

FOOD--OR PROFITS?

Another Blow At Free Press By Post Office

Carrying its monstrous campaign against a free labor press a step further, the Post Office Department last week moved to suspend the second class mailing rights of The Militant, weekly labor paper. A hearing has been set for January 21.

No specific charges have as yet been presented by the solicitor of the Post Office Department. It is presumed that at the hearings these charges will be made. If so, this will be the first opportunity The Militant has had, in the seven or so weeks that its rights have been violated, to hear what precisely the Post Office objects to and to defend itself.

As in the case of LABOR ACTION, The Militant has been held up by the Post Office each week pending its release on instructions from Washington. Several of its issues have been destroyed without explanation or statement of cause. The December issue of the Fourth International, sister magazine of The Militant, was similarly destroyed. Under the exceptional bureaucratic powers of the Post Office Department it need give no opinion on its actions, save in formal proceedings to suspend second class mailing rights. Suspension of second class rights is, in practice, the equivalent of completely barring the paper from the mails.

The Militant will be represented at the hearings by the American Civil Liberties Union, which, together with the Workers Defense League, has protested the bureaucratic efforts of the Post Office tin-hats to stifle freedom of the press and the inexcusable persecution of LABOR ACTION and The Militant. LABOR ACTION has been informed that in the event of an adverse decision at the hearings, it is planned to carry the case through the courts.

What is clear is that, having failed to accomplish its purpose of disrupting and paralyzing the publication and circulation of The Militant and LABOR ACTION by holding and destroying given issues—without cause or explanation—the Post Office now intends to complete the job by outright suppression. If it is successful in its scandalous action against The Militant, the barrier will have been let down for the suppression of LABOR ACTION, which is already subject to harassment, and for the suppression of any labor or liberal periodical which chooses to express its views freely.

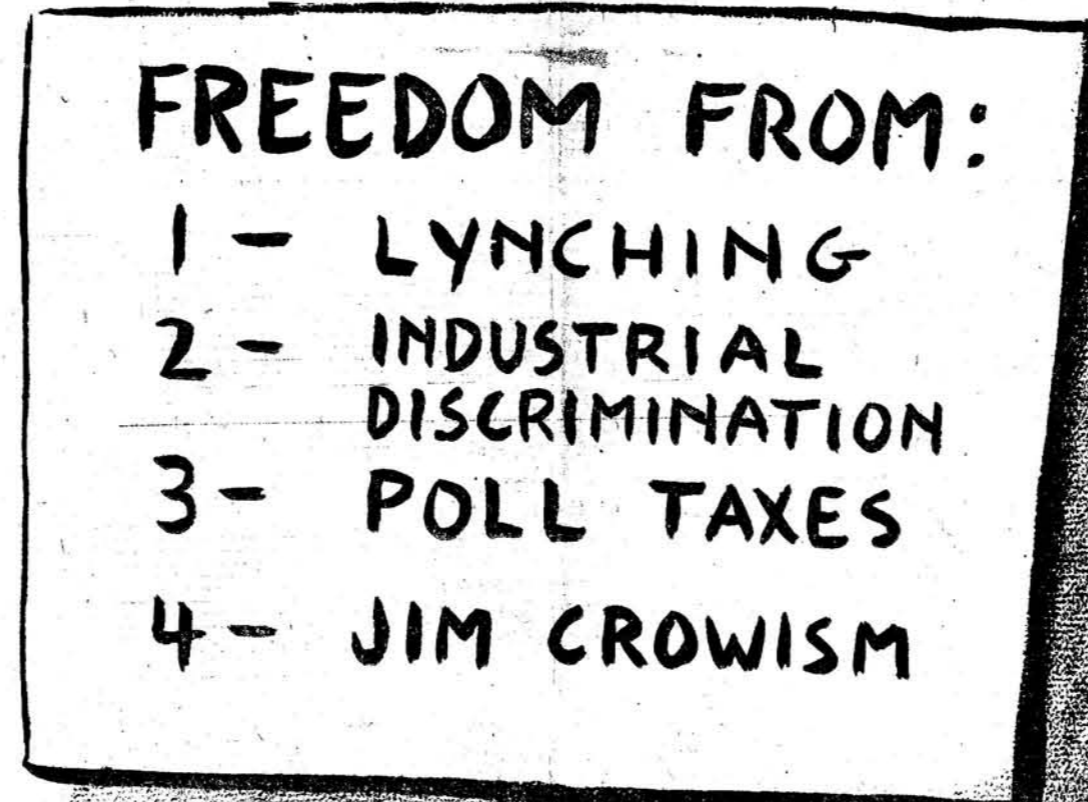
This new blow against freedom of the press, coming on top of the fantastic procedure described in last week's LABOR ACTION, in which the Post Office holds the paper and then releases it after a delay of from five to eight days, with responsibility for its release resting with the publisher, is a violation of democratic rights so broad in its implications, so dangerous in its meaning that it cannot go unchallenged.

It is now some three weeks since LABOR ACTION has with each issue been held at the Post Office waiting instructions from Washington. We are informed that the last issue to be held has been released, but that the Post Office will continue its unwarranted procedure.

By itself this crippling action against two labor weeklies and a monthly theoretical magazine was sufficiently ominous. The new situation is more ominous, more damaging to the future of a free press!

Various liberal and labor periodicals have already commented on and protested the Post Office action. Among them have been The Nation, the New Republic, the New Leader and the Industrial Worker. Each of these periodicals and papers, and many more, is menaced by the violence done freedom of the press. The precedent established against The Militant or LABOR ACTION can be used against them if what they say offends the mind of some Post Office bureaucrat. Here then is a sweeping and widespread menace that requires the utmost of vigilance and protest!

Four Freedoms for America!



Local 719 Joins Flint and Brewster In Asking End of No-Strike Pledge

The executive board of Electromotive Local 719, UAW-CIO, has joined the Flint and Brewster locals in asking the international executive board to call a special convention of the union to reconsider the no-strike pledge. There was only one dissenting vote on the board—that of Terry Kendall, who is alleged to be a Stalinist stooge. The proposal has not yet been brought before the Chicago local's membership, but there is no doubt that it will overwhelmingly carry when it is discussed on the union floor.

We do not know if the Local 719 board adopted a program similar to the excellent and far-reaching one advocated by Local 599 (Flint) or Local 365 (Brewster). A conspiracy of silence surrounds this most important of union developments.

The boss press, of course, prefers

to keep quiet about it. We can understand that. But it is a disgrace that this sensational development, which sprang out of universal rank and file resentment against the raw deal labor is getting, is completely ignored in the general union press. Outside of the papers issued by the locals that have so far acted, there has been no reference that we can recall even in any of the union papers—not even in the United Automobile Worker or CIO News which were duty-bound to report and feature this swelling tide of militant indignation.

We have heard, but have been unable to confirm, that other locals, in addition to the three cited, have taken similar action. Surely, the sentiment among the rank and file of the unions is at white heat in wanting just what the Flint local in-

itiated—a special convention to discuss revoking the sinister pledge made by the labor leaders without labor's approval.

WLB the Same

We do not doubt that the international executive board, at its recent meeting, discussed the proposal. What they decided has not been revealed. In all likelihood they decided to deliberately side-track the movement. Hence their fiery (but basically feeble) denunciation of the WLB—a denunciation which they haven't followed with any kind of practical application. There still are UAW members on the WLB. And the WLB continues to chisel and cheat on the legitimate demands of the workers!

Nothing has changed in the WLB since the Executive Board

Workers Must Take a Hand In Critical Food Situation To Decide Which It Shall Be!

By GERTRUDE SHAW

Malnutrition and actual hunger threaten the working people of this country—unless the production and distribution of food is taken out of the hands of the capitalists and politicians. The burning question of food for the people is now clearly defined: Will the people eat—or will the food barons be allowed to accumulate profits as usual, and better?

Even bread and milk—the mainstays of life—have not been exempted from the selfish machinations of the economic and political bosses working hand in glove. The new year has been ushered in with boosts in the prices of bread and milk!

In the case of each of these indispensable foods, the OPA and

Negroes Sick Of Words-- And Promises

By HARRY ALLEN

The persistent "thumbs down" attitude of the capitalist class toward the Negro masses, even while it makes demands on the Negroes for aid in the war, is making a deep impression on the Negro people.

Very little of the views and situation of the Negro is made known to the American people. The capitalist press largely suppresses what is happening among the Negroes. The labor press does considerably better—though far from enough—in exposing the conditions and espousing the interests of the oppressed and exploited Negro masses.

Below we indicate the situation among Negroes and their views on various questions as obtained chiefly from Negro sources.

Protest Censorship

"Apparently the Administration is adopting a deliberate policy of isolating the Negro from all of the other peoples of the world who are interested in a fight for democracy," pro-

(Continued on page 4)

Mr. Wickard claim that it was a toss-up between raising prices, paying government subsidies to the private owners of these food industries, or cutting down their profits. THE GOVERNMENT CHOSE TO BOOST PRICES SO THAT PROFITS SHALL CONTINUE.

The statement at the beginning of this article that malnutrition and actual hunger threaten the American working people is no propagandistic gag.

James Staniford, a Washington correspondent writing for the magazine, American Mercury, states: "The United States has the greatest food producing plant in the world. In spite of it, however, Americans face hunger and all that the word implies—malnutrition, bent and ill-formed bodies, increased susceptibility to various types of physical ailments and a lack of stamina and staying power."

Mr. Staniford failed to add that this calamitous prospect is due—along with the unusual demands of the war—to the fact that the production and distribution of food is the source of enormous private profit for a bunch of bloated capitalists and bankers who also dictate political policy.

