

Missouri Croppers' Fight For 30¢ an Hour Going Strong in Third Week

Special to LABOR ACTION

MISSOURI, June 8—The sharecroppers and day laborers, fighting for a minimum wage of 30 cents an hour, are still "staying at home." In Lilbourne project, New Madrid, Charleston, Sikeston, Dexter, Wyatt and Essex they are not going to work. They say they will fight to the end.

It is necessary to understand what this means in human terms. Last year the landlords paid \$1.25 a day. This year they intended to pay \$1.50 at most. Today wages are \$2.00 in all seven counties of Swampeast Missouri. This is due directly to the "stay at home" action. Now a worker and his wife, with their children, are sitting in their house, with probably not a dime in their pockets. If they went to work, they'd have \$4.00 cash at the end of the day and could go to the store to buy food. But still they stay out. It's 30 cents an hour or stay at home.

"WE'RE FROM MISSOURI!"



A Leader Who Doesn't Lead:

The Role of Owen Whitfield

Special to LABOR ACTION

MISSOURI, Monday, June 8—Never has there been as great an opportunity in Southeast Missouri to organize thousands of sharecroppers and day laborers in the ranks of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers (CIO)—and never before has the (Stalinist) Communist Party leadership of the state and national offices of this union so completely and deliberately failed to organize the men.

The "stay at home" action which hundreds of workers are now engaged in (described in another article in this issue of LABOR ACTION) has aroused the greatest hopes, enthusiasm and militancy among the workers here. It is comparable to the great roadside demonstration of 1939—except that in some respects it is even greater, since this time many white workers are actively engaged in the action, while in 1939 it was only the Negroes who struck.

Here is a situation in which hundreds of workers yearn for organization, beg for organization. Reports filter in that the workers of New Madrid, for instance, have been begging for union buttons, for a UCAPAWA organizer who can help them get organized. And yet they get nothing from the UCAPAWA leadership. They don't get money; they don't get

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During the previous two weeks they stayed out Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. Then by Thursday and Friday, they'd weaken and some would go back to work. But after the St. Louis CIO went down to see and help them, they stuck it out for the whole week this time.

One of the centers of labor is P. M. Barton's 55,000 acre plantation at Catron. He was paying \$2.00. However, he announced that he was going back to \$1.50. Immediately an as yet unknown number of families moved off Barton's place and left Catron altogether.

The Present Situation

At present the situation lines up as follows:

The cotton seeds are planted in long rows very close to each other. They spring up in such close formation that it is impossible for all the plants to be allowed to live. The chopper's first job, therefore, is to thin out superfluous plants. At the same time he cuts out weeds and grass which have grown up in between and side by side with the cotton.

This is a process that has to be repeated two or three times, if not more, between the end of May and the first weeks of July. Now it is obvious that the process of thinning out the cotton is one thing and the thinning out of weeds is another. It takes much less labor merely to thin out the young cotton plants. You have the possibility of doing that a little earlier or a little later.

But once there is a good shower of rain lasting two or three days and making it impossible to go into the field for two days afterward, then there can be no hesitating about the weeds and grass. They are there and must be gotten rid of immediately or they'll choke the cotton. The landlord must get labor; there's no choice about it. If he can't get labor at \$2.00 he'll pay \$2.50. Or he'll pay \$3.00 when it is a question of thinning out the young cotton plants. One landlord's cotton may be less advanced in growth than another's, so he can wait a day or two.

But when the rain falls, the weeds are impartial and grow up everywhere at the same time after the rain. As soon as it is possible to work in the field after the rain, every landlord wants all the labor he can possibly have. He can't wait.

Cruel Stroke of Luck

The Missouri workers have been waiting for this period to come. But by the cruellest stroke of luck, day after day the sun has been shining high in the heavens, and although cotton chopping is well over two weeks on its way, the moment for the final showdown has not yet been reached. When it will come, nobody

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LABOR ACTION

JUNE 15, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

SPLIT CRISIS GROWS SHARPER IN THE CIO

By IRVING HOWE

With the removal of Philip Murray as vice-president of the United Mine Workers, the unleashing of an open attack on John L. Lewis in the CIO News and the counter-demand by Lewis that Murray "remove all Communists from CIO posts," the internecine warfare in the CIO broke out into an open slugfest with Murray and Lewis trading verbal punches—and the Stalinist vultures waiting on the sidelines ready to capitalize on labor's crisis.

The vitriolic and bitter charges and counter-charges flew thick and fast during this last week. The CIO executive board called Lewis a "disrupter" and Lewis in turn said that Murray should prove his sincerity by firing all CIO organizers who are commu-

The Daily Worker fanned the winds of the inner-CIO struggle by launching wild charges that Lewis was a fascist—this despite the fact that the Stalinists were playing ball with Lewis until last year.

But all these verbal fireworks were mainly camouflage for the real issues at stake. And those real issues deserve serious consideration by every CIO unionist.

There are at present three main groups in the CIO—the Murray group, the Lewis group and the Stalinists.

The Murray group, which finds its main support in the newly organized United Steel Workers Union and in sections of the United Automobile Workers, has pursued the policy of consistent retreat before the attacks of the Washington Administration. It has capitulated on most labor issues: "no strike" agreement, Sunday double time. It has failed to put up an adequate fight for the demands of the steel workers (union shop and \$1.00 a day wage increase) and has not conducted any major organizing campaigns. This all flows from a policy of labor appeasement—appeasement of those in Washington who are knifing labor's rights in the name of "national unity."

The Stalinists, for their part, have played an open union-busting role. They have agreed to all of Murray's retreats, only demanding that labor retreat even more. They have criticized Murray for putting "too much stress" on wage increases. The Stalinists, in pursuance of their policy of subordinating everything to the interests of the Russian war effort, have played the role of stool pigeons and strike breakers inside the unions. It is they who have helped inflame the inner CIO struggle to its present proportions; their obvious game is to get Lewis out of the CIO and then, through their union forces, they hope to make Murray their captive.

The Lewis forces have allowed the impression to be created among many workers that they are lukewarm toward the imperialist war, and that they oppose the surrender of labor's rights in the name of "national unity" and the "war effort." This they have done not by explicit statements but rather by silence. The United

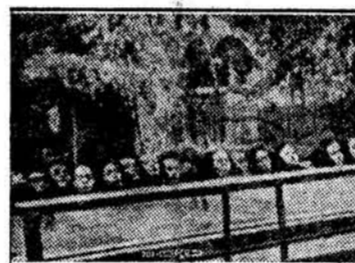
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British Labor Paper Faces Ban for Imperialism Expose

Because it dared publish an authentic picture of British imperialism's atrocities committed against natives of Burma in 1931, when it suppressed a Burmese nationalist revolt, together with another picture

the latter intended to ban the Socialist Appeal. Morrison replied that he was giving the matter a "great deal of careful consideration."

This latter phrase is an ominous portent of the possibility that still another working class paper may be banned in Britain because it dared tell the truth. For no one, of course, has been able to challenge the authenticity of the Socialist Appeal's pictures.



of Japanese imperialism's atrocities against Chinese workers, the Socialist Appeal, organ of the British Trotskyist Workers International League, faces the possibility of a ban on its future publication.

Sir J. Lucas, a conservative member of the House of Commons, raised the question on the floor of the House on April 30. He inquired of Home Secretary Herbert Morrison, whether



We reproduce the two pictures from the Socialist Appeal. Though they have been considerably blurred in the process of reproduction, we believe they will be of interest to our readers.

Mysterious Silence Shrouds Suspected Phila. Lynching

When the body of Lebanon Allen Blackson was found hanging to a tree in Cobbs Creek Park, Elmwood, Pa., on Saturday, May 23, 50,000 Negroes living in southwest Philadelphia, Paschall, Elmwood and Darby were "convinced almost beyond the shadow of a doubt that a Negro was lynched." This is the language used by the Philadelphia Tribune in its May 30th issue.

The coroner's officials believed the victim had committed suicide. But the Blackson family vehemently denied this even as a possibility. Not only the Blackson family but "nine

out of ten Negroes one meets in Paschall or Elmwood are of the same mind: that Lebanon Allen Blackson was set upon by a mob of forty or fifty whites in the darkness of morning and hanged to a tree until all life had passed through his body." This is the language of the Philadelphia Tribune.

In its issue a week later, however, the whole tone is different. Under a headline, "Elmwood Lynch Rumors Quiet," it is reported that "peace and tranquility reign in Paschall, Elmwood, Darby and all southwest Philadelphia." (Continued on page 2)

Mine Workers Leader



JOHN L. LEWIS

A Letter to Those Attending the Garden Meeting

Negro People Need a March on Washington Now!

Dear Friends:

You are coming in tens of thousands to this Madison Square Garden mass meeting called by the March on Washington Committee to again raise your voices against the indignities suffered by the Negro people. That is all to the good. So long as one inch of discrimination continues to exist, so long as one inch of Jim Crowism splatters the American landscape—it is necessary for all of us, both black and white, to protest.

But what is the point of talking about one inch of Jim Crowism when there are still miles and miles of it in this country?

