state minister and chief of police. He hates the revolutionary workers quite as much as he hates fascism and, unlike many others, he even dares to say so in just so many words.

#### HE THOUGHT WORKERS WERE "TOO RADICAL"

The rise to power of Hitler, according to historian G., was due primarily to the fact that the workers were too "radical" and would not comply with the rules and regulations their master policeman had devised in order to keep them within the bounds of "republican legality." The cause of the German republic was lost because his (G.'s) efforts to establish a "republican state" were torpedoed by the revolutionary workers....

Mr. G. has the nose of a good police dog; he has a unique ability to smell from which direction the wind blows. For years in the Paris emigration he passed rather unnoticed, without much apparent political activity. Even the official social democrats cultivated a certain aloofness toward this rather compromising individual. Finally he disappeared rather abruptly from Paris after the end of the Spanish Civil War and malicious tongues would have it that his assistance in smuggling weapons to Spain had not been for purely idealistic reasons alone.... But be that as it may, times have changed and the wind brings good tidings to the police dog's nose.

No longer does Mr. G. have to tolerate those boring theoretical discussions which marked the previous period; he is now at the stage of very "practical" moves. He creates a committee pretending to speak in the name of the democratic and socialist German emigrés; he boasts of support in Washington and prepares himself for his future role of a German Quisling. Some feelers are already extended to make his committee some kind of unofficial "government in exile...."

We might, perhaps, have been wrong at the beginning of this article to treat this matter in an ironical vein. In fact, this is a very serious matter and goes much farther than the mere person of Mr. G. What is elaborated by him and his like is a program for German counter-revolution. What they are preparing for is a repetition of their last post-war role. man proletarian revolution.

The terror of Hitlerism is certainly more victous than the terror of Mr. G. But we do not intend to choose between the two. The German workers asked to decide between fascist and "democratic" police terror will remember the poem of their poet Heine, in which an umpire was to decide on the relative merits of different religions:

"Which is right, he says, I know not, But there's one thing I can tell: I am sure both monk and rabbi Have a most offensive smell."

The German workers will turn with disgust from this Mr. G. who dares to write: "The only possible way to stop the Nazi drive is that which they themselves employ for the accomplishment of their aims." Their revolutionary struggle against the Nazis and all other oppressors will assume quite different forms and we are afraid that Mr. G. is not going to like this particu-

# The War Issue Before the Socialist Party Convention

The Socialist Party of America is getting ready to hold a national convention at the end of this month in order to define its position on America and the war. An intense discussion is now in full swing in its ranks and in the ranks of the Young Socialists; and a large proportion, perhaps a majority, of the latter support the left wing of the organization in what they consider to be the anti-war position as opposed to the right wing pro-war line of Norman Thomas and the party leadership.

This crisis in the SP was precipitated by the first bomb that fell on Pearl Harbor. Up to that time the Thomasites had more or less described the war as imperialist on both sides and therefore undeserving of workers' support on either side of the lines. Even so, the only ACTION to which this opinion had led it was -collaboration with those "anti-war" fighters, Wheeler, Lindbergh and Couglhin's mouthpieces in the fascist-tainted America First Committee. But at least, its socialist criticism of the imperialist nature of the war was something, even in those comparatively peaceful times.

But with the entrance of its OWN capitalist government into the World War, the "objective situation" changed, as Thomas explained. And so the national executive committee of the SP met at the beginning of this year and adopted a resolution by a vote of 6 to 5, with the minority voting in favor of an amendment which stated that "we cannot give our political support to any war conducted for imperialist aims."

#### Deliberate Ambiguity

The resolution is entirely characteristic of the politics of Norman Thomas' party-deliberately ambiguous and cowardly, but for all that, clearly a full jump onto the bandwagon of the pro-war parade. Its ambiguity apparently has served the purpose for which it was intended: to enable the socialist left wingers to claim, as some of them do, that the trouble with the resolution is merely that it "doesn't take a position" on the war. That, it would seem, is why left wing leader Lillian Symes presented her position as an amendment

(Continued from page 1)

hours of pay every six weeks under

this plan, once the Ford Instrument

Co. applied its so-called "stagger

shift" system, the workers quickly

launched an attack against the plan

at their Tuesday meeting. Speaker

after speaker pointed out that this

loss of pay would more than wipe

out the gain made by the local a few

weeks earlier, when the workers re-

ceived a pay increase to compensate

for the rising cost of living. The

inconsistency of fighting for pay in-

creases only to give them up again

in another form a few weeks later,

The Stalinist connections of cer-

tain of the general officers of the UE

are generally known. Workers at

the meeting recognized the general

officers' proposal as part of the Sta-

linist policy of yielding labor's gains,

retreating before the attacks of

was shown by many speakers.

of the socialist anti-war position to

the NEC's social-patriotism. It is true that the resolution carefully avoids making a definite statement precisely on the main issues of the war: Is it an imperialist war like the first world conflict, or is it really a war for democracy or any other kind of just war? Does the SP oppose this war, which it says it predicted would result from Roosevelt's policy, or does the Act of Congress legislate for its opinion also?

For twenty-five years members of the SP have swelled their chests in pride pointing to the famous St. Louis resolution adopted by the party on the outbreak of war in April, 1917. That resolution was forthright enough: "Unalterable opposition to the war just declared ... call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their ward ... imperialistic ... It is not a war to advance the cause of democracy in Europe ... " In fact, the St. Louis declaration was so good it is a pity that the party made no attempt to carry it out in practice even then, but instead backwatered as the war hysteria mounted.

But, a sign of the times: where TODAY the working class as a whole is enormously more suspicious and less enthusiastic about the prosecution of this war, the SP now adopts a declaration which only with the greatest difficulty can be construed to hint even at the fact that the war is rooted in the very existence of the capitalist system of production for

#### Liebknecht-Upside Down

But it is not true that the resolution of the SP does not take a position, in spite of its cowardliness. Almost every sentence reeks with the social-patriotic spirit of its writers. The vials of wrath are poured upon Japan's "treacherous attack" upon this country—a view several shades more moralistic and less realistic than that of Dorothy Thompson who only lamented that it had not been the United States that pulled the fast one first. The historic declaration of Liebknecht that the MAIN enemy is here at home is now deliberately stood on its head: it is "the leaders and ruling cliques" of the Axis powrather than as a direct counterposing ers who are "the prime enemies of

the employers and their anti-labor

representatives, and of placating all

the enemies of labor. Speakers

warned their union brothers that

this policy of catering to the anti-

labor forces which is pursued by the

Stalinists and their satellites, and by

other reactionaries functioning in the

labor movement, would result in

wrecking the unions and destroying

the living standards of the workers.

the government needed the workers'

money, most speakers expressed the

opinion that the vast profits of the

corporations and large salaries of

their executives should be taxed to

The action of the Ford local in

rejecting the general officers' propo-

sal will give an impetus to other

UE workers in depending their union

finance the war.

In answer to the argument that

thing that is left of the SP anti-war fulminations of pre-Pearl Harbor days is a nostalgic reference to their now-dead hope that the U.S. could be kept as "an area of sanity and peace" in the midst of the world-

Japs to shatter such a dream!

pected it is the position of "critical"

ion, this will not mean that democ-

ments" which do not differ from Hit-

Essentially the Thomasites' line is that of an amendment to Roosevelt's and Walter Winchell's, not its socialist opponent. It is the more to be feared if the SP left wing began at the NEC session by making its own position an amendment to an amend-

comes out foursquare-you can hear Norman Thomas' ringing tones-for socialism. That is the crux of the question. For -it is only socialism that means a victory for democracy and the defeat of Hitlerism all over the world-not the mere wish for socialism, but the class struggle for socialism now.

