The War Labor **Boards Of 1917**

By MICHAEL CORT

War labor boards? Well, we've had them before. William Green and Phillip Murray aren't the first to "demand" such boards. Samuel Gompers, first President of the American Federation of Labor, not only demanded but received such boards during the first world war. Those boards were used to lead the workers around by the nose for an entire decade. Let's look at those boards and see just how they contributed to making the "world safe for democracy" twenty-two years ago, before Green, Murray and Hillman succeed in fastening the ring in labor's nose this time.

The National War Labor Board, with jurisdiction over all disputes arising in fields of production necessary for the conduct of the war, was established by President Wilson in March, 1918. But that was only the second act in a three act tragedy that opened in the Spring of 1917 with Gompers' capitulation to the War Department, and ended with the anti-strike legislation of 1920.

So, our story really opens in the Spring of 1917. At that time the War Department, through its war production contracts, was the dominant factor in the industrial and labor scene. Its functions and activities in the field of labor included adjustments of disputes, fixing of wages and hours, and direct action on housing and the cost of living. There was no aspect of the labor problem which it did not enter; the War Department was in the process of becoming the largest single entrepreneur in America. Just as today.

In the Spring of 1917 the War Department let contracts for the construction of 16 army cantonments throughout the country, and set completion deadlines that were all but impossible to meet. Under cover of "national defense," the contractors came into head on collision with the unions by stretching hours to 10 and 12 per day, cutting wages on unskilled labor to 30 cents and skilled labor to 45 and 50 cents, and filling the jobs with scabs and finks when ever union men protested. Enter Mr. Gompers.

Gompers Gets What He Wants

Samuel Gompers walked onto the scene with his mouth full of phrases about saving Democracy by blood and the sword, and pledged labor to this crusade. "What labor desires," he said, "is that it have a voice on any board set up by the government to deal with labor and war production." Wilson recognized Gompers' proposal as an easy way of dealing with labor. If Gompers wanted a few pats on the head...fine. If his ego required easy access to the office of the President of the United States...better yet. If his soul yearned for labor boards...excellent. Labor, bound and delivered, was cheap at twice that price.

In June, 1917, Gompers appointed John R. Alpine, vicepresident of the AFL, as labor's representative on a three-man labor board set up by the War Department. The other two men on the board were appointed by the Secretary of War. This board was to have jurisdiction over the 500,000 workers employed under War Department contracts. Its decisions were binding and there was no appeal.

Thus Gompers calmly gambled labor's destiny in a game where the cards were stacked against him two to one. As it turned out, the cards might just as well have all been in the bosses' hands, for the majority of the board decisions were by unanimous vote. Alpine's servility was such that, according to War Department records, seldom did both of the boss representatives attend the sessions. They were so certain of Al-(Continued on Page 2)

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

tary time-table of the war is not action against Greece via Bulgoing to wait upon the seasons garia. Still others regard the this year. The British appear to forces mainly as forces for ocexpect the postponed Nazi inva- cupation of Rumania. Their acsion sometime in February tual numbers have ranged in Meanwhile either for purposes of these reports from 60,000 to a grandiose feint or because he 600,000. is actually contemplating a totally different strategy, Hitler is moving considerable forces southeastward, through Hungary into Rumania.

In anticipation of either of these moves or of both, Roosevelt's speech last Sunday served notice on the Axis that U. S. "non-belligerency" was moving rapidly into a more active phase. In shrewd, deceptive language, Roosevel t launched an attack on the Nazis that was worth a dozen bombing raids to the British.

Meanwhile, however, Europé is being covered over with that fog of rumor and speculation which we have come to associate with the Nazi method of preparing military moves.

First of all, it is a notable fact that all the reports of the German troop movements southeastward have come from German-controlled pointsmainly Budapest. In place of the normal secrecy that would accompany such movements, these have been surrounded with ostentatious public notice. The Hungarian railway authorities announced revision of train schedules to accomodate the German troops and material. In Rumania, likewise entirely under German control, arrival of these forces has been acknowledged.

Only after their arrival in Rumania has the cloak of real southwestern outpost. Others re-lized peoples of the earth.

From all indications the mili-, fer to preparations for German

Even if the latter figure is correct and even if all three of the reported purposes of their movement were more or less accurately reported, it still would not mean that Hitler is not concentrating his main forces along the Channel for an invasion of Britain.

