Workers! This Is Not Our War! It Is a War for Boss Profits! Join Hands in Independent Labor Action Against the War!

**DECEMBER 2, 1940** 

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

LABOR ACTION

# **STOP F.D.R.'S UNION-SMASHING DRIVE! CIO Scores Important Victory in Vultee**

#### BULLETIN

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 26-The CIO today scored an important victory in organizing the nation's aircraft workers when a cheering union meeting ratified the contract signed by the union representatives and the Vultee management.

The contract provides for substantial increases in wages, ranging from 31/2 to 121/2 cents an hour for lower paid workers. Other union gains include a two week vacation with pay, five days a year sick leave, and pay for the principal holidays. On the demand of the bosses that the union agree not to strike for two years, the union was forced to accept a compromise calling for arbitration.

While the arbitration agreement was a dangerous concession, its significance is considerably reduced by the successful conclusion of the strike. In face of the organized efforts of management, army and state officials to crack the strike under the cry of "crippling national defense," the men held their ground and pushed their strike to victory.

The results therefore come as a ringing answer to Attorney General Jackson, President Roosevelt, Dies and all those others who loosed every strikebusting device at their command.

Above all else, the victory is a vindication of the worker's right to strike despite all the official hokum of "national de-

dustries. With the Vultee strike as inspiration, that drive must be pressed in double time. Even had the union won less than it did, the Vultee strike would still be a great victory. It can be done! That's what the

98

**Red Scare Proves Dud** 

/ultee strike proved!

#### By JACK WILSON

LOS ANGELES, Calif., Nov. 23-War department efforts to break the 9 day Vultee aircraft strike suffered a severe setback today when the U.S. Army was forced to withdraw, in disgrace, its brass hat, Major Sidney Simpson, from the negotiations between the CIO and the Vultee management.

Sensational headlines in local newspapers today screamed out the story (Continued on page 2)

### There's No Fooling the Bankers-

". . . Practically all wars have had some of an economic cause . . . I lived long enough in that old British Empire to know that anybody who challenged the commercial supremacy of England would sooner or later meet England in war. 1918 with the Treaty of Versailles was the answer to the German challenge.

"... The second thing that I see in this present conflict is that it is also essentially a contest for economic power. For 350 years, first of all destroying France, then smashing at Russia and fighting with and against every nation in Europe, and then eventually destroying or trying to destroy Germany in 1918, old England has kept her grip on the economic resources of Europe in one way or another.

"... We are maintaining our economic production largely as a result of the war situation in Europe.

"We have reached the state . . . in our American economic life today where one of the things we need to fear most is the coming of peace. Nothing at the present moment could be more disastrous to America than the sudden ending of the war, an armistice and a treaty of peace."

-excerpts from "America's New Economic Position" by Dr. William A. Irwin, National Education Director, American Institute of Banking, U.S.A., published in latest issue of the American Woman Banker.

# **CIO Plans Organization Drive in War Industries**

#### By DAVID COOLIDGE

The third annual convention of the CIO which closed in Atlantic City last Friday was a notable example of the virility of the labor movement in the United States. The outstanding and most persistent features of the convention was its allegiance to the principle of industrial unionism and its repeated expression of determination to press the organization of the unorganized in the mass production industries. Industrial unionism and organizing the unorganized were the main slogans of the convention, and the pivot of the convention resolutions and speeches.

This is true despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the delegates and officers of the CIO were, at least, passive

supporters of the war preparedness plans of the Roosevelt gov- the packing house workers, radio, ernment. Many of the delegates agricultural, woodworkers and othof course, expressed open and production industries as a whole were

either completely neglected by the

to work.

Wednesday.



### Is This A Wage Increase Or A **Practical Joke?**

The Navy Department has finally acted on the matter of wage rates for Navy Yard workers. The increases are so miserly that one almost suspects the Department of trying to play a practical joke on the men. But this is no joking matter.

In one Navy Yard, for example, the chippers and caulkers get 2/10 of a cent an hour increase; electricians, 4/10; machinists, 4/10; pipefitters, sheet metal workers, shipwrights, anglesmiths and painters, also 4/10. The real aristocrats, under the new rates, in this particular yard, are the riveters. They get 8/10 of a cent an hour more! Figure it out for yourself. That's 32¢ more for a 40-hour week. Just think of all the pins that can buy! The men are thinking . . . but not about pins. They're thinking of the government handout to Bethlehem Steel and the other big shipbuilding companies and their own wage "increases."

In This Issue -Women and CIO Page 3 England at War .... Page 3 U.S. Empire Page 4

THREE CENTS

# We Must Answer Government Strike-Busters with the Might **Of Organized Union Militancy**

President Roosevelt has thrown a challenge to labor. He has publicly announced that he will seek to outlaw strikes in industries producing for "national defense."

Roosevelt's declaration was made at a conference attended by those government dignitaries who are directly involved in preparing the nation for war and suppressing labor militancy: Secretaries Stimson and Knox; Attorney General Jackson, who earlier this week worked himself up into a frenzy against the Vultee strikers; and Sidney Hillman, present in his capacity as chief labor lieutenant of the capitalist class.

It came after the government's official red-baiter, Martin Dies, had called for immediate action against "communist-instigated" strikes, and after Chairman Sumners of the House Judiciary committee had asked the Attorney General if additional legislation was necessary to snap the noose of wartime dictatorship more firmly around labor's neck. Any strike that is led militantly, that speaks the demands of the strikers, is "communistinstigated" to the boss.

This is a challenge that labor must meet squarely. If the legislation is inadequate for this base violation of an elementary democratic right, then new legislation will certainly be passed. Already, bills have been introduced into Congress to take up the

> slack of existing legislation. One way or another, Wall Street's servants in the Capitol will find the means of adjusting the boss-made laws in the inests of the Big Business.

#### **Precious Right**

Labor, we repeat, must meet this challenge squarely. This is no isolated banquet speech tossed off by some crack-pot politician. This is the President of the United States speaking - speaking with the approval of virtually all the government officials. This is President Roosevelt speaking-the same Roosevelt who hardly more than a year ago told the WPA strikers that a worker cannot strike against the government. This is a man speaking who intends by foul means, or "fair", to bend every man and machine to the purposes of imperialist war. Roosevelt is not fooling. His declaration was an opening shot fired in the interests of intensifying the repression against any display of union militancy. Note how viciously the government spokesmen of Big Business attacked the Vultee strikers. That was only a beginning + a token of ruthlessness to come. We cannot afford to fool

fense." It proved that labor need let nothing stand in the way of its own interests. Strikes everywhere will be met with the anguished cry of "national defense." But the Vultee strikers have choked that outcry in advance. Let the bosses worry about their own national defense. Labor is concerned only with defending its working class interests.

The victory in Vultee is a goahead signal for aircraft union organization. The bosses may howl, they may appeal to the FBI and Martin Dies. Labor stands firm on its own rights and interests. Labor, in this case the aircraft workers, refuse to be intimidated by phoney propaganda or dire threats. The CIO at its convention decided on an organizing drive in aircraft and the other war in-

#### Get Nicked for **Grafter's Take**

National Guard units in a large Midwestern city, on receiving their final pay for Guard duty, before being merged into the regular army, found that their pay was, on the average, \$10 short per man. Officers' explanation was that this deduction came from various bills run up by Guardsmen for equipment, etc. The real explanation is alleged to be that these bills actually amounted to only a small part of the deduction, but that officers' grafting on state funds had to be covered up on the books.

#### LABOR ACTION 114 W. 14th Street **New York City**

#### Dear Friends:

I am interested in learning more about the Workers Party and its fight against the bosses' war plans.

Name

Address

City

1×

positive support of the "defense

program" and material aid to Great Britain. But war-mongering support of the "defense program" was by no means the keynote of the convention. Only two or three delegates made what could be called flagwaving speeches. Most of the delegates seem to understand that good patriotic Americans as they consider themselves to be, something more than abstract patriotism would be necessary to improve their standard of living and force union organization and collective bargaining agreements on such corporations as the Ford Motor Company and Bethlehem Steel Corporation. Consequently, the response of the delegates to proposals calling for the acceleration of organizing campaigns was far more enthusiastic, for instance, than their response to that part of Sidney Hillman's speech which advocated full support of the "defense program."

This attitude of the delegates was brought out again in the discussion of unity between the CIO and AFL. The capitalist press has given a completely distorted view on this question of unity. They have made it appear that the only thing in the way of unity between the two organizations was John L. Lewis. This is certainly not the case. If the attitude of the delegates to the convention is representative of the attitude of the rank and file on this question-and there is reason to believe that this is so-then it is clear that the ranks of the CIO are not ready to compromise with the AFL. Anyone who attended the convention and observed the attitude of the delegates objectively would readilv understand this. In the first place, the CIO in general is composed of workers who were neglected by the

AFL for decades. Take the steel

workers for instance: the attitude of

high AFL officials toward these work-

ers was that the steel workers did

not want to be organized. Consider

81.0

AFL, put into the so-called federal unions (where the only right they had was to pay a per capita tax to the AFL executive council with no vote) or told, as in the case of the radio workers, to go into one of the craft unions. Now there is an organization among

these workers. Their living conditions have been improved and they believe that they are on the right track to greater freedom and security: Furthermore, the rank and file and the newer leaders in the CIO firmly believe that the CIO is a more democratic organization than the AFL: for example, there is wider opportunity for rising to positions of leadership. There is greater opportunity for the young men and women of the organization, they are not pushed back by a large and solidly entrenched group of leaders such as the AFL executive council. These delegates were also convinced that the program of the CIO is more dynamic, more up-to-date, more in line with the needs of the workers in modern society. The program is built around the needs of the workers lowest down, just such workers as comprise the membership of the CIO. Their experience tells them that the AFL is not and cannot be concerned with such a program since its base is in a different type of work.

#### Negro Attitude

Most important of all in one's attitude toward unity must be a consideration of the Negro worker. The attitude of the Negro delegates in the convention toward this question was most illuminating. There was a Negro woman delegate from Virginia, a tobacco stemmer. In many sections of the tobacco workers are Negroes. This is a southern industry, and Negro workers are subjected not only to the usually very low southern wage scale, but to all the indignities that go with being a Negro. The AFL has totally ignored this type of worker. A white delegate from Alabama related that AFL leaders at an NLRB hearing in Birmingham had made the remark: "No we don't want any niggers in the AFL union. We don't want these conditions. We want to go on and build like we ought to in the south."

