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

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DECEMBER 16, 1940

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ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

LABOR! SMASH THE BOSS CONSPIRACY! Navy Discharges 13 Negroes Who Protest Jim-Crow

In the Name of PAY-triotism!



Goodyear Aircraft Promotes the "American Way of Life"

Seeks to Get Around Wage Scale Won by Union in Tire Factories

Six Messmen Aboard U.S.S. **Davis Voice Their Protest**

Because they wrote a letter to a Negro newspaper exposing the vicious Jim-Crow treatment they were subjected to on board the U.S.S. Philadelphia, 13 Negro messmen were ordered "undesirably discharged" from the U.S. Navy. Of the two others who also signed the letter, one is in jail and the other is in the hospital.

The courageous action of these men, who refused to accept the indignities to which they were subjected without protest, is beginning to have repercussions elsewhere. Six Negro mess attendants, on board the U.S.S. Davis, stationed at San Diego, California, have joined their comrades of the S.S. Philadelphia in the fight for equal rights.

Our readers know that although Negroes are promised "equal treatment" in the armed forces, they are systematically discriminated against in every branch of the service. In the U.S. Army, they are shunted into Jim-Crow regiments (when accepted), or made to act as orderlies for white officers. As a matter of fact, Negroes, who have recently wanted to volunteer for the Army have been told that there were "no vacancies" for them-despite the super-scale recruitment campaign now going on

In the Navy, the only branch of service to which Negroes are assigned is the messmen's branch. This policy according to the Bureau of Navigation is designed "to meet the best interests of general ship effici-(Continued on page 3)

The Boss Program in a Nutshell

"I think most of us would like it better if we had a bigger munitions industry. I think that the way to have a bigger munitions industry would be to have a general policy that permits "Industrial unusual profits in wartime. . . .

"We do not need to do anything further to prevent men from becoming millionaires as a result of the war. . . .

"In the interests of war efficiency we must in fact reverse a great deal that we have done in the name of social reform. We have gone too far, and we have impaired efficiency."

--- Speech of Dr. B.M. Anderson, well-known economist, before the California State Chamber of Commerce, December 7, 1940. (New York Sun, Dec. 8, 1940.)

- THE WORLD AT WAR -The Plans of United States Imperialism Are Keyed to **Outright War Intervention**

By MAX STERLING

War and steel production go together. If you want to get an idea of the tremendous rearmament effort that big business in the United States is making then you should know that the steel industry is producing more now than ever before in its history. It is turning out steel at the rate of 78,000,000 tons a year. The difference between the present rearmament and the period prior to it can be judged by a comparison with the average annual production of 37,800,000 tons of steel for the past ten years.

right loans. The recent \$100,000,000 loan to China, and the \$50,000,000 That this is only a beginning can loan to Argentina are merely chickbe seen from the estimates that have en feed, compared to what is being been released by the economists of hatched to finance British purchases the Department of Agriculture who of war materials in the United States. say that no less then \$35,000,000,000 The British have put it plainly to will be spent on rearmament in the the American capitalists. At the benext five years. This amount is calginning of the war they point out n the assumption that the

United States will not enter the war. In case the United States does enter

Refuse to Be Victims of an Peace" Plan!

The nation-wide conspiracy against labor's standard of living becomes more intense with each passing day.

Over-stuffed big-business, the War and Navy Departments. the "kept press" --- the warmongers of all types and stripes, -are daily training every reactionary weapon at their disposal against the forty-hour week, minimum wages and the National Labor Relations Act.

They "complain" that any decent standard of living, either already won or now being fought for by labor, is a traitorous menace to the "national defense program."

But what they actually mean is that they want more than the already fabulous profits tossed them in juicy government war contracts. Roosevelt gave them the lead and the go-ahead signal when he rejected the CIO's demand that no contracts be given to companies violating the National Labor Relations Act or the Wages and Hours Bill.

And just as we have done in all the recent issues of LABOR ACTION, we again sound the labor tocsin: --- BEWARE THE ANTI-LABOR CONSPIRACY,

You've heard of the Goodyear Tire were kept out of Goodyear Aircraft and Rubber Company? Ever hear of th Goodyear Aircraft Corporation? Bet you think there is some connection between them, don't you? Well there isn't. The only connection is that they are both owned and controlled by the same men. That word corporation in the title proves there is no connection. Corporation means that it is a separate and independent body.

You may wonder why Goodyear Aircraft is separate from the Goodycar Tire and Rubber Company. If you are familiar with the way the bosses "sacrifice" for national "defense" and unity, then you have guessed it already. That Corporation was tacked on to the name in order to make certain that unions

as long as possible.

Why the Separation?

You see, the CIO has a contract with Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, a contract that was won in militant labor struggle. Now if the good men who run Goodyear had simply added the aircraft division as another department, it would have come under the terms of their contract with the CIO. So they incorporated it. There is now, you see, absolutely no connection between the two, and the bosses at the Tire Company aren't responsible for what goes on at the Aircraft Corporation. In other words you can't hold them responsible for what they do behind their own backs.

But these men are no cheapskates. The law requires that they pay fifty cents'an hour as a very minimum And you can bet your bottom cent

they pay it. Now we wouldn't lead you to believe that they are against all unions. No they even favor one kind; that is, the company union which they control. And they are in the process of building a fine one at Goodyear Aircraft.

How do they organize it? Very simple. First they hire none but young inexperienced boys out of school or else good red apples. Then, as soon as one of these boys joins the company union, he immediately and mysteriously gets a five cent raise! And if he further proves his good intentions along these lines he

day. Who can tell? "American Way" Yes, these boys who run the fac-

tories are cutting to the bone all in the interests of the "American Way". These are some cynics who hint that the nice fat profits they are raking in somehow influence their attitude on these matters.

But things are looking up these days. Their pal, FDR, promises soon to "simply" ban all strikes in the war industries. Then Mr. Thomas, president of Goodyear Tire and Rubber and all the other pious gentlemen of his ilk won't be troubled with the setting up of dummy corporations.



equipped with the most modern weapons of destruction, is being rushed full speed ahead. The War Department has already placed \$3,000,000,000 worth of contracts to provide it with the means of warfare. This has been augmented by another \$100,000,000 voted by Congress and the War Department has requested \$400.000.000 more, a request that no doubt will be granted. With present funds the War Department will have facilities to take care of an army of 2,000,000 men. Additional funds will create a productive capacity that will supply munitions, planes, tanks and other items to supply an army of no less than 4,000,000 men. Thus the 1,154,-782 men that will be in the armed services by February 28 are only a part of the army that is planned by the War Department.

The American Army, despite the tremendous size that it will have, is going to be a "blitzkrieg" army. For this there is the stupendous aviation program that is expected to produce about 40.000 airplanes in 1942. The Nazi's successful use of tanks and parachute troops has resulted in the War Department placing an order for 3,000 tanks in addition to the 1,400 now possessed by the U.S. Army. To train parachute troops the army authorities have taken over 60 Douglass transport planes. Everything is being recruited for war purposes-even pigeons, hundreds of which have been added to the 2,000 now in the service of the Army Signal Corps.

NAVY GETS ITS SHARE

Besides the big army that is being built, the American navy has received billions of dollars which will make it greater than any combination of navies in either the Atlantic or Pacific Oceans. To man this force, Congress is expected to authorize, as a first installment, an increase of 50,000 men to the present enlisted personnel of 175,000.

The shipyards too are rushing the construction of merchant ships. On October 1, 183 ships totalling 1,500,-000 tons were under construction. The building of merchant ships has become as important as any effort toward the war. The United States is expected to immediately send 150 merchant ships to Great Britain to replace the vast shipping losses dealt her by Nazi sea raiders. Great Britain is losing ships at the rate of

they had about \$4,000,000.000 in balances in this country. Since then this figure has been decreased by \$800,-000,000 which Britain has already

3,000,000 tons a year, and can only

build 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 tons a

year. Her dependence on the United

States in this sphere as in others is

The sums that are being spent on

the army, navy and for shipping is

staggering enough, but this is not

the only means by which American

Imperialism intends to dominate the

war. Serious consideration is now be-

ing given in Washington to financing

the war efforts of its allies by out-

therefore obvious.

FINANCING BRITAIN

(Continued on page 3)

Brewster Aircraft Union Negotiates For New Contract

Late Bulletin

LONG ISLAND CITY, N.Y .- Brewster Aero Union, Local 365, UAW, with a membership of 6,000 is now concluding negotiations for a new contract with the Brewster Aeronautic Corp. in this city to replace the four year agreement expiring on December 12.

According to the UAW's paper, the aircraft union, Local 365 which is made up mostly of young militant fellows, is expected to negotiate a contract which will include, besides the present closed shop, the following demands: 75 cents an hour minimum with a graduated scale up to \$1.25 for the more skilled men (riveters, machinists, etc.); two weeks vacation with pay for men with two years seniority, and one week vacation for others; holidays with pay, sick leave with pay, etc.

The Brewster local 365, which began with a membership of 500, has now reached a membership of 6,000 and expects to hit a new high of 10,000 within a few months.

At present, most of the large scale aircraft factories, Curtiss-Wright, Glenn L. Martin, Grumman, and the rest, have remained unorganized because they have more or less matched the union's 50 cent an hour minimum wage level through a policy of concessions at Brewster and other plants. Recently Curtiss-Wright, through its company union, announced a general wage increase of 7%.

The Brewster men are raring to get that 75 cents an hour minimum. It means that new suit, clothes for the kids, and so on.

If the union leadership sticks close to the men and sees things the way the men do, there is no doubt that the Brewster boys will deliver the goods and get that 75 cents an hour minimum.

According to all reports, the East coast aircraft men are waiting to see if the Brewster workers get the 75 cents an hour minimum and then watch their speed!

ANSWER IT WITH UNION MILITANCY!

This very week, the National Association of Manufacturer's is meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York to discuss its new program for "industrial peace." And it really is a program of "industrial peace"all it requires is that labor be a good-fellow, prostrate itself before the boss, and beg the honorable fat-belly to please step all over it. Yes, that would be plenty peaceful for the boss. We'd like to see it answered, however, with a union picket line around the ailded Waldorf-Astoria.