Borden Profits

An instance in point is the 1942 profits of the Borden Company which amounted to ELEVEN AND A HALF PER CENT a share on the market value of its stock. Such profits, however, do not stay the hand of the OPA from ordering an increase in milk prices to FIFTEEN CENTS A QUART in the New York area. Nor do such swollen profits bother the conscience of the dairy bosses.

The vice-president of the Borden Company hastens to inform the public that "Whatever adjustments are allowed, the industry will take advantage of them, because it has been too hard hit not to welcome this easing of a difficult situation."

The difficulties of the Borden Company resolve themselves into the aforementioned eleven and a

(Continued on page 3)

Facts Behind Congressional Fight on \$25,000 Limit

Big Salaried Men Finance Boss Politics

By JOHN BERNE

When the new Congress gets going, one of the measures it will fight hard against is the \$25,000 (AFTER-TAXES) limit on "earned" income. Needless to say, the boss politicians are also going to fight like all hell to keep the limit from applying to individual income from interest, dividends and profits—the main source of wealth for the wealthy.

LABOR ACTION has heretofore emphasized the point that—as a matter of principle—it goes against the grain of capitalist politicians to touch the money piles of those for whose special benefit the profit sys-

tem of capitalism exists. Therefore, it is up to the working people—who are bearing the burdens of war—to put teeth into their own demand for an absolute limit of \$25,000 on individual income from ALL sources.

However, there is another reason for the "righteous indignation" of the politicians at any limit on the income of the rich—and it is also another reason why only the working people can enforce the \$25,000 limit. It is a matter that lies very near the hearts of the political horse-traders in and out of Congress. Very simply stated, it is that THEY CANNOT AFFORD TO BITE THE HAND THAT FEEDS

THEM!

The rich men and women whose "earned" salaries and unearned interest, dividends and profits should be frozen at \$25,000, are the very people who subsidize the Democratic and Republican Parties.

There was a time when the big corporations which own both the so-called rival political parties openly contributed large sums to the political slush funds. However, now there are laws on the books—supposed to purify capitalist politics—which do not allow these dominating corporations to make political contributions as corporate entities.

Does that mean the du Pont, Mellon and Rockefeller corporations no longer control politics? No, they are ingenious schemers in their own interest. They still enjoy these political privileges of the rich.

These economically and politically monopolistic outfits use a very simple expedient to circumvent the laws. They merely vote their presidents, vice-presidents, treasurers a few hundred thousand more in salary—with a string attached. Not that there isn't enough left for the personal use of these high-paid officers. But there is a clear and binding understanding between the

corporation and its officers that ten, twenty or fifty thousand dollars—as the case may be—will wander into the campaign funds every presidential year, and that certain lesser amounts will be contributed to congressional and local campaigns.

You see how direct is the connection between large individual salaries and the security of congressional seats. Why, by limiting salaries to \$25,000 politicians would be pulling the seats right out from under themselves—and would be earning the eternal wrath of the economic pow-

(Continued on page 3)

'What Are You Gonna Do About It?'

R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW, on January 6 practically admitted that from the viewpoint of the workers' interest, it was a terrible mistake to surrender the right to strike. He stated that the bosses have taken advantage of the no-strike pledge not only to abandon collective bargaining but to refuse to settle ordinary grievances.

Furthermore, arrogance has grown among foremen who realize the workers' hands have been tied by the no-strike pledge. Thomas said: "There are too many cases where foremen have resorted to what I can describe only as provocation; too many cases in which workers have been told with a sneer: 'WHAT ARE YOU GONNA DO ABOUT IT? YOU CAN'T STRIKE!'"

Thomas goes on: "In too many cases, management has taken advantage of the no-strike agreement to quit bargaining and to resist arbitration. General Motors set up an impartial arbiter to adjust disputes, but now is trying to fire the arbiter because he handed down several decisions against it."

From what Thomas stated about the WLB, it would appear that he thinks the WLB is also taking advantage of the no-strike pledge. The WLB has established no regional office in Detroit, the hub of the UAW plants. Of the 7,000 cases pending before the WLB in Washington, the UAW president bitterly commented: "I said there were 7,000 cases 'on file' in Washington. That is flattering the board. They are not 'on file.' There are no files. There are no indexes. There are no dockets. There are no records. There are nothing but applications, as if shoveled into the office of the board, there to be piled up indiscriminately."

The WLB has absolutely no plan for handling these cases. Is it far amiss to assume that the WLB, like many foremen in industry, thinks: "WHAT ARE YOU GONNA DO ABOUT IT? YOU CAN'T STRIKE?"

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Camp

A LETTER FROM GERMANY—"PESSIMISM PREVAILS"

Through neutral channels a letter of a Jewish couple, who recently fled from Germany, has reached this country. Here are some extracts:

"...When we left, considerable pessimism prevailed. General opinion is rather shaky, depending on victories and defeats. There is certainly no enthusiasm, and there never was, even after the most important successes. A considerable part of the population, it is difficult to estimate how high a percentage this group represents, has ceased to believe in a German victory. The public is quite well informed about the situation on the fronts. According to my estimation, 80 or 90 per cent of all radio owners listen to foreign broadcasts, despite the high prison terms that are threatened for such 'crimes'."

"The emigration toward the regime is high in all groups, but every sign of it is ruthlessly suppressed. Even so, from time to time there are rumors of revolts, and violations of orders are numerous. There is a great variety of stories, but it is impossible to check them. I was informed that in order to be able to meet every eventuality, machine gun posts had been installed in some heavy industry plants. Very frequently, one finds leaflets that state clearly true feelings. Cursing and grumbling are

now common in many places. In Bavaria, particularly in Munich, the population, reportedly, openly shows its enmity. It is related that the 'Hell Hitler' is very rarely used there. It is not often used in Berlin, either. All have had enough of the war..."

A recent dispatch to the New York Times confirms this. It is the story of a Swedish worker just returned from Germany. He states that the workers in the war industries do not associate themselves with the Nazis. Whenever in recent months the workers in the war industries heard of a fresh reverse of the army they hailed it as "one more nail in the party coffin."

This worker also stated that the German workers are employed side by side with conscripted foreign labor and that deep bonds of solidarity tie them together in a common front against the Nazis. The organ of the Nazi black shirts indirectly confirms this in one of its recent issues: "The ether has no frontier and fortified walls cannot be built against radio waves. Furthermore, millions of foreigners are at present distributed all over Germany. You can subject these foreigners to rigid discipline, but you cannot discipline their thought." And this is as true for German labor as for foreign workers.

POLISH NATIONAL COUNCIL HAS ANTI-SEMITIC MAJORITY

The Polish National Council in London passed a motion demanding the future peace conference to establish a Jewish state, where all Jews, scattered throughout the world, should be settled. This looks as if the Polish military clique of the semi-fascist reactionary Sikorski has suddenly been converted to Zionism.

But the real motives are different. The sponsor of that motion was Mrs. Zaleska, a member of the Polish anti-Semitic National Party. The majority of the members of the Council who voted this motion acted upon the anti-Semitic viewpoint that Jews, who have been

inhabitants of Poland for many centuries, are foreigners and must be ousted from there.

There is much protest right now on the barbaric methods with which Hitler exterminates the Polish Jews, and we support this protest. But why do those who protest Nazi barbarism not raise their voice against the anti-Semites who sit right here in the councils of the United Nations, supposedly waging a war for "democracy"? It is easy to protest against Hitler's methods from New York and London, but what is the value of such protests if they do not include the United Nations anti-Semites?

MISCELLANY: English "Socialism"; "Science" Raps Prejudice

"England is on the way to socialism," we have been told by Dorothy Thompson and other popular journalists. Here is a nice illustration (London, December 3): "The War Office has forbidden the circulation among troops of the Beveridge report recommending radical post-war changes in Britain's social security program, London newspapers revealed today."

You'll find a "scientist" to prove anything the ruling class wants to

be proved, and not only in Nazi Germany. The French Academy of Medicine recently declared, through the organ of one of its members: "Rats are edible. In reality their meat is better than that of the pig or the rabbit. If the public would know this it would be easier for it to overcome what has always been an insurmountable repugnance to introduce this meat into its alimentation. By this way the meat ration would be increased for everybody." (From Le Jour, Montreal.)

Sperry Plans Shift Change

Shop Stewards Bear Responsibility for Defending Workers' Interests

By W. CLIFF

Sperry workers, recently organized into Local 450, UE-CIO, are facing a new attack by the management. The company has officially announced the abandonment of the three eight-hour shifts for a new system of two ten-hour shifts. With its customary disregard for the interests of its workers, the management has not yet revealed such important details as the payment of a night bonus, the starting hours of each shift, or the number of days to be in the work-week.

Workers who know the company have good reason to be suspicious of this reluctance to give information. They know that the company has been playing around for a long time now with the two-shift idea, and that Gillmor, Malkovsky & Co. don't even hint about anything unless they're pretty sure it won't eat into their profits. The bosses aren't kidding anybody. They know exactly how this two-shift system will work out, down to the last penny.

Of course, Sperry recognizes that in the solidarity displayed by the workers in the recent election they have something to contend with. So they'll have to test the union's strength first and confuse the men with trial balloons in the

form of "unofficial" rumors disseminated by foremen and stooges, without having to commit themselves. Then, if they are forced to sit down with union representatives, they may be able to "compromise" on the plan they've forced to themselves all along—and perhaps put across some vicious "stagger system" to work the men on Sundays without paying them double time. They will undoubtedly try to make the workers swallow a bonus of less than the usual 15 per cent for night work. And all this, of course, in the name of "production."

And what will be the attitude of the union in all this? If the UE office bureaucrats are allowed to follow their usual spineless line, they will bow low and respectfully suggest the formation of a "labor-management committee" for an increased speed-up of the workers.