The Negro woman mentioned above spoke at the convention, and her remarks were recorded in the convention printed proceedings for that day. Nothing of this kind had

ever happened in her life. There was (Continued on page 2)

# **CIO Delegates, Visitors Get LABOR ACTION**

around the convention hall and got

The distribution proceeded steadily,

without any shouting or commotion.

LABOR ACTION has the distinction of being the only paper distributed at the CIO convention just held in Atlantic City. In all, some 700 free copies of the special convention issue were given out. It carried, on the front page, an address to the workers of the CIO and delegates and visitors took the paper with interest.

The distribution started after the sessions were over on Tuesday when members of the WORKERS PARTY. who had come from New York, stationed themselves at strategic points

block that stood in the way of the

International Typographical Union

returning to the federation. The con-

vention substituted a 2 cents a month

per capita tax instead of the former

ets 1 cent a month special tax by

CIO in demanding that government

contracts be refused to corporations

that have been found guilty of vio-

lating the National Labor Relations

Dubinsky has 'had rather rough

sledding in the convention. The Old

Guard of the organization are not

inclined to go through with the prom-

Act by an administrative agency.

calling it a per capita tax.

Tough Sledding

cent tax. Thus the federation still

The convention lined up with the

The AFL convention meeting in ises that were made to the ILG be-New Orleans began its second week fore it joined the AFL. Dubinsky by voting to repeal the special aswas promised that a recommendation would be made to this consessment of one cent per member that was voted in 1937 as a war chest ention to take from the executive to fight the CIO. This was one of council the power to suspend Interthe demands of the Dubinsky and the nationals and vest this power sole-ILGWU. It was also the stumbling ly in the convention.

> The executive council brought in a proposal that the council retain the right to suspend "in cases where two or more national and international unions unite and conspire to create and launch an organization for any purpose dual to the AFL." Aside from this, unions could only be suspended by majority vote of delegates to the convention.

This did not suit Dubinsky and he wanted an amendment to permit accused unions to sit, be heard and vote on questions involving their suspension. A whole battery of the top leaders answered Dubinsky-including Tobin, Woll and Brown of the machinists. Tobin said that he believed that the council should have the power to suspend for oth-

arity Forever". When they disbursed, the opportunity came to approach them and offer them free copies of "A real labor paper, LABOR AC-

But because of the numerous com-The paper was very well received. mittee meetings which kept dele-Stalinists refused to take the paper gates in the hotel where the convenor took copies only to throw them tion took place, as well as the fact away. However, of the 700 papers that many delegates and visitors had distributed, not more than 30 or 40 rooms in the hotel, the bulk of the papers could not be distributed the were thrown away. The rest were stuck into pockets to be read at first day. The big scoop came on leisure.

than slaves.

secure decent working conditions? How else will we show that we mean business when we have grievances? Ask the boss for a favor? Appeal'to his goodness of heart? Ridiculous! The only language a boss understands is the language of organized action.

They single out the war industries. But what industry is not a war industry today? Under Wall Street's direction the United States government is preparing for war. In some respects, alliance with Britain and so on, it is already in the war. Thousands of young men are being conscripted to fight this bosses' war. Industry, which (Continued editorial column, page 4)

TION".

It was a sight for sore eyes to see LABOR ACTION in the pockets of

er "crimes against the federation" other than forming a dual organization. Tobin did not mention racketeering as one of the "crimes" that should be punished by suspension. At the time this is written the vote had not been taken on the resolution. Dubinsky also hit a snag or two in his fight for action against racketeers. Here too it is evident that Dubinsky will not get what he claims was promised him. Dubinsky demanded that the AFL leadership sup-

of unions that do not clean out rack-(Continued on page 2)

port a resolution giving the execu-

tive council the right of suspending

# **Next Issue**

of LABOR ACTION will contain a complete analysis of the AFL convention. We go to press while the convention is still in session. either. The strike is our most precious possession. Many a working man went down before the bullet and lash of company and government police to win the right to organize in unions, to strike. Labor fought hard to win this right. For, only with it can we protect our day to day interests. Without it, we are no better

How else will we demand a decent wage? How else will we

At noon all the delegates, numbering 600, assembled on the boardwalk the union delegates. to take pictures and to sing "Solid-**Dubinsky Finds It Tough Going at AFL Meet** 

# LABOR ACTION

(Continued from page 1)

the case of the Negro machinists re-

ported to me by a white delegate. These Negro machinists were ig-

nored by the AFL because the ma-

chinists union bars Negroes. But the

AFL became alarmed lest these men

go to the CIO so the AFL formed

the Negroes into a jim-crow local.

Later these Negroes left the AFL

and joined the CIO. A Negro dele-

gate from the packing-house work-

ers spoke on unity and listed the ex-

The position of all of these work-

which called on the incoming officers

"immediately to resume negotiations

# **CIO Presses Drive to Organize War Industries**

# With the Labor Unions-----**On the Picket Line** By David Coolidge

#### OUSTING THE RACKETEERS IS LABOR'S JOB

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor has finally taken some sort of stand against racketeering in its affiliated unions. Not a very strong stand mind you, but an expression of opinion. An official attitude on racketeering and gangstering in the AFL was long overdue. The record of some AFL unions in the matter of clean unionism stinks all over the land. There have been beatings and intimidation and even murder of good honest trade unionists who would not bow to the demands of some gangster outfit or some gang of sluggers that was in the leadership of the union.

Page 2

The initiative should and must be taken by organized labor. The AFL should repudiate the position taken by Bill Green at the graduation of the FBI police school. In this speech he called on the FBI and the police to aid in cleaning up the AFL unions. At that time we remarked that here was an invitation cut to order for Hoover's snoopers and gunmen. They and all the other flatfeet would like nothing better than to get at the trade union movement for "cleaning" purposes. Give this outfit a little rope and even pious old Bill Green might have his private telephone tapped and might find himself facing one of Thurman Arnold's antitrust charges.

The Federation will call on its affiliated unions to oust all men with "criminal records" from official posts. The executive rejected the suggestion that the Federation be given power to act if the international

#### \$30 FOR 30 HOURS SHOULD BE THE DEMAND

The workers of Vultee Aircraft Co. are on strike and the company is coming forward with the usual patriotic blah and the regular hokum about losing money. This company which, along with others, refused to go forward with making airplanes until the government agreed to allow them 12% profit, is now yery much concerned about the "defense program". The workers are awful, they are unpatriotic, they are fifth columnists. The company is spilling its fake tears of patriotic ballyhoo all over the lot.

And what are the Vultee workers asking for? A minimum wage of 65 cents an hour. Awful, isn't it? To demand a minimum wage of \$26 a week. Let the officers and directors otism.

OH, FOR THOSE GOLD-PLATED BATH-TUBS

periences of the Negro packing house workers with the AFL. unions failed to kick out its racketeers, or even its officers with "crimers, white and black, was not favorinal records"

according to capitalist law. The

of Vultee try this \$26 a week wage.

minimum of 75 cents an hour. They

the minimum not lowered it. The

\$1.00 an hour for a 30 hour week.

hour week and the \$30 minimum pay.

This should be a national demand

of the CIO. They can get it. Nobody

could stop them if the workers stif-

fened up and closed ranks. The

bosses know this. That is why they

come forth with the sob stories

about losing money and with their

usual rotten and hypocritical patri-

rect.

able to uniting with the AFL. The The action of the executive counrepeated attitude of the convention cil is too mild and is unsatisfactory. was for getting ahead with what In the first place what do they mean they conceived to be the all-imby labor officials with "criminal recportant task; the building of the CIO ords"? Criminal is a technical legal by organization of the unorganized designation meaning those who have workers in the mass production inbeen convicted in a court of record. dustries. Would the AFL apply this title to a trade union leader who had been Hillman Fails convicted in a capitalist court for educating a few scabs in the course The chief proponents of unity in of a strike? If such an official was the convention were the Amalgam-ated Clothing Workers under the convicted for. "murder" after some scab had died from wounds releadership of Hillman. The Amalceived while trying to break a strike, gamated submitted a resolution such an official would be a criminal

workers however would not consider with the AFL and devote their best such a leader a criminal and they and most sincere efforts to unite the would be a thousand per cent cortwo organizations upon a basis which will not sacrifice any of the great The people for the AFL to turn gains made by the CIO or compromthe heat on is the real racketeers ise the principles for which it stands and gangsters who invest many of but which will end division in the the unions in that organization. house of labor and equip it with that Green knows who they are and what unity which is essential to the realizunions they are operating in. Conation of its maximum strength and stant pressure from the AFL execueffectiveness." tive council will uproot them and The resolution passed by the consend them back to the dives where vention said: "unity in the labor they belong. That is all that is necmovement can be accomplished only essary; merciless and unremittent if the unions in the CIO continue to pressure and publicity from the top. organize the unorganized workers in Is the AFL leadership going to do the mass production and basic inthis or are they going to wait on dustries along industrial lines. And Arnold and the capitalist courts? it must be all-inclusive. It must pro-(The above was written before the tect and include all the organizations question came before the AFL conin the CIO . . . not one must be vention. We will comment on this abandoned to the cavillings of jurisseparately-Ed.)

dictional claims of craft unions and the prevalent racketeering within the AFL. In short, every affiliated organization of the CIO must be chartered and included in any new The union originally demanded a united labor body that may develop . . . any program for unity should are fools. They should have increased involve a joint convention of all labor organizations, including those minimum should be not less than of the AFL, the railroad brotherhoods and CIO with existing jurisdictional differences to be adjusted in such a The workers throughout the war industries should demand the 30 convention." It should be noted that the Hill-

> man resolution was somewhat vague and did not lay down specific conditions for unity. This vagueness can be understood in the light of Hillman's speech to the convention. It was clear that Hillman has either voluntarily or by urging from Roosevelt, assumed the task of getting unity on any terms. Hillman said that he considered it his "first responsibility is to see that the country is prepared to defend itself against

its enemies . . . I find no difficulty

in reconciling the objectives of la-

bor and the objectives of national

defense, they are intertwined, they

are inseparable . . . I have the com-

plete support of the President of the

United States . . . I do not need to

tell of the need for national defense.

You are not kidding yourselves re-

gardless of your opinions . . . let

us use the time still available to

make the defense of this country so

strong and so powerful that even

the maniacs of Europe will recognize

that this is no hunting ground for

Hillman closed his speech by a

ficer of the AFL . . . to promote his insurance business . . . explore Tom Rickert's mind? . . . I said to him that he was getting \$20,000 a year graft out of the advertising monopoly in the AFL." Lewis then said that he had explored Hutchinson's mind, also of the AFL neotiating committee and "there wasn't anything there that would do you any good."

#### Stalinists Swallow Pill

The Stalinists, of course, were opposed to unity not for the reasons given by other delegates but because their difficulties would be greater in the more conservative and reactionary AFL. Furthermore they were ready, all through the convention, to submerge themselves completely to any and all positions taken by Lewis. One of the highlights of the convention, as mentioned last week, was their frantic efforts to stampede the convention into drafting Lewis for re-election. When they saw that Lewis was determined not to run, they began preparing themselves to climb on the Murray bandwagon. And, despite the fact that they were violently opposed to Murray, the Stalinists were vociferous and demonstrative in their applause after he was elected. They got quite a bit of practice in belly crawling during the convention.

The most noticeable case of the Stalinists being forced to chew a bitter pill came when the resolution on what may be called "Americanism" was presented. Unlike most of the resolutions this had no title and was simply "Resolution R-25." This resolution read in part: "we neither accept nor desire-and we firmly reject consideration of any policies emanating from totalitarianism, dictatorships and foreign ideologies such as Nazism, Communism and Fascism. They have no place in this great labor movement. The CIO condemns the dictatorships and totalitarianism of Nazism, Communism and Fascism as inimical to the welfare of labor and destructive of our form of government." As soon as the resolution was read and its adoption moved. Tom Kennedy was recognized. He said that the resolution "is not conceived in red-baiting hysteria or witch 'hunting . . ." Kennedy then moved the previous question. Murray called for a standing vote on closing debate. (That is, for a vote to close debate since no one had spoken except Kennedy for the previous question.) The delegates stood, Stalinists and all. Then Murray called for a standing vote on the resolution, with the same response. This was the only important resolution presented to the convention on which there was no debate and the only resolution on which the previous question was called immediately after the mo-

fon to adopt.

Establish Talks

#### who used his position as an of- families and unions must be observed."

Vice-president Reid Robinson (Mine Mill and Smelter Workers) who presented the report, said in his discussion: "I do not believe that the government of the U.S. should say o any conscript that he cannot write home to his mother and say that conditions are not what they should be in this camp; I don't think his mail should be censored; I think that if conditions are bad there that he should have the right to bargain collectively to see whether or not those conditions can be righted, and that is the intent and purpose of this resolution."

There was a resolution on the preservation of peace and democraic institutions which read in part: "the convention reaffirms its determination that this nation must not enter into any foreign entanglements which may in any way drag us down the path of entering or becoming involved in foreign wars . . . the CIO and its members . . . are determined to protect and defend this nation not only against our foreign enemies . . . but also against those forces within our nation who place the profits of their financial and industrial enterprises above the wellbeing of the millions of common people . . . national defense means the continued growth and expansion of powerful industrial unions which will protect and defend the interests and status of their members to achieve economic security . . national defense means . . . protection . . . of the exercise of all of our cherished civil rights of speech, press, assembly and worship."

There were resolutions on youth, wage hour laws, home guards, war and profiteering, collective bargaining in government contracts, NLRB, aliens, lynching and a resolution demanding that labor be represented on Red Cross executive committees. Also on trade union refugees and organizing Ford's.

The resolution on political action read "that the CIO hereby dedicates itself to a full participation in the political life of this country, uniting its strength and resources with all other liberal and progressive forces; and that the executive officers and the executive board of the CIO are hereby authorized and directed to give serious consideration to this problem looking toward the formulation of a program which would guarantee and assure an independent political role for organized labor.'

#### in the Organization

Any discussion of the convention must give a place to consideration of some of the important general aspects of the organization as revealed at the convention. Most important of all of course was the retirement of Lewis and the election of Murray. What does this mean for the CIO? In our opinion there will be no The general actings of the convendrastic change in the policy and taction revolved around resolutions tics of the organization except possibly a gradual and persistent squeez-

the CIO presidency but also as the head of the miners. That is, Lewis should remove himself completely. The capitalist press was thoroughly disheartened by the stand that Murray took on unity. Since Murray expressed himself in accord with the sentiments of Lewis and the convention, the daily papers tearfully lamented the "tragic" situation that the workers are in because unity will not be accomplished immediately. The CIO must be judged by its program, by the direction in which it is going and by its fundamental industrial union orientation. Anyone who ignores these factors will make a most serious mistake and miss the main point. Many adverse criticisms can be made of the organization, its

program and its leadership. LABOR ACTION has made such criticisms and will make many more. These adverse criticisms may be factual and important but to leave it at the would not be telling all of the relevant truth about the CIO. The main positive point that needs to be made again and again is the committment of the organization to organization

of the workers in the mass production industries into industrial and not craft unions. The CIO membership is the decisive section of the working class today. It is composed of the youngest and most militant workers. The organization is fluid and not hard set like the AFL. Hundreds of thousands of CIO workers, such as Negroes, women and youth have never been in unions before. The nature of modern industry throwing masses of them together, the pressure of events and the degeneration of capitalism will inevitably make these workers responsive to progressive economic and political ideas. Militant action will be forced on them as the only answer to the situation they find themselves in.

#### **Reflects Labor's Needs**

The very existence of the CIO and the program adopted at the Atlantic City Convention spring from the needs and experience of the workers in the mass production industries. The CIO and its program did not originate as an "abstract idea" in the mind of Lewis, nor does its future revolve primarily around the private opinions of Murray whatever they happen to be.

This is a partial answer to many questions that arise in connection with the convention and the CIO. War it a rank and file convention and



#### (Continued from page 1)

to the general public, although unionists in touch with the negotiations knew all along what role the U.S. Army was playing in this strike. Simpson forgot he didn't have the cover of Army censorship over the and that he wasn't

did the delegates represent the membership of the organization? The answer to this question depends upon one's assumptions and what one is lookin for. It also depends on whether one looks on the CIO as a dynamic movement or a static organization like the AFL. (Of course, not even the AFL is really static). For, despite the fact that the majority of the delegates to the convention were either officers of the national organization and of the various units, international and local, there were many real non-officeholding rank and file delegates present and participating in the convention.

The main fact to grasp is that these delegates regardless of their rank, or where they came from and how they got there, adopted a program that represents the interests of the working class in a degree never before achieved by the trade union movement since the formation of the AFL over fifty years ago.

#### War the Danger

It is true that to achieve this program, will require something more than the present CIO yeadership is capable of. It will require increasing democratic participation of the ranks in the affairs of the organization. It will require increasing class consciousness of the membership and greater militancy. The leadership will move very slowly in this direction if at all. It will do so under the pressure of a rank and file that has acquired experience in the fire of the class struggle and that has acquired working class political education. This is the function of politically educated trade unionists. They will have to learn to do this job inside the trade union movement. It cannot be done from the outside, no matter how correct and necessary criticism may be from time to time. The greatest danger that the CIO

faces today is the war and the regimentation of the labor movement in support of the war: the submersion of the movement in the "defense program" despite the excellent resolutions of the convention in favor of pushing the organizing campaigns. It is not that the leadership does not sense the situation, but that it will not be capable of carrying on in an uncompromising manner when the heat is turned on and the flag waving begins. Here again is a job for the class conscious and politically educated workers. They must know how to shoulder this burden and this responsibility correctly.

2

A

·\$

ciliation service, flying here to reprèsent the government.

Last week one of the few scabs claimed to have been the victim of "strikers' violence," but it was revealed that he gotten into a fight at a football game while drunk. Of course, the newspapers played up

5. 24 2 2

War profits keep on soaring. The profits of 28 steel companies increased 211% the first nine months this year over the same period last year, \$54,606,254 last year; \$169,919,-408 this year. Steel workers are getting just about the same size handout this year they got last year. Despite that 211% increase in profits, Kenneth Austin writing in the New York Times has the gall and brass to say: "Owing to the heavier labor and tax costs now prevailing, and despite the lower fixed charges, the steel industry can not expect to show earning power approaching that EN-JOYED in 1929 even though production in that year may be eclipsed." Mr. Austin feels however that "the steel results are not discouraging."

"Enjoyed" is certainly a good word to use in connection with 1929 profits that went to the ruling class. 1929 and the years before was the period that Lundberg wrote about in "Americas 60 Families." (Which book we

#### ORGANIZED PRESSURE WILL CRACK ANY BOSS

class.

The workers at the Midland plant of Crucible Steel have called their strike off and returned to work. The president of the SWOC local involved said the men voted "approximately 48 to 52 per cent" to resume work pending conferences with the company. The men wanted a wage increase of 12¼ cents an hour.

There is something strange creeping into strike strategy during these days of "national defense" and big profits. Workers with a host of real grievances nurse them for a year or more. Then they strike. Before they get satisfaction they return to work while their leaders play around with the company sharks. We remember the militant days of the unemployed movement before the Peoples Front and Dave Lasser got hold of it. The practice was to go to the relief sta-

#### JUST A LITTLE PRESENT FOR US WORKERS

Professor Millis who has just been appointed to the NLRB began his career in office by giving a little advice to the workers. Just a little hint that "when an emergency situation arises it is up to everyone to buckle down and work whatever hours are needed. However we may not come to that time here." The professor thinks that 40 hours are enough for anyone to work, but you know, an "emergency" may arise. When that time comes the corporation president

assume he has repudiated on bended knee.) These were the years when the big shots were scrubbing the dirt from their hides in marble bath rooms and gold plated bath tubs; when little miss so-and-so had a weekly allowance for hats bigger than the annual income of a steel worker; the years when a child of the bosses could spend more in one week for toys than a steel worker could spend for clothing for his child in a year.

When we refer to 1929 we don't mean that the bosses aren't doing the same thing now. They are. Only now they are hiding it and no one has come forward yet to catalogue their "conspicuous waste" as was done in "America's 60 Families." Now the bosses are more careful to cover up their extravagance, their licentiousness and their unlimited anpetite for estates, automobiles, yachts sables: all of which they satisfy from the sweat and toil of the working

the stooge in charge to the window

and showed him or her a few hund-

red or thousand militant unemployed

workers. If they were especially ob-

stinate you invited the hundreds or

in the warehouse that was not being

distributed, we went in an organized

manner, not boisterously or rudely,

took the flour or clothing and dis-

tributed it to those who needed it.

At times it was necessary to use a

little pressure on the warehouse door

but there are no doors that will not

yield to the organized pressure of

the workers. Some of these things

could serve as excellent examples to

and the steel laborer; the chairman

of the board and the coal miner; the

chairman of the finance committee

and the sewing machine girl should

all be willing to "buckle down" and

work 60 hours a week. Everyone

must help. All must pull together:

the \$100,000 a year executive and

the laborer with a sixty pound cast

iron pipe on his back. Millis is the

present handed the workers by "our"

hero in the White House immediate-

the AFL and CIO workers.

veiled attack on the Stalinists in support of the Amalgamated resolution for barring Stalinists from holding office in the CIO. He also stated several times during the speech that the Amalgamated would remain in the CIO. Numerous speakers took the position that the important job ahead

them."

was not unity with the AFL but unity of the CIO for its organizing task. Lewis said that "there is no peace because you are not strong enough to command peace upon honorable terms. And there will be no tion and put in your demands. If peace with a mighty adversary until they didn't come across you sat you possess that strength of bone and there. If they still refused you took sinew that will make it possible for you to bargain for peace terms on equal terms." Then Lewis told the convention that he had explored Bill Green's mind "and I give you my word there is nothing there . . . thousands of unemployed workers explore Matthew Woll's mind? . . . inside. If there was flour or clothing it is the mind of an insurance agent

# AFL Meet-

#### (Continued from page 1)

eteers. The resolution as worded could be used not only against real racketeers but also against any individual, group or local that took a course of action unpleasing to Green, Woll, Hutchinson, Frey, Tobin and other leaders.

The papers reported that Green had stated that he was against strikes in the war industries. Green denied this and said that what he said was that "there must be no interruptions in production for any reason. I mean no such thing as giving up the right to strike. I was referring to the need of setting up tribunals or other machinery to safeguard against the necessity for strikes." This reminds us of the business man who said that he was not against freedom of speech so long as it didn't get in the papers.

which were based on the 75 page report of Lewis and the previous actions of the executive board. Most of these resolutions were important and significant. They demonstrated the direction in which the CIO is oriented and what are the chief interests of the members of the organization. There was a resolution on WPA calling for greater employment and higher wages: for the elimination of the 18 months clause, and rules relating to minority political groups, and for the right of collective bargaining. The resolution on unemployment called for a program of public works. The resolution on wages and working conditions said that "labor must be ever vigilant to guard against any action which, under the pretense of furthering national defense, will seek to deprive the workers of their fair share of these increased earnings or to deny them their fundamental right to or-

or to strike." A resolution on housing called for 300,000 new units a year and 30 million dollars additional annually from the federal government. The resolution on unity of Negro and white workers said that "the CIO hails the advance of industrial unions which have broken down the traditional barriers of outworn union policies to the unity of Negro and white workers, and hereby pledges itself to uncompromising opposition to any form of discrimination whether political or economic, based upon race, color, creed or nationality." There was a resolution against the southern poll tax. This resolution was supported in speeches by Negro and white delegates from the poll tax

The resolution on protecting labor in the administration of conscription, the law demanded that labor have a voice in the administration of the draft law. Furthermore "the law must be administered in a manner so as not to discriminate against individuals because of their union activity nor to break down and destroy union standards . . . the democratic spirit and practices of the American people must be preserved for conscripted

men. Harsh and repressive discipline ... should give way to the encouragement of initiative and self reliance, with ample opportunity for men in the ranks to advance. The civil rights of the conscripted men, such as the right to vote, must be protected and their right to be in touch and communicate with their

ing out of the Stalinists. It is known that Murray was reluctant to take the post unless he could get a mandate from the convention empowering him to eliminate the Stalinists from official posts in the CIO. He didn't get this, but the resolution that was passed gives Murray enough room to proceed as he did in the SWOC.

He gave an intimation of how he will operate in his acceptance speech. 'A practical demonstration of your ability to deliver the goods must be given to me during the ensuing year. I am not going to be content with a pledge of loyalty and support. I am not going to be content with the passage of a mere resolution. Deeds count! Hard work is needed! Petty bickering must stop! The tongue of the slander monger must be stilled!"

It is a safe guess that Murray will insist on this; that he will push the ganize into unions of their own choice organizing campaigns, that he will demand a full day's work from every organizer, that he will be rather ruthless in the enforcement of what he conceives to be correct discipline.

> Murray is an outspoken patriot and a loyal member of a religious faith that has no tolerance for "radicalism." Murray is not just opposed to Stalinists and Stalinism; he is equally against any and all forms of opposition to what he would call "our democratic institutions." He would be just as strongly opposed to Lenin as he is to Stalin; he would make no distinction between them. Therefore Hillman will probably find it easier to work with Murray than with Lewis. Not because Lewis is anymore tolerant of the ideas of communism or "radicalism" than is Murray, but because, for one reason or another, Lewis was working with the Stalinists and was far more tolerant toward them than Murray. Murray begins his administration not only free from any committments to the Stalinists but intends to remain that way. The Stalinists understood this perfectly. That was the reason they were so frantic in their efforts to force the re-election of Lewis.

#### Future of CIO

The future of the CIO and the place that it will assume in the labor movement can not however be judged by confining oneself to the role of Murray or the past and future role of Lewis. This is the method of the capitalist press and the AFL. Bill Green takes the position that not only should Lewis resign from

dealing with inexperienced conscriptees under military discipline. He continually demanded that the CIO give up its right to strike. When the union leaders refused to be intimidated, he would leave the conference room for an adjacent bar and start drinking in despair.

His activities became so utterly intolerable that even the company officials agreed with the CIO statement that Major Simpson's drunkness and his attitude were an obstacle to settlement of the strike.

#### **Picket Lines Hold**

Speeches by putrid Congressmen this week seeking to frighten the strikers by talk of "treason" had little effect on the local situation. Another threat by Martin Dies, notorious red-baiter, to expose "radicalism" among the strikers, and the usual quota of strikebreaking editorials, and a petty frame-up on

"violence" failed to budge the unionists one inch. Picket lines held firmly, although there was some justified beefing on the part of strikers against the secrecy that cloaked the first few days of negotiations.

#### **Concessions** Seen

Preliminary reports on the progress of negotiations indicated that the CIO was obtaining some real concessions for the contract, and a union contract would have been signed but for Major Simpson's sudden insistence on a two-year nostrike clause. Chief gain of the union in the un-

finished negotiations was agreement for a \$.62½ minimum hourly pay after a brief apprenticeship, and the tentative acceptance of a sliding scale of wages based on rising living costs. Negotiations continued today directly between the union and the company with John Steelman, chief of the federal labor department con-

For Sale -

Bolshevism and World Peace by Leon Trotsky ..... \$1.50 The Draft Program of the C.I. by Leon Trotsky (hard cover) \_\_\_\_\_\_.50 New International (1st vol. bound) \_\_\_\_ ..... 1.25 Illustrated History of the Russian Revolution (1st vol.) Write or come to Labor Action Office, 114 West 14 Street.

#### the first "violence" story and buried the true facts later revealed.

FBI agents were circulating among the strikers and were supposed to give Martin Dies a report on "subversive" activities which is due any time now as an attempt to conceal the real issue of the strike: low wages.

As we foretold in last week's story, Sidney Hillman, member of the National Defense Advisory Commission, did his bit to help the employers against the union. His strikebreaking statement that it was "very, very unfortunate" that the strike was called without giving him a 48 hour notice was the basis of all the propaganda against the union this week. Hillman's contribution to the bosses

was shoved back into his teeth by the union, which pointed out that he had been notified for seven weeks about the negotiations and had done nothing to see that labor got a square deal.

#### "Talk of The Town"

Meanwhile, the strike continued to be the talk of this open shop town. an amazing display of labor strength in the city which openly brags via billboards, "Los Angeles, open shop center of the West Coast."

In the past, strikes were more easily broken since the city did not have large industrial plants with powerful groups of workers employed in them.

Now Los Angeles is becoming "proletarianized" at a rapid pace due to the expansion of the aircraft industry. And there is a shortage of labor for these plants. The Vultee strikers do not have the problem of worrying about scabs replacing them on the job.

The Vultee strikers are indispensible to the operation of that plant. Only a division among themselves created by the raising of a red scare. and the subsequent confusion, could bust up the picket lines.

states. On the Draft

#### LABOR ACTION

# **Of Special Interest to Women**

#### At the CIO Convention

Printed in leaflet form with the title "Workers' Education in a Nut Shell", the following pointed story went the rounds of the CIO convention:

A teacher in home economics eloquently described how to make the most nutritious soup by boiling cheap bones. After a detailed account both of the methods of stewing and the good results obtained thereby, she paused for questions. The silence finally was broken by a gaunt Scotch lady, who arose at the back:

"PLEASE, CAN YOU TELL ME WHO HAD THE MEAT OFF THOSE BONES?"

I add an imaginary sequel to the above pointed story: Mr. Moneybags sat down to his sumptuous breakfast in the sunny dining room of his luxurious home and opened the morning paper, called "The Boss Press". His brow wrinkled with anger as he read the headline: SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS DISCOVERED IN HOME ECONOMICS CLASS.

Eagerly he scanned the news item: "A housewife rose and indicated her desire for meat when the instructor had just ably given detailed directions on how to cook bones to be soft, tasty and nutritious. Such wayward desires must be ruthlessly suppressed. They signify an alarming lack of patriotism in the national emergency. The national defense calls for sacrifice, not for meat. Such subversive tendencies will be dealt with as the national emergency requires."

Mr. Moneybags' brow cleared. A smile of contentment spread over his fat pan. He looked with interest at his plate of thick brown lamb chops with the rich juices oozing out of them. He opened his vest to allow for expansion, and started to eat.

.

While the CIO held its sessions during the day, the wives of delegates who had come as representatives of the Women's Auxiliaries of the CIO unions, met in the evenings and planned for the growth of the women's contingent of the CIO movement.

The members of the Workers Party and the staff of LABOR ACTION remember with admiration the important part played by the mothers, wives and daughters of CIO men in the great strike struggles that accompanied the birth of the CIO. The moral support and active participation of the women in labor's fights with the boss class are indispensable. The organization and strengthening of the Women's Auxiliaries are indeed needed.

What surprised me was the basis on which the future work of the Women's Auxiliaries was being planned. There was a tendency to regard the period of militant participation in labor struggles as over. Speakers used language something like this: "Now that the CIO unions are stabilized and agreements are entered into by negotiation rather than by striking, we must consider how to function when there are no strikes".

Insofar as this was meant to be a declaration that the Auxiliaries have work to din the most "normal" times, it was perfectly correct. But insofar as it expressed a tendency on the part of some of the women of satisfaction with the status quo it was out of tune with the whole spirit of the convention.

The whole outlook for the immediate future of the CIO is certainly not merely to maintain the status quo.

Our Readers Take the Gloor ...

UNIONMEN! YOU NEED YOUR OWN GUARDS!

3

Dear Comrade Editor: The quotation that follows comes

probably be taken from them a little later on-Veterans' Placement News.' Is comment necessary? Fraternally,

izing Ford and Bethlehem was cheered to the rafters by delegates and visitors. So was every declaration to organize the other masses of unorganized workers and to bring the membership of the CIO up to the 10,000,-000 goal set at the San Francisco convention. So was every demand not only to resist attacks on the workers' standards but to fight for improvement of those standards. Inevitably such action at any time, and certainly in these times, will mean struggle. I believe the Women's Auxiliaries must prepare themselves for participation in this struggle.

At the convention sessions, every reference to organ-

They have had experience in militant action and will have to give their assistance and leadership to the wives and women relatives of the unorganized men, whose recruitment into the CIO may be accompanied by bitter struggles with the bosses. Where there are strikes to maintain or improve standards, the women will have the double job of helping the men and of using their influence in communities to get the people behind labor in these struggles,-so that people will not be on the bosses' side, carried there on the wave of national defense hysteria. Such are some of the important tasks before the Women's Auxiliaries of the CIO. This is no time to recline upon the laurels of the past.

One of the most heartening sights at the convention was an old Negro woman, delegate from the tobacco workers union in the Richmond area. She sat right up front and gave earnest and undivided attention to everything that went on. At a point in the proceedings she stepped up to the platform and, in a voice just audible even through the microphone, spoke of the problems of her union of 300 tobacco workers, who are being discriminated against by the bosses.

The next day I saw her in the lobby pointing out to another Negro delegate where her little speech of the previous day appeared in the printed proceedings. She was proud. That evening, after the Thanksgiving banquet and show given to the delegates and visitors, I met her outside of the hotel. She said she had had a lovely time. She was happy. Among her brothers and sisters of the CIO, this Negro woman, coming from the most exploited and brow-beaten of the land, felt like a human being.

It was no easy matter for this worker to arise from the lowest depths of social being to where, through belonging to the CIO, she now has a small measure of control over her life. She had to overcome the tradition of slavery behind her, the intimidation and brutality used by the southern bourbons, the habit of waiting for someone else to do something for her. She risked her life and limb. But she fought and is fighting to better herself, her people, and the whole working class-IN THE ONLY WAY IT CAN BE DONE.

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party are also engaged in this fight. We join with the CIO in its militant struggles against the bosses and the boss politicians. BUT WE FIGHT ALSO FOR A SOCIETY WITHOUT A BOSS CLASS.

As this Negro woman has learned from her union experience, both in industry and in government, THE BOSSES stand between the workers and the good life. We will gladly risk life and limb so that the workers may finally own all industry and have A WORKERS GOVERNMENT.

### Union Distributes Holiday Food to **Leviton Strikers**

Holiday baskets were given out to 1,500 striking employees of the Levidustries. Such younger men may ton Manufacturing Company, now in the twelfth week of their strike for a minimum pay of \$16 a week, a \$4 weekly increase in the wages of Since last May, England's war ef-

and explosive combination of Tory and Labor politicians. Symbolic of this peculiar union of ultimately irreconcilable tendencies are the two most powerful war leaders: Bevin, who organized strikes to stop the shipment of munitions for intervention against Bolshevik Russia in 1920 and who led the British general strike of 1926 (and helped betray it); and Churchill, who was the driving force of both the Allied intervention against the Bolsheviks and the smashing of the 1926 general strike. This political union is the expression of the deeply conflicting class forces set in motion by the war. The British masses want the war to be conducted efficiently and democratically, for socialist war aims. Symptoms of this are the fight for civil liberties, the struggle in London over the issue of deep air-raid shelters for the East End masses, the popular pressure for arming the people (in a later article I shall take up a remarkable expression of this -T.H. Wintringham's New Ways of War, available over here in a 25 cent Penguin edition), and above all, the "revolutionary" demagogy which leaders like Bevin and Laski find it expedient to use in discussing the question of war aims. On the other hand, the Tory oligarchy conducting the imperialist war, led first by Chamberlain and now by Churchill, has opposed these demands as far as it has dared and has insisted both on keeping the conduct of the war as much as possible in the hands of Conservative politicians and on

**Ball Begins** To Roll On Orders and Payments

Numerous appeals and constant contact with the branches have brought some results. We are more convinced than ever that if literature agents are backed up by the branches and that if the literature agents themselves make a little effort, LA-BOR ACTION could go forward in circulation and stabilize its income. Most gratifying has been Chicago response. The South Side Branch is now functioning and has ordered its bundles of LABOR ACTION. Here is a letter from the Central branch which works closely with the South Side, that demonstrates Chicago's determination to do its share by the press:

"----Enclosed find \$19.00 from Chicago on our back debt of the two branches for LABOR ACTION. Another money order of from \$7.00 to \$10.00 follows after tonight's branch meeting-part will be for the old bundle order and part for current orders of the South Side Branch. Our branch sold out our papers last week. As soon as we get this back bill settled up we will increase the South Side bundle order. We will also give you a statement in a couple of days on plans being worked out to liquidate back LA and NI debt quickly."

### England at War A Series of Articles by Dwight Macdonald 1. The Record of the British Labor Party munitions plants, 100% excess profit tax, government control of all infort has been run by a contradictory dustry, and, most sweeping of all,

Editor's Note: This is the first of a series of articles on the development of class struggle in wartime England. Later articles will be:

- 2. Focal Points of Class Conflict: Taxes, Wages, Profits, **Civil Liberties, etc.**
- 3. London Under Siege: Social and Political Tendencies.

showed a steadily increasing dissatis-

faction with the incompetent Cham-

berlain government. At the begin-

ning of the war, the Labor Party

had made a "political truce" with the

Conservatives, whereby the latter

would be allowed to run the govern-

ment without any effort by the Labor

Party to overthrow them. The huge

parliamentary majority which the

Conservatives had piled up in the

last general election four years ago

was to be left undisturbed: the La-

bor Party would make no effort to

get a new general election. There was

great popular opposition to this pol-

icy: more resolutions by trade unions

opposing the "truce" policy were

passed in the months immediately

before the Labor Party's May con-

ference at Bournemouth than had

ever before been brought forward

against any policy of the Labor Par-

ty's executive. The Norwegian fiasco

(and not the Labor Party's execu-

tive) sealed the doom of the Cham-

berlain government. On May 8 the

Labor Party finally decided to break

the truce and forced a vote of con-

fidence in Parliament. Although

Chamberlain won, his majority was

cut from 210 to 81, and it was clear

On May 10, as the German Army

poured into the low countries, Cham-

berlain resigned, Churchill took over,

and the Labor Party executive, meet-

ing in Bournemouth, unanimously

voted to enter the new government.

The War Council which Churchill

created was made up of three Con-

servatives (Churchill, Chamberlain,

Halifax) and two Laborites (Atlee

and Greenwood). Laborites also went

into important cabinet posts: A.V.

Alexander, Ramsey Macdonald's First

Lord of the Admiralty, took over his

old post again; Herbert Morrison,

president of the London City Coun-

cil became Minister of Supply, in

charge of Britain's industrial mobili-

zation; Ernest Bevin, top leader of

the trade unions became Minister

he would have to resign.

Churchill's New Deal

- 4. Arming the Peoples: the Home Guard Movement.
- 5. The British War Economy.
- 6. Whither England?

avoiding any committments as to general war aims.

This is an explosive situation, full of revolutionary possibilities. So far, these conflicts of interest and policy have been successfully controlled by joint action of the Tories, who have shown all the well-known skill of the British ruling class in making just enough concessions to avoid a showdown, and of the Labor Party bureaucracy, who have shown the equally celebrated willingness of reformist leaders to compromise, "cooperate", and, at all costs, avoid taking power by a new election. But how long can this situation last? Never before has a great industrial nation been subjected to the kind of total warfare the German air force is now dealing out to England. The British sochal structure, most rigid and stratified in the modern world, is being shaken by the bombs of the luftwaffe (air war). For the first time since the 1926 General Strike, the British masses are stirring, deeply questioning the policies and competence of the oligarchy and putting increasing pressure on their own reformist leadership. What can we expect in England

in the next few months? In this series I shall try to answer this question by analyzing the background of the first year of the war. Let us begin with the role of the British Labor Party.

#### Who Is Using Whom?

"The British labor movement," said Bevin last month, "came to the rescue of this nation and the Commonwealth at the blackest hour of its history." This is incontrovertibly true. But the question is: who is making use of whom? The German Social Democracy also "came to the rescue of the nation" (that is, of the ruling class) at a black hour, but few would now deny that it was the big bourgeoisie who used the Social Democracy and not vice versa. Today the liberals of the Nation and renegade leftists like Sidney Hook argue that it is Labor which is using the Tories, that the effect of the Labor Party's participation in Chur-

tion.

put all war industries on twelvehour shifts, while Laborite Bevin soon issued an order prohibiting strikes and instituting compulsory arbitration. In a few weeks the historic gains of British Labor, won in a century of class struggle, were wiped out. No one could say that the Labor Party was not "cooperating" loyally. What did it get in return? One thing it did not get was the removal of Chamberlain and the Chamberlain influence from the government. All through the summer the "Chamberlain Must Go!" same pattern was repeated as dur-Throughout the "quiet period" of ing the preceding winter: increasing the war last year, the British masses

popular pressure to get rid of Chamberlain and his crowd, resistance by Tories in control, timidity and evasiveness by the Labor Party leaders. And once more it was not any initiative on the part of the "leaders" of the workingclass, but simply the brute onslaught of events, which forced a change. After the British Army's annihilation on the continent and the terrific German air attack on London in September had once more exposed the sabotage and incompetence of the Chamberlain system, Churchill was forced to reshuffle his cabinet.

vesting in the Minister of Labor au-

thority "to direct any person to

perform any service required" and

hours of labor, and conditions of

work." Laborite Morrison at once

"to prescribe terms of remuneration,"

Page 3

#### Two Steps Backward, **One** Ahead

The Labor leaders scored two successes in the changes made in the government in October: Chamberlain resigned, pleading ill health (he died some weeks later), and Bevin took his place in the War Council. But Churchill more than made up for this concession by adding to the Council Chamberlain's colleagues, Sir John Anderson and Sir Kingsley Wood, The N.Y. Times described them as "two of the most criticised men in Britain". Anderson, as Minister of Home Security, was responsible for the lack of deep shelters. Wood had failed badly both as Air Secretary and as Chancellor of the Exchequer. In the new War Council, the Conservatives had an even greater majority than in the old one. Instead of 3 to 2, it was now 5 Conservatives (Churchill, Beaverbrook, Halifax, Wood, Anderson) to 3 Laborites (Atlee, Greenwood, Bevin). Furthermore, Morrison was removed from the key post of Minister of Supply, apparently on the grounds that he didn't "get on" with the manufacturers, and the post went to the steel magnate, Sir Andrew Rae Duncan. Thus the Churchill-Laborite government has moved to the right, not to the left. There is a great deal of talk in liberal circles over here about England's "wartime democracy". It is true that civil liberties have been preserved to a remarkable extent and that labor has even won certain social gains. But these have been concessions forced, as I shall show next week, from an insecure ruling class by workingclass action. Nor are they decisive factors. On the main issue, namely the capitalist class character of the government and the imperialist aims of the war the Tories of course have yielded nothing. The very fact that the Conservative Party should still control the government is a denial of democracy, since they hold their power on the basis of a Parliamentary majority which they got in 1935 and which they would almost certainly not get if elections were held today. But no general election will be held in England if the Labor Party leadership can prevent it. For then they might come face to face with the nightmare that haunts all reformist politicians: they



tion of the American Legion, Department of Missouri, dated Nov. 13, 1940.

"Most of our war veterans now unemployed are unskilled laborers. Many are former commercial or professional "white collar" men, who are indeed hard to place in industry at their age. But those men are skilled workers in one business that is very important in these days of threatened sabotage and "Fifth Columnists". They are skilled with rifles, and are old enough to know when and when not to use them. Moreover, their patriotism and loyalty have been proved beyond question in war and in peace.

"If industrialists in your territory and elsewhere will use such men as guards, they will not only get better service, but they will release the men whose ages are from 21 to 36 for for the army or for the needed in-

### Dear Mary-

It's about a week since I wrote you, and if I write once a week, you can't kick. You answered my letter quick, but I was busy until today and haven't got around to writing you.

wage".

Was glad to hear about Joe. He was always a good union man and the fight the union put up to get his back pay must be both good for you and for the union. It was a question of straight seniority and there was no reason why you shouldn't have won-the contract agrees to that. However, it is true that contracts are only as good as the union which enforces them. If anyone thinks that any Company is going to abide by decisions just because they signed their name, they are crazy. You've got to keep taking up cases and get a grievance committee in and fight. And if you start letting little things slip by, before you know it you'll be licked. And everytime you win a fight, through the proper organized procedure, you're just so.much ahead. Talk about unions breaking contracts-that's crazy. In nine cases out of ten, the Company has been breaking them, a little chip at a time. You've got to be on the watch every minute.

I suppose you out on the west coast are watching the Vultee strike? We here don't see much about it, except headlines in the paper that the workers there are irresponsible, etc. Some of the boys around here who are making \$1.00 to \$2.00 an hour were horrified at the strike. "You can't strike against . defense", they told me. I told them that the men in Vultee have a minimum of 50c per hour and they want 75c. (And at that I understand they offered to settle for 65c, but the Company said no.) And they wouldn't believe me. And then I told them that men here were making 40c per hour and working on airplane parts, too, government orders. And they didn't believe me. Well, I proved it to them. They had to admit that if something wasn't done about these 40 and 50 cent minimums their \$2.00 per hour would eventually suffer.

My own job don't look so hot these days. Office work while clean, etc., is damn poor paid. And the "white-collar" workers don't understand much about unions, around here anyway.

Some of the boys around here are down at the convention. Am anxious to see what's what, but it's hard to tell. Probably by the time you get this we'll all know who's who as well.

Regards to the family, and tell Joe not to work too hard.

Fraternally,

Sally

Louis Worker

#### MUGGED, FINGERPRINTED BUT WAGES REMAIN LOW Dear Editor:

In the course of the next few days all the employees of the Martin Dyeing & Finishing Co. will be mugged and fingerprinted for "National Defense purposes". This little concern in a small country town is entirely dependent on "defense orders."

The workers here get the bare minimum wage established for textile workers by the Wage and Hour law. They work on two shifts of twelve hours each, receiving time and a half for the final four hours. As one worker expressed it, "It's the only way you can get a living

Fraternally, **Richard** Swift Bridgeton, N.J.

week's vacation with pay, and retention of seniority rights on call for military service.

Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, was planning to distribute Thanksgiving baskets to its members on strike, but a sympathizer donated \$1,500 for the purpose. Each basket contained a large turkey, cauliflower, cranberries, sugar, potatoes and

pieceworkers, union recognition, a

a fruit cake. The baskets were transported to union headquarters on Greenpoint Avenue in trucks carrying signs which read: "Leviton Keeps His Workers Out of Work-Local 3 and Its Friends Feed Them" and "The

Management Offers Us Chicken Feed --Local 3 Provides Turkeys". Union officials had sought the sanction of the police to distribute the baskets in front of the struck plant, but they could not get permission to do this. The police are giving plenty of protection to Leviton in his efforts to break the strike.

The strikers feel that the united power of the workers is greater than the conniving of a rich boss, and there is no thought in their heads of relaxing their struggle.

### **Dies Gets Reception**

### He Didn't Expect

ST. LOUIS, Mo. - This city was visited by two esteemed gentlemen on Friday, November 22-Maury Maverick and Martin Dies. Maverick came to expound the philosophy of aiding Great Britain in the democratic task of keeping a slave-ridden empire in subjection. (If you look in the dictionary, you will find that the word "maverick" more or less means a crazy calf.) Dies came to announce that he was after 200 St. Louisians who need investigating. Faced with a choice, the St. Louis branch of the Workers Party had to forego the pleasure of covering the Maverick meeting with literature and concentrate, instead, on the Dies gathering. Result: while Dies was doing his level best to intimidate all and sundry, a group of men and women braved his red-baiting wrath

and disposed of 50 copies of the pamphlet "Labor's Voice Against the War," 26 copies of LABOR ACTION and 5 copies of the New International.

Mr. Dies thus got a reception he did not reckon on. It is to be hoped that Mr. Dies' threats are equally effective elsewhere.

#### Kansas City Acts

A new bundle is being sent to Kansas City where the CIO issue was so well thought of that the following letter was sent in:

"Inclosed find one dollar. Please rush this many's worth of LABOR ACTIONS in a bundle of the November 18 issue for distribution to some CIO unions. This is such a good issue that we will try our luck. Hurry with them!"

Our trade union department was not asleep while the CIO convention was in session. Despite the strain on our finances, two thousand extra copies of LABOR ACTION were printed and distributed at the convention and elsewhere. The distributors report that they saw no more than a few copies on the ground and that most of the delegates held on to them.

CIO conventions don't happen every week but there are always events that could be covered with LABOR ACTION. New York isn't the only city where extra copies can be used. If we have enough notice (we go to press on Thursday each week), we will make extra runs for any branch in the United States, and the one cent rate will apply on anything over the regular bundle order. This, of course applies only to branches that are not in arrears in their bundle order payments.

#### Increase Orders

San Francisco has joined the branches already mentioned in doubling its bundle order under the new plan. What about the rest of the branches? New York's new literature agent has already increased the city bundle order. But it isn't nearly what it ought to be yet. We'll give him some more time.

We hope that this week will find other branches copying Chicago's example. Get your bills paid up; double your bundle order and GET MORE SUBS!

chill's war cabinet is to prepare the war for socialism and even-so bold are these gentry in words!-revolu-

In my opinion, however, we already have enough evidence to state quite definitely that, while there are great revolutionary potentialities in the British situation today, they are being strangled and not furthered by the war policies of the Labor Party. The leaders of the Labor Party have been pushed into whatever advances they have made by irresistible pressure from their own rankand-file; they have taken such actions reluctantly, timidly, hesitantly; they have allowed the Tories to hold the key political positions; and they have not only made no advances since May but have even been pushed back a little. The impossibility of fighting for workingclass aims through a capitalist-imperialist-laborite coalition government has been once more amply documented.

of Labor; Hugh Dalton, Labor's outstanding economist, became Minister of Economic Warfare, in control of foreign trade and the blockade.

Morrison, Bevin and Dalton, generally considered the most energetic and able top leaders of the British labor movement, thus were put in control of the key economic ministries. (Atlee and Greenwood seem to be mediocrities, as ineffectual as their Tory colleagues on the War Council.) The hopes of the Labor Party were pinned on these three men. "The Party will lose its nerve completely if they fail," wrote one liberal journalist.

At one job, at least, the Labor chieftains were determined not to fail: at regimenting the British masses for the war. On May 22 Parliament passed the Emergency Powers Defence Bill, introduced by Atlee, on behalf of the War Council, which provided for nationalizing of all

### A Series of Public Lectures by MAX SHACHTMAN "THE TRUTH ABOUT THE WAR" Schedule of Lectures Dec. 1-WILL THE U.S. GO IN? The policy of Washington and Wall Street. Dec. 8-FASCISM AND ITS BLITZKRIEG: The Nazi state at war. Dec. 15-PATRIOTS AND SOCIAL-PATRIOTS: Labor and radical tendencies on the war. Dec. 22-WILL THIS WAR LEAD TO REVOLUTION? The prospects ahead for the workers.

#### The Place

might have to take power.

25 cents per lecture.

Admission

MANHATTAN PLAZA 66 East 4th St., New York

Auspices: LABOR ACTION INSTITUTE, A School for Workers, 114 W. 14th St.

# Editorials

#### **OUR PROGRAM AGAINST** THE WAR

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

# Stop the Strike **Busting Drive**

#### (Continued from page 1)

sucks profit out of war preparation and conquest, is almost completely devoted to war production. Steel—obviously a war industry. Aircraft, auto, coal, shipbuilding, aluminum-all are war industries. So is leather, so is food, so is clothing. Any industry is a war industry in imperialist United States—whether it is engaged in the production of bullets for guns, or cots for soldiers.

And why shouldn't we strike the war industries when necessary? Is the work less back-breaking? Are men paid living wages? Are the men sweating their lives away feeding blast furnaces not exploited? If anything, the work is greater, the speedup more wearing, the wages extremely low, the exploitation more intense.

the "no strike" lead over a year ago when he broke the WPA strike.)

Martin Dies went to town with all the anti-labor venom at his command. Attorney General Jackson, attacking the strike as led by "reds," got all worked up because Dies was stealing his red-baiting thunder. And all were outdone by the Social-Democratic New Leader which, in big, black letters spread across the top of page 1, accused the strike of crippling "national defense."

Here you see the capitalist system at work in crudest detail. Here you see the real measure of "national defense," Army, state, pen prostitute and boss-all of them acting in concert against the working class.

From now on virtually every strike will be challenged as a menace to this "national defense." All the more important, therefore, to smash the strikebreaking attempt now, so that we will be better able to deal with similar situations tomorrow. Allow the bosses and army brass-hats to win this once and unionism in the United States will be dealt a vital blow. For the sole purpose of a union is to defend labor's interests. And the life's blood of a union is its right to strike.

We don't care if Vultee doesn't make a cent of profit. Our concern is only with the needs of the workers. As it happens, Vultee aircraft is coining millions of dollars in profits, most of it from government contracts. That's what "national defense" means. It pays dividends in two ways: first in the millions of dollars sucked out of worker's sweat in war preparation; then in the greater millions gouged out of imperialist conquest.

Every unionman and union in the country must lend the Vultee strikers a hand. Our own "national defense"-the defense of our unions, our living standards-demand the utmost in solidarity. The bosses and their servants stand united. Against them we too must present solid ranks.

(Since the above was written, and as we go to press, comes the heartening news

of victory in Vultee. The issue has been settled to the satisfaction of the workers. Union men have here an object lesson in militancy.)

# **Rays of Promise**

Out of the blackness that is imperial-

## The U.S. Empire--Its History

# The Acquisition of Samoa

#### By ALBERT GATES

The Samoan Islands have many times been cinematically acclaimed as a paradise without equal, the simplicity of its natives, the beauty of this South Pacific archipelago. Its capital, Pago Pago, has been immortalized in at least one ribald song and a dozen movies. But to the U.S., Samoa has more than pictorial importance. While the Islands are not of immense economic importance, being only a minor American possession, they do have strategical military-naval importance.

The way in which Samoa became a colony of the United States is an illuminating story, for it illustrates some of the classic measures employed by imperialist nations in their quest for territory, markets, raw materials and military-naval bases.

The Samoan group is not over seventy-five square miles in area, with a population of about ten thousand. Its chief product is copra (coconut) from which copra oil is derived, a commodity used in the making of soaps, candles and similar products. With an extremely small population, it is not a formidable market for manufactured goods. But Samoa, situated in the southern part of the vast Pacific Ocean on the route from Honolulu to Australia, is an invaluable military supply base.

The Islands were known for many years to American missionaries. They were also known to New England whalers. But in 1872, again as a result of a naval cruise, the United States became definitely interested in the Samoan Islands.

#### The U.S. Navy Acts

After his defeat in the matter of annexing Santo Domingo, President Grant "turned his imperial glance upon the islands of Samoa." In the aforementioned year, Admiral Meade of the United States Navy, while cruising in the south seas, discovered what he regarded as a strategic center for sea power in the small island of Tutuila. With the customary independence of the Navy Department, and apparently with little difficulty, the Admiral obtained from a native prince a treaty granting to the United States a naval base at Pago Pago ,the capitol of the Island of Tutuila. The Senate failed to appreciate "the delicate diplomatic action" and ignored the document. The matter, however, did not rest there.

President Grant, "pressed by certain highly respected persons", sent out a confidential agent, Colonel A. B. Steinberger, to investigate the Samoan situation at first hand. The Colonel, with money and the prestige of a great power behind him, (this combination always worked "wonders" in colonial countries and small islands) fomented a revolution, made himself prime minister, and placed the island under the protection of the United States.

of Grant's

the support of the United States, took up cudgels for "King Mataafe."

#### The Tripartite Protectorate

In 1886, the American consul suddenly proclaimed a formal American protectorate over all the Samoan Islands, but he was quickly repudiated by the State Department in face of the tense relations which existed between the three powers. Two years later a committee was sent to investigate island conditions and to negotiate an agreement with Germany and England. But in the following year, 1889, with no agreement in sight, the powers determined to resolve the dispute by armed might. Warships patrolled the Island waters and a sharp conflict threatened, when "Providence" came along in the form of a terrible hurricane which destroyed all the warships. When the hurricane left, only one British steamer remained.

The aftermath of the hurricane was a truce between the three powers. which, under the "General Act of Berlin". established a German, British, American protectorate over Samoa. This treaty, which brought the United States into an international agreement over some land in the far Pacific Ocean, led Secretary of State Gresham to state that it was a departure from the "traditional and well established policy of avoiding entangling alliances with foreign powers in relation to objects remote from this hemisphere." But the Secretary was living in the past.

The tripartite protectorate, however, did not bring peace to the Islands. The native king was dissatisfied with what he regarded as rank discrimination when he learned that the budget plan which gave him a monthly income of \$9500 was six times less than the amount given to a Swedish employee, under "Christian" auspices, to administer justice. Local chieftains, already corrupted by the conduct of the three powers, were still more dissatisfied. Having been eliminated from the throne by the settlement, they coveted the small revenues, as they did the titles associated with them.

# — THE WORLD AT WAR — **Bulgarian** "Resistance" to Axis Balkan Plan Seen as No Bar to Hitler Strategy

#### By MAX STERLING

line of Axis adherence. No doubt this The Italians are still in full flight was done to impress Turkey that before the advancing Greeks. After her Balkan neighbors are with the capturing the strategic town of Kor- Axis and that it would be better for itza the Greeks advanced to points her to string along or face the conthat are thirty five miles into Albansequences.

The disputes were cruelly "settled" by the white soldiers, "adding anguish to the Samoan misery". Even the ailing Robert Lewis Stevenson, protested against the atrocities, "perhaps with a certain tenderness to British concerns . . ." Those to whom Stevenson protested were themselves still engaged in a terrific struggle for complete control of the Islands.

The conditions in Samoa at that time are graphically described by Charles A. Beard, in discussing the effects of the activities of the three powers: "Their merchants struggling for the petty markets, their capitalists buying up native lands, their missionaries saving souls for the hereafter, their consuls sparring for fine diplomatic points, and their naval officers punticiously watching with eagle eyes for imperial advantages, filled the foreign colony in Samoa with gossip, intrigue, and rancor."

The natives, naturally, were not unaffected by the morals of the "Christian civilizers" from the rich capitalist countries whose primary aim above everything was profit. Such were the conditions in Samoa up to the Spanish American war, when the seizure of the Phillipine Islands revealed the United States as a world power. In 1900, the Senate ratified a treaty which disposed of Samoa in the following way: Tutuila and several smaller islands went to the United States; Germany received the remainder of the group; and England was satisfied by con-

cessions in other parts of the world. The war of 1914 ended Germany's proprietorship. She lost her share of the Islands to England. Official control of the Islands, however, was established by the United States in 1929. In this way, the Samoan Islands lost their independence to a great power which required them in the interests of her growing imperialist empire.

(The third article in this series on the History of the U.S. Empire will appear in the next issue of LABOR ACTION.)

**Class Knows It** 

#### By PAUL TEMPLE

We're going to take up a Sunday School Lesson this week.

It's the syndicated newspaper column expounding the weekly International Sunday School Lesson, written by Brother William T. Ellis. It appeared on November 17.

You will now turn to Luke, VIII. The column is headlined, "CLASS WAR BIG-GER EVIL THAN HITLER." That's what the Reverend got out of Luke, VIII.

Here's a lesson for the congregation: "Jesus . . . gave a perfect example of freedom from class-consciousness. He was the best friend of the poor and the toiling. He was also the friend of the rich and powerful. Sarah Cleghorn's poem, which declares that 'Comrade Jesus carries a red card' is mistaken and misleading. Jesus dined with Simon, the rich Pharisee, and others of his ilk; and talked confidentially with rich aristocratic Nicodemus."

Don't refuse a dinner invitation from Mrs. Astor or a confidential talk with Mr. Morgan.

And if Mrs. Astor or Mr. Morgan are so classconscious as to limit their engagements to the Social Register, they ought to go to Sunday School.

#### **Bosses Practise Class Struggle**

Verily, brethren, the evil of class-consciousness is great. There are certain heathen bosses who assemble in Manufacturers' Associations and Chambers of Commerce, and raise a loud outcry when their good and faithful servants foregather in Trade Unions.

The following is even more unbelievable: There are rich Pharisees abroad in the land who do not even stick at cutting wages and making other assaults on the well-being of their workers.

There are money-changers and wealthy publicans who openly proclaim: Vote for President Roosevillkie because he will preserve capitalism! You see, our bosses are class-conscious and practise the class struggle.

That's why some workers get the idea that maybe they ought to do a spot of class-struggling on their own hook.

But we almost forgot about Luke, VIII.

Luke tells us about a Roman aristocrat who was worried about a sick slave who was dear unto him. This aristocrat, says the lesson, is just like "the myriads of employers today, who have a deep human interest in their workers, and go to great lengths to serve their welfare." Modern aristocrats go even further. Bethink ye of the poor beasts in the London Zoo, who were hustled away to safer lands, in order not to endanger their lives under the egg-shell bombshelters. Why should we struggle against the bosses, when so many of them are undoubtedly kind-hearted and tender and loving?

Now, we don't recommend smiting your boss upon the cheek and waiting for him to turn the other one. This test may be too trying for both of you. Try the same thing in another way.

Tell him: I'm getting \$15 a week and I've got a wife and children, how about raising my wages to \$25?

If your boss is really kind-hearted, he'll tell you: Believe me, there's nothing I'd like to do more. But if all my workers got a decent wage, how would I keep my yacht in the style to which its accustomed?

Page 4

# **Fact Is That Classes Exist** And the Boss

These men, who must daily report for work along the assembly line or coal pit, are producing fabulous profits for those who are already gorged with the returns of riches. They must strain their muscles, slave day and night, wear themselves out in exhausting toil. They must accept the miserable pittance thrown them weekly by a beneficent boss. They must be satisfied with a lousy wage and a scrawny shack. And no back-talk!—if Roosevelt has his way.

But we cannot let him have his way! Our right to strike is too valuable to yield it that easily—even in a single industry. Roosevelt called a conference to announce his plan. Let labor call its conference of trade union representatives to announce its counter-plan.

Let it be known that any invasion on labor's democratic rights will kindle a vast flame of working-class indignation. Let it be known that the way of labor is the way of the Vultee strikers. Let it be known that on this matter as on all others, labor will have last say.

# In Defense of The Vultee Strike

An issue of extreme importance is now being settled in California. Shall labor allow the lie of "national defense" to crush its living standards and its inalienable right to act in union organization?

Not for a long time has any strike had to withstand an attack so vicious and so widespread. The aircraft profiteers have enlisted in their service every "liberal" and reactionary harlot available for the rotten work at hand.

Congressman after Congressman has ranted himself hoarse in foul denunciation of the "traitors" who dared strike for a living wage. Representative Cox, for example, introduced a bill "to outlaw all strikes against the government." (Georgia's Cox sits in Congress as a member of Roosevelt's party. Roosevelt gave him ist Europe at war, came last week two rays of promise.

'In Athens several thousand Italian prisoners, on hearing the news of Koritza's fall, burst into spontaneous song. The song? "Bandera Rossa"-the Scarlet Banner. The inspiration of that song swept over the expanse of ocean and land, and fired every socialist fighter here with enthusiasm and hope. For here were men who, through all the years of fascist oppression, remembered this song of the working class. Not "Giovenezza", the song of Italian slavery. Not "God Save the King", the song of "democratic" imperialist deception. But "Bandera Rossa", our song, the song of the working class!

Their demonstration was not a salute to the Greek tyrant, Metaxas (as vicious an enemy of liberty as Mussolini himself), but a demonstration of defiance and hate against their own exploiters. THE MAIN ENEMY OF THE WORKERS IS AT HOME. And that is why they greeted a set-back for their oppressors with the song of revolutionary courage.

So too, in Antwerp, thousands of men and women defied the tyrants who rule over them. In answer to a Nazi edict requiring all Jews to wear arm bands, virtually the entire population, Jew and Christian alike, appeared on the streets wearing the arm-band "stigma" - Jew. The Nazi officials, defeated in their purpose, were compelled to rescind the order.

It would be foolish to exaggerate the revolutionary significance of this incident. But it would be equally foolish to ignore this "straw in the wind." No, the people of Antwerp did not raise the Scarlet Banner, as did the Italian prisoners. But they did hurl their solidarity and contempt at their rulers. Out of such small demonstrations will later come the armies of revolutionary resistance to the fascist and "democratic" oppressors.

We salute these militant workers who showed a tendency to revolt against oppression. Our voice joins theirs in revolutionary song. "Wave Scarlet Banner, Triumphantly!"

agents never struck a responding note in the American Senate. As in the case of Santo Domingo, the Senate failed to be impressed by Steinberger's action and turned its back on the offer. But not for long. A second uprising followed; the American flag was raised above the "capitol building", and a high chief by the name of Mamea took a long and expensive trip to Washington. There, through connections with "friends". he obtained a treaty which ceded a part of the country to the "Great White Father." The United States obtained the use of the harbor of Pago Pago and the Island of Tutuila as a naval base. In return, it promised that, "if unhappily any differences shall have arisen or shall hereafter arise between the Samoan government and any other government in amity with the United States, the government of the latter will employ its good offices for the purpose of adjusting these differences upon a satisfactory and solid foundation." (U.S. Congress, House Ex. Documents).

#### Germany and England Move In

The peculiar wording of the treaty was not without good reason. There were Germany and England to contend with. Germany already enjoyed a considerable prestige through her trade, the major part of the Island's business, and wanted possession of the whole archipelago. England likewise sought to expand her domain to include this group. Each in turn proceeded to bribe tribal chieftains in the manner of the American representatives, with the result that for a period of almost ten years, the Islands were torn by internal dissension which resulted in their easy submission and subdivision.

The treaty with the United States, ostensibly to insure Samoa's independence, was in reality America's means of keeping control out of the hands of Germany and England. Those countries, too, were embarked on the course of colonial expansion and each in turn sought to control the Islands. The conduct of the powers was directly responsible for the ten year's turmoil that settled down upon the heads of the innocent, but duped natives. Internal quarrels continued over "consular jurisdiction". over the theft of pigs owned by an American half-caste named Sanlan. There were protests and counterprotests, flags hoisted up and flags lowered, national honors insulted and apologies demanded. In these struggles, the Germans favored "King Tamasese" while the English, with

ia. Significant in this advance is the

report that the Greeks were aided by Albanians who attacked the Italians from their rear. These Albanians are said to be of the Melisoros tribe who are the largest and most warlike tribe in Albania. This tribe which lives in the mountains has never been entirely subdued by the Fascist conqueror. They are said to have brought their arms out of hiding and to have contributed their share to making the Italian retreat a rout.

As it looks now the Italians are in danger of being chased clear out of Albania and speculation is rife as to what the Nazis will do. The seriousness of the Italian situation, which means also the Italian-German situation in the lower Balkans, is revealed by the fact that the Nazi press is now coming out with open attacks on General Metaxas who is being warned "that he is encroaching upon the interests of nations at present not involved in and standing apart from the Italian-Greek war." Naturally the interests referred to are those of the Nazis.

While it may be pleasing to Hitler that Mussolini now recognizes his subordinate place in the Axis, the fact is that the Nazis cannot afford to see their Italian partner ousted from those positions which they expect to use as a spring board against the Suez Canal and the oil fields of the Near East.

It is precisely for this campaign that Hitler has been so busily engaged on the diplomatic front. In rapid order, Rumania, Hungary and

### Seventy-Five at Stanley Meeting

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. - Speaking before an audience of seventy-five people, a meeting sponsored by the Philadelphia Workers Forum, Sherman Stanley drew a picture of the conditions in the Far East. Enlivening his talk with personal experiences from his recent trip to the Orient, Stanley stressed the point that as far as the majority of natives were concerned they recognized the true character of the present World War as a conflict between two imperialist groups for the redivision of the world.

The lecture ended with an interesting series of questions and answers.

#### **BULGARIAN PUZZLE**

Having signed up the above pawns, a puzzle was created by the fact that Bulgaria was not included among the signatories. There are some who say this is because Bulgaria is resisting the Nazi attempt to line her up, and that such resistance is backed by Russia.

Slovakia have signed on the dotted

It is interesting therefore to note that Pravda on November 25 printed speeches that were made in the Bulgarian Parliament in which the following was included: 1. Bulgaria's relations with Russia are now established on a sound political basis. 2. Bulgaria wants an outlet through Greece to the Aegean Sea. 3. Turkey is warned of her menacing attitude toward Bulgaria,

To any one familiar with the cauflous and indirect manner in which the Stalinist bureaucracy reveals its attitude toward political questions, it is perfectly clear from these statements, that Russia's relations with Bulgaria are indeed established on a sound political basis and that the purpose of this solidarity is far from backing her against the aims of the Axis. On the contrary, the Russian attitude seems to be fully in line with these aims. It is not for nothing that Hitler and Molotov reached a "complete accord" in Berlin.

Stalin, it appears, has accepted, Bulgaria's ambitions for an outlet through Greece to the Aegean Sea and this ambition is undoubtedly fostered by Hitler as Bulgaria's reward for cooperating with the coming Axis drive. It also appears that Hitler's pressure on Turkey, which is echoed by Bulgaria, is similarly acceptable to Stalin.

What then is the reason for Bulgaria's keeping out of the Axis? The most reasonable explanation seems to be that there is undoubtedly resistance within Bulgaria itself. There are elements within Bulgaria who would desire a more independent status in closer association with Russia. The Nazis believe that full pressure needed to overcome such resistance need not be applied. Furthermore, for the present, "nonbelligerency" too serves its purpose. It may be that the Nazis hope that with Bulgaria "non-belligerent", Turkey can be kept from fulfilling her pledge to Greece to move against Bulgaria in the event of a belligerent stand by Bulgaria against the Greeks. Bulgaria's "non-belligerency" will be no obstacle to the Nazis when they are ready to move their troops through Bulgaria. It is certain that Bulgaria will readily accede to this demand.

What's more, he's partly right. Bosses make their profit these days by taking it out of the labor and sweat of their workers. They can't have their cake and let the workers eat it too. The fact is that CLASSES EXIST. They exist because some men live by owning the factories and mines and machines, and the most part have to go to work on these machines which they don't own.

The boss tries to squeeze as much profit out of the worker as he can. The worker tries to wring as close to a living wage out of the boss as HE can.

And if the workers stopped struggling, they'd just be squeezed more, that's all. That's why there's a class struggle.

There are kind bosses and tough bosses. There WERE kind slave-masters and cruel ones. The working class wants NO slave-masters and NO bosses.

Yea, brethren, the bosses are "Marxists." They believe in the class struggle. Our Sunday School master proves it. He says the class struggle of the workers is more dangerous than Hitler.

Dangerous to whom? Naturally, to the bosses. That's why the French bosses were willing to embrace Adolf in Christian forgiveness. They were afraid the French workers were getting out of hand at home. Hitler wanted to take away only part of their profits. The workers wanted to take away their PROFIT SYSTEM.

Better to kneel to a foreign class brother, than to their native class enemy. Between the two, say the bosses, THE MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME.

We want to get rid of the class struggle too. We're going to do it by getting rid of the profit system, which exists only because there is a class of SQUEEZERS and a class of the SQUEEZED.

We're not going to do it by trying to persuade J.P. Morgan to give up banking and become a Sunday School master.

At least, we're not going to do it until we see Franklin D. Roosevelt walking on the waters.

Official Organ	of Workers Part
Published Labor Action	l weekly by the Publishing Company
Vol. 4, No. 34	DECEMBER 2, 194
	REET, NEW YORK, N.Y d Floor)
Editor:	JOSEPH CARTER
	or: EMANUEL GARRETT
	ger: John Billings
	Rate: \$1.50 per year, six months
(\$2.00 per year o	or \$1.50 six months for
Canada	and Foreign)
at the Post Office at .	class matter May 24, 1940, New York, N. Y., under the March 3, 1879.