Certainly there is every reason o attempt reduction of the Brit- New York. ish Isles. Hitler knows that Roosevelt's threats are by no means empty but that they will take time, precious time, to carry out. Before U. S. aid to Britain can assume sufficient proportions to tip the scales of aerial predominance, Hitler will certainly stake his present superiority on a single, gigantic drive.

American aid to Britain cannot assume decisive proportions this spring and summer. And precisely this spring and summer will witness collisions of decisive importance, Bourgeois military experts appear in general to have shifted their views on the chances of a successful Nazi invasion of England. They now believe Britain can withstand it. The Kremlin's military specialists appear to share this belief. Before, long before another New Year rolls around, events should

have provided the answer. Whatever the outcome, the military secrecy descended upon battle will only have been Stassen are attempting to justify them. All kinds of inspired re- another in a long and widening the ouster action against Rockports speak of German troop dis- series yet to come. It will decide well, begins a national speaking positions along the Bessarabian nothing final, that decision rests tour for the Socialist Workers Frontier, Stalin's gingerly-held ahead, and rests with the victim Party, starting in Milwaukee, Jan-

Just Remember Socialist Appeal

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FOR MILITARY TRAINING UNDER TRADE UNION CONTROL

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FIVE (5) CENTS

AUTO UNION ISSUES CALL FOR GENERAL MOTORS CONFERENCE

Grace Carlson In Chicago, Flint, **Detroit This Week**

Grace Carlson's national tour includes the following lectures during this coming

CHICAGO: "Roosevelt vs. Hitler-The Struggle for Empire in Latin America." Hamilton Hotel, 18 South Dearborn St. Friday, January 3, 8

FLINT, Mich.: "The Right To Life." Carpenters Hall, Pengelley Building, Tuesday, January 7, 8 p.m.

DETROIT: "War By Spring?" Arcadia Building 3513 Woodward Avenue (Hall 5), Thursday, January 9, 8

(See complete schedule of Comrade Carlson's tour, on page 2 of this issue.)

Labor Defends Ousted Minn. Educator

Red-Baiters Attack His '35 Appointment Of Grace Carlson

ator from Minnesota on the against John G. Rockwell, sus- condition. pended state commissioner of

During a hearing on Rockthe inquiry into an investigation eight cylinders. of Rockwell's appointment of Dr. Carlson in 1935 to a post in the

state educational department. Comrade Carlson recently resigned the post to take up full-time work for the Socialist Work-

Evans opened the attack with a question as to whether Rockto expect that Hitler plans this well knew that Grace Carlson had Spring—and early this Spring—Lattended a "Socialist" meeting in Spring-and early this Spring-|attended a "Socialist" meeting in

"Yes," answered Rockwell. "I knew she was going to a Socialist

When Evans appeared to be planning to open another line of questioning. Rockwell wheeled on bim and demanded:

"Why don't you go ahead with that? I would like to see some semblance of procedure." Evans returned to this line of questioning, asking whether Rock

well had recommended Dr. Carlson's appointment. Rockwell answered that he had and described her as "the most

uperior and capable employe in

the department." The ouster of Rockwell, insti tuted by the four-man board majority who are appointees of the recationary Governor Stassen, is an effort to retaliate against Rockwell for his pro-labor sympathies. Rockwell served under

he previous Farmer-Labor party

administration.

Dr. Carlson, leading figure around whom the state board and

Top Leaders Of Auto Union Follows Demand Hemmed In From Two Sides Of Flint Locals

While UAW Board Honeymoons With "Defense" Commission, Bosses Make Hay, And Workers Press Board For Action

the hot breath on its neck even

closer to home. The General Mo-

tors workers, comprising over one

organized section of the union, is

literally seething with dissatisfac-

up in arms against the Interna-

tional for its cowardly G. M. pol

ances. The Detroit Chevrole

ances, endless delay, red tape and

speed-up on the lines. The G. M.

new unyielding attitude of the

(Continued on Page 2)

the War Department, issued De-

"After careful consideration of

tor Company of a contract for

While his handlers were work-

ing frantically to revive the semi-

for the third round, he was heard

etc., etc.