Elsewhere in this issue we discuss this typical boss program for "peace." Boiled down to essentials, it merely proposes that labor be denied the privilege to strike, that labor be compelled by will or compulsion to accept those working conditions set by the employer. Why? Because strikes and stoppages and militant union demands interfere with the staggering profit possibilities of the Second World Imperialist War.

Right on the heels of the NAM come the Chambers of Commerce. And all the other employer associations, rotary clubs and miscellaneous antilabor groups string along. The capitalist press does its enormous bit-loosing a daily barrage of anti-labor lies . . . in the "interests of national defense." Every strike, every struggle brings in its train a "fifth column" investigation and denunciation. Remember how, only recently in the Vultee strike they befouled the p jes of countless newspapers with hysterical venom because a thousand or more young Americans dared demand that some of the profits (Continued editorial column, page 4)

— AN EDITORIAL — **Fight to Free Odell Waller!**

A 23-year-old Negro youth, Odell Waller, sits in the shadow of death in a prison in Richmond, Virginia.

Waller was a share-cropper on the plantation of Oscar Davis. He planted and cultivated wheat and tobacco. As is the custom in the South, Davis refused to allow Waller a fair share of the crop that Waller had raised by his own work. There was a dispute, and Davis was killed.

Waller was convicted by a jury, not of his "peers" but of 10 landlords (men like Davis), one businessman and one mechanic.

A Negro on trial in Virginia would find it difficult to get a jury of his peers. First, because he is black, and the proud descendants of the slave barons will not tolerate a Negro on a jury. Second, because Virginia's poll tax requirements bar, in effect, the lowest paid and most exploited workers (Waller's peers) from jury service. Only those who vote may sit on juries. And only those can vote who have a spare \$1.50 to pay for the right to vote. If one does not pay for three years, then the levy is \$4.50 and so on. Very few sharecroppers, white or Negro, can afford this.

And so this jury, composed of 11 Negrohating exploiters, has decided that Waller must die in the electric chair on December 27.

A Victim of the Capitalist System

Waller is twice a victim. He is the victim of the most vicious, the most brutal and the cruelest aspects of capitalist exploitation in the United States today. All the workers, of course, are victims of capitalist exploitation and brutality, but the workers lowest down, such as the white and black share-croppers, get the exploiter's lash with special severity.

But Waller is not only among the workers lowest down: he is also a Negro worker; trying to eke out an existence for himself and his family, surrounded by and at the mercy of the most murderous and savage oligarchy that exists any place on earth. This is the South, where any and every Negro is the daily prey of any white man with a gun, a club, a torch or a rope.

Waller is not in the death cell in Richmond because he killed someone. When did the South become so delicately interested in punishing homicide? This region is the land of murder and violence, rapine, wholesale slaughter and plunder. It is the region of the "rope and faggot." It is the land of the chain gang, the klan and the rack; of hooded night riders, and the horsewhipping of women and liberal ministers by leading citizens.

The South is the place where special holidays are declared to give the populace an opportunity to attend its numerous lynching orgies: where fair ladies and innocent children are encouraged to dig in the ashes for charred fingers, ears or toes of victims who have just been burned at the stake.

No! Waller is in the death cell because it was a white man that was killed. If Davis had killed Waller he would be free today.

Furthermore, and most important, Waller is in the death cell because he dared revolt against his misery, even in the mildest way; that is, he demanded what was his due. He wanted Davis to keep the agreement between them and give him the wheat and tobacco which rightfully belonged to him.

Waller is in the death cell because he and his mother and wife were courageous enough to rise in revolt, just a little, against a system that keeps them, and thousands like them in misery, want and starvation.

Waller is in the death cell because he may have had a faint glimmer of what was wrong on the plantation where he worked. Perhaps he, and his mother, and his wife, looked about and realized that everything belonged to their

(Continued on page 2)

LABOR ACTION

Fascism and the World War Max Shachtman

ARTICLE FOUR

With the possible exception of the Stalinists for a certain period of time, none of the radical labor groups in the United. States has had greater pretensions to "practicalness" in politics than the Lovestone group. To all left-wing criticisms of its opportunism, its spokesmen have always replied, in effect: "Principles! Principles! They're all right in their way, but they must not. be allowed to stand in the way of an effective practical program. We are not a sect-we want to keep our roots in the mass movement, and for that one must be practical."

The result of unprincipled practicalness has been most instructive. Starting out with fairly imposing forces, and an even more imposing name ("Communist Party Majority"), the group has lost one of its leaders after another (Bertram Wolfe is the latest to withdraw), one of its trade-union leaders and connections after another (the priceless Zimmerman found friendship with Dubinsky to be more practical and profitable than friendship with Lovestone), one of its members after another. It has been reduced to the most pitiable of all the labor sects. Now, in the course of the debate on war policy occurring in its midst, it is deciding to give up, simultaneously, its organization and the last shred of its formal radicalism.

Lovestone Joins the War Patriots

The Lovestone group has joined the parade of the war-patriots. But not boldly and forthrightly, as befits men with serious and sincere convictions, but shamefacedly and cravenly, as is characteristic of opportunists to whom principles are an unbearable burden.

During the "Popular Front" period of Stalinism, Lovestone covered more than one sheet of paper to demonstrate-which was not difficult-that the coming war would not be a struggle between democracy and fascism, that to support the former would only facilitate the spread of the latter, that the complete; internationalist independence of the working class was the precondition for any effective fight against fascism and for the preservation of democratic rights.

At last, the war broke out. Fascism, nurtured and fattened and armed by imperialist democracy, registered its initial military successes. As it advanced on the war front, Lovestone, like so many ex-revolutionists, fled in panic like a French general, leaving all his equipment behind. With the war scarcely a year old, Lovestone completed his race to the patriotic camp and began writing just as vehemently against what he once stood for as he used to write when he stood for it.

In a series of articles beginning with the Sept. 28, 1940 issue of his paper, Workers Age, he announces his conversion to the war camp. Above his tent he hoists a not unfamiliar banner: "All aid to England!"

"Without taking a single syllable or soft-pedalling a single note of condemnation of British imperialist traditions, motives, interests or practices in the colonies or in the metropolis, I am for aiding England in its fight to defeat Hitler imperialism." He is fon it "without any maybes, perhapses, buts, ifs or even howevers." What is more, "to refuse the speediest, best and maximum aid to England is at best nothing else but unconscious sabotage of the war effort being made so heroically by the British people against the savage hordes of Nazi imperialism.'

It should not be imagined from these quotations that Lovestone has ceased to be a socialist. Oh no, nothing of the sort! "There is no difference in our ranks over the greatest desirability of socialism triumphing as a result

of the war." Or that he is an admirer of Churchill and Roosevelt. Far from it. "There is no problem here of confidence in or collaboration with either Churchill or the Roosevelt Administration." Or that he considers the war noble-no, it is an imperialist war "rooted in the aggravation of capitalist contradictions, in the decay of the bourgeois system."

But-while a Nazi victory would postpone the revolution in Europe for ever so long, a British victory would "at least provide some elbow room for a mighty struggle for social liberation, particularly in the heart of Europe -in Germany." Hence, the speediest, best and maximum aid to England.

Against Whom Does He Argue?

Against whom is Lovestone so bellicosely addressing his demand, to which he evidently will not take "No" for an answer? What foes of labor stand so determinedly in the way of all aid to England and England's victory that Lovestone feels compelled to raise his voice so loudly for this aid and victory, and to make them the axis around which his whole policy revolves? Winston Churchill, Samuel Hoare, Lord Halifax and other distinguished representatives of democracy and the struggle against dictatorship? No .The reports seem to be that they were actually among the initiators of this revolutionary working-class demand: Perhaps labor's enemies at home-Franklin Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie, J.P. Morgan, William Allen White, Edward Stettinius and other patrons of freedom? No. They seem to be doing a fair share of the work of aiding England, What's more-we record it as a fact-they seem to have the support of the overwhelming majority of the American people, labor included:

Against whom, then? Can it be against what Lovestone calls "impotent ultra-leftism"? It can be, and is. For surely, Lovestone's fight is not directed against the direct Hitlerite agents in the United States, or against the handful of "appeasers" in the capitalist class, whose influence among the workers is fairly tiny. Our first conclusion can therefore be legitimately stated: Far from seeking to rally workers in struggle against imperialism and its politicians, Lovestone is seeking to popularize the slogans and demands of imperialism in the ranks of the workers and to discredit the revolutionary anti-war opposition to imperialism.

His Very Concrete Program

Aid to England is not all Lovestone demands. In addition, he makes "the following concrete proposals for United States foreign policy, towards America's averting and avoiding war: adequate national defense; the unequivocal rejection of all direct and indirect 'appeasement' policies towards the fascist powers; and proper non-imperialist economic, political and cultural relations with all the countries of the western hemisphere." On the very face of it, a most concrete program! Dignified, statesmanlike, and above all, both practical and concrete. And lest you think that Lovestone has become a full-fledged volunteer recruiting sergeant for American imperialism, he reminds you that, whatever else he is for, he asks that "labor face independently the issues of foreign policy as well as of domestic policy.' Let us be a little more concrete about Lovestone's "concrete" program.

What does the "speediest, best and maximum aid to England"-moral and material-mean, if we're to be concrete about it and not wretched phrasemongers? Fifty destroyers or one hundred? Fifty per cent of U.S. airplane production, or sixty, or seventy-five? If it's

the war you want England to win, and not merely a shrewd Yankee business deal you want to put over on a helpless pal in need, you shouldn't stand on ceremony-you should give till it hurts. As Paderewski pointed out the other day in an interview, America thus far has done a few good strokes of business with England, but it hasn't given anything, it hasn't sacrificed for the Great Cause.