It is now one year since the original March on Washington was to be held. And Jim Crow has reared its ugly head even more than before that time.

It is now six months since Pearl Harbor, but despite the talk about a "war for democracy" and a "war to end Hitlerism," there is no democracy or precious little of it for the great mass of American Negroes. Of the native, cracker variety of Hitlerism, the Negro people have, however, a full dose!

Yes, it is necessary to hold protest meetings such as this one; but that is obviously not enough. Something else, something more powerful and convincing, needs to be done.

That something else is very simple. It is the determination not to limit the protest for Negro equality to merely petitions, meetings and protest statements; but bold action which will capture the imagination of the country—and especially, the imagination of the Negro people's natural ally, the labor movement.

And that action must be what so many Negroes want—a March on Washington, a march on Jim Crow plants that will express the determination of the Negro masses to end, once and for all, Jim Crowism.

Last year the leadership of the March on Washington Committee stimulated the Negro people to new heights of hope by its plans for the proposed march. One week before the march was to take place, however, the committee suddenly and mysteriously "postponed" the march. As experience afterward showed, this "postponement" in



reality meant a cancellation.

Why did Randolph and the other leaders call off the scheduled march? No complete explanation was ever offered, but it was obvious that they postponed the march because of the tremendous pressure that was put on them in a conference they held with Secretary of the Navy Knox and President Roosevelt. As a mild sop to compensate for calling off the march, President Roosevelt issued his Executive Order No. 8802 and set up the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

What has happened since then? Were Randolph and his friends correct in knocking under to Roosevelt and calling off the march? Or have they been proved wrong?

We shall not go into detail; we shall not repeat the long list of facts which every Negro with one eye open knows. Let us but list the NAMES, those terrible NAMES,

each of which represents a terrible tragedy of inhumanity and discrimination against the Negro people:

The Sikeston lynching; the Waller case; the Fort Bragg killings; the Fort Dix killings; the Alexandria, La., killings and beatings; the Tuskegee incident; the Hempstead riots; the Sojourner Truth riots; and so many more that we could fill every inch of this paper and still have plenty left!

Every Negro, every living one, knows that Jim Crowism and discrimination have increased since last year, and not decreased!

Every Negro, every living one, knows that the mass of Negroes have not been able to get jobs in war industries!

Every Negro, every living one, bitterly resents the Jim Crow naval unit set up by Secretary Knox!

Every Negro, every living one, knows that the poll tax—that cross of inequality—still deprives the mass of Negro people from voting in the South!

Only one thing has changed since Pearl Harbor: the number and extent of anti-Negro indignities has increased. The "war for democracy" has brought, not democracy, but more Jim Crow, lynching, segregation and discrimination in its wake.

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Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Third Camp

RADIO PROPAGANDA—AN ONLY TOO-SECRET WEAPON

This is supposed to be a war for democracy. Every day some self-styled democrat proclaims this from Washington. But since democracy means participation of the people, how is it to be explained that the American people are not informed about one of the most important weapons of modern warfare—radio propaganda?

This is not a war which can be won merely on the battlefields; rather it is decided in large measure by the morale existing behind the lines. Now we are not at all of the opinion that it is the task of true working class leaders to broadcast messages to Germany in order to aid Allied imperialism. Our aim is to establish a third camp, opposing both imperialist camps and aiming at the victory of the common people of both camps over their oppressors. But, this being our fundamental position, we have nevertheless the right to inquire about what is going on with regard to American radio propaganda.

There are many sincere interventionists within the American labor movement who honestly believe that the cause of the workers is linked to the cause of the Roosevelt government. But even then, would it not be their elementary duty to look into the way this war is being conducted? There are obvious reasons why exact information of a strictly military nature cannot be made public, but why is there no information whatsoever on the kind of propaganda being sent to Germany and Italy over the ether?

The few specks of information which have been let out can only make us more suspicious. It is usually the most reactionary clique among the refugees who are picked to send back propaganda to Europe. The general policy seems to be to tell the German workers about the beauty of the "American way of life," about the ever-mounting output of war material in American factories and about the strength of the United Nations. The German workers are told that if they behave well, if they get rid of Hitler as quickly as possible, Germany shall, later on, also have some crumbs when the world is redivided. (But first, of course, they shall have to be "policed.")

In Germany and Italy, millions are facing death sentences and long prison terms in order to listen to English and American broadcasts. They hope to get a true picture of the world, a picture not distorted by the propaganda machine of Goebbels. They hope to hear the voice of American and English labor. They want some encouragement in their fight against Nazi oppression. Instead, they hear only about the end of the class war and "national unity" in the Allied countries. When they look for an answer about the future of Europe, they are given the vague promises of the Atlantic Charter, or worse, are told that some kind of dismemberment of Germany is in the offing.

What can their reaction be? The tragic effects of this stupid imperialist propaganda going over the Allied radios can be to make the German workers even more hopeless and inactive, thinking that since there is no evidence of an independent labor movement in the Allied countries, it is impossible to fight against the Nazis; or to bind them to Hitler with the thought that "since they really want to destroy us, it is still better to get along with Hitler, despite everything." That is why Allied propaganda plays directly into the hands of Hitler.

We naturally have no illusions: an imperialist war will always be fought with imperialist weapons. Thus, all those who think that this war can be coupled with genuine democratic-socialist propaganda are deceiving themselves. But we nevertheless claim that the people have, at least, the right to know what is going on over the ether. This front is as important as the Libyan front or the sea front. Why are we given detailed reports on the Libyan see-saw battle but are told nothing about the propaganda being sent into the Axis countries?

This is an issue which should interest all workers, regardless of their attitude toward the war. We demand that full information be released on this subject. We are just as opposed to secret government propaganda as to secret diplomacy.

Europaews.

Mysterious Silence Shrouds Suspected Phila. Lynching

(Continued from page 1)

adelphia" because a coroner's jury ruled that Blackson met his death at his own hands; that he committed suicide.

There is supposed to be a suicide note. The cause for the alleged suicide is said to be depression due to Blackson's loss of his wages and a wrist watch at a crap game. Family and friends, who a week before entirely discredited the idea of suicide, suddenly became silent.

Just what happened in the week between the finding of the body and the ruling of the coroner's jury to change the mind of the Negro population and of the Philadelphia Tribune? Is this perhaps a lynching that has been hushed up because of the "war emergency"? If so, the cause of the Negro is not served, but badly hurt thereby.

The Philadelphia branch of the NAACP put a detective on the case. At the time of the coroner's hearing, he stated that a final report had not

yet been submitted to the NAACP. This investigation should be followed through with the greatest thoroughness. To arrive at the truth is of the utmost importance.

The theory of the Negro population, which was so sure that Blackson was lynched, was that he was mistaken for his brother Homer. Homer is the father of Sarah, a young Negroess who was in a fight with a white woman on the day of the hanging. The Negro people in the vicinity believed that the mob was out to get her father in revenge, but lynched her uncle by mistake.

The truth of the Blackson hanging must be tracked down.

Hey, Reader!

Like this paper? Find it interesting? In either case, why not make sure to get it each week—and your friends, too. Just fill out the blank on page 4.

Ship Local Repels Stalinists

Special to LABOR ACTION

SAN PEDRO, June 4—Democracy rules in Local 9 of the CIO Shipyard Workers Union. So said Gavin MacPherson, the new national organizer, at the membership meeting last week. And every union member knew that it was true—for this one meeting at least.

How the Stalinists and reactionaries, united as usual these days, have squirmed and twisted with parliamentary tricks and long-winded super "patriotic" speeches. And how they were snowed under when the membership finally won the chance to express itself! Hundreds of votes against a measly four who voted for another union retreat.

This time they wanted to give away Saturday and Sunday overtime, to put over the rotating week in order to save a little more dough to be dumped into the pockets of the profiteers. This was the next step

they had scheduled in their plan to turn a union retreat into a rout. First, they had decided to give up double time; second, to give up half the pay raise and take the other half in bonds; and now, to rotate the week like the AFL yards so that every now and then you work 13 straight days without getting any double time.

They Plan Retreats

These are the retreats which the Communist Party-reactionary clique already proposed. No doubt they have plenty more in the back of their cowardly minds from whence these came. And after all, why not? Have not all the big boys and wealthy corporations sacrificed for the war? Has not Eugene Grace taken a cut in his "extra compensation" (that is, apart from salary and profits) from \$250,000 in 1940 to \$350,000 in 1941?

But at the third point in the plan of the clique of Stalinists and reac-

tionaries, they hit a snag. Some snag! 467 to 0 in the night shift. Several hundred to four at the general membership meeting.

What is this snag that caused the plans of these mice (not men) to go awry? It was militant unionists making democracy work! A courageous and determined membership can snag every reactionary proposal by this means if it so desires. A membership on guard can defend labor gains from the attacks of the corporations, of Congress and of the union busting Stalinists.

Union affairs must be run by the membership, not by any clique of parliamentary tricksters!

Union gains and union strength must be preserved in the face of the ever-growing wealth and power of the corporations.

Union members must have the courage to stand up on their feet and fight to defend their rights!