The day of the struggle for socialism, you see, has not yet come. Today is only the day of victory for democracy against fascism. For such people, somehow, the day for socialist struggle never seems to come around-not even when capitalist imperialism is groaning and bleeding in

There is now only the question of the road that the convinced anti-war elements in the party will now follow, and it is to that question that we will turn next week.

wide war - an isolated Shangri-La "in which democracy could be made to work." How "treacherous" of the

The essential political meaning of the resolution stands out clearly from the verbiage; as was to be exsupport to the war, as a war against fascism. It is the position of "the fight on two fronts"-full support to the war effort on the one hand, and criticism of its CONDUCT on the

What else does it mean when the resolution proclaims that "We hate their (the Nazis') cruelty and WILL RESIST THEIR AGGRESSION?" As long as the working class does not have full power, control of the struggle against the Nazis is the exclusive property of the imperialists. The resolution issues a call to the oppressed peoples of Europe "to cooperate in a struggle against the aggressor." "Cooperate" with whom? With the forces of proletarian revolution or with the de Gaulles? The Axis' "military power must be destroyed and undermined" so that "the democratic forces . . . can achieve democratic victory." Of course, says the resolution in its weasly fash-

umph-it is only the first step. For "military victory ALONE" is not The existence of a political line in the statement should be clear enough to the socialist left wing. For victory against the fascist "aggressor"! but watch out for those "certain ele-

racy will "AUTOMATICALLY" tri-

ler in any fundamental (... and who happen to own this country and its government).

What to do? The NEC resolution

"The day will come," says the NEC and - take hope! - "perhaps sooner than we now dare to hope, when a peace offensive' (what! not a SO-CIALIST offensive?) "based on this world-wide appeal will accomplish ar more than the continuation of this immensely destructive war. THAT DAY HAS NOT YET COME."

## THE WORLD AT WAR....

# Churchill's Speech Means More "Muddling Through" And No Second Front

By WILLIAM BRAD

Churchill's speech last week was an outline of British and Allied strategy in Europe for the next phase of the war. Emerging from all the flamboyance of Churchill's oratory is one clear sign: no change, continuation and intensification of the present tactical approach. That, when the oratorical dripping is wiped off, is all.

The method of fighting which Churchill proposes is the method of muddling through - that necessity which has somehow been transformed into a virtue. Churchill's prescription for victory is simple. We have only to endure and to persevere to conquer."

In short, there will be no second front this year. There will be intensified destruction of German cities, strategic bases and military objectives. There will perhaps be an increase in the number and extent of Commando raids. But all these will be of a harrassing nature, not designed to precede an invasion,

The detail on these proposed raids and the large section of the speech devoted to the "glorious ally, Russia," are meant largely for domestic consumption as a palliative for those who have clamored for a second

Clamor for Second Front

Inside England there has been a steadily growing demand for a second front in Western Europe to relieve the Russians and put the British on a fighting front. Numerous demonstrations have been held throughout Great Britain at some of which Russian Ambassador Maisky has spoken. The British Stalinists have been very active in this cam-Although agitation for a second

front may continue for some time, Churchill has now declared his intentions on military policy for the vear. And unless there is some sharp turn in events, that is the line that will carry in the Allied

Churchill also delivered a rather detailed statement on the politics of the European war in so far as British strategy is concerned. Curiously enough, this message was directed to the German people only. He had not

### Stalinist Dean of Canterbury Is a Friend of Coughlin

Hewlitt Johnson, the Dean of Canterbury, whose fantastic whitewashes of Stalinist Russia were given such wide circulation in this country by the local Stalinists, has been exposed as having had very friendly relations with Charles E. Coughlin, native fascist leader.

On October 16, 1935, the New York Herald Tribune carried a story which was entitled: "Coughlin 95% Right to Dean of Canterbury; Anglican Leader with Radio Cleric in Backing Social Credit Theory.'

At the time that the Dean of Canterbury gave his OK to Coughlin, the latter had already clearly shown his fascist tendencies.

This has not, however, prevented the Stalinists from playing up the Dean as a great social thinker and publicizing his "Soviet Power" in hundreds of thousands of copies. Are some faces red!

one word to say to the tens of millions in the occupied lands under Nazi control. No word of advice, comfort or encouragement. Nothing.

But for the German people Churchill had a message: "All they (the German people) have to do is to leave the cities where munition work is being carried on, abandon their work and go into the fields and watch their home fires burning from a distance. Now is the time to bring home to the German people the wickedness of their rulers by destroying under their very eyes the factories and seaports on which their war effort depends."

Even that flimsy attempt which was made in early British propaganda to distinguish between the German people and their rulers is abandoned. What do the German people have in store? Destruction of their homes, devastation, bombings. So speaks the war lord of Britain. No other promise, no other word to the German people.

#### Churchill's Approach

Churchill's entire political approach appears to be to lick Hitler at his own game. He will destroy more and kill more than Hitler. He will answer stroke for stroke. Is this supposed to separate the German masses from Hitler?

But in reality it is not intended for this at all. Churchill and his allies obviously feel that they do not want to make a distinction. Their policy is one of destruction, not only now, but after the war. Their plan for Europe's future is for a Europe in chains, but in British chains rather than Hitler's. For Germany: dismemberment based on a super-Versailles Treaty. That is why Churchill has no message other than de-

The most ominous note which Churchill struck was on the use of poison gas. All the imperial powers have vast stores of poison, gas and perfected techniques for their use. But all sides have thus far refrained because it is a game that can be played with equal destructiveness by both sides. Now Churchill raises the possibility of British flyers spraying this horrible death over German cities, provided, Churchill says, the Germans do the same in Russia.

"Who Started It?"

The determination of which side "started it" will never be settled, just as it was never settled in the last war. And as a matter of fact, it is of secondary importance. The brutality unleashed by the Second World War must necessarily increase -on the part of both sides. It must increase because neither side is capable of rallying the masses of Europe to a banner of liberation. It must increase because the Alliesand Churchill's speech is complete testimony of this-can fight only with military weapons, in which they are still far behind the Axis. They cannot utilize the powerful political weapons which socialist opponents of Hitlerism could unleash. That is why Churchill's speech of-

fers little cheer to the British people. A battle won: a battle lost. Almost everyone realizes by now that these battles are not decisive. The war goes into its third year with prospects even gloomier than beforeprovided that the war be continued as an inter-imperialist struggle!

# The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

Ford Inst. Workers Reject

Overtime Pay Cut Plan

### On LABOR ACTION's **Negro Policy**

Dear Editor:

From week to week the policy of LABOR ACTION on news about Negroes becomes clearer. The issue of May 11 makes it unmistakable. This is the issue following the clash of Negroes in Hempstead, L. I., in protest of the brutal clubbing of a Negro soldier by a cop. This is the week of a Negro riot against cops in Detroit. This follows another series of physical assaults against Negro soldiers in the South. And yet LA-BOR ACTION does not feel obligated to report any of this news.

