

**Do Not Be Misled--Demand Higher Wages for Draftees, Not Lower Wages for Labor!**

AN EDITORIAL

The bosses and their stooges in Congress and the capitalist press have suddenly become interested in the extremely low wages paid to privates in the army. Their solicitude, however, for the poor drafted army private—the worker who has been forced into the army—is not so pure and free from self-interest as the bosses would have us believe.

What they are really concerned about is the numerous strikes by factory workers for higher wages. They attempt to use the \$21 a month wage of the soldier as a "patriotic" club over the heads of the industrial workers. These million dollar bosses and their stooges conspire to create a rift between the workers in the army and the workers in the factories.

The big employers and bankers, with salaries ranging from \$1,000 to \$10,000 a week, say that the factory workers have no right to strike for higher wages while the drafted men are "serving" for \$21 a month. These scoundrels expect the worker-soldiers to get mad at this, and join in the campaign against strikes and wage increases for their brothers and sisters in the factories.

These coupon clippers and champagne guzzlers along with their related parasites, male and female, are mistaken. They forget, or want to make the soldiers forget, that thousands of them are workers from the mines, mills and factories. Thousands of workers are being forced into the imperialist army fresh from the picket lines. Many of them have had experience in the trade union movement and know what it is all about. They are sons of men and women who have had long years in the labor movement, fighting against the very bosses who today hypocritically pretend to be interested in the welfare of the youth in the army.

There is no conflict between the workers in the army and the workers in the factories. They are both victims of the same imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation. A WORKER DOESN'T CEASE TO BE A WORKER WHEN HE IS FORCED INTO THE IMPERIALIST ARMY. In fact, one of the main tasks of the worker-soldier is to maintain his solidarity with the workers in the factories, and to increase and intensify his class-consciousness.

The WORKERS PARTY advocates higher wages for the soldiers just as we fight for higher wages for the factory workers. We don't favor the worker-soldiers allowing themselves to be kicked around for the same reasons that we are opposed to factory workers allowing themselves to be kicked around. We make no distinction between a bullying captain and a bullying foreman or superintendent. Low wages, long hours and oppressive conditions must be opposed by the workers in the army just as they fight against such conditions in the factory.

The imperialist army and the capitalist factory are not completely the same kind of institutions, of course. The factory can be taken over by the working class and used in socialist production. The workers cannot take over the imperialist army, just as they cannot take over the state of the imperialists and capitalists. The imperialist state along with the imperialist army belong to the boss class. The workers must create THEIR OWN WORKERS STATE, and A PEOPLE'S ARMY to defend that state.

The chief function of the present army is to extend U. S. boss class imperialism, and to protect capitalist profits. This army is an agent of the Morgans, Rockefellers, Mellons and du Ponts. One of its jobs today is to fight Hitler, to keep him from grabbing Rockefeller's 90,000 square miles of oil lands in Iraq. That's why John D. Rockefeller came out of hiding to support the imperialist war.

What reason can American workers have for aiding Rockefeller grab more millions by exploiting the workers of Asia and South America? Or helping Mellon's aluminum trust, or the du Pont chemical trust, or General Motors fasten their grip on the workers of the world? Why should we come to the aid of the Morgan bankers and help them get back the investments they have placed in Europe?

It's bad enough at any wage; but the worker-soldiers have been forced into the army to do this job for the bosses at \$21 a month and "keep." Not only this, but the bosses have the brass to suggest to the worker-soldiers that they get mad at their fellow-workers in the factories who are fighting to raise the wages of all workers.

Of course the soldiers should get higher wages. Wages should be DOUBLE what they are now. The worker-soldiers should demand this. The minimum wage in the army today should be \$60 a month exclusive of "keep."

Conscripts should demand the right to organize and bargain collectively with the officers. Conscripts should certainly not have less rights than workers in the factories.

Conscripts should demand the right of free speech, free press and free assembly in the camps.

That is the answer to the bosses who seek to split the workers and make them fight among themselves.

# LABOR ACTION

MAY 19, 1941

Organ of the Workers Party of the United States

THREE CENTS

## F. D. R. DELAYS FORMAL WAR ENTRY -- FOR A FEW WEEKS

**City Officials Answer TWU Demands with Threats, Lies**

By SUSAN GREEN

"Every station, every mile of track, every car, every powerhouse, everything is catalogued and planned. OUR STRATEGY IS LIKE THAT OF THE ARMY—we prepare for everything in advance."

Police Commissioner Valentine of New York City is the author of these war-like remarks.

The military preparations of the police department that he so grimly described, are meant to be used against 32,000 AMERICAN WORKERS—workers whose combined labor transports 5,198,000 people every day in the subways of the city. They operate, repair, clean—they tend the powerhouses, the tracks, the cars, the stations. Their labor gives life to the transit arteries of the busiest city in the world.

These transit workers are the "enemy." The "hostile act" that they have committed is to demand that the city negotiate a contract with their union—the Transport Workers Union, CIO—covering the three subway systems, the BMT, IRT and Independent, all now operated by the city.

This legitimate demand of the TWU has been met with a barrage of irresponsible slander against 32,000 responsible workers—and with preparations to wage war against them should they be compelled to resort to a strike.

Appeals to Mayor La Guardia and to the Board of Transportation by the TWU and by Philip Murray, president of the CIO, that the legal right of the transit workers to bargain

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**The Bosses' Dictionary!**



**He Has NOT Delayed His Imperialist War Plans**

Read the headline on this story carefully. Note that it says "formal" entry has been delayed.

Now read this AP dispatch from Cairo, dated May 9: "Captain James Roosevelt, here as an observer for the U. S. Marine Corps, expressed the opinion today that the U. S., except for sending troops, already is in the war."

The one explains the other.

We do not quote Captain Roosevelt because he is the President's son. We quote him because he is an officer of the U. S. Marine Corps on an official mission. What he says is borne out by a multitude of evidence. However, it is hard to believe that Captain Roosevelt would make the statement he did if Papa Roosevelt hadn't in one way or another, nodded approval.

Captain Roosevelt made his statement a week ago. The war campaign that week reached its greatest intensity. Secretary of War Stimson reached the peak of Administration jingoism in his proposals to use the U. S. Navy in conveying materials to England. "Ambassador-at-Large-for-Getting-This-Country-Into-War" Wendell Willkie went to town. Roosevelt announced an epochal speech scheduled for this Wednesday night.

At the last moment Roosevelt postponed his speech for two weeks. He may not have intended to make the speech in the first place—intending only to test the reaction to his threatened speech, and to Stimson's "unapproved" proposals. Or he may have decided that the temper of the people was not such as to chance an important declaration. Stimson's proposals provoked too great a storm of protest.

There are other possibilities, too: Roosevelt was supposed to speak to the Pan American Union, and he may have decided to ascertain more clearly the opinions of the Latin American nations before committing himself. Far-fetched as it sounds, it is even possible that the Hess escape may have had something to do with it—pending such information as Hess may give the British.

What Roosevelt has in mind, what agreements he has made or is seeking to make—these may be known to Stimson, the State Department, Rockefeller and Morgan. They are not known to the people who, in Roosevelt's plans, are only so many pawns to fool and to use.

Officially, Stimson's convey proposal was made without the knowledge of the President, who, for the time being, is playing the role of "patrol advocate." It is almost certain that Secretary of War Stimson, a high-ranking cabinet member, made his speech with the full knowledge of Roosevelt—if not at his instigation.

The trick is a familiar one, constantly used by Roosevelt. One of his aides makes a startling proposal, draws the fire. In the meantime Roosevelt slips across his own proposal, which, seeming to be so much milder, is forgotten. Then when events have taken their course and the opposition has exhausted its fire, Roosevelt goes through with the original "unapproved" proposal or some equivalent variation. (Remember how he did it on conscription!)

That is exactly what Roosevelt has in mind with convoys. Roosevelt has admitted that "Convoys mean shooting, and shooting means war." In other words, a declaration of convoys is, in effect, a DECLARATION OF IMPERIALIST WAR. Roosevelt may have had that in mind as the text of his speech. Something intervened: any one of a number of things. But we suspect that a considerable factor was the opposition of the people. Despite the giant energies poured into the propaganda machine, poll after poll still shows the people opposed to the imperialist war in overwhelming majority. Many who fail to see the obvious connection be-

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## Workers Strike British "Crown Colony" in California

Mexican and American Workers Try to Put an End to Inhuman Conditions in Well Organized Strike

By ELLEN MacGUIRE

LOS ANGELES, May 5—Crown Colony in the Mojave—that's Trona, home of the American Potash & Chemical Corp. But don't let that word "American" fool you—this corporation is owned completely by the gigantic British Gold Fields, Ltd.

When the English capitalists moved in there, they automatically assumed that this would be just another colonial venture, where they could subject the workers to the same kind of suppression and exploitation they have been dealing out in India, Africa and Iraq. Well, they were fooled. The workers here got tired of the raw deal they were getting and went on strike after fruitless attempts to reach a peaceful settlement.

Attempts to give the union the royal run-around have marked the company's half-hearted negotiations with the union from the outset. The same stalling and playing up to the

current war hysteria that have colored every recent strike have been utilized to the fullest here. When talks first opened, the AP&CC, in the face of a wire from the home office giving it the authority to negotiate with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, CIO, put the union off by saying it had no authority to negotiate.

OPM Shows Colors

The reason for this dodge became clear when, after a series of failures to reach a settlement, faithful old OPM was called into the fight. Harry Malcolm, government conciliator on the west coast, wired Reid Robinson, president of the international, that there was no need for OPM to intervene, and Sidney Hillman also assured Robinson that the strike would not be certified to the OPM. But it was that AP&CC (which had not been a "defense" industry at all when

the question of draft deferment came up) was transformed by the hocus-focus of the OPM medicine men into the front line of world democracy.

In no strike has the real purpose of the OPM been made clearer than in this. Eli Oliver, labor representative from the Hillman office, wired the union president: "Paul Shoup has formerly represented the OPM. In this strike he is specifically assigned to represent the American Potash & Chemical Co." (Shoup, it will be remembered, helped slow down the Harvill Die Casting strike.)

And Shoup, member of the notorious Southern Californians and the Merchants and Manufacturers, is playing his role with a finesse born of long practice. His first plea was that union demands were unpatriotic. More than that, if the company were forced to meet them, world economy would be disrupted. The union patiently explained that though the de-

mands sounded high, living costs in Trona were 35-50 per cent higher than elsewhere. "Other workers wouldn't understand this," Shoup said.

Patriotic AP&CC has been drawing in enormous profits. For 1939, the company showed a \$3,025 net profit per worker. General Motors, which is hardly tottering on the brink of bankruptcy, showed \$1,000 profit per worker for the same year. So profitable is AP&CC's stock it is rarely listed in the transactions of the Stock Exchange. It is held, but not often sold.

Shoup's latest move to expedite matters was to queer the most mutually satisfactory agreement that had been reached to date. AP&CC's lawyers had drawn up this contract and a possible settlement of the strike was in sight. A word from Shoup to the lawyers and presto! the contract

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## Shipyard Workers Defy Jingo Intimidation in Coast Strike

AFL and CIO Ranks Work Together, with Aid of Other Workers, in Resisting Sell-Out Efforts of Top Union Officialdom

By J. W.

SAN FRANCISCO—Rank and file machinists here refused to swallow the sell-out contract which Sidney Hillman, John P. Frey and other CIO and AFL leaders tried to shove down their throats.

Monday 1,500 AFL machinists and 700 CIO machinists in the Bay area hit the pavement to prevent wage cuts foisted on them by Hillman et al. through a so-called "master contract."

In this area, most machinists get \$1.15 cents an hour. The Hillman contract provided for \$1.12 an hour.

For almost five years machinists have been getting double time for overtime. The Hillman contract provides for time and a half.

The present contract was signed by shipyard owners, Hillman's direct representative and some top AFL leaders. Nobody asked Hillman to do

this "service" for the rank and file. When the referendum was taken to vote on the contract, many of the local unions rejected it, as LABOR ACTION reported.

Ranks Are Solid

The AFL got together the metal trades council in this region and by a majority vote they decided to accept it, announcing that local unions would have to go along.

But the solidarity of the ranks, both AFL and CIO, and their determination not to be buffeted by national "defense" baloney, brought results different from those expected by the trade union officialdom.

The shipyards are shut down. Sixteen thousand other union men employed there have refused to walk through the picket lines.

The combined efforts of the AFL top leadership, and Sidney Hillman

and the bosses failed to break the determination of the ranks.

Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox sent a wire saying a strike was sabotage of national defense. The workers hurled the lie back into his teeth. John L. Frey, president of the AFL building trades department, said the strike was unauthorized. The local AFL business agents who are running the strike pointed out that Frey had nothing to do with the situation. It wasn't under his jurisdiction.

Besides, he is a colonel in the U. S. military intelligence and his heart belongs to the military machine, if he has one.

William Green, president of the AFL, did his penny's worth to try to break the strike. He called it an "outlaw strike."

John Green, president of the CIO Shipyard Workers Union, also did his bit through a telegram to the shipyard owners, saying it was a strike

in violation of the contract signed. And you should have heard the newspapers scream.

All of them sang a song of sell-out. Nobody talked about the real issues. The fact that the workers have a

right to the higher pay and the right to strike.

A Real Showdown

It's bothering the reactionaries no end to see the CIO and the AFL locally work together on this strike.

Since the machinists are vital and there is a shortage of them, the union is in a powerful position to win, despite all the hysteria whipped up against them.

Huge police cordons were placed at the yards to try to intimidate the strikers. So far to no avail.

This is a real showdown between the ranks and the union bureaucrats doing their job for the Roosevelt Administration by trying to sell labor down the river.

NO GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WITHOUT A UNION CONTRACT!

## GE Workers Win Pay Boost

Shop Meetings Will Stimulate Union Interest

By BILL HALE

LYNN, Mass.—Fighting back against the rising cost of living, seventy thousand General Electric workers in plants throughout the country have just won substantial wage increases. The chief victory was a blanket raise of 10 cents an hour for all workers. Other gains were the institution of double time payment for Sunday and holiday work and raising the bonus of second shift workers from 5% to 10%.

These raises are all included in the new contract signed between the

company and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO. Another advance came from the new contract was the elimination of the phony "community wage survey" by means of which the company decided wage questions on the basis of what was paid by firms that it selected in each locality. Henceforth collective bargaining will rule.

The company had stalled for months, refusing to discuss the question of a general raise. A determined

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# With the Labor Unions On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

## THERE ARE PLENTY OF STRIKES IN ENGLAND

Employers in the United States and their representatives are always anxious to make workers believe that there are no strikers in England; the British government, they say, has taken care of this by law or regulations of some sort. The idea behind these lies, of course, is to hasten legislation "outlawing" strikes in the United States.

Of course, it isn't true that there are no strikes in England. There are plenty of strikes and many of them are won by the workers. Papers in the United States, especially the press outside of New York City, refuse to carry stories of these strikes. They don't want the workers here to know that all the British workers are not "taking it" lying down.

Eight thousand young engineering apprentices in 18 plants in Lancashire stopped work on a demand for increases in wages. In order to break this strike the government sent the boys "calling-up notices" for military service. The Ministry of Labor, headed by Ernest Bevin, Labor Party Leader, said that "if these men will not work in the engineer-

ing sheds, they must be made to aid in the national effort elsewhere."

Six of the boys who were the leaders of the strike were arrested and "bound over" for 12 months. The government charged them with "taking part in a strike in a dispute not reported to the Ministry of Labor and National Service." The magistrate who heard the case said that he was impressed with the way the boys had conducted the strike but that they had been "ill-advised."

The coal diggers in Britain are demanding a guaranteed weekly wage and a share in the control of the mining industry. The owners are resisting such a demand, of course, even refusing recognition to the union on a national scale. The British miners have learned that the only way to get anything even approaching a guaranteed weekly wage is to have some measure of control in the industry. The worker can't even keep a job, to say nothing of guaranteed wages, so long as industry is under the complete control and domination of the bosses.

## CAMP SCANDALS HERE AND IN ENGLAND

They are having training camp scandals in England, too, the same as in this country. Some members of Parliament have the feeling that the government is hushing up the scandal. The Select Committee on National Expenditure reported that private firms had been paid \$400,000,000 for building camps that had been estimated to cost only \$84,000,000.

The U. S. Senate committee investigating profiteering in the building of army camps, reports that the actual cost of building Camp Meade will be 22 million dollars. The estimate by the War Department was \$10,500,000.

The J. E. Greiner Co. drew up plans for Meade for which they were paid a fee of \$55,000. It seems that

the army officers in charge changed these plans and went ahead with their own ideas. The army idea was to build the camp on some good, tough, sticky clay land away from good roads which were already built. This would mean building more roads, which would give business to the cement companies. Major-General Parsons took full responsibility for the site selected, saying that it was the best area for training troops.

Senator Truman, of the committee, said that the reason Parsons vetoed the engineers' plans was because they put the camp hospital on the officers' golf course. We suppose that some of the sites in England had to be changed because they were planned for the officers' fox-hunting course.

## THERE ARE FINKS ALL OVER THE WORLD

The London Daily Herald (organ of the British Labor Party) has been carrying stories about strikes in the United States. The Daily Herald has suggested to its readers that the resentment of the United States public against the strikes is justifiable and that public support of congressional anti-strike legislation would be warranted. The British New Leader (Independent Labor Party) informs its readers: "... that the workers of America have ample justification for their present direct action, irrespective of any political considerations. The Daily Herald correspondent's attempt to whitewash the employers is a crime against organized labour

in America and a slander against decent workers using the only means at their disposal to defend elementary trade union rights won against overwhelming odds in a long and bloody struggle against American big business."

The British Daily Herald is a paper similar to the New Leader published in New York City. This rag, which pretends to be a labor paper, is as viciously anti-labor as the New York Times. The New York New Leader is the organ of the Social Democratic Federation. This outfit is for the war and was for U. S. entry even before John D. Rockefeller and Thomas Lamont.

## BEVIN'S UNION GIVES BEVIN A JOLT

A clerk in South Wales was fired and 23,000 clerks walked out on strike. They returned to work after the management had agreed to restore the clerk to his job and meet with the union representatives. The striking workers belonged to the National Association of Clerical and Supervisory Staffs, a subsidiary of

the Transport and General Workers. Aside from the fact that this was a war-time walk-out in England, the strike had interest due to the fact that the union was the one that Ernest Bevin belongs to. Bevin is Labor Minister in the war cabinet and the chief labor lieutenant of Prime Minister Churchill.

## FOR AID TO THE UNIONS, NOT TO THE BOSSES

The shop steward movement is so strong in England that some bosses have devised a scheme to break their influence among the workers in the plants. They are trying out the trick of transferring shop stewards to other plants as soon as they have built up influence and prestige.

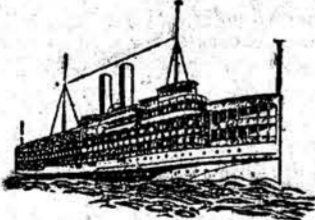
In one plant the convener of the shop stewards, who was in this post for seven years, was transferred. The secretary of the shop stewards' conference was also transferred.

These accounts of what is going on in England demonstrate that the bosses are the same all over the capitalist world. Capitalism is the same wherever you find it. The capitalists of the United States have decided on

"all out aid to Britain." Trade union leaders in the United States are asking the workers to give aid to England. This can only mean that they are asking the workers in this country to aid the British bosses so that these bosses can continue their oppression and exploitation of the English workers.

The workers in this country should aid the British workers, but not the British bosses. Money and supplies of all kinds collected by workers in this country should go to the British workers only. The distribution of these supplies should be under the direct control of the English trade unions. It should go direct to the unions and to them alone.

For Fun in the Sun  
Boatride up the Hudson  
Play at Bear Mountain



Decoration Day, Friday, May 30

Ahoy Mates!

Ride Aboard the S.S. "State of Delaware"  
Leaves Pier 1, Battery, at 9:30 A.M.  
Round Trip Fare: \$1.35

GET YOUR TICKET NOW!



For Reservations write to Local New York, Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street, or Call CHelsea 2-9681

## Trona--

(Continued from page 1)

was torn up and the whole complicated process set in motion again. So much for OPM patriotism.

What are these unpatriotic, unreasonable demands the union is making? They are, briefly: substantial wage raises, adequate housing, the closed shop and preferential hiring, provision for men taken by military service, the abolition of the scrip system and the end of racial discrimination.

Here are the reasons every one of these demands is vital: Wages—living costs in Trona are exorbitant. For instance, on the same day that milk was 10 cents a quart and sugar 49 cents for 10 pounds in Los Angeles, they were 13 cents a quart and 85 cents in Trona. Other prices are correspondingly high in the company store, which has a complete monopoly. No other store may operate.

Trona workers are terribly underpaid. This goes for highly skilled technicians as well as for the lowliest manual laborer. A Trona worker engaged in loading chemicals onto AP&CC's freight cars on its own railroad gets 67½ cents an hour if American, 62½ cents if Mexican. When that same car is unloaded in San Pedro, CIO longshoremen get \$1.40 for the same work, chemicals being considered "penalty cargo" due to the danger of burned hands.

Closed Shop and Preferential Hiring—these are essential because of the company policy of hiring notorious finks. At one time it even resorted to convict labor.

### "Keep the Men Broke"

Housing—one of the greatest problems, since, by the company's own survey, there are lacking 321 housing units for married families. The company owns all the houses in and about Trona and states baldly: "The corporation reserves the right to assign a dwelling or decline to make such assignment at its own discretion. Preferences in assignment of all classes of quarters is based on the salary rating." The average worker waits about five years for a house for his family.

While company officials occupy handsome places in the "Beverly Hills Sector," as many as ELEVEN single men live in a two-room shanty.

Not long ago, some Trona workers built their own homes in the desert. Company police told them to pull the houses down or they would be burned. The half dozen who refused had their homes razed by fires started by company cops. One worker sued and collected from the company for this high-handed audacity.

"Keep the men broke and you'll keep them in Trona" is the company slogan when it issues scrip drawn against the worker's pay, often leaving him broke or in debt on pay day. The union is demanding that the scrip system be abolished.

### Race Discrimination

The Caste System—familiar aspect of British colonial rule everywhere operates viciously against the Mexican worker. Literally on the "wrong side of the tracks," the Mexicans here are forced to live in miserable hovels backed up against filthy railroad yards. Regardless of individual ability, a Mexican is arbitrarily restricted to the lowest menial tasks. Worse still, he is paid lower wages than an American worker on the identical job.

Until recently, Mexicans had been denied use of the town's recreational facilities. The union fought this Jim-Crow discrimination relentlessly and successfully. The Mexicans responded with 100 per cent union membership.

So when the truth is filtered out of the propaganda about this strike, the union's demands seem to indicate only the rather modest efforts of workers to sample the "American Way" of which they hear so much and see so little.

### Strike Is Well Led

Order, effectiveness and efficiency have characterized the union's conduct of the strike. At the first strike call, the plant's complicated machinery was taken care of to prevent damage from the chemicals. Picket line went into immediate action with shop stewards acting as picket captains. Pickets check in and out with clock-like precision. The union has its own police system with a chief of union police, squad cars and a motorcycle patrol. The sale of intoxicating liquors has been stopped for a radius of 85 miles. The speakers' bureau sends spokesmen up and down the Coast, keeping other union men in touch with developments in the strike. The publicity committee publishes the Trona Striker, a daily bulletin.

In San Francisco  
You Can Buy  
Labor Action at:

Alameda News Agency,  
9 Market Street,  
Fitzgerald News Agency,  
21 24th Street,  
Joe's Cigar Store,  
1352 Polk Street,  
Bob Dancan's Smoke Shop  
1886 Sutter Street.

In Oakland:

De Lauer News Agency,  
12th Street and Broadway.

## FROM OUR WEST COAST CORRESPONDENT

# Army Has Its Eyes on Latin America

### DRAFTEES ARE BEING TAUGHT SPANISH

FORT ROBERTS, Paso Robles, Cal., May 5—Are you of draft age? Are you going into the army soon? Do you have any fond illusions about what it's for and how long it will last?

Take a tip from someone who has already been put wise.

Forget all the baloney about "conscription for national defense." Forget the hypocritical benevolence of the government's giving men a year's vacation. Forget the soft-soap about coming back after twelve months.

Here at Fort Roberts the truth has come out. The papers back home aren't talking it up, of course. The President isn't mentioning it in his press conferences—certainly not. But here in the army, the truth has come out. The draftees up here are being taught Spanish!

Now anybody who has lived in this country more than a week, and that includes the great-grandsons of the American Revolution, knows that the national language is English.

Everybody knows that Spanish is the prevailing language of South and Central America, countries generally considered to be beyond the territorial limits of the United States.

Anyone who can add two and two knows where the conscripted army is going to be sent, and you can bet your bottom dollar it will be "for the duration"—that is, for the duration of your life!

### "ALL OUT" IN WAR PREPARATION

LOS ANGELES—The government of the American capitalists is driving hard in its desire to drag an unwilling people into the war. On the heels of the above dispatch from an army camp come related reports from the college campuses.

At the University of California, instructors of Spanish have been ordered to canvass their classes and submit lists of their students to army authorities. The army wants men who are familiar with the language of South and Central America. If it misses them in the draft it is going to catch them in the schools. But you can be sure it will get them one way or another.

Another insight into the government's plans for running the lives of everyone during this coming period was gotten recently at Los Angeles City College. Students leaving school in mid-term were required to fill out questionnaire forms as complete as a draft questionnaire. At the end of the semester, all the other students will get similar forms to fill out.

What is the purpose of these questionnaires? The questions speak for themselves. The form required for girls leaving school asks, among other things:

- "Can you drive a car?"
- "Could you drive an ambulance?"
- "Can you roll bandages?"
- "Can you operate any light machines?"
- "What sort of experience have you?"
- "Have you any nursing experience?" Etc., etc.

It looks like the draft was only the first step. It looks like total war really means TOTAL WAR and the total population is going to have to fight it, whether it wants to or not, and for a handful of capitalists.

### PATRIOTISM SPELLED WITH A \$ SIGN

INGLEWOOD, Cal.—If the foregoing items sound pessimistic, don't let them get you down. Cheer up! Things aren't so bad. At least not for some people.

## A Letter From a Polish Comrade

# "Out of the Night of Soviet Russia"

Ed. Note: We print below extracts of a letter received from Polish members and comrades of the Fourth International who, caught in the Stalinist occupation of Poland, finally managed to escape to a country abroad. The letter speaks eloquently for itself. In subsequent issues we shall publish details of their experiences and observations in the Ukraine, White Russia and the USSR proper.

Dear Comrades:

We are not many in this area of..... Many less than we would wish to be! The following is the story of our experiences:

During the vast wandering of the Poles from the East to the West in fleeing before the Germans, we were in the Ukraine and White Russia—territories which were occupied by the Red Army in the last half of September, 1939. The Red Army was welcomed by a part of the population of the poor districts. Almost the entire Polish population and the Ukrainian nationalists have shown a great hostility toward them.

Immediately after the entry of the Red Army and during the period of terrific chaos and disorientation that such an event usually produces, together with the repressions against nationalists, the official political administration began at the same time the persecution of "disloyal" workers groups. We must state that Opposition Marxists became like hunted animals. But it was different with the great mass of some 100,000 refugees. Among them there were arrests, but relatively few. The Soviet police arrests only the best known leaders of the workers' parties of Poland.

## No Comment!

The following letter was received by the Boston branch of the Workers Party after it had sent a proposal to the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party (Communists) for a united May Day demonstration in line with the proposals made by the National Committee of the WP to the SWP:

Dear Comrades:

The Boston branch of the Socialist Workers Party considered your request for a united front of action on May Day. It was decided to reject your request.

Our plans for May Day were already made and thus your request could not be considered. Besides the comrades thought that since the Workers Party does not represent any tendency in the labor movement (our emphasis—ed.), any united front we could have with you would be a useless move on our part.

With revolutionary greetings

Secretary of the Branch  
Ed. Note: No comment needed. See our article on the Cannanites and our May Day proposals which appeared in the LABOR ACTION of May 5.

Take North American Aircraft, Inc., an enterprising little company.

Here is an outfit that doesn't seem to mind the war, that has managed—despite labor agitators and union threats—to eke out a comfortable living.

Richard T. Frankenstein, director of the CIO aircraft organizing campaign, arrived in town to help negotiate for a CIO contract at North American and revealed a few interesting statistics.

In 1939, this company made over \$7,000,000. In 1940, it did fully as well. Its profits for both years are equal to no less than 92.7 per cent of the company's entire value!

And they wonder why some people think capitalism can work!

By combining a war boom market and skillful exploitation of its workers, North American has been cleaning up a yearly profit equal to almost half the worth of the whole company, plants, machinery, grounds and equipment included!

Frankenstein promises that North American Aircraft workers are going to get at least a tiny slice of this wealth they have been creating. The CIO, which recently won an NLRB election at North American, is holding out for a minimum of 75 cents an hour, and that's mighty little in comparison with what the stockholders and profiteers have been getting.

### HOW DOUGLAS "EKES OUT" A LIVING

SANTA MONICA—It's bad enough when certain companies rake in more money than you could count up in a lifetime. But it's adding downright insult to injury when they have the gall to falsify and distort the figures on their earnings for public consumption. And when the guy responsible for this happens to be Donald Douglas—union buster, speed-up specialist and war profiteer par excellence—it's enough to make anyone fighting mad.

Donald's latest fraud is a set of statistics released in the stodge papers around here with blaring headlines:

"Douglas earns \$14,657 on \$5,008,607 gain in sales!"

"Profit margins collapse in war work!"

The story, in smaller type, of course, goes on to tell how Douglas deliveries in the first quarter of 1941 were some five million dollars more than for that quarter of 1940, but profits were only \$15,000 higher.

Two paragraphs later, if you're still reading, you discover that NET PROFITS for the first three months of this year, after all deductions (including taxes) are made, come to a mere \$1,819,534!

After another four paragraphs you discover that approximately \$1,000,000 was invested during this same quarter in plant and equipment. Was this tidy little sum deducted from net earnings in order to make the net profits smaller? The answer to this interesting question is conspicuously absent.

A still later revelation is the bit about eleven millions more appropriated to build a new plant in Long Beach which is easily the size of the giant Santa Monica plant.

Not mentioned at all here but printed in other papers this same week was an announcement that Douglas is starting construction of a third and largest plant—a fifteen million dollar job—in Tulsa, Okla. How that boy is struggling to get three squares a day!

But the final blow comes in the accountant's report that the mere \$1,819,534 the company made in the first three months of the year was realized on deliveries amounting to \$17,929,511. In rough

figures—two million dollars of profit on eighteen million dollars' worth of warplanes.

According to the same accountant and the same report, the company has a backlog in excess of 332 million dollars! At the present pitifully low rate of profit, Douglas stands to make only a cool \$7,000,000 profit in the next twelve months!

If your heart hasn't bled itself dry for Donald Douglas by this time, you can read on in the report and find that things may pick up yet. For one thing, no matter how many plants he builds, his backlog keeps going up. For another, if the government pays for his new plants—which it very well may—those extra millions will clink in his own bank.

Maybe those 20,000 Douglas workers—those saboteurs of national defense who think they ought to have a decent living—will reconsider and go back to work for nothing.

Or maybe they will get as mad as they rightly should not demand that the whole damned plant and the wealth which is being stolen from them every time they get a pay check be turned over to them.

### CIO WINS ALCOA VICTORY

LOS ANGELES—The week was not without its brighter spots for labor and the organization drives of the militant CIO unions in southern California.

A big victory was registered at the local plant of that international monopoly, the Aluminum Corporation of America. For months the men at Alcoa have been demanding recognition of their CIO union and for months they got the merry old run-around.

A strike threat and a strike vote finally brought an NLRB election. And the election this week brought a CIO victory. The contract and negotiations are not far away.

In not as big a plant and not as widely heralded a poll, the CIO Steel Workers Organizing Committee won a sweeping victory at the Hercules Foundry. Three hundred foundry workers will reap benefits from the NLRB election, which the CIO won by five to one.

### SOMETHING NEW IN PICKET LINES

HOLLYWOOD—Something new in picket lines was seen here this week, and only in Hollywood could it happen.

In contrast with the grim bitterness of most lines, the pickets at the Columbia Recording Corp. showed their labor solidarity with a regular Saturday night show.

Swing music and jitterbugs, special skits and dancing in the streets in front of the Hollywood Studios of the Columbia Broadcasting System—all this was on the program.

This "biggest little strike in the country" was originally called by the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers for better pay rates and working conditions. The company has been so determined to break the strike and the union with it, that the main issue has become the very existence of the union at the recording company.

It was hoped the pressure of entertainment-conscious youth and Hollywood people would bring a response from the company, which to date has refused to meet with even a federal conciliator. Meanwhile, the strikers will continue their picketing in the hope that they can make the company face the music and yield.

This was due to many circumstances. First, the GPU is a most inefficient organization; secondly, it was difficult for denunciations to take place among Poles because the refugees were dispersed and scattered widely; thirdly, the Polish Communist Party itself was liquidated and its members were suspected on principle of all the chief sins. Besides, there were serious political reasons: the Stalinists intended to make use of the great bulk of the refugees.

### DEPORTED TO DISTANT REGIONS

Finally, the GPU thought up a wholesale and radical solution for the refugee question in general. As you know, in June of 1940 all those who refused to accept Russian citizenship (because they wanted to retain the possibility of returning home after the war) were caught in mass raids and deported to the furthestmost places of the USSR. This meant the great majority of refugees. Those regions inhabited by political prisoners were populated with this great mass of refugees, including infants and old folks whose only crime was their wish to return home later on. Any profit that may be derived from these lean, miserable starved people is highly problematic, but the sufferings of these deported men are one of the most moving pages in the annals of human barbarism!

The "toleration" mentioned above did not include those hated most by the URRS authorities. So a group of Polish communistic writers—including the well-known poet, Broniewski, and the critic, Watt—were rounded up on suspicion of being adherents to the Russian Opposition and of protesting against the Soviet's cowardly policy in relation to Hitlerism. With them were deported or imprisoned a number of Polish Stalinists accused of Opposition sins. They were not certain. Our comrade S..... was deported from White Russia to the region of the White Sea where she has rotted under indescribable conditions. She starves—and we can assure you that this definition is not at all an exaggeration, but should be taken literally. This list is by no means complete.

### PERSECUTION ANEW IN LITHUANIA

After the Lithuanian government had been presented with Wilno (a Polish town of a Polish-White Russian population in a White Russian territory), a part of our comrades succeeded in reaching that city. The sojourn in Lithuania of course did not give us any real feeling of personal safety in the atmosphere of fear and paralysis produced by the "Red Bear." We could not get out by way of Norway due to lack of finances. Then the German occupation of that country checked us and there followed the "liberation" of Lithuania by the Red Army. For us the martyrdom began anew. Our Lithuanian comrades were immediately dispersed and broken up. Some were held in Lithuanian prisons, some who were released by mistake were immediately reimprisoned, some were caught at home

or at work. A small group succeeded in reaching foreign countries. We intended to go to Finland—this then being the only way open to the outside world—but this too was blocked. We were caught in a net that made us think of risking a return home to territory occupied by the Germans. The repressions in Lithuania were like those in the Ukraine and White Russia, but the situation was more favorable here because there few refugee-Marxists and especially no Polish Stalinists. Another circumstance which helped save our lives was the radical change in the attitude of the GPU toward refugees. This was evidently due to the shocking impression that had been made on the world and above all in America by their inhuman treatment of refugees in the Ukraine and White Russian areas. The authorities decided to let all those go who had a chance to go abroad. This decision was taken only in January, 1941. Likewise, the..... consul of Kovno began to grant transit visas to people.

### "THIS IS NOT THE END..."

Due to these fortunate circumstances we are now in..... The matter of departure was a rather difficult one for us. In addition to all the moral tortures undergone by those wishing to go abroad, the GPU required a \$200 ransom for each person. This amount was fantastic for refugees of our type. When we failed to obtain anything from "Hias" and "Joint"—they were mainly interested in helping only religious Jews and ex-landlords—we addressed ourselves to..... We will not describe the difficulties and dangers incurred. It is enough to say that one of our comrades was arrested in and his situation is very critical. Three failed to leave Wilno at all and their fate is unenviable.

We have experienced the brief but deadly war, we have wandered long over the whole country on foot and crossed more than one frontier, we have lived for months under continuous threat. We have overcome the greatest of our difficulties—getting out of Soviet Russia—but for us this is not the end.....

## Washington Branch Holds Successful May Day Meeting

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A good-sized audience of Negro and white workers turned out for the May Day meeting of the Washington branch of the Workers Party. Henry Pelham was the main speaker. The meeting was preceded by the distribution of a 100 local leaflets, 300 copies of the May Day issue of LABOR ACTION, as well as back copies of both LABOR ACTION and THE CHALLENGE OF YOUTH.

## Labor Action Bookshelf

By Dwight Macdonald

**L. HAMBURGER: "HOW NAZI GERMANY HAS MOBILIZED AND CONTROLLED LABOR."** (The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 63 pages, 25 cents.)

**C. W. GUILLEBAUD: "THE SOCIAL POLICY OF NAZI GERMANY."** (Macmillan and the Cambridge University Press, 134 pages, \$1.25.)

Of these two little books on Hitler's labor policies, the one that costs a quarter is very much better than the one that costs five times as much. In fact, Hamburger's pamphlet is by all odds the best and most complete study of its subject I have seen. Despite the fact that it is put out by the ultra-conservative Brookings Institution, it approaches its theme from the point of view of the worker—something, as I shall show later, which Guillebaud's book most distinctly does not do.

The theme of the Brookings pamphlet is stated on page one: "The position of the workers has been transformed from that of substantial independence to a subservience more complete than that which existed under the feudal system of the Middle Ages." He elaborates the historical parallel later on: "The 'colonus' of the later Roman Empire, the 'serf' of the Middle Ages, was considered part of the estate of his squire or lord. He was attached to, fixed on, the estate; he had no right to move away. He was, in the language of feudal law, 'glebae adscriptus.' Similarly the German worker has now become attached to, fixed on, his job—'glebae adscriptus' if it happened to be an agricultural one, or 'factoriae adscriptus' (if one may say so) if it happened to be an industrial one."

In a word, the free labor market has been abolished in Nazi Germany even more thoroughly than the free commodity market. Hamburger traces the processes in detail, giving each important regulation as it came along, and describing its effect on the workers of Germany, beginning with the compulsory mobilization of thousands of urban unemployed as "farm aids" under the decrees of March 3 and 11, 1933, and ending with measures of complete slavery which were instituted when the war began in 1939. He deals fully with the "work book," the restrictions on freedom to change jobs, compulsory apprenticeship, the mobilization of women, youth, aged, Jews and criminals, and the compulsory shifting of hundreds of thousands of workers by the state authorities from one region to another, or from one industry to another.

"Nazism has completely subjected the worker, in matters pertaining to employment, to a will foreign to his own," writes Hamburger. "Such subjection is a servile concept. Under the Nazi regime, however, it is not the individual employer, it is the state which wields that will. . . . Hitler has built up, and successfully operates, a system of regimentation of labor, in scope and intensity such as the world has never seen."

### BRITISH "FAIR PLAY"

C. W. Guillebaud is a professor of Cambridge University, England, and his booklet on the Nazis' social policy was published over there this year. You might think that Prof. Guillebaud would be a little sharp with the Nazis, but you would be quite wrong. If you don't look at the date, you would swear the book was written by a follower of the Clevedon Set during the appeasement era. The author complains that "the war makes it doubly hard to maintain that objectivity which alone would make such a book worth writing or reading." But he hasn't let the war throw him off his balance—in fact, he leans so far to be "fair" to the Nazis that his book sounds like a paid ad for their system. And this in the second year of the war!

Guillebaud (who in 1938 performed the feat of publishing a book on "The Economic Recovery of Germany" in which he hardly mentioned Hitler's war policy) begins with a quotation from John De Courcy, leader of the arch-reactionary "Imperial Policy Group," to the effect that in April, 1939, any "unbiased" observer traveling in Germany had to recognize "a general contentment among the working classes." Guillebaud says he agrees entirely with this. His book is essentially an attempt to explain this alleged fact by a thorough whitewashing of the Nazi labor policies. He has much good to say of the compulsory Labor Service, of the Winter Relief fund, of Nazi housing (though he gently chides, "Here, as in many other (though not all) aspects of social policy, the promises of the National Socialists outran their performances"), and of the Labor Front.

All these basic characteristics of fascist labor policy, he sees as good. He does admit—in the most objective possible manner—that the Gestapo and the concentration camp are "a shame and a reproach to the new German order." And he laments greatly that Hitler took it into his head to go to war, the implication being that the author would have on the whole heartily approved the Nazi social policies had they been allowed to develop fully without being sacrificed to "the Moloch of preparation for war." But, he adds with that wonderful British sense of fair play: "It is but justice to recognize that the aims of social policy were kept continually in view and furthered as far as circumstances would permit. Nor is the record of the regime by any means devoid of achievement in that sphere."

When you read a book like this, issued by a great English university at a time when England enters her death-struggle with Germany, certain things about the conduct of the war by the Churchill government and the deep silence on war aims become crystal clear. The Clevedon Set is no more, but Clevedonism is deep in the fibre of the British ruling class.

# Missouri Sharecroppers Are Really Rarin' to Go

They Have Confidence in Their Strength and They Believe in Their Union—But It Must Become a Real Functioning Union

By DAVID COOLIDGE

After the 1939 roadside sit-down of sharecroppers from southeast Missouri, many of these dispossessed and jobless workers went to a 100 acre plot about 11 miles outside of Poplar Bluff, Mo., and tried to begin life over again. The land had been bought by some citizens of St. Louis and presented to the sharecroppers. They moved in, began to clear the place, build houses and lay out plots for gardens. The federal and state governments did nothing. These Negro and white agricultural workers

were forced to go on their own with no money and without clothing and food. There were no educational or recreational facilities.

They set to work to build houses out of any material afforded by the land on which they settled. This proved to be logs cut from the trees on the place and mud taken from the land. These were the more fortunate "settlers." Others lived in old tents and in any old slapped-together shelter they could provide for themselves.

These workers are living today in

the same poverty. There has been no improvement in their condition. They are still without adequate shelter. They have no work to speak of. They are literally starving and are without clothing. Medical care, educational facilities and such common things as radios and reading matter are luxuries to these workers at the Poplar Bluff camp.

Despite this, despite their poverty and their misery, these workers have no feeling of defeat and maintain a superb courage and loyalty to the working class. They belong to the Missouri Agricultural Workers Union which is a section of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union (C.I.O.). They believe in their union and are always anxious to find out how they can improve it and make it stronger. They are real union people and thoroughly union-conscious. They understand that only through a strong union can they improve their condition and win better working conditions from the cotton planters.

There are many improvements that need to be made in the union and the way in which it functions. In the first place, the organization should be extended to cover all the seven counties in southeast Missouri. This applies especially to Pemiscott County, where there are thousands of day laborers. What is needed is a real organizing drive to bring thousands of these white and Negro cotton workers into the union.

Cotton is a war industry and the profits of the planters will increase by leaps this year. The cotton work-

ers must get organized to make demands on the planters for increased wages.

### Must Have a REAL Union

The union officers should be busy these days getting the organizing drive under way. A union program of action should be discussed in the union and adopted by vote of the membership. Demands on wages and hours of work should be formulated and adopted by vote of the union.

This means of course that the cotton laborers and croppers must have a REAL union, with real functioning officers at the top and in every local.

All of these questions can be taken up by the union at its next convention. These workers should prepare now for a show-down struggle with the cotton planters. They can only win their demands by using the same methods that are used by other workers. This calls for organization. For a mass union, for a militant and democratic union.

## THE WORLD AT WAR

### Series of Friendly Gestures To Germany Follow Stalin's Taking over Premiership

By MAX STERLING

The most dramatic, and perhaps the most important, news of the week concerns the airplane flight of Rudolph Hess from totalitarian Germany to the British Isles. Exactly what motivated this fantastic escape is not clear at this date. Hints have been thrown out by 10 Downing Street that Hess was irreconcilably opposed to Hitler's present war policy, though in what way no one is told. The Nazis on the other hand have reported that Hess has become mentally deranged and is suffering from "hallucinations." For the Nazis this explanation would be most natural if only for internal consumption. It would not do for the German public to suspect the existence of disunity in the heart of the German "iron staff."

It is not difficult to understand why those who disagree with the course of the regime in totalitarian countries are obliged to fly from it. Hess' flight was preceded by Thyssen's. The alternative to flight is physical liquidation in the style of Capt. Roehm and General von Fritsch.

Pending further information about the Hess incident one can only speculate about Hess' differences with Hitler on the course of the war. Whatever the reasons, the British enthusiasm over Hess and his "idealism" are odorously indicative of the British ruling class. Hess becomes an idealist when it is believed that he disagrees with Hitler. This Nazi gangster is OK as a murderer of workers. He is OK as a storm trooper, as the builder of concentration camps and as the torturer of the German working class. For all this he is OK, provided he is opposed (as some think) to the continuation of the war against British imperialism! Need any more be said about the "idealism" of the British ruling class?

### IMMORAL "MORALS"

We saw the same thing in regard to Stalin and his regime. When the latter miscalculated the effect of the German effort in the Balkans and for a brief interval made a show of in-

dependence against Germany, the American State Department lifted the "moral" embargo against Russia. When it is a question of maneuvering for an ally, however bloody, "morals" are soon forgotten. But as soon as the Tokyo-Moscow pact was signed, which pointed to an ever-closer collaboration between Stalin, Hitler and the Mikado, "morals" were once more wheeled out and the State Department clamped down on American shipments of tools and machinery to Russia.

There is no doubt that Stalin has had the State Department guessing. Even after Stalin saw Matsukava off on the train, Secretary of State Hull refused to see any special significance in Moscow's new relations with Tokyo. When Stalin elevated himself to the premiership there were still many who saw in this a turn away from Hitler. Now, even the most ardent woosers of Russia must admit that the former is more closely tied to the latter than ever.

In this column we predicted that the show of Nazi invincibility after the battle of the Balkans would make Moscow still more subservient to Berlin. This prediction has been borne out by the pact with Japan (despite its several anti-German overtones), the subsequent breaking off of relations between Russia and the Yugoslavian, Belgian and Norwegian governments in exile. Another evidence in this direction is the recent recognition by Moscow of the anti-British government of Iraq. There are reports too that during the last four weeks deliveries of Russian grain and raw materials to Germany, which were extremely unsatisfactory during the first three months of this year, have again become normal.

### CLOSER FRIENDSHIP

It is a fact, therefore, that since Stalin's assumption of the mantle of state he has taken unmistakable moves toward closer collaboration with the Nazis. However, only those who have no wish to see what is obvious can interpret this as preliminary to any kind of a turn. One can say with justice that since the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939, the main line of Russian policy has been partnership with the still dominant Nazi machine. Everything else has been maneuvering of a secondary character. Behind this policy, as everybody knows, was Stalin—even though Molotov, as foreign minister, signed the papers. This line is not likely to change until Hitler threatens Russian territory or suffers severe defeats in the war.

Many are the reasons that can be advanced to account for Stalin's assumption of a post which no longer leaves him the convenience of a scapegoat—at least this particular scapegoat. It is quite possible that there was a serious rift in the ruling clique, and Stalin took the premiership to hold the "boys" in line. It is also possible that he acted by way of "threatening" Hitler—an intended demonstration of solidity and force. However much Stalin fears Hitler, he evidently wished to make it clear that he would resist an attack on the Ukraine, and that he had to be offered suitable compensations for his alliance. The indications are that Stalin has been satisfied on both points.

Hitler undertook his Balkan campaign against his own desires, but under the compulsion of Italy's initiative. It is doubtful if Hitler, who has yet to settle with the British Isles, and fearful of American entry, wants to attack the Ukraine for the present. Consequently he may well have assured Stalin that an attack on the Ukraine is out. In addition, he may have offered Stalin all he can take in the east—India, part of China, etc. There is more than one indication of this. Certainly, whatever the initial intention of Stalin, his becoming Premier has been followed by a series of pro-German acts which are altogether in keeping with his policy since the day he signed the Stalin-Hitler pact. Stalin may yet go further—up to the point of formally joining the "anti-Comintern" bloc in a military pact of mutual assistance.

For the leaps that Stalin may have to take into the known and unknown, the position of General Secretary of the Communist Party is no

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## GE Workers Win Pay Boost--

(Continued from page 1)

stand by the union membership was what won the day. Mass meetings all over the country, including the largest union meetings ever held in Schenectady and Lynn, the two largest G.E. plants, showed the company that the workers were in no mood to be stalled any longer by profit-greedy bosses.

### One Major Fault

As the union's U. E. News points out, the increased taxation of the workers to pay for war preparations, plus the ever-rising cost of living, raise this point: "We won it—now let's keep it." In that light, one of the major faults of the new contract is that it let the company do away with the far from perfect but still valuable "cost of living" arrangement under which each worker got a certain percentage of his weekly wages as an added bonus to make up for the increased prices of commodities. (At the time of negotiations this bonus stood at 3 percent.) This former bonus has been frozen into the previous rate of pay, to which the 10 cents was added, and will no longer be adjusted as prices go up.

Although there is no mention of it in either the national union paper or the paper of the Lynn local, a

great number of workers regret the lack of some such rising scale of wages in the contract. They feel that the constantly increasing prices will soon eat away a great part, if not all, of the gains. Throughout the negotiations there was a great deal of concern in the shops as to whether or not "we're going to lose that 3 percent."

The U. E. News proposes that the local unions write to their congressmen, and form local Tax Committees and Consumer Protection Committees. These are good things, but not at all sufficient. The union should take advantage of the first opportunity to demand the addition of a rising scale of wages to the contract. The constantly rising cost of food and higher rents will afford plenty of such opportunities. And, as this occasion showed, an aroused union membership can make the company sit up and "see the light."

### Members Uninformed

Unfortunately however, as is the case in many large unions, there is very little attempt to keep the membership active and interested. The Lynn local, 201, has twelve thousand members. Yet as a rule not even one member out of two hundred bothers to attend meetings. Of course, the fact remains that it would be almost impossible, and at any rate unwieldy, to get that many people together in any one place in this city.

This problem has been met and solved by mass production industry unions in this country and England by the system of shop or department meetings. In that way, smaller groups get together, and it is much easier to discuss shop problems and develop rank and file participation and activity. Such a development would do a lot towards ending the shoulder-shrugging apathy with which most of the workers regard union activity. It would help change the feeling of "drop a dollar a month into the slot machine and get out a raise" into a realization that the union is a living movement, a movement for which we will fight. The latest article in the Lynn local union paper on how the union functions is an example of how this necessity is neglected. Not a word is said about membership participation in activity. That attitude must be changed if the union is to live and grow stronger.

## Popoff Wins New Trial

SYRACUSE — Christ Popoff, sentenced to a 15 to 25 year jail term on the framed charge that he set fire to a Watertown restaurant, won a new trial when the Appellate Division, Fourth Department, reversed his conviction by a lower court. The Syracuse local of the Workers Defense League, which is conducting the defense of Popoff, has been informed by its lawyers that \$150 will be needed to pay for the new trial. The local is trying to raise the money.

Mrs. Popoff several weeks ago was refused her naturalization papers on the grounds that her husband is alleged to be a communist or to have communist ideas—hence she must have the same. The naturalization court will take up her case again next December.

# The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . . .

## REPORTS ON ARMY LIFE - DEATHS IN CAMP DIX

The capitalist press prints much news on Army camp life. The news, however, is completely one-sided: millionaire so-and-so shares the same barracks with Joe Smith, his former employee; conditions are fine; the food superb; the entertainment is the very best—no less than the leading actors and actresses in the country. I should use, to present a few facts that have come to my attention. Despite censorship and official silence stories of the actual conditions in the camps percolate through from time to time. Some of them do speak of excellent food, and adequate quarters. Others bespeak a vast discontent.

Many of New York City's draftees, are sent first to Camp Dix in New Jersey. There they stay for a few days, given their outfits, and a rudimentary training. At Dix, we have learned, three things occupied the minds of the draftees: the food; the inequality between officers and men; and the recent sweep of forest fires.

Draftees in Dix are served out of greasy tin trays. The coffee is intolerable. The food is tasteless and over-

ly balanced on the starchy side—with constipation running rampant. On the face of it, that doesn't appear to be very important. But it is important to the draftee who has been torn from his regular life against his will. Many of the draftees, as working men or students, have been accustomed to a better standard of living—such as it was.

The grievance against the food is magnified by the better treatment of the officers. This inequality extends over every sphere of camp life. The draftees are compelled to entertain themselves as best they can with their own amateur talent, or else by a corny theatre group. The non-coms, however, have (or had when last heard) a regular Friday night dance—women brought in from the outside, a red-hot jazz band. The next night, the commissioned are having a swell time, the draftees listen to the music from the outside, discuss the dance in the barracks, swear aloud against officers, and demand similar recreation for themselves.

In Dix, a few weeks ago, the major grievance, however, concerned

itself with the forest fires that swept the east. Thirty thousand inexperienced draftees either volunteered or were selected to stamp out the fires. Many casualties resulted. There are even reports of many deaths—how many, no one knows, except the War Department. It is rumored that two soldiers were killed when trucks carrying men to the fire were overturned, that forty men in these

trucks, which were travelling at high speed, were sent to the hospital in critical conditions, that five men, trapped in the fire, were roasted to death. The severe censorship which prevented any of this news from getting into the press is supposed to have provoked considerable indignation among the draftees.

Conditions in other camps are very much the same. In some, for a vari-

## FDR Delays Formal Entry--

(Continued from page 1)

tween aid to England and war, favor the former and oppose the latter. But the fact remains that the people are opposed to the war.

Roosevelt has therefore delayed his FORMAL declaration of war—in whatever form that was supposed to come. HE HAS NOT DELAYED HIS WAR PLANS. These proceed apace. Next week, two weeks from now, two months from now, he may consider that the time has come to announce the SHOOTING STAGE. Meanwhile, his cabinet members will whoop it up, Willie will use his \$13,000 throat to full advantage and the repulsive little jackals who infest the various liberal and "socialist" committee-for-war will dance their war dance in greater frenzy. It will take a lot of work, but Roosevelt is working overtime to get the country ready for the SHOOTING.

While the miscellaneous-hued scoundrels try to line up (and we mean "line up") the working class for the war, Rockefeller, Lamont and the New York Times will do what they can to convince the few "slackers" among big business—and they are few indeed. Rockefeller, who didn't bat an eyelash while murdering women and children in the infamous Ludlow massacre, will publicly shed enormous tears over the

sad plight of the women and children of England—and then, on the side, will talk hard facts to the "bosses": oil fields, investments, new territories, etc.

In all the slime of war propaganda, fakery and lying, the jingoes concede only one fact: "We are already in the war." Their intention is to use that FACT to force the people to accept what has already happened. But the people must use that same FACT to put some questions and press their own demands: Who authorized this war? What have we got to gain? We demand the right to vote against this war we do not want! We shall not give up making our demands—even after you declare war!

We, the people, did not authorize this war. We are kept in the dark as to plans, reasons and commitments. All we get is lies and skillfully but obviously designed propaganda. We want to know what the files of the State Department show. We don't give a damn if Rockefeller loses 90,000 or 90,000,000 acres of oil fields. We don't give a damn if Morgan goes broke. We are interested EXCLUSIVELY in the LIVES of the working class, here and all over the world, and in our LIBERTY.

We don't want your war! We want the right to vote against it! PASS THE LUDLOW WAR REFERENDUM BILL!

of reasons, the food is fairly good, the quarters equally so. (Many draftees think that the difference is largely one of grafting and efficiency.) In others, conditions are pretty rotten. As a rule, the men going to a new camp are fed like royalty for a few days. After that, there is a marked drop in the quality and quantity. The men begin to speak once again of "slop," and resentment fills the air. I have heard that the men in a southern camp have been put on "field rations." There are even rumors of "hunger strikes"—that is, men enter the mess hall, nibble at the food, and leave with their plates full. In the evening, the canteen does a land-office business in sandwiches.

Discipline at the camp is said to be tightening up. The sergeants are getting tougher. The draftees, or at any rate many of them, are keenly aware of the fact that they were conscripted against their will. They are conscious of their rights and of their dignity. Many have belonged to unions, accustomed to being treated with respect and making their grievances known. The officers are fed up with the failure of the men to salute them, and otherwise ignoring their rank. The men say, "We don't like army life. We are in the army because they forced us into it."

Not only do they drill every day in the hot sun, but they are required to dig ditches, level off ground, cut down trees and haul off timber. To them, this is not army life. The only real interest they show is in shooting (the general interest of American youth in mechanics)—with rifles, cannon, or machine guns.

There they ask many questions, with consequent embarrassment for the officers. The intellectual level of the draftees is very high. Often they know more about machinery, chemicals, etc. than do the officers.

Recreation in some of the camps is nil. There is a dance for selected men—officers, ratty privates, etc. The boys stay away.

I have heard a report that a Negro battalion is attached to one of the southern camps. At first they mingled freely with the white draftees. This raised the dander of the southern officers and non-coms who threatened a lynching bee. Since then they have been scarce around the camp, and are forced to stay within the confines of their own battalion. Several weeks ago a southern sergeant is supposed to have slugged a Negro draftee because the latter dared drink in the same barroom with him.

That is the picture of army life I have been able to get from talks with draftees, letters shown me, etc. It seems to me that a demand ought to be raised for the lifting of the censorship on camp news, that the draftees ought to be allowed to write freely to the newspapers, ought also to have their own paper and their own committees through which they can express their grievances to the army and to the public. From all I gather they are not too hot about fighting in a war they haven't asked for. They ought, at the very latest, have something of the freedom they had in civil life—to organize, to speak freely.

Yours,  
M.G.

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## Editorials

### OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

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

## The Hess Mystery

Crazy things are bound to happen in a crazy world. In a world where the lives of millions are sacrificed so that a few can wallow in the luxury of profits, nothing is so fantastic that it can't happen.

If it weren't for the fact that it may yet have serious repercussions on the war, the airplane flight and parachute leap of Nazi No. 3 to England might be dismissed as comic relief dreamed up by some enterprising scenarist.

At that, by the time this paper comes off the press the whole Hess business may prove to be something altogether different. As we write, the wildest rumors are being published in the press. Hess is in England. Hess has left England. No one has seen him. All sorts of people have seen him. Hess is crazy. Hess is an "idealist."

For all we now he may never have gotten to England. He may have fallen into the Channel, and the English may have circulated the news of his descent in Scotland to scare the German general staff. At the moment your guess is as good as ours.

But let's assume that Hess did flee Germany, that he did land in England. One obvious explanation offers itself immediately: Hess came into conflict with the ruling clique in Germany—a clique of which he was a prominent member. There may have been several reasons:

1. Hess disagreed on the conduct of the war, desiring its direction eastward toward the Soviet Union.
2. Hess, scared by the prospect of U. S. entry, internal revolutions, etc., as a result of the prolongation of the war, wanted Germany to proffer peace terms to England.
3. Hess stepped on the personal ambitions of other influential members of the clique—or they stepped on his.

The list of conjectures can be stretched out indefinitely. Only one thing is clear—that Hess, convinced Nazi and first-class super-gangster, somehow crossed his fellow gangsters, and decided that the key to longevity lay across the Channel.

There is of course a good deal of humor in the situation. The very idea of the Nazi gang having a falling-out is hardly going to provoke a tear in any worker's eye. (When thieves fall out . . .) But the humor is decidedly thinned by the revolting and revealing spectacle in the capitalist press.

Nazi No. 3, the man who callously murdered thousands upon thousands of workers, has become an "idealist." Even a devoutly religious person. Implication: Hess is really a fine guy. And in the eyes of the boss class, he no doubt is. Killing workers, depriving them of their liberty, is no crime. Vying with the "Allied" capitalists for the profits of world exploitation—that's a crime. And once he comes over to "our" side, what's to stand in the way of his becoming a truly noble "idealist" who given a chance, would even say a prayer.

So much, however, for the "idealism" of the capitalist world. Hess may yet be trotted out as an exemplary fighter in the cause of "democracy"—why, didn't he risk his very life to join the "democratic"

forces? You say impossible? By no means! It is no more impossible than the conversion of General Metaxas, recently deceased dictator of Greece, into a lily-white champion of "democracy." This may not happen with Hess. But it CAN!

## Jingo Union

Reinhold Niebuhr, professor of Christian ethics at Union Theological Seminary, has assembled a grand hodge-podge of ex-socialists, ex-Stalinist stooges, college professors, preachers, writers and fakers of all brands and varieties, to form a "Union for Democratic Action."

There are Jack Altman, Alfred Baker Lewis, Franz Daniel and Murray Gross, once big shots in the Socialist Party. There are Childs, Counts and Kilpatrick, former "radicals" of Teachers College of Columbia University. There is Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, who used to be featured in many of the Stalinist innocents' organizations. Also Pilip Van Gelder, secretary-treasurer of the CIO shipbuilders' union.

All in all, it is a stale collection of liberals, ex-"radicals," "pinks," "friends of the workers," "friends of the Soviet Union," "defenders of Spanish democracy," "champions of civil liberties" and all the great "causes" that sallow liberals have attached themselves to during the past 20 years.

The Union for Democratic Action has a platform, "A Program for Americans." The announcement of the formation of the new committee and its "program" gets nearly two columns in the New York Times. With fervid eloquence, the "Union" argues for the protection of democracy at home "from reactionaries who desire to destroy social gains." They talk about "outworn capitalist relations which have been allowed to continue to prevail in the democratic countries." But . . . to argue "that we can deal adequately with Hitler by putting our own house in order and 'setting an example to Europe' is the fantasy of innocents and the cunning of demagogues."

Professor Niebuhr and his friends refuse to be "demagogues." They say that "despite England's long and unsavory record as an imperialist power, it is criminal folly to assume that there is nothing to choose between a British and German victory." There is "absolute necessity for British victory," not because this is the "lesser evil," but because "England offers hope for progress."

The Niebuhrites are not "innocents" because they know that the "imperialist elements in Great Britain have been weakened as the democratic and labor forces strengthen their hold on the British government." Their support "goes to those forces in Britain which call for colonial freedom . . ." (We suppose they are the "forces" the Lend-Lease money is going to.) They will support "taxation on profits and incomes to the limit of economic feasibility." (And so will the National Association of Manufacturers.)

The "Union" is for "legitimate defense against treason, sabotage and spying" but there must be no "indiscriminate abridgment of civil liberties." They want the workers and bosses to kiss and make up and "be encouraged to do a cooperative job." There must be no "compulsory limitations on the right to strike." (The workers should take a course in Christian ethics from Dr. Niebuhr. Then they won't want to strike.)

It's the same old story. The liberals, the middle class intellectuals are always against imperialist war during periods of imperialist peace. When there is no war to fight, they are the bravest of the brave. After each imperialist conflict, in which the capitalist brigands have exhausted the nations, they permit their liberal lackeys to play around with "radical" ideas. For a period they are permitted to espouse the cause of the working class; they can be against "capitalism" and for "socialism." For a period their jobbering, purring and bleating about the "new society" and "production for abundance" is tolerated by the ruling class. But only for a period.

When the bosses are ready, they crack down. They are always ready when preparing for war. The liberals know which side their bread is buttered on. They know also where their bread and butter comes from. They like the easy life which the bosses finance for them. They refuse to join the working class; they cannot get into the ruling class.

And so, when they are faced with imperialist war, the necessity of making a choice, they go over bag and baggage to

(Continued in last column)

## Transit Workers Push Union Campaign Despite Threats

(Continued from page 1)

collectively with their boss be recognized, are ignored both by the "progressive" Mayor and by his dictatorial Board of Transportation. Union letters remain unanswered.

Instead, the Mayor has tried to discredit the union in the eyes of the workers with such underhanded slurs as: "I know the difference between a real labor leader and just a dues collector."

### What Are the Facts?

Such attempts are laughable. Transport workers know what they have accomplished through their union since 1937, when it became active. Not only have they forced substantial wage increases for all transport workers, including taxi drivers, bus drivers, surface, elevated and subway workers. The 12, 14 and 16-hour working days used to prevail. During these long hours the men were subject to call, but were paid only for eight or nine hours. This evil has been abolished. The six-day week has also been established where, the seven-day week flourished. Vacations with pay have been won.

Transport workers know these things. So when the "progressive" Mayor only the other day made the crack that the city is against the 56-hour week but "inherited" it from the TWU when it took over the contracts made by the TWU with the private owners of the BMT and IRT, the workers understood exactly the method in the Mayor's madness.

The workers understood even before Austin J. Hogan, president of the New York City local of the TWU, replied that every contract the union entered into was "a great improvement over conditions which existed before." Mr. Hogan also pointed out that the contract terms the Mayor now sneers at had been determined by a fact-finding committee appointed by the Mayor himself in 1937.

The workers also know a three-letter word to describe the Mayor's assertion that the hours of BMT and IRT workers covered by TWU contracts are worse than on the city-controlled Independent. Michael J. Quill, international president of the TWU, states that on the Independent system, city built and always operated by the city, there are townmen and motormen forced to work seven days a week.

The World-Telegram, which is not exactly pro-labor, recently quoted a motorman on the Independent subway as follows: "What we want is what all the men want, grievance machinery, the ability to sit down and talk over the things that are wrong. We're not getting it now. We never have gotten it. And men who have fought the TWU for years are going over to it. They figure that it's the only way to get anywhere. In the last few months the TWU has gained tremendously in strength on the Independent division, where the men have always been under civil service. Working conditions on the IRT and BMT are better than on the Independent. The Independent men figure the TWU made them so."

Before the city took them over, there was grievance machinery on the privately owned IRT and BMT. Shop stewards could meet with superintendents to discuss complaints. If these did not agree, union officials could meet with company officials. When the city took over the lines, the Board of Transportation was supposed to set up a similar system. Nothing of the kind has been done. A TWU representative now meets weekly with George Keegan, a member of the board, but the union states these meetings have yielded no results.

In fact, the handbill entitled "Our Side of the Transit Story," issued by the TWU, charges that many of the gains made by the union prior to unification by the city have been destroyed during the ten months of city operation.

The Board of Transportation has a very unsavory labor reputation. The World-Telegram, after investigating the record of the Board, stated that it could find no instance in the last eight years when John H. Delaney, chairman of the board and himself a former labor leader, having served as president of New York Typographical Union for one year, received representatives of independent labor organizations to work out a method of adjusting grievances. In many cases the board has not even deigned to reply to requests for interviews from labor organizations.

Jonas A. McBride, vice-president of the ultra-conservative Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, is reported to have said:

## Lord Meets Lord - - At the Ball Park

By TED LYONS

Say, gents, have you heard the latest? The boys on the main stem are still chuckling over this one, so it must be good; since to get one of these illustrious mugs to crack even a frozen smile you'd have to tell 'em either that a cop couldn't be bribed or that prohibition was back. Well, here's the dope straight from the wire:

Just this last week Lord Halifax and his missus blew into the Windy City and right into the eye of Chicago's citizenry. Our footsore reporters, hard up for a good local story since the latest one about our fearless state's attorney's exposé of a fashionable abortion ring is about wrung out, saw the light and clasped the good Lord to their bosom.

The press put Halifax through the paces. Anxious to please, the Lord posed and chatted with everybody—even our Mayor. Pictures and feature articles covering every angle of the Lord's stay were as thick as bookies in City Hall. Old newshounds recalled that not since Zanghara shot and killed our late unlamented Mayor, Tony Cermak, had they come across such colorful local copy. Feeling that he should leave no stone unturned in putting in the fix with the American public for his British mob, Halifax skipped his afternoon tea and dragged the missus out to the ball park to see the White Sox battle the Tigers. This was to be the Halifax's first view of a ball game and the press made the most of it . . . and so did the Sox by trouncing the Tigers. But that's neither here nor there. What caused our illustrious mugs to smile was not the fact that Halifax didn't know the Sox from his garters—no, our boys are too tough and their humor too malicious to laugh at that. The payoff was this:

Seated in the celebrities' box were not one but two Lords. There was Lord Halifax, representative of the British gang of imperialist bandits, and—there right next to him, so close that they could rub shoulders and cough politely in each other's faces—was Lord of Vice, the Right Honorable Dennis Cooney, ruler of Chicago's whoredom and of all the dominions beyond Cicero.

It was not reported whether or not the Lord of Britain and the Lord of Vice discussed each other's rackets. Nor was it reported that the Vice Lord Cooney gave the British Lord Halifax any pointers on how to get the best of the Hitler mob in their territorial dispute. It is said that Cooney, being a good Irishman, doesn't give a damn what happens to the British gang just so long as they don't muscle in on his territory. Lord Cooney must have gotten a kick out of hobnobbing with a guy whose gang ruled hundreds of millions of white, black and brown slaves all over the world; after all, Cooney only rules over a comparatively few number of white slaves.

It is gossiped by the main stem pranksters that Cooney told Halifax that when his gang boss, Winston Churchill, hits Chicago, he, Cooney, will see to it that his own big boss, Al Capone, will tour the old boy around, take in the nite spots, the race tracks and, of course, the old ball game—all as a sort of good will mission between the two gangs.

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## THE NEGRO'S FIGHT

### Marshall Field, Negro-Hater, Turns "Friend"

By J. R. JOHNSON

Negroes and friends, just watch what is being done to the public by the people who are rushing us into war.

Everybody in this country, from Roosevelt to the latest European refugee who has managed to get into this country, knows that Negroes are forcibly deprived of their rights here—not one, but some 13,000,000, 26 times the number of Jews there were in Germany when Hitler came to power.

The warmongers, however, are pushing the country into the war as fast as they can, under the slogan of preserving democracy. They have, therefore, to fool the people, to fool the Negroes, and to fool the whites who are saying "What kind of democracy can we fight for abroad, when we have no democracy here for millions and millions."

One way is for Franklin Roosevelt to give a Negro general a job (one year before he is to retire), to appoint some what-collar Negroes into fat (and not too fat) jobs in Washington. Meanwhile, Eleanor Roosevelt goes from meeting to meeting uttering the most pious sentiments how she hopes some day (please God) to see discrimination ended. She is photographed with Negroes. She helps Marion Anderson to sing in public in Washington. She makes personal gestures. But, of course, Negroes are left out of war industries, lynched in the South and Congress pushes the anti-lynching bill into a corner. For, in the serious life of the country, nobody cares about the sermons Eleanor Roosevelt preaches all over the country.

But as Roosevelt pushes the country closer to war, the tricks become more lousy. One of Roosevelt's most powerful supporters is Marshall Field, the Chicago multi-millionaire. He is the chief shareholder in a New York paper, PM, which publishes about 16 pages every day—all saying one thing: Go to war now, "to save democracy." But the people don't want to go to war, least of all the Negroes. What does Marshall Field do? He signs a document in Chicago in which he and some other notables call upon the American public to stop discrimination against Negroes in industry, etc. Obviously these impudent donkeys believe that the Negroes are so foolish that they will be ready to rush off to buy war bonds and support the war because some few people wrote on a piece of paper that it is a shame Negroes are treated so badly.

### HE OFFERS . . . A PIECE OF PAPER

However, that is only the old gag Eleanor Roosevelt is always trying to put over. What makes this one smell so high is that Marshall Field himself is one of the most vicious anti-Negro employers in the country. He won't employ Negroes in his stores, he even tries to keep them out of the store as customers. Worse still, he is an anti-union man and is in fact one of the worst enemies of the democratic rights of workers that you can find anywhere.

This man wants the country in the war for the sake of safeguarding profits and investments. So, in order to fool the people, and the Negroes in particular, he signs this worthless piece of paper.

That is all they have to give the Negroes: promises, jobs for a few white-collar workers who are given these salaries as bribes to help fool the workers, and now petitions signed by Negro-hating and anti-labor warmongers intent only on fooling the people.

The Negroes, and organized labor will know what to do with these pieces of paper today. They must plan and prepare what to do with Marshall Field and his friends tomorrow.

## Jingo Union - - -

(Continued from Editorial Column)

the bosses. Not all of them, of course—there are some notable exceptions—but the overwhelming majority. (We will comment on Max Eastman, one-time revolutionist and present-day jingo, in next week's issue.)

This is the meaning of Niebuhr's "Union for Democratic Action" and its "Program for Americans." It is the program of the ruling class; a program in support of imperialist war.

There is nothing new in this "program" and nothing new in the action of Niebuhr and his friends. They and their kind reacted the same way to World War I. They are ready again to support another slaughter of the world's youth. They have voted for capitalist barbarism and for its perpetuation. No amount of word-mongering and phrase-slinging, no high-sounding rhetoric about "outworn capitalist relations," "democratic terms of peace," "freedom of the individual," "planning for the popular welfare," or "socialization" of this or that, can destroy this central fact.

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This we see that if there is anything new in Stalin's assuming the premiership, it is to sound new depths of degeneration.