2nd Round

By OUR SPORTS EDITOR

Our readers will recall that, in the first round, "Canvasback"

cember 27:

Hillman peddled the bike all over the ring, keeping well out of the

way while billions of war orders were granted to Bethlehem Steel.

however, Hillman appeared net- previously made to the Ford Mo-

side labor spectators, who kept the production of 1,500 light re-

yelling: "Stand still and fight connaissance cars, the War De-

against a new Ford contract for conscious Hillman in preparation

Infuriated by the temerity of to murmur through puffed-up

its opponent, the War Depart-lips: "Don't that guy know this

ment opened up with a volley of fight's supposed to be fixed?"

By JOHN ADAMSON

DETROIT—Much to the embarassment of its leadership, the United Automobile Workers of America is beginning to play the NEW CAFETERIA most important role of any of the CIO unions in the unfolding "national defense" program. Like the top officialdom of the CIO, the UAW Executive Board is growing uncomfortable under the conflicting pressures of the Morgan-DuPont "Defense Commission" whose war program it supports and of the automobile workers, whose union the war program undermines

Against its own wishes the UAW leadership stands today at the head of the two biggest labor organization drives: Ford and the aircraft industry.

The Ford drive, tossed and bandied about for over two years was finally thrust on the UAW

leaders by an indignant member-The drive in the aircraft industry, officially launched almost third of the entire union mema year ago, has been vegetating bership and, by every considerathis period. But the Vultee strike changed all of that. It and in one day accomplished tion. The Flint locals — Buick, came like a flash on the scene more than the union officials had Chevrolet and Fisher Body—are accomplished in one year. From coast to coast the aroused aircraft workers, inspired by the example of the Vultee men, are wood and Cadillac locals of Dedemanding union organization.

face today more formidable opposition than even the General Moors workers or the workers of "Little Steel" encountered three years ago. We are living in a is calling for immediate negotia war period. Besides the ordinary tions on a new contract. The of union organization when challenging industrial ST. PAUL. Dec. 27-Grace giants, these drives, if pushed to Carlson, candidate for U. S. Sen- the very end, lead to a direct headon collision between the union and Trotskyite Anti-War Party ticket | the entire Roosevelt war machine. during the last elections, became | The Vultee strike, involving one the storm center of the ouster of the smaller and less important proceedings initiated by the re-aviation companies, gave labor actionary state administration grim warning of this ominous proved the present contract. To- Club); Sam Kramberg (same

And it is not only a question of organizing the unorganized work- agreement and the timid conscrers and raising the present stan- vative policy that inspired it:well's suspension held by the dards. Like beasts of prey, the a mountain of unsettled griev State Board of Education yester- manufacturers are in full cry day before a crowd of 350 people against the present conditions: in the State Office building audi- the 40-hour week, the right to torium, M. Tedd Evans, assistant strike, etc. The manufacturers' attorney-general representing campaign to house-break the lathe state board, quickly turned bor movement is hitting on all

The UAW Executive Board feels

to labor law violators.

DuPont, and other open-shop

Wagner Act violators, including

s \$123.000,000 contract to Ford.

tled by the taunts of the ring-

light left tap to the face: a pro-

test to the War Department

right hooks that drove "Canvas-

the following announcement of the start.

second round, opening with a stand."

ARE INDUCTED

Leaders Of United Ticket Pledge To Carry Out Program

New York's Cafeteria Workers, Local 302 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers (AFL), appropriately celebrated the holiday season Monday night, when they inducted into office the united front slate which made a capita, and this also was forced clean sweep in the local's election recently.

icy and its vicious sell-out of the troit are insistently demanding Forge local is taking a strike vote booed the "impartial arbitrator," on a wage cut given its hammer Ben Golden, who was an invited Flint Fisher local wants Reuther of the membership on the aboliremoved as G. M. Director. Half tion of the arbitration set-up a dozen "unauthorized" depart-The celebrants made clear how mental strikes have swept through they were going to vote! the Flint and Detroit G. M. plants,

The four speakers of the evening were the General Officers er (United Progressive Group): and Juan Aviles, Labor Chief (United Spanish Workers Club)

Dritsas struck the keynote buck passing, demoralization of when he spoke of the fight for a the union stewards, and the reintroduction of the murderous

workers are face to face with the these days of "national defense"

Juan Aviles declared that he all that can be done to aid the unemployed by equitable distribution of jobs.