It is up to the workers themselves, through their shop stewards, who represent the REAL union movement in Sperry, to tell both union bureaucrats and company bosses in no uncertain terms, what they think of this two-shift idea.

They might mention to the management that eight hours under Sperry conditions takes enough out of a worker and that if they expect more production in ten hours under the same conditions, they're due for a let-down. They should make it clear that the main cause of the production bottleneck is the bungling of the company itself, and that workers resent being penalized for Sperry mismanagement.

And when the bosses use the "labor shortage" gag, Sperry workers must demand that the company let down the Jim Crow bars and drop its anti-Semitic hiring practices, in order to give some of the thousands of locked-out workers in New York a chance to improve the "production" the bosses feel so "patriotic" about.

UE members must see to it that the union talks along these lines, too. They have already demonstrated their power in militant action. They must use that power again and again to defeat the company's maneuvers against them. And in this matter, as before, the responsibility rests mainly with those shop stewards who are the real leaders and militant spokesmen for the workers.

Notes from the West Coast Shipyards

Local 9 Members Force End of Staggered Shift in Los Angeles Yard—New Campaign at Bethlehem

SAN PEDRO—The staggered shift has finally been ended at the Los Angeles Shipyard. This system of working seven days in a row with the eighth off, each day off being a different day in the week, has finally been lifted. When it was first put in—at the insistence of Mr. Green of the War Production Board, the corporation, the union officials and the Stalinists—it was argued that the staggered week was absolutely essential in order to increase and speed up production.

Most of the union members felt that if the company really wanted to increase production, it ought first to fill the three shifts to capacity. When they said this, they were denounced as everything rotten and vile. And when the workers went on to say that the company's staggered week was a cheap, chiseling attempt to evade the forty-hour law and to break down the union, the hysterical screams and curses, especially from the Stalinists, filled the air. "Trot-skyite," "slacker," "saboteur," etc. But now we learn that the staggered week goes out: No protest from the Stalinists. No denunciations, no curses—just silence! Why?

Walter S. Pollard, Jr., recently appointed administrator for Local 9, modestly claims, in a recent interview in the Labor Herald, the state

CIO paper, part of the credit for negotiations which led to the abandonment of the staggered week.

But the truth of the matter is that ALL the credit for the disbanding of the staggered week must go to the rank and file workers who week after week stayed out on Sunday, giving up their time and a half in order to force the issue to a successful end. We don't know what the figures were on absenteeism on Sundays, but we know that it ran into four figures. It was this action which forced the hand of the company. It was this protest stay-out, organized by the workers themselves, which won this victory for the union.

In spite of all the boasting and the back-tracking that will be heard from all sides, the workers will remember who was for and who against the staggered week. They will also remember that it was their own action alone that finally caused the cancellation of the staggered week.

The Bethlehem Yard workers, also organized in Local 9, dispirited and demoralized by the stalling anti-union tactics of the corporation, have

up until now received very little encouragement from the union. Only promises—wait till the WLB hands down a decision. Local 9 has recently started a vigorous campaign inside the Bethlehem Yard to recruit members and revitalize the yard. Since the NLRB election, held in September, 1941, a contract between the local and the corporation has been pending—awaiting the decisions of various governmental boards.

The Bethlehem workers must have a contract. Obtaining that, as well as enforcing it after they have it, will probably be accomplished only after the workers show that they are in earnest through militant action. This is the only language the bosses know, and that is the language that makes the Washington bureaucrats scurry around frantically to dig out of their files the musty, dust-covered folders and render a decision.

The case of Paul Boyich, chief shop steward in the LA Yard, who was fired some weeks ago on a phony basis by the corporation, has gone to arbitration after the company's refusal to accept the conciliator's recommendation for re-hiring. The corporation's case against Boyich is so groundless and obviously framed up that we are led to believe that

Sparks in the News

By Everett Weston

"Indian intellectuals who tuned in to the British Broadcasting Co. short wave radio blinked with surprise. Over the air they were receiving explicit instructions on how to conduct a campaign of passive resistance... But the BBC was trying to instruct Italians, not Indians, in slowdown technique."—Time.

"I am not making guns or tanks to win a 'people's revolution.' I am not fighting for a quart of milk for every Hottentot."—W. P. Witherow, National Manufacturers Assn. president.

"It's okay, Withie. Churchill (and Wilkie and the boys) aren't either, but you got to admit it sounds good."

"These tactics are met by keeping the British announcements as clear and ambiguous as is possible."—Hartford Courant, quoted in the New Yorker.

In a word, Luce-id.

"The renewed agitation for a Jewish army isn't going to get anywhere."

The subject has again been discussed by the highest British authorities within the last month and turned down flatly on recommendation of military authorities. Jews in Palestine who wish to serve can enlist freely in the British army."—Newsweek.

Jews who wish to serve what? An important question.

"One year hence about half of what people need will be rationed, according to plans now made or in the making... Ration coupons will become a currency and will be deposited in banks by retailers in separate accounts. In order to buy new stock a retailer will give two checks, one for money and one for ration checks... Most people do not yet believe the extent of civilian cuts which are coming along."—Kiplinger Washington Letter.

"The wholesale food price index rose two cents to \$4.02 for the week ended December 22, a new high for the last twenty-two years... This represents a rise of 17.5 per cent above a year ago."—New York Times.

This side of the picture: you're paying more, a lot more, for food. And the other side is that some people are getting more, a lot more, profit on food: "Renewed reports from Washington that the ceiling price for flour might be raised 78 cents a barrel started mills and professional operators buying wheat futures and the prices of that grain rose... Profit-taking checked the upturn."—New York Times.

Swift & Co., meat packers, increased their sales 38 per cent over last year: NET profit, after deducting for all taxes, regular and excess, was \$2.86 a share. Last year the profit was \$3.01 a share—which means not that the profit was less this time, but that more was salted away. The contingency reserve was increased by almost three and a half million dollars, and the surplus by just over four and a half million dollars, making together \$1.37 more on each share of stock. When this is added to the profit on the books, it makes a total of profit and reserves of \$4.23 a share, more than 40 per cent over last year. Again, this is AFTER all taxes have been deducted.

As Silone has a fascist say in his latest book: "Christ once said that man shall not live by bread alone. But modern society has gone even further than Christ; modern man has furnished proof that he can give up even bread."

"The United Korean Committee in America protest against conclusions of the Institute of World Affairs that Korea, now a part of the Japanese Empire, should be placed under a mandate of a foreign power after the war... 'We wish to inform you that the people in Korea are more than capable of self-rule and are fighting for no less than absolute independence and freedom. The people of Korea do not want any peace if there is no freedom.'"—New York Times.

They're almost as bad as the Indians. Probably Japanese propaganda.

Local 719--

(Continued from page 1) sequential increase in wages. This increase (let us say, two cents an hour) is thereupon reported in the boss press as a terrific concession to labor.

A Job for Militants
The militants in the unions, notably those in the Flint, Brewster and Electro-Motive locals, have a tremendous job on their hands. They must not allow the movement they initiated to be buried under a calculated landslide of bureaucratic silence.

We have no information at present as to what further steps the Flint militants have taken. But we do note with dismay that the Brewster leadership gives indication of yielding its militant stand—to the point where it is evidently willing to accept the phony WLB decision on Brewster. They drew up a splendid program. If they were serious in doing that, and we take it for granted that they were, they cannot allow its suffocation under bureaucratic pressure.

The UAW constitution provides that a special convention can be called by the executive board or by fifteen locals in five states with an aggregate membership of not less than 20 per cent of the total membership. The first has failed. The second is more difficult. It will take some doing. But it can be done! It is a cumbersome procedure, but it can be done because it reflects the deepest sentiment of the union ranks.

The labor movement, with a thousand and one anti-labor moves and measures clutching at its throat, is being strangled in the nose of the no-strike pledge. This will get worse. Labor needs untied hands to fight back. Flint, Brewster and Electro-Motive have started the march. That march must gain momentum! It cannot rest!

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Sends \$1.00 to Defend Freedom of Press

Dear Editor:
Enclosed find one dollar to help finance the fight to maintain the freedom of the press. Will send more later if the paper is not released soon.

Is this the freedom for which we are sending the boys all over the world to defend? We must defend it on the home front—the most important front.

Michigan. E. T. B.

Says L.A. Has 'Guts To Publish Truth'

Editor:
To men with guts to publish the truth, for truth is mightier than the sword:

My anticipation was the bureaucrats in Washington, D. C., would halt LABOR ACTION and try to make it cease from telling the truth. You see all over the world embattled brigandage, debauch of government extravagance, wobbly boards who could not run a business of their own. They distrust each other and barely trust themselves. They hate for the truth to be known, for they promised the labor man everything then tell them you work where I say or to the Army you go. They want to poison truth at its fount, embitter life, enslave peoples and strap upon their backs and upon the backs of their unborn children burdens of toil and misery. Why not pay half of their salary and the increase just given the federal workers in stamps? Is that not what they told the defense workers?

Last week a tall, gaunt, leathery-visaged, calm-voiced Arkansas hill-billy with the great, pale, cavernous blue eyes of one who has worked under hot suns in the cotton fields since he was a child of four, having a large and well chosen vocabulary, a white man spending ten years in the South as the champion of the rights of the Negroes, spoke in churches and halls in Los Angeles. That man was John Russell Butler, 49 years old. He left New York last October on a lecture tour against the poll-tax in every large city. He began here in a church. He said that in the national election California had a population

of 6,907,387, which entitles this state to twenty representatives in the House of Representatives in Washington, D. C. The eight poll-tax states, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia and Texas, have a total population of 23,998,109, which gives them seventy-eight representatives. But whereas 3,268,529 persons voted in California, only 2,994,814 voted in the eight poll-tax states put together. With fewer persons voting, those states sent four times as many representatives to Washington. This is not just a Negro issue. The vast majority, white and black, did not vote in those states. They were the 6,000,000 poor whites and the 4,000,000 Negroes who could not pay the poll-tax—a requirement for eligibility to vote. They have always been too poor to pay it. The average family income of poor whites and Negroes ranges from \$4.00 a week in Mississippi to \$9.00 a week in Virginia.