Now, what about a bit of anti-aircraft artillery for our side in the war? (Our side is the "heroic British people"; the other side is the "savage Nazi hordes"-a. contrast worthy of the newly-baptized chauvinist.) To be sure, you can't ferry artillery across the ocean air like airplanes. To be sure, also, Britain is not the mistress of the seas she used to be, what with one convoy after another being sunk by the Germans. But that should offer no difficulties to a man who is boldly serious about his politics, in contrast to a journalistic dilettante. "Best, speedy and maximum" aid to England requires action, not words, audacious and timely action. Why not assign U.S. warships to help the British convoy their purchases from the New World to England's home ports? And while we're at it, why not assign other U.S. warships to patrol Pacific waters, and guard bases like Singapore, in order that hard-pressed British imperialism (Beg pardon! We mean, "the heroic British people") may transfer its Asiatic squadrons for badlyneeded service in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic?

Speaking of Asia, reminds us of India, which we know we really should not mention, because it is considered to be so impolite nowadays, in such bad taste. If England cannot win the war without aid from the U.S., it certainly cannot win without the self-sacrificing aid of the Empire as a whole. If Lovestone means what he says, and 'does not confine himself to lolling in a safe editorial chair and writing noble articles, why doesn't he use his influence to quiet the impudent and subversive stirrings of the Indian masses? How can England concentrate all its efforts in the war against Hitler, if she is compelled to send an expeditionary force to India to put down a revolution for national independence? Will Lovestone keep his "aid" slogan only for the U.S.A., or does it apply also to India? If the latter, how reconcile aid for the British victory with tolerance towards (much less support of) revolutionary "disturbances' in India?

Of course, of course, we know that Lovestone does not retract a word of criticism of Churchill and British imperialism; he even promises not to soft-pedal his criticism. Then how about him using his modest influence (every little bit counts, you know) with the "heroic British' labor leaders now in the Churchill government to have the dirty British imperial boot lifted from the neck of India and northern Irelandjust as a starter, just to show that the heroic British, unlike the savage Nazis, do not oppress other peoples and nations, do not impose their rule and exploitation upon weaker countries against their will.

Why Be Mealy-Mouthed !

Either way, let him be a little more concrete about the aid he wants to give England. And let him be more consistent and less cowardly about the immediate and maximum aid the U.S. should give England. Only a miserable poltroon would keep his gang on the sidelines, merely sending notes of good cheer to a friend who is meanwhile being battered to a pulp by a toughguy who threatens those on the sidelines too.

. That is so, it may be said, but the United States is unprepared for war right now. Lovestone has a "con-



fense"? If good old Churchill beats Hitler, there wouldn't be much talk of defense, would there? "Hemisphere defense" is presumably based on the possibility of an attack by Hitler, made possible in turn by his victory in Europe. But in that case, we repeat, why only defense? Loveston is willing and anxious to have England beat the Nazis and bring liberty to all Germans at the point of British bayonets. This requires an offensive, it would seem. But suppose England doesn't succeed, for one reason or another-failure of Lovestone to bring aid in time, for example. Will Lovestone then reconcile himself to Roosevelt and Nelson Rockefeller preserving autarchic, "non-imperialistic" democracy on the western hemisphere and letting the Old World go to hell under Hitler? Or will he have the courage and consistency to call for the United States doing what he now asks us to help England do? He is such an unterrified internationalist that he praises the British workers for fighting against Hitler and thus bringing nearer the day of liberation for the workers on the continent. Does his internationalism stop at the Irish Sea, or does he intend to have us take up where England, if she is defeated, was forced to leave off?

If he does, then let's have an end to this miserly nonsense about "adequate defense" and proceed to the building of a super-force-one capable of dealing with Hitler, and with Hitler plus Japan, if necessary. And let's have no more nonsense like strikes at the Vultee plant, and similar labor disturbances and excesses, which interfere with aid to England today, and with aid to our "defense" program today and tomorrow.

Silent on Some Totalitarians

Also, if we really want to help Churchill win the war against Hitler, let's put an end to such pompous nonsense as Lovestone utters when he writes of no appeasement to fascist powers. If we're going to subordinate everything to the need of defeating Hitler, let's be consistent and honest about it, and drop this silly talk about dealing only with "democracies." Take the case of Greece, for example, and its boss, General Metaxas. He is just as much-not more and not lessa democrat as Hitler. His totalitarian regime is smaller, but just as fierce in its hounding and persecuting and assassinating of revolutionists, workers, peasants and even bourgeois oppositionists, as Hitler's regime. Should that stop Lovestone from supporting Roosevelt in his promise to aid poor little Greece?

Or take the case of Brazil, with its venomous totalitarian regime headed by Butcher Vargas, as he is tenderly known among genuine democrats. Or take any of the other brutal dictatorships of Latin America. Will Lovestone's statesmanlike, but rather finicky, opposition of "appeasement" in these cases help win the war against Hitler, help "hemisphere defense" or not?

The war against Germany, conducted by imperialist democracy, cannot be fought except by totalitarian methods, with the aid of totalitarian and fascist states. and with the systematic abandonment of those democratic and working class rights and institutions that are still enjoyed, to one degree or another, by the masses in the capitalist democracies. That is the simple, unrefuted truth about the present war that our newlybaked recruiting sergeant deliberately conceals from his readers!

A Really New Proposal

Fnally, Lovestone calls upon the U.S. bourgeoisie to develop "non-imperialist" relations with the Latin-American countries. The eyes refuse to believe what they read, even under the signature of Lovestone! After all, he knows something about American imperialism; he described and analyzed it well enough, ime and again in his writings. Now he asks it to de-

Big Business Outlines Its Anti-Labor War Program

By J. REILLY

In a report prepared for the Fortyfifth Annual Congress of American Industry meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria which opens this week, the National Association of Manufacturers urges "drastic curtailment of all non-military government expenditures as promised recently by Pres. Roosevelt."

"An opportunity is now arising for material curtailment in relief and unemployment expenditures," continues the report. "The need to spend billions for defense is no excuse to continue 'unnecessary and undesirable' public spending". On the contrary it "increases the obligation of our legislators and administrative officials to eliminate all possible nonmilitary spending."

The report, approved by the NAM resolutions committee, goes on to advocate drastic reforms in the present tax law. Not quite satisfied with the huge favors already thrown the way of big business, the committee proposes two amendments to the amortization provisions of the Second Revenue Act of 1940 "designed to stimulate the expansion of defense facilities". It provides for rapid writingoff of factories and machinery "that will be useless after the emergency" even while forecasting "total preparedness", as a permanent "New Order."

These big boys are not satisfied with the astronomical profits they've been making. They want profits of 100% and up.

Another report approved by the NAM Resolutions Committee urges prompt amendment of the Federal Wage Hour Law.

Unions must not interfere with the 'right of employers to employ", says this "progressive" report. Only heretics and fifth columnists could interpret as a long range national speedup plan the accompanying suggestion that "employers should continue and expand the practice of paying workers according to their individual or group accomplishment, thus giving the most return to workers who produce most for national defense". Increased earnings should, accord-

ing to the far-seeing and benevolent NAM, "be made in the form of temporary wage bonuses rather than increases in the basic wage rates." (My emphasis-J.R.)

"Labor unions should abandon or suspend rules and practices which prevent maximum production by individual workers".

As one primary effort "to preserve the status quo in labor relations" our self-denying industrialists recommend:

"That the government should enforce labor statutes through the

A Declaration on the Fourth International

ence was called in direct and flagrant violatio

We have received the following declaration which "Emergency International Conference." This Confer- as the Cannon group has done, the right to speak in the of the Fourth International. We must establish the tragic fact that while the movement for the Fourth International exists and will grow, that while sections exist-the Fourth International as an organized, centralized, authoritative and representative body does not now exist. We see our primary task to be the painstaking work of reconstituting the International as it should be constituted. This involves the work both of restoring relations with other sections and groups throughout the world, and clarifying and elaborating our fundamental international program in light of the developments in the world situation and in the working class movement. Towards this end, the undersigned comrades have constituted themselves as a Committee for the Fourth International. It invites all true Fourth Internationalists and revolutionary Marxists throughout the world to follow suit by establishing everywhere similar committees, entering into closest relations with each other, collaborating politically and organizationally to the maximum extent possible, and preparing for the convocation of an authentic and representative world congress of the Fourth International. Our movement has suffered severe blows. We have felt the first blows of the imperialist war reaction and repression, and been buffetted by the first waves of social-chauvinism. We have had defections-the withdrawal of the Burnhams, the shift to reaction of the Riveras, the flight to the democratic imperialists of the Chen du-hsius. But we are more than ever convinced of the power of our principles, of the triumph of our program, of the invincibility and victory of the socialist working class. Long live the Fourth International, regenerated and more powerful than ever! Long live the struggle against imperialist war and reaction! Long live the struggle for a workers' world and international socialism!

we gladly reprint below. A statement by the Political Committee of the Workers Party, expressing its opinion of the declaration, will appear in the following issue of LABOR ACTION .- The Editors.

The utter collapse of the two old Internationals even before the outbreak of the Second World War, has only been spectacularly emphasized since the war began. Also emphasized, over again, is the burning need of reconstructing the world vanguard of the working class, of regrouping all the revolutionary Marxists who have remained true to their principles, and of organizing them on the basis of the fundamental program of the Fourth International. Now, more than ever before, can it be said that without this program, the downward march of mankind into the abyss of barbarism will remain unhalted, its upward march to the new order of world socialism, of freedom, peace, abundance, security and brotherhood of the peoples will not be crowned with triumph

Not since the last war has the spirit of nationalism been so prominently engendered in the minds of the people. Nationalism, chauvinism, defense of the fatherland are the indispensible weapons in the bourgeois artillery of the war. As always, the war is accompanied by a strict censorship resulting in severe interference in international contact.

The Party of World Revolution

But the war has also demonstrated the international character of modern economy and has demonstrated that the solution to the problems posed by the war and moribund capitalism is the international, the world revolution. If Nationalism is the weapon of reactionary capitalism, Internationalism is the weapon of socialism. Not since the last war has the need for internationalism. become so vital an instrument of the struggle against war and capitalism. Ours is the Party of World Revolution.

It is the task of the Party to demonstrate this, first by an internationalist attitude on the development of events, by active propaganda and agitation for the solidarity of all workers the world over, and by a common effort with Fourth Internationalists throughout the world in struggle against the imperialist war. For this, it is an imperative necessity that our Party maintain active contact with Fourth Internationalists in every country and work in a single effort to accomplish our socialist goal.