Larry Phillips began his speech A short hard-travelling body blow had Sidney Hillman, socalled "labor representative" on the Defense Commission, hanging on the ropes at the end of the second round of Hillman's non-title | right to run for election by a and file. bout with the War Department over the awarding of war orders

Phillips laid special emphasis on the task of the union in raising the wages of the miscellaneous (unskilled) workers in the April contract. The militant tradition of Local 302 was certain to produce rousing shop

Local 302 could now struggle as never before, Phillips pointed cut, for the new officers had been elected on a program seeking the you bum!" Hillman therefore at- partment announced today that abolition of the artificial division tempted to carry the fight in the the award would be allowed to of the union in separate branches—a division deliberately created by the racketeers to keep the new members in the chain cafeterias separated from the old militants in the independent stores. Now the members could really join hands for common

Hillman looks in bad shape. It was clear from the speeches back" to the ropes. The final Betcha his seconds throw in the and the splendid morale of the mighty belt, which had Hillman towel. Well he was only a set-up audience that the bosses are in laying half out of the ring, was for the War Department, from for a fight when the new contract negotiations begin.

LOCAL OFFICERS

through the Executive Board

In victorious mood, the crowd of union members which packed Palm Gardens celebrated the de feat of the red-baiting right wing. Their high spirits produced some unexpected and amusing results, as when they vigorously policy of Walter Reuther, who is guest. One of the planks in the attempt to land himself a job in united front slate's program was a pledge to hold a referendum find time to fight for union con-

But a short six months ago, the just elected: Costas Dritsas, Pre- is loyal to Hillman and Roose-G. M. workers apathetically ap- sident (United Rank and File day, they feel the impact of the practical consequences of this Larry Phillips, General Organiz-

> members of the union. The present contract expires in April Fisher 1 lockout several weeks Kramberg declared that the ago. victory of the United Union Ticket showed that the workers | ference, however, the Addes

Groggy up the right to strike," he said. a conference.

> militants, who justly belonged on the platform as elected officers. but had been deprived of the crats will unite against the rank technicality which ruled them out because they were non-citizens.

When the second round opened, the protest against the award struggles for a decent contract.

struggle against the bosses.

Conference Will Convene In February; May Initiate A New, Militant Policy

FLINT, Mich., Dec. 28-Repeated pressure from the ranks of the Flint auto workers, who refused to accept the decision of the GM Council and Walter Reuther denying a request for a General Motors conference of the UAW, has forced the International Executive Board to reconsider its position and to grant the membership

its-demand. A GM conference will be held the first week in February. Members of the leading bodies of all Flint locals of the UAW attended the International Executive Board meeting last week in Cleveland, and insisted there that they grant the conference as a

democratic means of thrashing out the many problems now facing the GM workers, and to find a way out of the present impasse. These officers refused to accept the offer of the Reuther-Thomas-Addes-Frankensteen leadership to hold a conference based on representation only from local union officers. They insisted on a delegthe future. ated conference based on per

meeting. The February conference should give the progressive militants in the GM locals a good opportunity to voice a demand for a policy of militant action as against the ultra-respectable so busy playing the role of Knudsen's "little helper" in an the defense set-up, that he can't

WHY BOARD ACTED

The International Board as is well known, is split into two of millions. The workers can and cliques. On the one hand there is the Reuther-Thomas group, which velt, and on the other hand there is the Addes-Frankensteen clique, group), Secretary-Treasurer; which thus far has followed a policy dictated by John L. Lewis and is definitely leaning on Com nunist Party support. Both groups voted for the infamou 'outlaw strike" policy, and both groups were instrumental in put better contract for the 10,000 ting over the miserable sacrificof the 17 militants in the Flin.

On the question of the GM con were prepared to struggle in de- Frankensteen group saw an opfense of their rights, even in portunity to get at Walter Reu ther, and therefore supported the ballyhoo. "Labor will never give demands of the Flint locals for

The truth is, however, that realized his responsibility to do neither of these cliques have offered a program of action. They will attempt to use the conference for their own clique interests. At the least sign that the by honoring those foreign-born | rank and file is getting up on its hind legs and heading for militant action, these clique bureau-

CONFERENCE TASKS

For the progressive unionists in GM, this conference means much more than the petty politics of the Reuthers and the Frankensteens. It is an opportunity to make heard their many grievances against the company. and against the do-nothing policy of the leadership.

The conference, first demanded by Buick Local No. 599, is called primarily to consider proposed changes in the GM contract

This demand of the Buick local has high-lighted the many faults of the GM agreement, which was sold to the membership and forced upon them against their better judgment, but at the insistence of Reuther and the whole executive board.