Excuse is sometimes given that the paper's staff is inadequate to cover happenings to Negroes. But Hempstead is only 20 miles from New York City. The New York Times and the Mirror reported the

LABOR ACTION is far superior to any other newspaper in reporting the growing union consciousness of the Negro worker but for some reason it seems to be anxious to play down the developing tension between Negroes and whites. Does it emulate the ostrich by pretending not to notice unpleasant facts?

When a clash is reported, generally the news in LABOR ACTION is hardly distinguishable from the account in the white capitalist press. The report of the Fort Dix shootings is a case in point. LABOR ACTION

white MP were killed without even bothering to note that People's Voice and other Negro papers had insisted that at least four white MP's were killed.

The fact that the animosity between blacks and whites is blazing now with a heat greater than at any time since 1919 while Negro workers and white workers are learning more about the values of race cooperation in the unions is a paradox not unknown to Marxists. The Negroes are jostling their betters above them as they get up off their knees. Both phenomena are two sides of the same

Paul Harris for several weeks has been trying to simplify Marx for Negroes. His column might create less suspicion were it entitled "Marxian Economics for the Worker." Aside from shoving the word Negro into the column at sundry places he shows little familiarity with Negro problems as opposed to the problems of the white workers. And, remember, there is a difference!

The points which C.L. makes are very important and the charges which he makes are likewise impor-

First, as to the facts on LABOR ACTION's coverage. We think it unfair to mention one or two incidents involving racial riots which LABOR ACTION failed to report—and draw have a deliberate policy of refusing to recognize the existence of racial An examination of LABOR AC-

TION for the past several months will show that we have discussed the following incidents involving racial tension—to mention only a few: the riot at Fort Bragge; the Sikeston lynching (we were the only paper in the country to report the lynching in full detail as well as to report the racial tension, and its significance, that resulted afterward); the Philadelphia USO incident; the Sojourner Truth riot; the Louisiana riot; the Tuskegee incident; and many others.

How does C.L. explain the fact that LABOR ACTION is the only paper in the country reporting and discussing the relationship between Negro and white workers in Southeast Missouri-one of the tinderboxes of the country?

Take, for instance, the Fort Dix riot which C. L. says we reported in terms "hardly distinguishable from the white capitalist press." C. L. fails to note that in the very same issue reporting the riot there also appeared lengthy editorial comment on the riot giving a socialist analysis of racial antagenism and how to eliminate ft. This is far more important than how many white MP's were

Thus we consider it altogether incorrect to say that we have emuto notice unpleasant facts." We have swerving from it.-Editor. written about racial antagonisms; and shall continue to do so.

It is true that we failed to report A Sailor Reports the Hempstead and Detroit riots This we regret. It is unfortunate that we cannot cover every Negro event, just as we cannot cover every event of general news interest. What is important, however, is not merely to report racial riots but rather to try to point to the road out. And that is why we give such prominence to reports of Negro-white collaboration in the trade unions. The report of the Hempstead riot merely confirms in the mind of the Negro worker what he knows to be the tragedy of today; but the report of Negro-white unity in the United Automobile Workers or the United Mine Workers shows him what is the road to the freedom of tomorrow.

That, we suspect, is where the shoe itches. What else can be the significance of C. L.'s comments on Paul Harris' articles? Harris has attempted, by going into great detail about the history of Japanese imperialism, to destroy the illusion held by some Negroes that Japan can serve as their savior. His series is not a primer on Marian economics. It is a primer for the Negro worker, teaching him that his liberation lies in class struggle and not in any other way.

That is the opinion of LABOR ACTION. That is the guidepost determining our handling of Negro

stated that two Negroes and one the conclusion therefrom that we lated the "ostrich by pretending not news. We have no intention of

# On Australia Trip

I just got back from a trip to Australia on an American transport. I think your readers would like to know something about conditions on the ship and about how our American soldiers are treated going over-

The ship was non-union and unorganized, so the conditions were pretty bad. We got a bonus for being at sea, but not while we were tied up in port (even though we got bombed and machine gunned by the Japs in four ports) The food as usual was stinko, and we got no overtime

When we got to Panama they refused us shore-leave or an advance on our pay. As a result there was a spontaneous stoppage on the part of most of the crew. Fifteen crew members were put in the brig while we were in port, but were later released. We were threatened by the military commander with every kind of punishent, including forcing us to work at bayonet point!

In Australia the people welcomed the soldiers with real friendliness and relief. They were sure glad they had come! The Australians were really frightened by the rush of the Japs and feel that the Americans saved them.

All the Australians are bitter against the English. They call them "Pommies," "retreat specialists," etc. They make no bones about their dislike, either. Most of them would either like to see Australia declare itself independent from the British Empire, or else come under the American flag. Hardly any of them want to stay under the British after

the war is over. The Americans are being put up in tents in the big cities, while barracks are being constructed all over. The people treat them very well and relations between them are good. The Aussies can't understand the Southern soldiers and officers who try to continue their Jim Crow actions against the Negro troops that came over to Australia.

I met many soldiers who had fought in North Africa, Java, Malaya, etc. All of them seemed to agree on two things. First, that the native populations were completely neutral (where they didn't help the Japs) and would not lift a finger to help the defenders. Second, that the Japanese soldiers fight like hell and don't care what happens to themselves. They admitted that Jap tactics of infiltration had tricked them and forced them to retreat all over. They are all determined to fight and defend Australia but they know they are up against a tough enemy.

Prime Minister Curtin of the La- Philadelphia

#### **Business Is Business** "What appears a distinct possi-

bility is the appearance of some rubber from the Malay Peninsula, now controlled by the Japanese. The plantations there were in no sense scorched by the retreating British and conceivably Japanese commercial agents could get them into production without too much delay. Such rubber then might be sold to interests in this country by way of an intermediary or broker in, say, Brazil. The Japanese would like to get the money or credit which rubber could supply; and we would like to get the rubber, principally for our military needs. Essentially this would amount to trading with the enemy but there is plenty of support for the belief that such rubber would find its way into this country before too long."

From Steel Magazine—quoted in The New Republic, May 11, 1942.

bor Party isn't really very popular. They think he is too easy-going on the Aussie bosses and industrialists. These people are really a frontier people - tough, hard-drinking, easygoing, democratic among themselves.

John Harrison.

# Steel Workers Convention Faces Problems Of Democratic Regime and Militant Program

of strike procedure. Just how much will the locals and the membership of the international have to say in determining their course in these

The answer to all these questions will be written into the union's constitution and by-laws.

National officers will be elected at this convention and a national board. There will be a provision for regional directors and international organizers. The question may arise as to whether or not individual locals will have their own local organizers and what their relation will be to the representatives of the national organization.

These questions should consume a considerable part of the five days of the convention. They are not secondary matters and the delegates should not permit them to be treated as such. The way these matters are handled will determine what kind of international union the steel workers will have up to the time of the next convention. The kind of precedent set in this first convention will determine in large measure what it will be possible to do at subsequent conventions and in between conven-

Aside from these organizational problems this convention will be confronted with other most serious situations that the delegates will have to face. What is to be the real program of the convention? Will it be a convention of steel workers assembled primarily for the purpose of establishing an international union to fight for better living conditions for steel labor or is it designed primarily as a Roosevelt pro-war rally?

Will Philip Murray, in his opening address, present the representatives of the workers at Bethlehem, Big Steel and Little Steel with a dish of sacrifices they will be expected to swallow whole without choking? Will Murray and the other officers of the SWOC have the effrontery and the audacity to come before this convention of steel workers and begin orating about the necessity for sacrifices on the part of labor?

