

Unite the Labor Movement to Smash the Boss Offensive!

The 10,000,000 workers organized in the AFL and the CIO must be united to beat back the boss offensive! Yes, the bosses ARE on the offensive. They are on an offensive to sweat more work out of labor, lengthen hours, lower REAL wages. They are on the offensive to keep labor's living standard down. They are on the offensive to keep labor from exercising its union rights. Congress—the most reactionary and labor-hating Congress in years—is attacking. Various government boards are attacking. The

WLB is attacking with a formula which in most cases denies workers an adequate raise in wages, and in all cases stands in the way of bettering labor's living standard. Various measures have been enacted, are being enacted or have been delegated to government boards without legislative enactment, which circumscribe labor's freedom—and strike at its powers. Wage freezing is more than a simple threat. Job freezing is more than a simple threat. Elimination of Saturday and Sunday premium pay is almost everywhere a fact.

These are illustrations of the boss offensive—an offensive initiated under cover and protection of the war. Against them labor must initiate ITS OWN offensive, reassert its rights—above all, the most sacred right of all: the RIGHT TO STRIKE—and go on from there to NEW victories. Unity of the labor movement, unity of the 10,000,000 in the AFL and the CIO—unity launched as a labor offensive—can be the unconquerable challenge to the boss offensive.

CIO President Murray last week proposed unity conferences with the AFL. And according to announcements made as we go to press, Green has accepted the olive branch for the AFL. Some time in the near future, merger negotiations will be held. Good. Very good. We are for unity. No intelligent worker can be against unity. But what kind of unity? Unity, if it is to mean anything vital, must be something more than a mere merging of the two organizations to coordinate the retreats of the labor movement. (Continued on page 4)

The Next Issue of LABOR ACTION Will Carry a Full and Detailed Account of the UAW Convention

LABOR ACTION

AUGUST 10, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

UAW DELEGATES ASK MILITANT POLICY

Something Wrong Here!

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 27 per cent of all single persons had annual incomes of LESS than \$500 a year in the first quarter of 1942. According to the same figures, 27 per cent of families of two or more persons had annual income LESS than \$1,500. But according to other figures, already published in LABOR ACTION, Eugene G. Grace, as president of Bethlehem Steel, received an annual income last year of \$537,724! And Tom Girdler of Republic Steel got \$275,000! There's something wrong here. And the thing that's wrong is the capitalist system, with its wealth on one side and its poverty on the other. Note: The new tax bill proposes to tax incomes of \$500!

Grand Jury Finds Lynching Legal

By ROY GOULD

ST. LOUIS—There is nothing ILLEGAL about lynching Negroes. A mob can break down the jail, drag a wounded man out of bed, tie him behind a car and speed through the streets dragging him behind, parade him through the colored neighborhood, soak his twitching body with gasoline and finally set fire to this living human torch. Then the mob can go home in peace with the assurance that it has committed no legal crime and broken no federal law.

This is the finding of the federal grand jury which was set up at St. Louis to investigate the Sikeson lynching of Cleo Wright.

The jury's report states: "The members of your jury have finished a painstaking and exhaustive inquiry into the alleged lynching... the facts disclosed do not constitute any federal offense." This finding is very significant, for

this was the first lynching probe ever conducted by a federal grand jury. Before this the FBI had conducted an investigation, the results of which were available to the Scott County grand jury. The county jury, in a 53-word report, found no evidence for an indictment.

Lynchers Go Free

Since 1921 there have been nine lynchings in Missouri, but no member of a lynch mob has ever been jailed or tried. The same record exists in other states. No one really expected much from local justice, but some put hopes in the justice of the federal courts. However, the findings of the federal grand jury will come as no surprise to readers of LABOR ACTION, which several weeks ago published an analysis of the economic status of the members of this jury.

The majority of the jurors were corporation executives and the rest (Continued on page 4)



Cheer Hudson Local Delegate Who Asks Convention to End Union's 'No Strike' Pledge

CHICAGO, Aug. 4.—Sentiment was hot against the leadership's appeasement policy as rank and file delegates to the seventh national convention of the United Automobile Workers of America, largest union in the country, demanded revocation of the "no strike" pledge.

In hectic debate, delegates stormily demanded that a mild resolution on Saturday, Sunday and holiday pay, brought in by the War Policy Committee, be given meat and bone by killing the "no strike" agreement.

Delegate William Mazey of Hudson Local 154, Detroit, received an ovation from the delegates when he said:

"We haven't had collective bargaining in this country since we gave up the right to strike."

Hudson Local 154 had announced before the convention that it would put up a fight against the "no strike" pledge. The reaction to Brother Mazey's speech was proof that Hudson Local 154 spoke for the deepest sentiments of the UAW militants.

Debate on the "no strike" agreement was precipitated by a weak-kneed resolution read to the convention by George F. Addes, secretary-treasurer of the union, for the War Policy Committee.

This resolution was evidently offered as a lame compromise to the UAW ranks who are fighting mad about the union's having waived "bonus" pay for Saturday, Sunday and holiday work. Instead of coming foursquare against relinquishing time and a half pay for Saturdays and double time for Sundays and holidays, the resolution mildly "threatened" to rescind the union's waiver of premium pay if it wasn't applied to AFL and independent unions as well.

It is obviously unfair to make the UAW workers yield what other unions do not have to yield. It is equally obvious that the bosses have sometimes allowed an AFL or independent union a concession by way of sniping at UAW influence.

Yet it is a peculiar logic for a union committee to follow that the solution is to ask other unions to give up union conditions. The emphasis should have been to rescind the waiver on its own merits and to work WITH other unions to maintain regular union conditions and standards.

That the delegates had in mind a militant disavowal of the "bonus" pay waiver was more than demonstrated by the storm that broke loose after the resolution was read. They wanted it backed up by abolition of the "no strike" pledge, and cheered Delegate Mazey for making it clear.

So insistent were they that the proposition be put to a vote that at one time they refused for twenty minutes to listen to Richard Frankenstein, regional director in charge of aircraft. While Frankenstein, recognized for the floor by President Thomas, tried to speak, they booed him and shouted: "We wanna vote."

After a hand vote, which was so close that President Thomas said he couldn't tell whether the resolution was carried or defeated, the resolution was withdrawn pending its revision and reintroduction by the War Policy Committee later in the convention. 1,640 Delegates Attend

This debate has by far overshadowed in importance everything else that has so far happened at the convention which opened Monday with 1,640 delegates in attendance representing over 600,000 dues-paying members.

Much of the first two days was occupied with speeches and resolutions calling for a second front, endorsing Roosevelt, Murray, labor unity, the war and practically everything and everybody except John L. Lewis, whose activities were denounced as "disruptive, anti-labor and anti-war."

(Continued on page 2)

Company Seeks to End Shipyard Local 9 Hiring Hall

Dickering with Union Officials Takes Place Behind Closed Doors—Membership Must Be on the Alert to Defend This Vital Achievement

SAN PEDRO—The members of Local 9 are just beginning to feel the effects of the eight-point sell-out, and they don't like it.

Even the sugar-coating of the eight cents retroactive pay can't improve the taste of straight time on Saturday for anyone who missed a day or was late during the week.

As for the staggered week, which is now in immediate prospect, the bitterness knows no bounds. It is to be hoped that this reaction will be expressed very directly to those who promised that accepting the eight-point program didn't mean accepting the staggered week.

Then there is the matter of no double time for the next holiday worked.

And overshadowing all these blows at wages and working conditions will be the effect of giving up the requirements that wages advance as prices go up. When its effect is felt, the roar of anger from the deceived membership will be loud enough for the deafest bureaucrat.

Meanwhile, unbeknown to the rank and file, dickering has been going

A Correction

In the last issue we inadvertently published our circulation for that issue as 50,000. Actually, 40,000 copies of the UAW issue were ordered and distributed.

on—it seems for weeks now—between the union leadership and the Los Angeles shipyard which involves a still more deadly blow at the strength and even at the existence of the union. This matter, up to the moment of writing, has been kept a deep secret from the union membership, but has been discussed just a bit too freely at a couple of executive board meetings so that word is beginning to trickle out to the members.

The matter in question is nothing less than the proposal by the LA yard that the union give up the hiring hall in exchange for some alleged concessions that the yard would give the union. The company proposes that the union give up its hiring hall, the very foundation of its strength, the instrument of job control by the union for which Pacific Coast maritime workers fought the bloody battles of 1934 and the long drawn out struggle of 1936-37.