The events of the past year, filled with many working class defeats, have not been without their injurious effects upon the Fourth International. The war brought with it not only a certain dispersal of our movement, and an enormous accentuation of difficulties for it, but also the destruction of an organized, authoritative central body speaking for the Fourth International as a whole.

The Split and the International

The split in the American section of the International has had direct and immediate repercussions in the International as a whole and in its central institutions in particular. The Socialist Workers Party, led by the Cannon group, followed the split with a call for an

Statutes of the Fourth International solemnly adopted at its Founding Congress. The call for the Conference was not supported by any of the important sections of the International outside of the Cannon-group and a dozen comrades in Mexico and Canada. The duly elected Bureau of the International was neither consulted about the Conference, nor informed that it would take place. The majority of the members of this Bureau were not invited to the conference. They were, indeed, excluded from it by virtue of the monstrous condition placed upon their attendance, as well as upon the attendance of the Workers Party, namely, that they commit themselves in advance to support of the decisions taken by the Cannon group. Members of the International Bureau, who were expelled from the SWP by the Cannon group, had their expulsion ratified by the same Cannon group sitting as an "international conference". The judges, the prosecutor, and the appellate judges were all the same people!

Throughout the existence of our movement, we have repeatedly condemned the Stalinists for their cynical violation of their own Comintern statutes. We cannot do less when the same, or even worse, violations occur in our own International. For to condone them means to deprive ourselves of the right to indict Stalinism. In the fight of the Left Opposition in Russia, however, the expelled or suspended Oppositionists were at least given the formal right to appear before the International, to state their appeals against the decision of its Russian section. In the case of the "emergency conference" of the Cannon group, the expelled Minority was not even given this right.

The Cannon conference could not and did not represent the Fourth International. The Executive Committee elected by it has even less claim to such representation. It is a falsehood to say that a single one of the European sections mandated a representative to this spurious conference. It is false to say that a single one of the South American sections mandated a representative. It was a conference of the Cannon faction, plus a delegate representing two others in Canada, and a delegate representing ten others in Mexico.

Whatever claims to authority this conference, and the committee elected by it, might have made at the time, the last vestige of any authority for it to speak in the name of the Fourth International has disappeared with the tragic death of comrade Leon Trotsky. We cannot tolerate by silence the attempt of the Cannon group, representing at best only one tendency in the Fourth International, to usurp the authority of our world movement or to speak in its name.

Our Primary Task Now

The undersigned comrades represent the majority of the International Bureau of the Fourth International, as duly elected by the authorized and representative institutions of the International. These comrades supported, as is known, the viewpoint of the Minority of the Socialist Workers Party, now organized as the Workers Party. This viewpoint has also been endorsed by the Brazilian Section of the International, the Uruguayan section, by two important sections in Asia which have recently come over to the program of the Fourth International, and by groups of comrades and individuals in other sections throughout the world.

However, despite our formal authority, the realities of the situation prevent us from arrogating to ourselves,

Brown, Anthony, Alberts, Trent

(Members of the Bureau of the Fourth International)

velop non-imperialist relations.

Why does he stop there? Why not raise similar demands in other fields of life? Why not ask capitalism to cleanse itself of its tendencies towards exploiting wage labor? Why not call for the elimination of superstition, supernaturalism and bigotry in the church? How about a petition to wipe out the sordid motive in racketeering. and violence in gangsterism, and prostitution in brothels? Or a firm post-card to Julius Streicher on the question of anti-Semitism? Or a campaign for a permanent celery-and-carrot diet for Bengal tigers and man-eating sharks?

If these are not as urgent as Lovestone's proposal. let him at least make it more "concrete." One idea might be the formation of the Society for the Prevention of American Imperialist Practices in Latin-America. For President, at least honorarily, we suggest Mr. Roosevelt; for Vice-President, Sumner Welles; for Chairman of the Policy Board, Nelson Rockefeller; for Military Advisor, General Pershing, of Mexican fame; for Economic Advisor, Dillon, of Dillon, Read. They are all for the "Good Neighbor" policy towards Latin America; they say so themselves. For the key post of General Field Secretary In Charge of Convincing Latin Americans That the Vulture Is Now a Dove, Lovestone is the indicated candidate.

It would not be an illogical position. Support of either camp in the present imperialist war means, for the working class, giving up its independence, shifting to the foundations of imperialism and becoming its main support, helping to undermine its own conditions and rights and abandoning the struggle for better ones. helping to keep the slaves of imperialism in servitude, working cheek by jowl with reaction, totalitarianism and fascism under the fraudulent banner of a "war against fascism," and preservation of an outlived social order which breeds the horrors and monstrosities of our time. Lovestone's "concrete" practical program is not an exception to this rule, but a demonstration of it.

courts, and not by withholding or threatening to withhold, defense contracts from those whose policies are under criticism by government boards charged with administration of specific statutes."

In its drive against the Wagner Act, it recommends that the "Government should protect the right to engage in lawful strikes, by lawful means, but its primary obligation is protection of the right to work."by which they mean the right to scab. Again, "injunctions in labor disputes should not be limited or destroyed by statute". Employers in other words, should be able to slap it on at will.

Lastly - "Government owes the same duty to industrial taxpayers as to all other taxpayers to protect them in the right to peaceful occupation and use of their property." This carries with it all the blessings of the wide-open shop.

"Total Preparedness for America's Future", to preserve the American Ideal, is the theme chosen for the 45th Congress by its keynoter, H.W. Prentis, Jr., president of the associa-

Note: Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. has a postscript to add to his bright idea of the six-day work week to step up production. Quoting Alfred: "The penalty for overtime should be cancelled during emergency to encourage the longer work week."

FIGHT TO FREE ODELL WALLER!

(Continued from page 1)

oppressors, that they had nothing, not even that which under the law was rightfully theirs. These are dangerous thoughts for a Negro worker to harbor in the South. He may give expression to some of these thoughts and feelings. And then he will find himself in the death cell where Waller is today.

It isn't only Waller. He is only a symbol. There is a capitalist death cell; a capitalist electric chair or gallows, and a capitalist law ready and prepared for every militant worker who dares raise his head to demand food, clothing and shelter; to demand security and freedom.

But the workers can stop this; the white and Negro workers together can smash their oppressors and all their works. The Waller case is the place to begin. Every Waller case, and there are thousands of them, is the place to begin. No injustice to a single worker, white or black, dare be ignored and passed by.

Waller should be freed. The working class should demand this. Every trade union, every workers' organization should come to his defense with money, protest meetings and demonstrations. There should be militant demonstrations of Negro and white organizations in the streets of every city.

Waller is in the death cell because his exploiters, and the exploiters of all the workers, are organized and in command. But Waller can be saved from the electric chair by the

militant might and determination of the white and Negro workers acting together. This is the only way to save a worker from capitalist barbarism and injustice.

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.

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To See or Not To See

Oriental Vengeance

"The Letter"

Director William Wyler has made a remarkably good picture out of a somewhat hackneyed plot. It has to do with the murder of a native by the wife of a rubber planter in the Malay country. Her plea is self-defense. But up pops this letter which puts an altogether different light on the case. Her life depends upon procuring and suppressing the incriminating evidence.

Wyler has the very able assistance of Bette Davis in the part of the white woman. With admirable skill she runs the gamut from the wily murderess seeking to save her neck, to the unhappy woman who has made a mess of her life. James Stephenson is also a decided asset. He does a wonderful job of the lawyer, honest and unwilling to purloin evidence, yet risking his reputation for his friend. And my hat is off to Sen Yung who plays the part of a native clerk in the office of lawyer Joycea slippery, conniving, but always polite Oriental.

To me this clerk is the important character in the story. Not only is he the intermediary through whom the incriminating letter is finally procured, but he expresses with refinement and subtlety the hatred that Orientals have for the intruding occidentals. As against his oiliness, the violent revenge of the dead native's widow, seems a bit ineffectual.

Wyler has surrounded this tale of murder and vengeance with the heaviness of jungle vegetation and the smell of mystery. All in all, it is melodrama at its best.

The Nazis Didn't Get Her

"Escape'

Emmy Ritter, an American married to a German and in her day a very great actress, has been clapped into a Nazi concentration camp, and, incommunicado, awaits her execution. The Nazis got her when she returned to Germany from America to sell the estate of her dead husband. She needed the money to carry on anti-Nazi propaganda.

Ironically enough, an appendicitis operation successfully performed by the concentration camp doctor, held up the execution. This enabled Emmy's son, worried by his mother's silence, to get to Germany, find out about her imprisonment, and plot for her escape. He was aided by an old German servant, a countess, a young boarding school girl-and by the doctor in the concentration camp. That is absolutely all I'm going to

But this is not a shallow chase story. The people who finally help the young man save his mother, go through intense emotional struggles. The countess, a widow, an American before she married, is now the mistress of the important General Kurt Von Kolb. She dreads the consequences of getting mixed up with the young American's plan. Inch by inch she rises to the occasion, and finally does what is required of her. Dr. Ditten is torn between his political allegiance to the Nazis and his doctor's passion to save a life that he had already saved once by his skillful operation. Also, the great actress Emmy Ritter had stirred his deep admiration when he was a young man.

tell you about the exciting escape from the jaws of death.

by Susan Green

Conrad Veidt gives a perfect performance as the tight-lipped, vain, cruel General Von Kolb. Nazimova's style of acting is excellent for the role of Emmy Ritter. Unfortunately, Norma Shearer, as the unhappy countess, displays her limitless limitations. But she does not spoil an excellent picture.

Kiss and Make Up

"Mexico"

The latest issue of The March of Time will tell you how very displeased the American imperialists have been with their neighbor to the south. The film shows how the landless peasants were getting land, how education and medicine were being brought to the villages, how the unions were getting strong, how demonstrators carried slogans of "Down with American Imperialists". The commentator says that the American imperialists didn't like any of this, nor did they like having Leon Trotsky down there, nor having Mexico's rich oil resources taken back by the Mexicans. The picture broadly hints that General Almazan was the candidate of the displeased northern neighbor for president of Mexico, and shows how he was defeated by the Cardenas political machine.