#### Boss Profiteering

This convention of the toilers in the steel mills will meet at a time when the reports of the large corporations are appearing in the papers telling the world about the millions in profits that are rolling in from war orders. These workers have just read the story of Standard Oil and General Electric: how these two vast companies connived and conspired with the Nazi trusts, even after the United States entered the war, to control the production of war materials in such a way as to benefit Hitler and American millionaires. These workers have read that the officers of Standard Oil were called traitors by a United States senator.

The steel workers have read that Eugene Grace of Bethlehem Steel received special remuneration of \$298,144 in 1940 and \$357,724 in 1941. And this exclusive of his large salary from the company! They know that the unspeakable Tom Girdler of Republic Steel had a salary of \$176,000 in 1940 and \$275,000 in 1941. They know that right down the line the heads of the big corporations have had their salaries raised often as much as 100 per cent.

This is not all. These workers know that millions on millions in dividends and interest are being distributed every three months to rich parasites and loafers, known as stockholders and creditors. Also these workers know that there are all manner of little parasites, fixers. contract jugglers, middle men and others who have or claim to have "influence" in the right place in

paid, they too have both feet in the trough along with the big shots who run and control the country.

#### What Happened in Auto

The steel workers have read about the convention of the automobile workers where the leadership by tear-jerking, pleading, distortion and demagogy got its "equality of sacrifice" proposals adopted. Some of the steel workers have heard what happened in the automobile plants after the auto workers had been sold down the river by their leadership. The automobile manufacturers licked their chops and grinned. Now they had the UAW nailed down, the union had been strangled by its own leadership and delivered to the

This capitulation, following the no-strike promise made to Roosevelt, did not appease the laborhaters in Congress nor the bosses. The CIO was on the run, they had tasted blood and the whole pack was out for a killing. They wanted a ceiling on wages and their man Henderson is ready to give it to

Does Roosevelt want a ceiling on wages? He uses another word, not so harsh, for he is a "friend of labor." He calls it "stabilization." Don't put a ceiling on wages, for ceilings are of various heights and sometimes ceilings are raised. Roosevelt wants wages stabilized. That is the sure

In this series of articles we have tried to show that

the hypocritical pretensions of Washington should not

be allowed to distract the Negro into looking favorably

at the criminal lies of the Japanese imperialists. We

proposed instead a serious analysis of imperialism and

an equally serious estimate of the kind of society which

alone can provide the solution to the numerous crimes

and injustices of capitalism, one of which is the fero-

vation of the workers on an international scale. A

large proportion of the workers of the world are colored.

A new society which aims at the emancipation of work-

ers must therefore emancipate the "colored peoples." It

is along these lines that a serious Negro must THINK.

That being understood, we can now look at society today

and see the tremendous movement toward the unity of

We have shown how the economic crisis caused the

CIO to grapple with the problem of the semi-skilled

and unskilled workers and how (race prejudice or no

race prejudice) it was compelled to organize all, black

and white alike The Negro's position in the ranks of

labor 15 years ago and his position today are tremen-

the channels are being dug for another great surge for-

ward. The organized labor movement in time will be

compelled to organize the South as the CIO was com-

organize the South, the mere statement aroused an en-

self-defense they must break down the prejudice that

exists between different racial groups among the work-

ers in the South and build their unions into a solid or-

ganized fighting force. Progress has already been made,

but that is as nothing to what will happen when the

CIO or some section of it puts on a real mass organ-

izing drive. Already great numbers of Southern work-

Some years ago the Southern Tenant Farmers Union

drew together many thousands of agricultural workers

with a large percentage of whites. The union has de-

clined, but in Southeast Missouri whites and Negroes

are getting together spontaneously again. Memphis is

today a center of union activity, white and black. Bir-

It is the class struggle becoming ever more intense

mingham is a union stronghold, white and black.

ers think in terms of the CIO as their coming savior.

UNION STRONGHOLDS IN THE SOUTH

When the last CIO convention said that it would

The advanced workers feel already that in sheer

all workers which is going on under our very eyes.

THE CIO'S ORGANIZATION DRIVE

pelled to organize on an industrial basis.

thusiastic response.

We showed that a socialist society demanded an ele-

cious persecution of subject and colored peoples.

By PAUL HARRIS

they are now.

What else do the bosses want? They and their deputies in Congress want forcible deductions from the workers' pay envelope to go for war

Next they want the 48-hour, 54hour, 60-hour week and the elimination, if possible, of all overtime

This is not enough: the bosses also demand a sales tax. And do they stop there? Of course not. They urge that as a patriotic duty the workers in the lower income brackets should be willing to have their income taxes increased.

With this formidable roster of immediate demands one would think that the bosses would be satisfied for a season. But they are possessed of other tricks. There is one other little matter to be attended to. That is the unions themselves.

#### Bosses Aim at Unions

After the bosses have stripped labor of everything but its shirt, they will try to put a ceiling on, or better still, stabilize the situation. To do this the must get at the unions, at the locals in each plant, mill and factory. There must be no signed contracts if they can possibly get out of signing. If a contract is signed then the next step is to harass, ignore and dodge the bargaining and grivance committees.

The Future of the Negroes

Is With Organized Labor

This is the program of the bosses and their stooges in Congress. Their patriotism is at fever heat. They are prepared any day to return millions to the government in profits after they get caught cheating and after their books have been subpoenaed. But Standard Oil and General Electric, both agents of Hitler, have never been prosecuted. They go right on their patriotic way, piling up the profits.

The bosses are fighting one of their numerous and constantly recurring imperialist wars but they demand that workers foot the bill.

"Let them go into the Army and die; into our factories, mines and mills to slave like hell. We'll peg their wages, increase their hours of labor, give them the speed-up. We'll increase their income taxes, clamp on a sales tax, take a day's wages for the Red Cross and another for the USO. We'll raise the price of their food and clothing and find some way to skin them on the rent. And just to be sure that we don't have to feed them when our war is ended we'll have our government deduct a few dollars from their pay each week to feed them when our war is ended and we close down our factories and put them into the street."

This is an imaginary statement that almost any, boss could make. Because these are their plans for labor, for steel labor and all other

since the crisis of 1929 which is pushing into the minds

and lives of all the necessity of union organization, ir-

respective of color. What will probably happen in time

is a repetition of what took place in France in 1936. In

France the union movement was about a million strong

in May, 1936. Then came the stay-in strikes in June

and by September four million workers had joined the

unions. It may take some years, but the increasing con-

sciousness of the threat to labor which is today present

in this country, of the great crisis in store for American

capitalism, of the increasing degradation of Southern

labor and the continuous unrest in the South, will one

day result in a tremendous drive of union organization

in the South that will be a big step toward racial inte-

The result of such a step has tremendous potentiali-

ties not only for the Southern workers economically: it

will affect them politically as well. And it will affect

the workers of every part of this country. A real mass

movement of labor will give a body blow to race preju-

dice in the South such as nothing else could ever give.

In this work, unions like the SWOC, the UAW and the

UMW-all of which have many Negroes in their ranks-

It is of course necessary to remember that in these

appointments. Very often some Negroes are blinded by

their real grievances with certain elements in the un-

ions, certain workers who still retain aspects of race

prejudice. They fail to see the forest because of the

trees and seem to think that if one individual white

unionist doesn't have exactly the correct attitude to-

ward Negro workers, that is a reason to be anti-union.