They call us poor white trash or "n—rs" and lucky to eat and have rags to cover us and a shack to live in. They want manpower in factories for defense but no "n—" in the factory. They say whites and Negroes can't get along together. When 60

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per cent are Negroes, 40 per cent white are tenant farmers, they don't fight. Seventeen per cent of the voters are running the eight states. At one time they shot an organizer. But we are still going on, because we know we are right to get some cash for our share in crops.

This is just a few high spots in his talk. We wish you success.

C. T. San Pedro, Calif.

Raps CP Leaflet At Brewster Plant

Dear Editor:
Enclosed find leaflet distributed (by the Communist Party) in front of Brewster. Isn't it disgusting how these fellow workers carry on?

We at Brewster are terribly low paid. We have a clause in our union contract about evaluation. It is almost one year that this evaluation has been kicked around by our great Mr. Van Duesen, who, by the way, makes \$60,000 a year at Brewster, besides his other incomes.

Do you wonder why we are getting disgusted and want our rights (they never asked the worker) to strike, back again? How do you like that part that says: "Certain disrupters are trying to provoke wildcat walkouts." Then they say: "By responsible and organized action, labor can win its demands and further the war effort."

I say, what can you do with a company that refuses to play ball? They know (or at least they hope) we will not strike. They know if we strike even other workers in non-war industries will be led against us because of the press.

So we are with our backs against the wall. We don't want to strike but I guess there isn't much of a choice left. First our fellow communists say "don't walk out." Then they say organized action. You just can't make them out.

Your paper is swell. Brewster Worker.

Criticizes Editing Of 'CIO News'

Dear Editor:
The CIO News, official publication of the CIO, does not represent the

rank and file union member. Rather, it represents the views of its Stalinist-tinged editor, Len De Caux, and the top bureaucracy of the CIO. For a newspaper that is supposed to speak for the most militant section of the organized labor movement in America, it is unusually timid and fearful of treading upon the boss' toes. Any militant action that is taken by workers in this country or abroad is either completely ignored or is looked upon as "outlaw."

A good 60 per cent of the articles in the last few issues had nothing to do with trade union problems or organizational news, but were solely concerned with "selling" the war to the workers, stories of bond sales, etc. In every issue you are sure to find tales of great democracy in England, glorification of such world-famous leaders of labor as Imperialist Churchill with his lackey, Bevin, the "democratic" Sir Oliver Lyttleton, Dictator Chiang Kai-shek and Butcher Joe Stalin. It is especially amusing, perhaps pitiful would be more correct, to read how happy the Russian workers are in their "democratic trade unions," which are no more democratic trade unions than Germany's "Labor Fronts" are.

Let us examine the December 21 issue. The two major articles on the first page—do they have anything to do with any organizational gains made recently or any better contracts for organized shops, or any plans for new organizational drives? No, not at all. Do they have anything to do with the freezing of labor that is now taking place in various parts of the country? No, certainly not. Well, do they at all concern themselves with the myriad of problems that face labor in this crisis? See for yourself.

The lead article is concerned solely with the role unions are playing in community war chests! The second article's headline is "RAYON CLAD LEGS LOOK FINE, Union Assures the Ladies!" On page eight, in an inconspicuous column, there's a story that belongs on the first page. That is the story of the UAW executive board's threat to rescind its no-strike pledge if Congress doesn't pass the \$25,000 limit. That's what the workers of America want to hear, not what kind of stockings the women will have to wear. But you can bet that it's no accident THAT story was buried on page eight.

Was there anything about the Flint local's resolution to rescind the

no-strike pledge, that was given in such detail in LABOR ACTION? Not a word. Was there anything mentioned about the fight at the New Jersey CIO convention to pass a similar resolution? The CIO News is mum on all of this.

The workers must not appear too militant in the eyes of the bosses. That's what the union bureaucrats say. That's what their organ says. But by appeasing the bosses in this way, labor will give up in a few months what it has taken years to build.

Unless the CIO News changes this fatal policy and becomes a fighting newspaper it will come in time to have even less influence than it has now. This applies as well to the entire CIO.

P.S.—It is interesting to note that the most militant part of the entire newspaper are the extremely clever cartoons entitled "The Upper Crust" and which are to be found on the last page.

M. P.

'Memo' from One of 'Uncle Joe's' Boys

LABOR ACTION:
Please discontinue mailing LABOR ACTION to the American Communications Association, attn. Mr. Silberman, 88 Broad Street, New York.

Your stencil is labeled L Comp. As you know, no one at ACA asked for copies of your paper, no one is interested in it, and we would rather not be annoyed by getting copies.

The paper is scurrilous, inaccurate, a tool of fifth columnists and dangerous to the war effort—small and insignificant as it is.

We wholeheartedly agree with the Post Office that it should be barred from the mails—it is no better than Social Justice.

(The sender evidently lacked the courage of his convictions. He didn't sign his name—Editor.)

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Puerto Rican Masses Starve While the Politicians Feud

By R. CRAINE

There is now a wholesale exodus of Puerto Rican governmental officials who are going to Washington to present their cases regarding the acute food shortage on the island. In it is revealed the situation of the Puerto Rican masses forty-five years after the United States took possession of the island. Although most newspapers and statesmen blame the present crisis on the war and the curtailment of shipping to and from the island, the truth is that forty-five years of American rule is responsible for a situation which is now coming to a head.

Even when there were enough ships sailing to Puerto Rico, bringing in rice, beans, and salt cod, and taking away the cash crops, sugar, rum, tobacco and coffee, hunger was the daily lot of the people.

Every commission ever sent down by the United States government to investigate conditions has reported on the semi-starvation level at which most of the population exists. In 1930, for example, the Red Cross reported that one-eighth of the population was in immediate danger of dying of starvation.

Poverty-Stricken Masses

And how could it be otherwise, when in "normal" times, according to government statisticians, Puerto Rican workers needed about \$1.35 a day to feed a family of five (on rice, rotten fish and rotten meat) but had an income of only \$150 a year!

Today conditions are even worse! Half of the population of nearly two millions is dependent on relief or is unemployed. About 250,000 persons have no income whatsoever! This affects about half of Puerto Rico's 340,000 families.

The average income today is about \$200 a year, but the minimum requirement for food alone is about \$2.25 a day. This does not take into account other living expenses—for shelter, clothing, medication, etc. One newspaper man reports that the cheapest kind of beef sells for 59 cents a pound, the smallest and cheapest eggs are \$1.00 a dozen, onions are 40 cents a pound. Drugs and medication against malaria, the island's most prevalent disease, are practically unobtainable.

Depend on Sugar

Today's situation is not so much the outgrowth of the war (although it has served to aggravate it) as it is the result of American occupation. Until the United States took over the island, Puerto Rico was able to raise most of its own food. Gradually, however, the large corporations took control of agriculture, driving the Puerto Rican farmers off the best lands, which were converted into huge sugar plantations so that now sugar is the island's basic crop.

Today the whole economy of the island is dependent upon the production and sale of sugar—and the population must depend upon imports for its food and other necessities. The curtailment of shipping space caused by the war has meant that Puerto Rico has not been able to export its only cash crop, and has been unable to import the food items upon which its people subsist. In addition, the conversion of the island into a military base, and the large number of American soldiers there at the present time, has meant that whatever food does reach the island is used by the military.

Feud Over Tugwell

Those who are chiefly responsible for the critical situation are now trying to utilize it for their own ends. Governor Tugwell, appointed by the President last year, seems to be the main target of the attack by the sugar interests. Tugwell has been under attack by the reactionary elements of the country because upon his appointment he made some very "radical" proposals.

One of these was that the 500-acre law be put into effect, that is, that the gigantic plantations be broken into smaller farms, and, secondly, that the island begin to raise crops other than sugar in order to become more self-sufficient. These proposals were especially favorable to the native landed interests, who sought to curb the power of the big United States sugar corporations, which practically owned the island. These proposals were never put into effect (as LABOR ACTION predicted last summer) since the sugar barons had sufficient means to prevent this.

Led by Bolivar Fagan, resident commissioner, the anti-Tugwell group blames the American governor for the food shortage. As unofficial representative of the sugar interests, he has come to the United States to demand the removal of Tugwell. On the other hand, Munoz-Marin, president of the Puerto Rican Senate and leader of the Popular Party, represents the native landowners who would benefit by the Tugwell program. He has therefore come to the United States to defend Tugwell. But no one has yet appeared who

will defend the people of Puerto Rico!

In Washington two committees have been set up to hold hearings on the food situation in Puerto Rico. We have already been given an inkling of how cynically and brutally the United States Congress will deal with the problem of getting food and relief to the hundreds of thousands of victims of the actual famine. Last month a congressional committee approved a bill for \$15,000,000 to aid the Puerto Ricans grow their own food, but it attached a rider to this bill. It saw in its power to appropriate money an opportunity to take a sock at a political opponent. So, forgetting about the urgency of the situation, the committee decided to withhold all funds as long as Tugwell remains governor.

Caught in the conflict between the American and Puerto Rican property interests, and the corresponding conflict between the different government agencies are the Puerto Rican masses, whose condition grows worse from day to day. They know that the present situation is the accumulation of the economic ills the island has suffered for the last half century. They know, too, that even if Munoz-Marin's proposition that Puerto Ricans elect their own governor is carried, the food problem will still remain.