Very possibly the officials will try to justify their secrecy on the ground that there was no danger to the local, pointing to the fact that the executive committee rejected the company proposal. But members that are awake will not accept this defense. It is a fact that at one meeting the executive committee voted to reject the company request. BUT IT IS ALSO A FACT THAT AT SUCCEEDING MEETINGS THE COMMITTEE CONTINUED DISCUSS-

ING THE PROPOSITION, AND INFLUENTIAL MEMBERS CONTINUED TO ADVOCATE ACCEPTING IT.

Members Must Be Alert

And, besides, there is no doubt that the company will continue the drive to win its demand, regardless of an initial union rejection. The company, as always, will try to drag all sorts of government agencies and public pressure in on its side. Successful defense of the hiring hall will be made only by mobilizing the union membership in a fighting defense, as other maritime unions have defended their halls.

The official leadership demonstrates by its secrecy that it has no real intention of organizing such a genuine defense. They did not fight to organize California, Consolidated or Western Pipe & Steel. Nor to build a real union in Bethlehem which could have forced that labor-hating corporation to sign on the dotted line: NOR WILL THEY FIGHT TO DEFEND THE HIRING HALL UNLESS AN ALERT MEMBERSHIP DRIVES THEM INTO IT.

Thoughtful union members will realize that this attack upon the hiring hall is an attack different in kind from the eight-point program attack. The previous attacks have been head-on drives to force the union back from wages and conditions won. The victories of the bosses and government spokesmen in these past attacks have, of course, incidentally

weakened the union by tending to discourage and demoralize the membership. But the main purpose has been just to drive the shipyard workers back from the gains they have won, and to save more money to be turned over in profits to the bosses.

This attack on the hiring hall is different. Fundamentally, it is part of an attack aimed at the destruction of the union. In modern warfare the aim is not just the pushing back of armies, but the breakthrough, the destruction of the enemy army. Similarly in the war that the bosses are waging against labor under the cover of "super-patriotic" ardor. The bosses aim at more than pushing the working class back to a lower standard of living. They aim at the breakthrough—at breaking up the unions—at the destruction of the organized army of labor. Because they know that if this army is left intact there will be hell to pay when the war is over and they try to force workers and soldiers back to the old conditions of unemployment, starvation, and ruin.

The hiring hall, and all on a democratic basis and as established by the West Coast maritime unions, is a very significant advance on the part of this section of American labor. It was not an advance easily achieved. It was won by the blood and sweat and sacrifice involved in some of the bitterest struggles in American labor history. And from its final establish-

ment onward, the bosses, usually with the help of the government, have striven to crush it out of existence. The history of the hiring hall has been one of a steady fight on the part of the unions involved against chiseling, sniping and sometimes crushing blows aimed by the bosses and the government. So far, on the West Coast, the defense has been successful, because union men have understood what their hiring hall meant, and have fought fiercely and tirelessly to keep it. The hiring hall is among labor's farthest advances, an advance almost confined to the West Coast and sharply contrasted to the "shape up" that prevails generally throughout the East.

Bosses Sees Future

The bosses hate the hiring hall for two reasons: it is a pillar of strength to the union; and it is a foretaste of the future, a preview of the kind of advances that labor must aspire to. It challenges the accepted right of the boss to run his own business as he sees fit by hiring whom he chooses. Perhaps from here labor will advance to challenge the boss' right to close down his plant and throw thousands of men out of work, simply because he can't make a profit out of their working. And what a challenge that would be in the period of post-war economic crisis!

Such a challenge to the divine right of the boss class to make millions out of the misery of the

Next week's LABOR ACTION will contain an article analyzing the fast-approaching crisis in India.

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Camp

FROM INSIDE GERMANY

The following reports on conditions inside Germany and the situation of the German working class have been taken from two sources which we believe are extremely reliable, the Bulletin of the International Transport Workers Federation (ITF) and a report by E. E. Blenke in Austrian Labor Information, published in New York. The latter sources are known to us and we can guarantee them.

Unlike certain reports which we have read lately in the radical press and which make sensational and startling claims about the German workers' movement, these reports are not of a sensational character, neither do they give a falsely optimistic note. They have nothing about a supposed large-scale organized group activity; neither do they make any claims that the German illegal movement has already reached a stage where mass actions are possible, but they have the advantage of giving a clear picture of the situation.

THE FACTORIES AS CENTERS OF ACTIVITY

There can be no question of an organized, illegal opposition with central leadership all over Germany. Only the individual factory unit is the center of illegal activity. Even here the situation of illegal fighters is extremely difficult, as is illustrated by the following report: "But even among workers it cannot be denied that terror and isolation as well as a new wave of fear have had big repercussions. For years now the educational and organizational activity of the unions has been missing, the 'Labor Front' has worked for years to foster all these tendencies among the workers which are contrary to union education, and it is thus not at all astonishing that some demoralization can be noticed here and there. This demoralization is especially noticeable in those factories which have been newly erected for armament production and where workers of very different social origin and without trade union background are working. It is therefore often noticed that these workers try to get along by bowing to foremen and employers' representatives.

"In many factories where I was able to study conditions I noticed that the thinking of workers was dominated by attempts to find ways and means to escape the so-called 'death commissions' which visit these factories from time to time in order to find men to be sent to the Russian front. Workers often admit that they do everything in order to be deferred and stay in the factories."

Up till now complaints were often voiced that women workers, on a lower political level, proved a deterrent to organized, illegal fights in the factories. Now conditions seem to have changed to a great extent in a favorable manner. "Since women have no fears that they may be called to the front, it is often noticeable that they are much more outspoken in their criticism of the government than men. They often even reproach the men for cowardice and say that one cannot achieve anything if one does not open his mouth."

SLOW-DOWN A FREQUENTLY USED METHOD

In spite of this, illegal movements of resistance are continuing in the factories. In most cases they take the comparative safety of a production slow-down.

One report says: "The workers help one another to show their hatred by different methods of resistance. They do not work as carefully as necessary." A Swiss worker who returned from Germany reports that his German colleagues passed him forbidden literature, and that they spoke about the news they heard from foreign stations. A German metal worker who is working in a shipyard and visited some friends in Switzerland on his vacation told the following: "Our yard completed five U-boats since April. But we could have built ten. This is because there is a slogan among all of us: work as slowly as possible." When he started to work in this yard he walked into a machine shop to ask for a part which he needed. It was in the morning and he asked that the part be ready for him around eleven o'clock. The answer of the toolmaker was: "Don't be in such a hurry. You might come back around four, not a minute earlier." The foreign workers are even more eager to follow the slow-down slogan. They are always able to claim difficulties with unknown machinery and difficulties in understanding the language. Relations between German and foreign workers are extremely good. Sabotage often takes the form of 'accidents,' damaging machinery and material."

SOLDIERS ARE GRUMBLING

Army morale, especially among soldiers coming back from the Russian front, is much worse than it was a year ago. There are frequent clashes between the picked Elite Guard of the regime and the common soldiers. On the other hand, relations between the population of occupied countries and German soldiers are often extremely friendly, a phenomenon which the Nazis, of course, try to prevent by every means at their disposal. "Norwegian civilians and members of the German occupying forces are establishing friendly contacts on the basis of common hatred of the Nazis. Soldiers visit Norwegians in their homes, bringing radio sets with them in order to listen to foreign broadcasts. Radio sets of Norwegians were confiscated some time ago."

(January, '42): Two hundred and fifty German fliers were transferred to Versailles in December to get some rest. One evening after their arrival they sat in a cafe. There was heavy drinking. After a discussion about Russia and the hardships there, they sang the Internationale with raised fists. One of the soldiers who was more drunk took off his uniform and stepped on it. The next morning the commandant asked that they be sent back to the East.

(January 31): "On Christmas a train which was to transport troops that had been stationed in Bordeaux, France, but had been in Russia before, back to the East, had to be delayed 24 hours because many soldiers did not appear in time to leave."

Since every "normal" outlet for anti-fascist propaganda is, so far, effectively checked by the Gestapo, strange channels are used. A refugee told how he saw in a certain town, swastikas hanging on the lower branches of trees. This was supposed to be a symbol of where to hang the Nazis.

NAZIS ADMIT ILLEGAL ACTIVITY

In the Information Service for leaders of the SS, the following passage was recently published: "A new wave of criticism has recently come about, caused by restrictions on food and travel, and the mobilization of youth. THE OPINIONS OF ELDERLY PEOPLE WITH THE EXPERIENCES OF 1917 AND 1918 COME TO THE FORE, as against arguments of National Socialists and the younger generation which are hopeful and optimistic. Criticism against the government and party seeks to prove that they have not lived up to their promises. We see certain signs of a lower morale, like in 1917. Recently certain indications of a revival of socialist propaganda have been noticed. For this reason district political leaders should order the arrest of socialist elements in all those parts of the Reich where the majority of the population consists of industrial workers."