The film makes clear, what has been very evident in the newspapers, that Camacho, Cardenas' man, will play along with the United States, and indicates that Mexico is compelled to take this course for the reason that it is in a bad way economically. The war has cut off practically all its European trade, just when it was making the change to the public ownership of its important oil industry-a situation favoring a crushing "neighborly" embrace from the colossus of the north.

Besides all of which, the film has some excellent shots of Mexican people, and one of Trotsky in his study.

Navy Discharges 13 Negroes

(Continued from page 1)

ency." The U.S. Marines refuse to accept Negroes into any part of its service. The same is true of the Air Corps, which allows neither Negro pilots nor technicians.

It is against this background of discrimination, that these Negro boys raised their voices in protest. The following letter which was sent by the mess attendants of the U.S.S. Davis to the editor of the Negro weekly, The Pittsburgh Courier, will undoubtedly also mean their discharge from the Navy.

San Diego, Cal. Nov. 24, 1940.

Dear Editor:

Since other mess attendants of the U.S. Navy are putting up such a stiff fight for equality, we feel it only right for us, the mess attendants of the U.S.S. Davis (395) to do our share. We have a few things to tell

built with American Negro dollars. The next shock came in Brazil. We were invited to visit a South American ship by the Negro petty officers in the Brazilian Navy. We were denied permission to leave the ship because our officers were having guests and we were needed to serve them.

In Barbados, with a population 90 per cent Negro, we were refused permission to go to a party given by the Negroes of Barbados for the visiting American sailors. However, our white shipmates were allowed to go. Our first job is to wash paint-work, shine the officer's shoes and shine the brass-work. After this it is about time to serve breakfast. While we are serving, our white shipmates are eating theirs. When they finish they can get about a half an hours rest. When we finish serving, it is time to start work again. In short, whenever it's time to quit work it is time for us to start serving officers. We are constantly on our feet.

the bosses army should be the concern of the bosses and not of labor -except insofar as it is necessary to defend the interests of those workers who have joined the armed forces either through legal requirement or will. Because the interests of the whole working-class so dictate, the Workers Party stands for full and unqualified equality for the Negro people everywhere-and that goes for the armed forces as well. We are not recruiting sergeants for the bosses army, but we will do everything in our power to combat every infringement of the Negro's democratic rights, wherever and however exercised. But to all those whom we join in this fight, we point out that the struggle for real democracy must be waged against the system of boss rule which perpetuates Jim-Crowism and artificial barriers between black and white.

Hawaii - - Land of Sugar and Pineapples

By ALBERT GATES

The Hawaiian Islands are situated in the Pacific Ocean, some two thousand miles southwest of San Francisco. Many merchant ships use Honolulu as an anchorage.

There are twelve principal islands in this group, nine of which are inhabited, one with a population of two. Although not the largest island, the most populated is Oahu which has as its capital Honolulu. The greatest wealth and industry is concentrated there; it is the principal port through which the bulk of the Island's commerce passes.

The history of Hawaii is connected with its principal crop-sugar. True, there were other reasons for the white man's interest-a mid-Pacific harbor, a strategical military and naval base, etc .- but sugar pushed everything else into the background.

I.

First American contact with the Hawaiian Islands goes back to 1790 when the merchant ship Columbia sailed into Honolulu. In those days, sandalwood desired and prized by the Chinese, was the principal export. The Chinese soon afterwards began to settle on the Islands. By 1822, sixty New England whaling ships anchored in Honolulu; twenty years later, four hundred such ships availed themselves of the harbor.

The Islands were legend in many countries, Europeans, Portugese, and English, Chinese and Japanese, began flocking to Honolulu. But Americans were the most powerful single group of colonists. They set up the first businesses in the capitol city. They were accompanied, sometimes preceeded, by missionaries, who were no little factor in the developments which led to the loss of the natives' independence. Charles A. Beard aptly wrote: "Among the motley throngs came also the fishers of men, the first vanguard of Congregational missionaries landing in 1820 to prepare the way for the conquering church militants." The presence of so many nationals made it patently clear that the struggle over Hawaii would and must ensue.

The climate of Hawaii made it an extremely fertile region for sugar raising. To be more precise, that land which was available for cultivation, although a small percentage of the total island area, was especially adapted to the growth of sugar, and later on, of pineapples. Because most of Hawaii is lava formation and coral reefs, only 81/2 per cent of arable land, 72% is used for sugar, 22 per cent for pineapples and only 6 per cent for other crops. Thus, the struggle for the control of sugar led the extinction of almost the entire native population (one time numbering three hundred thousand) and the occupation of its land by aggressive Americans.

The New Rulers

wrote Beard, "that two-thirds of set up the organs of the revolution. the sugar business belonged to Americans, many of whom were sons of missionaries, who had chosen the way of Dives rather than the thorny path of Paul."

THE UNITED STATES EMPIRE - - ITS HISTORY

While the royal government contined to exist, the real rulers of the Islands were five thousand whites, mainly Americans. Since they had acquired the best lands, and operated all the businesses, they actually dominated the lives of more than eighty thousand natives, Chinese and Japanese. The big sugar plantations operated under a contract labor system "more efficient than the old plantation methods of Virginia and South Carolina." They imported labor from the orient, paid them small wages, put them up in company houses, where they traded in company stores and lived "company" lives.

How conscious was the United States of the value of the Hawaiian Islands? Even before sugar became an important money-bringer, the United States had coveted the country and warned the rest of the world not to trespass its interests thereon. In 1851, Admiral Du Pont reported that: "The Hawaiian Islands would prove the most important acquisition we could make in the whole Pacific Ocean-an acquisition intimately connected with our commerce and naval supremacy in these seas." As early as 1875, a treaty was

concluded with the royal government which contained the pledge that Hawaii would not alienate any territory except to the United States. In the reciprocity treaty of the same year, it was agreed that certain grades of sugar would be admitted to the United States (the principal market) free of duty. This one act led to an extraordinary rise in the export of sugar to the mainland and resulted in enormous profits to the American plantation owners. A bridge was erected between the vested American interests in Hawaii and Washington, even though, at times, events at the American capital were to vex the businessman on the Islands.

In 1887, a supplementary treaty gave Americans the exclusive use of Pearl Harbor, which is today the biggest military and naval base in the world and can accomodate the entire Pacific fleet of the United States Navy.

Three years later, however, President McKinley signed the tariff bill which removed the tax on imported sugar, placing the Hawaiian product in the same category with Cuban, Javan and Brazilian sugar. The bill was directly responsible for the sugar crisis visited upon the Islands. The rich planters, owning large tracts of lands, suffered great losses. American businessmen began a great agitation for annexation of the Islands. For the moment, two roads were open to restore plantation profits: 1. Annexation by the United States; and/or 2. The imposition of a duty

"A Committee of Public Safety" was set up in 1873, under the chairmanship of Chief Justice James Dole (the pineapple man) who resigned his judicial post to undertake the leadership of the businessman's revolutionary committee. The ascent to the throne in 1891, of Queen Liliuokalani sharpened the conflict between the "revolutionaries" and the native government. The special favors and grants given the foreigners by her predecessor were challenged and threatened by the new monarch as she advocated "hatred of the missionaries" and an "anti-foreigners" policy-a policy of exclusion.

But the Americans, who led and organized all the foreigners for the revolution, were ready for action. Minister Stevens sent a request to the State Department for a warship to protect American lives and pronerty. On January 16, 1893, at his direction, the commander of the U.S.S. Boston landed marines at Honolulu. The government of Oahu and the native foreign minister sent a protest to the United States saying that the marines were landed "without permission from the proper authorities." But it was clear that the State Department recognized no authorities except the minister and the marines.

(Continued in next issue)

With the Labor Unions-----On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

JIM-CROW ATTENDS THE AFL CONVENTION

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters made an eloquent appeal to the recent AFL convention to wipe out discrimination against Negroes in AFL unions. But Randolph would have been just as successful if he had been asking these fat bellies of the labor movement to pass a resolution supporting Hitler. We are sure that they would have listened more intently if some AFL klansmen had

been asking for the total exclusion of Negroes from the AFL. It was a disgraceful scene in these days of aid to Great Britain and the democracy which the AFL is so tearfully championing. Randolph is an excellent and eloquent speaker. He has done a magnificent and difficult job in organizing the Pullman Porters. In intelligence, he is head and shoulders above Bill Green and other AFL leaders. He spoke for forty minutes and then moved the adoption of his simple motion for the ap-

LIEBERSON ACTED ACCORDING TO TYPE

national Protective Association (AFL) in Pittsburgh, signed an agreement ing on "subversive" or "unAmerican" activities. The business agent long known to us. Lieberson is a above.

SUCH "PRAISE" CALLS FOR INVESTIGATION

Men," has a few comments on the in discouraging MOST strikes." AFL and CIO. "AFL leaders are old-

pointment of an inter-racial committee to investigate the problem of Jim-Crow in AFL unions, Randolph sat down amid a silence as thick as a London fog. Not a delegate or leader rose to speak. Woll moved the previous question. Debate was closed with a shout of "aye." The resolution was defeated.

Randolph was lucky. He got off easier than Dubinsky with his antiracketeering resolution. He didn't get his face punched. Perhaps this was in part due to the fact that Negro delegates to the AFL convention were jim-crowed in all affairs, outside the convention proper, and therefore the Fays did not make contact with them.

Of course, the AFL did not make Randolph one of its 17 vice-presidents. They preferred Browne, of the theatrical stage employes who has a certain Willie Bioff as his first lieutenant.

A local of the Retail Clerks Inter- loud-mouthed, roaring shyster who at one time was a member of the Socialist Party. Later he was in the with an automobile equipment com- Social Democratic Federation. Once pany permitting the company to fire, upon a time he was a leader in the without notice, any employe carry- unemployed movement, and from his record there we can understand the ease with which he could make such of the local is a Robert Lieberson, an agreement as that mentioned

The Kiplinger Washington Letter, but we get the distinct impression "Circulated Privately to Business that AFL actually WILL be effective

"Cussing of employers: Not much er, more experienced, more conser- of this in the AFL convention, not much emotionalism. (Certainly less

that are not generally known by the outside world.

About the time this ship was commissioned in Boston, 1938, we were assigned our next sleeping quarters. Being a small ship (1,850 tons), there were no separate compartments for the mess attendants. We had to sleep in the same compartment with our newly-found white shipmates.

To our amazement we found that we were all huddled in a corner to ourselves. We were separated by a piece of canvas.

That was the first step toward discrimination on a brand new ship



By SILLY SICKENBOCKER

All you readers of my society notes will be simply thrilled, I know, to learn that the most simply divine party yet is being scheduled by the cream of revolutionary society, the New York Local of the Workers Party. Everybody who is anybody is naturally going to be there, including Santa Claus, who has promised to put in a personal appearance, if he can get the permission of his sponsors. And by the way-it's to be held in a beautiful penthouse studio high above the city's hubbub.

My scouts tell me that all the little rebbie-debbies have been spotted at Madame Klein's getting new ermine wraps to grace the occasion. The fashions worn promise to be simply startling, as naturally, only those in clothes will be admitted.

Famous party-giver "Elsa" Dutton promises some too, too divine entertainment, with music played by the best orchestras in the country. "Nothing," she said, when interviewed the other day, "is too good for the Workers Party'. She also promised a too, too Christmas tree.

Rumor has it that a simply divine French chef (name given on request plus 10¢ and this article) has been secured to whip up something really special in the line of food and drink. So, all you social climbers (and descenders), have your social secretary note the date, time, and place. Xmas Day, December 25, from 6:00 o'clock on . . . buffet supper and dancing from 8 until you faint with sheer joy. 430-6th Avenue between 9th and 10th Streets. Don't forget!

On another occasion, one of the men called the engine room for the chief engineer officer. A petty officer answered the 'phone. When he found out that it was a mess attendant ringing the 'phone, he cursed him. Naturally, the mess attendant cursed him back. An officer (from Mississippi) overheard him and called the mess attendant to his room and told him, "You know if you were down South you would probably have been shot."

Some jobs that are supposed to be the job of a seaman they call "an all hands evolution," so we have to pitch in and help, but they always let us quit in time to wash up and serve the officers. On several occasions the word "nigger" has been used in our presence and the presence of officers. Our hands are tied. If we fight in the presence of an officer we have lost the fight one way or the other. Since it was said in his presence, there's no use to report it.

Despite the work we do, it is not appreciated. To prove it, the captain told one of the mess attendants that on the outside he could get a man to do twice the work he was doing for half the pay he was getting. His pay at the time was \$36 per month. Before now, we were afraid of the consequences if we fought naval discrimination, but now that we have outside help which has given us new hope, we are prepared and determined to do our part on the inside to the last man. We sincerely hope that until the Negro is given other ratings that the. Negro youth of America will cease to enlist in the U.S. Navy. We appreciate the splendid work being done in our behalf on the outside.

> THE MESS ATTENDANTS OF THE U.S. DAVIS (395). J. M. Pelk J. D. Jones L. Latimore J. L. Brown **Raymond Brown** C. V. Hawkins

Committee Organized

The fight against discrimination special committee composed of varisometime in January.

The Workers Party believes that

World at War-

(Continued from page 1)

spent here. Next year's expense is estimated at \$3,000,000,000 more. As this will leave her without any balances, there remains either a loan or British collapse.

In the face of this alternative American capitalism is certain not to let Britain down. Already public opinion is being prepared. Federal Loan Administrator Jesse H. Jones has taken the initiative by saying that Britain is a good risk for a loan. In the way stands the Johnson Act which prohibits loans for defaulters of previous loans. The Senator whose name the act bears is very gloomy. He says that there isn't a chance that it will be left on the statute books. Although several devices which would leave the Johnson Act "intact" and still free credits for Britain are being considered.

The cycle of World War number one is being repeated: aid to the allies short of war, loans, and then direct participation. That is what is in store for the American people.

A Marxist Analysis of -

What is behind the Hitler-Stalin Alliance?

The Hawaiians were unable to hold their own against the "pushing Yankees, the thrifty Chinese, and

the tireless Japanese." The new competitive economy, (imported with the new foreign populations), whiskey (the white man's great ally in conquering primitive peoples), and the diseases of civilization "cut them down like corn before a sickle." By 1940, there were only 20,000 native Hawaiians left on the Islands, and another 35,000 Caucasian-Hawaiians and Asiatic-Hawaiians.

It did not take long for the Hawaiians to be done out of their lands. From the first days of foreign settlement the natives found their land passing into the hands of the "aliens". By 1890, more than half of the real estate was owned by foreigners, and two-thirds of the personal property was in the hands of outsiders. The Americans were the leading owners, followed by the English and Germans. At the end of five more years, the Hawaiians owned one-third of the land, and only six per cent of

the capital invested in the Islands; such was the rapid rate of expropriation brought about through "sales". "It was then boastfully claimed . . ."

RUSSIA IN THE WAR

Fourth Lecture in the Series "The Truth About the War"

by

MAX SHACHTMAN

Will Stalin break from Hitler?

MANHATTAN PLAZA, 66 East 4th Street-at 8:15 P.M.

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Auspices: LABOR ACTION INSTITUTE, A School For Workers

Last lecture, December 22: WILL THIS WAR LEAD TO REVOLUTION?

Prospects Ahead for the Workers.

SUNDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 15

on sugar which was competing with Hawaiian production.

The Revolution

The American minister to the Islands, J.S. Stevens, announced that . . wise and bold action by the United States will rescue the property holders from great losses." What this "wise and bold action" was we shall soon see. The American businessmen and land-owners in Hawaii proceeded to organize a revolution, calling for annexation by the United States or the establishment of a sovereign state. The revolution itself was preceded by its "propaganda stage." The native monarchy was denounced as a corrupting influence; better roads were needed and were unobtainable by the existing government; sanitary conditions were required on the islands and withheld by the Queen. The insurrectionists also demanded that Pearl Harbor should be fortified by the United States.

It is well to bear in mind that the business interests in Hawaii were extremely serious about this question of the revolution. Having chartered their course, they proceeded to

Will Stalin be overthrown?

vative, more solid, often stodgy. self-satisfied, confident of their rightness in craft union movement. Proceedings are slow, smooth, steamrollered. CIO leaders are younger, more fiery, much fuller of hot zeal, alert, on their toes, more 'political' "broadly social,' 'more radical.'" "AFL insists on RIGHT to STRIKE,

despite defense, despite everything,

ranting than in CIO convention.)" "As for racketeers and criminals. the AFL frankly straddles. It talks against them, but does little to depose them from leadership." "Poll tax: AFL is opposed to it,

but in a perfunctory way, not aggressively like CIO which hopes to lift the status of negroes."

ON PAY-TRIOTISM AND SCOUNDRELS

Shipbuilding and Drydock Company is worried stiff about the "defense" program. The NLRB has filed a complaint against his company and Pew wants the hearing postponed at least until June so that he and his corporation can do their patriotic duty in the great moral and democratic crusade that is wasting millions of dollars and thousands of lives daily. Pew says that his company can not expand its plant to build ships unless it can get loose from the NLRB and the CIO shipbuilding workers. The Sun company is charged with company unionism, espionage, coercion and discrimination. In a statement to the Navy Department Pew asks the question: "which is more important, that the national defense program go forward on schedule or the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America be given an immediate hearing?"

John G. Pew, president of the Sun is more important, that his company go forward with fat profits aided by his company union, spies and thugs, or that the shipyard workers should get decent wages and hours. Obviously it is more important to Pew to get the profits without having to bother with the CIO or the NLRB. Old Samuel Johnson was correct; "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel."

> A large trucking company in Newark, N.J. has gone out of business for the reason, says the company, that labor charges are "excessive." After the teamsters strike, wages were raised \$2.00 to \$6.00 a week. Then the company closed shop. This is as it should be. Any business that can't pay decent wages is a plain racket and has no reason to exist. Workers should not pay any attention to employers who make veiled threats about closing down if they insist on higher wages.

What Pew really means is: which

Canadian Authorities Strike at Labor

By CANADADUS

TORONTO, Ont .-- I have just received word that police raids on Stalinists and others in Quebec have reached a new peak. Similar news comes from a railroad worker of Winnipeg. In the last few days, action in different localities to remove the last of the Stalinists still retaining public offices (city councils, etc.) has been taken. There is a renewal of raids everywhere. The authorities appear to be aiming at those doing the actual, practical labor work.

Local Stalinists who were left completely without any position on foreign affairs during the summer, played the role wherever possible of raising "internal strife." The Stalinists now appear to be reverting to an adventuristic policy-that is, what is left of them.

Accounts of Toronto week-end raids have been banned in the public press. Arrest usually means jail for 24 hours, then the concentration camp. Friends learn of prisoners' whereabouts only at the end of a month (one letter a month is permitted!). Stalinists, Fourth Internationalists, Nazi elements, etc., are all crowded together. Life in the camps is hell.

Those arrested for sheltering radicals get a public trial. In such cases, jail sentence is usually imposed, after which there is a quiet removal to the concentration camps.

Such is Canadian "democracy"-exercised by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, in close cooperation with the American FBI!

Sincerely yours,

and for equal rights in the armed forces has now been taken up by a ous Negro organizations who plan to organize a series of mass meetings throughout the country leading up to a conference in Washington

EDITORIAL PAGE

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-30hour weekly maximum for all workers.
- 3. Expropriate the Sixty Families. For Government ownership and workers control of all war industries—aviation, steel, chemicals, railroads, public utilities, etc.
- 4. Against both imperialist war camps. For the Third Camp of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples.
- 5. Let the people vote on war. For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18.
- 6. Abolish secret diplomacy. Open the files of the State Department.
- Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America.
- 8. Against compulsory military training and conscription.
- 9. For the defense of civil liberties and workers' rights. Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day Plans and war-time dictatorship.
- 10. For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and trade unions.
- 11. For an independent Labor Party.
- 12. For Workers' Defense Guards against Fascist and vigilante attacks.
- 13. No confidence in the Roosevelt government. For a workers' government and a people's army.
- 14. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, and for the World Socialist Federation.

Labor! Smash the Boss Conspiracy

(Continued from page 1)

wrenched out of their labor be returned them in half-way decent wages.

What the Manufacturers say must, of course, be repeated by their political stooges, The Congressional Charley Mc-Carthys of big-business know which way the boss-wind is blowing; hence they have sacrificed their time and leisure to putover this wonderful "industrial peace." From their reactionary lips and pens, so eager are they to do their duty as they see it, have already come the following proposals: conscript labor; put all labor leaders in concentration camps; outlaw the right to strike; compel a thirty day notice before a strike is called (just about enough time for the boss to make his strike-breaking plans); outlaw unions in "defense" industries (and pretty near every industry is a "defense" industry.)

toil, TOIL. So that we can make profits, profits, PROFITS."

But our answer is: Labor! On Guard! Every agency of reaction is mobilized against our interests. Let us blast their damnable conspiracy sky-high with the might of union militancy. Let us safeguard our right to strike. Let us tell them we won't let anything stand in the way of OUR national interests. We refuse to be serfs. We refuse to be the vanquished victims of a capitalist "industrial peace." LABOR! FIGHT BACK!

In Defense of Teacher Unionism

The Rapp-Coudert Committee to investigate "subversive activities" in the New York City school system has begun its high-pressure and high-publicity hearings. The net results during the past week have been the threat of contempt proceedings against twenty-three teachers, mostly members of Local 537, the College Teachers Union, who on advice of union counsel, refused to testify at one-man hearings; increased threats to the city schools and to Local 5, the elementary and high school teachers union; and the naming of about a score of teachers, mostly from the colleges, as members of the Communist Party by Bernard Grebanier, Brooklyn College professor who quit the Stalinists last June.

The Committee which had been set up by last year's State legislature to investigate conditions in the public schools with a view to possible "economies" and to investigate "subversive" influences in the schools had previously demanded that Local 5 of the Teachers Union turn over its membership list. When President Charles J. Hendley refused to comply with this request he was cited for contempt. The case has been appealed to the courts.

The Union's refusal to cooperate with the reactionary Committee was supported by all progressive teachers. Whatever the differences among the teachers, the progressives understand that the aim of the Committee is anti-union and to cut the educational budget.

The testimony of Professor Grebanier is grist to the mill of the reactionary drive of the Coudert Committee. The struggle against the Stalinists in the union is an intra-union fight which has nothing in common with the attacks of the employers' politicians. Grebanier, by acting as the finger man of the Committee, not only gave direct aid to its reactionary campaign but also facilitated the work of the Stalinists among the teachers.

The British I.L.P. Proves Itself A Very Confused Opposition

By JOSEPH CARTER

Last Thursday, December 5, the British Independent Labor Party introduced a motion into the House of Commons calling upon the Churchill government to state its war aims, and convene an immediate peace conference with the German government to end the war.

The motion was supported by six members of parliament: the three ILPers, John McGovern, James Maxton and Campbell Stephen; two Labor Party members, David Kirkwood and Dr. Alfred Salter; and the lone Communist Party representative, William Gallacher. The motion was defeated by a vote of 341 to 4, since two ILPers acting as tellers were not able to vote.

While the press reports of the motion and the débate are far from satisfactory, by combining the various dispatches the essential facts appear to be available.

Propose Terms

John McGovern told the House: "Do not let us be misled by statements about fighting for freedom, fighting for democracy . .." He recalled that "We (the ILP) backed a policy of appeasement because we believed that anything was better than what would happen in war." The House cheered when he praised the late Neville Chamberlain and declared that the latter "will have a bigger place in history than he has at the moment."

Another ILPer, Campbell Stephen, endorsed McGovern's speech and added that "if peace is to be based on justice and equity the time for a conference is now because the military situation is one in which the parties are fairly evenly balanced." He proposed a two fold basis for the peace conference:

"Acceptance by the contending parties of the restoration of freedom in all countries."

"Both parties to put all their material resources which they are willing to devote to war into a common pool to bring about a new civilization in the world."

But can either of the warring reactionary, imperialist governments accept and carry out such a peace program? McGovern declared that if Hitler refused suitable peace terms this would evoke "response over the heads of the politicians from the people of Germany." In practical politics this means that if the Chur-

Our Readers

Take the Floor ...

chill government accepted the ILP proposal the latter would be just another instrument in the war of British imperialism against German imperialism. Or can the Churchill government offer a genuine democratic peace? If the ILPers reply in the affirmative, then they are declaring that Churchill can wage a democratic, progressive war against Germany.

To state the matter positively: a government waging a reactionary war cannot establish a democratic peace.

Clement R. Attlee, Labor Party Deputy Leader and Churchill's Lord Privy Seal, speaking for the Government was able to ask the ILPers:

"If it comes to a conference and if Hitler prefers to listen to what is called the voice of reason and says he prefers his scheme and rejects the honorable member's idea of liberty and social justice will the honorable member fight or give way!" As to the Government's war aims Attlee was compelled to declare: "I am not in a position to say when a statement of our aims can be made." Of course, he added the customary and empty promise of all belligerent powers: "Our aim is to try to establish a peace of free people." He forgot to add that an example of this aim is the British imperialist oppression of its own colonials, notably the Indian people who demand national independence now

While the ILPers are against the war, against the imperialist war aims of the Churchill government, their opposition is of a confused, pacifist character; that is, they support, advocate and therefore take responsibility for what in practise can be nothing but a reactionary, imperialist peace.

When Churchill's predecessor, Neville, Chamberlain, in September, 1938, signed the Munich Pact giving Czechoslovakia to Hitler, the ILP members of Parliament supported this act of "appeasement" because they could see no alternatives but support of "reactionary peace or reactionary war." However, the Munich "peace" meant the oppression of the Czechs and Slovaks by German imperialism. The ILPers in supporting Chamberlain's "peace" unwittingly assumed responsibility for the deal made at the expense of these

So today, the Maxtons, McGoverns and Campbells, pacifists first and so-

peoples.

cialists as a secondary vocation, see no "practical," "immediate," alternative to the present imperialist war except the advocacy of a Churchill-Hitler peace, which can be only a reactionary peace.

Are We For Peace?

But are not revolutionary socialists for peace? Of course! However, we struggle for a peace based on national freedom for all the peoples, a genuinely democratic peace which Churchill and Hitler can not establish. Such a peace cannot be attained by appeals to the imperialists to establish a "new civilization" based on "justice and equity."

Nor can it be obtained by limiting working class or socialist action to a choice between support of imperialist appeasement or imperialist war. As an opposition party, revolutionary socialists oppose both courses of their government, and do not take any responsibility for the actions of their ruling class. The general socialist tasks are patiently to explain to the workers the reactionary nature of their government's policies and actions; to defend the interests of the masses against government and employers' attacks on their living standards and civil liberties; to lead them towards working class power. (We are not considering here the specific demands and slogans in an anti-war program in Britain, but rather its general character.)

For example, instead of calling for a Churchill-Hitler peace conference, which if successful would mean "appeasement", revolutionary socialists would have utilized the tribunal of the House of Commons to show why the imperialists cannot establish a democratic peace. If the question were then raised how can a democratic peace be achieved with Hitler, the answer would be that if the British workers take state power into their own hands, liberate the oppressed colonials and themselves destroy British imperialism, they could then wage a genuine democratic war against Hitler: a war in which they could arouse the German workers against Fascism, without arousing among these workers the fear of a new and more oppressive Versailles Treaty in case of a Churchill victory.

Do we then oppose the presentation of specific proposals' in the House of Commons? Of course not. But these must be in harmony with socialist opposition to the war and imperialism, and have as their aim the winning of the masses away from support of the government, and towards socialist revolutionary action.

This is not the case with the ILP motion for a Churchill-Hitler peace conference. On the contrary, ILP pacifism strengthens the Churchill government's support among the workers because the masses fear ruling class appeasement of Hitler which this policy supports. Our West Coast Correspondent Writes on the New 'Gold Rush'

Page 4

By JACK WILSON

While the rest of the country is out in the cold, California basks not only in its proverbial sunshine, but in the gold reflection of one billion dollars of war orders placed by the federal government.

Out of six billion dollars in orders placed in the entire nation, California has received over one sixth. Is it a wonder that another "Gold Rush" excitement has hit business here?

Since the aircraft industries have received a big dish of this gravy, Southern California factories are humming, and men are getting jobs.

Yes, everyone knows that there is going to be a terrible hangover from this orgy of war expenditures, that a sharp collapse is inevitable. If you talk to the merchant, or the man on the street, or the factory worker, they all tell you the same thing. "It's good while it lasts, but a crash is coming."

So one detects a note of recklessness everywhere. It's shown in the unbelievable high rate of traffic death, in the never-ending jangle and clatter of the vast horde of night spots, in the car buying spree that brightens the highways with the latest models. People are jittery. There is a sense of continual rush that brings back memories of Times-Square.

It's like watching an old drunk on one last binge before he falls dead finally, long after his time.

There was a time when the arrival of Harry Bridges at a CIO union meeting brought an enthusiastic response from the workers. Only a few die-hard sinners, usually branded as Trotskyist or worse, failed to join in the hallelujas for the Great Leader. For Bridges was the West Coast Director of the CIO, and tended to be a personal symbol, in the minds of the inexperienced workers, of the CIO's progress on a national scale. Bridges and his friends in the Communist Party were able to ride on this band wagon for a long time without their ruinous policies catching up with them.

But times change, as Bridges can testify from an experience he had last week at San Pedro. He came down from Frisco to speak in behalf of a two-year contract negotiated for the longshoremen's union. The union had called a stopwork meeting so that all the men could hear him. Bridges' appearance was greeted with loud and powerful boos.

He tried to defend a compulsory arbitration clause in vain. His rhetorical questions always brought jeers or heckling. His only argument for giving up a fight against the bosses was that those workers who now oppose arbitration were for it in 1934, when he was against it. As though two wrongs make a right. The longshoremen's union (CIO) has steadily retreated under Bridges misleadership, and is in a weaker position.