The conflict between the two groups of exploiters over who shall wring the profit out of the sweat and toil of the Puerto Rican workers cannot end in an improvement of their conditions of life. Apart from the immediate shipment of food and medication to the island the only solution for them is liberation from both the American and native exploiters. Freed of these, and as the owners of their own land, the Puerto Rican people feel that they will be able to feed themselves.

Wallace Debunked - - His World Will Be Hunting Ground For \$ Diplomacy

By ERNEST LUND

Henry A. Wallace, the first speech-making vice-president in American history and hero of The Nation-PM-Daily Worker brand of "liberals," last week made the third of his major wartime speeches.

In the first speech, he hailed this as the "century of the common man." In the second, he saw the economic systems of Russia and the United States growing closer together. In his last speech he complained that his first two speeches were badly misunderstood. What he really was talking about, it now becomes plain, is that America must organize the world for the "century of American big business."

The speech took up two major questions: the political organization (or the policing) of the post-war world, and the economic organization following the war.

PROPOSES SUPER-LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The post-war world should, according to Wallace, be run by a super-League of Nations. This will be modeled upon Wilson's plans except that it will really have teeth because, unlike 1919, this time America will get behind it. Wallace would have been more truthful had he bluntly said that this time America will run it.

A study of the famous debates in the Senate that led to American refusal to join the League of Nations will show that the greatest fear of the Republican majority, direct spokesmen for Wall Street, was that the USA would be a minority in a league dominated by Great Britain. American capitalism chose a free hand. However, following an American victory in this war, they look forward to an entirely different situation.

Germany, Italy and Japan will be disarmed and "policed." France will have about as much to say as did, let us say, Rumania in 1919. England will be so dependent upon America (as France was upon England in 1919) that she will have lost her former commanding role in world affairs. American food and economic aid will also bring the lesser nations into line.

All this leaves is Russia. The rest of Europe will be only too glad to call upon American help to save them from Russian "meddling" in the affairs of Europe. We can be sure that the political spokesmen of American capitalism will have no objections to this set-up. Their 1919 isolationism

will quickly change into American "internationalism."

But even in such a super-League, America is to keep its own back yard for itself. While America would dominate the whole, through the "regional principle" it would exclusively dominate Pan America, that is, Latin America and Canada—the fields of the greatest Wall Street investments.

Wallace goes on to repeat the now four-square gospel of American imperialism, "equality of opportunity in international trade." This has become the sacred doctrine of the American industrial giants, preached with equal fervor by the conservative Hull and the "anti-imperialist" Willkie. For all of them it means the end of COLONIAL imperialism, like British rule in India, in favor of DOLLAR imperialism, like American rule in South America.

"Equality of opportunity in international trade," means to Wall Street a preference for "banana republics" ruled by puppet dictators who get their orders via Sumner Welles, over British, French and Dutch colonies in which the mother country has first choice in picking the ripe fruits of exploitation.

Wallace spent a section of his speech in dealing with the criticisms made of his earlier speeches. The president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce had said, in reply to Wallace, that he was not interested in fighting a war to give a quart of milk to every Hottentot. Hull had made some unkind remarks about "utopianism." Wallace's answer amounted, in effect, to saying that he was still in favor of a quart of milk for every child in the world but what he meant was that it should be delivered at a profit by the Borden Milk Trust.

NO ANSWER TO THIS CONTRADICTION

He made it clear that the only hope he saw for world prosperity in the post-war period was based upon an American capitalist organization of the world economic order. He pointed to American imperialism rule over the Philippines as an example of what he meant by American economic intervention on a world scale. "But it is also true that stronger nations, like our own, can provide guidance, technical advice and, in some cases, capital investment to help those nations which are just starting on the path of industrialization."

There is one contradiction that Wallace leaves

unanswered. After stating the need of American investments to industrialize backward nations, Wallace later on says that "Our surplus will be far greater than ever within a few years after this war comes to an end."

But these newly industrialized countries will also be producing a surplus. What are they expected to do with it? Their failure to dispose of it at a profit means they will quit producing. This means no further industrialization. This means no further American production for export of basic goods like steel, machinery, railroad equipment, cement, glass, etc. This means unemployment in Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Chicago.

Yet Wallace poses exactly this question: "This problem is well recognized by the average man on the street, who sums it up in a nutshell like this: If everybody can get a job in war work now, why can't everybody have a job in peacetime production later on?"

And what is his answer? None! None, beyond pious wishes and faith in what he calls the "new type of industrialist." He probably means men like Henry Kaiser. But what good will production genius do when people do not have the money to buy? What good did it do the country in 1933 to know that Ford had the ability to make millions of cars when few had the money to buy a car, and half of Ford's workers were unemployed?

Wallace spoke about the "plans that will speed up the shift from a government-financed war program to a privately-financed program of peacetime activity. Why we needed government financing in war and private bank capital financing in peacetime, Wallace did not stop to explain. If government financing is superior for one, why not for the other? Or is it less important when all that is at stake in peacetime are jobs and happiness of 85 per cent of the people?

We need government financing of industrial production not only in peacetime, but government OWNING and government PLANNING to guarantee a job and a living wage for all. BUT THIS CAN ONLY BE DONE WHEN A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT IS IN POWER. The economic nightmare of this crazy world can only be straightened out through socialist production for USE instead of capitalist production for profit!

Bait for the Hitler Trap

The most prominent and representative war writer in the employ of Stalin is Ilya Ehrenburg, whose correspondence from Moscow is often printed in the American press for what it is, namely, the semi-official Russian view.

Here is what Ehrenburg recently wrote in the Russian press about the Germans, according to the October 16 issue of the Central European Observer, which is published in London:

"There is no need for the Germans to blame Hitler for everything—for half a century they have been learning how to cut off ears and fling children into wells. They are cannibals by conviction."

Keep talking that way, Mr. Stalinist! You will only help the German workers avoid the reactionary trap of Stalinism once they have overthrown the despotism of Hitler.

Footnote:

"One of the most illuminating reports coming out of Russia was the article published in Sunday's Magazine by Ilya Ehrenburg, Russia's 'most powerful' war correspondent connected with the Army paper, Red Star. In this article he detailed in poignant instances what Russian men and women fight for, and why."

"And what do they fight for, and why? Do they fight for the Communist International, or the world-wide proletarian revolution, or any of the other communist shibboleths? No, says Ilya Ehrenburg. They fight for their country, for their soil, for their national culture; above all, they fight for their loved ones who still live, and they fight to avenge those whom the Nazis have killed. 'National consciousness,' he wrote, 'is in the air of our times. The cosmopolitanism of the nineteenth century (on which the communist ideology was based) is a thing of the past, the dreamers who were patriots of time and space have died out. Love for one's own village has been resurrected. * * * I fear nobody more than the 'manking lovers' who are egotistically indifferent to their own mothers and children. We have not lost faith in the brotherhood of nations, but our love for our motherland has made it a living faith."

"American communists, please copy."

—New York Times editorial, "Why Russia Fights," January 5.

What India Means to the American Working Class

A Socialist India Is the Only Genuine Solution

By J. R. JOHNSON

(Continued from last week)

Let us now sum up our conclusions so far:

(1) British imperialism and American imperialism are carrying on an inside struggle over who is to reap the profits of exploitation in India.

(2) The Indian Congress, representing the landlords and capitalists, like all the native ruling groups in the Far East, runs from one imperialist group to another. At the present moment the Congress is seeking frantically to negotiate with Britain, hoping to use Roosevelt and American pressure to force concessions from Britain.

(3) The central fact of the Indian struggle is the backwardness of the economy, whose agricultural production has been destroyed without the substitute of modernized industry. This gives drive to the nationalist movement but it is on the very backwardness of the country that Indian landlords, money lenders and capitalists thrive. They are therefore incapable of unleashing the only force which can throw the British out, because to do so would destroy their own position.

(4) The most important political development of the war so far is the awakening of the Oriental peoples. India is today the center. What the Indian workers and peasants do next may well be the final push which will unleash a revolutionary struggle in the Far East embracing nearly a billion people. All the ruling groups, in the Far East and out of it, are acutely

aware of this and all statements, silences, etc., must be closely watched and analyzed in relation to the particular interests of the parties involved.

The present leaders of the Congress hope to use the Japanese threat and the revolutionary ferment to force concessions out of Britain. Roosevelt and Willkie hope to pacify the Far Eastern masses and save face in Europe, by backing sections of the Indian Congress as rulers of India. Churchill knows that this will throw the Congress right into the hands of the United States and gives notice, "We mean to hold our own."

What India Needs

Isn't it clear that the only way out of this mess for the poverty-stricken Indian peasants and workers is to realize that the emancipation of the workers must be the work of the workers themselves? Whom can they trust? Every imperialist power, Axis or anti-Axis, every native ruling group, have but one purpose—to exploit India or use the Indian struggle for their own ends.

India needs the wiping out of the princes, landlords and money-lending parasites, who suck the peasantry dry; it needs the development of industry to raise the productive capacity of the country, and to reorganize agricultural production on a higher technical level.

We must bear this constantly in mind, for if we do not we lose sight of the fact that merely driving out the British will not solve the Indian

problem. True, the British are the main problem today; they loot and plunder India mercilessly. But if it were possible (and it is by no means absolutely impossible), that some Indian government was cooked up and placed in power, it would mean only that another imperialism would loot and plunder, and the country as a whole would continue on its road to ruin.

The proper reorganization of the Indian economy can be accomplished only by the destruction of ALL the exploiters, i.e., by a socialist India. This may seem remote. It is not so at all. When an Indian peasant or worker says: "The British must go. But I cannot trust Gandhi or Nehru any longer. What we have to do, we workers and peasants must do ourselves," then he is a revolutionary socialist, whether he knows it or not. He will learn this, not from books, but in the experiences which history is crowding upon him and all of us so rapidly today. It will mean years of civil war, complicated by the war and imperialist rivalries.