No attitude could be more dangerous to the Negro work-

ers. We do not, of course, wish to deny or minimize the

frequency of such occurrences. It is still the daily ex-

But it is necessary to understand that the road to

Negro salvation leads directly along the road to labor

salvation. Those unions, like the UMW and the UAW,

which have really practiced racial equality, have set the

example. It is in this direction that the Negro workers

what you've been writing up to now-about why Japan

has no more to offer the Negro people than the Southern

Jim Crowers, about why Negro and white workers are

being drawn closer together, about why Negroes should

fight for socialism. But now you ought to show us where

And that we shall attempt to do in our next and final

this socialist upheaval is, where it is coming from."

SPRING DANCE FROLIC

Book Auction • Entertainment

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18 MINNEAPOLIS LABOR DEFENDANTS

SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 16, 1942

WERDERMANN'S HALL, 156 THIRD AVE. AT 16TH ST., NEW YORK

Admission: 50 Cents

Auspices New York Branch, Civil Rights Defense Committee

"Well," some Negro workers may ask, "we've followed

perience of many Negroes in this country.

gration of all workers, black and white.

will play a powerful part.

must struggle.

THERE MAY BE SETBACKS

of the steel workers will be faced with; just this concrete situation. Therefore we say that any leader, Murray or anyone else, who gets up in that convention talking about "equality of sacrifice" is a scoundrel and a traitor to labor. Furthermore, the convention should not permit itself to be stampeded into a frenzy of forgetfulness by a sugared telegram from Roosevelt, as was the case at the UAW convention. The convention should reject all such demagogy as was poured out there by Walter Reuther and Richard Frankensteen.

#### For the Steel Workers

These steel workers are not meeting to listen to exhortations on sacrifice by their leaders or honeyed words from Roosevelt or that other "friend of labor," Donald Nelson. They will be there to do a job for the underpaid toiling thousands in the steel mills.

These delegates and the men whom they represent have already made their sacrifices. They and their fathers and grandfathers have already made untold sacrifices. They sacrifice every day, every hour, every minute. Every worker in the United States has already paid his share and more for a war that is not his war.

No boss, no congressman, no top government official has made any sacrifice and will make none in any way comparable to the sacrifices that labor has already made in the course of this bloody imperialist conflict. The very nature of capitalist society makes it so. No amount of pleading, brow-beating, pressure, exhorting, explaining or demagogy from whatever source it comes; from the bosses, Roosevelt, Murray, Green or anyone else can change this fact.

The delegates to the steel convention therefore have this main task before them: to set up the steel workers international union with a thoroughly democratic conyention; an international controlled by the steel workers, a militant union, a mass organization of all steel workers in every plant in the country.

#### Dollar a Day Increase

The workers should stick to their demands for the \$1.00 a day increase in wages and the union shop. To ask only for \$1.00 a day increase in wages is modest enough. They must fight for the union shop or the bosses will be in position to wreck their

The steel workers, like all other workers, must stand prepared to fight against wage stabilization. against any increase in hours, against higher taxes on workers' incomes, against a sales tax, against payroll deductions for war

This convention should repudiate the agreement made by the CIO leadership not to call strikes for the duration of the war. Labor must retain this weapon, in good condition, sharpened and at all times ready for use against the boss. The strike or the threat of strike is the only protection that labor has. The workers, the unions, must not surrender this

These are the important questions that should take up the time of the delegates to this convention. To deal with these questions adequately and in a democratic manner will consume all five days of the convention. The delegates should come out of this convention able to hold their heads high and face the men in the mills. They can do this if they will insist that the convention stick to the main issues; if they establish a real democratic international, if they take a strong position against betraval and sell-out.

# Missouri Croppers Fight For 30¢ Hour Minimum

(Continued from page 1)

decent wage and are making all sorts of offers to try to break their fighting spirit. The landlords have offered the men as much as \$2.00 a day in an attempt to sabotage the union's fight for a 30cent per hour minimum. It is also rumored that certain landlords are trying to sabotage the union's struggle by importing Mexican labor. But nonetheless the croppers and day laborers are determined to fight for 30 cents an hour.

It is apparent that the landlords will grant this demand to the men only if they are convinced of the militancy of the workers and their readiness to act in behalf of that demand. But such "convincing" of the landlords is hardly aided by the statement given out by the general president of the UCAPAWA, Donald Henderson, saying that the union "promises its full cooperation to employers...." The statement of Henderson, to whom Whitfield is closely connected, will hardly help the croppers in their

If the croppers and day laborers are to win their struggle for a 30-cent minimum, it can be only by their common action, of black and white together, AGAINST the landlords, who are their

# Why Southern Negro Youth Confab Rejected 'Double V'

Special to LABOR ACTION

The Southern Negro Youth Conference, at its recent conference in Tuskegee, rejected a proposal to adopt the "Double V" plan which has been proposed by the Negro paper, the Pittsburgh Courier.

The SNYC is, as everyone familiar with Negro events well knows, a Stalinist youth "front" organization. While the delegates applauded the "Double V" plan, it was referred to the resolutions committee, which was dominated by Stalinists and their fellow travelers. The resolutions committee refused to endorse "Double V." According to the committee, the "Double V" plan is "too concrete."

This is rather strange logic-but not really strange for the Stalinist Uncle Toms. Their main preoccupation at present is to jam the imperialist war down the throat of the skeptical Negro people. They tell the Negro people: "Yes, there's Jim Crow and lynching and other things -but that's secondary. You've got to die for deocracy-even if you haven't

The "Double V" campaign-primarily because of its failure to recognize that the forces conducting the present war are the very ones responsible for Jim Crowism-is by no means a genuine answer to the needs of the Negro people. But when it proposes a struggle on two fronts-in support of the war and against Jim Crow forces at homeit at least recognizes the need for a militant struggle against Jim Crow-

The Stalinists, however, are so anxious to help the Kremlin war effort that they are ready to sacrifice everything-literally everything-including the struggle for Negro rights.

That explains the strange spectacle of the Stalinist Southern Negro Youth Congress refusing to accept the relatively mild program of the Pittsburgh Courier, which by no stretch of the imagination can be called a radical paper. When that happens you can readily imagine what would be the reaction of the Stalinist Uncle Toms to a genuine program for Negro liberation.

# The British ILP Holds Convention

By HENRY JUDD

containing a report on the annual Easter conference of the British Independent Labor Party has just reached LABOR ACTION. Approximately 100 delegates, reported to be one of the largest delegations in recent ILP history, attended the conference at Morecambe, England.

There appears to have been no serious or important change in the ILP leadership or position as described in the May Day issue of LABOR AC-TION. John McGovern, parliamentary spokesman for the ILP, remains chairman of the party, with John McNair as general secretary. The national committee is practically the same as before.

The most important debate occurred on the so-called "basic resolution" put forward by the party leadership. The resolution, stating the ILP's opposition to the imperialist war and embodying the program of the "Socialist Britain Now" campaign was adopted after long dis-

Amendments for a negotiated peace were defeated, as well as various amendments of a "Trotskyist-Cannonite" character. The latter amendments urged "the sending of arms to Soviet Russia under workers' control" and "workers' control of the armed forces." Both got approximately 15 out of the 100 votes, showing a substantial 'minority. The amendment relating to shipment of arms to Russia was vehemently opposed as leading to the establishment of a second imperialist war front. The Trotskyist group limited itself

The most important addition to the resolution was that which declared, in essence, that:

2) We must fight to force the trade their reactionary alliance with the 3) We advocate nationalization of

industry and workers' control of 4) We must strengthen and build

movement.

about the Soviet Union, all offered amendments were defeated and the resolution itself was adopted 72 to

26. The main point of the resolution A copy of the British New Leader was that the ILP's position of defense of the Soviet Union can best be advanced by fighting for a socialist Britain. There is no real analysis or attack on the Stalin regime, nor the Soviet state in the resolution.

> The orthodox Trotskyist amendment-similar to the ideas of The Militant—was defeated by 72 to 29

This resolution is undoubtedly the most superficial and evasive of all those adopted at the conference.

Other resolutions adopted included one of solidarity with the socialists of India and a demand for immediate independence for that country; along with a statement of greetings to Eng-

lish pacifists. In summary: The most important step forward was the elaboration of the "Socialist Britain Now" campaign with some concrete details. Politically, the ILP made no advance toward clarification and its leadership remains in the hands of the same group of Parliamentarians and centrist Brockways.

# **PRESS**

MAY DAY ISSUE: The recent May Day issue of LABOR ACTION was the largest in our history. Over 16,000 copies of LABOR ACTION were printed, sold and distributed Below we publish the final results in the concluded special subscription campaign run by LABOR ACTION

digit ton by bite	
New York City	32
Philadelphia	7
Cleveland	7
St. Louis	5
Akron	5
Chicago	7
Los Angeles	4
Buffalo	4
Syracuse	2
Rochester	2
Lynn	2
San Pedro	1
Mailed in	36
	-
A control of the cont	and the state of the

# Labor! Beware of Wage Freezing--(Continued from page 1)

that this is a fight as to how best

make the poor pay for the war. There was noticeable silence, however, on that point of President Roosevelt's program providing for a maximum income of \$25,000 a year. Congress appeared more "enthusiastic" about freezing-labor's wages.

All of these facts add up to one conclusion: the frantic drive on the part of Congress and big business against labor's rights has not ended; as a matter of fact, it has not even reached its peak of ferocity

### Labor Off Guard

But the real tragedy of the situation was that instead of a bold counter-offensive against those proposals of President Roosevelt, Leon Henderson and Congress which would hurt the workers, the leadership of the labor movement was in a state of confusion and retreat. Some CIO unions like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Sidney Hillman supported the Roosevelt plan without reservations. Phil Murray came out for FDR's plan, although noting his opposition to wage freezing (which

was in FDR's program under the fancy title of "stabilization of remuneration"). The only union to attack the FDR plan, at least in part, was the United Mine Workers which through its Journal opposed wage

The labor leadership found itself in a state of confusion as well on FDR's telegram of last week, opposing wage increases for the shipvard workers. What will Phil Murray, for example, do about this

now that his Steel Workers Union is meeting in convention and is supposed to be fighting for a similar \$1.00 a day raise? This dilemma cannot be solved by

making vague speeches in support of FDR's plan and then tacking on a hint that you're sort of against wage freezing. It is apparent to everybody that the FDR plan envisages NOT giving wage increases to the shipyard, steel and auto workersunless they fight for the. FDR's man

Friday, Leon Henderson, made that It is necessary for the workers to

protect their rights. It is necessary for the unions to fight against wage freezing, against tax legislation that would hurt the poor. They must demand that the rich pay for their war. Otherwise, Henderson's grim statement that our standard of living will decline to the 1932 level will soon become a reality.

### **Curtiss-Wright Profits Skyrocket!**

The financial reports of Curtiss-Wright, outstanding open shopper in the aircraft industry, show that it has been reaping the war profits in big style.

Net profits for 1941, after taxation, amounted to \$25,717,512, nearly two-thirds over the previous high of \$15,746,784 for 1940.

Maybe the Curtiss-Wright workers could help "their" bosses get rid of some of this extra change by fighting for a union which cut some wage increases out of it!

#### apparently to advocacy of these two two special "Cannon" additions to revolutionary socialist principles!

1) Socialism can come only through the action of the workers them-

union leaders, the Labor Party bureaucrats and the Stalinists to break national government of Churchill.

production.

the independent shop stewards

In the discussion of the resolution

## James T. Farrell

has given The New International special permission to reprint his booklet, Literature and Ideology, as an article in the magazine's May number.

Besides Farrell's contribution, the May issue features: The editorial Notes of the

Month. discussing Roosevelt's seven-point economic program. Jack Wilson's lengthy study of the trade union and political

career of John L. Lewis. Henry Judd's analysis of the War in the Pacific and the role

of Japan. Susan Green's article on Women in Industry.

The thesis of the French Trotskyists, published here for the first time in complete form, on the National Question and de Gaullism. The third installment of the

Archives of the Revolution section: Gregory Zinoviev's Social Roots of Opportunism. And two fine book reviews: R.

Craine's review of Tarlé's "Napoleon's Invasion of Russia," and H. J.'s review of Granville Hicks' "Only One Storm."

The Chicago Daily News, whose publisher is Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, printed an important editorial in its April 25 issue entitled "For Peace with Italy,"

This editorial begins: "We don't know what our government thinks about it, but in our opinion it might be sound diplomacy to make an offer of separate peace to Italy."

After elaborating the military advantages that might accrue to the Allies from a separate peace with Mussolini, the Chicago Daily News writes:

"Incidentally, only by a separate peace, concluded as quickly as possible, can Mussolini hope to save either himself or whatever is left of his regime."

Let it be remembered, as the above significant paragraph is read, that this editorial opinion comes from the paper published by the Secretary of the Navy, a member of President Roosevelt's War Council, a responsible leader of the present Administration.

We believe that every anti-fascist worker-especially if he supports the imperialist war in the belief that Hitlerism and fascism can thereby be destroyed—should ponder this fact carefully.

The official war propagandists proclaim this as a "war for democracy." It is a war to the end, they say, in which fascism will be completely wiped out if the Allies are victorious.

This claim can be shown to be false on many grounds. It can be shown to be false by pointing to the fascist and semi-fascist participants in the Allied camp—the monarchist de Gaulle of Free France; the anti-Semite Sikorsky of the Polish government in exile. It can be shown to be false on more fundamental grounds—the fact that the Allied war camp is an imperialist and capitalist one and hence lays the seeds for the growth of fascism, because fascism arises from the decay of capitalism.

But the war propagandists, among whom Secretary of the Navy Knox takes a leading role, claim that this war is a war of ideolo-

Two releaving incidents—recommended

for study by all starry-eyed liberals drunk

with the phrases of the Atlantic Charter—

American troops have landed in New

Allies seized these islands for military rea-

no way shown their free and uncoerced de-

The liberal apologists for Allied impe-

rialism may justify the seizures on the

grounds of military necessity. But the

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

measures!

six-hour shift!

cial services!

war profits!

ers' control!

1. Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers'

2. Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars the

3. Wage increases which meet rising costs!

4. No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war in-

5. Maintain and increase all government so-

6. A government levy on capital to cover the

7. Conscript all war industries under work-

8. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3

per cent of the people who own 96 per

cost of the imperialist war Confiscate all

the rise in the cost of living!

SOAK THE RICH-LET THEM

cent of the national wealth!

PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

rights! Against any wartime dictatorship

minimum wage; time and a half for over-

time! Rehire the jobless millions by a

No sales tax on consumer goods; no taxes

on wages! Freeze rents and food and

clothing prices at the 1940 level to stop

sire for American or British rule.

seized them. The fact, however, that the in trust for France."

the Allied powers.