Split Crisis in the CIO--

(Continued from page 1)

Mine Workers is one of the few CIO unions that has retreated on no important union issues. It has failed to endorse the surrender of double time for Sunday, though it has not attacked that surrender, either. In addition the UMW is the only force that has conducted a large-scale organization campaign through its District 50.

These, in brief, are the forces inside the CIO leadership. That there are important and serious disagreements between the Murray and Lewis forces is apparent. These differences must be settled by that internal union democratic procedure which marked the CIO at its founding and which is the only way to settle any differences of opinion.

One thing is clear, however: it would be a major tragedy for the union movement in America if the CIO were split.

Are the issues of difference serious enough at present to warrant a split? An examination of these issues must lead to a categorical answer of NO.

The demand of the UMW that unity negotiations between the CIO and AFL be reopened is not a demand which should lead to a split. If it were possible at present to effect one united labor organization,

based on industrial organization of the mass production industries, it would be a great boon to the workers and result in a tremendous new wave of organization. American labor would then have the most powerful organization in the history of world labor!

If, on the other hand, negotiations with the AFL leadership were to reveal that unity based on industrial organization of the mass production industries is at present impossible, due to the backward and reactionary attitude of the AFL officialdom, then again there is little lost. But let these negotiations be held before the public view of the American workers, and not behind closed doors; and then we shall see. Surely, the demand that the two great houses of labor reunite should not be the cause of splitting one of them!

Nor is the second UMW demand, on the question of per capita payments, a reason for a split. Is it possible that the CIO will be split over the question of \$60,000 a month per capita from the UMW to the CIO? Is it possible that the CIO should be split over the question of the debt that the CIO owes the UMW, according to the latter? Surely, the ranks couldn't tolerate such a situation!

And as for the third UMW demand—the cessation of personal attacks on the UMW leaders—it would be a good idea if both sides calmed down (and if the Stalinists' filthy mouths were publicly washed with some strong soap) Certainly, the prestige considerations, the personal grudges, the personal attacks, cannot be considered as a serious reason by the CIO ranks for splitting their organization.

What is imperative now is that the ranks themselves decide the issues before the CIO. In this respect, Murray, Lewis and the Stalinists are all past masters at developing bureaucratic machines which throttle the voice of their rank and file members.

Nonetheless, it is necessary that the CIO ranks be allowed to express themselves, in regular or special convention assembled, on the issues facing their organization. If that be done, we are certain that the ranks will express themselves in favor of a fighting industrial union organization; a ceaseless struggle in defense of and for the improvement of labor's conditions; a new vast organizing campaign; and an attempt to build a united labor movement in America which can become a powerful force in defense of the common people.

Negroes Need a March on Washington

(Continued from page 1)

Those are FACTS. They are incontestable.

Knee-Scraping Gains Nothing

And it is these facts which prove that Randolph committed a great harm against the Negro people when he called off the march last year. It is these facts which prove that the Negro people will gain nothing by knee-scraping, nothing by boot-licking. And knee-scraping and boot-licking, we regret to say, have been the course of Randolph and White and Crosswain and Granger and the other Negro leaders in recent times.

Why? Because Randolph conceives his primary purpose in life to be, not the rallying of the Negro people to break down the walls of Jim Crowism, but rather to rally them behind the American imperialist war effort. If he has to choose between fighting for Negro rights and hog-tying the Negro

people to the war machine, then Randolph will choose the latter.

And that is why he is so reluctant to lead a genuine March on Washington today. He and the other Negro leaders have succumbed to the hogwash that if the Negro people stand up on their own legs and demonstrate for their right to be treated as equal human beings, that will disturb "national unity."

We say, however, that their rights must come first in the minds of the Negro people. What a farce is all this talk about a "war for democracy," all these "pledges of loyalty" which the Negro newspaper editors are signing, when the Negro masses themselves know that there is no democracy, no equality for them, and that the only thing they can be loyal to is the struggle for their emancipation.

The Role of the Stalinists

Particularly vicious in this respect is the (Stalinist) Communist Party

and its stooge, the National Negro Congress, which today, because of their allegiance to Joe Stalin, are urging the Negro people to forget the struggle for their rights, to forget the record of British imperialism and to subordinate everything to the imperialist war. These people are traitors to the Negro people and to the working class; they hold the Kremlin above the interests of the Negroes and workers in America.

We say to you: those who would rise to freedom must have the courage to struggle for it. The Negro people, in firm alliance with their white brothers of the trade union movement, must struggle now for full social, political and economic equality. This means that the labor movement must be stimulated into an aggressive fight on this question. Most Negroes are workers and they will find that they can gain their liberation only by cooperating with their white brothers. (See for ex-

THE WORLD AT WAR

Allied Political Offensive on "Peace Aims" Merely Prelude To New Surge of Hostilities

By WILLIAM BRAD

The results of the recent joint American-British staff conferences in London are now bearing military fruit in the RAF bombings over Germany and occupied France. This is the Allied offensive intended to relieve German pressure on the Russian front. Simultaneous with this aerial offensive there has been launched a political offensive based around the question of the nature of the peace.

Speeches by Sumner Wells, Vice-President Wallace and General Marshall as well as innumerable proposals in the press have given the answers to the problem of war aims and peace aims which the American rulers will propose. In England the discussion over war aims has been raging since the war began. Last week there occurred long debates in both the Commons and the House of Lords.

This plethora of speeches and debate at the present time is intended to lay the ideological basis for the second front, which is the main allied military aim in Europe. Peace is the greatest desire of the masses of Europe and the chiefs of the United Nations are at present trying to capture and use this sentiment in order to launch the bloodiest military offensive in history.

These speeches were especially aimed at the French people, who are certainly no friends of Hitler. If the Allies intend to land in France they want to be certain of a friendly reception and they know that some political program is necessary to rally the French for support of such an invasion.

Phony "Peace" Discussion

All the speeches and proposals so far have restricted their scope to Europe. There have been almost no proposals on world peace. Very little has been said about Japan, India or the Middle East. Nothing could better illustrate the phony character of the present "peace" discussions. They are aimed not at peace, but at rallying Europe behind the Allied war camp.

What has happened to the Atlantic Charter, which was supposed to lay the basis for the post-war world?

ample, the story in this issue of our paper about the joint struggle of Negro and white sharecroppers in Southeast Missouri for a decent wage.)

It is our conviction that the Negro workers will find, in the process of this struggle, that their final and true salvation can only be achieved by the struggle for socialism. We believe that you will find that it is only by establishing a new society of equality and peace and freedom in which no man can exploit or degrade another man, can the Negro people achieve their full measure of freedom.

But now it is necessary to organize for militant actions, for a nationwide March on Washington. Let the powers-that-be know that the Negro people, arm in arm with their white brothers of the trade union movement, are on the march to break down all inequality and injustice!

The failure of this joint effort of Churchill and Roosevelt is today acknowledged by all. The defeats in Java, Burma, Malaya and elsewhere were enough to thrust the Atlantic Charter into the ashcan of history.

The defeats in the Far East are an important factor in forcing the Allies to discuss war and peace aims. To date nothing they have said or done has inspired the masses anywhere to follow them. And yet there is absolutely nothing to indicate that the imperialist Allies are prepared to give up anything or learn anything. This was made abundantly clear in a recent press interview with General Alexander, the British military commander for Burma. Questioned on British intentions toward Burma, Alexander shouted: "Of course we shall take Burma back; it's part of the British Empire." The closing of all discussion on India's freedom again proved the Allied failure to understand the cause of the defeats in Asia and also the fact that no specific proposal is now made on India again exposes the sham of the Allied post-war plans.

What Is the War For?

In the early stages of the war, Churchill was able to say, "Our aim is to win," and nothing more. But today that is not enough and in England and America the people want to know what they are supposed to be fighting for.

What do the Allied proposals consist of at present? There is, firstly, agreement on German disarmament. Both Welles and Marshall and, of course, the liberal press assert this. Germany must be deprived of all the weapons of war and placed at the cold mercy of the Allies. Then there is the large sentiment as represented by Vansanti that Germany must also be dismembered, torn limb from limb, reduced industrially to a third rate power.

One of the strongest fears of all the imperialists is that they will not end the war but that an end will be put to it by the masses of Europe in revolt. Nothing causes them more sleepless nights—both Hitler and the Allies. To assure themselves against this the Allies propose to police Europe militarily. As after the last war, they propose to use their armies to suppress all popular revolutions, all workers' movements to take power. They, the imperialists, will dictate the peace, not the masses.

This proposal, which was made in great detail by Welles, will be greeted joyously by the German industrialists and the bankers. They can now feel assured that a German workers' revolution to establish socialism and end private capitalist property will be "properly handled" by the Allies.

A third proposal is for some kind of a League of Nations with military power, dominated by Britain and the U.S. It is noteworthy that this is a retreat from the lukewarm and hazy liberal proposal for a United States of Europe.

United States imperialist dominance is asserted in all these plans. No freedom for any colonies is anywhere included.

Stalin Jumps In

This is the post-war world, this is the peace of the Allies. The first and most complete acceptance of this imperialist world outline came from the Kremlin. Stalin's war aims fit in quite snugly with a post-war imperialist world. But Stalin wants to make certain that his claims are in early. Stalin therefore, immediately after the Welles speech, puts in his claim for Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Bessarabia.