A special bulletin of the high command to the corps of officers dated February, 1942, gives the following important revelations: "There is no rumor not stupid enough to find people who believe in it. The following points with regard to the propaganda technique of the enemy should be watched: (1) Rumors are never caused by accident. They are propagated according to a well specified plan. (2) Moscow and London work together. (3) The enemy never uses rumors alone, but employs them in connection with radio propaganda and leaflets. The enemy is not stupid. (4) The reports the enemy propagates are psychologically well chosen and based upon weaknesses of the German people. (5) People who believe in these rumors, and boasters, are allies on whom our enemies count. People who still cling to the belief that in each rumor there is at least some truth help the enemy. The desire to boast is another aid to the enemy, because many people think they are important when they pretend to have inside information and thus impress others with unfavorable news."

Every officer gets special instructions to impress on his soldiers the necessity of not talking about his terrible experiences at the front, in order not to lower morale on the home front.

These official Nazi documents are perhaps even more important than the other reports. They show clearly that there has been a revival of socialist propaganda inside Germany and a growing dissatisfaction with the Nazis.

What the German workers need above all, in order to have these grumblings and slow-downs transformed into organized political activity, is encouragement from the working class in the Allied camp. If and when the German worker sees that his brothers, whom he knows have greater possibilities of fighting, show real militancy, if he realizes that across the frontiers class solidarity is being established, his fighting spirit will be immensely strengthened. We should therefore not simply wait for further optimistic reports from Germany, but realize that what development the German underground is going to take depends a good deal on what we do here.

Europaes.

Jim-Crow Menaces White as Well as Negro Labor

The Place of the Negro Worker Is in the Labor Movement—All Workers, Black or White, Must Stand Against the Boss

By RIA STONE

In recent weeks there have been dramatic demonstrations almost daily of the race supremacy rule of the South which Negroes have for many decades experienced as part of the American capitalist way of life.

First, the legal murder of Odell Waller.

Then Willie Vinson, suspected of attacking a white woman, was lynched in Texas, because, as members of the lynch mob said: "This town's been needing a good lynching for a long time. Guilty or not, any n—r ought to be lynched for even looking at a white woman."

Next, a Negro soldier was brutally beaten by military police in the Southern Pacific railroad station of Houston, Texas, because he dared to enter the white waiting room.

The same week, in Flagstad, Arizona, another Negro soldier was shot to death. The mob responsible for the murder had been summoned by the local sheriff, who said: "We've got to work together to stop these n—rs from trying to drink and eat in our restaurants."

All these atrocities are not "incidents" but part of the Hitlerite methods by which the ruling class in the South desperately seeks to perpetuate its "American way of life"—a way of life which depends upon the economic and social degradation of the Negro masses. Proof that the authorities not only sanction but encourage the perpetuation of this system is found in their own words.

Mayor Caldwell of Shreveport, La., recently refused a federal grant to build a much-needed public health project which required skilled Negro labor. His explanation: "The white people of the South will never be bribed by grants or otherwise into accepting the Negro as an equal upon any basis, and before the city of Shreveport will be high-pressured into using Negro labor, we will reject the proffered grant of \$67,500."

Governor Dixon of Alabama has similarly rejected a war contract for Alabama cotton mills because the contract specifies no discrimination in the hiring of workers. Dixon described the non-discriminatory clause as a technique "to break down the principle of segregation of races, to force Negroes and white people to work together, intermingling with each other and even to bring

Goodyear Truck Tire Builders Act to Defend Six-Hour Day

AKRON, Aug. 2—Goodyear truck tire builders last week walked out of the plant after having completed six hours of work of a scheduled eight.

The walkout was precipitated by the policy of the company in attempting to force an eight-hour day on the workers despite contract provisions for six hours.

Several months ago the company proposed that the men work a two weeks' period at eight hours per day as an emergency measure. This was prolonged to the present time.

The men are resentful of the attempt to restore the eight-hour day since they are well aware that there is no labor shortage, as the company attempts to maintain. They recognize the attempt as one of the moves in a campaign to break down conditions under the pretext of the war emergency.

Not only are there still unemployed, there are truck tire builders now working at other jobs in the shops as a result of earlier displacement caused by the depression, when men were shifted to other jobs.

There is, further, a large reservoir of Negro labor which could be employed in the factory were the company sincere in its protestations of labor shortage.

This matter, among others, is to be taken up by a conference of company, WPB and union officials. On this question the local union heads will be backing the officers of the international, who are pushing for the abolition of the six-hour day also.

about a situation where white employees will have to work under Negroes!"

Moreover, it is rumored that the much-protested Higgins shipyard cancellation was due to the fact that 50 per cent of the employees were Negroes doing the same work and receiving the same pay as white workers—an equality repulsive to the Southern Bourbons, even though the workers were segregated into units which competed against one another.

The intentions of the Dardens (governor of Virginia, where Waller was killed), the Dixons, the Caldwells, the Higginses, are all cut from the same cloth: Don't yield an inch to the Negroes. Don't let Negro workers get decent wages; don't let them work alongside of whites, where they learn working class solidarity.

Promises and Realities

In the face of such outspokenly vicious and constant discrimination and oppression, is there any wonder that Negro workers in the South are attracted to other parts of the country which appear to offer greater opportunities? But do they fare any better elsewhere?

In California, workers were imported from the South, 98 per cent of them Negroes, for work on the Southern Pacific tracks. No decent housing was provided for the workers, and excessive meal and housing payments were deducted from their wage of only 40 cents an hour.

In the East, Negro track workers are transported daily from New York to New Jersey by ferry and then herded into box cars for rides of 20 miles or more to their places of work. They ride fifty to a car with no toilet facilities and only one small window. When sixty of the workers, unable to endure the "Black Calcutta" conditions of the box car, sought to ride in the passenger trains, the supervisor issued an order to all foremen saying: "Anyone caught riding passenger trains, instead of the modoc (box car) will be dismissed from the service immediately. Get this across to these Negroes and make them understand they must stay off of passenger trains."

To cities, where there is a shortage of domestic help, employers seek to lure Negro Southern women, promising them good homes, light work, and high wages. One Negro woman worker who borrowed railroad fare for such a job in New York was put to work the same day she arrived, cooking, washing, cleaning and caring for two children from 6.00 a.m. to 10 p.m. She was not permitted even to leave the house, and was fired when she dared to do so, being paid off \$2.50 for three days' work (48 hours at five cents an hour!).

Given Worst Jobs

Today, to Northern rural areas, where there is a labor shortage, landowners and farmers seek to lure Southern Negro workers, promising them wages of \$8.00 to \$10 a day, which obviously don't materialize. An effort is apparently being made, through the U.S. Employment Service in the South and North alike, to force Negro workers into migratory agricultural jobs. The method employed is denying them industrial jobs which are more stable and where they could learn the need of organization and working class solidarity much more quickly.

Throughout the country, North and South alike, the bosses continue to

NEWS ITEM: The Securities and Exchange Commission has found that 89 per cent of 168 gas and electric companies investigated listed depreciation charges higher in income tax returns than on their own books.

Well, after all, isn't the whole boss set-up based on chiseling and stealing?

These Newsstands Carry the NI In Los Angeles

101 1/2 West Fifth Street.
316 West Fifth Street.
613 1/2 South Hill Street.
1606 Sunset Boulevard.
Las Palmas & Hollywood Blvd.
Whitley & Hollywood Blvd.

give the Negro workers the dirtiest and more insecure jobs. They try to keep them the most oppressed section of the working class, utilizing them to alleviate the shortage of domestic, unskilled and agricultural workers, regardless of their skills and previous training.

Unless all workers through their organizations make a determined effort to combat these methods of the ruling class by integrating Negro workers into the working class movement, they may find the same conditions of working class division confronting them after this war as after the last war.

At that time, Negro workers who had left the rural and urban districts of the South, hoping for decent industrial jobs elsewhere, found themselves confronted with Jim Crow conditions in the North as well (the dirtiest work, segregation into black ghettos, etc.). Is there any wonder, therefore, that there were race riots in 1919-21 as millions of demobilized soldiers came back from the war, competing even for these miserable jobs? Is there any wonder that employers found it possible to get Negro workers to act as strike-breakers against other workers who had made no effort to bring the Negroes into the labor movement on an equal basis?

Belong in Labor Movement

These are very real problems not only to Negro workers but to all workers, and the answer lies in the organized action of the labor movement and of all workers. The unions must undertake organization of the South so that all workers, Negro and white alike, can carry out militant action—supported by the organized workers of the whole country—against the Southern employers and officials who viciously refuse contracts rather than give the Negro workers skilled jobs.

UAW--

(Continued from page 1)

Among the speakers during the first day was Mayor Kelly of Chicago. How this labor-hating politician of Little Steel massacre notoriety was allowed to enter a union convention beats the understanding of this correspondent.

