

# SHIP SEIZURE IS AN ACT OF WAR!

## Steel Workers-Bethlehem Agreement Only a Truce-- The Fight Has Just Begun

AN EDITORIAL

With a signed agreement covering four points, a truce has been declared between the Bethlehem Steel Company and the workers in the Bethlehem and Johnstown plants of the company. We call the "settlement" a truce because the dispute with the company over the main point—the existence and activity of the company union—is not ended. It is also a truce because the question of wages remains. The NLRB has ordered dissolution of the Employees Representation Plan (company union), but the company appealed this order to the courts and a decision has not yet been rendered. In the meantime the company union continued its activities—even holding an election on company property.

The existence and operations of this company union, aided and promoted by the company, was the chief cause of the strike at the Bethlehem and Johnstown plants. Wages and hours were not directly an issue. The workers struck against the company because Bethlehem was attempting to break the SWOC by giving support and aid to a company stooge union that is in no way representative of the steel workers employed by the company.

### What Is the Company's Record?

What is really behind the situation at Bethlehem, we repeat, is the determination of the company to frustrate and break the SWOC through the medium of a company owned and controlled outfit that is in no sense a genuine union. Let's look at the actual record of the company.

1. Bethlehem violated and continues to violate the Walsh-Healy Act which demands that corporations refrain from "unfair labor practices" such as are outlined in the Wagner Act.

2. Bethlehem stoutly refused to abide by a decision of the NLRB ordering the company to disband its company union. Bethlehem appealed to the courts and continued its support and encouragement to the company union.

Bethlehem holds tremendous war orders from the federal government and is making huge profits. Last year the profits of the company were \$49,679,524, a 97 per cent increase over 1939.

During the past 20 years the little group of insiders who own and control Bethlehem, paid themselves \$36,000,000 in bonuses and salaries.

Yet today Bethlehem pays lower wages than competing steel companies.

During the First Imperialist World War, Bethlehem held up the government for \$25,000,000 by refusing to take government contracts except on terms that would permit the company to pay huge bonuses to officers and owners. A federal judge recently described this action of Bethlehem as follows: "Bethlehem Steel boldly and openly fixed the figures in the estimated cost so high as to give a promise of large bonus profits. The managers of the Fleet Corporation (U. S.) protested. The reply of the company was: 'We will take this contract with the promise of bonus profits incorporated in it, but not otherwise. Take it or leave it.'"

### What Is the Government's Record?

What is the record of the government in connection with Bethlehem? Just as rotten as that of the company.

1. The War and Navy Departments, without any objection from Roosevelt, gave contracts to Bethlehem in violation of the Walsh-Healy Act.

2. When Bethlehem refused to abide by the NLRB order to disband its company union and adopted the subterfuge of appealing to the courts, Roosevelt permitted the company to go its way unmolested.

3. When the question arose over whether or not government administrative agencies such as the NLRB had the power and authority to enforce their decisions, Attorney-General Jackson announced at first that they did. However, when a howl went up in Congress and in the capitalist press, both Jackson and Hillman ran to cover, leaving the field to Bethlehem.

### Picket Line Cornered the Bosses

All of this is part of the background of the last two strikes against Bethlehem Steel Corporation. In the case of the very militant strike in Bethlehem, the company agreed to take all the strikers back with no loss of seniority. The company will continue to meet and deal with representatives of its employees in collective bargaining. The

(Continued on page 4)

## "Democracy" Marches On!



## Whom Do They Represent?

### "Democracy" on Parade—Labor-Haters Trot Out Their Bills

By SUSAN GREEN

Representative Sumners, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, rose in the House and declared that his committee would not hesitate "a split second" to enact legislation to send STRIKERS "to the ELECTRIC CHAIR."

What people does this "representative of the people" represent?

Not the 87 per cent who, according to government figures, cannot afford to buy a normal amount of the consumers' goods produced for sale in this country!

No, not this 87 per cent who have to put up a fight for a little more income when the cost of living rises so much that they can buy even less than their usual sub-normal amount of the necessities of life!

These are the people from whom amidst the striking workmen come. These are the people Representative Sumners proposes to treat as murderous criminals fit for the electric chair. Definitely Mr. Sumners does not represent the underpaid 87 per cent of the people.

Neither does Representative Boren of Oklahoma, who wants to outlaw strikes, thus taking away from the 87 per cent their only means of fighting the bosses for more money.

Neither does Representative Johnson of Texas, who wants labor to "realize the error of defense strikes."

Nor Representative Dies—he of the un-American activities—who

came out with the brazen lie that the Allis-Chalmers strike vote was fraudulent.

Nor Representative Ford of California, who wants to discredit the militant CIO by calling its leadership a "racketeering" and "profiteering" outfit, and proposes a bill making strikes punishable by 25 years' imprisonment or by death.

None of these members of the House of Representatives represent the 87 per cent.

### Same for Senators

Now let us listen in on the Senators, those other "representatives of the people." Do they perhaps represent the exploited 87 per cent? Are the worthy senators championing the workers' right to strike?

Senator Ball introduces a bill proposing "a cooling-off period" which would not take away from the workers the right to strike—oh, no—merely the right to strike when they have a chance to win.

Senator Bailey of North Carolina is "for whatever measures may be necessary to eliminate all possibility of strikes or sit-downs." And he wants speed in stripping the 87 per cent of all power.

Senator Byrd is good at arithmetic when it comes to making out a case against the 87 per cent. He figures out that 500,000 man-days will be lost during March as the result of strikes. But he does not mention that the strikers live on their daily pay and would not give up 500,000

(Continued on page 3)

## In This Issue - -

Resolution of WP Plenum . . . Page 2

Famine Stalks Europe . . . . . Page 4

Editorial: Meyers on the Allis-Chalmers Strike . . . . . Page 4

# Is United States Going to Invade Brazil?

Reports which we consider reliable and indications that are unmistakable point clearly to the fact that the United States is planning to invade Brazil the moment active hostilities with Germany begin.

Some time ago, in a Senate Committee hearing, a high naval officer let slip the fact that the Navy has built a number of "landing boats" at Norfolk, Va., and is training men for extensive landing operations. When asked just where the Navy is planning to land men, the officer replied

simply that it is the Navy's business to prepare for every eventuality.

Since then LABOR ACTION has learned that both the Army and the Navy have a very definite objective in their "training" programs. Great numbers of officers in both branches of the service are taking intensive courses in Spanish and Portuguese, with the emphasis in recent months shifting towards the latter.

The only nation in South America which speaks Portuguese is Brazil. In recent months Brazil has had one

of those strange mass influxes of "tourists" and "engineers" which have been the forerunners of doom in many a small European country in recent months. These particular engineers, however, speak with good Yankee accents rather than German ones. Their main interest has been in searching for graphite all along Brazil's long coastline, and their diggings are invariably covered with sheet iron when they are through. Instead of surveyors' transpises these "engineers" have been using range-

finding instruments. One fine day the U. S. Army may find these "diggings" strangely suited to serve as gun platforms, with the ranges calculated in advance. In addition, the Army has been ordering huge quantities of mosquito netting.

The reasoning, in high Washington political and military circles, behind these careful preparations is the following: The coast of Brazil juts closest to the coast of West Africa. If Hitler wins decisively this summer in Europe, and is foolhardy enough

to actually make a military attempt on this continent, this is his most likely landing place. But these gentlemen are little concerned with the protection of the Brazilian workers and peasants from fascism. Brazil also is the best jumping-off place for a landing on Africa! In any case, Brazil is a sore point in American plans for "coordinating" the Western Hemisphere under U. S. control in the inter-continental imperialist struggle which they see ahead.

Vargas, the local dictator, though supported by Roosevelt in the past

## We Demand That Congress Pass War Referendum Bill-- Let the People Vote on War!

Let's get one thing straight first:

We are not concerned with the property rights of the German or Italian imperialists. We are not concerned with their losing a few or many ships.

The ships, properly speaking, belong to the workers who built and sailed them—and that goes for ships sailing under any flag, anywhere in the world.

We are, however, deeply concerned with an act that involves us in a war that we do not want.

Acting without the authorization of the people, 83 per cent of whom registered themselves against entry into the war in a Gallup poll (reported in last week's LABOR ACTION), Roosevelt

has taken a step—another step—toward military intervention.

Whatever justification Roosevelt's legal experts may dig up in international law (which like most capitalist law can be bent to any use), the seizure of the Italian, German and Danish ships in the various harbors of the United States is an act of war.

Standing by itself, the seizure might be open to some other interpretation—though we doubt it. Coming as it does as one in a whole series of steps, dating back well over a year, the context and the meaning of the seizures are clear.

Roosevelt, without the permission of the people, has entered into a military alliance with the British imperialists. What the terms of that alliance are we do not know. Such things, though they involve our very lives, are hidden in the cloisters of the State Department—available only to the big-wigs who run this country in defiance of our will.

The ship seizure is part and parcel of the interventionist scheme which months ago saw the signing of a pact with Canada—a belligerent nation—to defend its shores in the event of attack and which more recently saw the passage of a war dictatorship bill—the so-called "lend-lease" bill, on which the people had no opportunity to vote.

Roosevelt has proceeded to use the powers given him in that bill. Those powers are sweeping and final. Roosevelt can, under the terms of the bill, involve the United States in war in such a way as to leave Congress no alternative but to approve the already-taken action (even assuming that Congress would want to do otherwise—which you can be sure it does not).

The ship seizure is an act of that kind. It is, in a sense, an unofficial declaration of war—one of the many that Roosevelt has issued and will continue to issue until American participation is formalized at the propitious moment.

There is talk that Roosevelt will order convoys for the ships he plans to send to England under the war powers bill. Convoys for ships going to a belligerent nation are by the very nature of the circumstances military vessels.

Suppose one is sunk by a German raider. The United States would be immediately involved in a hostile act committed by a belligerent. How the newspaper headlines would scream! How the government would whip up another Lusitania hysteria!

Suppose too that one of these (Continued on page 3)

## For All-Out Labor Aid to Ford Strikers!

Labor Solidarity Is the Best Answer To Police Violence

We go to press too early to comment on the latest developments in the strike called by the United Automobile Workers, CIO, at the Ford River Rouge plant.

The information we have at hand now indicates that this may be one of the greatest strike actions of the year. All labor must give it the closest attention, and the maximum amount of support.

Of all the open-shoppers, Henry Ford is the most notorious. By terror and by intimidation he has managed to stall union organization of his plants up to now.

But the UAW has been creeping up on him. Thousands upon thousands of Ford workers have joined up. And the big push is on!

The 7,000 workers in the River Rouge plant who sat down on their jobs showed the way. If ever there was a strike that had the enthusiastic backing of every worker in the plant, this is it! In fact they virtually called the strike themselves. The men are fed up with the anti-labor antics of the motor magnate. They are fed up with the speed-up, the threats, the company surveillance.

Time and again the courts and other government agencies, have slapped Ford's wrists, warned him to mend his ways. These warnings have amounted to so many pieces of paper. The way to get Ford to agree to union organization, to sign a contract with the union, is to organize and take to the picket line in support of the union's demands. And that's what's being done now.

It won't be an easy job, but Ford can be cracked. Bethlehem was tough, but it had to give ground under the pressure of its organized workers. Harvill, out in California, thought he was tough—but he had to concede victory to the strikers. Ford is tough—but the union has his measure and he can be brought down to his proper size.

No doubt, every instrument at Ford's disposal will be brought to bear against the strikers. The press will howl and the army will bellow. There will be violence.

Violence against pickets is getting to be the fashion more and more. Only this week the papers reported the vicious assault on the Allis-Chalmers pickets by an armored car; they also reported violence against the Harlan County miners who are

(Continued on page 3)

# The Political Situation and the Party's Tasks

We print below the main political resolution adopted by the recently held Plenum of the National Committee of the Workers Party. Our readers are invited to send in letters of comment to our correspondence column on the resolution. Because of the space given to the publishing of this resolution, we are compelled to hold over the report of the Plenum by Max Shachtman to next week's issue.

1. Midway through its second year, the war shows every sign of an increase both in intensity and in extensiveness. All expectations of a comparatively brief and decisive struggle have been dissolved by the realities of the war. The Anglo-American camp does not even pretend to visualize an early victory over the Axis, for its perspective is reduced for the next period to the mere attainment of military-technical parity with the enemy, which is in no way sufficient for a decisive outcome in favor of the former. The Axis, on the other hand, has obviously underestimated the vast resources of the British Empire, particularly when backed by the growing military strength of American imperialism. These difficulties on both sides determine the widening of the scope of the war, the extension of the fighting front and of the status of belligerency to one continent after another, to one country after another: Albania and Greece have been war fronts for months; tomorrow, it is likely that this new front will embrace the other Balkan countries. Virtually the whole continent of Africa has been drawn actively into the war, and the exceptions to belligerency, like the territory under Weygand, hover between the borderline dividing an armed truce from renewed hostilities. The needs of the "European" war are forcing the extension of the war throughout Asia and the Pacific. All these factors combine to accelerate and deepen American participation in the war.

The internationalization of the war, in turn, calls for an intensification in its prosecution. If there has been in the past period a comparative lull in the actual fighting on the main front, it is only because of the diplomatic and technical preparations required for more violent and widespread assaults on both sides. These onslaughts lie immediately ahead. Whatever the forms or the arena of conflict, all these indicate a long duration of the war. Hence it is necessary for us to introduce a certain modification in our original analysis and perspective. The war has already lasted longer than we forecast and will last longer yet without a revolutionary solution of the crisis. The continuation of the war is not due to the strength and virility of world imperialism, but rather and primarily to the weakness, dispersal and disorientation of the working class and particularly of its revolutionary leadership. The war has generated and will continue to generate revolutionary situations, in which the state power slips from the hands of the bourgeoisie and is easy to seize by the working class. In the two most important of these cases of this war, Poland in 1939 and France in 1940, the revolutionary situation produced only abortions. Hence, along with the modification referred to above, which must be made in one direction, it is necessary for us to introduce another modification in our perspective; this time in the opposite sense, that is in the direction of greater emphasis: it is impossible to overrate the decisive importance of the revolutionary leadership in the coming period, without which the decay of imperialism will give way to barbarous stagnation of society instead of to a socialist reorganization.

2. A political evaluation of the military-strategical problems of the war reveals a fundamental situation that speaks volumes for the weakness and instability of world imperialism, and not for the strength and firmness which it seems, superficially, to enjoy. In 1914, Germany readily entered a war on two main fronts and was able to conduct it for three-four years. In the second World War, Germany, despite its greater apparent strength and solidity, seeks with desperate fear to avoid a war on two fronts, and to impose a two-front war on its enemies who seek, no less desperately, to avoid one. England and America try everything in their power to involve Berlin-Rome in a struggle in the Balkans, in Northwest Africa (Weygand), and in the East (Soviet Union). Berlin and Rome try everything in their power to involve England in a war with France and Japan, to involve the United States in a war in the Pacific while it is preparing to aid England in Europe. The position of Stalin's régime is so precarious that it fears a war even on one serious front, much less two. Another aspect of the military problems and policy of the warring imperialisms deserves more attention than it has received. The big powers, in spite of their need of more and more man power on the increasing and widening fronts, are either hesitant about arming whole sections of the people they rule over, or else fail outright to arm them. Hitler disarms the conquered French and Czechs and Norwegians and Poles, and mans their frontiers with German troops, not because they are fully reliable but because they are less unreliable. England, which presumably has hundreds of millions of people at its disposal in its Indian and Malayan empire, fears to give arms to this vast human reservoir of military power, and mobilizes only a tiny fraction of its colonial slaves. To the extent that it is forced to mobilize more of them, because there are not enough of the less unreliable master-race white troops to protect its imperilled interests, it necessarily raises and arms a power that will prove more menacing to the doomed British Empire than do its present imperialist rivals.

These facts testify again to the incurable inner weaknesses of all the ruling régimes, to the tremendously explosive material on which they are all seated. They give further objective justification to our basic revolutionary perspective and to our optimism.

## THE AIMS AND PURPOSES OF U. S. ENTRY INTO THE WAR

3. The formal entrance of the United States into the war has not yet taken place for two main reasons, primarily because of its lack of military preparation, and secondarily because of the passive resistance of the masses. How long it will be before the United States is directly in the war cannot, of course, be foretold. The imperialist rulers may find themselves obliged to enter the war "prematurely" and in spite of their unpreparedness, for wars are not engaged in in accordance with plans and time-tables. England was also obliged to enter the war "prematurely"; the United States may be forced to act quickly to prevent an early Hitler victory in Europe or to prevent further Japanese expansion over American imperialism's chosen preserves in the East. In this connection, we must envisage the possibility that America's first military blows may be delivered, if not by choice, then by compulsion, in the Orient, in the war against Japan.

The stupid, philistine notion that the United States is entering the second World War to "help England win" or to "help democracy," becomes more ludicrous every day. America's aims in the war are the most cold-bloodedly cynical and narrow national-imperialistic. Naturally, the United States does not want England defeated by Germany and Japan, any more than Germany wants Italy defeated by England. More precisely, Germany cares less about Italy being defeated than it does about England being victorious—and the United States cares less about England being defeated than it does about Germany and Japan being victorious. It is only in this strictly practical and narrowly temporary sense that Germany-Italy-Japan and the United States-England are "allies." Germany is not fighting to preserve or extend the Italian or Japanese empires, but rather the German. The United States is not going to fight to preserve or extend the British Empire, but rather to fall heir to it and to extend its own, 100 per cent American empire.

In this sense—and this is the only sense in which the war and the alliances can be intelligently understood—the American warmongers are entirely right in saying that England is fighting America's battle and not the other way around! If the United States enters the war, it is worth repeating constantly, it is not to bring victory to England, but to defeat Germany and Japan (America's imperialist rivals), to prevent England from emerging as the victor, and to assure the dominance of the United States over ALL the belligerents, ally as well as foe, in deciding the revision of the world at the end of the war. That is why the United States, while at peace, has already made deeper encroachments upon the British Empire than has the latter's warring enemy, Germany! Canada is already more of a protectorate of the United States than of England, and formal declarations by Wash-

ington affirm this fact. The United States is already part possessor of England's western colonies, from Newfoundland down to South America, by virtue of the naval bases deal. Australia and New Zealand depend more upon Washington than upon London in the approaching Pacific and South Seas storms. Every war materials purchase made in the United States, by England is not only paid for, but highly paid for. Moreover, the American bourgeoisie is compelling the once proud Britons to disgorge every shilling and dollar of their investments and holdings in the United States in return for the material aid in the sacred struggle for the Christian and democratic way of life.

4. America's all but formal entry into the war has brought with it a big war boom, economically, which will easily exceed that of the last World War in this country. With seven years of the "New Deal" behind it, in which the bourgeoisie proved incapable of solving the problems of the crisis in times of peace, it is now proceeding to "solve" the problems by setting up a tremendous "artificial" war economy alongside of or as a substitute for the "normal" capitalist economy. As in the totalitarian fascist states, the "government-as-market" tends to replace the "market-as-governor." The tremendous war expenditures already appropriated are only a small part of what will yet be appropriated. The bourgeoisie scarcely knows from one day to another how much the war will cost eventually, and it is obliged to revise the estimates for appropriations almost every month. It is even now a little frightened at the faint notion it already has of the terrible economic dislocation and disruption, to say nothing of the political and social consequences involved during and especially following the war. It seeks, in vain, to escape from the inexorable and disastrous outcome of the contradictions of its dying social order. It is unable to ignore the command of "expand or die!" even while it fears that the war for expansion may end with a staggering economic collapse and decisive social convulsions.

A terrible war burden has already been imposed upon the country. A far heavier and more terrible burden is still to be imposed. In a sense, the class struggle in the United States will increasingly take the form of a struggle of the bourgeoisie to shift the whole burden upon the masses, and of the workers to unload that burden from their own shoulders. Given the vast resources in raw materials, modern machinery, population and capital at the disposal of the bourgeoisie, it is not likely that the struggle will immediately assume extremely sharp forms. The strength and wealth of the United States give the ruling class here far more room for maneuvering and more basis for concessions than it had in Germany, for example, eight-ten years ago. Yet, as the war proceeds the difficulties will multiply and the struggle will grow more acute.

In connection with the struggle that has already begun and will be intensified in the period ahead, it is necessary to introduce another modification in our perspective as it relates to the development of totalitarianism in the democratic countries during the war. The modification does not deal with the basic trend, on which our perspective remains entirely valid, but with the tempo at which the trend is being realized. This modification was already indicated in the political resolution at the last party plenum; with the added experience from England and the United States we have since acquired, it is important for the party's work to repeat and stress it now and for the future.

The trend, both in England and in the United States, is unmistakably toward a totalitarian organization of economy and politics as the only means of maintaining the rule of the bourgeoisie. Entry into the war has undoubtedly strengthened and accelerated this trend, and will continue to do so. However, in our original analysis, we did not give sufficient weight to the counteracting trend, represented by a well organized and undefeated working class movement.

## THE WAR BOOM AND THE GROWING MILITANCY OF THE AMERICAN MASSES

The American workers are just emerging from a long period of depressing mass unemployment. By virtue of the war boom in industry, millions are acquiring jobs for the first time in years. Among these millions, moreover, are young workers, militant and without conservative ties. Four factors operate to make for the militancy, primarily on the economic field in this period, of the working class: a) the desire to make up for the low economic position of the crisis-years and to prepare for the eventual collapse of the war boom which, to one extent or another, they all see in the future; b) the rise in the cost of living, which is already being felt; c) the contrast of their own modest wages with the tremendous war profits already being garnered by the capitalists; d) the desire to reduce their share of the mounting war burden. At bottom, all these add up to the question of the "division of the war burden" among the classes.

The working class here, as in England, is pro-national defense. It would be wrong, however, to describe it as chauvinistic. Its patriotism has been systematically generated by the bourgeoisie by means of a cunning exploitation of the sound anti-fascist feelings of the masses. But while this peculiar brand of patriotism facilitates the imperialist war drive of the ruling class, it is at the same time a hindrance nevertheless.

The workers are for "aid to England"; they are for "national defense from a Hitler invasion." But they are not (at least, not yet) for American entry into the war; and they are certainly not for an openly dictatorial régime at home. Like their "patriotism," so their "pacifism"—both are progressive, or more accurately potentially progressive. In their "patriotism" they express their hatred for fascism; in their "pacifism" they express their sound suspicion of the war, of the warmongers and their war aims.

The ability of the workers to resist totalitarianism is much greater than their ability to resist having the United States plunged into the war. The American workers are more compact today than for years in the past, by virtue of the improvement of the ratio between employed and unemployed. The reduction of unemployment, in part by the war boom and in part by conscription, is restoring the self-confidence of the workers, restoring the feeling among them that they are more indispensable and in a better position to make demands and have them granted than they were when there was a vast army of unemployed in the country. Their feelings in this matter correspond to the reality.

As the bourgeoisie plunges feverishly towards the war, as it strives with might and main to intensify those preparations of men and material which it requires to prosecute the war, as it cries ever louder that this is a war for democracy—it finds itself forced to make concessions to the workers. The workers realize their growing economic power, they concentrate it by flocking once more into the unions. Despite the pleas for "national unity" (by the exploiters) they militantly demand higher wages, better conditions and recognition of their collective bargaining agency, the unions. Despite the pleas for "national unity" (by the exploiters), they do not show any great hesitation in striking for their demands even in those industries and plants occupied with war orders.

Against such a working class, which has not been defeated and therefore demoralized in heavy national battles, the bourgeoisie establish a totalitarian régime, by decree, so to speak. It can advance cautiously in that direction; it can develop a more and more authoritarian régime; it can and will increasingly resort to anti-labor and anti-democratic legislation and regulation, and stimulate extra-legal terrorism against the labor and revolutionary movements; but until it has vitally beaten the working class it cannot proceed to a truly fascist totalitarianism. We see this in England; we see it in the United States.

The main strategical concept of the revolutionary Marxists in the present period is summed up in the Leninist slogan of transforming the imperialist war into a revolutionary struggle for socialism. Reduced to its simplest terms, this amounts to saying, "This is not our war, and we will put an end to it by carrying on the class war at home against our own bourgeoisie regardless of its effects on the military front." It would be sheer fetishism of words if we failed to see that when the American workers go out on strike for their class demands even in war industries, and turn a deaf ear to the bourgeois appeals that "our defenses are being weakened," they are carrying out, in a primitive way, not fully consciously, but yet carrying out the spirit of the Leninist slogan. In its more elemental and elementary form, that is what the prose-

cuting of the class struggle, even in the form of economic demands and strikes of the workers, signifies in the period of war and "national unity."

It is of the highest importance to the party to realize this fully for it must form the basis of our approach to the working class, our work in its midst. The task of the party is, largely, to infuse the working class with full consciousness, to explain to it all the implications of its elementary and primitive struggles, to advance these elementary struggles to a higher level, to a political level, to a national and eventually an international level. A thorough understanding of the meaning of this important modification we must introduce into the tempo of the trend towards totalitarianism, makes possible the formulation of our concrete tasks and slogans for this period.

5. The Communist Party is a major obstacle in the development of independent working class action against the imperialist war and for socialism. As the American agency within the labor movement of the counter-revolutionary Russian Stalinist régime, its policies and practices are dictated by its Moscow bosses in the interests of Russian foreign policy.

In the period of the Franco-Soviet pact, when Russia advocated the "collective security" of France, Great Britain and the United States against Germany and Japan, the Communist Party supported President Roosevelt's war policy of "quarantine the aggressor" and his armaments program. With the change in Russian foreign policy, following the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Communist Party, in order to prevent American intervention against an ally of Stalin—German fascism—opposed Roosevelt's war program. In each case Stalinist demagoguery confused and disrupted the genuine workers' movement against the ruling class and the war.

Today, while speaking in the name of the working class and socialism against the war, the Stalinists seek to corral the anti-war sentiment of the masses which, in the event of a new switch in Russian policy (in support of the "democratic" imperialists against fascism) can be converted into jingoistic channels in favor of American imperialism in the war.

The current conflicts between the Roosevelt government and the Communist Party therefore arise essentially from the clash in the aims of American imperialism and Russian Stalinism in the present war. At the same time the government attacks on the Stalinists are also opening wedges for curbing and suppressing genuine working class militants and labor organizations. The struggle against these reactionary measures demands a simultaneous struggle against Stalinism.

The fight for the liberation of the labor movement from the poisonous Stalinist influence is an indispensable and integral part of the struggle against the war and capitalism, and for working class liberation.

## THE NECESSITY OF A TURN IN THE PARTY'S AGITATIONAL WORK

6. The Workers Party is today in a better position to carry out its indicated tasks than ever before. The party began as an organization composed predominantly of non-proletarian youth, mainly representative of the "locked-out generation" produced in the last generation of the crisis. The firm insistence of the party on its revolutionary internationalist line, on the preservation of its Marxian foundations in principle, on responsibility and activity of every member, and on the proletarianization of the ranks has had an exclusively beneficial effect. The party has succeeded in weeding out or losing unscrupulous or dilletante elements, tired radicals and vacillators, and on the other hand (with the aid of the war boom!) of effecting a radical transformation in the social composition of the party. The party today is well on the road to becoming an organization composed predominantly of young working men and working women. This achievement was accomplished without fanfare, windy boasts and other bureaucratic accomplishments, but by means of planned, systematic and determined work.

The proletarianization of the party, however, means above all the recruiting of new proletarian forces from the industries. By the gratifying transformation of the social composition of the party, we have therefore laid the basis, the only sound basis, for its proletarianization. This, then, is the problem of the moment. It can be solved only in the course of struggle, that is, of active participation in the class struggle. Such participation, in turn, is rendered meaningless and ineffectual unless it is based on the correct slogans, calculated at every given moment to move the working class to the left, to infuse it with greater class consciousness.

7. The accomplishment of this aim requires a TURN, consciously and deliberately made by the entire party. This turn implies no change in the principles or policies of the party, nor even the adoption of a new policy. It relates instead, to the question of where we lay the main emphasis in our agitation, what specific slogans we advance, the manner in which one or another section of our transitional program is put forward and how it is connected with the basic program of the party.

From the time of our founding convention, the party was obliged to lay the main stress on its fundamental program and particularly on its fundamental position against the imperialist war and the preparations for it. No working class party can justify its separate existence, in general, without demonstrating precisely wherein its fundamental principles or program warrant or render inescapable its existence apart from other working class organizations. The need of demonstrating this, especially necessary for a new party, dictated our theoretical and political polemics. These in turn, colored the outlook and conduct of the party.

Our principal need now, however, is to concentrate on propagandistic and especially on agitational slogans which bring us deeper into the mass movement of the workers, and at the same time, taking the workers as they are and as they think today, bring them closer to the organized, conscious struggle against the war and capitalism, and for workers' power. Our slogans must at once correspond to the present mentality of the workers and to their fundamental socialist interests. More accurately, our slogans must be calculated to advance these socialist interests in the speediest manner in terms accessible to the mass of workers in their present stage of consciousness. That is the aim of our basic transitional program. The immediate task is to concretize and adapt that program to the present situation.

The thoughts and activities of the working class (of all the classes) are dominated by or connected with the war and its problems. Our agitation and activities must therefore be dominated by and connected with the war and its problems, bearing in mind at all times that for us the main problem of the war is its revolutionary-socialist transformation.

Given the peculiar combination of "patriotism" and "pacifism" with which the American workers are, by and large, imbued today, it is wrong and sterile to confine ourselves to the negative stand of mere opposition to the war. From this it does not follow, as the Cannonites apparently believe, that we do not AT ALL express our negative position on the war, or that we soft-pedal it so thoroughly as to obscure it to all intents and purposes. Even if the whole working-class were chauvinistic and shouting for war, it would still be our duty to express our "negative" view with militancy and determination; we have added reason for doing so when the mass of the workers is suspicious of the war and the warmongers and is decidedly opposed to participation in it. Our "negative" stand on the imperialist war does not isolate us from the masses. Quite the contrary. We must continue, boldly and vigorously, to make our position on this score unambiguously clear. Only, we cannot CONFINE our agitation to this position; we cannot even permit this position to be the main point in our agitation. The main stress must rather be laid on our POSITIVE slogans and demands. That is, most simply put, the meaning of the turn that must be made.

## ADVANCING POSITIVE SLOGANS AND DEMANDS IN A CAMPAIGN SPIRIT

Our positive slogans and demands, furthermore, lose their effectiveness if they are arrayed like a regiment, hundreds strong. They must be simple, they must be clear, they must be few in number, easily explained and remembered. It is not a question of aban-

doning any part of our program. It is a question of selecting a few that are most topical, most concrete, most easily understood, and most likely to promote the revolutionary development of the workers at the given stage. Putting forward these slogans must be carried out in a systematic, campaign spirit. They must animate and characterize all our activities—in the leadership and the ranks, in the press and the pamphlets and leaflets, in the public mass meetings, in the neighborhood and factory work, and in the individual contact and agitational work of every comrade. They must be so put forward and so concentrated upon that our agitation ceases to be general and therefore diffused, and becomes specific and concrete.

Of such slogans, the main ones the party must put forward in the next period are the following:

**CONSCRIPT THE WAR INDUSTRIES UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!** The government does not hesitate to conscript the lives of the people. Without giving that our approval, but rather condemning it, we demand that the government conscript the war industries, the property of the plutocrats, and put them under the control of the workers. Profits and graft while workers are dying is a double outrage.

**THIRTY HOURS A WEEK! MINIMUM \$30 A WEEK!** Time and a half wages for overtime above 30 hours. For increased wages to meet the rising cost of living.

**NO GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WITHOUT A UNION CONTRACT!** No plant is to be given a government war materials contract unless it has signed a contract with the union on the union standards.

**A CAPITAL LEVY TO COVER WAR COSTS! NO INDIRECT TAXES ON THE PEOPLE!** No sales taxes, no tax burdens on the workers, farmers and lower middle classes. All federal funds for the year to be raised by a steeply progressive tax on all incomes above \$10,000 a year, and a levy on capital.

**LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!** No dictator decision on whether or not we go to war. Let the people decide by referendum, giving the vote to all the people from the age of 18 upwards.

## FOR THE CONSCRIPTS:

**FORMER EMPLOYERS MUST PAY THE WAGE DIFFERENTIAL AND GUARANTEE THE RETURN OF THE JOB.**

**DOUBLE THE WAGES OF THE CONSCRIPTS!** This is an elementary demand, and a modest one, to begin with. In at least one camp, conscripts have already argued for regular union wages.

**THE RIGHT OF THE SOLDIERS TO ORGANIZE AND BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY WITH THE OFFICERS.** Conscripts should certainly not have less rights than workers.

**THE RIGHT OF THE SOLDIERS TO FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS AND FREE ASSEMBLY IN THE CAMPS.**

**DOWN WITH JIM CROW AND ANTI-SEMITISM! COMPLETE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY FOR THE NEGROES IN THE COUNTRY AT LARGE AND ESPECIALLY IN THE ARMY!**

**DOWN WITH ANTI-LABOR, ANTI-DEMOCRATIC, ANTI-ALIEN LEGISLATION.**

**WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS! A PEOPLE'S ARMY!** There are already hundreds of working class and trade union rifle clubs in the country! Let them expand, take in and train new members, unite on a national scale! Down with conscription and capitalist militarism—organize the armed and trained defenses of the workers, for the workers and by the workers!

**AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY AND A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT!**

As already indicated, the emphasis on these slogans, particularly the more topical ones at the beginning, does not imply abandonment of others, but only that the EMPHASIS is upon them. With a change in the situation other slogans of the same type will probably have to find a front-line place in our agitation and activity. A typical example is furnished by the coming struggle against the high cost of living and profiteering. As soon as these are more keenly felt by the masses, it will be necessary to launch an agitation for housewives-consumers-trade union control of rents, food and clothing prices. Similarly with other problems.

The main thing, however, is our emphasis on the concrete, the positive, the timely slogans, the concentration upon them in the form of a campaign which the whole party, individually and collectively, conducts with its entire machinery and all the forces and means at its disposal. Only such a positive program will enable the party to keep and extend contact with the working masses, to build the party, to heighten the class consciousness and militancy of the workers, and, on the basis of their own experiences in the class struggle, to bring them ever closer to the final struggle.

8. The gravity of the world situation and the scope of the tasks we are called upon to fulfill in this country, impose upon the party as a whole and upon every member in it responsibilities such as we have never before been called upon to discharge. It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that in the U. S., as in the rest of the world, the great race is between socialism and fascism, between the new, classless world order and the victory of retrogressive, barbaric capitalism. Without the leadership of the revolutionary-internationalist party, the working class cannot win the race which, for the whole next period, will decide the future of society. The party must therefore be so prepared and so trained as to be capable of fulfilling this great historic task, not only in theory or on paper, but in the actual life of the class struggle. This training and preparation are what is meant by the development of the organization into a truly Bolshevik party.

Such a development of our party requires, first and foremost, that it become an overwhelmingly proletarian party firmly rooted in the principles of revolutionary Marxian internationalism, those principles against which all the tremendous pressure of bourgeois society is now directed. It requires, furthermore, a politically educated and conscious membership. An ignorant membership is not only a bureaucrat's paradise but, worse yet, a membership that is unable to exercise any effective influence upon the masses of undeveloped workers. The educational work of the party must therefore be greatly intensified and concentrated, and be organized much more systematically and planfully than in the past. The political education of the membership acquires its real value, however, only when the fundamental study of Marxism and of topical economic and political questions from the standpoint of Marxism is combined and interpenetrated by direct participation in the class struggle—without which it becomes academic and sterile. No less academic and sterile is a study of Marxism unaccompanied by a stimulation of interest in and bold discussion of new problems, and even of old ones. Such discussion enriches the inner life of the party, enriches the arsenal of Marxism itself.

To say that the party must become truly Bolshevik means also the infusing of every section of it with a deeper feeling of responsibility, of discipline, of devotion, of sacrifice. The party aims at nothing short of the international social revolution, and it must always be conscious of this great and noble and difficult goal. The realization of it means the eradication of all slothfulness, of all dilletantism, of any remnants of the spirit of "socialism in our spare time." An intolerant attitude on the part of all comrades toward these pernicious habits and tendencies, wherever manifested, is a pre-condition to the consolidation of the kind of party the W.P. must become.

Strict accounting and control—this thoroughly socialist concept must be applied not only in the realm of finances or in the future days of workers' power, but today, in our own party and in every sphere of its political and organizational activity. Without it, our party would be ravaged and disintegrated as have other parties before it. With it, the party will develop and flourish, will be consolidated, made more compact, its striking power increased, its ability to discharge its tremendous responsibilities assured for the next period of struggle.

March 22, 1941.

# With the Labor Unions— On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

## BILL GREEN ON HIGH INITIATION FEES

In reply to a letter from Senator Norris, Bill Green, president of the AFL, has a few words to say about the initiation fees of the AFL internationals. Green defends the present initiation fees on the ground that many AFL members object to a lowering of the fees because these members made sacrifices in building the unions and while fighting for decent wages. Green states that these AFL members "show that they were compelled to pay the same amount of initiation fees now collected from new members into the local when they joined..." Furthermore, Green adds: "they protest strongly that non-union men who now secure employment made no contribution toward the establishment of the decent wage scales which prevail, but in securing employment become the beneficiaries of the wage level established by the union, are entitled to all the benefits, and that the union requires the contractor to pay the newly admitted member the same wage scale and to accord to him the same favorable working conditions as every union member employed at the plant enjoys."

This position of Green's violates the fundamental principles of working class solidarity. He puts the thing on an out and out dollar and

## TOBIN ALSO WRITES HIS VIEWS ON FEES

Green sent his letter off last week. This week Tobin of the teamsters writes to Norris on the situation in his union. Tobin's main argument is that Green does not have the power and authority to regulate initiation fees and dues in the AFL internationals. Also, he concerns himself only with the teamsters. He doesn't mention Bill Hutchinson and the carpenters international.

Tobin writes that there a few locals of the teamsters that charge \$100 initiation fees. He found one local in New York City that charges \$250. He also cites the case of some locals in the midwest where the initiation fee is only \$15.

However, Tobin, like Green, misses the main point. And this doesn't concern Senator Norris or anyone else, friend or foe, outside the labor movement. That is, what is the chief function of the trade union movement and how should it go about carrying out this function? A union must have money and it can be secured only from its members. This is as it should be. The workers should and must support their own organizations. But Tobin, Green and other AFL leaders seem to believe that joining fees and dues should be directly proportional to wages received. Also that no matter what the size of the union or the union treasury, the joining fees and dues should remain stationary through the ages.

Tobin says that his international has six and a quarter million dollars in its treasury. Most of the locals and district councils also have fairly large sums of cash in their treasuries. One would think that it would be possible to reduce joining fees and dues from time to time as the membership and the cash balance of the union increase. Should the union face a special emergency such as a strike, then an assessment could be levied which the members would certainly be glad to pay.

One reason, of course, for the large fees and dues is the desire of officers, international and local, to be in a position to pay themselves huge salaries. Tobin gets \$30,000 a year and other officers are paid generous sums. Besides this, they re-

## SOME FIGURES ON THE INCREASE IN LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

The AFL has published figures to show that whereas the profits of business went up as much as 100 per cent in 1940, the average increase in wages was only about 5 per cent. Furthermore, the productivity of the workers increased to such an extent that the increase in wages was paid for by this increased productivity. This means that what the bosses are pleased to call "labor cost" didn't cost the employers anything at all.

Since 1929, the AFL points out, hourly wages have been raised 20 per cent, but the output of the workers per hour has increased 40 per cent. The employers gained \$2.00 in increased production for every \$1.00 increase they paid in hourly wages.

What this means is very easy to understand. If one agrees that the bosses are entitled to profits (we don't agree, of course), then one should understand that an increase in wages does not keep profits down

cents basis. This is "business unionism" with a vengeance. Of course, the men who built the labor movement made sacrifices. High initiation fees may be correct at one time and entirely unjustified at another time. The argument is as follows: "I paid \$50 to join the union 20 years ago and you should pay the same today." Not so much because the union needs the money but because other members paid \$50 years ago.

Furthermore, Green wails over the fact that new men in the union profit from union struggles of the past. The contractors are forced to pay the same wages to new men who didn't participate in these struggles as did the old-timers. Of course! Does Green want to penalize workers who were still in their mothers' wombs when a certain union was built? Or even workers who for one reason or another did not join the union as soon as they should?

To be sure, Bill Green is a muddle-head, but this is too much, even from him. One begins to realize why it is so easy for racketeers to get a hold in the AFL. They probably feel that if Green's philosophy is the prevailing opinion in the organization, they may as well get their's too. Also, on the basis of such a philosophy, these racketeers will find it easy to operate

ceive large "expense accounts." Furthermore, a large treasury under the control of the officers gives them tremendous power. They dispense patronage to favorites and yes-men. They build up a machine that controls the organization, often in violation of all the principles of trade union democracy.

To argue that a worker who will get a wage of \$50 a week should not object to paying a fee of \$100 to join the union is to make a racket of the union. If not a racket, the best that can be said is that such a union is a business like any other business.

The function of the union is to better the economic conditions of its members. The rule and practice should be to have joining fees and dues as low as possible. This should hold especially for joining fees. Joining the union should be made as easy as possible to the end that the unions become mass organizations. Unions should not exist to pay large salaries to officers or to pile up large sums in the treasury in the manner of a business enterprise.

The Oklahoma Senate has passed a bill making it a penitentiary offense for a representative of a union to solicit workers on national "defense" projects for union membership. The bill passed 29 to 11 and was sent to the lower house for action. The fools who voted for this bill said that they wished to prevent the organization of laborers on airfield and army camp jobs in Oklahoma.

Of course, such legislation is unconstitutional and all of that. This is not what we are concerned with, however. Since the war projects are under federal supervision this bill can be only an attempt to keep labor organizers out of Oklahoma and to head off the further organization of workers in that state. These "law-makers" are looking to the future. In their ignorant haste to protect Oklahoma businessmen they forget though, that labor has moved a long way from the 18th century when it was "illegal" for workers to organize. Such "laws" are not as easy to enforce today as they were then.

one penny. Furthermore, when workers sometimes conclude, after an increase in wages, that they should produce more, they should understand that this greater production increases the corporation's profits far out of proportion to the increase in wages. A few crumbs to the workers for increased production, produces a whole loaf for the boss.

This is one of the reasons why workers should not be timid about asking for higher wages. We are talking about those workers who think it is O.K. in general for the boss to live off their toil. Modern machinery and technology make possible tremendous production from each worker. This high productivity guarantees huge profits for the boss.

We say that even those workers who think that capitalism is a blessed event should not be hesitant about demanding more of the wealth they produce in the form of higher and higher wages.

# Act of War--

(Continued from page 1)

convoys, in trying to defend itself, shoots at an attacker. Could there be any other result but war?

We don't know how soon Roosevelt will consider it expedient to declare war formally. He may not do so for a long time—while the sons of American workers are "unofficially" being shot down on various battlefields, land or naval. (The Japanese have not yet declared war on the Chinese!) He may, only the other hand, declare war tomorrow. Roosevelt may know, but we who are to be sacrificed, do not.

Eighty-three per cent of the people polled registered themselves as against entry into the war. In reporting that information, the Gallup Poll directors added that if the Ludlow War Referendum Bill were passed, a majority vote, as provided for in the bill, would undoubtedly be "nay."

Why isn't that bill passed? Why does it linger year after year in a congressional hamper while bills that do not speak the will of the people are rushed onto the floor of the House and Senate and passed?

Why is this bill, which provides an elementary means of democratic decision on a matter of exceeding importance to the life of every working man and woman—why is this bill suppressed?

The answer is simple. Roosevelt and the Sixty Families of Big Business and coupon-clipping wealth whom he represents, dare not let the people decide.

But that answer is adequate only for Roosevelt, for Willkie, for Morgan—the 3 per cent of the people who control over 90 per cent of this country's enormous wealth.

It is not adequate for us—whose interests are altogether different from those whose bankrolls are bulging with the profit of war preparation.

They dare ask us to sacrifice, to work intolerable hours at miserable wages, to face the bullets and cannon of imperialist warfare—ask as in the name of "democracy." A "democracy" that daily sees pickets shot down, clubbed, threatened with the electric chair. A "democracy" that does not grant us the right to decide upon how our own lives shall be disposed of—to decide on whether or no, under what circumstances and against whom we wish to declare war.

Yes, we will declare war against fascism. WE HAVE ALREADY DONE THAT! That abhorrent monster which sprang out of the loins of capitalism must be destroyed. But it will not be destroyed by the imperialist warlords of the world. They may destroy a rival. They will not destroy fascism. To do that they would have to destroy their own rotten system. Fascism will be destroyed by the working peoples of the world.

We, the working class, who did not tolerate fascism while its murderous squads trampled upon the liberty and welfare of the German and Italian working class—as it was tolerated by virtually every imperialist nation on the face of the earth—we will settle with fascism in our own way—in solidarity with our brothers in Europe and elsewhere.

So too do we propose to settle a tendency towards totalitarianism such as is manifest in the war powers bill, and in the daily violations of the democratic will of the great majority of the American people.

We propose to strike a blow against fascism and for democracy by insisting that the War Referendum Bill be rushed through for Congressional passage.

We propose that all labor

# THE WAR BOOM IN NEW ENGLAND: PART II

# Profits Have Shot Up -- But Wages...

The newspapers of the different cities throughout New England give the impression of a tremendous business boom. Statistics glibly quoted "prove" that there is a shortage of skilled labor, and that by the end of 1941 there won't be a man "able and willing to work" who won't have a job. January, 1941, compared with January, 1940, shows an improvement in number of people employed and on payrolls. Certainly January, 1941, shows decided improvement when compared with the year 1933 in the midst of the worst depression we have known, or with 1933, when we learned to say "recession" in an effort to cushion the fact that there was a crisis.

However, if we start with the idea that every worker should have a job, decent pay and working conditions and some measure of security, the improvement is not startling. We have got so used to hard times, to an unemployment figure of 10-15 million, that when these figures are being reduced, the newspapers talk in terms of prosperity.

Statistics from the Massachusetts Department of Labor do not show a general upward trend in either employment or wages during the past few months. Comparing December, 1940, with January, 1941, the only industry in Massachusetts to show an increase is shoe, and while these figures show a decided increase in Lynn, for instance, they show a decided decrease for the city of Worcester.

## Prices Skyrocket

Talk of business pick-up leaves the worker with no assurance of increases that will continue or that will allow him to meet the rising

## Ford---

(Continued from page 1)

among the 400,000 soft-coal miners now on strike.

Violence, however, has not succeeded in opening the Allis-Chalmers plant. Nor did violence stop the Bethlehem strikers.

Nor should it stop the Ford workers! They have been accustomed to it. Union delegates have more than once been beaten by Ford thugs.

A victory in Ford will be a victory for every man and woman in the labor movement. If Ford can be cracked, any other boss is a cinch.

The Ford strikers have our complete solidarity. Every worker, every union, must do what he or it can to help the UAW win.

All-Out-Aid for the Ford Strikers! That's our slogan!

# They Represent --

(Continued from page 1)

days' pay without a damn good reason.

To all these "representatives of the people," the have-not 87 per cent who MUST strike in their struggle to live, are not THE people to be represented.

## Their True Colors

The strike wave has once more forced Congress to show its true colors. THE people Congress represents are to be found among those whose profits have already mounted from 100 per cent to 3,000 per cent—due to their intensive "pay-triotism."

There is no mew and cry in Congress against these exploiters of labor. No law is offered to make them increase wages in proportion to profits.

No congressman proposed the electric chair for Packard Motor and the other companies who refused to take government orders until they were assured of profiteering profits—and a tax rate that would leave the profits with THEM—not with the government. Packard is among the represented.

Nor did any congressman propose the electric chair for those who sent an armored car into the strikers' ranks at Allis-Chalmers.

You will find THE people represented by Congress in the columns of the Wall Street Journal where it publishes a survey showing the many "defense" industries whose war profits now FAR OUTRAN excess profits taxes.

Nobody in Congress raised his voice against the attempt of Knox and Knudsen to force the Allis-Chalmers workers back to work. The injustice there is flagrant. Hill-

join, through its unions and organizations, in demanding that the people be given the right to vote on war.

Let us make our position known in demonstration and in resolution. Let us make it known that we disapprove of any acts which will involve us in an imperialist war.

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE AGAINST WAR!

cost of living. They are hit-or-miss, up-and-down, with no security to the wage-earner involved. A shoe worker living in Worcester, for instance, and hearing of employment and high wages in Lynn would hesitate to pack up his family and move to Lynn. He has no way of knowing that the improvement will continue in Lynn. And in addition he will be faced with the fact that the cost of living in Lynn is notoriously high. Rents have skyrocketed there in recent months. The worker who pays \$20 to \$25 per month for rent can only find four or five unheated rooms, in an old apartment house, and the chances are he'll have to share the bathroom with other families. Prices of food are also high.

The following figures show the average wages in the main industries of the largest cities in Massachusetts:

Lynn, shoe, General Electric, textile	\$37.19
Lowell, textile	18.65
Boston, miscellaneous	24.16
Lawrence, textile	21.33
Worcester, tool, steel, shoe	33.35
Brockton, shoe	21.50
New Bedford, textile	21.07

These figures are for January, 1941, but they do not vary a great deal from month to month and the relationship between the cities remains the same. It must also be kept in mind that these payroll figures include the salaries of all officials and foremen. The average of the industrial worker in the shop would be lower.

## Low Wages

The slight pick-up in business is shown by the fact that men working on low-paid jobs are finding work at unskilled or semi-skilled jobs in the better paid industries. Restaurant workers, market workers, novelty workers are leaving jobs paying \$15 to \$25 and finding work at jobs which do not pay a great deal more, but which they have hopes will eventually give them the training for a skilled job. Men who have been on WPA are getting their old jobs back, but at \$5 to \$10 less per week than they formerly earned. Men over 45 who have not been able to get work at their trade, men who have been black-listed for years are finding work, but always at less money than they previously got.

In a city where the average pay according to the state statistics is approximately \$25 per week, hundreds of girls are working for the federal minimum of \$12 per week, and filling orders for the U. S. Army, under government contracts. Guns are being made for the U. S. Army in shops where the pay runs from \$18 to \$22 for 40 hours. Small plants

are hiring youngsters for \$10 per week, on the excuse that they are being trained for skilled work, and with the old threat held over them that if you don't like it there are others who would be glad to get the chance. Shoe workers and textile workers in New England are working for \$12, \$15, \$20 per week.

## Inadequate Relief

Welfare appropriations for 1941 are being cut in half. But that gives the lie to the story that "at the end of 1941 every worker will have a job." A city of 200,000 is planning to spend over a million dollars for relief. And there is adequate proof that it isn't going to be enough. WPA appropriations have been cut and there are lay-offs on WPA. But the tears and hysteria on one project when two-thirds of the women were laid off gave ample proof that there

were no jobs waiting for these women in industry.

The working class sections of the city still look the same, although rents are going up. No magic of a business "boom" has sprouted nice apartment houses at low rents for workers and their families. No nice fresh paint and well-cared-for yards are springing up to testify to prosperity. A little more smoke is coming from the factory chimneys but the workers inside are chained to a speed-up, a piece-work system, wages and working conditions, which are intolerable since they leave the worker at the end of the week with no more real wages evidenced in to live, nor does it leave him with more and better food, a better place any sense of security for the future.

(In the next issue: What the Workers in New England Are Doing About This Situation.)

## THE WORLD AT WAR

# Events in Yugoslavia Prove A Socialist United States Of Europe Is the Only Solution

By MAX STERLING

Nationalist fever, plus the growing strength of the Anglo-American Axis, combined to upset the Hitler applecart in the Balkans. The Yugoslavian coup has drawn a line in the Balkans which from now on only the German army can cross.

Nazi diplomacy has met its most serious defeat and for the first time in the war Hitler's strategy of divide and conquer has failed. A new major Balkan front has been created and on that front the mechanized divisions of Germany will now have to deal with the combined forces of Britain, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia and, most important, the United States.

The Yugoslavian coup is singularly significant. It went counter to the tremendous forces that were pressing Yugoslavia into the camp of Nazi imperialism. Hitler has already destroyed the major part of the Versailles system on the European continent. After Rumania and Bulgaria, Yugoslavia was next in line. Like those countries, Yugoslavia's economic life was tied to Germany. At least 60 per cent of her trade went to the latter. Besides agricultural and cattle products Yugoslavia was an important German source for such important war materials as copper ore and bauxite, the ore from which aluminum is extracted. Within Yugoslavia is the greatest copper mine in Europe, the Bors copper mine, and half of Germany's supply of bauxite comes from there.

## Forces at Play

From the military point of view Yugoslavia was just as indispensable for Hitler's plans in the Balkans. The Yugoslavian ministers who went to Vienna and signed a pact with Hitler did indeed sign away Yugoslavian neutrality. The fact is that in the struggle of the titanic imperialisms of Germany and Great Britain and the United States none of the countries in the path of this struggle were permitted to remain neutral. Hitler's terms to Yugoslavia tied the latter to everything but the passage of German troops through her territory. However, the secret agreement for the demobilization of the Yugoslavian army made a farce even of this.

One can say that the two Yugoslavian decisions reflected very well the forces within the country which pressed her in opposite directions. These forces were not only of an economic and military character. The question of what camp to join was complicated by the problem of national minorities. The Yugoslavian state, like so many other states of

the Versailles system, perpetuated the struggle and oppression of national minorities. Within Yugoslavia are Serbs, Croatsians, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Bosnians and Macedonians. The 6,000,000 Serbs out of Yugoslavia's population of 16,000,000 are the dominant nationality and hold the commanding positions in Yugoslavian society. The Serbians demonstrated against the signing of the pact in order to safeguard their privileged position and in order to support their old Anglo-American allies who first brought their state into being. Conversely, the least resistance to the pact came from those subject nationalities like the 4,000,000 Croatsians who were suffering most under the Serbian yoke and whose territories were most vulnerable to the advance of the German troops.

In this delicate balance of forces was made by the Yugoslavian army, and counter-forces, the final decision. The army, led in the main by Serbians, decided by a coup to support the camp of Great Britain and America. The decision was forced by the German demand for its liquidation, but no less a factor were the promises of support emanating from London and Washington.

Thus the Yugoslavian dictatorship, with its oppressed national minorities, is well on its way to joining the camp of the "democracies" in which is already included the dictatorship of Greece.

## Which Way Out?

Hitler had attempted to stave off the Yugoslavian march into the Anglo-American camp by economic and military threats and by setting the Croatsians against the Serbians. The problem of nationalities likewise interests him only in so far as he can advance his own imperialistic ambitions. The German method, as in Czechoslovakia, is to set one nationality against another, after which they are all put under the yoke of the German overlord.

The Yugoslavian development demonstrates once more that capitalism, whether of the Nazi or "democratic" variety, is incapable of granting freedom, independence, peace and bread to the various peoples of the world. Only a socialist society in which there is no imperialism and no exploitation can level the barriers within the peoples and give them peace, plenty and an unhampered cultural development. The war has brought out in full force the gangrene of capitalist society and has placed the slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe once more on the order of the day.

# Harvester Men End Strike Have No Illusions About Mediation Board

Special to Labor Action

CHICAGO, Mar. 31—The strike at the Harvester plant, which began in January, ended today as the men returned to work claiming victory.

Despite the tremendous forces arrayed against them, they held on. Now that they are returning to their jobs, after an agreement to submit the dispute to mediation, they have no illusions about the Mediation Board, and are ready to walk out if the mediation talks fizzle from their point of view.

Police brutality against the strikers was the worst since the infamous Little Steel massacre at the Republic plant some years ago. That they held on for so long a time is a tribute to the determination and the militancy of the strikers.

What they will have gotten from

the strike remains to be seen. The fact that they put up a good strike will count for a lot when the mediation hearings are on. The spectre of militant pickets will hover over the hearings and influence them a great deal. Especially if the union continues to demonstrate that it will not take any decision made by the board lying down.

One of the greatest lessons learned by the Harvester strikers and by all of Chicago labor is that, faced with the strongly exerted boss war pressure, all the unions must stand together. The SWOC, Packing House, and Auto Workers Unions, as well as many others, mobilized their forces behind the Harvester strikers—sending pickets, giving money, etc. That kind of union solidarity is a guarantee of victory.

## Attention, Philadelphia

Saving or single? Joseph Austin will discuss "CAN YOU AFFORD A FAMILY?" at the weekly meeting of the Modern Forum, 329 PINE STREET, SUNDAY AT 8:30 P.M. All workers are invited.

The April New International-- A 32-Pager!--Is Now on Sale. Get Your Copy Immediately!

# 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.

## His Lordship's Very Sore Spot!

Some of our smart American newspaper reporters put Lord Halifax on the spot last week and we don't doubt it is still a sore spot! It happened at a press conference His Lordship held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City.

After the conference, according to the New York Times, a dozen of the British (Reuters) corps of newspaper correspondents in this country got together and held an impromptu indignation meeting against their American colleagues! It seemed they felt the Americans had been "inconsiderate"—a polite English word meaning they asked too many and too embarrassing questions.

And Lord Halifax is reported as being very much upset—so much so that his voice rose and lost its calm and gentlemanly inflections.

What was it all about? What disturbed His Majesty's Ambassador?

A number of the American reporters reflected a desire to know how much dependability might be placed on promises given by England during a war. This started it off. Then one reporter said, "Lord Halifax, last night you affirmed the absolute value of the human soul. You spoke of equal political opportunity for all peoples... you pictured a community of nations in which no country would dominate its partners. Does this imply that Britain is willing to free India?" A dead silence and clearing of throats followed.

"It is not possible to dispose of India in a sentence," said Lord Halifax. Then he said that Britain aims at granting "Dominion status" to India some time in the future. (Of course, India has rejected "Dominion status" and demands nothing less than complete independence outside the British Empire.)

"May I interpolate here," said another impolite reporter. He then reminded His Lordship that Britain had made that SAME pledge to India in the LAST war, as well as a pledge to the Jews in Palestine known as the Balfour Declaration. The reporter did not say so in so many words, but implied that the Right Honorable Christian gentleman was a bit of a liar. When asked about naming a date when the Dominion status pledge would be fulfilled, Lord Halifax replied, "That, of course, has never been possible and will never be possible."

This incident is another evidence of the embarrassment felt by each and every representative of British imperialism the moment it is confronted by any question concerning ITS—not Hitler's—war aims. They simply cannot answer the question in any concrete sense without revealing their aims to be primarily the same as those of Hitler—the power to subject colonial peoples and exploit their territories.

We hope that each time Lord Halifax opens his aristocratic mouth, that self-same question is jammed down his throat: "Tell us what England is fighting for." It is like driving a sharp knife into an exceedingly sore and tender spot.

## A "Mediator" on Breaking Strikes

Eugene Meyers is publisher of the Washington Post.

Eugene Meyers is also a member of the much-touted Mediation Board, appointed by President Roosevelt to put an "amicable" end to strikes.

Just where this Mediation Board stands, and what can be expected of it, is made amply clear in an editorial on the Allis-Chalmers strike that appeared in the Washington Post of March 27.

The Washington Post of that day prints an editorial headed "Breaking a Strike." Prints it right next to the editorial box which proudly displays Mr. Meyers' name as editor and publisher.

Says the editorial: "Summoning courage which has heretofore been lacking, Secretary Knox and OPM Director Knudsen yesterday ordered the company to re-open its plant and proceed with work. This is the most favorable piece of news that has come out of the strike situation in recent months. In effect Messrs. Knox and Knudsen have undertaken to break the strike." (Our emphasis.)

Yes, that is precisely what Knox and Knudsen have undertaken. And Mr. Meyers, mediator and publisher, loudly applauds the action.

The editorial proceeds with a lengthy "proof" that the strike is a fake, that the action demanded by Knox and Knudsen is not therefore a "harsh treatment of the union" because only a minority voted for the strike (a stupendous and obvious lie!).

And in conclusion: "Some action to end the strike had become imperative. Obviously (!!) the government could not 'crack down' upon the company because of the continuation of a strike called by fraudulent balloting. The Navy and the OPM have taken the only alternative in ordering that the strike be abandoned in favor of continued negotiations while the men are at work. The only weakness of this decision is that it was not made at least a month and a half ago."

Acting upon the advice of Knox and Knudsen, Milwaukee police proceeded to make up for the month and a half delay. On March 31, an armored car, manned by police and firing tear gas bombs, smashed through 3,000 pickets, many of whom were hurt. These 3,000 pickets were no doubt risking life and limb on the picket line for sixty-eight days because they didn't want to strike, because the strike was called against their will. That's boss logic for you!

Several weeks ago we printed a long editorial warning labor against the Mediation Board, calling it a scheme devised in the interests of the bosses. The idea that labor can gain a damn thing by sitting down with a few boss representatives and a few government men (who, by the very nature of the government, are also boss representatives) is a childish delusion. Nine times out of ten that board will rule against labor where a vital issue is involved. The tenth time it will show its impartiality by casting its vote for labor.

The proof? You have it in the editorial of Mr. Mediator-Publisher Meyers. Meyers is one of those men on whose impartial and amicable judgment your jobs, your wages, that is to say your lives, will depend. Impartial rot! You've just read Meyers on the Allis-Chalmers strike. And those words cover Meyers' opinion of any strike of more than two-bit importance. Break the strike! The pickets are in the way? Ride 'em down, fell 'em with tear gas!

There you have mediation in all its glorious impartiality!

No, fellow workers. Do not be deceived by this mediation plan! Just think of how much space and applause has been given it in the boss press. And you know that the boss press doesn't go out of its way to champion labor's interests. Think too of that editorial we have quoted.

The way to advance our interests is not in the Mediation Board—it's on the picket line! Strike after strike, won in the face of terrific pressure, proves that. You need only stick to your guns. If the police ride you down, turn up the next day with workers from other plants magnifying your picket ranks a hundred fold.

Labor is too strong to be cowed by a few "mediators," too powerful to be intimidated by a police charge. Our strength lies in the fact that no machine can turn lest we turn it. Our strength also lies in numbers. Our answer to Meyers, to the Allis-Chalmers bosses and the police must be a stronger picket line joined by every worker who can make his way to the Allis-Chalmers plant!

# Famine's Four Horsemen Trample Warring Europe

By SHERMAN STANLEY

Every correspondent and observer agrees that 18 months of World War I has left in its wake greater hunger, pestilence and outright starvation than 48 months of World War I. This may appear as a surprising fact because, in terms of material and physical destruction, there has been much less damage done on the European continent proper than occurred in the last war. Yet the cruel fact remains: Europe as a whole is hungrier now—in one-third the time! The basic explanation for this fact is that European capitalism of 1941 is infinitely more corroded, decayed and malignant than it was in, let us say, 1917. The productive capacities of Europe are more given over to war production, while naked plunder is the dominant motive of German imperialism as it erects its European "New Order."

John Cudahy, former American minister to Ireland and ambassador to Belgium, who is now an American news correspondent in Berlin, has written a moving picture of the ghastly shadow of famine now haunting the countries of Europe. Spain is clearly the worst off. According to Cudahy, bread and oranges are practically all that is left to eat—with the former staple strictly rationed. Eggs, meat, sugar, butter, cheese and milk have disappeared from the standard diet. Even potatoes are hard to find. Dr. Alexis Carrel, studying malnutrition effects in European war sections, reports that most Spaniards are getting one-fourth of what doctors consider a life-sustaining minimum diet. "Many of them show advanced symptoms of anemia, pellagra and tuberculosis." He described the people as "moribund, hopeless, listless, nerveless, wan, without will"—half dead, yet living on.

### Story Repeats Itself

But the same tragic story—indubitably the most striking indictment and condemnation of our barbaric capitalist civilization—comes from every section of the war-torn European continent. Belgians claim food conditions in their country equal to those of Spain, and ALREADY are worse than those of post-war Belgium. Poland—jointly plundered by the macabre Hitler-Stalin alliance—is as bad; in unoccupied France it is reckoned that 10,000,000 face starvation and even now go to bed hungry. Denmark, Norway and Holland are all badly hit by Nazi thievery. If conditions in Germany have improved it is only at the expense of the occupied nations; while England adds more restrictions and rations more staples with each passing week.

Thus we see the major objective result of the inter-imperialist war so far as the proletarian and middle classes are concerned—FAMINE. The nationalist and class struggle in Europe today finds its sharpest expression in the STRUGGLE FOR FOOD. Who shall eat? It is a life and death matter for the European masses.

Who is responsible for this unparalleled situation? Is it Hitler and his imperialists who smash through country after country and then systematically drain their wealth and resources? The hungry workers of Europe cry out with one voice: Guilty! Is it Churchill and his imperialists who, seeking to destroy a mighty rival, have terrorized Europe with a death-like naval blockade? The same hungry voices cry out: Guilty too!

Yes, it is IMPERIALISM—fascist and democratic alike—that has brought Europe to the abyss where the life of every man, woman and child, combatant or non-combatant, is at stake. Hitler and Churchill; Mussolini and Stalin—all four ride astride the horses of famine.

### Roosevelt's Game

And what of our own United States? What has been the relation of Roosevelt to famine stricken Europe? We can rest assured that his

ambassadors and representatives have kept him well informed on the horror conditions that prevail. His attitude may be summed up under two headings: (1) Not one ounce of food, not one vitamin tablet, not one pint of milk goes to any spot in Europe where it may be of help—directly or indirectly—to American imperialism's great rival for world rule, German imperialism. (2) We will, however, send limited supplies to those areas (Vichy, France, for example) where passive or overt resistance to Germany might conceivably be stimulated by such action.

In a word, before a crumb is yielded up Roosevelt first asks—Will this bring in a return to my government and its war plans? Food has become a military weapon in the imperialist struggle. Its rôle is just beginning, as is proved by the fact that but a few shiploads have left American shores to pass the British blockade. The arch-hypocrite Roosevelt desires to let Europe starve a while longer, hoping to win greater returns for his generosity. First we shall permit Europe to feel hunger's

deepest pangs, then we shall put her on rations—such is the cynical plan of American imperialism.

The Hoover Food Relief Committee and sundry organizations do not speak the truth—either about Europe's desperate needs, or why Roosevelt objects to their activities. Such organizations (from which we exclude the term pacifist and humanitarian societies) simply represent that section of the American imperialist class which believes that Roosevelt is going too far, and therefore demands a relaxation of his totalitarian restrictions on food shipments.

The Workers Party has already indicated its answer to this diabolical game of mutual starvation played by the rival powers. Independent trade union and working class action to get food through to the starving people of every European country! Against the German plunderers, against the British blockade, against the American hunger rationing. We must feed our brothers in Europe. They still face the job of ending the imperialist war and creating the United Socialist States of Europe.

## Bethlehem --

(Continued from page 1)

company will continue to deal with the SWOC as the collective bargaining agency for its members and will accord it equal privileges and opportunities including a mutually acceptable manner of handling grievances. Future action with reference to the election of an exclusive bargaining agency should wait final disposition of the case now pending in the court.

It is clear that this agreement is somewhat vague and does not cover in a definite manner the main demand of the SWOC that the company disband the company union. The union can only report "progress." They, at least, have cornered Bethlehem and forced the company to bargain collectively with their workers. They have thoroughly exposed the company union. They have demonstrated an understanding of the fact that NLRB decisions must be backed up and enforced by workers' action. They have given a hint to the courts that it will not be well to play around with legal technicalities in rendering its decision in this case.

The workers at Bethlehem did all this on the picket line. This is the place where workers must win their victories; out in the streets, at the factory gates.

### In the Face of Terrific Odds

What the workers won from Bethlehem was just a little; but it is a beginning. Heretofore they got nothing from the company. They won this agreement against terrific odds and it was only their masses fighting on the picket line that got them anything.

They and their women were brutally assaulted and beat down by Governor James' uniformed cossacks mounted on horse and motorcycle. The little Hitler, Lynn Adams, commander of the Pennsylvania State Police, strutted through Bethlehem like the commandant of a concentration camp. His armed cowards attacked the picket lines while a strikers' mass meeting was in progress, knowing that the resistance would be less.

These workers were up against the bulldozers in Congress such as Hatton Sumner, who wants to send all strikers in the war industries to the electric chair.

They faced a hostile, corrupt and venal capitalist press, always anti-labor and alert to protect its masters' profits.

Thousands of these workers voted for Roosevelt, some of them three times. But he was away sunning himself and fishing, and meditating and scheming to get these workers, their sons and grandsons into the imperialist war without too much opposition on their part.

And Hillman, "labor's representative," was also away. He has been to Florida to rest from his arduous efforts in labor's behalf.

And so we say the agreement between Bethlehem and the steel workers there is only a truce; a temporary cessation of hostilities. The workers must understand this. Perhaps their leaders at the top don't understand this. But—the fight is not over; it has just begun. It cannot be otherwise.

### Union Must Prepare for Struggle

The SWOC must organize Bethlehem, every man and woman. They must win the election. They must force genuine collective bargaining from the company. They must see to it that the company union is wrecked.

After this the workers must prepare for a struggle for higher wages and shorter hours. Wages are far too low in the steel industry as in all other industries. There is no justification whatsoever for this condition. The workers should not be hornsogged by fake "patriotic" talk about "national defense." Nor should the workers permit themselves to be moved from their fight for more wages by boss claptrap about Hitler.

The Hitlerism that the workers need to fear today, and fight against, is the native brand. The Bethlehem workers got a real taste of this native brand of Hitlerism from James' and Adams' mounted goons during the strike.

## THE NEGRO'S FIGHT

# It Is Up to The Transport Workers Now!

By J. R. JOHNSON

It is now up to the Transport Workers Union and every labor organization in the city and in the state. They must take action to help the Negroes get jobs. Last week we pointed out that the Harlem Negroes in their justified fight for jobs on the buses should have been careful to express and show solidarity with the bus strikers. In politics who is not with me is against me. It was not sufficient not to attack the strikers. Both the workers and the bosses were fighting for public support. To raise the question of jobs for Negroes at that time was to intervene, and to intervene made it necessary to show which side you were on and which side you were against.

But no great harm was done, if any. Now, however, the Transport Workers Union must do more than just give support. They sent a speaker to the Harlem Committee meeting. They have issued a leaflet saying that they are in sympathy with the demands of the Negroes, and that they have never opposed any persons entering the union or being employed by the company on account of race, color, etc. It is not enough, in fact it is very little. The transport workers, the bus drivers, must demand that Negroes be employed. They must demonstrate by vigorous action that they wish to establish solidarity of all labor, black and white. For if the men themselves demand it from the company, then the bosses will be in a terrible hole and will have to capitulate. Because the general public has no objection whatever to Negroes driving buses.

Now there may be difficulties about Negroes causing whites to lose their jobs. The bosses will do their best to create dissension and confusion. That can be handled without difficulty only if the union takes the initiative. If the union takes up the demands of the Harlem Committee, insists that they are accepted, and then works out a plan with the Harlem Committee about numbers of jobs, seniority rights, so many jobs to be given now; if union and committee work openly and carry out all negotiations before the eyes of the working class there can be no serious friction. It is up to the unions. They must act. It is no good to say: "We are not against, we support—and leave it there."

And not only the Transport Workers Union. Every other union in the city, especially those who have Negro workers, should solidarize themselves with the movement and demand that the unions act. Particularly those unions where whites and Negroes work together, for the simple reason that they will be able to point out their own experiences, and their Negro members will be able to build union strength and popular support among the Negro people in Harlem. Big battles are on, bigger battles are ahead. The unions must not only build union solidarity but must get the great masses of the people in the habit of looking to unions for clear, progressive and decisive action on any matter before the public that concerns labor.

Subscriptions to the cause of the Negroes persecuted for anti-war activity in West Africa are still slow in coming in. One of the contributions we have received to date comes from a small Minnesota town, from a Negro friend who apologizes for being able to send only "one lousy buck." Comrades and friends are asked to send in donations to JACK MANN, c/o LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York City.

## Send Greetings for May Day Issue

The editorial board has announced a SPECIAL MAY DAY ISSUE of LABOR ACTION which will include many important articles, among them:

- A May Day Manifesto.
- A Review of the Past Year's Labor Struggles.
- A History of May Day.
- The Negro and the Working Class Struggles.
- Women and the Working Class—A May Day Survey.
- A Working Class Calendar.
- One Year of Our Paper, LABOR ACTION.

Many other articles, numerous pictures and special features are planned. But they all depend upon the response to our appeal for greetings and funds.

All those interested in making this SPECIAL MAY DAY ISSUE the attractive, forceful and influential paper that it can be, should mail their greetings and donations to LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York City. The deadline is April 15. The issue will be printed far enough in advance so that it reaches all points in the United States before May 1.

This MAY DAY ISSUE is also the first anniversary of the publication of LABOR ACTION as the official organ of the Workers Party. Party members and sympathizers have followed its growth and given it the support needed to make it what it is today. The editorial board feels certain that LABOR ACTION will not be let down this year when May Day calls for the utmost sacrifice on the part of all who agree with its program. They feel certain that not only is an eight-page, two-color job possible, but that it is the minimum required for the most significant May Day in the history of the American Labor movement.

## Easter Week In Ireland—

will be the subject of a series of features in the next issue of LABOR ACTION. J. R. JOHNSON is writing the history of the Easter Rebellion.

## Note These Shachtman Meetings!

### In Cleveland . . .

Topic: "HITLERISM MUST BE CRUSHED—A PROGRAM ON HOW TO DO IT"

Place: HOTEL ALLERTON

Time: SUNDAY, APRIL 13, 8 P.M.

### In Syracuse . . .

Subject: "HITLERISM MUST BE SMASHED—A PROGRAM ON HOW TO DO IT"

Time: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, AT 8 P.M.

Place: COOPERATIVE INSTITUTE, 514 HARRISON ST.

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