The fact that Welles' speech proposes policing of Europe by imperialist armies for the suppression of revolution does not disturb Stalin for the simple reason that he approves of this and would even participate, if permitted to do so.

Stalin intends to give up nothing, but to use the war to extend and make secure his conquests. Stalin's is but the first and most open claim thus far entered. At an Allied peace conference we can expect each of the imperialists to enter a claim for a share of the spoils, each proposing another way to tear apart the peoples of the world for imperialist exploitation.

In next week's LABOR ACTION we shall discuss what socialist "peace aims" would consist of. We shall try to contrast socialist peace aims with those of imperialism, showing why it is that only the former give any hope to a war-torn world.

credit for possessing the brains he was born with. The Stalinists do not. I do.

Furthermore, while my friendly critics give the impression that I had nothing but praise for the movie, the fact is quite different. At least half of my review slams at the very Stalinist palaver that made them so mad.

As for the \$1.30—try and get it!
Susan Green.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

A Letter from a Missouri Sharecropper

To the white sharecropper and day laborer. Will you please wake up? And don't sleep so sound? You have been asleep for years and now is your time to wake up.

I have been seeing your mistake for some time. And now I am going to make it plain to you, so plain you can't deny it.

Old Boss has been telling you so much stuff until it keeps you about half angry with me. He shows you the place that you should not associate with that you are white and ciate with them "dam Niggers." He you should not take up time with Niggers. Well, kind white friends, here is the point. He don't want you to take up no time with me and he shure as hell ain't going to take up no time with, only when he is trying to put you against me.

Listen, my dear white friends, you are I are in the hole together you won't let me get out and Old Boss won't let you get out. Everytime I get near the top, old boss will have you pull me back. Any time you get near the top he will nock the hell out of you and tell a lie on me and say that "dam nigger" did that. All of this is to keep you and I separated. He knows good and well if you and I get together pull together and

work together he won't have a possible chance. That's why he works so hard to keep us separated.

To get the job done, it takes unity. Lets forget about the collar and get together and try to be somebody before we work our fool self to death trying to please old Boss and it cant be done. Lets make the same fool out of him that he thinks he have made of us. We are ready are you all? If so just gimme the word, lets go.

By a S.E. Mo. Day Hand
J.J.J.

Letter from St. Louis On the Sharecroppers

Dear Editor:

Please send me five subscription cards.

I think the special offer is a swell idea. And I believe that several thousand new subs will be the result. I like your articles on the Missouri sharecroppers' fight for better wages. I have heard that the CIO Council in St. Louis has taken up the case of these people and are doing a good job in lending them aid and moral support. I understand their own union officials are not doing everything they should to help them. If that is so, they should be exposed to the high heavens. It is bad enough to have to fight the reactionary land-

lords without having their own officials try to stifle their attempt to better their conditions.

P. V.
St. Louis.

Wants Information About Renegade

Dear Editor:

The other night, while listening to the radio, I heard an official government propaganda program which has become very popular. It is known as "Report to the Nation." This particular patriotic session dealt with the use of air power, and the part I listened to gave a story about America supporting China in the war; how America would never let the Chinese people down, etc.

At the end of the program the announcer informed us that the script was written by one Harold R. Isaacs, a name that had a familiar ring to it. Could this be the same Harold R. Isaacs who wrote a book on China called "The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution" and who, according to the introduction by Trotsky, "approaches the revolution as a revolutionist?" The author of this book, which describes China's effort to free itself of western imperialism, claims to be an "orthodox" Trotskyist and has many a scathing remark to make about American imperialism's dirty

work in China. He keeps mentioning such facts as "British and American gunboats promptly opened up a bombardment of the city (Nanking)... (page 164); "The leading role played by the Americans in the bombardment of Nanking on March 24..." (page 194); "American, British, Italian, French and Japanese gunboats

open fire repeatedly..." (page 425); "American, British, Italian and German planes made Chinese skies horrible for the defenseless peasants..." (page 425), etc., etc.

Of course, all this took place some time ago—maybe Anglo-American imperialism has changed now!

If this is the same Isaacs, we won-

der what the "living fighters of the Chinese Revolution," to whom his book is dedicated, would think of the author's base desertion to the imperialist cause.

Henry Judd.

Contributor Replies To Protest Letter

Dear Editor:

Allow me a few lines of precious space to answer Irving Howe and Henry Judd on the subject of the movie, "Native Land," which I reviewed for LABOR ACTION a few weeks ago.

I believe my good colleagues were so incensed at the Stalinist attempt to twist the struggles of labor in its own behalf into far-fetched war propaganda, that they failed to see two things. First, the subject matter of the movie is vivid, stirring stuff and remains that in spite of the Stalinist twist of the narrative. Second, the Stalinist effort to make a connection between the struggles of labor and the present imperialist war was a complete flop. Some reviewers in the capitalist press sensed this and—as indicated in my review—became alarmed for "national unity." One might conclude from this alarm that at least some writers for the capitalist press give the ordinary worker

Max Shachtman Writes On:

CHINA IN THE WAR

Marxism on the Wars of Colonies for Independence and the Wars of Imperialism for Colonies

A 12 Page Section attached to the 32 page issue of The New Internationalist for June

The First Section Will Contain:

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

Of Special Interest To Women

—By Susan Green

A feeble effort was made in Congress to include in the bill creating the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps a provision against discrimination based on race or color. However, the law-makers refused to write racial equality into the bill.

Thus, in spite of this slap in the face, Negro women will apply for admission into the WAAC, they will be put into a Jim Crow unit or be refused admission altogether. As in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps, race discrimination will be on parade.

The Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy has loudly proclaimed his opposition to race prejudice. However, not a peep came from the White House to stay this congressional affirmation of race discrimination by the government itself—in a new department under his command.

Mr. Roosevelt's policy of the left hand pretending not to know what the right is doing reveals him as the capitalist politician par excellence. For war purposes he can luxuriate in shining phrases about racial equality—and even throw a few bones to the Negro underdog—knowing full well that the status quo will not be fundamentally changed.

The status quo no capitalist politician wants to upset is the artificial division of the common people—the tricky segregation of black from white—so that the masters can continue ruling them both.

Not only did the WAAC start off on the foot of race discrimination, but it has taken the well beaten path of favoritism, pull, drag or whatever you may want to call it.

"Some War Department officials, acting as individuals, have promised a small number of women here that they could be assured of commissions in the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps."

Thus, Nona Baldwin begins a column-long report to the New York Times from Washington on May 29th. She goes on to explain how everybody in Washington "denies" or "is amazed" or "depletes" or "promises fairness to all." But she returns to the original accusation:

"It is admitted here that the known instances of personal assurances to aspirants that they should receive commissions are few, but there is unimpeachable authority that such assurances have been given."

That little word "known" attracts attention. How about the UNKNOWN instances of favoritism? Favoritism doesn't like the bright lights. It prefers a dim-out or, better still, a black-out.

The Wallaces and Wellises are spilling lots of oratory about the PEOPLE these days, but THE people still pull the strings in Washington.

Many of the thousands of women now going into the factories have a big question-mark in their minds about the future. These new workers are certainly not all going back after the war to a safe and sheltered place in the home. A war always leaves an increased number of women bread-winners because so many of the male bread-winners are consumed as cannon-fodder. This war will pile up more dead than any other, and correspondingly more women will find their place has shifted into the factory.

What will women bread-winners be earning in the post-war period? Let us have a look at women's wages after the last war.

The depths to which post-war wages for women then sank is almost incredible, as revealed by a wage survey for 1918-19, covering 33,000 women, prepared by the New York State Department of Labor. Of those 33,000 women, 3,300 were receiving less than \$6.00 a week—a coolie wage! Of the same group 17,490 who were "better paid," earned between \$6.00 and \$12. Only a little more than one-third of the women included in the survey got more than the \$12 a week pittance.

These figures should be impressed indelibly on the mind of every woman worker today. Needless to say, women's wages were lower than those paid to men. In 117 plants covered by one investigation, 90 per cent of the women workers taking the places of men were getting less pay than the men—in many cases as much as 50 per cent less.

Thus in the post-war period the women became the most victimized and exploited workers. And the reason was that they did not have the weapon of self-protection against the bosses, namely, union organization. This mistake must not be repeated. Today women have the advantage of their labor being in demand. Today, therefore, they must do something about their future. The question-mark in the mind is not enough. Action is called for.

Now is the time for women to join the unions—to demand equal pay for equal work—to peg up the wage scales—to become strongly organized to resist the post-war squeeze. This will benefit not only the women workers, but every man on the job and every worker-soldier who will return from the battlefields. For only organized might and complete solidarity will enable the working class as a whole to handle the avalanche of post-war problems.

Readers of LABOR ACTION will remember that in our recent series of articles exposing the home-grown fascists of this country, it was pointed out that these political gangsters will concentrate on anti-war sentiment in a demagogic attempt to get popular support.