President Thomas' report traced the magnificent growth of this mighty organization. A detailed analysis of his report will have to wait for the next issue of LABOR ACTION. It is enough to point out now that he failed to indicate the damage being done the union and the UAW workers by his appeasement policy.

Elections on Friday

While the membership is evidently ready to vote for the more abstract or theoretical aspects of this policy, their real opinion on concessions versus militant action was clearly established in their down-to-earth discussion of such down-to-earth matters as holiday pay and the right to strike.

Their sentiment was similarly indicated when they defeated a proposal to advance election of officers to Wednesday. In shouting it down, the delegates let it be known that they want to know the stand of the candidates on several issues. Elections will be held Friday, which is expected to be the last day of the convention.

Industrial workers of the North and South, through their unions, should act to force Jim Crow employers to let down the race barriers so that Negro workers can get industrial jobs. Negro industrial workers in their communities should join in and direct such movements as the March on Washington movement. This movement is engaged in fighting Jim Crow in industry but needs to be pressed to such militant actions as picketing the United States Employment Service offices and Jim Crow plants to force them to hire Negro industrial workers.

Organize Migratory Workers

Where Negro (and white) workers find themselves compelled to take insecure and transitory agricultural jobs, despite their preference for domestic work, the agricultural unions now in the field (UCAPAWA,

STFU, etc.) should undertake responsibility to organize them immediately into unions on the job. By this means they will be able to provide the necessary wage standards and working conditions for these migratory workers. And they will prevent a lowering of the standards of the organized agricultural workers which would inevitably follow if the transitory workers remain unorganized.

The ability of the IWW in the days of the First World War to organize successfully the varieties of migratory labor, even for short periods, shows that this can be done. Also, the recent struggle of the sharecroppers in Southeast Missouri, who are likewise seasonal workers, demonstrate that great strides can be made by initiative, solidarity and determined methods.

THE WORLD AT WAR

Hull Answers Wallace View-- Describes U.S. Outlook On Shape of Post-War World

The Roosevelt regime has decided on the kind of war it wants to conduct and the nature of the post-war world it will build if it is victorious. That is why the speech of Secretary of State Cordell Hull is so important. This speech was endorsed by President Roosevelt in advance of its delivery. It had an official character. It was not merely the personal or semi-official pronouncement of a Sumner Welles or a Wallace.

The primary purpose of Hull's address was to answer Vice-President Wallace and to change decisively and permanently the tone of American speeches on the war and post-war policies. Hull re-affirmed the principle that this war is for U.S. world dominion and that only allies of the U.S. will receive post-war consideration.

He rejected any idea that the U.S. was fighting for "utopian" ideals such as expressed by Wallace. He rejected Wallace's statement that the war was "to give every child a quart of milk and a pair of shoes." No conciliation, no false demagoguery, no "extension of the New Deal to the international area."

Hull's tone was diplomatic and circutious. It was written in that careful language which is not meant to be understood by the masses of people, but by the intellectuals and ruling cliques. That is because Hull wanted to put an end to all talk and promises such as have been so freely given by irresponsible demagogues or honest humanitarians. Hull's speech is a re-assertion of "old principles." He is for the status quo ante bellum for all those nations whose ruling classes join the Allies now and fight against the Axis.

Threat and Ultimatum

To the neutral nations he issued an open threat and an ultimatum. Time and again he said that "each nation must demonstrate its capacity for stable and progressive government" before it can be given the "four freedoms." The U.S. "will support the attainment of freedom by all people who, by their acts, show

themselves worthy of it." And he set up the Washington government as the final judge as to whether these conditions had been met. Freedom must be earned by joining the U.S. now or facing the possibility of post-war subjection—and discrimination.

This part of Hull's speech was directed firstly at Argentina and Chile. In the second place, it was an ultimatum to the Indian National Congress—a sort of last chance. Either the Congress gives up its demand for freedom now or it will be given no consideration by the U.S.

The United States will be in a position to feed the hungry peoples ravaged and starved by the war. Hull makes clear that American imperialism "will not set up a world commissary for the general distribution of milk and honey" (New York Times editorial) but will use its food resources as a weapon just as it did after the last war. Those who submit will be fed. Those who resist or revolt will be starved into submission.

Capital for the reconstruction of devastated areas, access to raw materials, freedom of world trade will be denied to neutrals and opponents. Every economic pressure is listed by Hull for use as a weapon to assure American hegemony.

Shape of His World

What kind of post-war world is offered in this official statement? The old national boundaries are to be restored, by and large. The system of private property and private profit is to be assured, with the old capitalists restored to power, only this time under U.S. domination. There must be no revolutions by the people because the U.S. will only support regimes which are capable of "re-establishing public order."

Hull's post-war world will be like the one which caused the present war: it will be based on the same capitalism which brought Hitler to power.

The instrument for this will be an international military police force under U.S. control. To insure the destruction of Germany and Japan, Hull proposes a long armistice to precede the final peace. The proposal of a long armistice is not new, having been proposed previously by Sumner Welles and Herbert Hoover. Its purpose is to assure the Allies of time to install their military rule over all Europe. More important, however, the rulers in Washington and London, like those in Berlin, know that the war can only end by the action of the masses. The long armistice is intended to assure the suppression of these actions. Mr. Hull's "long armistice" differs from previous statements only in that he hints that it may be longer than is generally imagined.

Hull's speech offers no hope, no future to mankind. He actually offers less than his predecessors. As against Wilson, whose fourteen points included at least an appeal to the German masses to overthrow the Kaiser, Hull's speech is less democratic, more totalitarian.

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Can the Boss System Plan Production?

By Susan Green

If any one thing stands out above all else in this war, it is the fundamental anarchy of the capitalist system. It is just impossible to make the profit system work in accordance with a plan.

Whether in war or in peace, the purpose of production remains the same—how much is there in it for the owners of industry!

Workers in the UAW ought to know this. They are close to the source of a plan to coordinate private industry into a unified whole—that source being their own vice-president.

The Reuther plan for the auto industry was recognized by all in the "know" as just tops in promoting capitalist production. (We cannot here go into its inadequacies from labor's point of view.) However, it was kicked around and landed in the dark shed of interested opposition. When finally it was used, it was a piecemeal and handled as enthusiastically as a hot potato.

PRIVATE GAIN COMES FIRST

The story of the Reuther plan is the story of every plan coming from the unions. They have been side-tracked or, if adopted, it has been done in such an emasculated form as not to hurt the profit motives of the bosses (though the plans themselves rarely went that far anyway).

There was, for instance, the union plan to continue the production of indispensable civilian goods by a careful allocation of materials and machinery and labor and, of course, the elimination of trade names.

What! eliminate trade names—those camouflages of products that are essentially the same! What about all that advertising on the air, in newspapers, in magazines! Give up trade names—that edifice that fools the consumer—not on labor's life!

Now Reuther submits a plan for the allocation of steel, of which millions of tons are being wasted by the brass hats of the Army and Navy, and millions more through the inefficiency and lack of planning of private industry.

But "why doesn't that lousy red mind his own business and stop planning for us?" is undoubtedly the reaction of the military and industrial powers to Reuther's idea—if they are running true to form.

But don't get the notion that the capitalists resent plans coming from the unions, but are good boys and submit to a general plan of their own. No, indeed not. They are just jolly rolling stones gathering a thick moss of profits—and won't be stopped even by the plans of their own government.

Take the OPA as an illustration. It has been a joke from the very beginning because its plan for keeping down prices was full of holes through which the glutinous hands of the profit-seekers have clutched and grabbed their "just rewards."

First, yielding to the pressure of powerful interests, a long list of essential foods was left out of the ceilings—and their prices have been skyrocketing. Next came the lifting of the ceilings on canned fruits and vegetables. Then the landlords licked their lips, rubbed their hands and cried: "Me too."

The profit system, you see, recognizes no plans. It has one unshakable purpose: PRIVATE GAIN.

RUBBER ANOTHER ILLUSTRATION

The smelly mess surrounding the production of synthetic rubber is another illustration of the absolute chaos of capitalist production. The formulae for synthetic rubber owned by big corporations like Standard Oil have for years been carefully locked up in vaults because the low paid (virtually unpaid) labor of the East Indies made natural rubber a better source of profit.

But now everyone wants to produce synthetic rubber. Everyone has a better formula than the next guy. Everyone wants to get his eager hand into the government flesh pots. And so it goes on, until even Mr. Roosevelt got a little dizzy and appointed a judge to try to make rhyme or reason out of the madness.

Investigating committees are constantly at work. The wealth produced by labor seems to be equally divided between the profit-makers and the politicians who thrive on exposing them. And the game of grab is never-ending. The profit system operates by its own laws—a national economic plan is not one of them.