But none of those who are shouting so loudly in the newspapers and in council halls and congresses have anything to offer the starving millions and sooner or later these millions will find that out. The same holds good for the masses in China, the Dutch East Indies and the Malay States.

The American workers have to realize that they cannot stand aside and be merely interested spectators

and Willkie speak on India in the name of America. It may have struck some of us as strange that organized labor in Britain—much closer to India than the American workers—has had nothing to say about India. Instead they have voted with Churchill and supported his plain statements, "We mean to hold our own."

Clearly and simply the word should go from American workers' organizations to Indian workers and peasants: complete independence of India; all power to the organizations of workers and peasants in the struggle for their demands; for the international solidarity of labor. If some powerful union in the United States were to say that, the effect in India would be electrifying, and Roosevelt and Willkie would soon find the whole Indian question even hotter to handle than it is for them at present.

But there is still a deeper reason why the American working class cannot stand aside and let Roosevelt

and Willkie speak on India in the name of America. It may have struck some of us as strange that organized labor in Britain—much closer to India than the American workers—has had nothing to say about India. Instead they have voted with Churchill and supported his plain statements, "We mean to hold our own."

(Concluded next week)

Big Salaries - -

(Continued from page 1)

According to the laws, big business cannot flaunt its control of politics. So the du Pont company does not make the \$855,520 campaign contribution—but there is nothing to prevent the du Pont family from doing so. Standard Oil does not write the check for \$187,000, but the Rockefellers or officers of the company can and do.

Aluminum Co. has a clean record on its books, but the Mellons and company officers grease the political wheels with \$150,000.

Sunoco does not break the laws against slush funds, but the Pew family, which owns that group of industrial giants, counts out \$500,000 in political contributions.

The Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee reported in March, 1941, that the Hatch Act, limiting political parties to \$3,000,000 per election, was an absolute flop. In 1940 the estimated expenditures for the elections were \$28,000,000—made possible by big business using its high-salaried officers as middlemen to circumvent the laws. NO WONDER POLITICIANS SEE RED WHEN "EARNED" SALARIES AND UNEARNED PROFITS ARE ATTACKED.

Big business is not too particular about which political party it subsidizes. Why should it be? Both the so-called rival parties are its tools. You can, therefore, find the du Ponts, for instance, in the 1942 Delaware elections backing a Democratic senator and a Republican governor. From each alike the du Ponts expect benefits commensurate with

their campaign gifts. That working people still throw away their votes on these old faithfuls of big business indicates the deplorable backwardness of the workers in looking after their political class interests.

Big business effects its political machinations in every state of the union. In 1942, Eastern capitalists contributed \$51,700 to South Dakota primary elections. Through a contribution of \$4,000 by Lamont du Pont, the munitions magnate got a finger in that political pie.

Similarly Alfred Sloan put in \$2,500 for General Motors. Sarah Seale, daughter of Richard Mellon, laid out \$4,000 for Aluminum Co. influence in South Dakota elections. And Colonel McCormick put \$55,000 into that pot for the reactionary Chicago Tribune and the New York Daily News.

No, the political horse-traders in Washington are not going to bite the hand that feeds them! That little trick the corporations have developed of adding a few hundred thousand to salaries only as a half-way station to political slush funds, suits the politicians fine. Why should they want to limit salaries and kill the goose that lays the golden eggs? And how can they be loyal to their big business subsidizers and even think of touching their sacred interest, dividends and profits!

That is a job for the working people! This job they can perform by using their political power against the bosses and politicians through an independent Labor Party based on working class interests.

Food or Profits - - Which Shall It Be?

(Continued from page 1)

half per cent profit on the market value of its stock.

The price-raising order of the OPA which applies to milk in the New York, Chicago and Duluth-Superior areas, will soon be extended to include Boston and other Massachusetts districts, Denver, St. Louis, Toledo, Memphis, Louisville, Kansas City and areas in Indiana.

Higher prices for milk will, of course, affect the already exorbitant prices of butter and cheese. Furthermore, there is talk in Washington about reducing the butter-fat content of fluid milk, thus giving the consumer even less food value for the twenty per cent increase in price.

The Department of Agriculture—Mr. Wickard's balliwick—in 1941 issued a statement that scarcely one family in four had a diet that measured up to a satisfactory level. Will increasing the price and decreasing the quality of milk improve this alarming situation in 1943—which was already worse in 1942 than in 1941?

The ten per cent increase in the price of wheat flour just allowed by the OPA will also be passed on to the consumer—in spite of Mr. Wickard's fancy plan to keep bread prices the same. Just whom is he trying to

fool? Wickard bread will contain less sugar, milk and fat. And if it will be sold unliced, that will constitute an element of waste. Every housewife knows that slicing bread at home involves considerable waste. Neither will putting a few vitamin pills more into the flour make up for the decrease in the food value of bread. Honest doctors and dietitians are exploding the idea that pills can take the place of vitamins in their organic form as contained in food.

Price of Bread
But the big baking companies are by no means satisfied with these "minor" ways of robbing the consumer. They will not pass up the opportunity for an outright boost in the price of bread afforded them by the OPA increase in the price of wheat flour. Big business bakers are right on the job pushing with all their might for higher bread prices.

Higher prices that are transformed into more profits, must mean less consumption of the necessary foods. What else can this procedure result in? Malnutrition and actual hunger will be the ghosts at the feast of war profits.

Mr. Wickard himself reported to the President in 1941 that to provide every American with a satisfactory diet there would be needed for consumption 50 per cent more milk, 12 per cent more eggs, 33 per cent

more tomatoes, citrus fruits and other vitamin C products, and 80 per cent more leafy, green and yellow vegetables.

Will the price-boosting policy of the OPA and of Food Boss Wickard—to allow big business "adequate" profits—help the people get the required food? Or will not the deplorable situation existing in 1941—which became worse in 1942—grow truly alarming in 1943?

Because the bosses of the food industry will not produce food except for profit—the government has chosen to raise the prices of all foods so that the Borden Company and its brethren may not be interrupted in the fascinating pastime of scooping up profits to the tune of eleven and a half per cent.

Profiteering Sit-Down

The people must remember that in the early days of the war program the big bosses would not accept government contracts for war goods until certain profit returns were assured them. Today, as many workers know from their own experience, the bosses are more concerned with "COST PLUS" than with anything else. The question thus therefore be put: Can the production of the wherewithal of life be allowed to remain in the hands of these profit-

seeking citizens?

Rationing is, of course, absolutely essential. But if the production of food is permitted to remain on a guaranteed profit basis, the people will never be able to tell what are actual food shortages, and what are shortages due to big business "sit-down strikes" for more profit.

Price fixing is also absolutely essential. But with the bosses and politicians in control, how are the consumers to know what prices are fair prices?

There is no other way out: The food industries must be under the control of the people themselves through committees of workers and working farmers. Rationing and price fixing must also be carried out by committees of workers, working farmers and housewives.

This is no program for some distant future. In 1943 there will be such suffering from lack of food as this nation has not known—unless feeding the nation is undertaken by the people themselves.

This program will benefit the city and farm workers, the small retailers and small farmers. Such a step will mean more and better food for every man, woman and child. Only big business will be irritated by the controls on its criminal profits.

Beveridge in Wall Street

For those interested in Wall Street's reaction to the Beveridge Plan, here is a report by Harold Fleming, a conservative financial writer for the Christian Science Monitor:

"The report came out, curiously, the day before the annual meeting of the Institute of Life Insurance and of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents. . . . At first they were scared by the headlines, but perusal of the actual premiums and benefits offset this impression, except perhaps for the officers of companies selling casualty, health and other lines of special insurance. Reason for taking the report rather calmly, despite the large increase in premium costs and scope of benefits which it would give, appears to be that the plan is big for Britain but not for the United States.

"A curious aspect of the Beveridge report is its essential conservatism. Far from being tarred with the Moscow brush, it assumes a return in the post-war period to approximately the same essential economic conditions as those before the war—in other words, a limited market for goods and a buyer's market for labor. . . .

"In this sense it is a 'voice from the past' for it apparently assumes that the bright post-war hope of full employment and a seller's market for labor (end of the 'iron law of wages') will not be realized."

—From Daniel Bell's column, "Clippings and Comment," in the New Leader of January 2.

Etiquette—Boss Style

In a small pamphlet published for the information of American troops in New Caledonia by a local author, we read the following:

"For the guidance of strangers, it may be mentioned that the natives do not like to be called or referred to as kanakas. To their mind it has a derogatory sense. When calling or addressing a native, call him 'boy.'"

Editorials

Murray Lets George Do It

"I have come tonight, George, to plead with you, yes, to command you; come on, George, and lead us."

This urgent plea was addressed to George W. Norris, octogenarian liberal politician from Nebraska, defeated in November for re-election to Congress, where he had been for many a decade.

The cry for leadership was made not—as might be expected—by a representative of the second-notch American capitalists whose interests ex-Senator Norris has tried so hard to further. It came from Philip Murray, president of the CIO, claiming to speak for—and to lead—5,000,000 organized workers whose class interests Norris has never represented and today cannot possibly represent.

Even though Norris—and other politicians like him—have supported many liberal and pro-labor measures, he is the exponent of the cause of the small capitalists as against the big ones.

That there have been legislative benefits to the labor movement from the political activities of liberal capitalist politicians does not qualify them as leaders of labor.

It is necessary to understand the role of such liberals as Norris in order to grasp the full import of what happened right after the farewell dinner to Norris, at which Murray expressed his ardent desire to let George do it.