"We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America, Inc.," is the anti-Semitic, anti-labor vehicle of the female contingent of the American fascists. Up to two months ago it was carrying on its dirty work openly in thirty-two states. Lately it has taken on protective coloration, to escape attention. However, you can bet dollars to doughnuts that by whatever names it is now known, it smells just as bad.

As the casualty lists lengthen and the heartaches deepen, the fascist rats will scurry about busily trying to corral war-hatred. And war-hatred is bound to grow. Take for instance, the radio messages sent by Private Irving Strobinger describing the final battle for Corregidor: "I know how a mouse feels. Caught in a trap waiting for guys to come along and finish it up.... Every one is howling like a baby. They are piling dead and wounded in our tunnel."

Such war horrors, multiplied as the war continues, will make hearts heavy with grief and loathing of war. Women of the working class, be on your guard against the gnawings and nibblings of the fascist rodents. They are against the Jews. They are against the Negroes. They are against labor. They are NOT really against war. They APPROVE of what Hitler did in Europe. They want a regime like Hitler's for this country.

To give true, constructive expression to war-hatred, join forces with LABOR ACTION. It exposes both sides of the war as imperialist. It stands for permanent world peace through SOCIALISM.

Exploding a Popular Myth:

Is There Democracy in Britain's Army?

Last year there was a great deal of fanfare about so-called radical changes in the caste-bound British army. It was turning into a "people's army," no less—though, of course, in the service of the same old imperialist masters.

Then suddenly very little was heard about "democratizing" the British forces. And one wondered. Therefore, of great interest is a letter from London by S. L. Solon, published in the American Mercury of June, 1942, on the subject of "Why British Soldiers Complain."

One has to conclude from the facts Mr. Solon presents that the process of democratization has been stymied—that is, if it ever even got started. The following from the English magazine, the New Statesman, summarizes the situation:

"The new generation of subalterns, with the approval or by the orders of reactionary commanding officers, have gone back to the polished cross straps, swagger canes and Mayfair moustaches of another

day. The officers' mess is again a class stronghold into which men who may be fine soldiers but are not considered 'sahibs,' find their way with difficulty. Our new conscript armies are less democratic than our professional army of two years ago."

Mr. Solon amplifies the above. He says that examination boards are more interested in the class background of applicants for officers' rank than in their military and intellectual qualifications. Boards are known to ask such pointed questions as "Have you any private income?" "Can you afford to be an officer?" "Have you ever ridden to hounds?" Foxhunting, as everyone knows, is the sine qua non of a British upper class snob.

Lacks Spending Money

Of course, the worries of the average private are not that he cannot become an officer. Mr. Solon reports that Tommy's big headaches are his family and his finances. "The Brit-

ish married soldier," he says, "after family allowances are met, is left with only a few cents a day spending money."

Last winter a pitched battle was fought in Parliament over soldiers' pay. There was a proposal that the allowance to a soldier's wife be increased to \$8.00 a week with \$2.25 more for each child, the soldier-father to have the munificent sum of 30 cents a day, or about \$2.00 a week. The government rejected this increase, picaresque as it obviously would have been. The total cost of the increase for the entire army would have been less than nine days' current British war expenditures. Mr. Solon comments on this unfair allotment of war expenditures: "There appears to be little doubt that hidebound notions of economy afflict the Treasury whenever service pay is brought into question."

In the course of the debate in Parliament, a Capt. G. C. Grey quoted a soldier as saying:

"It seems to me that cannon fodder is the only form of unrationed commodity available in unlimited quantities at pre-war prices."

To this frank evaluation of the situation by a soldier, Captain Grey added his own comment: "That is a bitter remark, but there are tens of thousands of men who feel bitter, too."

A lieutenant commander told the House of Commons that thousands of young men are being financially ruined, and concluded: "We are laying up an awful legacy of social unrest when this war comes to a conclusion."

At long last the government agreed to increase the total allowance for a soldier with a wife and three children by just \$1.00 a week, namely, from \$12 to \$13. Mr. Solon reports that "A general army horse laugh greeted the announcement that the increased allowances would be tax-exempt."

S. G.

Pearl Buck's Theory of a "Racial War"

—By H. Allen

In an article in the New York Times of May 31 entitled "The Race Barrier That Must Be Destroyed," Pearl Buck, the novelist on the Orient, puts forward her solution for the "race problems" arising out of the imperialist war. She observes the discrimination and exploitation of the colonial peoples and sees all these peoples stirring as never before, in resentment against imperialist domination. And she asserts that the "colored man is no longer willing to endure his inferiority." Her conclusion is that in the future the dominant white nations must "heav on our course not according to past lines of race and empire but along new lines of common humanity and cooperative equality."

At no point in her long article does Miss Buck indicate what this "cooperative equality" looks like—so far as the masses of people are concerned. Their wages, hours of work, standard of living, political rights—of these she does not speak. Nor does she indicate how "cooperative equality" is to be achieved. Does cooperative equality mean socialism? Or does she mean, by it, capitalism along the lines of American "democracy"? The British style of "democracy" with ruthless colonial exploitation gives her some qualms. Besides, she implies, it is the United States, not Great Britain, which will decide the destiny of the colonial countries, assuming a United Nations victory. Thus, presumably, the "American way" (capitalist style) is what she would approve as a model, if only the American bourgeois order would lop off the "distressing" Jim Crow which bears an embarrassing resemblance to colonial exploitation and race superiority in the East.

Miss Buck writes: "The plain fact of the matter is, and the sooner we realize it the better, that too many of the people of the East have not helped the people of the West in this war. The white man... has been afraid to tell how desperate and hopeless it is.... If the Allies had been fully aided by the colonial population, Japan could have won no territory whatever."

The statements are true. But apart from small groups in Burma, whom Japan has managed to buy over, the colonial peoples have not been stirred on behalf of the Japanese imperialists either.

Why not? If this is a "race war," as Miss Buck indicates, why didn't the masses of Singapore and Burma welcome their racial colored brothers (the Japanese) and aid them en masse in the struggle against British and Allied imperialism? Why don't the teeming millions of the Indian people extend a hand of welcome to the Japanese and aid them in throwing off once and for all the white British imperialist yoke?

Miss Buck's "race war" finds China (one yellow nation) on one side of the imperialist camp, subordinated today to the requirements of American and British imperialism; and Japan (another yellow nation) a spearhead of an ambitious rising imperialism on the other side. One yellow nation (Japan) unblushingly bombs and destroys another yellow nation (China), starving, wounding and killing millions of Chinese.

HOW THE COLONIAL PEOPLE SEE THE WAR

With all this evidence before their eyes, the "colored" people cannot but instinctively feel that fundamentally their prospective colored "liberators" from "white" imperialism are not one whit different from their present rulers. They feel that if the Japanese imperialists were victorious they would carry on essentially in the same manner. The "people of the East" already feel that their interests as exploited people make it impossible for them to lift a finger for either side of the imperialist camps.

What Miss Buck doesn't see, and what the colonial masses have yet to grasp, is that they are already a decisive factor in the entire war situation. They can decide their own destiny—free themselves from all domination and set their own independent course—the moment they realize their own strength. They must first put forward their own class program as exploited peoples; find means to arm and defend themselves; and then they will be in a position to expel all invaders. In this sense, the colonial peoples have but to take their own freedom. They do not have to depend upon the good will and "common humanity" of their oppressors.

The "whites," the Western imperialists, are desperate, since they realize that the exploited masses not only do not aid them, but are more than likely to eliminate them from the scene altogether if opportunity arises. The Japanese imperialists also realize that their military conquests will turn to "scorched earth" if the colonial peoples whose countries they have taken over, decide to resist the invaders.

Further, says Miss Buck, "It is possible that we are already embarked upon the bitterest and longest of human wars, the war between the East and the West, and this means the war between the white man and his world and the colored man and his world." Here again is denied or ignored the essence of imperialism, which crosses all color lines. Japanese imperialists, pretending to be banner bearers of the colored peoples, have found it easy to ally their cause with the upholders of "Aryan purity," the German Nazis. The manner in which the common people in each country will intervene will also cross race lines—depending on social and economic issues.

That the "colored man is no longer willing to endure his inferiority" is a fact. He has never been "willing" to endure it. He has not yet learned completely, but is learning fast, how to throw off the yoke. He is finding gradually that color and racial divisions are fostered by his oppressor to prevent his linking his destiny consciously as an exploited colonial with workers in other lands.

WHAT ALLIED IMPERIALISM PROMISES

"The truth is," proceeding farther afield among the colonial peoples, "that India has become the business of the Allies, and is no longer the possession of any country.... Is this anti-British? No; in the truest sense it is pro-British." Here again Miss Buck says more than she perhaps realizes. British imperialism has no standing among the Indian masses. The American imperialists are indeed making India THEIR BUSINESS. Note that the Roosevelt Administration, the great "moral" force in the "democratic" struggle against the Axis nations, has not stated or advised the Indian people to proceed to establish their national independence today.

Democracy? Independence? Abolition of imperialism? The United States SEIZES Martinique; the British SEIZE Madagascar. Do they advise and proclaim the independence of these colonies from French imperialism? Not at all; they are seized for "military reasons" and will be "held in trust" for the French Empire until after the war. And then back again to old imperialist ways!