On New Caledonia and Madagascar

shed considerable light on the war aims of fact, being seized in order to "preserve the

Caledonia and British troops in Madagas- of Madagascar, the American State De-

car. Both islands possess considerable mili- partment promised that the island "would

tary importance and that is why the Allies be restored to France" and "will be held

sons does not vitiate the fact that such a ment that the people of Madagascar—who

seizure is a violation of the sovereignty of have an active nationalist movement

the people of these islands, who have in which has been fighting against the French

statement of Sumner Welles at the time ture-say, from The Nation or the New

WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

Against Both Imperialist War Camps! For the Victory of World

Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory

of the Third Camp of Socialism!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

9. The right of free speech, free press and

10. Sixty dollars a month minimum for

11. Down with Jim row and anti-Semitism!

12. For full political, social and economic

13. For Workers' Defense Guards, trained

14. For an Independent Labor Party and

vigilante and fascist attacks!

and controlled by the unions, against

a Workers' Government! No political

support to the Roosevelt government!

All discrimination against Negroes in

the Army and Navy, or by employers

in industry, must be made a criminal

free assembly for the men in the armed

TO THE DRAFTEES!

draftees!

BE PREPARED!

SMASH JIM CROW!

equality for Negroes.

of the seizure of New Caledonia belies Republic—on Allied war aims.

gies, that this is a war fought for a great By SUSAN GREEN

Well, then, we have the right to ask: If this is really a war fought for the noble ideal which democracy undoubtedly is, how is it conceivable that a truce or agreement could be reached with Mussolini, the original fascist?

And what is more important: How is it possible for Secretary of the Naxy Knox's paper to give as a reason for signing such a truce the fact that it would help Mussolini remain in power?

Is it conceivable in any other way than that Knox and his friends are not really interested in fighting for democracy, but are conducting an old-fashioned imperialist war and would be happy to have Mussolini on their side?

A few weeks ago, in our March 23 issue, we-commented editorially on the failure of the Allied propagandists to mention Mussolini when they list their enemies. We

"Those observers who have been carefully following the propaganda of the Allied spokesmen cannot fail to be struck by its one remarkable omission: the constant omission of Mussolini and Italian fascism as an enemy.... This policy of silence in regard to Mussolini is not accidental. It flows from the hope which certain elements in the State Department together with many newspapers and "public spokesmen" have long had: to win Mussolini over to the Allied

"Presumably the present silence with regard to Mussolini is in preparation for the hoped-for happy day when the Allies will conduct their 'anti-fascist war' with the original fascist, Mussolini, as their partner. . . . "

The words of that editorial have been proved true-with one exception. The policy of discreet silence has been abandoned for one of open flirtation with Mus-

that. Welles said that after the war the

islands would be returned to the French

Empire and that they were, as a matter of

Likewise, on the occasion of the seizure

It does not occur to the State Depart-

rulers for years - might desire their na-

tional independence, that they might not

like to be "held in trust" for the French

We should like to hear now a little lec-

integrity of the French Empire."

# Editorials— What Kearny Union Got from Frank Knox's New Friend--Mussolini "Membership Maintenance"

The great United States Steel Corp., grown much greater by dint of war expansion and war profits, has - not too graciously - bowed to the ruling of the War Labor Board on the matter of maintenance of union membership at the Kearny, N. J., shipyards, owned by its subsidiary Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock

To claim this "settlement" gives "union security" to the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers is to call a spade a steamshovel. Rather does this "settlement" indicate to what an alarming extent the union leadership is on the run.

Heretofore a union has been able to sell its own wares, so to speak. It appealed to workers on the basis of actual benefits to be attained through the union. Union membership was "maintained" and increased by virtue of union militancy in fighting the battle of wage earners against profit

Now, however, union officials are willing to rely for what they term "union security" on an NWLB ruling and the unwilling consent of the hosses. This is the natural result of their weak-kneed policy of yielding

They have surrendered the right of

"May Day Note to Mr. Kellogg"

A MAY DAY NOTE TO MR. KELLOGG . . .

SOUNDS LIKE THE BOSSES TALKING

on wage rates .

you've once dropped your guard.

Party, which blows hot today and cold tomorrow!

Louisville Textile Union

Tells Off the Stalinists

LABOR ACTION reprints the following May Day leaflet published by

Yesterday, a Mr. Kellogg, who is state secretary of the Communist Party,

gave out a leaflet to the workers who came out of the mill during their lunch

period. Now, we may not be the smartest slickers in town but at the same

time we weren't exactly behind the door when the good sense was passed out,

so we thought up a few questions we would like to ask Mr. Kellogg and his

fellow Communists. Of course some of the boys around Weeges thought it

would be a good idea to run Mr. Kellogg off the street, but personally we

don't believe that's a good idea so long as we say we believe in free speech

There were some things in the leaflet which we liked, but we're just won-

dering who in the heck the Communists are to be telling us those things. For

instance, we sort of remember about this time last year when the Communist

Party was tootin' its horn up and down the country saying this was an im-

perialist war and damning all those people who proposed that we help Brit-

ain. We remember something about a pact that the Soviet Union and Nazi

Germany had with each other. Mr. Kellogg and his boys ask now that Earl

Browder be released so that he can help us win the war. That sounds funny

because you know Browder was put in Atlanta Pen at a time when he was

preaching that we shouldn't pick on the poor Nazis. However, we too think

Browder should be released as a simple matter of civil rights since we don't

believe a guy should have to go to the Pen on some small technicality just

because he doesn't think like the rest of us.—But pity the poor working man

who looks to Mr. Browder to lead him into a better world! Nothing could

have more twists and turns than the program the sell-out artists of the Com-

munist Party have offered to the American working people in the last 15

such outfits like the bosses' own National Association of Manufacturers. In this leaflet yesterday they were talking about our working harder to produce

more, about giving up overtime payments, and "speed-up" committees of

labor and management. Somehow that does not sit just right with us because

industry is making out of this war; about how our big capitalists are still

making business deals with German capitalists over patents; and how these

same birds are calling for the abolition of the 40-hour week and for a ceiling

learned from long, hard experience such as pounding pavement in front of

the Goss Avenue gate for seven weeks at a time, that we don't build strong

unions and we don't gain wage increases and industrial democracy by holding hands with the bosses. We've had to struggle against them all along and

when we look at their record in this war, we just wonder what would happen

if we called a truce for a few years. It's too late to get up and fight after

guarantee of victory for people like ourselves in this war is for us to continue

as we have before by relying upon ourselves, not on management, govern-

ment agencies or the Communist Party. And we believe too that the work-

ing people all over the world should stand together in union solidarity. In

fact, it is ONLY with the working people of the world of all races and color

that we CAN join hands-not with the bosses, or the misguided Communist

We firmly believe that labor should do its part but we feel that the best

But we have a BETTER May Day and every day program: We have

Every day we read in the papers about the record-breaking profits which

as far as we can see, labor has made all of the sacrifices in this war so far.

The leaflet sounded an awful lot like some stuff we've heard before from

and try to mean it. Besides that would make us too much like the Commu-

nists, who like free speech so long as it's them who are doing the talking.