Some members of the capitalist class and some of their politicians fully realize that the triumph of the United Nations in this war depends on effective planning for war production. They look with envy at Nazism, where this has been accomplished, where the government has compelled each capitalist to yield to the general capitalist good. (The individual capitalist, of course, continues to profit.) An American totalitarian regime is their answer to the prevailing anarchy. They are pressing for it.

A totalitarian regime will for them have not only the virtue of keeping private capital in line with the general war plan. It will—oh, beautiful fact—knock down and trample on labor. No strikes, no demands for higher wages—not even any labor schemes for national planning—and no unions worthy of the name. What a paradise for the American master class!

"Enlightened" capitalists look toward totalitarianism as the up-and-coming thing. What does enlightened labor look toward?

It must be toward a system of production under which labor's planning will be effective. LABOR ACTION declares for such a system and as a step toward such a system: FOR THE CONSCRIPTION OF INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.

And from that to a higher stage where labor, through its own socialist, workers' governments, ends anarchy in production and frees labor. This is the only alternative to totalitarianism and wars.

WLB Leaves Labor Holding the Bag

Shall We Rely on Direct Negotiations with the Boss Through Collective Bargaining, or on the WLB?

By H. ALLEN

With increasing frequency disputes between the bosses and workers are being sent to the National War Labor Board. Many workers regard the board as a pro-labor instrument. Labor unions are often ready to certify their grievances to the War Labor Board and look forward hopefully to the outcome. But a brief examination of the operations of the War Labor Board shows the facts to be considerably different.

The Bosses' Interest

The employers are today more and more willing to employ the board in settling disputes, because the results over a period of time are of major benefit to them. The eagerness of the bosses alone should be sufficient reason for the workers to be suspicious; but let us turn to the concrete evidence.

In a wage dispute between the Western Pennsylvania Motor Carriers Association and the Teamsters Union, AFL, in Pittsburgh, the operators insisted that the matter be turned over to the War Labor Board. The workers refused, on the ground that too much delay would result, and that many working conditions provided for in the tentative contract could not be made retroactive. (New York Times, June 22.)

Labor unions are submitting grievances to the War Labor Board which require speedy settlement if the immediate interests of the workers (cost of living, union status, working conditions) are to be protected. WLB intervention means long delays before a decision is handed down. Meanwhile, the burden is carried by the workers, and profits for the bosses increase.

Collective bargaining conferences on the demand of the 157,000 steel workers in "Little Steel" (Republic, Youngstown, Inland and Bethlehem) for a \$1.00 daily wage increase, union security and the check-off took more than nine and a half months! Hearing the arguments of the Steel Workers Union and the steel operators before the panel of the WLB alone consumed four and a half months. Even after the panel of the WLB admitted the ability of the bosses to pay the \$1.00 a day increase, the

WLB voted a miserable 44 cents a day increase. (The meaning of the Steel and Remington Rand decisions has been discussed in previous issues of LABOR ACTION—Editor.)

Philip Murray, president of the CIO, had previously described the case as one of the "best classic examples" of "cooling off periods" and declared that the restraint and patience of the workers merited "special commendation." (New York Times, July 2.)

The "cooling-off" periods have been and are being used by the employers and the government to make extensive propaganda against the workers' demands, to which the capitalist press gives dramatic front page headlines. The Office of Price Administration blasted out proposals that the steel wage increases be limited to 5 per cent as an "anti-inflationary" step (the same OPA whose "attitude" Harvey Brown, president of the International Association of Machinists Union, declares "perils the entire labor movement and the future of collective bargaining as an institution in this country.")

A radio speech by Harold Smith, federal budget director and one of the President's closest advisers, was headlined "Ban on Wage Raises Demanded by Smith." (New York Times, July 2.) A week later President Roosevelt was hailed by the press as opposed to the wage increase for Little Steel since it would increase the cost of living.

Labor Holds the Bag

Decisions of the War Labor Board are today generally compromised with loopholes for the bosses that leave the workers holding the bag. Take the decision of the War Labor Board on the Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock Co., Kearney, N. J., April 24, and the Ryan Aeronautical Co., San Diego, decision of June 18. The maintenance of union membership decision in both cases allows for a pre-enforcement period during which employers can use their notorious methods for intimidating workers from entering and into leaving the union. For union security, too, is not retroactive. How important this period is to the bosses was shown when Roger Lapham, em-

ployer member of the WLB, who has always "resisted the inclusion of a union security clause," stated (New York Times, June 18) with regard to the Ryan case:

"The case is noteworthy because for the first time it recognizes one of the main principles the employer members have contended for, since it makes it plain to any union member that he has 15 days to resign from the union if he does not want to be bound by the maintenance of membership clause."

States Favor WLB Power

Then, too, the insatiable appetite of the imperialist war and the cry for "national unity," in addition to preventing militant action by the workers, are used to nullify decisions of the WLB that appear favorable to labor, as, for instance, the "forced savings" or "increased wages" in the form of War Bonds.

Recently, moreover, it became apparent that the WLB is recognized by the ruling class to be a more feasible instrument for this kind of "war-propagandized" decision than even the state mediation board machinery. In Syracuse, where the Machinists Union appealed to the state for mediation arbitration against the E. C. Stearns Co., Justice Cross of the New York Supreme Court favored the War Labor Board as against the state machinery, declaring: "The War Labor Board has plenary power in carrying out that policy to take into consideration the essential interrelationships of military and civil requirements . . . and any and all pertinent factors that bear upon the adjustment and stabilization of wages." (New York Times, July 5.)

So useful have the National War Labor Boards proved to the employers and the government that Governor Green of Illinois has decided to appoint a State War Labor Standards Board that would permit employers to violate state labor laws!

Curb Worker Militancy

Because of their faith in government intervention, unions are relaxing their vigilance even when the government steps in with obviously

union-breaking methods. In the case of the textile workers' strike at the Arkwright Corp., Fall River, Mass., the WLB authorized the hiring of scabs to break the strike for wage increases. The International Union aided this scabbery by repudiating the strike as "unauthorized."

It is an unhealthy symptom in the labor movement when William H. Davis, chairman of the War Labor Board, can state (New York Times, May 10): "There has not been a single authorized strike since Pearl Harbor. Every time a wildcat walk-out occurs, the WLB has found union officials to do all they can to end the stoppage." That is, the union officials are curbing the workers in their efforts to protect their interests, their unions and their living standards.

Direct Negotiations Best

The inroads on the vitality of the labor unions made by the employers and governmental agencies have been many. The examples cited prove the need of once again insisting on direct collective bargaining, depending primarily on their economic and bargaining strength. Direct negotiations with the bosses, holding the strike weapon in reserve if that fails, is the procedure that workers must follow.

Consideration of strike action is always before the union and its members. Only when forced by external pressure which they cannot control or resist indefinitely should labor accept a third agency (WLB, mediation, arbitration, etc.) to resolve its struggles with the bosses. In each instance the unions should make it clear that they accept the intervention of a third agency only under pressure, with reluctance and distrust.

Such an attitude in itself favors them in any possible decision of the state or national boards. Thus the normal machinery of labor unionism can be maintained and strengthened; the vigilance of the unions will not be relaxed; intervention by the government will be more exceptional and will operate in each instance in such a way that the government agency will find itself forced at the very least to regard the workers' strength as formidable.

Local 9 Hiring Hall Threatened--

(Continued from page 1)

selling war bonds, with trying to achieve a "national unity" cooperation with the Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants and Manufacturers Assn. The Communist Party now delights in doing the dirtiest work for the bosses because that's what their Kremlin master wants them to do. Under these conditions the West Coast bosses think they see their chance to get sweet revenge for '34 and for everything that has come after.

The boss class sees into the future and prepares for it. Today they seek to fill the minds of workers with "national unity" and of "equality of sacrifice." But they see to the

Have You Read July Issue of the New Internat'l?

If you haven't you ought to get hold of a copy immediately. The issue features an article on Which Way for Britain? by Harry Allen and a memorial tribute to Two Proletarian Soldiers—Riazanov and Sneevliet—by Max Shachtman.

In addition the issue contains: Editorial notes on the legal lynching of Odell Waller and on Congressman May's statement on the length of the war.

An interesting contribution to the discussion of the National Question by J. W. Smith. It is accompanied by a reprint of the Workers Party resolution on the national struggle in Europe.

An analytical review of James T. Farrell's latest book, by R. Fingleton.

Section II of World War I in Retrospect by Allen and Stone. Book reviews, etc.

time when workers will demand that the industrial machine and natural resources of the nation which have produced so mightily for war, shall, in peace, be used to produce goods for all, not to stand in idleness for the profit of a few.