As reported by the newspaper PM, a private meeting followed the dinner, at which Norris "agreed to lead a new movement." He is ready to act as chairman of an organization "to rally progressive sentiment in all areas of American life—including labor, industry, agriculture and unorganized middle class citizens."

A "popular front" including all classes—on the French model, which collapsed in the arms of fascism—cannot meet the political needs of labor in this country today.

Like so many faint-hearted labor leaders before him, in a crisis Murray turns to a section of the ruling class for help. But the only hope for a progressive solution lies in labor's power, in labor's revolutionary tasks as a class, and in labor's ability to lead the impoverished farmers and suffering middle class.

Murray wants George to do it. But what is it that George will do? A Popular Front including all classes and led by liberals will pat labor on the shoulder with the left hand—and with the strong right arm will support the powerful contingents of the capitalist class.

The tragic lessons of hodge-podge Popular Front politics when independent working class politics is called for, have been written in the blood and tears of the French working class. At the height of their power, standing on their own revolutionary feet, the French workers could have given fascism in France a death blow.

Their leaders—the Murrays of France—sold the workers out to the Popular Front. "Progressive sentiments in all areas" of French life proved a dried-up oasis on the road to nowhere—while the fascist elements were able to gird their loins for a united front with Hitler and Hitlerism.

The Giraud Deal

Roosevelt continues to deal from the same deck that gave us the late and lamented Darlan as a democrat, or, at least, an anti-fascist, or, most accurately, a non-Axis Frenchman—that is, a French fascist on the outs with Hitler. The Darlan mantle was shifted without tailoring to the shoulders of General Giraud, another non-Axis Frenchman.

From General de Gaulle in London, the monarchist who was non-Axis from the beginning, comes a wail of anguish. He is being kicked off like an old sock. And around him gather all the partisans of the "war against fascism," the left wing liberals, the Nation and New Republic crowds, the PM journalists, the Stalinists and the ex-radicals who see in Stimson and Knox the knights of the "people's war."

What we would like to know is: "What's all the wailing about?" What did these people expect Roosevelt, Hull and Eisenhower to cook up? Perhaps a North African "Popular Front" which would get the natives all stirred up about reforms and add to the difficulties of policing? Perhaps place authority in the hands of de Gaulle's younger, more democratically inclined officers? Or some of the escaped French trade union leaders?

The American objective in this war is to defeat Germany militarily. What did these wailing liberals think it was? To fight fascism as an ideology? To fight for a document drawn up in mid-ocean by two master politicians designed to make the war palatable at home? Woe to any of these liberals were they to tell an examining board for an officers' candidate school that their interest in the war was to serve the anti-fascist cause!

It is time that the people learn to judge not by what a statesman says but by how he acts. Roosevelt and Hull have no intention of waging an ideological war in North Africa. Their last aim is to stir up the Arab natives about democracy.

Yea, verily, it giveth no more piteous an object than the disillusioned liberal.

Printing Unions Hit Big Foe

Chicago Printing Trades Open Fight Against Country's Largest Scab Shop

CHICAGO—The unions in the printing trades have opened a fight against R. E. Donnelly & Sons and the Reuben H. Donnelly Corp., the largest and most reactionary printing companies in the United States.

R. E. Donnelly & Sons was the spearhead against the International Typographical Union during the famous strike for the eight-hour day in 1905. It has remained non-union since that time.

In order to guarantee that union men and women would be kept out of the plants, they hired all their employees direct from the trade schools and fired them when they grew old. A psychologist is maintained by the company to interview all applicants for employment. If the applicant reveals that he belongs to the boot-licker section of humanity and has an aptitude for becoming a "good company man" he is hired. All prospective employees are thoroughly questioned and investigated. If the applicant or his relatives are connected in any way with a union the applicant is rejected. The Donnelly Company hires NO Negroes and very few Jews, and Catholics are for the most part restricted to the lowest paid jobs.

But the Donnelly Company is now on the spot. The young people from the trade schools are being drafted. This boomerang on its hiring policy has forced Donnelly to farm out large quantities of work to union shops.

Unions Reject Scab Work
The union printers refused to handle any of the work from Donnelly.

The union agreement, between the Chicago Printing Trades Unions and the companies that are organized, in very clear language explains that the printers consider it their fundamental right to refuse to execute struck work, unfair work, or work coming from an unfair organization.

The first action began on November 30. Within five days over \$50,000,000 of unfinished printing lay in the union shops, the men refusing to touch it.

Some of the printing that was affected by this action is Life, with 3,000,000 circulation, and Time, with 1,000,000; the Spanish and Portuguese editions of Readers Digest and 2,000,000 copies of the English edition. Donnelly also prints most of the telephone books in this country, Sears-Roebuck, Montgomery Ward and Butler Bros. catalogues, the Encyclopedia Britannica, Callahan Law and many other major publications. These publications over a period of many years have refused to have their printing done by union printers. The publications that had to meet the Christmas "deadline" on the newsstands rushed to other printers; many came out late and in some instances smaller in size.

WLB Intervenes
Donnelly and the magazine companies rushed to the War Labor Board and asked them to "intervene in the dispute." The WLB officials started out by yelling at the workers that there is a war on and this cannot be tolerated and finished up by giving the unions the impression that they will give them a break in

the decision if they would only go right back to work on the scab material.

On December 27, at a meeting of Chicago Local No. 16 of the International Typographical Union, the international presidents of the printing trade unions announced that they had accepted the suggestion of the WLB. Even the officials expressed their doubts about the WLB, but they gave as the reason for their action that they were not seeking anything from the WLB, and certainly the WLB could not interpret their signed union agreements in any other way for they plainly say that the union can refuse to execute work that originated in or is destined for a non-union plant. Although the union agreed at this meeting to call off the "action," it was understood by all present that it was only temporary until the WLB handed down a decision, and that it had better be a good one.

Local 16 has agreed to follow the advice of its international officers but the members have no illusions, for they know this is only the beginning of the fight. The international officers are not too cocky for they know their membership means business and doesn't follow like blind sheep. Only recently, at the international convention, the officers swayed the delegates, most of them, paid local officials into accepting proposals for an increase in dues, no conventions for the duration, etc. When these proposals reached the membership in referendum, the membership reversed the leadership's vote on almost all points.

Negroes Sick of Promises - -

(Continued from page 1)

tests the well known Negro writer, Horace B. Cayton. Cayton declares that the authorities are afraid to let the facts about lynchings, poll-tax, shootings of Negro soldiers by white MPs, etc., be known to the Chinese, the Africans, the Indians, the English people et al. As a result, the Pittsburgh Courier in South America, England or Africa would find itself almost out to shreds by the censor."

"The effect of the censor of Negro news," he concludes, "is to shut off from the main current of world news what is happening to the Negro in the United States, and similarly to keep him uninformed as to what is happening to the small people in other parts of the world."

Thus the Negro witnesses the operation of "freedom of opinion" (free press).

You Don't Mean Us!
"Words, words, words," is the description given by the Negroes to the promises of equality and freedom, following the war, made by the authoritative spokesmen of the ruling class. The Pittsburgh Courier recently conducted a poll on the question:

"Have you been convinced that the statements which our national leaders have made about freedom and equality for all peoples include the American Negro?"
The answers:

81.2 per cent said "No."
17.1 per cent said "Yes."
1.7 per cent were uncertain.

Freedom from Want?
The per capita income in 1940 in the seventeen states listed below was (according to a report of the Department of Commerce Survey of Current Business, August, 1941):

Alabama	\$264
Arkansas	253
Delaware	836
Florida	465
Georgia	321
Kentucky	330
Louisiana	350
Maryland	703
Mississippi	195
Missouri	499
North Carolina	335
Oklahoma	354
South Carolina	281
Tennessee	325
Texas	422
Virginia	455
West Virginia	401

In the New York Age, these figures are cited among the reasons for opposing the "freezing" or drafting of labor. Labor drafting or "freezing" means, it is stated, "forcing upon Negroes, as well as upon the whites, a standard of living from which there would be little hope of escape."

Bosses Pass the Buck
A survey of the American Management Assn. on the employment of Negroes passes the buck on discrimination in jobs to the white workers:

"Generally, it was found, there is no feeling of discrimination on the part of management, but there is often the fear that employment of colored workers might not be well received by the white personnel." (New York Times.)

This is as phony as phony can be. Labor has some house-cleaning to do. However, the fact is that through the decades and to this very day the outstanding industries, including war production plants, carry out a Jim Crow policy against employing any Negroes at all, or in the kind of jobs given them. This policy has been broken down only in so far as the labor movement has forced an equal

jobs-equal pay-equal rights policy upon the bosses.

Court Rules for Jim Crow

Take note that in every important city Negroes are pressing for the right to jobs on a non-discriminatory basis. In Cleveland, members of the Future Outlook League, militant Negro organization, forced a court trial against the Warner-Swazey Co., the country's largest manufacturer of turret lathes, the Thompson Products Co. and the Thompson Aircraft Co.—all war production plants operating under government contracts. Directly concerned are 2,000 trained Negro women.

The judge, Frank J. Merrick, ruled that companies can refuse to hire Negroes, regardless of qualification and despite President Roosevelt's Executive Order No. 8802 and FEPC rulings forbidding racial discrimination in hiring.

The Negro workers are learning more and more that obtaining jobs on an equal basis requires more than FEPC rulings. They are learning the need of militant mass action—picketing, demonstrations before government bodies, etc., or direct labor intervention. The judge's ruling, which applies to the entire state of Ohio, puts the issue directly before the union movement to demand full rights for their colored fellow workers.