Bridges also tried vainly to convince the men that it was all right to allow a new lift board system (techonological advance) to persist and be put into use everywhere. You can't oppose technological advances, he said. He forgot to add, however, that a union should fight to see that the workers get the benefit of the improvements, and not the bosses.

His stooges in Portland and Seattle have been driven out of control. His followers are a minority in Pedro. There is considerable discontent with his regime in Frisco. So Bridges turned to a time-honored bureaucrats' scheme to stem the revolt. He wants to make peace with the bosses so he can make war against the unionists who struggle to improve the lot of the workers and the regime of the union. That is why he negotiated a two year contract, with further retreats from the militant demands and stand of the longshoremen of the 1934 days.

The Navy Department has called for the revocation of all labor legislation. War contracts have been awarded to labor act violators; Bethlehem Steel, for example, has been handed over a billion dollars in contracts; and army shoe contracts have been given to anti-labor, nonunion companyies.

Let the worker try to better his wages or working conditions, or even do nothing more than demand that labor laws be observed, and down on his head comes the whip and leash of every blood-sucking boss and politician in the land. But let capital "strike," let big business and the war profiteers balk at a government contract, or stall because its profit guarantee is not high enough, then press and politician weep, and the government works overtime seeking an "equitable" adjustment. All in the "interests of national defense"-and with reason and justice, because the "national defense" they have in mind is precisely the defense of the nation's profit-makers.

"Sacrifice, working-man!" That's what they tell us. "Don't strike, don't ask for better wages, don't fight against bad conditions! Sweat your life away in a factory." Eat and sleep enough so that you can toil,

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Re-entered as second class matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. In a statement in The New Leader, organ of the Social Democratic Federation, Professor Grebanier commends the Coudert Committee but voices his fears of educational cuts. He calls on it to investigate fascists as well as Stalinists in the union, and to make a clear statement that it is not directed toward cutting the school or college appropriations. The New Leader echoes these views editorially.

While thus trying to "reform" the anti-Union Committee with which they cooperate, Grebanier and the New Leader keep silent on a key point in this fight: the demand of the Committee that the Union membership list be turned over to it. As previously reported in LABOR AC-TION, if President Hendley is jailed for contempt and the union is forced to hand over its membership lists, public education and a few Stalinists will not be the only victims. The whole trade-union movement would be in grave danger of this new weapon in the hands of reactionary prowar investigators. Labor must rally to the defense of the teachers.

The Bald Truth

While the administration spokesmen are still trying to persuade the American public that, despite all the evidence to the contrary, war entry is furthest from their minds, Senator Johnson pricked the bubble of propaganda deceit in a mournful statement to his California constituents:

"... we are going to get into it (the war). There isn't any doubt in my mind. We are edging nearer and nearer to it every day.

"Only a miracle can keep us out.

"Those in command of us are perfectly mad to be a part of the game. When it is propitious from their point of view they will take us in."

That's the truth, Senator. All you forgot to add is the reason: the boss system of profits and imperialist conquest. Dear Editor:

AFL CONVENTION IGNORES

NEEDS OF NEGRO PEOPLE

Apparently the well paid leaders of the AFL at their recent convention overstrained their vocal chords in their enthusiasm to support the defense of British "democracy" and "liberty" for they were as mum as an overstuffed oyster when the problems of the AFL Negro trade unionists came up on the business of the convention.

With the exception of a resolution favoring abolition of poll tax in the South, the Convention rejected every resolution that was vital to the welfare of the Negro people.

Although the "grizzled" but well manicured labor leaders shed many tears for Britain, few tears were shed in favor of the resolution supporting the Anti-Lynch Bill.

The resolution introduced by A. Phillip Randolph favoring the integration of the Negro soldier in the Jim Crow army of the 60 families, was rejected on the basis that the AFL bigwigs knew of no Jim Crow acts against the Negro in the army. The AFL convention also rejected two resolutions: one condemning the white primaries of the democratic South, and the other demanding the abolition of the lily-white craft system of the AFL.

As a fitting climax to these acts, the AFL leaders excluded A. Phillip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters from the roster of some 15 vice-presidents, each of whom is President or head of some union affiliated with the AFL. If there is going to be any fighting for democracy, let's begin it here and now in the USA.

I hope the AFL workers will demand an accounting from their delegates who supported this kind of democracy against their fellow Negro trade union brothers. Fraternally,

New York A. Miller

HOW THE BOSSES SKIRT AROUND "REFORMS"

Comrade Editor:

I see by the papers that the bosses' agents are chiseling on the workers again. It seems that the Wage and Hours Law has been in effect for over two years and the government is now reluctant to use the ordinary penalty in enforcing the law as it is "too stiff".

This penalty is to require an employer who has been paying substandard wages to pay up all back wages due his workers. If an inspector finds a business man who has been paying wages below the minimum ever since the law went into "BUT (my emphasis—R.S.) if he made him pay up the accumulated

wages his workers should have been getting for two years he might simply put him out of business by handing him a bill he couldn't pay."

effect, he can require him to pay up

all the back wages.

Thus we see an excellent example of how capitalism keeps "reforms" within safe limits. "Reforms are all right—but, you know we mustn't destroy initiative (read bosses' profits)." That is how a government agent reasons. Thus, even the miserable legal minimum can no longer be given to the workers.

Yes, fellow workers, reforms are all right, but we can only maintain and increase them by means of socialism. Capitalism in decline can no longer tolerate reforms.

Richard Swift Philadelphia, Dec. 8.

• WHAT THE AVIATION

BIG-SHOTS THINK

Undoubtedly you know about the great interest the owners of the aircraft industries have in the defense of England—and of course democracy and liberty.

Naturally the captains of the aircraft industry cannot merely live on their beautiful ideals of democracy and liberty, so they are now trying to get the aircraft workers to sacrifice as much as they do and work a longer week—besides, with prices going up, the 45 million dollars profit which the aircraft big shots made last year are not enough. It may interest your readers to

It may interest your readers to know the real sentiment of the overlords of the aircraft industry expressed in an article envying German aviation, written for Aviation, one of the most influential magazines in the U.S. and subscribed to by nearly all the aviation companies. A quotation from an article by Paul Wilkinson, of Diesel Aviation Corp. is as follows:

"In Germany, it is the belief that people should have a healthy, carefree and positive outlook on life. This belief was reflected in the shops and offices of the Junker factories where everyone seemed to have the feeling of being at home at his or her work. After all, most people will be content if they have a steady job amid good surroundings and the enjoyment that the interest of the management in them does not end at the factory gate."

Evidently the aviation bigshots would like to bring the German paradise on earth to America. Just let those phonies try.

Aircraft Worker

Whither the ILP?

Whether or not the action of the ILP parliamentary group was taken in agreement with the National Council of the party, or the support of the majority of its members is not known. The Party itself, though small, is actually a bloc of conflicting tendencies: from supporters of the war, to pacifist opponents as represented by the parliamentary fraction, to revolutionary socialists. When the parliamentary group supported Chamberlain's Munich policy, the majority of the leadership and members of the ILP disagreed, but no action was taken against the group. The party, issues of which have reached New Leader, official organ of the this country, has generally put forward a socialist position against the war. However, there appears to be a growing tendency in the ILP for support of the war.

Labor Action Institute Opens Jan. 13

The Labor Action Institute, a Marxist school organized by the Workers Party, has just announced the program for its first regular term starting next month, January 13 and 14.

The series of lectures by Max Shachtman on "The Truth About the War", under the auspices of the Institute, has been held with signal success expressed in capacity audiences. Over two hundred attended the last lecture on "The Fascist State At War". The managers of the school consider that a firm basis has been laid for the winter term.

The classes which will begin in January are four in number, dealing with Marxist theory, revolutionary history, and the major political problems of today. They are:

 American Imperialism — Albert Gates. Mondays, 7:30 to 9 p.m.
 The First World Revolution, 1917 to 1920—Paul Temple. Mondays, 9:10 to 10:40 p.m.

Fascism, Democracy and the State

 Max Shachtman, instructor;
 Tuesdays, 7:30 to 9 p.m.

Marxism and the World Today— Joseph Carter, instructor. Tuesdays, 9:10 to 10:40 p.m. Bridges' weasel-worded endorsement of Wendell Willkie, via 100 per cent support of John L. Lewis' election speech, has contributed greatly to the sharp decline in his prestige and influence. A barrage of attacks from the AFL longshoremen union engineered by Joseph Ryan also helped put Bridges on the hot seat.

While it appears probable that Bridges can swing enough support to obtain an approval of the contract, it is even more likely that he will be up against a powerful coalition of forces in the coming union elections who are out to retire him for good.

If you drove out to Santa Monica last week by the Douglas aircraft plant, you would have thought that an armed invasion was about to be repelled. There was a whole army of bluecoats and special deputies massed near the entrance of the plant.

But it was only a CIO blitzkrieg that threatened the peace of the "Henry Ford" of the aircraft industry. Capitalizing on the Vultee strike victory, the CIO intensified its campaign to organize the huge Douglas plant by a spectacular open appeal for membership among the employes.

Of course, there is the usual anti-loud-speaker and leaflet ordinance on the statute books of Santa Monica. In the days following the Douglas sit-down strike defeat it was enforce and union organizers kept away from the plane.

But the company and its political stooges apparently learned that things are a little different right now. That the CIO could do a real job of exposing this phoney ordinance. So the bluecoats stood quietly by while CIO organizers exhorted the Douglas workers to join the union.

Each time there is an industrial accident in this area, the newspapers come out with bold headlines about sabotage against national defense. Since there have been some very large fires and explosions in factories here, the newspapers have had a field day.

In each case, however, subsequent investigation reveals that the fires, etc., are caused accidentally. But in whipping up a hysteria the newspapers conveniently play down this angle. As a matter of fact, the companies are directly responsible for the accidents and the murder of the employes involved. Speeding-up workers, using inexperienced workers on dangerous jobs, and lack of adequate safety measures—which cost money—are the real cause of the sudden flurry of industrial plant damage.