Who Will Defend Union?

This fight will depend upon the courage and the fighting qualities of the individuals who make up the masses of organized labor. The official leadership has already yielded considerably. The Communist Party has long ago gone over to the enemy whole hog, from snout to tail. Militant leaders will spring up here and there who will fight outstandingly for the real interests of the working class, but frequently they will snipe off by the bosses; and in any case the leaders can't do the job.

This fight depends upon the masses of men and women who turn the wheels of industrial production. It is these masses of workers who built the unions, who won the wages and working conditions, who established

the existing union strength. It is they who will have to defend these gains and will have to win the new advances that must be made by labor in the future if we are to stave off fascist barbarism, American style.

In Local 9 more than 95 per cent of the membership is new. More than 95 per cent had no hand in the struggles that built the union, that established the wages and working conditions, that at one time won from both LA and Bethlehem an iron-bound closed shop and hiring from the hall. Not having struggled to win these conditions, the membership tends to fail to understand their value, for their value is measured by their cost, by the bitter struggle it took to win them.

But there are thousands of members in Local 9, members new to Local 9 but old to the labor movement, who have fought bitterly for other unions in other places. These men, if they will remember the lessons of the battles they have fought, plus the old members of Local 9, plus those of the inexpe-

rienced members who are willing to listen, to read and to learn, can together build up such a fighting force as will drive back the attack of the bosses, will preserve the strength of the union.

The responsibility falls upon each union man individually. He who waits for another to take the lead, that he may fall in line and follow, fails in what is required of him. Each man who has the courage to be a union man must himself fight the union battle each day. On the big questions he must clearly voice his demand that the whole union fight to the death to preserve the strength and power of the union and to maintain the standard of living won for its members. On the small day-to-day questions on the job he must stand firm and carry out his union duties, for HIS protection and for that of his fellows. In every way every real union man will strive to make the union a living reality—a reality to each member, who sees it as his protector; and a reality to the company, which sees it as a power whose decisions must be heeded.

A just grievance is a union duty, to be taken up now, not when the war (and shipbuilding) is over! A shop steward is a grievance man, not a company man! The corporations understand only the language of militant action, for they speak in the language of force.

A union man's America must be an America of real freedom, of production of plenty for all the people, of real equality for all regardless of race, nationality or color—an America in which all the people use the machinery of modern industry for the benefit of all—a socialist America.

And he who does this is patriotic to the class that can build this kind of an America out of the chaos of capitalism—the working class!

They Call It "Equality of Sacrifice" - -

By Mike Stevens

A few weeks ago the United Automobile Workers (CIO) suffered a terrific set-back by losing the Curtiss Aircraft election to the AFL. Although there are many reasons for this defeat, the outstanding reason, as pointed out in a recent issue of LABOR ACTION, was the UAW's recent policy of "giving up past gains."

One of the retreats that was most strenuously objected to by the aircraft workers was the one that had been pushed through under the slogan of "Victory through equality of sacrifice," giving up overtime standards for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays.

No worker in aircraft or elsewhere is being fooled by the cry of the bosses that "in order to win the war, the forty-hour week, time and a half for overtime, double time for Sundays and holidays must be abolished."

The requirements for war production are workers, contracts, factories, machines and materials. They paying of overtime does not affect production one single bit. The only thing that is disturbed by overtime pay is the boss' PROFIT. And, after all, the only object of capitalist production is profit and if the boss can't make a profit he shuts the doors of his factory. But the big juicy government contracts mean large war profits—and to top it off, if the overtime and double time wages of the workers are graciously thrown in, well, that's very, very tasty gravy. That is known as "Victory through equality of sacrifice."

HOW IT WORKS

The worker sells his LABOR POWER to Curtiss Aircraft (or any other capitalist corporation) for wages. His wages at any moment are determined by the number of workers seeking that job, the prevailing standard of living, the strength of the labor movement and the cost of existence. But the wages he is to receive are only a small portion of the value that he creates. The bulk of it (the wealth) that he produces is taken by the stockholders of Curtiss Aircraft.

In an eight-hour day, suppose a worker produces enough value in the first two hours of work to pay his wages. If his wages are \$4.00 a day, the other \$12 (or whatever it is) of wealth that he has produced is taken by the capitalist. On Saturdays the worker received (time and a half) \$6.00 in wages and the boss took \$10 surplus profit. If he worked on Sunday at the double time rate he took \$8.00 in wages and gave the boss \$9.00 in surplus profit.

The workers are handed raw materials from which they bring forth the finished product of their particular industry. Thus they have added new value to the raw materials. And although it is the working class alone that produces these new values, it is the capitalist that pockets the difference of the costs advanced for the raw materials and the selling price of the new value. He is able to do this because under capitalism he owns the means of production and has merely employed the workers to use his factory and machines.

WHAT UNIONS DO

The workers, by forming unions through which they obtained wage increases, time and a half, double time and other concessions, have been able to keep a tiny bit more (than previously) of the wealth that they produce from going into the bosses' pockets. But many of these gains are being wiped away under the guise of "equality of sacrifice."

By the end of this year the General Motors Co. will employ close to 400,000 workers. Time and a half for Saturdays and double time for Sundays and holidays have been abolished. If you have a pencil and a piece of paper handy and by using the low wage of \$4.00 a day and figure what the wages would be for time and a half for Saturdays and double time for Sundays and holidays, you will discover that General Motors (and this is only one corporation) in a year will keep more money from the workers' wages than your imagination in its most astronomical moment would have ever permitted you to suspect.

And they call it "equality of sacrifice."

No, Thanks, Mr. Connally!

Senator Connally of Texas is urging an amendment to the tax bill which would impose an excess-profits tax on individuals as well as corporations. Insofar as it is intended, or will result, in soaking the war profiteers, we're all for it—except that it doesn't begin to go far enough in that respect.

But we don't like the way it is worded. Connally proposes that any individual earning more than he has averaged for the last four years be taxed heavily on the excess. This means that millions who were unemployed during the last four years, or working at miserable wages of ten to fifteen dollars a week will be paying through the nose for the privilege of having starved for four years.

As happens so often, the politicians think up a proposal which looks as though it is directed against the wealthy, but somehow proves to be a slap at labor.

Enjoys Reading Labor Action

Dear Editor: Please Send me LABOR ACTION and The New Internationalist together. I would like you to send me LABOR ACTION every week, as advertised. Enclosed you will find the money order for this.

Last week my husband brought me your paper from work where somebody handed it to him at the shop. Because my husband knows that I like to read everything that I get hold of he did not throw it away. Now I want to tell you that I enjoyed reading it very much and I will make my husband read it too.

Please keep up the good work you are doing. Every time I finish LABOR ACTION I will give it to someone else to read, so they could buy it also.

E.

A. J.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

We've received a "poison pen" letter from a "superior white" Southerner, threatening us with "tar and feathers" and advising us to "soft-pedal" on "Smash Jim Crow" . . . OR ELSE! The letter is much too obscene in its revelation of the Jim Crow mind to permit of publication. (Postal regulations bar the publication of obscenity.)

Our correspondent informs us that "there were no Negroes in the United States when the Constitution was written" and hence that "All men are created equal" stuff doesn't go for today. Our correspondent is evidently misinformed as to the pre-

Constitution activities of his slave-trading forefathers.

"Smash Jim Crow?" he asks. "Better start this stuff in South Carolina or Georgia. You would soon get a coating of TAR and FEATHERS that would fill your mentally deranged body or an invitation to a necktie party."

Well, it's "Smash Jim Crow" that we want to do and intend to do to the extent of our ability and energy. Jim Crow is a product of class rule and social injustice. The lynch mentality is deliberately cultivated by the Southern rulers to divide white and Negro workers with the myth

of racial superiority. Hitler has something of the same theory!—Editor.

Working on NYA Is No Easy Lark

Dear Editor: As you probably know, there has been great pressure in Congress to abolish the NYA. What does it matter to such humanitarians as the average congressman and the editor of the Daily News if our youth don't get any trade training? Is trade

training supposed to be only for those who can afford to go to the private training centers, many of which cost plenty?

When the annual appropriation was cut many of those on the administrative staffs were let go, working further hardships on the over-burdened staffs. They also raised the price of meals, which used to be free, to fifteen cents. With the rise in price the food took a turn for the worse. When the youth found it impossible to eat most of the food, they cut out meals altogether. There was plenty of criticism from the fellows, but nobody suggested doing

anything about it. There are plenty of Stalinists here. They control the Youth Council and try mainly to stifle criticism from the youth, especially of the administrative staff. This staff runs NYA so well that you can remain filing for over two weeks. And then they wonder why we get discouraged!

The safety rules they hand out say you should wear clean coveralls. The coveralls we wear are simply filthy. They also have a brand of soap that can make you sneeze as if you have the flu. When you complain about the lack of it in the soap

containers, some bright eyed Stalinists will tell you not to work yourself into a lather.

Every now and then the Army comes up and takes some of the best machines, till the place begins to look empty.

What are we to do? We do important work for the Navy and get all this pushing around from the NYA staff and the government. We can't complain and we can't strike. We can't live on \$25 a month, either!

Editorials

These Are Facts!

The screams issuing from the capitalist press and politicians on inflation are almost enough to make a man shudder. To listen to them talk, labor is bankrupting the nation and its purchasing power must be drastically cut if we are to be saved from economic perdition.

We can't go into inflation here. However we'll admit labor is plenty concerned with inflation. What inflation means, in essence, is that a man can buy less goods with his dollar. Labor is consequently already suffering from the effects of partial inflation.

But instead of letting the bosses or their government stooges talk, suppose we let the facts speak.

On page 1 of this issue of LABOR ACTION you will find some startling figures. We won't take the space here to repeat them. Instead we'll add a few.

According to the CIO News, Department of Labor figures show that 71 per cent of all industrial workers earn less than \$40 a week. We hardly need a government report to tell us that. Nevertheless, it bears repeating as an answer to the crooked propaganda of the boss class.

"Even in war industries," says the CIO News, "where overtime increases weekly wages for many, 68 per cent of the workers are below the \$40 level, and 34 per cent earn less than 'bare subsistence.'"

Further: there will be a national income this year of some \$93,200,000,000. And this will be divided among 32,650,000 families.

Seventy-seven per cent of this sum will go to families with incomes greater than \$2,000 a year. That excludes more than 70 per cent of the workers.

But that isn't all. OPA figures show that only 8 per cent will have incomes over \$5,000 this year. And their total income will amount to \$34,000,000,000—or 36 per cent of all income.

In the light of these figures who but a boss-minded propagandist will dare say that labor is creating an inflationary surplus of purchasing power by demanding higher wages? Labor is merely asking for something that will allow it to APPROXIMATE a decent standard of living—and in most cases that approximation is far from decent. IT HAS THE RIGHT TO ASK FOR MORE.

If there is too much purchasing power around (we'll take their word for it), it is not labor that is enjoying it. LABOR HAS TOO LITTLE PURCHASING POWER!

You'll find the excess purchasing power in the 8 per cent with the 34 per cent of total income.

And you'll also find it in the accumulated income of these 8 per cent. Yes, there's more to purchasing power than a man's yearly income. Not for the worker, because he can't save. But the 8 per cent can buy with the money they've socked away as well as with the money they "earn" in any given year.

Include accumulated wealth, and you'll find that 3 per cent of the people own 96 per cent of the nation's wealth. Tax it. Tax it heavily if you need money for the war, or want to "withdraw purchasing power." **SOAK THE RICH!**

So the next time you hear anyone wailing about labor causing inflation, shove these figures in his snout—**AND DEMAND YOUR WAGE INCREASE!**

On Pirating

Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, recently blasted "pirating" of skilled labor by employers in war industries. McNutt threatened to withhold materials from companies guilty of "pirating." Nevertheless, while McNutt's anger seems to be directed against the employers, we suspect that his barbs were actually intended to sink into the wage levels and freedom of LABOR.

McNutt's intention is to "freeze" workers on the job. The proof of that will emerge soon after elections are over. Time magazine, for example, says that the final draft of a National Service Act has been "put on ice" until after November. With November out of the way, and with the various congressmen snug in their jobs, will come the barrage of anti-labor legislation—among them, the National Service Act.

The NSA will probably provide for a "modified" version of the powers now given the British government. It will give the government the power to draft labor at prices set by the government or management, "freeze" labor on the job, and possibly set up government hiring halls.

If passed, the act would cut at the very foundations of unionism. It would, if labor doesn't put up a barrier, displace union control over a job with government control; it would limit the freedom of the worker to fight for better wages; it would seek to keep him working at given, low wage levels; it would, in effect, be a piece of national legislation which could be utilized against strikes.

There's pirating here no doubt. But we would be wise to keep a close watch on our valuables—decent wages and freedom of union action—because there IS a pirate loose.

LABOR ACTION

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WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

Against Both Imperialist War Camps! For the Victory of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory 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!
- Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars the minimum wage; time and a half for overtime! Rehire the jobless millions by a six-hour shift!
- Wage increases which meet rising costs! No sales tax on consumer goods! No taxes on wages! Freeze rents and food and clothing prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living!
- 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!
- Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
- Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3 per cent 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!
- Sixty dollars a month minimum for draftees!

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 vigilantes and fascist attacks!
- For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
- For Peace Through Socialism! For immediate independence of all colonies! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism. For a League of Socialist Nations!

Unite the Labor Movement To Smash Boss Offensive

(Continued from page 1)

It must, if it is to be of substantial value to labor, be a unity conceived on a fighting program for union defense.

All commentators are agreed that Roosevelt was behind the Murray proposal.

President Roosevelt is obviously not interested in strengthening the hand of the labor movement. He is not interested in consolidating the mass power of the working class.

President Roosevelt no doubt prefers a united labor movement which with the acquiescence of the union officialdom will increase his control over the entire labor movement, facilitate speed-up, etc.

President Roosevelt would no doubt welcome a labor movement united around a program of appeasement, of relinquishing union gains.

But it is more than possible that a good large part of his motivation was an effort to isolate John L. Lewis, to slash at Lewis' influence in the union movement.

And that evidently fits in with the most ardent desires of Murray and Green.

Must Be Democratically Handled

But highly-touted unity offers and even negotiations, held with that as its object, hardly answer the need of the labor movement.

Unity is a serious thing, and must be handled seriously—and DEMOCRATICALLY.

Murray almost blew a gasket when Lewis publicly announced his unity plan some months ago. Murray accused Lewis of having made the proposal without authority or official endorsement. Murray has today as little, or as much, authority on his side.

And which way the wind blows is easily discerned in the committee Murray announced. In place of John L. Lewis, Murray added Julius Emmpack of the UEW. Emmpack is one of the Stalinist breed (which includes Bridges and Curran) who do not believe in "unionism as usual," who believe that everything labor has or could have or did have must be tossed down the war chute for the duration.

We repeat, however, unity is a serious thing that cannot be handled as a political football among union bureaucrats with negotiations which will in all likelihood drag out for a year

—perhaps even to time's end. Labor doesn't want a show. Labor wants unity!

Nor is unity a thing which can be bureaucratically handled behind closed doors.

It must be democratically discussed and its terms approved in the locals of the two organizations, and in conventions.

THE RANK AND FILE MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO ITS SAY ON THE PLATFORM AND PURPOSE OF UNITY.

An End to Appeasement

Unity of the two powerful organizations of labor must mark an end to, and not a continuation of, the disastrous policy of appeasement and retreat which the union officialdom has imposed on the union membership.

With each passing month, as labor sacrifices and capital profits, the unions and their members are worse off.

The unions themselves are endangered as the bosses seek to undermine them in overt or concealed attack AND AS THE UNION MEMBERSHIP GROWS RESTLESS AND DISCOURAGED BECAUSE THE UNION DOES NOT SPEAK AGGRESSIVELY IN ITS BEHALF.

Never before has the labor movement been so large. That proves that the great mass of workers believe in unionism, stand ready to join and to fight. But not in a unionism which conciliates, imposes retreats, appeases, bows and scrapes before the bosses and their agents.

An aggressive, unified labor movement will raise the pitch of union enthusiasm and strength to levels undreamed of before. The rank and file already in the unions will respond to a man. The ranks not yet in the unions will join.

But again, and again, we repeat: it must be a unity achieved on labor's program—not a unity conceived in the image of boss desire and Presidential suggestion.

IT MUST BE A UNITY WHICH DOESN'T YIELD THE FUNDAMENTAL BASIS OF THE CIO—INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

It must be a unity which cements power and initiative—not retreat and appeasement.

FOR A UNIFIED LABOR MOVEMENT TO BEAT BACK THE BOSS OFFENSIVE! LET THAT BE THE SLOGAN!

LATIN AMERICA:

How Is Good Neighbor Policy Working Out?

By Henry Judd

To the south of us lie the twenty-one Latin American nations sometimes politely referred to as republics. Our relation with these countries is, presumably, guided by the "Good Neighbor" policy and ten of them (Mexico being the largest and most important) have joined with the U.S. in declaring war against the Axis. Of the remaining eleven, all but two (Argentina and Chile) have broken off all relations with the Axis Powers and stand by the side of the big friendly brother of the North. The South American bloc is thus an important part of the United Nations and it is worth our while to see how things are going with the 100-odd million people "Down Mexico Way."

All of the Latin American countries are poor agricultural areas depending upon whatever prosperity comes their way in the form of export and import trade. Each of them specializes in one or another product or raw material (coffee, sugar, bananas, cocoa, meat, etc.) which it sells to the world and the profits of which are used to buy manufactured goods. None of these countries has any real industrial development; all of them are (by comparison with America, England, Germany, etc.) primitive and backward—nations whose populations live at sub-standard levels of housing, clothing and food. The masses of Latin America are poverty-stricken workers and peasants.

U.S. REPLACES EUROPEAN CUSTOMERS

When the war began Latin American trade with Europe (except England) was wiped out. This meant a drop of one-third in exports and resulted in a serious depression and great unemployment during the year 1940. Latin America simply lost its markets and, if the United States were to continue to hold these countries in line, it meant that the big imperialist neighbor from up North would have to replace the European customers.

This is exactly what has happened—to such an extent that Latin America is now experiencing somewhat of a business and trade boom, with big profits rolling in. America is now importing goods at the rate of \$1,000,000,000 a year from South America—a rate DOUBLE that of 1939, a bad year. This has more than made up for the lost European trade. There is no doubt that 1942 will be the best year for Latin America since 1929 and that large favorable balances of trade (excess of exports over imports) will be rolled up by many Latin American republics. This new wave of prosperity has brought much joy to South American exporters, big cattlemen, bankers and the like. The flow of new American dollars from the Export-Import Bank (for the purpose of stimulating new industrial enterprises like Brazil's first steel mill and rubber production in Bolivia, etc.) is also something quite welcome to the small but ambitious capitalist classes of the various South American nations.

"PROSPERITY" RAISES NEW PROBLEMS

But these obvious gains are bound to be short-lived and the dangers that accompany them are far more serious than the superficial advantages of the moment.

(1) In the first place, only a small section of the population—the native capitalist class—draws any serious benefit from them. The lives of the South American masses remain as before. As for the leaders—while they eagerly grasp the American dollars with one hand, in their minds is a growing fear of this new American imperialist penetration and a growing knowledge of how this means a complete dependence upon American capitalism for their further existence.

(2) Furthermore, this "prosperity" is accompanied by many new problems of its own: (a) Shipping losses not only threaten to disrupt the flow of trade, but the Nazi U-boat warfare tends to drag unwilling countries into the war; (b) South American consumers' goods (like sugar, coffee, wool, cocoa, food products, etc.) are not being purchased. Non-war materials that South America has always sold are accumulating and rotting on the docks at Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo. This depresses one section of South American economy for the benefit of that section that produces the war materials (rubber, tin ores and metals). The older capitalists and plantation men are hard hit; (c) Because of shortages in America production of manufactured goods, South America cannot buy from us with their accumulated profits. We do not have the consumers' goods to ship to them—only money. As a result, there is a shortage of steel, metals and all industrial equipment.

The favorable balances of trade that the new "prosperity" creates thus turn out to be largely an illusion, benefiting only the greedy bankers, etc., and in no way raising the general living standards of the country. They ship us their raw materials, receive nothing but credits in exchange; thus disrupting the very basis upon which their economy has rested.

(3) Latin American nations—as a result of this influx of new capital from abroad, as well as the increased trading—now contend that they have an inflationary problem. Argentina would tend to bear this out, as an example. For, in that country, wholesale prices have gone from 100 (1939) to 183 (March, 1942). Prices of all imported goods have naturally skyrocketed since the situation we describe above became acute. Of course, this inflation problem affects primarily the native capitalists and the more prosperous middle class layers, since the masses of Latin America never have had the "problem" of purchasing autos, radios, washing machines and other American exports. What price the trade boom, then?

BOOM RESTS ON SHAKY BASIS

All in all, it is clear that Latin American boom days are resting on a temporary, shaky and insubstantial basis. It is a pure speculation, resulting from the peculiar war conditions and does not represent any normal, healthy and rounded growth in the economic systems of these countries. On the contrary, it represents a special form of imperialist penetration by the grasping hand of "Yankee imperialism." Instead of occupying the Latin American nations by force, we seize control of them with the American dollar by offering ourselves as the only possible customer and the only source of the small dose of manufactured products we are willing to hand out.

Next week we shall discuss American relations with Argentina—a subject that the American press is full of and which is of great importance since Argentina is the most powerful and important of all the Latin American nations.

Proposes Unity



PHILLIP MURRAY

Grand Jury Finds Lynching Legal--

(Continued from page 1)

of them were business men and insurance men. There was one lone farmer, but no working man nor any Negro sat on this jury. Its white-washed findings were easily predicted.

Crocodile Tears

Yet let no one think that these big corporation executives are not human. They may not understand the plight of the Negro worker in Southeast Missouri, but they want the world to know them as kindly humanitarians. Their report to the judge fairly swims in crocodile tears

because they could find no law against the mob lynching. Listen to their mournful tones: "The grand jury and its legal advisers questioned long and searchingly many witnesses from Sikeston and vicinity in an attempt to determine whether any federal statute had been violated by the members of the mob, but finally, with great reluctance, has come to the conclusion that the facts disclosed do not constitute any federal offense."

The jury solemnly proclaimed "that we consider this outbreak not only a shameful outrage against the rights which all Americans hold dear, but also a deplorable blot upon the reputation of this state as a law-abiding, peace-loving commonwealth. No more useless violence ever was committed, inasmuch as the facts disclose that if the Negro was not already dead when taken from the authorities, he would have been dead within a short time."

And with straight faces they conclude their report as follows: "The rights and liberties of Missourians and the good name of their state deserve more effective protection. In this instance a brutal criminal was denied due process. The next time a mob might lynch a person entirely innocent. But whether the victim be guilty or innocent, the blind passions of a mob cannot be substituted for due process of law if orderly government is to survive."

Thus, in tears, does American capitalism mete out class justice.

How long will American workers put up with this mockery of justice peddled by our capitalist rulers?

NEWS ITEM: Only 1.2 per cent of workers in war industries are Negro.

What better proof of Jim Crow is needed?

NEWS ITEM: More companies paid dividends in 1942 than in 1941.

Evidently bosses continue to profit despite higher taxes.

Don't Be a Hog!

When you've finished reading this paper, don't hog it. Pass it on to a friend.

Better yet—why not buy him a sub? Twenty-five cents for six months as an introductory offer!

One Illustration Out of Many Why the Defeats in Russia?

"We understand that Germans are not human beings. From now on the word German is a terrible curse; it is a word that makes one spring to arms. Indignation is not enough; you must kill. Every day you don't kill Germans is a day wasted. Nothing is a gayer sight for Russian eyes than a German corpse. Don't count by days or by miles; count by the number of Germans you've killed. Kill Germans—that's what your mother begs you. Kill Germans, your child begs you. Kill Germans, your country begs you." (Red Star.)

The above words appeared in an editorial of the "Red Star"—organ of the Russian Red Army—and addressed to the soldiers of the Russian Army. We print it because it goes a long way toward explaining the DEFEATS of the Russian Army in the latest phase of the war.

If Soviet Russia were a workers' state—as some people still contend—it would not indulge in this hysterical, chauvinistic type of propaganda, worthy only of minds victimized by Nazi ideas. This is the SAME TYPE of propaganda used by the Hitler racists against the Poles and the Russians themselves!

If Soviet Russia were a workers' state—and not the totalitarian dictatorship that it is—it would recognize the fact that the German soldiers-masses who march against it are, for the overwhelming part, WORKERS AND FARMERS (like the bulk of Russia's armies) who have been forced by their brutal masters into a war of imperialist conquest, AGAINST THEIR WILL AND DESIRE. It would make the sharpest distinction between the Nazi leaders of the Wehrmacht and the mass of dragooned cannon fodder that unwillingly serves these leaders. In a word, it would APPEAL to the German soldiers on a revolutionary basis to fight their officers and leaders, to turn the imperialist war against Russia into a war against Hitler and his cohorts.

Instead, the rulers of Russia, fearful of losing the control they possess over that land, speak the language of imperialism in its vilest form. Kill, kill, kill! "Exterminate every German!" cry the reactionary Van Sittarts of England; destroy the German people, shriek the equally reactionary bureaucrats of Moscow.

By this act they further drive the German soldiers and people into the anxious arms of Hitler; by this act they prevent any fraternization and revolutionary solidarity between the German and Russian soldiers; by this act they further destroy their own regime because the soldiers of Germany (who are informed of this propaganda by the gleeful Herr Goebbels) lose all sense of international feeling and LIKEWISE think only in terms of killing the Russians, or being killed.