

And We're Not Waiting for Santa!

GIVE A GIFT FOR CHRISTMAS! . . .

The Christmas-New Year holidays are approaching. As the old year is rung out, we will hear repeated everywhere the saying: "Peace on earth, good will to all men."

But there is no peace on earth, and very little is left of good will. The entire world is being engulfed in the second and more dreadful of the two world wars. Never were the alternatives of barbarism or socialism, slavery or freedom, war or peace, posed more urgently.

The voice of the working class is being silenced or falsified. Yet it is that voice alone that is able to speak truly of a new and sanely organized civilization. It is that class alone that is able to usher in the new civilization.

Our press is devoted single-mindedly to making that voice heard. We have not lost one iota of our confidence in the working class, in its ability to reorganize world society, and in the certainty that it

will accomplish its great and noble historical mission. We intend to continue being what we have always been, voice and arm of the working class.

The difficulties facing a militant labor paper have not decreased with the outbreak of the war, but rather increased. But so has our determination to continue the fight and bring it to a victorious conclusion.

Our press now asks for, and we believe it deserves, the generous aid of all its readers and supporters. The war has not multiplied the modest sources of revenue that were at our disposal. Our "foreign trade" has been all but crippled by the war. We must rely exclusively now on the aid we can get in the United States. Without increasing this aid, we are threatened with paralysis.

It is a traditional custom to give gifts to friends on Christmas. Our press—LABOR ACTION, the New International—is asking for a Christmas Gift from

you! Relieving the financial burden now carried by the press of the Workers Party, means also more literature published by us, more pamphlets, more organizers organizing, more speakers speaking, more activity in every field of our work.

Comrades, readers, friends of LABOR ACTION—send in a Christmas Gift to our press! Send as large a financial contribution as you can. Send it as a donation to LABOR ACTION. Or you can send it as a subscription to LABOR ACTION for one of your friends, if you do not already have one yourself. In this way, you will be giving a Christmas present both to our press and to your friend.

Give a Christmas Gift and give generously. And as the post-office authorities say, "Mail early!"

JOSEPH CARTER
Editor

MAX SHACHTMAN
Secretary

LABOR ACTION

DECEMBER 23, 1940

Organ of the Workers Party of the United States

THREE CENTS

AFL MILITANTS! REPUDIATE GREEN'S 'NO-STRIKE' PLEDGE

In a radio address delivered the other day, William Green, president of the AFL, made a pledge to the boss government that he would do all in his power to prevent strikes in the war industries.

Was that a labor leader speaking? Only in the formal sense—in the sense that he heads a large body of organized workers. But in any REAL sense, Green was speaking as the boss's man, a labor lieutenant of capitalism.

Who authorized him to sign away the right to strike? Who authorized him to commit his organization against strikes in war industries "not only for trivial reasons, BUT FOR SCARCELY ANY CAUSE." Surely not the underpaid factory workers! Surely not the union rank and file!

What does "scarcely any cause" mean? Lousy wages? Speed-up Open shop? Out of the need to end these insufferable conditions, union organizations were built—the AFL included—and built precisely through strike action.

Labor in the war industries is stirring. Stirring because wages and conditions in these mass production industries, are bad. Many of them are working for 50¢, or less, an hour. That's \$20 for a forty hour week! In aircraft, west and east coast workers (under CIO leadership for the most part) are demanding a 75¢ minimum. And that is a miserable minimum: \$30 for 40 hours of back-breaking toil! Is that insufficient cause for strike? Who will dare say so!

Had Green lashed the profiteers, told them that labor, the back-bone and body of industry, means to get a decent living wage, (no less than \$30 for no more than 30 hours of work), decent working conditions and the closed shop—then he would really have spoken in labor's name. Had Green warned the bosses against any infringement of labor's rights—then he would have acted as the head of a union should act. Had Green pledged STRIKE when necessary, instead of "No Strike"—then he would have truly served labor's cause.

Emboldened by the riches of war production, reaction is swaggering its way over the land. Every mouth-piece of boss dominion (FBI, Roosevelt, etc.) is seeking to throttle labor militancy with the reactionary fingers of anti-labor laws and rulings. Only yesterday, a group of thirty-four educators appealed to Roosevelt that he speed the "defense" program by declaring a STATE OF EMERGENCY; suspend all restrictive laws, whip the masses into subjection with the leash of

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Brewster Aircraft Bosses Are Rolling in War Profits

On November 19 of this year James Work, chairman of the board of Brewster Aeronautical Corp., proudly told the press:

"Brewster a year ago had: unfilled orders of \$2,200,000, approximately 800 employees, and one plant with 182,000 square feet of floor space. Today the company has a backlog of more than \$100,000,000 of unfilled orders, over 6,000 employees and about 884,000 square feet of floor space." He added that the company expected to have 10,000 employees on its payroll in the near future.

The rise of Brewster Aeronautical is sensational even in the rapidly expanding aviation industry. As recently as last July, it had only 3,000 employees. That month it doubled its floor space by leasing the Ford assembly plant in Long Island City, New York. It became the biggest plane manufacturer in the New York metropolitan area and the fifth biggest in the country. Sales for the first half of 1940 were \$4,800,000 as against only \$235,000 for the same period in 1939.

Brewster has grown ten times in size in a single year because it specializes in military aircraft, particularly dive bombers. It has long had the closest relations with the U.S. Navy, for years its biggest customer. Both its top officers came out of the Navy: Chairman Work was for many years a Navy engineer, while President George F. Chapline made his career in the Navy, rising to the rank of Lieutenant Commander. When the war broke out, Brewster was swamped with orders from belligerent nations. Brewster warplanes went to Finland, to Belgium, to France, and, in recent months, have been shipped in large numbers to England.

When the Vinson-Trammell Act as amended last summer, raising limitations on war profits from 10% to 12%, Brewster Aeronautical stock rose sharply on the N.Y. Stock Exchange. This was good news to the company's biggest stockholder: President James Work, who owns 110,304 out of 449,331 shares of common stock outstanding. Within the last year, President Work has become a very rich man—and he intends to remain one. Brewster has two main plants: the rented Ford plant in Long Island City, and a plant at Newark, N.J. New York state levies an income tax on industries; New Jersey has none. For some time now, there have been rumors that Brewster will shut down its Long Island City plant and move out to Newark to escape this tax.

But maybe the thousands of workers in Long Island City will have something to say about this. And maybe they will insist on getting a bigger share of the fat profits Brewster has been piling up for biggest-stockholder Work. Last January, after a Wagner Act election had been forced at Brewster, Work signed a contract with the aircraft division of the United Automobile Workers. The union was then strong enough to force only minor concessions: a week's vacation with pay, and a 2 cents an hour wage increase. Negotiations are now taking place to renew the contract. Brewster is a much wealthier and more profitable company today than it was a year ago. It can afford a really sizeable increase in pay, and a militant hard-hitting union can force such an increase.

Progressives Win Child's Union Elections

NEW YORK CITY—Childs Co. workers, organized in Local 42, Chain Service Restaurant Employees Union, struck a blow for militant unionism by electing the complete "Good and Welfare" slate at the local elections last week. The Good and Welfare Ticket, composed of all the progressive forces of the local, and led by the two business agents, George Popalexis and Margaret Sweeney, gave the reactionary and incompetent administration the worst beating that any culinary local administration has suffered in years.

This victory represented the rank and file revolt against the pro-

company policies pursued by the old officials for some time. The best known candidates of the administration were defeated by decisive majorities, while the progressive business agents were re-elected by 4 to 1 majorities. While the officials based their campaign hopes on personal popularity and favoritism, the Good and Welfare Ticket campaigned throughout on a constructive trade union program. This program was directed toward correcting the existing evils, such as the appeasement of the company by non-enforcement and direct violation of the contract, failure to attend to member's griev-

ances, failure to establish minimum wages for different categories of work, etc. The election saw the Stalinists in the union isolated for the first time. After being excluded from the Good and Welfare slate, they continued to profess support of the ticket. Actually they attempted to knife the ticket by devoting their campaigning to their lone candidate, for recording secretary, against the candidate of the Good and Welfare Ticket. The defeat of the Stalinist candidate, who had served as recording secretary for two years, demonstrated their loss of standing with the member-

AN EDITORIAL

Shall Labor Send Food to Europe?

A lively discussion is taking place in the newspapers over the question: Shall we send food to the suffering regions of Europe, to the people who are starving as a result of the war?

Herbert Hoover, and those who support him, are pleading the cause of "humanity." People are starving in Poland, in

Belgium, in France and elsewhere, and Hoover's heart bleeds for them.

The British authorities declare that their hearts bleed just as much for the suffering peoples on the European continent. But, they say, any food sent to these people will be cornered by the Nazis and used by them for the maintenance of

their military machine. Consequently, England insists that the blockade of the continent by the British Navy must be kept going at all costs.