"The tragic aspect of the whole thing," concludes Miss Buck, "is that the barrier between East and West is an artificial one." This is potentially an accurate and meaningful statement. But it is only the workers and all exploited peoples who can remove this barrier. By the class struggle which pits our class, regardless of race, color, creed or nation, against the imperialist class, regardless of race or color, will come the end of color division, discrimination and exploitation.

Bahamas--Roosting Ground of Windsor and Wally

And Where Strikers Are Shot Down!

The Duke of Windsor and his "The-Woman-I-Love" were paying a visit to Washington last week. The Duke was relaxing from his strenuous administrative tasks of governing the 65,000 people who inhabit the island group of the Bahamas, off the coast of Florida.

But suddenly—after enjoying an excellent lunch with President Roosevelt—the Duke decided to fly back to his "island kingdom" in the Carribeans. Wally's visit—we are so relieved to report—was not disturbed. She is said to be resting comfortably at the Maryland home of her uncle, General Henry Warfield—having a new "hair and face-do," while a drove of specialists check up on her health.

What caused His Dukeship's hurried and undignified departure?

According to a heavily censored dispatch from Nassau, capital of the Bahamas and a winter tourist spot for wealthy Americans, "an outbreak of rioting... which assumed the proportions of a labor revolt," lay behind the Duke's unexpected trip. The rioting, according to the same

dispatch, "led to pillaging and other acts of violence in which at least two laborers were killed and many wounded."

By whom it is not said, but that is easy to surmise.

A later dispatch, however, says that "British garrison troops" did the job. "The demonstrators," says the New York Times dispatch, "were joined by a rabble (he means the people) and swept Bay Street, smashing show windows and looting stores catering to the tourist trade of liquors, expensive English fabrics and rare French perfumes."

Curfew was declared from 8:00 at night until 6:00 the next morning. Nassau was under police and military control.

What was the so-called rioting and disorder all about?

The matter is comparatively simple if we understand a few facts about what is going on in these islands.

Most of the labor among the 65,000 people is Negro labor, and the Negroes far outnumber the whites, who are the officials, rulers and administrators.

The Portrait of a Greek Charlatan:

Highest Bidder Can Have Him--Cheap

By TOM TANAKOS

On May 1, workmen's organizations issued their May Day manifestoes. The most peculiar of all was the one signed by Aristides Dimitratos, general secretary of the "National Confederation of Greek Labor." This was sent to all the trade unions in the Allied countries and also appeared as an ad in the papers.

The manifesto speaks of the cruel sufferings imposed upon the workers of Greece by Hitler's fascist hordes. "... The trade unions and socialist organizations were declared illegal and terrible punishment was imposed upon those members discovered continuing to retain their contact... the most elite militant leaders of labor were murdered or executed... the industrial and social rights of the workers and employees were abolished. Forced labor has been effected and a slavery worse than that of the Middle Ages imposed...." (New York Times, May 1.)

After reading the above, one has to pinch oneself to see if he is awake, for the man who signed the manifesto, Aristides Dimitratos, is himself not only a fascist but was the Minister of Labor in the fascist regime of General Metaxas that was in power until Hitler's gang took over.

Hitler did not have to declare illegal "the trade unions and socialist organizations"—they did not exist. Dimitratos had abolished them during the five years that he was Minister of Labor. In the manifesto, Dimitratos weeps for workers' rights. But it was he and his clique that had wiped away all civil liberties in Greece and paved the way for Hitler.

Nevertheless, Dimitratos is correct in saying that Hitler is murdering militant trade unionists. When Dimitratos was Minister of Labor he persecuted and killed many revolutionists, liberals, trade unionists and intellectuals, and also imprisoned many hundreds. When Hitler's army invaded Greece, Dimitratos fled to the United States without releasing one single prisoner from jail! Thus Dimitratos handed them over to Hitler.

WHY HE ISSUED THE MANIFESTO

The reason for this demagogic manifesto is quite obvious. The peoples in the Axis occupied countries and even the casual newspaper reader in the United States are fully aware that many of the governments-in-exile are infested with fascists. The Allies feel that this is not helping their war effort and have put pressure on the governments-in-exile to drop some of the well known fascists. The Greek government-in-exile, in order to show its good faith, removed Dimitratos from its cabinet. It was easy to cast Dimitratos adrift. He has served his purpose and has no roots in either the capitalist or working class of Greece.

But Dimitratos refuses to quit (\$1,500 a month isn't hay) and this manifesto is an attempt to embarrass the Greek government-in-exile and to portray

This Negro population lives under conditions notorious and typical of the British Empire throughout the world. Suffice it to say that the standard wage is two shillings a day (40 cents).

"Highest Prevailing Wages"

Under the treaty with Britain, by which the United States obtained an air base in Nassau, it was provided that the United States should pay the highest (!) prevailing wage when employing labor to build air fields, etc. Labor leaders in the islands were informed that wages were fixed by agreement between the British and American governments.

But this "fixing" could not answer the fact that increased living costs made it vital for the Negro laborers to obtain more than the "highest" (40 cents) prevailing wage.

When they were told that the treaty between the white imperialists said "wages were fixed," they responded with the only action that gets the workers anything. Thousands of workers employed on the American military projects struck

and marched into the city of Nassau, demanding higher wages. They got British bullets, Duke and Dutches style!

The responsibility for this criminal murder of unarmed workers rests jointly with the British and American authorities. It was they who jointly connived in order to "freeze" wages at incredible lows and perpetuate the virtual slave-labor system that exists in this British colony.

What has happened since the Duke flew back is a deep and dark secret, for not a word has come out since. The Duke made a "soothing syrup" speech, but its effect has not been reported.

This is why the Duke's vacation was spoiled and why Wally is all alone on the sumptuous estate of her uncle, in the equally sumptuous suburb of Timonium.

As for LABOR ACTION—well, we advise the Duke to abdicate before he puts his foot in it again. Our greetings and wishes for victory go to the Negro workers of Nassau in their more than justified strike for the right to live!

H. J.

tray himself as a "leaders of labor" who is alone fighting the battles of the Greek workers.

The Dimitratos case is an interesting one. He was expelled from the Communist Party of Greece in 1924 for corrupting the youth of Athens. He served in minor capacities as a clerk, office worker, etc., for various labor groups in Greece. Later he appeared as secretary of company-inspired "independent" unions. Whenever the threat of bona-fide unionism hit the bosses they would call Dimitratos and SIGN THEIR OWN TICKET; if necessary, he broke strikes. He became notorious as a double-crossing labor faker and was nicknamed "Dimitratos"—double-faced.

When the fascists came to power he was made Minister of Labor. He knew who the militant labor leaders were, and informed on them. The story runs that he loved to have his hirelings question arrested militant workers as to their affiliations. Those who denied them were brought before Dimitratos and he presented them with proof of their connections. With the elite militant leaders of labor out of the way, he elected himself general secretary of the National Confederation of Greek Labor.

When Dimitratos reached the United States, he approached various Greek labor elements and assured them of his friendship for labor and recalled his membership in the CP as proof of this. He visited various workers' centers and sent a cable to Stalin on the celebration of the Revolution. The Greek Stalinist press at this up, reprinted his telegram, interviewed him, and kept quiet about Dimitratos' past reputation, until it was obvious that he was to be dropped from the government.

HIS APPEAL TO THE GREEK SAILORS

Another clause in this weird manifesto reads: "For this the Greek seamen must render their services, with faith and zeal, to the Allied sea transports. The National Confederation of Greek Labor makes known to the Greek seamen that it considers as a matter of national honor the full protection of the families of those who sacrificed themselves in the execution of their duty toward the holy struggle for freedom. We generally assure the victims of war that in a liberated Fatherland they will enjoy the most active support and protection."

There is more in the above quotation than meets the naked eye. The Greek government-in-exile, which owes its existence, in large part, to the Greek ship-owners (all of whom ESCAPED from Greece), published a decree on February 21, providing severe punishment for any Greek sailor refusing to serve on a Greek ship, or serving on foreign ships without authorization from Greek officials. This decree is aimed at the 3,000 or more Greek sailors in the United States who refuse to serve on Greek ships under the conditions imposed upon them. Recent FBI action in rounding up these seamen may be at the request of the Greek government.

These sailors represent one of the most militant sections of the working class of Greece. And the Stalinists in this country, knowing this, have befriended them and exercise considerable influence over them. For obvious reasons, the Stalinists have prevented any militant action and instead have had the Greek sailors' organization humble and humiliate itself for months by begging for "recognition" from Dimitratos, the man who had destroyed the trade union movement of Greece. This "recognition" farce reached such proportions that the trade union leaders of the Transport Federation in England wrote to the Greek sailors to stop chasing this fascist.

When Dimitratos realized that he was going to be purged from the government he "recognized" the sailors' union, which he had previously refused to deal with.

With the above quoted clause in the manifesto, Dimitratos hopes to accomplish two things: (1) To convince the United States government that the recognized leaders of the Greek government-in-exile are narrow nationalist provincials who insist that Greek sailors serve only on Greek ships, whereas he thinks primarily in terms of the interests of the United Nations and wants Greek sailors to sail on any and all Allied ships; (2) to gain favor with the Greek seamen who refuse to work on the Greek ships until many conditions are changed.

Dimitratos is adrift. Desperately he is seeking to sink his roots in a base, any base. The highest bidder can have him... cheap.

Los Angeles Labor Action Forum Presents:

A GUEST SPEAKER

MAX SHACHTMAN

National Secretary of the Workers Party

— O N —

SOCIALISM—the ONLY Answer to Fascism

SUNDAY, June 21 EMBASSY AUDITORIUM

At 8:00 P. M. Room 201, 9th & Grand St.

ADMISSION 20 CENTS

LOS ANGELES

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION FROM THE FLOOR

Editorials

Supreme Court's Dangerous Edict

A dangerous decision, nibbling away a bit more at the right of free speech, was handed down last week by the U.S. Supreme Court when it ruled, by a five-to-four margin, that cities have the right to impose license fees on members of the Jehovah's Witnesses who distribute religious literature for which they seek contributions.

The minority opinion expresses the dangers inherent in the majority decision, when it says that the decision "suppresses or tends to suppress the free exercise of a religion practiced by a minority group."

Chief Justice Stone wrote for the minority that "if the present taxes, laid in small communities upon peripatetic religious propagandists, are to be sustained, a way has been found for the effective suppression of speech and press and religion despite constitutional guarantees." He compared this tax with the stamp tax of American colonial days, which the British rulers then used to curtail "eighteenth century newspapers and pamphleteers, and which were a moving cause of the American Revolution."

That these warnings are more than justified can be seen by the prohibitive fees which were involved in the case. The Jehovah's Witnesses were charged a fee of \$2.50 a day in Fort Smith, Ark., and a fee of \$25 a month at Casa Grande, Ariz. Such fees are prohibitive to small religious or political groups, or to weak trade unions. They can be used as an effective weapon against dissident or radical groups.

As a matter of fact, this weapon has already been one of the main methods used to hinder the propagation of minority opinions in many communities throughout the nation. The decision of the Supreme Court, made no doubt with an eye cocked at the war hysteria which Washington circles are trying to stimulate, merely drives another blow at the already considerably weakened right of free speech.

A Sad Mistake In Detroit

Every time Negro and white workers fall out with one another, the bosses laugh up their sleeves. They laugh because they know that as long as workers are divided, the bosses and the whole boss system are pretty safe.

Therefore, the industrial and political big-wigs who foster Jim Crow as an American institution for the specific purpose of keeping black and white workers from uniting, must have rubbed their hands and chuckled with satisfaction when 350 white workers at the Dodge Truck Division of the Chrysler Corp. in Detroit stopped work last week and protested against the transfer of Negro workers to war production jobs in that plant. The exploiters of labor gloated

that even a few workers—against the policy of their union—are still foolish enough to fall into the trap of racial discrimination so carefully set for them.

There was no justification at all for the resentment these 350 white workers felt against their Negro fellow workers. The latter were transferred to better jobs in accordance with seniority provisions in the contract between the Chrysler Corp. and the United Automobile Workers Union—of which both black and white workers are members with equal rights. The misguided white workers were ordered back to work by the field director of the UAW with the statement that "The union policy calls for equal treatment for Negroes."

One might ask whether it was pure and simple race discrimination—implanted in the minds of workers by their class enemies—that motivated these 350 white workers. Undoubtedly, inseparably connected with this boss-created race prejudice was fear for their jobs. They felt that Negro workers in better jobs might threaten their own job security—as if there is such an animal under the capitalist system.

Not the Negro workers, but the industrialists—responsible for Jim Crow—are likewise responsible for job insecurity. Capitalist control of industry is the cause of the economic quicksand under the feet of all workers.

There would be plenty of jobs for all—if jobs were not "rationed" out by the bosses as their profits dictate. There would be enough work to go around—if work were not given or taken away as suits the interests of the master class, in war as in peace. There is an abundance of the good things of life for the entire black and white population—if the good things of life were not in the mangers occupied by the capitalist mastiffs.

Negro workers as well as white workers must have decent jobs and a decent living as befits human beings in this age of technological progress. United, black and white workers can win these essentials and go on to become masters of their own destiny. Jim Crowism must be flung back into the face of the boss class which invented it.

The 350 white workers in Detroit acted against their own interests—and against the interests of the whole working class. They must learn the lesson of working class solidarity.

LABOR ACTION

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WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

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

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

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

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WART

- A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
- Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
- Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3 per cent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTS!

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

SMASH JIM CROW!

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

BE PREPARED!

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

The Role of Owen Whitfield In the Missouri Situation

(Continued from page 1)

organizers; they don't get publicity; they don't get moral support. (All the workers get it letters from Owen Whitfield to the landlord-dominated Sikeston press which attack and repudiate Local 313—the local that organized and led the action!)

It is an almost inconceivable situation, where workers beg for organization and leadership—and the union leadership tells them to go back to work, tells them not to fight for their 30 cents an hour.

In last week's LABOR ACTION we had a full page article exposing in detail the role of Henderson, Whitfield, Nation, Hughes, Fischer and the other Stalinist leaders of the UCAPOA. We urge every reader—especially every reader in Southeast Missouri—to once again read that article carefully. There you will see how Henderson, Whitfield and Nation are trying to break the "stay at home" action, how they're trying to divide black and white workers, how they're trying to smear the real leaders of the action.

This week we want to sum these things up by asking five questions, which are in the mind of every sharecropper and day laborer in Southeast Missouri and which Henderson, Whitfield and Nation must answer:

1) It is now almost a month since the great Charleston meeting. It is now the third week of the "stay at home." What have you, Whitfield, Henderson and Nation, done to help the workers in their action? Isn't it a fact that you, Nation, haven't organized a single worker since you came down to Southeast Missouri? Isn't it a fact that you have spent all your energies trying to get the men back to work? Isn't it a fact that you have spent your energies trying to smear the leaders of Local 313 because they are in the front ranks fighting for 30 cents an hour?

2) Whitfield now says that the Charleston meeting was "wildcat." This he wrote in his letter to the Enterprise-Courier on May 28. But isn't it a fact that Fischer, Blanche Fischer and Hughes—officials of the UCAPOA—were present at the Charleston meeting, spoke at this meeting, endorsed the demands and didn't even hint with as much as one word that this great meeting was unauthorized? And why do you, Fischer and Hughes, sit with your mouth shut when Whitfield tells Lilbourne workers that the meeting was "wildcat?" You know that that is a lie!

WHY NO MONEY, DONALD HENDERSON?

3) And you, Donald Henderson. Why is it that you have money to put a full page ad in the landlord's paper, the Enterprise-Courier, but say you have not a penny to help the workers organize? If you were really interested in helping them win their "stay at home" action, you'd go around to the CIO unions which have big treasuries and ask them for money to help their South-east Missouri brothers.

Why don't you do that? Why don't you appeal to Phil Murray, the CIO president, for money for the Missouri workers? You don't do that because your main interest is in helping Joe Stalin in the Kremlin and you haven't any interest in helping the men get 30 cents an hour.

4) Why do you, Henderson, Whitfield and Nation, give the men this kind of malarky about getting "retroactive" wage increase? You know very well that day laborers may work in one place one day and 20 miles away the next day. No records are kept. The landlord doesn't know who works for him and the worker doesn't know whom he works for. The worker gets paid at the end of the day. Everyone knows that talk of "retroactive" wage increases is just a joke. And when you, Whitfield and Nation, talk about that, you're just trying to get the men back to work, without their having won 30 cents an hour!

5) Why did you, Otis Nation, tell the white Lilbourne project on Friday, May 29, that there was no need for them to come to union meeting scheduled for that night, that the 10 cents an hour wage increase had already been won, and that you were taking care of everything? Why did you lie to these workers and thus keep them away from the meeting? Why did you sabotage the meeting which could have been a great demonstration of the solidarity of the white and black workers, fighting together for a living wage?

WHY DO THEY ACT THIS WAY?

These are only a few of the questions that the militant workers of Southeast Missouri are bitterly asking about the Stalinist leaders. But there is one other question that they also ask themselves: Why do Whitfield, Henderson and Nation act as they do?

Here is the answer: Everyone remembers how skillfully and courageously Whitfield led the 1939 roadside demonstration. But in recent months he and his friends have changed. They are against militant action. They are against fighting for wage increases now. They are in favor only of bringing the question up before a Washington board, like the War Labor Board, which means that the question won't be considered for months and in the meantime the men won't get their 30 cents an hour.

The reason for this treachery is very simple! Whitfield, Henderson and Nation are followers of the (Stalinist) Communist Party. (One or two of them have admitted as much to some workers privately; one or two of them have privately admitted being on the payroll of the Communist Party!) It is now the policy of the Communist Party to knife in the ribs every militant action of the American workers, because Uncle Joe Stalin in Russia is against that kind of action. Uncle Joe Stalin has made friends again with the American government and he is interested only in military aid. He doesn't want his new-found friends in America "disturbed" by any fights of the poor people for 30 cents an hour; therefore he tells his stooges in America to prevent fights for wage increases. And Henderson, Whitfield and Nation do his bidding.

Fortunately, the workers aren't listening to these people. They have their own local—Local 313. They have the support of the St. Louis CIO. And they're out to win 30 cents an hour!

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Croppers "Stay at Home" --

(Continued from page 1)

knows. You can only look at the sky and hope or, if you feel that way, pray.

The workers say that with this long drought, it will really pour when it does rain.

The workers are hungry; but they are determined. They feel that the moment the landlords really want all the labor that is necessary, they will be able to win. And if the centers around Lilbourne, New Madrid, Charleston, etc., win, 20,000 workers will earn \$3.00 a day.

Meanwhile, the landlords alternate private and public threats and statements in the press that they're getting all the labor they need. The workers are not at all fooled by this. If the landlords were getting all the labor they needed, they wouldn't be sending trucks around each morning.

When the action began, the landlords wrathfully stated that they wouldn't employ any workers from the impudent Lilbourne projects. But still, morning after morning, the trucks come and the drivers tell the workers: "Come on, boys. Watcha say, \$2.00 a day. You can take it easy, set your own pace." But the workers say NO.

In the town of Lilbourne itself, the police threatened the Lilbourne workers that if they didn't go to work, they'd be run out of town. But the workers around tell us that this is a big bluff. That's the last thing the landlords want. They don't want people run out of town; they want people run into town. Day by day, the Lilbourne contingent going to work has lessened.

Planters Tell Lies

The planters everywhere are using the same tactics. All labor required is available, they say, and at the same time they use violent threats. Thus, the Southeast Missourian of May 28 says that "from Cape Girardeau, which is about thirty miles from Sikeston and fifty miles from New Madrid, cotton workers were being sent into New Madrid at \$2.00 a day and furnished housing quarters."

Now this shows very impressively until you read it to a Southeast Missouri worker, who laughs at it and says that he knows you couldn't find ten families from Cape Girardeau who were chopping cotton or anything else in New Madrid.

The workers have been croppers for years and know everything there is to know about the situation. And they say that the landlords are lying. This is borne out by some articles in the Sikeston press. On May 28 the Sikeston Herald writes that the planters are going to break the strike and that to do so they are prepared to chop the cotton themselves!

But more serious and vicious is an article in the Sikeston Standard of May 22. The Pole Cat editor (who has at least chosen an accurate name for himself) writes:

"Word has reached this office, via grapevine telegraph, that Negroes in Mississippi County have picked out several farms that they intend to take just as soon as the 'uprising' takes place. This sort of talk is what causes massacres and since the big meeting in Charleston recently where those members of the union took the solemn oath not to chop cotton for less than 30 cents an hour. It is high time farmers got ready to protect themselves. Should Negroes in Southeast Missouri attempt to take land by force then the Cleo Wright lynching would be classed as a very mild incident."

We can see the bitter hatred which this journalistic stooge of the landlords has because the workers have picked themselves up and fight in their self-defense. If there were ever an incitement to violence, it's here.

Another Incitement

Not satisfied with the above, the Pole Cat editor continues:

"Something should be done about the oath taken by cotton choppers at the Charleston meeting that they would refuse to chop cotton unless paid 30 cents an hour and price and a half for overtime. The names of these fellows should be taken and saved until the coming winter when they will be seeking commodities for self and families, then turn them down cold."

But they can get nowhere in whipping up the mob spirit. The white workers are solidly in sympathy with the demands. Of that there is no doubt.

And so Southeast Missouri, the advance guard of the cotton states moves forward. In 1939, at the time of the great demonstration, the whites stood aside. Now they are closer, ready to join the union. Henderson, the UCAPOA president, does nothing to organize the workers. But still the struggle continues, Negro-white worker solidarity becomes tighter and meanwhile landlords and workers alike look up at the sky and wonder when the rain will fall.

SURRENDER:

What Labor Gave Up Since Pearl Harbor

By Henry Judd

Six months have passed since Pearl Harbor and America's formal entrance into the great war. During that time LABOR ACTION has constantly described and exposed the policy of the official labor leaders who, in the name of "national unity" and "everything for the war," have steadily given up labor's gains.

The boss press commemorates six months after Pearl Harbor by summarizing America's war efforts during that period. But, for a working class newspaper, it is far more fitting to summarize the net results of six months of labor's appeasement to Roosevelt and his capitalist masters. The sum total is a gloomy picture and should underscore what LABOR ACTION has repeatedly claimed: A continuation of this appeasement policy will be a disaster to American labor and the union movement.

But first let us bear in mind how President Roosevelt works. He is not the bloody and ruthless totalitarian dictator, smashing his opponent at one round-house blow; he does not rule with the rubber truncheon and the steel fist. No. This skilled spokesman for American capitalism achieves his aims at a slower pace—an inch at a time, if need be—but he gets there just the same. He strips his opponents of their weapons, disarms them politically, persuades them to say "yes," and ends up by framing their signatures on the dotted line.

Here is what this "unconditional surrender" of labor's rights has meant to the labor movement so far. How much further this will go in the next six months depends on the trade unionists. If it is up to the official bureaucrats and the Stalinists, it will go up to the hilt, an "all-out" unconditional surrender!

(1) Labor's right to strike has been abandoned. This was the first, and most fatal, surrender on the part of the unions. This sell-out by the officials was sealed in the AFL-CIO strike "truce" immediately after Pearl Harbor.

(2) Labor has been hogtied to the War Labor Board. Instead of relying upon its own strength, initiative and action, the unions run to the boss-government-run WLB. Here they get either (a) a run-around; (b) a sell-out decision; or (c) a postponement until hell freezes over.

(3) Labor has been victimized by priorities unemployment. The failure of the innumerable Washington boards to correctly plan conversion to war production hits labor first and hardest, since it means indefinite unemployment for the affected industries. Forty thousand in the New York garment area is the latest priorities sore spot announced.

(4) Arbitration decisions granting the closed shop are halted. Labor is denied, by the WLB and the arbitration committees, the finest and most satisfactory fruit of its union struggles: the closed shop. The hypnotized bureaucrats nod agreement, like so many puppets.

(5) The work alleviation program is virtually halted. Senator Byrd's reactionary "curtailment of expenditures" program has been adopted by about 90 per cent, in practice. The CCC is gone; WPA remains only as a vague memory kept alive by a few thousand who still remain on the rolls; the NYA program is either gone, or transferred to training youth for war industries. But there are still 4,500,000 unemployed!

(6) The tax program makes labor pay for the bosses' war. Income taxes are raised on the lower brackets; the base is reduced to an incredible low (\$700 per year); federal excise taxation, etc., has effected everything that labor purchases.

(7) Labor unity was smashed by government-boss interference. The effort to join the CIO and the AFL met the determined opposition of President Roosevelt, who was again aided by the lick-spittle union officials. A chance to advance the union cause was scotched.

(8) Drives to organize unorganized workers have halted. With the exception of the Lewis District 50 drive to organize dairy farmers, not a single major union drive is under way today. But there are still millions of unorganized workers in aircraft, textile, machine, etc. Instead of organizing them, the officials stand pat and continue to draw their salaries for keeping the status quo.

(9) Double time for overtime on Sundays and holidays is gone. Even the Lord said a man deserves to rest on the seventh day (if not, he deserves double time pay!). But the bureaucrats—to prove how generous they are—decided otherwise. So the AFL-CIO gave this up, too!

(10) The longer work week is universal. Forty hours is a distant memory for millions of workers (and there are still 4,500,000 unemployed). Fifty-five, 60, 66 hours are familiar now. It's work, eat and sleep in order to work, eat and sleep again.

(11) No more wage increases, except... Roosevelt, by his direct interference in the shipyard and aircraft negotiations, has said that his "stabilization of wages" program means wage freezing, for the duration. As for the "exceptions," the Missouri sharecroppers can't get even 30 cents an hour, without a bitter struggle. Will the steel workers give up their demand for \$1.00 more a day?

(12) The strikebreaking "work or fight" threat is out in the open. Every time a worker demands something, or threatens independent action, he is met by the Hitlerite threat: work as we say, or get drafted.

(13) Every effort is being made to destroy the shop steward system. The Stalinists, hand in glove with Donald Nelson, lead this sabotage of the unions with their "joint management-workers councils." But the shop stewards represent one of labor's remaining molar teeth, and cannot be abandoned.

(14) The end of installment buying hits labor. This step in the curtailment of labor's ability to purchase accompanies the drive against living standards. Clearly, the end of installment purchasing affects the great mass of small income Americans only.

(15) Skilled labor is "frozen" (chained) to its job. This measure, the latest and most reactionary of Roosevelt's "inching along" schemes, may destroy American labor's right to move about independently and thus raise its standards by initiative. It is the most fascist-like step yet taken!

It doesn't add up to a pleasant sight, does it? Not when all this is done in the name of "the war for democratic survival." It smacks all too familiarly of what has happened to the labor movement in Germany and France, which likewise "appeased" the ruling classes.