Local 2 of the Textile Workers Union located in Louisville, Ky. This leaf-

let is in reply to the activities of the (Stalinist) Communist Party which

had been demanding that the local workers sacrifice all their rights.

ered overtime standards. They have bership felt by all the workers, what joined labor - management committees to speed up the workers. Now they are allowing themselves to be persuaded-by the flimsy promise of stopping inflation-to put wages in

"Union security" cannot be had on this basis. An NWLB ruling balkingly accepted by the boss is no substitute for improving wages and conditions of labor. For this is the cement that binds workers to their union.

#### The "Maintenance" Clause

The "maintenance of membership" clause in the contract to be signed by the Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. and the IUM&SW provides that workers in the union at the time of signing the contract or joining the union afterward, must remain members in good standing during the contract period. If a worker drops out of the union before June, 1943, the end of the contract period, he will lose his tob unless he continues to pay his union dues and fines anyway. Such a provision cannot effectively spike the open shop drive of the boss.

In the Kearny yards there are 23,-000 workers. Only half of them are organized in Local 16 IUM&SW. Unless the militancy of the IUM&SW

chance is there for the union to hold its own, let alone grow?

United States Steel has used the dirtiest possible methods against labor in the past. It will do so again. What is to prevent it from inducing workers to leave the union by offering to pay their dues as required by the above provision? Money has never been an obstacle in the bosses' attempts to break unions. The only hurdle the bosses have not been able to clear is unswerving union militancy adding up to real gains for the rank and file.

The order of business before the leaders of the IUM&SW today is to get for the shipyard workers the adjustments of wages to the higher cost of living to which they are entitled under agreement. President Roosevelt is opposed to the workers' demanding their rights. He wants them to take a cut in real wages by foregoing the adjustment to the higher cost of living. If the leaders hold out for what is due the shipyard workers, the IUM&SW will be strengthened. Its membership will not merely be maintained-it will grow. If, however, the leaders capitulate, the union will be weakened. No fancy "maintenance of membership" clause will alter this fundamental fact.

#### What About New Workers?

There is also the all-important problem of new workers entering the shipyards to carry out the expanded shipbuilding program. "Maintenance of membership" clauses will not get these workers to join the union. But an organization drive based on demands in their interest will bring new workers into the IUM&SW in hordes.

The ruling of the NWLB in the Kearny case and its acceptance by both labor and capital set the pattern to be followed throughout industry in signing new contracts. But will "maintenance of membership" clauses be enough to carry forward the hard-won advances of the CIO in "Little Steel," for instance? Or will such clauses solve the problem of bringing the mass of new war production workers into the unions? Unless the unorganized are organized, present union membershipeven if "maintained"-will fall in comparison with the increased labor force of the country.

The Kearny case should put squarely before the rank and file of the IUM&SW and of all unions the pressing problem of "union security." It cannot be had by NWLB rulings and by the "cooperation" of the bosses. "Union security" comes from union strength. That is not acquired by handing labor's gains back to the bosses-nor by running away from the need for organization drives based on militant demands.

### What to Expect From the WLB

The granting of wage increases is now, according to President Roosevelt, in the hands of the War Labor Board. Here's what workers can expect from THAT outfit:

In the decision on the International Harvester case, agreed to by the board, a small wage increase (which fell far short of what the union was asking for) was given. The following "basic principle" was laid down by the WLB:

"... The real wage levels which have been previously arrived at through the channels of collective bargaining and which do not impede maximum production of war materials shall be reasonably protected. This does not mean that labor can expect to receive throughout the war upward changes in its wage structure which will enable it to keep pace with upward changes in the cost of living."

# POISON GAS

## The Imperialist War Adds a Refinement

By IRVING HOWE

What is most completely apparent from an examination of Churchill's latest speech, and what is sinking into the consciousness of humanity, is the fact that the war is no nearer to a decisive solution than it was on the day Hitler's troops marched into Poland.

The war has spread like a plague-from Poland to New Caledonia, to Madagascar and to Wichita, Kan. For the first time in history there is literally a world war.

In this connection, we are reminded of two people we once knew-two young men who had a "thorough understanding" of the world political situation. They saw that another world imperialist war was on the horizon. But they, being clever intellectuals, would not allow themselves to be sucked into this hell of war the way the common mass of humanity would. Rather than surrender, or rather than struggle for a better world, they applied their wits and determined to escape. They decided to go to Tahiti, firm in the knowledge that, imperialist war or not, the peaceful native shores of Tahifi would remain untouched.

Unlike so many other dreamers, they actually carried out their plan. They left for and arrived in Tahiti. We do not know what their fate was; it is of slight importance. But we cannot refrain from noting the irony in the fact that this Pacific isle which they chose for their retreat has seen some of the most violent fighting which the imperialist war has yet unleashed.

There is no escape. We live in an international capitalist society; we suffer from an international imperialist war; we will build international socialism or perish.

The war drags on; Churchill boasts that there have been more German casualties on the Russian front than in the entire last war: Hitler gives out a monotonous series of announcements of killings in the occupied countries. But there is no end.

None of the Allied propagandists speak of the war ending in 1942 or 1933 or even 1944. And Hitler too is reticent about predicting a final victory.

They are both locked in a titanic struggle of international proportions; one half of the world against the other. And in the meantime, millions suffer and die.

U.S. Price Administrator Henderson announces that we shall soon be down to our 1932 standard of living and that our standard of living will continue to go down; Hitler announces another of his endless cuts in food rations.

We are living through the literal last convulsions of capitalist society in decay—a spectacle of horror and madness. Neither side has any solution except interminable warfare; neither side is capable of undermining the other by political methods because both sides fight for the retention of their reactionary status quo and not for the creation of a new, free, peaceful society.

All that Churchill could promies the German people was...poison gas. Is that the way to break the tie between the weary German soldiers and Hilter's regime? Is that how to inspire them to revolutionary sacrifice against Hitlerism? Yes, it is an attractive program indeed that Churchill has lined up for the German workers: poison gas, the super-Versailles Treaty to grind them down as they were ground down after the last war, national dismemberment....

And Hitler's promises? We need but glance at hundreds perish from starvation in the streets; at the Eastern front, where the youth of Germany is being decimated; at the firing squads in France, to see once more that Hitler's "New Order" is nothing but slavery and barbar-

Where then shall we go? What shall the mass of suffering ordinary folk do?

There is a hope. In this world of chaos and destruction, the star of socialism shines with constancy and promise. Not the ceaseless wars, the chaotic post-war disintegration, the dictatorial brutality which capitalism promises; but the peace, the freedom, the human brotherhood which socialism alone can bring.

That is our road. That is the path on which we travel as the third year of the imperialist war -inaugurating, perhaps, the era of poison gascontinues on its course.

## In Our Next Issue

Next week's LABOR ACTION will contain the following articles: The concluding section of Paul Temple's article

on the Socialist Party.

A preliminary report on the SWOC convention. A section of James Connally's "Socialism Made

### **NEXT WEEK:**

The Stalinist Union Wreckers By MAX SHACHTMAN

A Reply to the Daily Worker's Slanders Against the Trotskyists

### LABOR ACTION

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Roosevelt's 7-Point Freeze ......

Local No. 2, TWUA.



WHAT WILL IT DO TO OUR Standard of Living?

FREEZING — FIXING — RATIONING . . . Who Will Be Hit, the People or the Profiteers?

A LECTURE BY

MAX SHACHTMAN

National Secretary, Workers Party

**New York City** 

IRVING PLAZA East 15th Street and Irving Place

MAY 17, Sunday at 8 p.m.

**Auspices: Labor Action Institute** 

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!