The Red Cross claims that it has been, and is able, to distribute food to starving people, as in Poland, for example, with-

(Continued in editorial column, page 4)

Coast to Coast Coolidge Tour Begins Dec. 26

David Coolidge, National Labor Secretary of the Workers Party will leave New York December 26, on a national tour that will include most of the Party's branches from coast to coast.

Though comrade Coolidge intends to devote a considerable part of the tour to branch and individual discussions on membership activities, the readers of LABOR ACTION and the New International, who know him through his many analytical articles on the American labor movement, will have the opportunity to hear him speak at public meetings now being arranged in most of the cities he will visit.

Our readers who have come to look upon comrade Coolidge's articles as an indispensable part of the paper will be pleased to know that these will continue throughout the entire period of the tour. Comrade Coolidge will write from the various cities he visits, covering for LABOR ACTION the news and politics of the labor movement.

We urge you to follow LABOR ACTION and local Party bulletins for the latest details on the tour. No reader will want to miss the Coolidge meeting in his city. No reader will want to miss his articles from the field. Watch LABOR ACTION for announcements!

The Schedule for the Tour Is:—

Rochester	December 26-27	Seattle	February 3
Buffalo	December 27-28	St. Paul	February 6
Cleveland	December 28-January 2	Louisville	February 7-8
Akron	January 3-4	Columbus	February 9-10
Chicago	January 5-11	Pittsburgh	February 11-13
St. Louis	January 12-15	Baltimore	February 14
Kansas City	January 16-17	Washington	February 15-17
Denver	January 18	Philadelphia	February 18-19
Los Angeles	January 21-27	Worcester	February 20-21
San Francisco	January 28-February 1	Boston	February 22-23
		Lynn	February 24-25
		New York	February 27

The Negro's Fight

By JACK MANN

We have been patiently waiting to hear from all the "friends of democracy" who have been shouting loudly about saving democracy in Europe to say a little something about the sort of democracy the fifteen Negro sailors of the U.S.S. Philadelphia enjoyed.

Yes sir, these fifteen black boys took the boss propaganda at its face value! The proof is that although they have never enjoyed any real democracy in civil life and were discriminated against from the day they were born, they nevertheless were willing to voluntarily join the armed forces of the United States.

And what sort of "democratic" treatment did they receive upon joining? First, they were denied the right to serve as seamen. It seems that there is some unwritten law which is not embodied in the Constitution or Bill of Rights, (and is,

as a matter of fact, directly in conflict with those much quoted documents) which prevents Negroes from serving in the U.S. Navy on equal terms with white citizens.

Uncle Sam feels that Negroes have a special gift, not enjoyed by any white Americans, which makes them particularly and uniquely privileged to serve in only one branch of navy service—the messmen's branch. Here they must sling hash and act as chambermaids for white officers. In addition, they are given the worst living quarters on the boat and denied any technical training which might be useful in civilian life. Since they cannot serve in any other branch of the service they cannot look forward to any pay advances and promotion.

Well, what happens? After putting up with abuse, insults and hardships, the boys exercised their "demo-

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Brewster Men Stand Fast on Demand for 75c an Hour

Special to Labor Action

NEW YORK CITY—By a unanimous vote at their Union membership meeting held here last Saturday, two thousand employees of Brewster Aero Corporation rejected a proposed contract and instructed its negotiating committee to demand a 75¢ an hour minimum wage and other improved conditions.

The old contract expired last Thursday, and the Union decided to give the company until January 12, 1941 to grant its demands or take strike action. The meeting was attended by workers of the Long Island City and Newark plants.

The contract rejected by the men included a minimum wage of 50 cents an hour, a miserable increase of only 5¢ an hour and other extremely meagre concessions. The men were particularly sore because Brewster which had made several million dollars in profits refused to grant substantial improvements in the new contract. The Corporation has grown from a peanut organization to a point where now it has a 100 million dollar back log and prospective orders from the U.S. Navy for 30 million dollars. (See article on Brewster profits.)

The Vultee strike victory was keenly discussed at the meeting. The general opinion of the men was that while the Vultee boys scored important gains, here in New York the Brewster men have got to do better. They felt that their union is much

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Ryan Aircraft Gets Demands

Special to Labor Action

SAN DIEGO, Calif.—The second major attempt of the CIO to improve wages and working conditions in the aircraft industry began this week at the Ryan Aeronautical Co. here.

Representing 1,500 employees, the aircraft division of the United Automobile Workers of America entered negotiations with the management with an announced determination to obtain a 75 cent minimum hourly pay.

"We will ask for a 75 cent minimum, a general wage increase in all brackets, and a collective bargaining contract," James Dickerson, CIO official, declared.

"We do not expect any trouble because we feel sure that Ryan is fully able to meet our demands," he added.

The Ryan Company manufactures primary training planes for the army air corps, the navy and for foreign governments. It has a backlog of \$10,600,000 orders on which at least 10 per cent profit is assured.

While labor won a victory with the establishment of the 62½ cent minimum at the Vultee plant, over the old 50 cent minimum, no unionist is satisfied with that gain.

Seventy-five cent minimum. That is the battle cry of the aircraft workers.

PRESS ACTION

Labor Serfdom Is NAM Goal Profit Swollen Manufacturers Draft Program

By SUSAN GREEN
"If the hours of work were increased, without a further increase in wage rates and without overtime pay, the general standard of living could continue to increase for some time to come."

Here, in a nutshell, is the basic policy towards labor of the 8,000 American industrialists, represented by 1,000 of them, at their convention just held at the ultra swanky Waldorf-Astoria in New York City.

Surrounded by glamor and comfort—winning, dining, cocktailing, banqueting—the sated industrial plutocrats decided that the workers will be better off if they toil longer hours for little more than they are getting now.

At the same time—pulling down their vests over their bulging bellies—they pompously and unanimously voted for "Recognition of the value of the profit motive as a powerful incentive to productive effort, and of the economic need for profits in industry sufficient to maintain and expand productive enterprise."

In a word: Nothing more than is necessary for the workers—everything for the bosses. UNLESS THE WORKERS CATEGORICALLY REFUSE TO ACCEPT THIS ARRANGEMENT.

Their attitude is etched in all its baldness by their own special report that when the armament program, and the profits therefrom, reach their peak in 1942, "THE STANDARD OF LIVING WILL START A DOWNWARD SLIDE AS IT DID IN EUROPE DURING REARMAMENT". This decline will be due to the fact "that some productive resources must be diverted from consumption goods to armament".

Warn Government

Henry W. Prentiss, Jr., outgoing president of the association, defiantly warned the government that he wants no appeasement of labor: "Whether the urgency is such as to demand industrial output on a twenty-four hour, seven-day basis, and the removal of all restrictive factors for the fullest possible armament production, government, and only government, can say."

If the boss government wants planes, tanks, guns and battleships, the pay-tribotic bosses in turn want the privilege of handling labor in their own sweet way—without restrictive acts and unions. These defenders of the "good American way" demand, instead, a good healthy ANTI-STRIKE LAW.

The sharp warning was hardly necessary. For the government has already loosed its darts against labor. William S. Knudsen, National Defense Advisory Commissioner, and General Motors man, quite properly representing the boss government at this boss conclave. According to Knudsen the forty-hour week, won by labor after decades of struggle, constitutes a "blackout". He said: "Friday night has become the big night in most of our industrial picture. It is used to be Saturday night—we have cut 20% off our machine time. Can we afford to do this? Can't we stop this blackout, this lack of production from Friday to Monday, and get more out of the equipment?"

Not to mention getting more out of the workers' hides, without paying them for it.

The day after Knudsen's speech, the New York Times, licked its editorial lips in anticipation: "We must put our industry on a twenty-four hour basis... Mr. Knudsen has now dealt with the country with courageous realism and candor. It is inconceivable that it will fail to respond to his challenge."

The campaign of the bosses of the country for an anti-strike law is well under way. These good "democrats" having the utmost faith in the "American way" of doing things, have made "an independent survey of public opinion". Naturally they wouldn't think of having an anti-strike law passed unless even the workers themselves want it. We don't know of any coal diggers, plane builders or auto workers who were consulted but their survey reveals—if you want to believe it—that "only 40% of the people think that the loss of the right to strike would curtail their liberties. Many reasons for this may be advanced. One may be that some people still look upon organized strikes as a legalized privilege rather than a

basic right. Another may be that workers themselves have been through strikes and are not so keen about preserving their right. Whatever the reason, the fact is that even among factory workers they do not hold the right to strike as dearly as some politicians have led the public to believe."

Thus the propaganda machine has begun to grind out its filthy lies. At a fake women's panel, broadcast from the convention hall, the question was asked as to whether industry or government red tape was holding up the war program. Lewis Brown, president of the Johns-Manville Corporation (which supplies notorious Tommy Manville with the wherewithal of a "useful" life), replied that it was too soon to tell as to industry and government, but it was quite certain that labor is holding up the program. This so-called panel, supposed to represent American women, was participated in only by women of the upper class. They read their questions from prepared texts and were answered from prepared texts. Had a needle trades worker-woman been there, the panel would have been treated to some shocking and extemporaneous statements!

The program of the NAM would reduce the workers to the status of industrial serfs—slaving long hours, at low pay, without the right to strike. But that isn't enough. These colossal exploiters aim also to pass onto the backs of the masses the cost of the vast imperialist war machine, out of which THEY will be making unbelievable profits.

Thus John W. Hanes, who was under secretary of the Treasury in 1938 (and like so many ex-government officials, has received his reward from private industry), spoke on paying for the war "as follows: "That the personal income tax base be broadened to INCLUDE AS MANY IN THE INCOME TAX SYSTEM AS IS PHYSICALLY POSSIBLE and that there be a moderate increase in the rate of normal tax." THAT MEANS THE MEAGER WAGES OF NEARLY EVERY WORKER SHOULD BE TAXED.

These bloated bellies also aimed a broadside at the unemployed. They are setting up a hue and cry for reduction of "non-defense expenditures". They didn't say it right out in the convention, but what they want is to cut out government appropriations for WPA and general relief.

On the subject of education, it was revealed that the NAM has engaged the services of Ralph W. Robey, Professor of Economics in Columbia University, to abstract all textbooks in the field of history, civics, sociology and economics in general use in the public schools of the country. Then the members of the NAM will be instructed on using the weight of their influence to remove from the schools those books found "prejudicial to our form of government, our society or to the system of free enterprise". Professor Robey is peculiarly qualified for the job. He is such a blind conservative that the Roosevelt administration looks like socialism to him.

The members of the NAM are in the future "to cooperate wholeheartedly with their local educational authorities to analyze sound means by which the concept of private enterprise and the details of its operation may be taught in the schools".

This vicious and comprehensive program of the NAM to dictate the wages, hours, liberties and thoughts of the workers, MUST BE FOUGHT OUT OF EXISTENCE BY THE WORKERS.

Brewster—

(Continued from page 1)

stronger—almost four years old—and that prices and living costs are much higher in New York than in California.

With the excellent fighting spirit of the workers and their 100% agreement on what they want, it looks like they can get a damn sight more from the company than they are getting now.

500 copies of LABOR ACTION were distributed to the Brewster workers as they went into the meeting. The paper was received with much interest and sympathy.

THE UNITED STATES EMPIRE - - ITS HISTORY

Hawaii - - Land of Sugar and Pineapples

By ALBERT GATES

Under the protection of the marines, the "Committee of Public Safety" (C) proceeded to the government building and read a proclamation dissolving the native government, setting up a provisional state to exist "until terms of union with the United States have been negotiated and agreed upon". Within one hour, while the native government was still in possession, the U.S. minister recognized the "provisional government." Liliuokalani was prepared to send her troops against the usurpers, but was persuaded otherwise by her aides, in the hope that Washington would intervene on their side! Commissioners of the provisional government were dispatched to the United States to discuss the question of union or annexation. They found President Harrison and his Secretary of State Foster, extremely friendly. Together they drew up a treaty of annexation, signed it, and sent it to the Senate for ratification on February 15, 1893, four weeks after the outbreak of the revolution!

Blount Report

The Cleveland administration, however, took office on March 4. It withdrew the treaty from the Senate and proceeded to investigate the Hawaiian situation. There followed the struggle in Washington between the expansionists and anti-expansionists. The Cleveland investigation brought out a number of ugly facts to show that the revolution was principally the work of American business interests who were determined to obtain unobstructed control of the island in order to more thoroughly exploit its land and its people. One thing was made clear by the Blount report. He stated that "The leaders of the revolutionary movement would not have undertaken it but for Mr. Stevens' promise to protect them against any danger from the government (the Hawaiian Government—AG) . . . had troops not been landed no measures for the organization of the new government would have been undertaken."

In order to overcome the shock of many "respectables" on the mainland, who reviled "revolutionary actions", the new Hawaiians sought to prove that their revolution was a respectable one. In an "Address by the Hawaiian Branches of the Sons of the American Revolution, the Sons of Veterans and Grand Army of the Republic, to their Compatriots in America Concerning the Annexation of Hawaii" (1893) was not the work of blusters and adventurers, but the most conservative and law-abiding citizens, the principal taxpayers, the leaders of industrial enterprises, etc."

Minister Stevens referred to the leaders of the revolution as ". . . highly respectable men with Judge Dole at the head . . ." In his book, "Since the Civil War", C.R. Lingley wrote: "In Hawaii the more influential and propertied classes supported the revolution and desired annexation." For you see, the only non-respectable revolutions are those which threaten the vested interests of big business—a revolution in the interests of private profits is quite a respectable and necessary thing and the conservative business and land owning classes are not averse to resorting to revolution to obtain their ends. In this case the revolution sought annexation and union with the United States, the principal sugar market for Hawaii. Such a union would automatically mean the abolition of tariffs against the Islands' products, permit it to compete successfully with the products of other countries and thereby enrich the American plantation owners. Not without reason and some humor did one plantation owner answer the question on what caused the revolution: "Simply two cents a pound on sugar—to get some treaty or some arrangement with America."

Recognition from Washington was slow in coming, and the planters

fearful of losing what they had gained from the revolution declared their sovereignty as a republic (July 4, 1894) and sought recognition from other nations. President Cleveland in turn, fearful of what the "patriotic Americans in Hawaii" might do, recognized the new government "without regard to any of the incidents which accompanied or preceded it."

With the election of McKinley, the imperialist program of the Republican Party was put into operation. It called for American control of the Caribbean Sea and the admission of Hawaii as a territory of the United States. Shortly after his inauguration the president presented a treaty of annexation before the Senate. But the democratic bloc, under the two-thirds vote rule, blocked its passage. The Republicans, however, more far-sighted than the democrats as regards American imperialist interests, did not stop at this point. Specifically, in relation to Hawaii, the chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs announced the Administration's policy as follows: "The importance of the question lies, first of all, in the necessity of possessing these islands for a defense of our Western shores, the protection and promotion of our numerous interests, and the welfare and security of our country generally."

Annexation, however did not occur until the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. Then, under the hysteria of war, a joint resolution, requiring only a majority vote, carried and Hawaii became a possession of the United States.

HEAR

THE STORY OF THE THIRTEEN MESSMEN DISCHARGED FROM THE U.S. NAVY BECAUSE THEY PROTESTED AGAINST BEING JIM-CROWED.

Also HEAR

THE STORY OF ODELL WALLER, A NEGRO SENTENCED TO DIE IN THE ELECTRIC CHAIR DECEMBER 27 BECAUSE HE DEFENDED HIMSELF AGAINST HIS WHITE LANDLORD WHO TRIED TO CHEAT HIM OUT OF HIS EARNINGS.

Speakers: Conrad J. Lynn, Prominent Negro Lecturer Madison S. Jones, Youth Director NAACP

At BROWNSVILLE FORUM Under Joint Auspices of Workers Party and Young Peoples Socialist League

Friday, Dec. 20, 8:30 P.M.

at 1779 Pitkin Avenue Brooklyn, N.Y.

state of debt, and therefore subservient to the bosses.

But that isn't all! The Big Five owns the one department store in Hawaii and a number of smaller enterprises. Congressional hearings showed that it also controlled the polls, the legislature, the territorial executive department, the judiciary, the bar, press, radio, churches, the army and navy, the national guard, the University of Hawaii (and professor Coulter) and all labor.

Labor and Wages

E.J. Eagan, an investigator for the National Labor Relations Board, pointed out that The Big Five pays plantation labor a base rate of a dollar a day, operates a speed-up system, intimidates labor organizers and incites racial antagonisms to keep labor divided and thereby impotent to fight for its own interests. An explosive situation exists underneath the apparent placidity which is publicized by a powerful advertising agency.

Big Five employs the Pan-Pacific Press, a subsidiary of Bowman, Deute, Cummings of San Francisco, to control all news from Hawaii. That Press suppresses all labor news, "presenting the sugar barony as a paternalistic 100% American group and keeping to a minimum all reference to the Japanese (155,000), so as not to frighten away from the islands any of the \$20,000,000 a year tourist trade." The co-directors of this publicity program are Harold Lord Varney, ex-Wobbly and former editor of the Fascist magazine, The Awak-

Dear Mary:

I've just finished reading the darndest book. It's non-fiction and at the start of it it seems as if it was going to be hard reading, dry with a lot of facts and figures. But before you've gone very far, it gets good and I sat up nights to finish it.

It's called The Robber Barons and is by Matthew Josephson. It tells the story of the big shots in the years following the Civil War and up to the time Theodore Roosevelt was President. It sure gives a picture of the country when fortunes were being built and the gang of millionaires were establishing themselves.

The author shows how all the big fortunes which were built during that time were based on the control of the railroads. The man that controlled the carrying of raw materials to the factories and the carrying of the finished products to the consumer was top man. He could set the prices which would make or break. And the Carnegies, the Rockefellers, the Goulds, the Fisks and the Hills, as well as a few more, spent all their time trying to get ahead of each other.

There is one priceless story concerning the control of the Erie railroad. Vanderbilt finally succeeded in getting warrants for the arrest of Gould and a couple of others. Gould and his gang fled out of New York and into Jersey, where they set up business in a hotel surrounded by cannon (I have the author's word for this story) and their gang of hired protectors. This 'move left Gould in possession of the Erie railroad, which Vanderbilt was trying to take away from him, but left Vanderbilt in control of New York and Wall Street. They finally kissed and made up, the kisses consisting of two or three million dollars, which changed hands. Then they got together to go after some other railroad and some other millionaire. They were continually quarreling and making up, and the only ones to suffer were the general public and those workers who build the railroads, etc.

The wars between the big shots got so bad at one time that some one had to introduce a bill into Congress for the prevention of cruelty to travelers. The least thing they cared for, these owners, was whether their roads were safe to travel on or not.

The author tells of crisis, investigation committees, quotes Marx and Veblen, and all in all gives quite a picture of the times. The book ends with the building of the big trusts and the big shots regulating their own business, in order to lessen the money loss in these inter-millionaire wars. The book is well worth reading and I think you'll find it interesting. I did.

The steel plant where Sis' boy friend is working is having a little trouble. Ted was telling her that he is working piece work, on a press, and can't make what is supposed to be the minimum of 57½¢ per hour. There's talk of demanding a raise on the piece work, but Joe says they can't get the raise unless they stand more solid together and he wants to know more about the strength of the union before he decides what they can do. You know, he just got the job and doesn't want to stick his neck out before he knows what the score is. Well, he's a good guy anyway. I imagine he'll figure things out in another couple of weeks.

Hope the kids are well, and Joe. Give them my best.

Fraternally,
Sally

1,200 Philadelphia WPA Workers Face Loss of Jobs as Yuletide Gift

By RICHARD SWIFT

Philadelphia—After January 27, about 1,200 Philadelphia women working on WPA sewing projects will be out of work. That is, unless Governor James of Pennsylvania changes his mind.

An act of Congress requires a 25 per cent contribution from the state as its share in financing these projects. Governor James refuses to authorize such payment. His claim is that the state has been overcharged on other projects and that the overcharge is sufficient to take care of the sewing project contribution. Works Projects Administrator Mathews claims this is not so.

While these boss politicians fight it out, hundreds of Philadelphians, who do not understand the niceties of the argument, face starvation.

With the \$63.60 a month Mrs. Ethel Wurzel of Philadelphia earns, she just about covers the necessities of life, she said. Twenty-three dollars a month for rent, about \$32 for food, and there's \$8.60 left for clothing, carfare, medical bills and "luxuries". Sumptuous living for herself and her two sons!

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And now listen to the two professors from the rich man's university (Northwestern), Haas and Cox: "It is . . . difficult to imagine a situation in which the Hawaiian Islands would be happier or more prosperous, whether independent or subject to another world power." Yes, it is difficult to imagine. . . .

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It's called The Robber Barons and is by Matthew Josephson. It tells the story of the big shots in the years following the Civil War and up to the time Theodore Roosevelt was President. It sure gives a picture of the country when fortunes were being built and the gang of millionaires were establishing themselves.

The author shows how all the big fortunes which were built during that time were based on the control of the railroads. The man that controlled the carrying of raw materials to the factories and the carrying of the finished products to the consumer was top man. He could set the prices which would make or break. And the Carnegies, the Rockefellers, the Goulds, the Fisks and the Hills, as well as a few more, spent all their time trying to get ahead of each other.

There is one priceless story concerning the control of the Erie railroad. Vanderbilt finally succeeded in getting warrants for the arrest of Gould and a couple of others. Gould and his gang fled out of New York and into Jersey, where they set up business in a hotel surrounded by cannon (I have the author's word for this story) and their gang of hired protectors. This 'move left Gould in possession of the Erie railroad, which Vanderbilt was trying to take away from him, but left Vanderbilt in control of New York and Wall Street. They finally kissed and made up, the kisses consisting of two or three million dollars, which changed hands. Then they got together to go after some other railroad and some other millionaire. They were continually quarreling and making up, and the only ones to suffer were the general public and those workers who build the railroads, etc.

The wars between the big shots got so bad at one time that some one had to introduce a bill into Congress for the prevention of cruelty to travelers. The least thing they cared for, these owners, was whether their roads were safe to travel on or not.

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Hope the kids are well, and Joe. Give them my best.

Fraternally,
Sally

1,200 Philadelphia WPA Workers Face Loss of Jobs as Yuletide Gift

By RICHARD SWIFT

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Remember the Christmas Day Party Social.

A Marxist Analysis of—

WILL THIS WAR LEAD TO REVOLUTION

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by

MAX SHACHTMAN

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British Provoke Palestine Strike

By J. JACOBY

A wave of strikes directed against the deportation of Jewish refugees ordered by the British Administration is sweeping Palestine. This is the news that reaches us in spite of the tight censorship. From the various vague and veiled dispatches that succeed in reaching these shores we can reconstruct the following:

About two weeks ago one of the many cattle steamers that roam the Mediterranean in search of a haven for its Jewish refugee passengers, reached the shores of Palestine. The British government, pressed as it is with its "democratic" war efforts, found enough time to remember a law passed two years ago forbidding Jews to enter Palestine. Since the British must prove to themselves and the world that they are fighting for a lawful world, they, obviously, could not transgress their own laws and, out of "soft-heartedness," let the refugees in. It does not much matter that the law itself was arbitrarily handed down in a brutal and dictatorial manner. Law is law! So the "law-abiding" British decided on the only course left open to them: deportation. Where to? Inasmuch as Hitler wanted to deport the Jews to Madagascar, the British had to prove the superiority of their own intentions. They therefore chose a better place: Mauritius, an island in the Indian Ocean.

"Patria" Explosion

But here something happened. The Jewish masses in Palestine, and above all the workers, were infuriated. Unable to distinguish the difference between "civilized" Mauritius and "barbarian" Madagascar, they proclaimed a one day general strike.

We have no details on how this strike passed. However, knowing how well organized the Jewish workers in Palestine are we may surmise that the strike was 100% effective.

But you can't ruffle the British authorities with a little thing like a general strike, so they proceeded with the deportation of the refugees. They relocated them from one cattle-steamer onto the slightly larger "Patria". On the eve of departure an explosion of unexplained origin rocked the boat and sent it to the bottom of the sea.

The number of victims of this explosion is still unknown. At the time of writing, over 60 bodies have been pulled out from the sea—mostly women and children. The storm of public opinion that broke out was so great that it reached the battered but still deaf walls of British Parliament. The government was forced to retreat from its previous position, and magnanimously agreed to let the survivors remain in the country. But it sternly warned future "violators" of the sacred law.

The events that followed this edict are unknown because of the censorship. However, news has reached us of a new general strike, this time lasting more than one day, directed against Britain's refugee policy. The Paltor agency dispatch, carrying the above news, mentions the possibility that this strike may last more than two days.

What "noble" act of the government provoked it is unknown. But it seems that 1) either the British rescinded their previous decision to let the refugees stay, and proceeded to deport all refugees who came in after the outbreak of the war, or 2) new boats with refugees came and the government proceeded to deport

them in conformity with its previous decision. The Paltor Agency dispatch adds that the Jewish Community in Palestine is determined not to permit a repetition of another "Patria" incident in Palestine. (Jewish Morning Journal, December 13, 1940).

Speak Our Language

The general strike in Palestine presents some interesting points. Let us remember that the striking Jews are all pro-British, without exception. In spite of this sentiment, however, the reality of the "democratic" colonial administration was enough to evoke as strong a political reaction as a general strike in a time of war. It is this contradiction which will sooner or later force the more advanced Jewish workers to a complete revision of their pro-British sentiments and will direct their natural and progressive hatred of Fascism and Hitlerism into the channels of independent working class action, the Third Camp.

To achieve this the Jewish workers must first free themselves from imperialist, and in some cases semi-Stalinist ideology. Above all, they must achieve organizational unity with the exploited and down-trodden Arab masses.

It is our task to aid in their development with all means at our disposal. We salute our striking brothers in Palestine. They pricked the balloon of imperialist "democracy" and exposed, for all the world to see, the sordid and ugly head of British Imperialism. They rightly answered: "between Madagascar (Hitler) and Mauritius (Churchill) we fight against both, we choose neither." That is our language, the language of the Third Camp.

NEGRO FIGHT

(Continued from page 1)

cratic rights" as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights (freedom of speech) and wrote a letter to the editor of a Negro newspaper (freedom of the press) in which they related the treatment they were being subjected to.

They didn't try to organize any strikes (heaven forbid), nor did they engage in any "sabotage." They merely wrote a letter to a respectable, patriotic, Negro newspaper (which supported Wilkie).

Now, the veracity of their letter could easily be either confirmed or denied. If the treatment they said they had to endure was false, then certainly they would have been put on trial, court-martialed, and exposed as liars. INSTEAD, THEY WERE GIVEN "UNDESIRABLE DISCHARGES" WITHOUT TRIAL!

The reason for this action is clear enough. As soon as their letter appeared in the "Letter to the Editor" column of the Pittsburgh Courier, the boys were promptly arrested and thrown into the brig. They immediately wrote another letter telling of the action taken against them. Letters of protest demanding an investigation of their charges were sent to government officials by the NAACP and other Negro and trade union organizations. The spotlight was being turned on the conditions of the Negro in the armed forces. This wasn't the sort of thing the brass hats bargained for. So instead of a general court-martial which would mean a public hearing, outside counsel, and more publicity, they tried to end the "incident" by discharging the men from the Navy.

But the example of the men on the U.S.S. Philadelphia became contagious. Encouraged by their example, Negro seamen on other ships have gained courage and are "daring" to open their mouths. The letter published in last week's LABOR ACTION by the Negro messmen on the U.S.S. Davis was just a beginning. Other Negroes have also joined the fight. Willard Taylor, in a letter to the Courier this week writes:

"If I had known that I would have to shine shoes, brush clothes and wait on men, hand and foot, I would have preferred staying at home."

Another sailor writes "I want to express my thoughts to you about the United States Navy. It is no place for a colored man, so I beg you colored boys to stay out of the United States Navy."

It seems to us that the "friends of democracy" who are willing to shed the last drop of our blood defending the "freedom" of European democracy (and its possessions in Asia and Africa) will have a difficult time convincing the American Negro that their freedom and democracy must be fought for in Europe.

FACTS AND FIGURES

President Roosevelt announced during the course of the election campaign that Negroes would be given "equal rights" with whites in the armed forces. Let's see how it works out under the Selective Service Act where 80,000 Negroes will be inducted between January 1 and June 1.

THERE WILL BE NO NEGROES ... flying army planes ... as mechanics and ground crews with the army air corps ... as midshipmen at Annapolis ... as nurses ... as physicians and dentists in the medical and dental corps ... in the Marine Corps.

He Stole A Little Coal

Last week a Chicago relief client spent five days in the Bridgeview, Chicago's filthiest jail, for the grave offense of stealing a little coal with which to warm his home.

Given \$9.00 a month in cash and \$12.00 in stamps, good for food only, this single man whose case is typical of many is supposed to pay \$10.00 a month rent. He also has to buy coal for cooking and heating and kerosene for lighting. (Electricity has long been a luxury he can't afford.)

\$10.00 a month is the maximum allowance given a single man for rent, fuel, and light. At present only 80% of the budget is being given. In the above case, the client gets \$8.00 for rent and \$1.00 for incidentals, making a total of \$9.00.

For this generous allowance he has to work five days a month on work relief. Although he has to work out of doors in the present bitter weather no provision is made, except for shoes, for adequate warm clothing.

If he's lucky he may pick up a quarter or so through odd jobs. He is unable to go very far to look for work as he has no money for carfare. When he isn't so lucky, he and hundreds of others like him are forced to resort to begging or stealing for the bare necessities of life. This is the degradation to which the Chicago Relief Administration is forcing the unemployed.

With the Labor Unions— On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

\$1-AN-HOUR MINIMUM—THAT'S THE DEMAND!

The Textile Workers Union is preparing demands on the worsted mills for substantial increases in pay for 90,000 worsted workers. The demand is to be based on the increase in business and profits flowing from government contracts. Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers Union (CIO), said that "the worsted industry is profitable and becoming more profitable. We will not permit employers either in the guise of patriotism or national defense to reap huge profits from lucrative government contracts without distribution of some of the profits to the workers in the form of wage increases."

This is not only the case with the textile industry, but of all the war industries; especially the metal and aircraft industries. They are all mak-

CRAFT UNIONISM PROVES ITSELF OUTMODED

An AFL jurisdictional dispute between the carpenters and machinists was argued in the Supreme Court recently. Assistant attorney-general Arnold argued that jurisdictional disputes and strikes "suppressed competition" and were a conspiracy in restraint of trade within the meaning of the Sherman anti-trust act.

We are not so much interested in Arnold's opinions as in the friction between two workers' organizations, and especially two workers' organizations in the same federation of labor. We are further interested in the fact that the AFL could not settle this dispute in its own ranks without the intervention of the Supreme Court.

The case arose over a strike called by the Brotherhood of Carpenters against the Anheuser-Busch Brewery of St. Louis. The carpenters demanded jurisdiction over mill-wright work that was being done by the International Association of Machinists.

This is an old story in the AFL. They haven't learned yet that the advance in technology makes it im-

THE WORLD AT WAR

Conflict Over Laval Indicates That All Is Not Well in Hitler's "New World Order"

By MAX STERLING

That all is not well in Hitler's "new world order" is the least that one can say in regard to the sensational arrest and dismissal of Laval from the Vichy government. Reports are that he planned to pull a coup d'etat against Petain, declare war against Great Britain and permit the Germans to occupy the southern ports of France for war against the British in the Mediterranean and Africa.

Just what was at stake can only be guessed at, especially as Laval's successor in the Cabinet is the notorious pro-Nazi, Flandin. The situation will no doubt become a little clearer after the results of conferences now taking place between Otto Abetz, Hitler's Parisian representative and members of the Vichy government, are made known.

However, reports from Berlin that the Germans are "unconvinced that France minus Laval is a likely recruit for the Axis new order in Europe," plus the fact that the Nazi press will not publish the news of Laval's dismissal until they have obtained full information concerning

the purpose, intention, and effects of the change, shows at the very least, that Berlin is not pleased with what happened.

MUSSOLINI'S WORRIES

Nor is all well with Mussolini. After the terrible fiasco in Greece, Mussolini has suffered an even more crushing defeat in Egypt. Caught between a surprise offensive by British motorized forces, airplanes and the British fleet, the Italian army in Egypt has been virtually cut to ribbons, driven out of Egypt and has lost at least 75,000 men beside huge quantities of material.

These defeats have revealed the cracks in the Italian totalitarian structure. For one thing the Italian soldiers have demonstrated that they have no heart for the wars forced upon them by Mussolini. A U.P. dispatch from Athens corroborates this by reporting that Italian prisoners are even teaching the Greeks to use the modern Italian equipment captured by them.

The dismissal of Badoglio and other high Italian military leaders, and the abuse poured out on them by the Fascist press, revealed the lack of unity at the very summits of the fascist regime. With the British blockade cutting off 80% of vital Italian imports, the economic situation within Italy is bound to complicate matters for Mussolini. Such drastic decrees, as that which orders imprisonment for one year and crop confiscation for any farmer withholding his production from storage, or that which cancels the right of mine owners to operate their mines should they fail to speed up operations, is indicative of Mussolini's increasing difficulties. To meet these threats to the fascist regime, Adelchi Serena, Fascist Party secretary announced "a battle on the internal front and ordered Fascist Party headquarters to remain open 24 hours a day" and predicted "that the Blackshirts would break up any counter movement."

BRITISH PROPAGANDA

As for Britain's troubles in the war, increasing attention is being paid to them by a whole flood of propaganda let loose in the United States and calculated to achieve the maximum support of the United States for Great Britain.

Sources close to President Roosevelt say that he will very shortly ask Congress to underwrite British war purchases in this country by "direct cash" outlays running as high as \$1,000,000,000 a year. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, for example, has come out for huge financial gifts to Great Britain. "It's time to be realistic" she said "and to think about gifts rather than loans."

At the same time thirty four of the country's eminent "educators" and supposed defenders of "culture" have set the ball rolling toward giving President Roosevelt war time dictatorial powers by urging the following in a statement that they telegraphed to him from their meeting in Princeton: "In our judgment the necessary speed and volume of production will not be forthcoming unless we declare a STATE OF EMERGENCY and enact legislation which will be equivalent to full industrial, military and naval mobilization. This will involve WARTIME POWERS and far reaching collaboration between government, industry and LABOR." (Our emphasis—M.S.)

The same sources mentioned above also declare that President Roosevelt may comply with his "demand" by proclaiming within the next few days the "existence of a full national emergency."

The straight jacket that is being put on the American workers will be relaxed only in one respect. According to Col. Arthur V. McDermott, Selective Service Director, "draftees may enlist abroad without being punished by their local draft boards on the grounds of draft evasion when leaving the country." Naturally this does not mean joining up with the Germans or the Italians. The ruling followed when three draftees went to Canada and enlisted in the Canadian forces. The Colonel evidently anticipates the drift of things.

Bill Green—

(Continued from page 1)

war time totalitarianism. These educators weren't talking out of turn. They gave voice to a policy that has been rumored in Washington for some time. Note the publicity they got!

Green admonished them against haste. "We must not be stampeded..." Let's wait a while—that's what his answer amounted to. But even at that, it is Green, and labor leaders like him, who help the stampede by boot-licking acceptance of servitude for American labor.

We appeal to you, the AFL rank and file, to have your say. Are you willing to surrender life and liberty so that some idling debutante may be given an extra ermine wrap? Are you willing to surrender the right to strike "for scarcely any cause?" Green is your representative. THE AFL is not his, it is yours! Demand an accounting of him! LET THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT RANK AND FILE BE HEARD!

Labor and Wages in Canada

Special to Labor Action

TORONTO, Canada—During the past few weeks Canadians for the first time have been permitted to know of the devastation caused by the bombing of British industrial centers. Indeed, the press now prints the Coventry and Birmingham horrors in the blackest type. Why?

Canada is shortly to float another war loan. The last one nearly failed. The "little fellows"—salaried and professional people—were not entirely sold on the war and the chances of British victory, and sentiment failed to turn into hard cash. An intensely publicized campaign by the insurance companies suffered similarly in an effort to dig up new money. The "little fellows" remember what happened to annuities and insurance policies in Germany in 1923.

The Coventry publicity is an attempt to frighten the middle class into opening previously sealed purses. The response to the coming loan will be important as an indicator of the trends among the middle class. A second failure must drive Ottawa into a frontal attack upon labor, with increased taxation all around.

Strikes Outlawed

But there is more to the terror publicity. The CIO drive that lifted wages in the United States never really affected Canada. Canadian wages have remained deep in the trough of the depression. Early signs of a strike wave, which could be expected in the upturn of industry caused by the war, quickly disappeared. Ottawa, with the assistance of the labor bureaus of the Dominion and Provincial governments, headed off strike action and unionization by inducing the bosses to grant 10 to 15 per cent raises.

Before declaring itself in favor of unionization and collective bargain-

ing, the Ottawa government took care to strip the unions of militant leadership by rushing all trade union officers suspected of "communism" into concentration camps. These camps, in Canada's northland Siberia, contain 1,500 prisoners, a large number of whom are left-wingers.

Thus, with the unions safely in the hands of loyal and "amenable" officials, Ottawa could proceed with its program of miserly increases on one hand, and the rigorous persecution of militants on the other. Strikes in war industries were outlawed; strikers in Windsor were rushed off to jail and possibly to the concentration camps; shipyard workers at Kingston were told that their strike was illegal under the dictatorial "Defense of Canada Regulations;" and Ottawa began to talk about freezing wages at the present level for the duration of the war.

Sacrifices Demanded

The "Coventry line" is designed to prepare the workers for "greater and greater sacrifices." With the middle class reluctant to float war loans, and the munitions makers flatly refusing a five per cent profit basis, obviously it is up to labor to come to the aid of Britain in the hour of her greatest need. McLarty, Dominion Labor Minister, put it bluntly when he announced that the government expected "workmen to consent to stepping up their hours of labor from 44 to 48 or more a week and to accept straight rates of pay rather than overtime for the additional effort."

Not content with seeking a longer work week and frozen wage levels, capital has commenced a loud agitation for wage-cuts. Speaking of the 17 per cent increase won by boiler-makers at the Inglis plant, key armament plant of the Dominion, the

Financial Post charges the increase is "tending to inflation and producing wide confusion in Canada's war effort."

Labor Can Fight

Will labor fight back? The "amenable" trade union bureaucracy, tied body and soul to the government, is certain to do all in its power to induce the workers to accept whatever Ottawa has in store for them. The codes, the existing agreements, are also a big obstacle. But given a couple of score of skillful militant leaders and a well-organized illegal press, labor would fight.

On the Clyde, in 1916-17, we met a similar situation by building the shop steward movement. The trade union officialdom was sidetracked, initiative put in the hands of the rank-and-file. Here in Toronto a couple of unions have taken steps in this direction. Out on the West Coast a group of unions are building up the shop steward system. Let the rank-and-file wrest control of their unions from the "loyal" bureaucrats, and Ottawa will find that a few scare headlines in the press will not suffice to put over wage-cuts and long hours.

Coventry is used to sway public opinion against public works and relief for the jobless. Here in Ontario relief was stopped long ago. Slowly in Toronto 1,600 physically fit heads of families have battled their way back. A railroad worker brings word that the jobless in Vancouver are preparing to fight again. There the unemployed are gathering from all over the West.

As on previous occasions the jobless workers of Vancouver might well again provide the push that will start a forward surge by labor generally.

LABOR Will Have the Last Word, Messrs. Capitalists!

In an editorial of December 14, the New York Times again sheds tears over the sad plight of labor. In its concern, it offers workers some free advice on what they should do about wages, hours and the Wagner Act.

The Times contends that it is against the interests of labor for Hillman or the unions to demand that contracts be withheld from manufacturers, such as Ford, who consistently refuse to abide by the labor provisions of the Wagner Act.

Says the Times: "the policy is a short-sighted one from the standpoint of the interests of labor. The great corporations pay in total amounts incomparably more to the workers than they do to their stockholders. The Bethlehem Steel Corporation, to take a single instance, paid its workers last year more than twelve times as much as it paid its stockholders. Because of an alleged injury to some employees of a company, this policy would work a much greater injury on that company's employes by removing an important and perhaps the determining source of their jobs."

There are two things to be said against this statement and position. First, it isn't always true that total wages are bigger than dividends and interest. Immediately after the first World War there were periods when certain groups of corporations paid more in dividends and interest than in wages.

Here, for example, are a few facts about wage income in relation to dividends and interest. According to the Commerce Department, wages in the main industries, such as steel, coal, automobile, etc., in 1931, were around nine billion dollars, dividends and interests over ten billion. For 1932 and 1933 the situation was the same: dividends and interest were greater than wages in the principal industries.

But these facts are not the most important consideration. *What is really important is the brute fact that the Times has the brazen effrontery to even hint that stockholders are entitled to more than the workers.* The workers, according to the Times and the bosses, should be damned glad to get what the bosses give them. The workers who create this wealth by toiling in the mines, mills and factories have no business getting as much as the loafers who sit in mahogany offices a few hours a day. The workers who risk their lives in the mines are not entitled to as much as the champagne guzzlers, the flappers and the brocaded old ladies who flit between Palm Beach, Newport and Europe. The steel workers are not entitled to as much income as the gilded mistresses and the decrepit coupon-clippers who inhabit Park Avenue pent-houses.

If the workers understand capitalism they will know that this gang of pirates is not entitled to any income at all. They don't work and they produce nothing. They grab what the workers produce and spend it on estates for their offspring and their concubines. They gorge their maws with the best food, and drape their carcasses with the finest clothing. All this while the "52 million shrunken bellies" who produce this wealth by their toil live in daily fear of eviction, hunger and nakedness.

How Long Shall We Tolerate This!

Again and again we wonder just how much longer the workers in the United States will permit the bosses to walk over them and plunder them in such insolent fashion. How much longer will we tolerate a system that gives more to those who don't work than to those who do? When will we dare to break with the economic and political organizations of capitalism and establish the ownership and control of industry by the working class?

Not only do the bosses and their stooges, such as the New York Times, hold fast to their system of oppression and exploitation, they also dare tell us to our faces that we should keep quiet about it and be satisfied—lest they take from us even the little that we have. This is what the Times editorial means: if the parasites and triflers can't have their interest and dividends, then they will not operate the plants. To which we say: "All right Messrs. Capitalists, we'll take the mines, mills, factories, railroads, power plants and the land. We'll operate the plants and cultivate the land. We will feed, house and clothe all the people who work. As for you, Messrs. Capitalists, if you don't work you won't eat."

"We'll take your houses too, and we'll move out of the alleys and slums into these better houses. We'll build more houses, and better ones for all the workers. You'll no longer be able to stuff your fat bellies with the food we have produced, while we starve. We'll build schools and hospitals so that we may be educated and cured of the diseases we have acquired in your sweat shops and tunnels. As for your interest and dividends; there won't be any. We'll see to it THAT THE WEALTH WE PRODUCE AND THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE LAND ARE USED TO BENEFIT ALL THE PEOPLE."

"We'll have our workers' government too, not the fraud that you have imposed on us. And we'll have our workers' army to defend and protect our workers' state against you and all other enemies. We'll gladly serve in our workers' army because it will not be an imperialist army like the one you are forcing us to join today. Our army will fight in the interests of the workers and not to protect your profits, because in our workers' state you won't get any profits. We trust, Messrs. Capitalists, that you understand what we mean."

Editorials

OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

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

Shall We Send Food to Europe?

(Continued from page 1)

out meeting with Nazi interference, and that it is therefore still in favor of food being sent across from the United States.

What should American labor do in this situation? What attitude should it take towards the problem? That there is a problem, we have absolutely no doubt. We know the wretchedness, the devastation, the hunger and homelessness that came with the last world war. There can be no doubt that these are being reproduced in this war. We have seen the photographs of the misery already created and we have read objective and reliable accounts of the sufferings undergone by millions.

Labor in this country cannot be and is not indifferent to these sufferings. But it would be a grave mistake to allow its just and noble feelings of compassion and solidarity with its brothers and sisters in other countries to be exploited for base and reactionary purposes.

We do not have the slightest confidence in the pretensions of any of the statesmen and self-styled friends of the people who have been debating the question of relief to suffering Europeans in the press.

All of them, without exception, subordinate the question of relief to the aim they are pursuing in the war, to the interests of one or another group of warmongers, of one or another camp in the imperialist war.

Hoover is about as much interested in humanitarianism as we are in the progress of alchemy on the remoter planets. He showed his attitude towards hungry and suffering people when he ordered a dose of lead dealt out to the war veterans who marched to Washington. We remember the infamous role his "relief" administration played after the last world war in helping to overthrow the revolutionary government of Hungary in order that the present arch-reactionary regime might come to power.

We know what every informed worker knows about the Red Cross—that wherever labor is involved, it plays a strike-

breaking role. We know what every informed Negro knows about the Red Cross—that wherever Negroes are involved, it plays a Jim Crow role.

We know what every worker ought to know about all the agencies and authorities involved—that they are not interested in the sufferings of the masses, but in what they can do to exploit these sufferings for their own aims in the war.

We are for relief to the hungry and homeless peoples of Europe, the innocent victims of the war-mongers and imperialists on both sides of the fight. But if that relief is not to be used for imperialist purposes, if it is not to be used to bolster up either the British Slave Empire or the rising German Slave Empire, it must be organized and distributed exclusively under the control of organized labor! That is the only way; there is no other.

Is that possible? Yes, it is not only desirable, but absolutely possible!

The American labor movement, primarily the labor unions, should set up their own relief agency. It should collect food and clothing and medicinal supplies and money under its own complete control. It should send its own representatives to negotiate with both sides—to England, and to the German authorities in the occupied territories. The distribution of relief should be carried on in Europe entirely under the supervision of this labor agency.

Think of what it would mean! It would not be the war machines that would be supplied, but rather the starving peoples. Think of what it would mean to the dispirited European workers if they were to receive their relief from American labor! What a wave of new confidence would sweep over them to realize that they have friends, real friends, abroad, not concerned with exploiting them for a continuation of the war, but interested in their welfare, interested in helping them remove the yoke of misery imposed by the war, the yoke of oppression imposed by conquest. Such a relief movement could become a strong weapon in the struggle against the war, against reaction, and against Fascism.

But isn't it utopian to think that this could ever work? Not at all! Everything depends on how well labor organizes its independent relief movement, and on how firmly it bangs its fist down on the table of the war-lords.

If labor is strongly and firmly enough organized for this campaign, it can compel the Nazi authorities to give way, and to permit the distribution of food to those who need it under independent supervision. Of course, the Nazis, if they agreed, would think they are doing it in their own interests. In fact, it is not likely that they would refuse, not because of Hitler's kind heart, but because he would fear to intensify the bitterness and restlessness of the peoples he now dominates.

The British imperialists, too, could be compelled to agree. Again, not because of their tender hearts but because they thought that it would serve their interests, because they would fear to act otherwise.

Everything, including the success of this proposal, depends only on labor's firmness in this country, on its determination to act decisively in behalf of the real sufferers in the war and, in addition, in behalf of American labor's real and best interests.

Defend Victims of British "Justice"

We have just learned from English friends of the persecution of a group of militant Negro colonial revolutionaries, who are now in jail awaiting trial in London. These militants were engaged in a campaign for the liberation of colonial peoples now living under British imperialism. For these reasons they were apprehended.

Under the conditions of the war, information is, naturally, very scant. But for that reason, their case is all the more serious. They need help and they need it at once. The Editorial Board of LABOR ACTION calls upon all readers of this paper to contribute for aid to these colonials. Money is needed immediately for their defense. Send your contributions immediately to:

Labor Action,
114 W. 14th St.,
New York, N.Y.

Name _____
Address _____ City _____

State Department Bars Anti-Fascist Refugees

The treatment of more than 500,000 anti-fascist refugees by the United States has become such a scandal that even sections of the liberal capitalist press have been compelled to deal with this problem and to denounce the reactionary State Department officials in charge of issuing emergency and regular visas. While the Roosevelt administration pats itself on the back for what it calls its aid to refugees threatened by the totalitarian governments, its real actions belie this boasting. As a matter of fact, it is most difficult to obtain the entry of any anti-fascist refugee, unless he is a world-renowned writer, artist or musician,

who has no pronounced views on anything. From the very beginning, the formal decisions of the Administration allowing refugees into the country in line with what they called "the tradition" of American civil liberties, has had only a paper meaning. The President set up what is known as the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, whose ostensible purpose was to act as a clearing house for issuing emergency visas to endangered anti-fascists. Yet this committee has permitted visa applications to lie about for as long as two months without even being read.

Since the defeat of France, where

the overwhelming bulk of the refugees from Germany, Italy and Spain reside, only 500 have been granted emergency visas to the United States. In a series of articles appearing in PM, (New York afternoon daily), Tabitha Petran points out that at the present time only one in a thousand have even the hope of obtaining entrance into this country. The Emergency Refugee Committee, organized for the purpose of obtaining visas for writers, artists, scholars (not workers, you will note) has succeeded in obtaining entrance for about 50 out of a list of 12,000. The exiled writers committee succeeded in bringing 19 persons to these shores.

Militant workers, activists in the European labor movement, who were really engaged in the struggle against fascism, find it virtually impossible to obtain any kind of visas, and at present appeared to be doomed by the reactionary policy pursued by the State Department.

Herbert Agar, editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal, published an editorial which was printed in other papers, calling attention to several of the chief personages responsible for the present State Department policy. These men are assistant secretary of State, Breckinridge, and Avra Warren, chief of the visa division. Breckinridge is one of the most famous leaders of the reactionary

Our Readers Take the Floor...

MORE ON EVENTS IN MICHIGAN U.

To The Editor:

Last week saw another development in the case of the University of Michigan administration versus academic freedom on the campus. For some time now, the administration has been reiterating that the expulsion of some thirteen students last spring was a purely routine disciplinary procedure having nothing to do with politics or the Bill of Rights. As far as it was concerned, the case has always been a closed matter and, therefore, not something which merits an open hearing. In other words its stand has been that it itself without benefit of any faculty and/or student judicial body is in this matter entitled to complete and summary jurisdiction. Unfortunately for the administration, however, not everybody has been ready to accept this facile opinion, and as a result it finds itself with an organized opposition which forces it from time to time to belie its assertion that the case is closed and to retaliate in the good old fashioned way.

One of the latest steps of the administration has been to suspend for a week the two top men on the staff of the Michigan Daily, the managing editor, Herbie Hauffer, and the editorial director, Alvin Sarasohn. The ostensible reason for this action was that the Daily, on November 26, printed a letter from the chairman of the American Student Union written in answer to a letter from the Men's Judicial Council which had appeared in the Daily, and which had come out for the expulsions. The letter from the ASU contained, among other things, a quotation from an article by S. R. Kaye (Nation, Sept. 14) which treated of the reactionary composition of the Board of Regents. Due to a typographical error the usual quotation marks were omitted in the letter as it appeared in the Daily, and it was the charge of the administration that the letter, and the action of the Daily in printing it, impugned the good motives of the Board of Regents. Such conduct is forbidden by a code of "ethics" which the Daily signed last year. A signed editorial apology was made the condition of reinstatement of the two editors. This piece of public dirt eating duly appeared in the Daily. The reinstatement followed.

The administration next turned its attention to the ASU. The officers of that organization were called before the Disciplinary Committee and charged with infraction of university rules. They had thrown a party in the Women's League without permission. They had misrepresented a debate held a couple of months ago between Herb Witt and Prof. Slosson. The decision of the committee was to suspend the ASU for one year, at the expiration of which time it may again apply for legal status on the campus. The administration continues to recognize the ASU in name but all its legal privileges, for example that of using university buildings for meetings, are abrogated. Recognition of the name, but denial of the actuality is an abstract nicety that the administration can afford. Not so abstract is the fact that Margaret Campbell, executive secretary of the Ann Arbor ASU, has been relieved of her scholarship.

As usual there is a thin legal coating for the whole business. But it is obvious to the naked eye that the reasons given by the administration are merely excuses. The university is yielding to the pressure of the State Legislature and the Board of Regents. The former has been for years demanding the suppression of

student and faculty opinion and is now taking full advantage of the war situation to promote its demands. President Ruthven who for years has considered himself a liberal is, in a critical situation, constrained to act as the executive head of an institution which is serving capitalism and nothing else, despite all his big talk to the contrary. This is a perfect example of how liberalism undergoes the test of an ordeal. As for the faculty, they have done nothing, and, in my opinion, will do nothing. They deem themselves safe on the hypothesis that saying nothing at all times is self-insurance. That this is a foolhardy assumption they will find out, as usual, when it is too late.

Because the ASU is being persecuted it does not at all follow that its program is any more correct than it ever was. But I think that, in the interests of preserving civil liberties, it deserves your support. It is obvious that what has happened to the ASU on this campus is an indication of what is in store for any opposition organization in the country, regardless of its program.

Fraternally yours,
Harold Miller
Ann Arbor, Dec. 9.

LaGuardia Cold Shoulders Lincoln Square Tenants

The Housing project now contemplated by the city in the Lincoln Square area of Manhattan's west side, raises a few questions that have the not unfamiliar ring of race discrimination.

First, no provision has yet been made for the rehousing of those evicted from their old homes. Inasmuch as many of the residents are Negroes, finding new quarters will be exceedingly difficult—and expensive. Tenants interviewed by a LABOR ACTION reporter were extremely bitter at the prospect of having to move "uptown"—that is, to the Harlem slums.

Second, although application blanks have been mailed to the tenants for apartments in the new project, no guarantee of acceptance has been given. "Will this be another Red Hook?" asked the tenants. No discrimination was promised at the Red Hook Project. Yes, the proportion of white to Negro tenants there is 50 to 1. Rev. Herbert Banks, pastor of the St. Cyprian's Church on 63rd Street between Amsterdam and West End Avenues, informed us that in only one government project is there no discrimination—and that is in the solid Negro neighborhood along the Harlem River.

Third, will the Negroes be able to meet the rents in the new project, even if accepted? Many are on home relief. Others are compelled by race prejudice to work for extremely low wages.

Allan L. Housman, director of public housing, could give Rev. Banks no greater assurance than that an office would be established to help the evicted dwellers to find new low-rent apartments, and that a limited number of home relief clients have in the past been admitted to the new projects.

A telegram sent to the Mayor asking that some low-cost housing be provided for the evicted tenants was never acknowledged. But the Lincoln Square Tenants League has not given up hope of forcing the recognition of its demands.

What Will New York's Elite Be Doing On Christmas Day?

(18 lines CENSORED Here)

... and all this will take place at the Christmas Day Penthouse Party, at 430 Sixth Avenue (between 9th and 10th Street) starting at 6 P.M. and continuing into the wee sma' hours of the morning. And the amazing thing is that the subscription is only thirty five cents.

From Zig the British CP Has Shifted to Zag

By JOSEPH CARTER

On January 12, 1941 a "People's Convention" to organize a movement for a "People's Government" for peace will be held in London, England.

The Convention Call, addressed to workers, socialists, trade unionists, the lower middle class, "democrats and anti-fascists," is signed by a long list of names which reads like a roll call of the Communist Party. So far as is known, no non-Stalinist organization has endorsed the Convention. The Independent Labor Party will have nothing to do with it. And of course neither will the pro-war Labor Party.

The Call presents the current line of the British Communist Party. The Tory rulers are denounced for helping to place Hitler in power, and for getting the country into the war; for the profiteering, and high prices and taxes which aim to place the war burdens on the masses; for the inadequate air raid protection of the masses. The Churchill Government is attacked for its failure to grant national freedom, and for its "scarcely-concealed hostility" to the Soviet Union. The Labor Party leaders are criticized for their participation in the coalition government.

The Convention Call also proposes six points for the consideration of the delegates: defense of living standards, defense of democratic and trade union rights, adequate air raid precautions, friendship with the Soviet Union, a People's Government, and a people's peace.

The advanced British anti-war workers know the real purpose behind the present policy of the Stalinists and their Convention. They know that the policies of the Communist Party before and since the present war were and are dictated by the reactionary interests of the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy.

Stalinists Supported Present War

For example, before the present war when Stalin was united with the democratic imperialists of Britain and France, the English Stalinists were ready to support the war of their master's imperialist allies against Hitler. When the present war broke out, the British Stalinists, as their French friends in the Chamber of Deputies who voted for war credits, supported the war of Britain against Germany. The Central Committee of the party issued a statement in September 1939 calling for "support of all necessary measures to secure the victory of democracy over Fascism." Despite the Stalin-Hitler pact, which took them by surprise, they still expected that Russia would be allied with Anglo-French imperialism. The C.C. statement therefore summarized the Stalinist position in the first days after the outbreak of the war as follows:

"Indeed, the essence of the present situation is that the people have now to wage a struggle on two fronts. First, to secure the military victory over Fascism; second, to achieve this, the political victory over Chamberlain and the enemies of democracy in this country. These two aims are inseparable, and the harder the efforts to win one, the more sustained the activity to win the other."

A signal from Moscow changed this line. The Communist Party was informed that the Russian-German Pact meant that the British Stalinists must oppose their own government and the war. However, the Stalinist fellow-travellers, the serious People's Fronters, such as Harold Laski, John Strachey, Aneurin Bevan, Victor Gollanz, remained faithful to the old pro-war line.

Opposed Colonial Independence

Today, to cite another example, the Communist Party is for the national independence of the colonial peoples. However, when Stalin was allied with the democratic imperialists, the Stalinists were told that the national independence of the oppressed peoples had to be subordinated to "collective security" against Hitler "in the interests of defeating fascism, the mortal enemy of the working class," to quote the words of a leader of the Communist International, Manuilsky (March 1939). The British Communist Party issued a statement on "The Colonies and Fascism" elaborating on the idea that the "main enemy" of the British colonials was not British imperialism but rather German Fascism; and that the "Trotskyist and semi-Trotskyist type of propaganda which, in the name of repudiating existing imperialist domination, in practice acts as the apologist of fascist aggressive aims in relation to the colonial peoples." (Labour Monthly, August 1939). (The exact same line was pursued by the American Stalinists in regard to Yankee imperialism in Latin America).

But lo and behold, as soon as Stalin's henchmen adjusted themselves to their Fuehrer's alliance with German Fascism, they wrote a new statement ("The Colonies and War") condemning Britain's attempt to drag the colonies into the war (that is, the policy they themselves had advocated yesterday), forgetting about their old bogey of Fascism as the "main danger" in the colonies, and hypocritically announcing that "Communists have always fought for the right of all peoples to complete self-determination..." (Labour Monthly, December 1939). Of course, this time they found it inexpedient to mention the "Trotskyists!"

Their old line called for a "People's Government," a coalition of the Labor Party, Liberal Party and "anti-fascist conservatives"—such as Eden and Churchill—which in alliance with Russia would wage war "in defense of democracy against fascism."

Today, as in the Call for the January Conference, they also call for "A People's Government, truly representative of the whole people and able to inspire the confidence of the working people of the world" and for "a people's peace that gets rid of the causes of war." This government would establish "friendship with the Soviet Union."

What does this "People's Government" mean? Why, of course, any British government which forms a military alliance with Russia! All the rest is mere verbiage. So long as the Churchill government, either because of its own interests or because of Stalin's, does not have such a military alliance the Communist Party will be against British imperialism in the war. However, if the Churchill Government or its imperialist successor does take this step then the Stalinists will forget all about freedom for the colonies, democratic rights for the workers, and particularly the anti-war fighters, in a word, will once again be ardent defenders of Union Jack imperialism. The interests of the British workers play no role whatever in determining Communist Party policy.

LABOR ACTION

Official Organ of Workers Party

Published weekly by the
Labor Action Publishing Company
VOL. 4, No. 37 DECEMBER 23, 1940.
114 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y.
(3rd Floor)

Editor: JOSEPH CARTER
Managing Editor: EMANUEL GARRETT
Business Manager: JOHN BILLINGS
Subscription Rate: \$1.50 per year,
\$1.00 six months
(\$2.00 per year or \$1.50 six months for
Canada and Foreign)

Re-entered as second class matter May 24, 1940,
at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the
Act of March 3, 1879.