Labor and Jim Crow

While Negroes generally agree that the CIO is combating Jim Crow, they voice sharp criticism of the AFL. Currently, they cite the Kaiser Shipyard (Portland, Ore.) situation and the "concession" (!) made by AFL Boiler Makers Union local secretary, Tom Ray, to organize the Negroes on a Jim Crow basis. The rejection of Philip Randolph's appeal to the AFL convention at Toronto to abandon the Jim Crow policy prevailing in many of its largest unions has also been noted by the Negro masses. A recent survey conducted among

Negro men and women by the Pittsburgh Courier reveals a critical attitude toward labor union discrimination. Six out of every ten Negro women declared that organized labor generally was not fighting for their rights. The poll further shows that 61.8 per cent of the unions in the South, particularly the union leaders, are guilty, along with the bosses, of a discriminatory policy toward Negro labor.

The Courier describes the poll as "sympathetic scoldings by the American Negro" and also as a warning to American labor to stand up 100 per cent for the Negro in his demands.

From the views expressed generally in the Negro press, it appears that the great bulk of the Negroes are sympathetic with labor's aim of better working and living conditions. At the same time, they definitely resent discriminatory attitudes and practices which humiliate and deny them equal economic and union rights.

Thus the Negroes define their attitude toward the labor movement. One: they want, seek and demand, as workers and as an oppressed race minority, their full rights, along with all others, in all fields. Two: more and more of them see the necessity for increased cooperation and common action with the white workers in order to protect their own special as well as common interests in conflicts with Jim Crow employers. Three: the Negroes hold out the hand of unity toward white labor and insist that labor get rid of any remaining Jim Crow.

Therefore, the trend of labor toward a united stand with Negro labor must be speeded up. Five hundred thousand Negroes in the CIO unions are concrete evidence that the labor movement is making healthy, vital progress for cementing white and black labor in common cause against the exploiting employer and ruling class.

Vallejo Riots Raise Issue Of Negro's Status in Army

During the nights of December 26 and 27 two Negroes were wounded in fights between Negro and white sailors in Vallejo, Calif. Following the disturbances some 1,800 Negro sailors were confined to quarters at Mare Island Navy Yard while the authorities investigated the rioting.

The fight seemed to have arisen out of a false report that a white marine had been stabbed by a Negro sailor. If the authorities are going to investigate along these lines, if they are going to try to track down false rumors and reports, they will never find the real cause of these riots—and this cause is so very obvious that only those bent on concealing the truth will ignore it.

Vallejo was, prior to the war, a small community in California, where Negro and white workers got along very well. There were no complaints of race discrimination. With the influx of Southerners both into industry and in the armed forces, Jim Crow raised its hateful head. Negro sailors were discriminated against, barred from restaurants, hotels and other public places, insulted at every turn, taunted on the streets and beaten up when they appeared in small groups. There have been smaller riots before the one that occurred during the Christmas week.

The NAACP and other Negro organizations have warned the Army and Navy authorities about this situation and have asked them to take a hand in combatting this discrimination. To date there has been no indication that these authorities intend to do anything to stop such riots other than quell them by having marines turn their machine guns on the Negroes, or to set up "investigating" committees.

The NAACP further reports that there have been repeated attempts on the part of Southern Army and Navy personnel "to enforce Southern race patterns on non-Southern areas." They call attention to a memorandum issued by order of Major Ralph S. Hardiman through A. J. Brown, first lieutenant, QMC, adjutant of headquarters, Second Battalion, 47th Quartermaster Regiment at Fort Sill, Okla., in which were quoted sections 201, 204, 207 and 209 of the Oklahoma statutes providing for segregation in federal carriers with penalty for violation thereof and to which was added the further note that "the following is published for the information and guidance of all concerned."

The NAACP has inquired of Secretary Stimson if he believed it to be a proper function of the War Department to assist states in the enforcement of laws enacted to discriminate against citizens on account of race or color.

JAPAN: Its Labor Movement And Class Action

By Sylvia Merrill

(Concluded from last issue)

The period after the war saw the progress of liberalism. The fight for the extension of the franchise was carried on not only by working class organizations but by the liberal capitalist groups.

In 1920 an attempt had been made to organize a socialist party that would include both the communists and socialists. This attempt was frustrated by the police, who raided the meeting. According to an article appearing in "Proletarian Outlook," May-June, 1940, in 1924 the Socialist League of Japan had 114,000 members!

With the granting of the franchise in 1925 another attempt was made to form a united party, but three hours after formation it was disbanded by the government on the grounds of communism. Nevertheless, a fusion did take place which, however, did not last long as the communists gained control of the organization and the reformist wing left the party. Within this reformist wing a left (centrist) wing grew up which split away.

In 1932 the reformists and centrists united to form the Social Mass Party. This is the Social Democratic Party of Japan.

It is interesting to note that the Stalinist movement in Japan has gone through all the twists and turns of the Stalinist parties in the rest of the world. Following the line promulgated in Moscow, they formed the Red Trade Unions. In 1928 the general round-up of communists led to their suppression. In 1931 they were again suppressed. In 1937 they dissolved their party and formed a new party in line with the popular front policies at the time. They were, however, suppressed. The police were not concerned with their attempts at class collaboration.

Despite our sharp political criticism of the Stalinists, one feels admiration for the heroism of its members who have carried on in the face of this police terrorism.

DEPRESSION SPURS STRIKE ACTION

In all the countries of the world one is able to say there were such and so many unemployed during the depression. But not so in Japan. Since there is practically no social legislation, hence no unemployment compensation, the worker returned to his village or his city home and became a burden on his family—no one was unemployed! But in 1929 and 1930 there were hunger marches all over Japan.

The depression saw a great many strikes.

In 1929 there were 1,420 strikes; in 1931, 2,456.

In one strike, which was given no publicity in the newspapers, and in which the boss refused to negotiate, the workers felt that something had to be done lest they lose. One heroic worker, who felt he would rather die than see the strike lost, mounted the factory chimney and stayed there, refusing to take food. The police threatened and ranted; the population came out to see this phenomena. The newspapers could no longer ignore it. They came and took pictures and speculation was rampant as to how long he could last up there. The boss was put on the spot. The strike became a major issue and he was forced to negotiate. This form of strike action, the "chimney-man," was many times repeated in various strikes to the point where police would throw a guard around the chimney when a strike was called.

In 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria and with this came a rise in the nationalist feelings of the labor movement. The trade union movement buckled under to the government and strikes decreased until 1935.

Capitalizing on the nationalist sentiment of the workers, a fascist union movement arose based on collaboration between labor and capital.

RIISING PRICES AND LABOR DISPUTES

The reformist trade unions entirely support their government's war policies and have consistently opposed every effort on the part of the workers to gain any wage increases. In many cases the workers disregard their union leadership and attempt to fight for their elementary right to live.

The war in China in 1937 brought with it the intensification of the building of heavy industry. In "Japan Over Asia," William Chamberlain says that with the drift toward a wartime economy, beginning with the China War, "Labor disputes, in so far as they are not repressed by stern administrative measures, tend to occur more frequently because the wage which seems adequate today may fail to cover essential living costs within a few months in view of the rising prices."

In 1936 there was an increase of 20 per cent in the number of labor disputes in the metal and machine industries. In the first six months of 1937 there was an increase of approximately 50 per cent in the number of disputes.

At the outbreak of the China War, in August, 1937, a trade union conference meeting was in progress. They passed a resolution giving support to the government, pledging not to strike for the duration and asked their members to buy war bonds.

It is easy to understand the rise in the number of strikes in 1939, despite trade union pledges to the contrary, if one can visualize the cost of living going up 34.2 per cent from 1931 to 1937, and wages going "up" 2.5 per cent in that same period! By 1939, all things considered, it is difficult to figure out what the Japanese worker was eating.

Despite the many betrayals of the workers' interests by the reformist trade union movement and its political counterpart, the Social Mass Party, the Japanese worker has, ever since 1932, voted for this party. In the first elections held by the SMP the returns were very poor and there were desertions on the part of leaders from the party to the ranks of the fascists. In 1938 they won eighteen seats and in 1937 doubled their vote. In addition they had fifty-eight members in prefecture assemblies and 131 in the municipal assemblies.

Despite our powerfully organized trade union movement, American workers have little reason to scoff at the backwardness of Japanese labor when we note the fact that the Japanese working class at least sent thirty-seven of its own representatives to represent them in the Diet. (How they represent them is another question!)

From the foregoing we can see that the popular concept of the Japanese as a peculiar race, immune to the effects of the class struggle which takes place wherever capitalist industry exists, is far from the truth. While in numbers and stability, Japanese labor has not achieved the status of the American labor movement, the effects of war weariness in Japan as elsewhere should prove a great spur to the Japanese working class.

WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

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

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
 - \$1.00-an-hour minimum pay! Time and a half for overtime; double time for Sunday and holiday work.
 - Wage increases to meet rising costs. No wage or job freezing! Equal pay for equal work!
 - For a greater share of the increasing national income. For a higher standard of living!
 - No sales tax on consumer goods! No tax on wages! Against forced savings!
 - For control of price fixing and rationing by committees of working class organizations, housewives and farmers' organizations. Freeze rents and consumer goods prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living.
 - No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
 - Maintain and increase all government social services!
- SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!
- A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
 - Consent all war industries under workers' control!
 - Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the three percent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

- The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces.
- The right of soldiers to vote in all elections.
- The right of all youth, male or female, to vote at the age of eighteen. Old enough to fight; old enough to work; old enough to vote!
- For adequate dependency allowances paid by the government with NO deductions from the soldier's pay.

SMASH JIM CROW!

- Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!
 - For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes!
- BE PREPARED!
- For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilante and fascist attacks!
 - For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
 - For Peace Through Socialism! For the independence of all colonies!
 - For a World Socialist Federation! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism!