

## CUT-BACKS THREATEN MASS LAYOFFS

### INVASION: New Stage in the War

By ALBERT GATES

The long-heralded invasion of the German-occupied continent of Europe by the Allied armies began on June 5. Combined American, British and Canadian forces, on land, sea and air, opened their assault in the early hours of the morning on the northwestern coast of France between the harbors of Cherbourg and Le Havre. Early reports indicate that the first landings were successfully executed and that the Allied armies are seeking to spread out fanwise along other coastal defenses and to penetrate deep into the heart of France along the Seine valley leading to Paris.

The governmental and military leaders of the Allied countries are cautious in their early statements. They know, of course, that the real struggle lies ahead of them; that the tests will come when the German armies begin their own counter-offensives.

The initial landings may or may not be main points of operations. It is clear that if the Allies meet feeble resistance and can advance at will, this area will become the main point of invasion. But there are likely to be other important invasion areas and feints to confuse the German defense.

A great deal of the struggle depends upon the initial speed with which the Allied armies take advantage of the present landings to widen and deepen their penetration of the German defenses. But the important observers are, we believe, quite correct in forecasting a long and difficult military struggle. We are in no position to make any startling forecasts about the military prospects of the present fight. The past almost five years of warfare has shown how tricky a business that is. The line of broken-down military experts is indeed long and there is hardly a single one of them that has not at least one prognostication to live down. But it is easy to see that the present invasion marks a new stage in the war, perhaps a final stage in the conflict in the European theater.

#### POLITICAL ASPECTS OF WAR

As we have maintained from the very beginning of the conflict, the military aspects of the war are, in the last analysis, subordinate to the political. The question of war aims is indissolubly interlinked with the actual military conflict. What really stands out in the whole situation, although it is now overshadowed by the immensity of the invasion itself, is that while the military situation for the Allies has improved, their political relations have deteriorated. The basis for this political deterioration is due not merely to fundamental differences in aims, but to a fundamental weakness of all the capitalist powers, including the non-capitalist Russian power, to wage a war for genuine national liberation and true social, political and economic freedom.

The European continent today is occupied by German fascism. Fascism is the modern form of capitalist barbarism. It is the profit system based upon the destruction of the working class movements, the violation of all democratic rights for impoverished classes, the perpetuation of the profit system and the well-being of big business at the expense of all other sections of the population.

To effect its rule, German fascism has built its power on the flesh and blood of the masses of Europe and upon a propaganda system made to order for them by the other capitalist nations of the world.

Hitler came to power in Germany as a result of many factors: the infamous Versailles Treaty, which made it impossible for a capitalist Germany to surmount its economic difficulties; the refusal of the Anglo-French dominated League of Nations to accommodate the Weimar Republic; the monopoly of world markets, raw materials and colonies by the other powers; the betrayals of the working class political organizations (Social-Democratic and Communist); and the political, organizational and financial assistance given the Brown Shirts by German big business and the big capitalists of England, France and the United States.

In the opening days of the war, the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms devised by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill were believed to be political weapons against fascism. For, in the early days, the mobilization of the peoples for this war could not be effected except through picturing the war as a conflict with fascism, the aim of which conflict was to destroy fascism throughout the world.

When the military situation was indeed difficult for the Allies, the

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### Layoffs Start At Houdi Buffalo Plant

By STEVE KENT

BUFFALO — A very common but dread word has been on the tongues of Houdi workers these last few weeks—LAYOFF. The fears of the workers have been substantiated by two layoffs in the past week. The number of workers laid off is small but it is understood that this is only the beginning.

Now many of the people in the shop are asking, since we are working an extra day a week, why not go back to a forty-hour week and keep everyone employed. As a matter of fact, the company claims that if it was permitted to return to a forty-hour week no layoffs would be necessary.

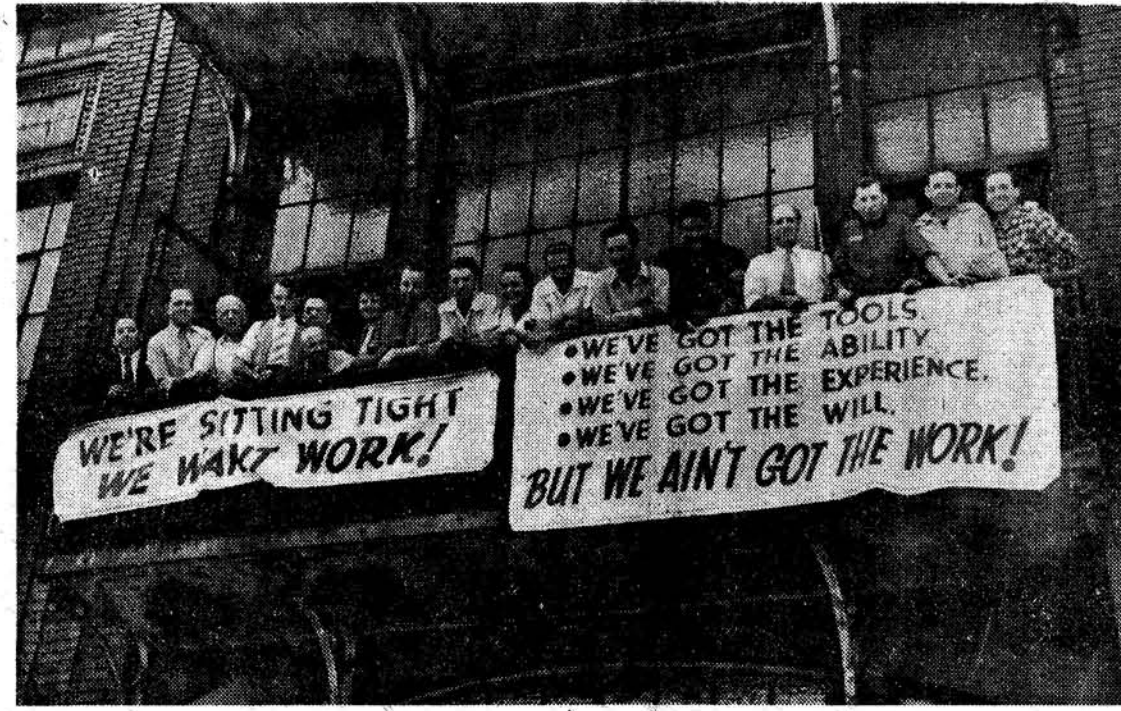
However, there is a War Manpower Commission ruling forbidding a plant involved in war work to go on a forty-hour week. The ruling is arbitrary and does not consider the position of the workers at all. Throughout the Buffalo area plants have been laying off workers since January and these workers are not being absorbed by other war industries.

But what does the union say on this question? So far it has said nothing except that it is helpless in face of the WMC ruling. The truth of the matter is that there is very little support for a forty-hour week. Because, much to the astonishment of most Houdi workers, they are finding out that before the war, with a smaller pay check on a forty-hour week, they had less trouble than at present with the mounting cost of living. These workers if employed at all will undoubtedly be hired at a lower rate of pay. (The WLB has already approved a proposal of the Houdi Corp. that would mean they could hire workers at a ten-cent lower rate.)

Houdi workers are slowly beginning to realize the concerted action of the corporation and government boards to prevent the maintenance and betterment of their standard of living. These workers must not feel that nothing can be done. There are over 3,000 workers at Houdi—all in the same boat. These workers must

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### Brewster Workers Showed the Way



—Courtesy PM Photo.

### Will Ship Workers Accept Green's Bankrupt Report?

By DAVID COOLIDGE

President John Green of the Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers (IUMSWA) made a "Report to the Membership" on "The State of Our Union" in the May 19 number of the Shipyard Worker. Brother Green begins with the question, "Where do we go from here?" The IUMSWA is "today at the crossroads...our organization enters into probably the most critical period in its history." The days ahead are "as grave as those early formative years of struggle, when the employers aligned themselves against us in their unsuccessful attempt to throttle the rising aspirations of the oppressed and exploited shipyard workers."

President Green has learned that the employers are at it again. They want "an open shop, low-wage shipbuilding industry." The AFL Metal Trades Council, he says, is "working together with the employers to undermine the foundations of our organization."

Everything that President Green says here is true. True, not only of the shipbuilding companies but of all the employers in the United States. Of course they want the open shop, low wages and long hours.

The shipbuilding companies want to boost their profits, dividends and salaries of company officials. That's what capitalist corporations exist for. Brother Green surely must remem-

ber some of these very elementary things about capitalism from the days when he was a member of the Socialist Party. Also, he should remember how he applied some of these ABC political lessons when he was leading strikes on the Clydeside during the First Imperialist World War.

#### WHERE IS GREEN GOING?

One would think, therefore, that in his "report to the membership" Johnny Green would follow through on what he has to say about the plans of the capitalist shipbuilding employers. It might be presumed that Green would label the employers as the main enemy to be watched and fought by the shipyard workers. But not so. Brother Green has discovered "provocateurs of the enemy" right in the ranks of the IUMSWA who are ready to "sow the seeds of disension." The national officers of the IUMSWA-CIO "see this peril...and will devote their every effort to root out these threats, expose those responsible and fight to the last ditch against any attempt to undermine what the nation's shipyard workers have built."

We might say that these were brave words and well said if we only knew what and whom Green is talking about. He doesn't say, and we are only left to guess. Why does he not speak right out and tell his members who are the "provocateurs of the enemy," who is making

"threats" against the IUMSWA and who is attempting to "undermine" the IUMSWA?

If President Green would inform LABOR ACTION or the Workers Party who these people are we would join with him to "expose" them. We have been exposing the enemies of the labor movement for many years, week in and week out. We have never compromised on this and never will.

#### WHAT WE STAND FOR

LABOR ACTION has exposed and will continue to expose the capitalist employers and their machinations against labor. LABOR ACTION has exposed and will continue to expose those inside the labor movement who act contrary to the interests of the working class. We will expose capitalism and its beneficiaries because capitalism and the capitalist employers are class enemies of the working class. They remain class enemies in wartime just as they were in peacetime. John Green ought to know this unless he has forgotten all the socialism he learned in past years, when he called himself a socialist.

LABOR ACTION will adversely criticize those inside the labor movement when they deserve it; that is when they take positions or act in ways detrimental to the interests of labor. When we criticize the labor leadership we make an important distinction between them and the

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For the sake of the Brewster workers we should like to be able to report that their magnificent sit-in strike, protesting the Navy Department cancellation of contracts, resulting in thousands of unemployed aircraft workers, won the fight and that their jobs are now secured.

No such thing has happened. The fight of the Brewster workers brought national prominence to their case and hastened more planned actions by the unions to fight precipitate contract cancellations which must create mass unemployment.

But the fact remains that, despite the protests of the entire union movement, despite the fact that the UAW demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Navy Department had no case at all, the men remain unemployed, with little or no prospects that a marked change is coming soon.

The Brewster situation has highlighted the whole problem of manpower in this country. Reports from Washington indicate the complete shelving of labor draft bills. Unless some drastic changes

follow the European situation, reports disclose that the country faces, not a labor shortage, but mass unemployment.

### Chrysler Strike A Fight for Auto Union

By MARTIN HARVEY

DETROIT—R. J. Thomas is the international president of the United Automobile Workers, CIO. Mr. Thomas was elected to that high office by the members of that union. The duties of Mr. Thomas are easy to understand. He must protect the interests of the members of his union. He must defend his union against all attacks. He must seek to build the union and make it strong.

A local of the union which Mr. Thomas heads, Chrysler Local 490, went on strike to gain the reinstatement of sixteen members who were unjustly fired by the Chrysler Corporation. This was clearly a matter in which Mr. Thomas was concerned. So Mr. Thomas issued an appeal to the members of his union. What did Mr. Thomas say?

"The UAW-CIO today faces one of the greatest crises in its history. On the outcome of this crisis will depend the possibilities of our survival in the post-war period."

That is absolutely true. The nature of that crisis is clear to every member of the UAW. It is a crisis caused by the deliberate and planned attack on the living standards of the working people by the big corporations in alliance with the government. That crisis consists in the freezing of workers' wages while profits and prices soar to unprecedented heights. It is a crisis caused by the placing of the heaviest tax burden on the workers who can least afford it. It is a crisis which is further aggravated by regimentation of the unions by Congress and the President through the Smith-Connally law, the War Labor Board and the Little Steel formula.

#### WHAT CRISIS DOES HE MEAN?

But wait. Mr. Thomas does not mean that crisis at all. He seems to be talking about something else. Says Mr. Thomas:

"A minority, even a handful, can do a union irreparable harm, even

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### Fighting Spirit Marks Brewster Union Mass Meeting

By SAM ADAMS

I went down to the mass meeting called by the Brewster UAW Local 365 to see at first hand the temper of the workers who held the unique sit-in strike in protest against the sudden Navy Department cancellation of contracts which resulted in the closing down of the plant. The hall was packed to standing room, the crowd being variously estimated at from 3,500 to 5,000.

The thing which struck any visitor was the militant spirit of the workers. They came into the meeting feeling that they had done an excellent job, not only for themselves, but for the entire labor movement, because they understood that the cancellation of their contract and the closing of the Brewster plant was not an isolated event. More of the same was coming all over the country. That is why their fight was so important; it was a fight for every worker in war industry, because every one of them faces the same prospect.

These workers stayed in the plant and refused to budge until something tangible was done for them in the way of securing their present jobs, obtaining other jobs, or the kind of assistance which would not throw the burden of their unwanted unemployment on their own shoulders.

You could tell from their remarks and see from their faces that they came to this meeting to hear from their international and local leaders just what was accomplished for them. The gathering was a mass meeting with invited speakers, including Joseph Curran, Senator Murray of Montana, and Richard Frankenstein, head of the aircraft division of the UAW and in charge of the Brewster case. This fact alone precluded any possibility of a regular union meeting with participation from the rank and file. And so, they came and listened very attentively for the word that their fight was won and their jobs secured.

But they didn't hear that word. They heard a lot of other things instead. There was the mutual back-slapping by De Lorenzo and Frankenstein, by both of them of Senator Murray and finally some praise of the Brewster workers themselves for the fight they made, and for the leadership they had!

The most important part of the meeting was the report made by Frankenstein on his negotiations in Washington with the Navy Department, War Mobilization Director Byrnes and other assorted administrators at the Capital. There were many interesting things contained in Frankenstein's report. For example,

he related the absolute callousness of the Navy Department with regard to the problems of the workers and the effect of sudden unemployment upon them and their families. The Navy Department, Frankenstein said, not only misrepresented the state of production at Brewster and lied about production costs in New York as compared to other plants producing the same Corsair plane, but bluntly told him they were interested only in the "small stockholders" and had no concern whatever with the fate of the 12,500 Brewster workers.

#### WHAT WASHINGTON DID

Well, what happened in Washington? Frankenstein found that the governmental leaders were upset by the Brewster affair. First of all, they were upset by the strategy of the unionists, who refused to leave the plant. Then they were galvanized into action by the union!

What did they do? Senator Murray's committee met, on Memorial Day of all days, to consider what action could be taken to help the workers and the company to continue war production or convert to civilian production. But to date nothing concrete has been accomplished. The Navy Department refused to budge; they would not even agree to produce another 250 planes to keep the plant going for another period and

thus permit, perhaps, some time to reorganize affairs. The War Department likewise could in no way utilize the plant for anything.

What about production of consumer goods? Nothing much there either. Well, then, what remained?

Here is the point where the meeting suffered its real let-down. Here is the point where the Brewster

workers suffered the real blow. Nothing could be promised them now. Frankenstein had to tell them, these courageous, militant, well-organized unionists, that it would be some time before they could get their jobs back! They should go and get their pay checks and seek jobs elsewhere; their seniority rights would be protected for another thirty days and then...

Then, they might be rehired at lower wages! And what kind of work will they do? Nobody knows. Where will they get other jobs in New York, which is not a vital war production center? Nobody knows that either. Shall they move their families to other cities? Well, even here Frankenstein had already pointed out how practically impossible it was for 12,500 workers to take their belongings and families and hunt jobs in other cities.

#### THEY GOT PROMISES

Frankenstein's closing remarks, calling for discipline and unity, practically ended the meeting. The workers listened courteously enough to Senator Murray, who went on to blame the bunglers in Washington for their failure to plan for such things as the Brewster contract cancellation. But you could sense a new mood among the rank and file unionists. They passed the few resolutions

introduced condemning the Navy's action, calling for security of the worker in job cancellations, and so on. And then the announcement was made that since this was a mass meeting at which visitors and the press were present, no regular union meeting could be held. Here and there were voices asking for the floor, but they were told to wait for a regular union meeting the following week. The meeting then adjourned.

How did the workers feel? It was impossible to speak to everyone present. But you could catch remarks here and there. They knew they really didn't get anything except a few promises. They were proud of their fight; they knew they carried the ball for the whole labor movement. But it was clear that, having agreed to leave the plant and look toward the Administration for assistance, they had given up their front-line trenches. In exchange for what? So far as could be made out from everything that was said at the mass meeting, and everything that was written on the Brewster situation, for a handful of promises that have not yet materialized, and the likelihood is that they won't.

The workers did not like it and their dissatisfaction was obvious. For the questions still remain: What are they to do? How are they to live?



RICHARD FRANKENSTEEN

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Pedro CP Tries Frame-up on 'Labor Action'

By ANNE TEMPLE

Fearful of the growing popularity of LABOR ACTION, especially among the shipyard workers of the Los Angeles harbor area, the Communist Party recently launched a vicious campaign to suppress the paper. Their opening gun was a big half-page advertisement in the May 27 issue of the San Pedro News-Pilot headlined "Unite for Victory! Expose the Disrupters." In this signed article the American stooges of Stalin deliberately lie and falsify the program and policies of LABOR ACTION. The usual slander about the program being the same as Hitler's and Tojo's is repeated, and the outrageous charge that LABOR ACTION works with Bundists and fascists is of course the usual Stalinist stuff used against all opponents.

The Communists take as their starting point a four-point program advocated in the May Day issue of the paper in an article on Local 9 of the CIO Shipyard Workers Union (San Pedro). The program advocated is correctly given: "Revoke the no-strike pledge, smash the Little Steel formula, take labor off the War Labor Board and, finally, organize an independent Labor Party."

### THIS IS OUR PROGRAM

It is these planks, along with others in LABOR ACTION's program which are arousing the support of more workers daily. Progressive unionists everywhere are recognizing that the no-strike pledge deprived labor of its best weapon and delivered it helpless and gagged to the bosses. It is impossible to pick up a newspaper without reading of some new strike going on in an attempt to win better working conditions and better wages. To mention just a few, the repeated strikes of the coal miners, the Detroit auto stoppages, the Pacific Electric strike and, most recently, the Montgomery Ward strike. The Communists, acting as the worst fiends in the labor movement, denounce these strikes and propose that labor crawl on its belly before the bosses and whine for a few crumbs.

The Little Steel formula, permitting only a fifteen per cent increase of wages above the January, 1941, wage levels, must be scrapped insists LABOR ACTION, and the list of union leaders echoing this demand grows weekly. The cost of living, by government figures, has gone up more than double fifteen per cent, but labor's wages are frozen. On the other hand, no war profiteers are stopped by any fifteen per cent bar.

Even CIO President Murray, as did the whole CIO, has been compelled to denounce the Little Steel formula as "inadequate and unfair." The article in the News-Pilot is forced to acknowledge that "labor is calling for a re-examination of the Little Steel formula," but only mumbles vaguely about a wage stabilization program. LABOR ACTION boldly demands that wages be stabilized at the same rate of increase as the cost of living goes up.

"To take labor off the War Labor Board (WLB)," write the Stalin boys, "would destroy the usefulness of this agency." But they never answer the question: useful to whom? And for what? The WLB has been useful indeed to big business because it has served the function of cramming the Little Steel formula down labor's maw; it has bludgeoned unions which have gone out on strike, and it has become the cemetery for union grievances.

Thousands of cases pile up as the bosses use the clever trick of referring all labor disputes to the WLB. They can afford to stall for months and months, but the workers want their cases settled promptly. The labor representatives on the board are window-dressing for the reactionary policies of the employer and government representatives. Their function is to pour oil on the troubled waters. Many unions have urged that these labor members be taken off the War Labor Run-around.

The American Stalinists foam at the mouth in attacking the last plank: Build an independent Labor Party! Isn't their boss, Stalin, in close and

cordial alliance with Roosevelt and aren't they now trying to sneak into the Democratic Party to further that alliance? A Labor Party would "split the President's own party and isolate labor." They of course don't want to isolate labor; they just want to tie it up in a knot and gag it behind the Roosevelt bandwagon. What is labor today if not isolated precisely for the reason that each year it has "isolated" itself behind some Republican or Democratic politician? There are thirteen million organized workers in the unions and yet there is not one congressman who forthrightly represents them. Labor must build its own party and boldly challenge the two old parties of the bosses. The crying need of the day is for labor to step out of its isolation and come to the fore under its own banner and program.

### WHAT THE COMMUNISTS WANT

What program does the Communist Party advocate? Capitulation and unconditional surrender to the bosses so that "industrial peace" may reign—they want the peace of a graveyard, of a vanquished labor movement.

The program which LABOR ACTION proposes is unassailable, and precisely because it has received such warm support in this area, the Communists find it necessary to attack it. Feeling that their arguments against these planks are not too convincing, these agents of the Kremlin dictatorship let out a broadside about the "international connections" of the Trotskyists.

They refer to the terrible Trotskyists of England. Their crime? Supporting the struggles of the English coal miners for a decent wage. With that action, progressive unionists everywhere should solidarize themselves, but the Stalinist fiends are international strike-breakers. They deplore the awful Trotskyists of Russia, languishing by the thousands in Stalin's jails, for their crime of opposing his bloody dictatorship and for their insistence on the fight for socialism which the Kremlin tyrant deserted many years ago.

### FRAME-UP ARTISTS AT WORK

These professional liars have the audacity to charge that the Trotskyists are agents of Hitler and Tojo. Conveniently they forget to enumerate the Trotskyists of Belgium, Holland, France, Poland and Germany who have been hounded and persecuted by Hitler's hangmen because they would not give up the fight for socialism. Conveniently they also forget that not the Trotskyists but Stalin himself signed a pact with Hitler "cemented with blood" and twenty-four hours later Poland was invaded and then divided up between the two bandits.

Who was allied with the Hitlerites? During the year of the pact with Hitler, didn't they applaud the accord between Stalin and Hitler and yell that "The Yanks are not coming"; that fascism was a matter of taste? Now, however, Stalin has changed sides in the war and so have his followers. And these people dare challenge the socialist integrity of LABOR ACTION, which has never wavered in its undying hatred of fascism and Hitlerism.

Their slanderous charge of an "alliance with Ku-Klux Klanners, Bundists, Coughlinites, America Firsters and other elements" in Detroit is refuted by every issue of LABOR ACTION, with its constant exposures of the native fascists. Wasn't it LABOR ACTION which proposed to the Detroit unions that they organize defense guards to defend their unions and rights against the fascists? That proposal was too bold for these "anti-fascists." Who knows what Stalin might order them to do tomorrow?

Why this attack on LABOR ACTION? It is part of the Communist Party drive against all militant unions, part of their policy of capitulation to big business and an essential point of its new kind of strike-breaking program.

They have selected LABOR ACTION as their first target because it is the most outspoken champion of the rights of labor, fearless and uncompromising in its attacks against

the war pay-riots. Their attack in San Pedro coincides with the election campaign now going on within Local 9 of the Shipyard Workers Union for the executive and administrative boards. Fearing a defeat of the Communist slate, they are trying to divert attention from their rotten record of support to the union dictator, Pollard, by waving a red herring about, Union men, however, will not be deceived by this trick; they know the issues of the election and will not be taken in by it.

### THEY WON'T SUCCEED

The Communist advertisement was distributed at the shipyard gates as well as to longshore union members in the San Pedro area. A special Harbor Area Supplement to LABOR ACTION, issued locally, was also distributed to these groups of workers and was well received. The Supplement calls upon the workers in this area to be on guard against these agents of reaction. The Communists call for "immediate community action is a typical GPU method of operation used against all progressive workers. It is the Stalin machine trying to intimidate its opponents and silence them.

But LABOR ACTION cannot and will not be silenced in its defense of the trade unions and their rights. Its fight is the fight of labor everywhere for a decent living, for a better life. This fight will go on until socialism triumphs, until the mines and mills, the factories and shipyards are controlled and owned by the workers themselves. No Stalinist threats can stand in the way of this mighty tide toward a world of plenty for all. Again and again the Stalinists have tried to suppress LABOR ACTION, but to no avail. THEY WILL NOT SUCCEED NOW! We shall continue to expose their anti-labor dealings, their lies and their maneuvers. We are confident that workers everywhere by their own experiences will come to adopt our program not only for the struggle today but for the bigger struggle for socialism tomorrow.

# WORLD EVENTS

By Europacus

### Foreign Workers in Nazi Factories

Following is the testimony of an escaped French worker:

"I had worked in an airplane factory, with civilians, deported Frenchmen and people from almost every occupied country. Each of us, Polish, Russian, French, worked with two aims in view: to waste as much as possible, and to slow down production in the factory. Every one of us carried out this mission, shoulder to shoulder. The Russians got along wonderfully with the French. I will give you an instance. We had 500 pieces to finish and we managed to take three weeks instead of forty hours. But they couldn't say anything to us. We pretended that we had not understood the written instructions. Then they gave us an interpreter. But there were plenty of penalties. A long list of them was read out every month in each camp.

A Polish civilian deportee, who refused to work because he was barefoot, was shot in front of us. Some of our men, who had done a bad job of riveting the wings of planes, were very severely punished. You will understand our state of mind.

"In spite of their tremendous fatigue, the prisoners' morale is excellent. You must not talk to them about Pétain, and Laval even less! Our relations with German civilians started to be a little better about a year ago, and above all since their soldiers began coming back from the Russian front. Their morale is shaken. Did you know that some of the German soldiers went so far as to buy lice from the prisoners so that they could have their convalescence leave lengthened by the period allowed for delousing, and in this way put off rejoining their units as long as possible."

### Nazi Police and German Soldiers Belgian Underground

The last part of the above report on a growing anti-war feeling among German soldiers is confirmed by "News from Belgium":

"At Tongeren, in Belgian Limburg, discipline in a German barracks, where there were 1,200 recruits, deteriorated so seriously that the commanding officer had to appeal to the Gestapo. The soldiers were paraded on the barracks square before three plain-clothes police officials, who picked out a dozen victims and marched them off. Brawls between German soldiers and their officers are occurring frequently at Charleroi. The German gendarmerie often have to intervene to restore order. As certain German soldiers have got into the habit of airing their grievances to Belgians in the cafes, the German high command at Charleroi has forbidden the troops to have any

contact with the civil population." "The secret paper, 'La Libre Belgique,' reports that patriots made their way into the offices occupied by the German staff in the courthouse at Nivelles, Brabant. They carried away all files and cards containing information on those who had been deported and those liable to be deported for compulsory labor service from the Canton of Nivelles.

"It was only when the staff returned to the offices on Monday morning," says La Libre Belgique, "that our dear protectors discovered the theft which had been committed under the very nose of the sentries and Kreiskommandantur officers."

"Young men of Nivelles, Braine-l'Alleud, Genappe and the surrounding district, you need not be uneasy. You need not fill in any more forms, as the Germans won't have time to check up all information about you."

# Ship Workers Get Green's Bankrupt Program --

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capitalist employers. We do not call Green nor other genuine labor leaders "provocateurs of the enemy." Nor will we charge them with attempts "to undermine" what the workers have built. We will not do this for several reasons. For one, we are not cowards fearing to express what our real differences are with them and neither are we liars seeking to establish prestige and influence by distortion and innuendo. The Workers Party is a revolutionary socialist party. It has a program. It defends that program and seeks to have workers accept that program, including the workers in Johnny Green's IUMSWA.

We oppose the capitalist employers and expose them before the working class because the employers are our class enemy and the working class of which we are a part has nothing in common with them. John Green knows this; he was a socialist, or claimed to be a socialist once. The labor movement is our movement, because we are workers and toilers. We defend that movement against any attacks from capitalism, its stooges and beneficiaries. When we adversely criticize or differ with the leadership of labor we do so from the inside and as an integral part of the labor movement and of the working class.

We ask again whom and what is Brother Green talking about in his "report to the membership"? Is he talking about the Stalinist Communist Political Association (CP)? Yes or no? We can believe that he isn't talking about them since he joined with them at the IUMSWA convention three years ago to attack the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION as "anonymous vermin" and "a scurrilous sheet," carrying on "traitorous fifth column activity." In his resolution Green urged the IUMSWA locals "to track down and stamp out" any activity of "this irresponsible gang" that came "within their reach."

### GREEN IS DOUBLE-TALKING

President Green says further that there are "some short-sighted people who question now the policies of organized labor and of our parent CIO. . . There are some who cannot see further than their noses, and who thus fall easy victim to the provocateurs and disrupters in our midst. None of these internal enemies will be any longer tolerated."

Now we ask a few questions. Is President Green talking about the thousands of members of the IUMSWA who remain away from union meetings because they have become discouraged with the doing-nothing policies of their leaders in the face of the refusal of the government to grant them wage increases?

What does Green think is the reason that in yards and locals with ten, twenty and thirty thousand workers only a couple of hundred or less attend union meetings?

Why is it that in any number of

yards the vast majority of the workers have no interest whatsoever in the union?

Why was it necessary for Green to have to appeal to the WLB to force several hundred workers to pay their dues at one big yard?

Is Green talking about the thousands of workers of Locals 9 and 16 who have been trying these many months and years to get their autonomy back and to escape from the dictatorship which Green has imposed on them?

Is Brother Green talking about the thousands of shipyard workers on the Pacific Coast who went into the AFL unions because these workers were not given enough incentive for joining the IUMSWA?

Is Green talking about the thousands of sorely harassed workers in the shipyards who go on strike because they have learned that they cannot get even their simplest grievances settled otherwise?

### POLITIC AND UNIONISM

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party sympathize with all these workers, and we are on their side. We do not agree with all their acts. We decidedly do not agree with them when they refuse to join a union, or attend union meetings and be active in the locals. We believe they should join, become active and fight for their democratic rights. They should fight for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. They should fight for autonomy and to throw out the little dictators John Green has placed over them. Is this what Brother Green calls being "provocateurs" and "disrupters"?

The shipyard and all other workers should get into the unions, be active and fight for democratic discussion and the democratic administration of the locals and the internationals. They should fight for the institution of programs of labor education in the IUMSWA and for a real and aggressive campaign against AFL craft union penetration of the yards. They should fight against and not be intimidated by any threats made by President Green against militant workers who want to see this kind of working class trade union program carried out. Is this what John Green calls being "provocateurs" and "disrupters"?

Perhaps President Green has other ideas in mind. Are the "provocateurs" and "disrupters" those who disagree with him and other CIO leaders on the war and Roosevelt? Are these the "internal enemies" of the IUMSWA?

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party are against Roosevelt, and we are against imperialist war. This is no secret. It has been printed in millions of copies of LABOR ACTION. We do not speak of the war with weasel words. We never gave up our principles. We are not EX-socialists.

We are against the no-strike pledge. This is not a secret. We do not boast of our PAST militancy as strike leaders while telling the, sorely op-

pressed workers today that strikes are a crime or a luxury which the working class cannot afford.

We are against Roosevelt because he is the defender of capitalism and the chief spokesman for the capitalist employers. We are against him because he is the head of a capitalist government: a government of the Little Steel formula, the anti-labor WLB and NLRB. He heads a government which guarantees high profits to capitalist employers and demands a national service slave act for labor.

We are against Roosevelt or any of the other aspirants for the White ouse, Republican or Democratic, because they and their kind in Europe

# UAW Strikers Defend Union--

(Continued from page 1)

destroy it. The workers who insist on taking part in unauthorized strikes may be such a minority. Within recent weeks there have been too many wildcat strikes."

So that's it. Too many wildcat strikes. But this so-called handful has been striking to enforce collective bargaining, to raise their wages, to protect their union—your union, Mr. Thomas. Do you object to that, Mr. Thomas?

"Public opinion has become inflamed against our union. Word of these strikes is going to our millions of men in uniform. Our union cannot survive if the nation and our soldiers believe that we are obstructing the war effort."

What have you done, Mr. Thomas, to get public support behind the members of your union? Do statements such as this one, which charges them with obstructing the war effort, gain public support for your union? The members of Ford Local 200 in Windsor, Canada, also members of your union, had full public support in their recent strike—and they won that strike. Could that be because the issues in the strike were presented fairly and honestly? Why don't you try to present the strikers' case to the public, Mr. Thomas, and see whether they get public support? Or are you afraid that will give the lie to your statement about inflaming public opinion?

And the men in uniform! In the best Eddie Rickenbacker style you demagogically refer to the dead and the wounded, to the men in battle. What, Mr. Thomas, do these men want more than to return to jobs at union pay with decent working conditions? Are you fighting to maintain decent standards for returning soldiers or are the strikers doing that in the only way possible? One of the two stewards originally discharged by the Chrysler Corporation has a brother missing in action. There is hardly a worker's family that does not have one or more members in uniform. You know that, Mr. Thomas.

helped bring on the Second Imperialist World War.

### FOR POWERFUL UNIONISM

We are for strong, powerful and militant unions and a strong, powerful working class political party. We are for this today and after the war. We need that party today because this is the only way that we can get what we want and what we must have. That is the only way now that we can establish collective bargaining, establish a higher standard of living and defeat the efforts of the capitalist class and its government to destroy our unions. The puny and shrivelled efforts of President Green

will never accomplish this.

As revolutionary socialists we want to see our class establish a political party of the toilers that will inspire the masses to a victory over capitalism and capitalist oppression." We want to see the world delivered from capitalist imperialist wars, from fascism and any threat of fascism. We believe that only the working class can do this and that the time to start is now.

President Green pretended once to believe these things because he once claimed to be a socialist. He has become a turncoat to his principles.

Are we to be condemned because we have not?

And you know that when workers strike, it is to protect the jobs of the men who are fighting as well as their own. Why don't you tell that to the public, Mr. Thomas?

And then you talk of the people who are REALLY responsible for the crisis in the UAW:

"I know that government agencies are too slow, and that management in many cases is trying to provoke strikes or at least to take advantage of the no-strike pledge to weaken our union. These things are true, but to me they are only additional reasons why we must exert every bit of self-control we have to prevent the provocation from achieving its intended results—strikes and the blackening of our union."

### NOT SLOW—BUT ANTI-LABOR

Do you really believe that the only thing wrong with the government agencies is that they are too slow? Was Congress slow in passing the Smith-Connally Act, Mr. Thomas? Was the President slow in freezing wages and jobs, in demanding a labor draft? No, Mr. Thomas, they are not slow. THEY ARE ANTI-LABOR. And management doesn't have to try to take advantage of the no-strike pledge, as you so nicely put it. The no-strike pledge IS to their advantage—and to no one else's. Do you expect management to bargain in good faith, Mr. Thomas, after labor has given up its only weapon? Have you forgotten the bitter struggle to organize the UAW in 1935, 1936 and 1937? Do you think these corporations have changed? Ask the workers at Chrysler Highland Park, at the Ford Rouge plant, at Fisher Body. They will tell you how little management has changed. The only language they understood then and the only language they understand now is the strike.

And what do you propose, Mr. Thomas, to answer this anti-union drive? Self-control! Excellent thing, self-control, but not when a knife is being held at your heart—as it is being held at the heart of your union. What you propose, Mr. Thomas, is

that the victim be an accomplice to his own murder. And if he shakes just a little bit in fear you will be there to steady him so that the knife does not miss its mark.

And then you go on:

"This war must be won. If management will not sincerely work toward that end, then labor must do so."

What makes you think, Mr. Thomas, that management does not want to win the war? Does the fact that the corporations are sucking billions in blood profits out of the war lead you to think that they don't want to win? No, management has a bigger stake in this war than you or any member of your union.

For whom are the natural resources and markets of North Africa being developed, Mr. Thomas? For the members of your union or for Standard Oil and General Motors? Who will gain the rubber and minerals of the South Pacific, Mr. Thomas? The members of your union or U. S. Rubber and the Ford Motor Company? Who is interested in spheres of influence in Asia, Mr. Thomas? The members of your union or U. S. Steel and Chrysler Corporation. Big business does not want to lose this war. It merely wants the workers to pay for it. And that, Mr. Thomas, is what your union must resist. Let the capitalists pay for their war out of their profits and resources—not out of the living standards of the members of your union.

Mr. Thomas, you are the head of a powerful union of more than 1,000,000 members. It is not fitting that you tremble in fear at the slightest whisper of disapproval from the capitalist press and the agents of the big corporations in the government. The members of your union, whom you slander and revile, display the courage and good sense which you seem to lack. On them, now, falls the responsibility and duty of building a fighting union that will protect and improve their living standards and working conditions.

### Our Greek Martyrs

The exiled Greeks have announced the execution of Comrade Vitte, and other comrades, leaders of the Archio-Marxists, the outstanding revolutionary socialist organization in Greece, by the beasts of German fascism who now occupy that country.

Thus the martyrs' list of revolutionary socialists of the Fourth Internationalist movement continues to grow. The Hitlerite fascists know their main enemies—the revolutionary working class and its leaders. This is not the first time that the fascist butchers have taken the lives of the outstanding fighters for the working class and socialism. Like Stalin in Russia, they have executed Trotskyists in Belgium, Holland, France and Germany. And now they have taken the leaders of the Greek revolutionary movement.

Vitte was an outstanding figure in the European revolutionary socialist movement. He was the leader of an outstanding organization in Greece, a party which stood at the head of the labor movement in its struggle against the Greek monarchy and the regime of Metaxas, the fascist butcher who preceded the rule of the German fascists.

While Vitte and his organization, like so many other individuals and organizations in the Fourth Internationalist movement, had important differences with Trotsky, they were an important part of that revolutionary stream which seeks to re-establish genuine socialist internationalism and a new movement of the exploited of the world.

In paying tribute to Vitte and his comrades, who died at the hands of the German Brown Shirts, we pay tribute also to the long deceased Nikos Panayotides and L. Scalaio, members of the Central Committee of the Archio-Marxist Party, both imprisoned by the old regime. They were victims of a native fascism in no way different from the foreign fascists.

The best tribute that can be paid to these martyrs is the building of a strong international socialist movement and the intensification of the struggle for the true emancipation of all humanity for which they fought so valiantly.

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## Third of a Series of Articles on American Fascism

## Father Coughlin, Anti-Labor Apostle of American Fascism

By REVA CRAINE

After nearly two years of silence, Father Coughlin has once again come out of his hide-away and has begun his anti-Semitic, anti-labor rabble-rousing rantings at his Shrine of the Little Flower.

In the spring of 1942, Attorney-General Biddle announced that he intended to bring a charge of sedition against Coughlin's Social Justice for its attacks upon the government and the way it was prosecuting the war. After challenging the Department of Justice and even offering to appear as a witness, Coughlin suddenly decided to pull in his horns, and ceased publication of his hate-mongering weekly. He knew that a public trial would reveal who his backers and supporters were—something which might have proved very embarrassing to a number of people in high society and the upper brackets, and therefore he decided on a policy of underground existence, for a time at any rate. The Department of Justice assisted in this cover-up by abruptly dropping all talk of charges, indictment and trial.

It would, of course, be erroneous to believe that with this Coughlin and his organization ceased to exist. No, he was merely biding his time until circumstances had changed and he would once more be able to spew forth his fascist doctrines. At the present time, Coughlin is getting ready for the post-war period, which

he knows will be filled with a great many economic and political issues.

## A POST-WAR PROGRAM!

What, then, is Coughlin's post-war program?

As has always been the case with him, he has not stated clearly and lucidly what he stands for. Like every fascist, he hides behind high-sounding, but often meaningless, words in order to attract a following without at the same time revealing to it exactly what his aims are. To such a manner of operation Coughlin seems to be exceptionally well suited. His biographer, Ruth Muggelbee, reveals that as a youth in school he discovered how useful it was to cover up gaps in knowledge with brilliant oratory. This talent, which he has developed since then, has served him well in his fascist pursuits. What he lacks in clear thinking, in ideas, he compensates for by dazzling speeches and histrionics. That is why so many of his speeches are contradictory. His schemes for getting the country out of the depression, for example, were so faulty that any schoolboy could have torn them apart.

And yet, his are not simply the ravings of a madman. Just as Hitler's speeches did not seem to pass the test of logic and reason, and yet had a logic and reason of their own, so it is with Coughlin. In spite of all the irrationality of Hitler's oratory, the program which his movement even-

tually evolved and put into effect in Germany turned out to be very rational from the point of view of the German capitalist class. An examination of Coughlin's past reveals that he follows the pattern of Hitler, not as his agent, but rather as his admirer and imitator.

Coughlin, an obscure, Canadian-born priest, began his career in 1926 in Detroit, when the Free Press (with which he later had a fall-out) helped him get radio time, ostensibly to preach religious sermons. A little later, when Coughlin turned from religion to politics, and the CBS and NBC networks refused to sell him time, the Free Press once again came to his assistance by helping him hire his own stations and connecting telephone service.

It was only in 1929, after the big crash, that Coughlin's radio speeches began to appeal to larger audiences. He denounced the "international bankers" who had caused the depression, but urged his listeners to support Hoover. Soon he switched his allegiance to Roosevelt and the New Deal, making his famous "Roosevelt or Ruin" speeches.

## ANTI-UNION PROGRAM

In the early days of the New Deal, Coughlin spent his time attacking the banks and big business. He said he was for the "little man," the small business man and the unemployed worker. He even declared himself in favor of a just annual living wage.

His program for getting the country out of the depression boiled itself down to the following points:

1. Organization of a central bank.
2. Raising the price of silver.
3. Nationalization of the trade unions.

4. Return to small-scale production. Though still not the complete sixteen-point program which his National Union for Social Justice adopted in 1934, its fascist tendencies were already revealed. As for the first point, it was never made clear how a central bank, operated by a government in control of the bankers and industrialists, would abolish the power of these same bankers and industrialists. The second point was intended to take care of Coughlin's own financial interests, for in 1934 Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau revealed that the largest holder of silver futures in the state of Michigan was none other than Amy Collins, Coughlin's personal secretary.

By nationalization of the trade unions, Coughlin was really calling for their company unionization. He was trying to introduce into this country Hitler's method of dealing with labor unions, namely, by having the government take them over and run them in the interests of big business.

Coughlin declared: "I believe not only in the right of the laboring man to organize in unions, but also in the duty of the government to facilitate

and protect these organizations against the vested interests of wealth and intellect."

## CONTROLLING UNIONS

Later, during the Detroit strikes of 1934, he told what he meant by "vested interests of intellect." He was referring to the leaders of the trade unions, especially the more progressive and militant ones.

In the Detroit Times, on October 10, 1934, he stated: "Make the Department of Labor a real power! Let it take over the functions of collective bargaining, the function which the AFL (the CIO was not yet a factor—R.C.) is now trying to fulfill. Let it supplant the AFL entirely. Why should the workers pay dues to a labor organization to protect a right which is guaranteed by law? The service of the federation should be a government service paid for by taxation."

Every trade unionist today knows that the right to organize, the right to bargain collectively, remain rights on paper only unless the workers enforce them by actually organizing and actually engaging in collective bargaining. No government agency has ever enforced these rights for the workers. They have had to do themselves through their own organizations. What Coughlin was proposing was the destruction of the free and independent trade union movement and the substitution for it of trade unions, if

such they can be called, which exist today in fascist countries and in Stalin's Russia. We can be sure that as he renews his activities, this will constitute one of the chief planks of his new platform.

In the past, Coughlin's proposal was rejected by the entire labor movement, and denounced by every liberal as the fascist "solution to the labor problem." Now Coughlin will at least be able to count on the support of one group, the most reactionary, INSIDE the labor movement, the Communist Party, whose leaders are already sending up trial balloons for the proposition that the government take over the trade unions which the American working class has built and fought to keep free from such interference for many years and in many bitter battles.

## WHAT'S WRONG WITH INDUSTRY

The last point in the above-mentioned program is really the most reactionary of all, since it seeks to turn back the wheels of history and progress. The United States today is among the most advanced countries in the world by virtue of its great industries, its huge factories and mills, its huge productive capacity. The trouble has been, and is today, that these industries, created by the toil of millions of workers, belong to a numerically small class of capitalists, who operate them for the purpose of extracting profits. It is not the industries, it is not the large size

of the factories, which cause the impoverishment of the great majority of the American people. On the contrary, these very same industries make POSSIBLE a vast improvement in the standard of living of all the people, PROVIDED they are owned and operated by the people, through a government owned and operated by the people. What is wrong in the United States today is the OWNERSHIP of these large-scale industries. Change that, by establishing a workers' government which will take over these industries, and the problem is practically solved.

Coughlin's "solution" to the problem of ownership of the big factories is to get rid of them and revert back to the outlived way of producing the necessities of life through small-scale production. With this plank he appeals to the small business man who dreams of successfully competing with the big capitalist by reducing the latter also to a small business man. Hitler too rallied the desperate middle classes behind him on such a program. Once in power, however, Hitler revealed how impossible it was to put such a program into effect and he ruthlessly crushed those of his followers who had taken him seriously and proceeded openly to operate as the agent of his real masters, the big industrialists and bankers.

The working men and women, naturally, have nothing to gain from such a course.

## Sewell Avery Battles Ward Union As Government Agencies Rest Their Case

The net result of the struggle between the United Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees, CIO, and Montgomery Ward & Co., is that now, weeks after the government seizure of the plant, the NLRB order for an immediate election and the subsequent election victory by the union, is that Sewell Avery and his associates continue to harass the union, refuse it recognition and block any contract negotiations with it.

The union has 150 grievances placed against the company which still remain to be settled. President Samuel Wolchok warned the WLB that his union will not long stand for the run-around it is getting in Washington from that body.

No grievance machinery exists to settle grievances, he stated. Dismissal of union members from their jobs (twenty-two in all) occurred at the time the plant was in government hands. The company is out to bust the union through any and all means, said Wolchok, while all government agencies are "standing by and marking time."

We believe this situation bears out completely the analysis of the Ward situation which was written several weeks ago and is printed below.—Editor.

By WALTER WEISS

Despite thousands of frenzied editorials to the contrary, the Montgomery Ward seizure is proving by its consequences what has already been proved innumerable times by similar cases in the past: the government is an agency of the capitalists and acts for the benefit of the capitalists.

That is why Congress in the Connally-Smith anti-strike law gave the President power to seize industries where strikes occurred or threatened to occur. Senator Connally of Texas, a reactionary as hardboiled as they come, was perfectly satisfied before proposing the law that no harm had ever in the past come to the capitalists from such seizures and that none would come in the future.

What is true about the "seizures" is also true about the agencies that are supposed to favor labor. So little did the most reactionary Congress in history fear the "love" which the War Labor Board supposedly lavishes on labor that they gave the WLB the congressional seal of approval in the very same Connally-Smith Act. Formerly basing its powers solely on Presidential executive orders, the board became a creature of unquestioned legitimacy by the terms of the anti-strike law.

## WHAT DID SEIZURE DO?

Turning to the Montgomery Ward case, just what has come, so far, of the WLB's orders, Roosevelt's seizure, Avery's free military ride, the National Labor Relations Board election, and the return of the property to the company? Business Week, which doesn't have to dish out propaganda to a gullible "public" but is free to give the straight dope to its business clients, reports as follows in its issue of May 13:

"The union's position is as precarious as it has been at any time since its representatives first talked with Ward management more than two years ago."

Why? Partly because of a high labor turnover at Wards, but "even more important, its inability to service its members for the last five months has probably whittled away an appreciable amount of employee loyalty."

Inability to "service" its members? That means inability to prevent dis-

charges, demotions and other forms of discrimination. The company has long refused to do anything but increase its discrimination against union members. The government's "managers" during their stay told the union to wait until after the NLRB election. Then, just as the final vote was being cast, Mr. Roosevelt mercifully removed these bureaucrats from the hot spot and left the union officials face to face with a well rested Mr. Avery, who returned to the fight saying: "The election doesn't mean a thing." Sure, he'll talk to the union now—and offer a worse contract than the present one.

Of course, we do not accept Business Week nor any other capitalist source as a fountain of truth. Its summary of this case is, however, obviously accurate. So pro-Roosevelt a paper as PM of New York reported on May 8 that "government operation... is only nominal." There was, as in previous seizures of sacred private property, an American flag, some government posters—and management by the company. Avery and a few others were gone, but the real working officials continued to fire union members as before.

## UNION FACES SHARP STRUGGLE

This picture of the situation is also confirmed by officials of the union. The local's president on May 10 said: "The seizure... has been a farce." The union, he added, was now in an "awful position."

Incredible, isn't it? Yes, if you look at Roosevelt, as Philip Murray still does, as a man of "noble instincts—the world's outstanding statesman and humanitarian." No, if you have been reading the Roosevelt record, in LABOR ACTION. No, if you understand that he wishes to go down in history (as he himself has repeatedly asserted) as the savior of American capitalism. No, if you realize that he is the leader of a capitalist political party. No, if you merely remember that good trade unionists even in the real New Deal days called the NRA the National Run-Around. Like the capitalists, the capitalist government makes concessions only to the power of labor, as shown in the historic sit-down strikes, "illegal" though these were.

The Montgomery Ward union is in an awful spot and will not be saved by pious repetitions of the no-strike pledge. But that isn't the only result of the case. Avery fought a good fight for himself, true; but his loyal supporters, the capitalists as a whole, may also reap a reward. On May 12, the NLRB announced that it was considering a change in its rules to allow employers "involved in labor disputes before any federal agency" to challenge the collective bargaining certifications of established unions. At present, an employer can seek an election only when two or more unions claim to be the true bargaining agency.

This proposal by the NLRB would, if adopted, be a "distinct concession to industrialists," reports the New York Times of May 13. Since the Times never ceases weeping about the favoritism of the government toward labor, you can grasp the size of the "concession."

## LABOR MUST HELP ITSELF

As we have previously reported in LABOR ACTION, the War Labor Board in its stern fight against Avery ordered the union to seek a new NLRB election. In other words, Avery had no right to such an election, there being only ONE union in-

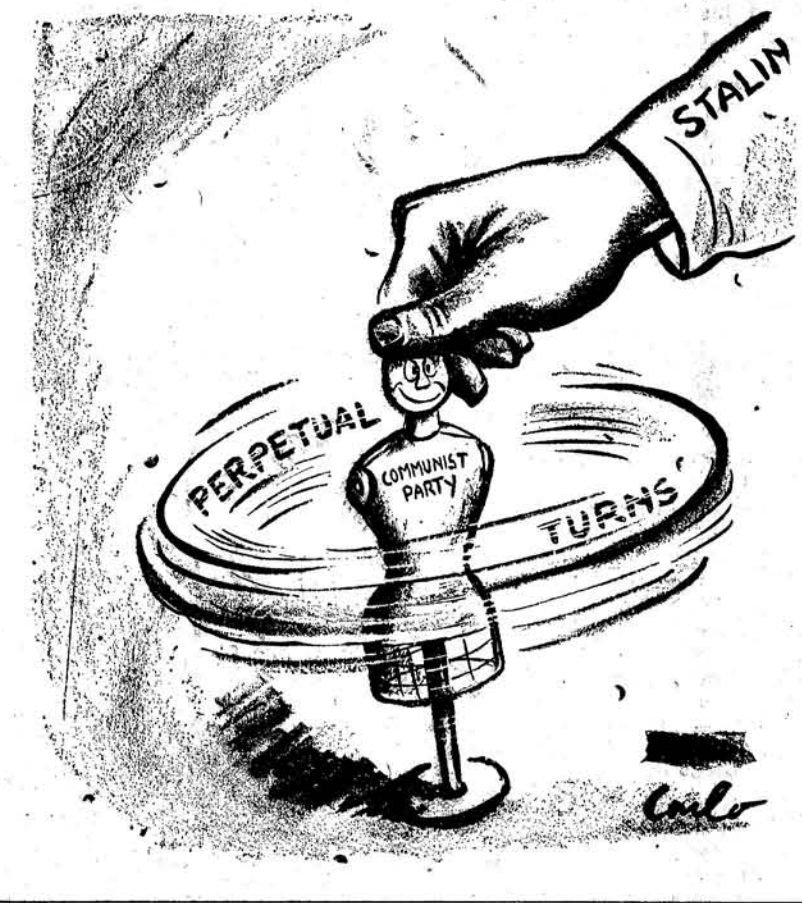
involved, but the FLB forced the union to give him an election. When it went against him, Avery dismissed it as "of no consequence." Naturally. His questioning of the union's majority was simply part of his union-busting formula.

So impressed was the NLRB by the lessons of the Ward case that it could not wait even a week to show its sympathy with the phony game of Avery and his friends. Like the WLB, the NLRB has been getting more openly anti-labor in its policies as Murray and Green and their lieutenants have shown an ever fiercer

determination to crush all rank-and-file resistance to the no-strike pledge. We shall have more to say in the future about the NLRB.

The Ward case is far from dead. So far as the workers are concerned, the millions of words that have been spilled on it will be fully justified if the obvious lessons it teaches are learned: No faith in Roosevelt nor in any capitalist politician or party; no faith in government seizures nor in government agencies. Labor needs to take back its strike weapon and to fashion a new political weapon, its own political party.

## The 'Dummy' Party



## CP Expels Sam Darcy

A statement in the Daily Worker early this week revealed that Sam Darcy, for many years one of the leading bureaucrats of the now dissolved Communist Party, and until recently its district secretary in Philadelphia, has been expelled from the party retroactively.

For some time there had been rumors that both he and William Z. Foster, who headed the sub-committee which recommended his expulsion, were in disagreement with the new line of the party. Darcy was removed from office because he was "unwilling and incapable of carrying out the line and policy of the National Committee plenum," which voted to dissolve the party and to organize the Communist Political Association based on a program of cooperation with big business and capitalism. Foster, apparently, has backed down in his opposition to this line and was thereupon put in charge of the committee which brought the charges against and expelled Darcy.

Although the Daily Worker statement, which appeared on June 5, indicated that Darcy was actually expelled on May 19, prior to the dissolution convention of the CP, the matter was never brought before that

convention. Darcy himself made no attempt to reach the convention delegates with his point of view. And even if he had, there is every reason to believe that this would not have been allowed by the bosses of the Communist Party, who are also the bosses of the newly christened Stalinist outfit. Their job is to take orders from the Kremlin, not to discuss with or be guided by the membership.

Just what Darcy's views are is not revealed by the Daily Worker.

## Houdi--

(Continued from page 1)

work together through their union organization. The union leaders cannot resist rank and file militancy.

Such militancy must be used to fight for a forty-hour week and the acceptance of the new contract which will insure higher wages. This pressure must be used to rescind the no-strike pledge and repudiate the WLB, which has amply shown its boss bias.

No layoff without a forty-hour week. No compromise on a new contract.

By JULIAN STERN

Since Sumner Welles' dismissal as Under Secretary of State he has written and spoken volubly on United States foreign policy. One of his more recent utterances was a speech entitled "The Shaping of the Future," delivered at a forum under the auspices of the New York Times.

He began his talk with a strange remark. Only through the organization of "a progressive world order founded on peace and human freedom... can the peoples of the democracies ever ATONE for the blindness and the lack of courage that they all displayed during these last tragic decades, and which unloosed the curse of hate, of death," etc.

Mr. Welles implies that the people, and not the ruling classes, and not the economic impasse in the world capitalist system, were responsible for the war. He implies that the subjugation of the working class in Germany, Austria, Spain and the other countries was accomplished with the tacit consent or even approval of the "peoples of the democracies." This simply whitewashes the crimes actually committed by the ruling classes and not by the peoples.

This, however, is a minor point in his speech.

## WHICH TYPE OF IMPERIALISM?

Welles' speech highlights the discussions now going on among the various segments that make up America's ruling class: whether to pursue their aims by means of the old or new imperialist methods. He presents the alternatives: either "an organization founded upon a regional system of states, each system primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace in its own neighborhood... functioning in coordination with and under the supreme authority of a universal organization, which possesses power to employ force whenever the peace of the world... is menaced." Or "a policy based on military alliances, the indefinite piling up of armaments, and their inevitable adjunct, stark imperialism... a temporary and precarious balance of power."

The key to the controversy is Welles' unconscious slip: STARK imperialism. Both ideas are for the preservation of imperialism. But should it be stark or subtle? The other method is more subtle. Shall the ruling class attain its ends by militarism, by force of arms, etc., or by purely economic and peaceful methods? According to Welles, the militaristic method would do the spade-work for a third world war while the League of Nations way would bring peace in our time.

Welles correctly points out that "isolationism" has been substituted by "militarism." He said: "Some of those very reactionary forces within this land which, for their own selfish ends, were able to cause this nation to adopt isolationism as its policy, are today already outspokenly demanding the adoption of the policy of a military alliance on the ground that it constitutes what they term 'realism.'" Thus the Daily News, apostle of pre-Pearl Harbor isolationism, can talk "realistically" that "we should be prepared for war forever after this war, by maintaining powerful air and sea forces and an Army expandable to war strength overnight." (Editorial, Daily News, May 30.)

So much for the isolationist-militarists. But what about this "League

of Nations" idea which Mr. Welles goes for?

## A CONVENIENT FICTION

This proposed system is based on a very convenient fiction that there is an inherent equality between nations, large and small. Says Welles: "No world organization can successfully be established except upon a firm and continuing partnership between the four major powers among the United Nations," the United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations, Russia and China. "But it is equally impossible," said Welles, "to envisage a world organization which does not in fact recognize the full sovereignty of every independent nation in the world, no matter how small it may be, and its inalienable right to participate, directly or indirectly in the political decisions which must be taken." Referring to Brazil

and Mexico, he said: "Have the major powers nothing to gain from their wisdom and statesmanship?"

The implication is that what would take place in this international organization would be a forum, a "feast of pure reason." Welles apparently believes that in the future the powers, great and small, will be motivated in their foreign policies solely by their desire for peace that the end of the war will signify the end of economic rivalries, that the imperialist demands of the conquerors will be quenched and those of the vanquished squashed. All these plans begin where they should end—they start with the organization and hope it will do something about the economics of the situation. The socialists know that international peace will come when there is a new economic system—THE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.

## Tories and Labor Skates Join Witch-Hunt of British Trotskyists

Complete reports arriving from England disclose that the raid on the headquarters of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Fourth International) of that country and the arrest of its leaders was the result of a carefully laid plan by the government to head off the increasing militancy of the British working class. The leading spirit behind the plan to head off the great strike movements of the British miners and other workers by a frame-up against the most revolutionary working class political organization in the country was Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labor in Churchill's cabinet.

Inability and refusal by the government to aid the cause of the vastly underpaid miners of England, who toil in what are probably the worst mines in the world, was responsible for the wave of strikes which broke out in recent months. The miners walked out because the mine owners and the government refused to meet their demands. While the British capitalist press, the labor fakers and the scabbing Stalinist Communist Party carried on a vicious campaign against the miners, the Revolutionary Communist Party and its paper, the Socialist Appeal, were outstanding in their support of the men and all other workers fighting for an improvement in their economic conditions.

Like big business in this country and in the rest of the world, the British capitalists and their hangers-on tried to create the impression that the miners' strikes in Great Britain were the result of "agitators" rather than the protests of the workers against their low wages, long hours of work and inhuman conditions of labor. This is an old trick and it didn't work so well. That is why Churchill's government and his "labor" supporters prepared the frame-up against the revolutionary socialists of England, the Trotskyists.

Press reports which we received from England revealed that among those arrested were Jock Haston, national secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party; Roy Teare, national secretary of the Militant Workers' Federation; Ann Keen, Northeast London district secretary of the RCP, and Heaton Lee.

These socialists were arrested under the provisions of the Trades Disputes Act of 1927, passed during the famous general strike of 1926, an act against which the labor movement of England carried on a furious fight. The leaders of the RCP were charged with "inciting to strike."

The papers which we have at hand also reveal a steady and ferocious campaign against our comrades which finally resulted in their arrest. But the real fears of the British rulers are likewise revealed in the same press: they are extremely worried over the militancy of British labor, which threatens their soaring profits "earned" in the midst of England's "fight for her life."

## May 'New International' Contains the Following:

Labor Problems at the Steel Workers Convention, by David Coolidge

A Blow at the Fourth International, by Max Shachtman

Engels' War Articles, by Leon Trotsky

Rising Tide of Labor in Britain, by Michael Drum

Maurice William and Marxism, by Joseph Leonard

Spain, 1936—A Study in Soviets—II, by Miriam Gould

China Under Japanese Domination—IV, by Ria Stone

In Stalin's Prisons—V, by A. Ciliga

Inside Cover: The Notebook

# Editorials

## An Unreconstructed Imperialist

The speech by Churchill before the House of Commons last week dropped a flare bomb into the war machine of the Allied nations. It lit up the fog surrounding the question of what we're fighting for and sent the liberal patriots of the high-blown phrase scurrying for cover licking their wound while they searched for some blood plasma to revive their old deception about this war being a noble crusade against fascism and inhumanity.

"The war has lost its ideological character." With this single flourish of his royal purple rhetoric, Churchill scattered into bedlam his pinkish liberal camp followers. LABOR ACTION would have said that the war NEVER had this character. When they said it was ideologic, we said it was economic; when they said it was idealistic, we said it was imperialistic; when they said it was humanitarian, we said it was a brutalitarian war for colonies, markets and profits. Churchill now admits as much in only slightly less candid language.

Churchill praised Franco. It was only natural, and why should the liberals across the land and over the seas be so shocked and outraged. Once, before 1939, Churchill applauded Hitler; at another time he lauded Mussolini, and now it is the turn of the remaining member of this "happiness boys" trio to receive the nod from Britain's master connoisseur of statesmanship.

It doesn't matter at all that while Franco was acting as grave-digger for Spanish democracy in the year 1936 to 1939 he buried thousands upon thousands of Spain's best workers, trampled to dust their union organizations and snuffed out completely the light of freedom in the country over which he now rules in exactly the same manner as Hitler does in Germany. Churchill has a simple measuring tape to judge the stature of a man's statesmanship: does he fit into the scheme of England's empire rule? If he doesn't, then he will be met with the furious energy of a man protecting his lifetime hoard. If he fits, then nothing else in the man's record counts; in Churchill's es-

timation he will be good, true and beautiful.

Churchill praised Stalin. Stalin, of course, is the well-known architect of that pyramid-monument built out of the bones of Russia's greatest fighters for mankind's emancipation in honor of his own humanity. Churchill cautiously paused in his praise of Russia's Marshal of Marshals until he was assured that, in his own words, "the Trotskyite form of communism no longer exists in Russia." Now Stalin safely fits into the pattern of Britain's exploitation of her half-billion colonial slaves. Now Stalin, together with President Roosevelt, have credentials notarized by Churchill, the keeper of the King's seal, permitting them to share in the world's rule. But Churchill is reckoning without the volcanic force represented by the peoples of India, China, Africa and Europe which shall blow up into the sky all the best laid plans of ministers, dictators and presidents.

Up to now, one of the neat tricks of this war was the sawing of England's Prime Minister into two halves, into Winston Churchill, "the man," and Winston Churchill, "the politician." Whenever Churchill, "the politician," was caught red-handed in some outstanding piece of dirty work, his liberal defenders would automatically reach for their fakir's paraphernalia, signal the band to strike up "There'll Always Be an England," and come out upon the stage with Churchill, "the man," that indomitable, inspiring and altogether magnificent personality. After five years the timing of this routine is executed flawlessly, but the material has become a bit stale and the fascination of the audience has turned to querulous annoyance.

The truth is, at last beginning to dawn over the minds of men that Churchill, "the politician," IS Churchill, "the man," and that this twin personality is united in devotion to the base ideal of preserving the rule of England's imperial lords.

Churchill is an unreconstructed imperialist.

# Churchill Praises Franco As He Once Did Adolph and Benito

By W. WHITE

Poor Winston Churchill is a stout fighter but is a little short on brains. He doesn't understand what the war is really about. He's not the man to make the peace. That's the best explanation which the liberals, the hypocritical and the honest ones alike, can give for Churchill's latest speech.

Of course, there is another explanation: that the liberals don't know what the war is all about. That happens to be the right explanation.

It has always been clear to Churchill that he was a leader of the British capitalists and a defender of their social system and their empire. He has often said this openly. As between the "democratic" and fascist forms of capitalism, his preference has been for the former, but he has insisted that fascism was necessary for capitalists in some countries after World War I and might be necessary even for Britain under certain circumstances. On the other hand, he has always bitterly (to put it mildly) opposed what he calls anarchism or communism or, in more recent years, Trotskyism.

Churchill's deeds during the present war have been perfectly consistent with these ideas. In fact, so have Roosevelt's, although the President at times may use language less frank than Churchill's.

Lets examine the Churchill policy, as he himself has expressed it. On September 17, 1937, after he had already for some time been warning that Germany was a threat to the British Empire, he wrote as follows: "One may dislike Hitler's system and yet admire his patriotic achievement. If our country were defeated, I hope we should find a champion as indomitable to restore our courage and lead us back to our place among the nations."

He says that he personally has always wished that "the Fuehrer of Germany should become the Hitler of peace." If only you do not threaten our empire, he says to the German

Nazis, we are ready to "grasp your hand."

Mussolini, even after he began to display Mediterranean dreams, was to Churchill that "extraordinary man." He had brought Italy out of "incipient anarchy into a position of dignity and order." In other words, he had saved it from communism. He had rescued the capitalist class (January 30, 1939).

At the beginning of the Spanish civil war Churchill found it easy to dispose of the claim that the Spanish government had been legally and democratically elected. All a Leninist trick, he said.

"It is idle to claim that a constitutional and parliamentary regime is legally or morally entitled to the obedience of all classes, when it is actually being subverted and devoured by communism."

In simpler language, if a democratic government can't crush widespread strikes and independent political activity by the workers, other classes (that is, the capitalists) need not obey such a government. They have the right—no, the duty—to support a Franco or some other fascist dictator.

To the liberals and the labor leaders, who in those days thought that Churchill didn't know what the war was all about, he replied: "A revived fascist Spain in close sympathy with Italy and Germany is one kind of disaster. A communist Spain, spreading its tentacles through Portugal and France, is another, and many will think the worse."

A capitalist realist, he knew that a Franco Spain would perhaps be a threat to the imperial holdings of the British capitalists but that a revolutionary socialist Spain would be almost certain disaster to all capitalists, including the British. "The spirit and prowess of Mussolini and Hitler strive with those of Trotsky and Bela Kun (former Hungarian communist slain by Stalin—Ed.), he said. "It would be a mistake alike in truth

and wisdom to rate both sides at the same level" (August 10 and October 2, 1936).

After it had become clear to him that the Spanish workers' desire for socialism had been safely strangled by treacherous leaders—but not until he was quite sure that this was the new situation—he changed his line. At first, he then said, Franco seemed to stand for a civilized and unified Spain, but now the character of the Spanish government has changed remarkably. There is no longer any danger of communism. The only remaining threat is of Nazi domination, and we should therefore prefer a defeat for Franco (December 30, 1938).

Why is Churchill today once more two hundred per cent in favor of Franco? Precisely because Franco is a very weak link in the chain of capitalist domination. Churchill is not willing to gamble that the Spanish workers could again be sidetracked by "democratic" leaders. Neither is Roosevelt, who, despite a few slightly harsh words, has continued to give material aid to the tottering dictator. They both fear that "Trotskyism" in Spain would again threaten to spread its "snaky tentacles" through France and Portugal and much farther—to Italy, to Greece, even to Russia, even to Britain.

Sir Samuel Hoare, Britain's trusted ambassador to Spain, explained the situation in a speech made just two days after Churchill's recent so-called "bombshell." After the crash of totalitarianism, he said, many parts of Europe would become the "prey of new devils worse than the last"—unless Britain helped to prevent it. Worse devils than totalitarianism! Surely there can be nothing worse than fascism.

But Hoare is only repeating what Churchill has always said, what Roosevelt and all the sensible capitalists think: workers' governments, that is, genuine revolutionary socialism, that is, Trotskyism, is far worse for the capitalists than fascism. It is the end of their world.

# New Stage in World War --

(Continued from page 1)

Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms were constantly referred to as a means of rallying mass enthusiasm for the war. But with each improvement of the Allied military situation, the references to the "doctrines" of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms became more and more infrequent, until at present they are hardly mentioned at all.

### FIGHTING FOR STATUS QUO

The closer the Allies come to victory, the more is it revealed by the leading powers that they are, at one and the same time, fighting for a return to the miserable European and world pre-war status quo which led to the outbreak of the present war; a three or four-power domination of the world, a maintenance and bolstering of the rotten regimes which existed in Europe and which are now propped up by the Allied powers, and against any important social and political change which the masses of Europe desire and are, in actuality, fighting for.

Political policies of the Allies have been grist to Goebbels' propaganda mill. Every time some Allied leader makes a pronouncement on what to do with Germany after the war, he only gives the fascist beasts a grip on life, a means by which to keep the German soldiers fighting and the masses working.

Vansittartism, the program for the annihilation of the German people, is the real aim of many of the Allied governments. Each time one of the adherents of the Vansittartist theory speaks, the German fascists merely make a holiday of their remarks. Goebbels says to the Germans: Will you give up now to become slaves and worse, or will you fight on to the last to prevent it?

When Russia announces that it will take 10,000,000 Germans to Russia as slave labor, Goebbels merely repeats the announcement, certain that it will galvanize the nation to continue the hopeless struggle.

When Allied spokesmen announce plans for the dismemberment and occupation of the country, the fascist scoundrels repeat the plans. It is any wonder, then, that the barbarous Nazi regime is able to continue the war?

All they have to do is to quote Churchill's speeches to the effect that the Atlantic Charter applies only to the Allies (and only to the big powers, to boot), that the British Empire means to hold its own; all they have to do is show the deals in North Africa with Darlan, the relations to Franco in Spain, to Vichy in France, in order to convince every last person in Germany that it is not a war against fascism, an ideological war, but simply a fight between the powers for control of the world and the defeat of Germany's economic and military power, and, finally, dismemberment of the country.

### NO PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM

The biggest weakness of the Allies is their inability to advance and fight for progressive programs and ideas.

There is as yet no definitive idea

of what to do about Germany, except to destroy the country and its people.

There is no agreement about relations to the de Gaulle movement.

There is no agreement on what to do with Poland.

There is no agreement about how much Stalin is to get out of the war; what will be England's share, or America's.

But there is agreement between all of them to prevent the masses of Europe, the courageous and militant national revolutionary movements composed of active workers and peasants, from getting "out of hand," to keep the masses from asserting their will in this situation. There is agreement between them on the necessity of preventing the workers of Europe from bringing about any social change leading to an improvement on the conditions of the people on the continent.



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

While Roosevelt is silent a good deal of the time, he has made his attitude clear by his sharp antipathy to de Gaulle. Behind this antipathy is the fear that the French masses will be uncontrollable by de Gaulle or anyone else and that they may set up their own regime leading to a revolutionary political change in the country.

### THE ITALIAN LESSON

This policy has been completely demonstrated in Italy, where no important steps were taken to permit the intervention of the Italian people in deciding their own fate, their own regime, their own social order.

Every report from Italy, every important observation made on that country, records that the Italian people want a change from the old order, they want an end to the monarchy, they want genuine freedom, immediate elections, free speech, free press, right to organize, a constituent assembly. But the steady liberation of the country from German military control has not led to a corresponding social political and economic liberation of the people.

Tory England is fighting to keep the corrupt, venal and fascist monarchy on the throne in Italy and to prevent any social change in the country. This policy is supported by Russia and the United States.

While America does not see eye to eye with Churchill on Spain, Churchill nevertheless announces, to the dis-

may of the liberals of the world and particularly of the Spanish people, who hate Franco, his support of that butcher. To balance off Franco, he also supports the Stalinist Tito. He is able to do this because he has no fear that the Communists in Europe will do anything to change the face of Europe. Stalin has guaranteed that.

In addition, Churchill wants to keep in power in Greece the miserable monarchy of King George which England helped to foist on the Greek people, who want no part of the imported Rex from Denmark to rule over them.

On the other hand, Churchill supports de Gaulle. The reason behind this is England's determination not to be cut off the continent by the United States or Russia, a determination to continue its old policy of a balance of power in Europe.

Stalin means to gobble up a great part of Poland. He already has the Baltic states and seeks control over the Balkans.

Thus Allied political policy is a bad edition of the policy of the Allies following the First Imperialist World War; it is power politics of the worst kind which can only guarantee a Third World War.

### THEY FEAR THE MASSES

We have often said that, if the Allies seriously meant to apply the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, Hitler could not last in Europe. If the Allies separated the peoples of Europe from their murderous regimes, if they showed that they understand there is a difference between the fascist rulers and their subjected people they could unleash a wave of revolutionary struggle in Europe that would bring the war to a speedy close and a lasting defeat of fascism.

But it is apparent that the Allies fear a revolutionary upsurge in Europe as much as Hitler does. They fear that such a revolutionary upsurge would bring about a real social and political change that would end the system of exploitation, poverty and war for all time. This is why they cannot really promote the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. They are afraid of their own people, too.

But the European masses will not be downed. They have given unmistakable signs of movement. Their hatred of fascism is too intense to be stayed. Their hatred of unemployment, poverty and war is too great to be stemmed. They want a new life, they want genuine freedom, they want real security and peace. And they will fight for it. In fighting for these ideals, they will be fighting for the peoples of the whole world, for the peoples of Asia, of South America, of North America, of Africa. The American workers, the great masses of our country, could do no greater service to themselves than support the peoples of Europe in their fight for freedom. The fight of the European masses, the European workers and peasants, is the fight of every American worker, poor farmer and oppressed and poor lower middle class.

## A Letter to the Workers Party From the Italian Left Communists

The attack by the Socialist Workers Party, through its paper, The Militant, upon our Italian comrades, to which LABOR ACTION called attention in its issue of May 15, has aroused indignation not only inside the Socialist Workers Party itself, but among other revolutionists.

Below we print a copy of a letter received on this subject by the Workers Party from a well-known militant who represents the oldest left-wing group in the Italian revolutionary movement, the Italian Fraction of Left Communism, more commonly known as the "Bordigist group," after the name of its founder and leader, Amadeo Bordiga.

Bordiga, one of the founders of the Italian Communist Party more than a quarter of a century ago, was expelled many years ago from the party and the Communist International by the Stalinist bureaucracy for the "crime" of Trotskyism. After serving a prison sentence imposed by the Italian fascist government, he was released under strict police surveillance. His whereabouts now are unknown, although a recent, unconfirmed, newspaper dispatch from Italy reports the formation of a "Revolutionary Socialist Party" under his leadership following the overthrow of Mussolini.

Comrade Zadra has been a member of the Italian Left Fraction ever since its inception. His letter follows:

May 31st, 1944.

Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.

Dear comrades:

I completely solidarize myself with you in defense of the Italian Revolution. Inseparable from this defense is solidarity with all revolutionists in Italy, among which must be included the Italian Trotskyists and their manifesto against the war and for socialism.

As you know, I differ with your party on certain political questions, but one cannot avoid the elementary duty of solidarity with revolutionists who fight against all odds in Italy. However, this elementary duty is apparently not so elementary for the Socialist Workers Party who in their editorial, "Trotskyism and the European Revolution," published in The Militant of May 13, attack the revolutionists in Italy.

It is known that anyone who is incapable, for one reason or another, of elementary solidarity with revolutionists in a great struggle will never himself participate as a revolutionist in such a struggle.

The Socialist Workers Party supports Russia in the war, and Russia works together with world capitalism against the revolutionary aspirations of the workers. This was the case in Italy and it is becoming clearer and clearer to all revolutionists that to support Russia means to support the world counter-revolution against the workers. The policy of supporting the Russian state is a failure and is in line with not supporting the revolutionists in Italy. The fault is not with the Italian comrades, who are confronted with the counter-revolutionary Russian state, but with the policy of the Socialist Workers Party.

The manifesto of the Italian Trotskyists is a historical social and political document based on the class struggle against war and for a workers' peace of socialism as against a counter-revolutionary peace of the capitalists, which can only lead to a new world war.

To defend the glory of the Russian Revolution of 1917 means to defend also the revolutionists in Italy. The Socialist Workers Party may speak in the name of the Russian Revolution, but in its actions departs from its great traditions.

No matter how the war ends, the Second and the Third Internationals, the Russian state and especially the bourgeoisie, will find themselves with backs that are broken. The workers have no fatherland and the Russian state comes forward as a motherland, but this new mother can only give birth to a beast. Let us understand that!

Comradely,  
ZADRA,

Italian Fraction of Left Communists.

## Capitalist Comments On Unemployment

All of the following statements were quoted in the leading editorial in The International Musician for May.

"Full employment would be incompatible with the free enterprise system, which carries with it the right of a normal flow of unemployed."—John F. Fennelly, addressing the Investment Bankers Association in New York.

"Workers of the future will require fears of unemployment and poverty to insure the necessary drive in this world of internal and international competition."—The Bankers Magazine of London.

"That objective—a job for everybody able and willing to work—is not only beyond reach but is also socially undesirable."—McClure's National Whirligig.

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