The main questions involved in the needed changes in the GM to throw out his policy. contract are the following:

1. THE STEWARD SYSTEM This demand has been a constant desire of the rank and file, who

realize that in the steward system they would have the most adequate method of representation of the rank and file, and provide a sound basis for the settlement of grievances in the huge plants of GM. This demand has always been shelved by the leadership with vague promises about

2. THE "D" LIST. In the GM contract the company is still allowed to employ out of seniority a bunch of scissorbills and relatives. These are used as a buffer against the union, and give a place of special privilege to a company dominated group. The rank and file demands this "D" list be abolished and all employes hired and laid off according to seniority.

3. WAGES. Wages in GM have not increased in proportion to the needs of the workers. Todax rising prices and cost of living demand higher wages. GM profits continue to pour in by hundreds must get at least a 10 cent an hour blanket increase. The Chrysler increase in wages shows it.

can be done. 4. THE SIX-MONTH CLAUSE. The GM contract provides that an employe's seniority does not begin until he has been in the plant six months. This makes it possible to hire a man, work him five menths and three weeks, and then lay him off, preventing him from acquiring seniority. To make it possible for new workers. to get the protection of seniority, the militants in the union are demanding a 30-day clause, so that a new man acquires seniority, after 30 days employment.

These are the main problems of the GM contract. Many other questions related to the contract will of course also be discussed at the conference.

Progressive unionists are preparing, in addition, to voice questions at the conference concerning union policy in general, Especially important will be the question of the action of the Executive Board in the Fisher Body 1 dispute with the company, in which the Board, represented by Reuther, Thomas, Frankensteen, and Addes, agreed to a vicious solution with the company which forced four key militants out of the plant, took away their seniority, and applied extreme penalties on all the other men involved in the dispute.

There will undoubtedly be demands to oust Walter Reuther as GM director of the UAW, Frankensteen and Addes will, of course. look favorably on this for factional reasons. Progressive unionists will have no hesitation in bouncing Reuther if possible, but for other reasons. To them Reuther represents the cowardly policy of inaction which has typified the whole board during the last year and more.

Whether Reuther is ousted or not, the rank and file delegates at the conference are determined

(The text of the resolution adopted by UAW Local No. 581, Fisher Body, appears on page 2 of this issue.)

Write to us-tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Thinks We Don't Realize Importance Of Italian Events

The article on Italy appearing in the Socialist Appeal of Dec. volution.

The defeatism of the Italian

numerically and technically su- rest of the capitalist world. perior foe. The English recog- Detroit, Mich. nized this (the Appeal did not), and launched a hastily prepared and successful offensive in Egypt. The regime of Mussolini and Co., proceeded to change the general staffs and purge the bureaucracy; Gayda raised the cry of "Fifth Column inspired by the British," not only against the masses but against opponents among the ruling stratum itself. The further development of this tendency of disintegration of the summits of Italian society is inevitable and can only result in collapse of the regime-a regime which can neither satisfy the needs of the masses nor the of "an astonishingly wide fissure

of fighting the English in Africa.

velopments of the Greco-Italian war you have not seriously considered the nature of the Italian military collapse. In my opinion the fascist regime is just waiting for the proletarian undertaker. He is not very far off.

If you consider the estimation of the situation as expressed in 14, 1940, belittles the significance the Appeal a correct one you will of the collapse of Italy's imper- | yet have to analyze the character ialist armed forces. Not only did of the defeatist moods of the the attack or Greece fail miser- masses, the split among the rulably, but Italian imperialism now ing stratum of the Italian burfaces the loss of Albania and her caucracy and you will have to African empire. The collapsing state the direction in which imperialist power of Italy, due events are moving. I consider the entirely to the defeatism of the coming Italian revolution as inmasses, puts on the order of the evitable in the very near future; day the overthrow of the regime its realization will fundamentally and the fight for the socialist re- alter the entire direction of the antagonistic social currents of world history if it can survive soldier masses explains the vic- the combined assaults it will face tory of the Greek armies over a from Germany, Britain, and the

RAYMOND RICE

(The article of which Raymond Rice complains was George Stern's column, On the War Fronts, which that week limited itself mainly to raising the question: "How far will or can Hitler let his Axis partner slip down into the bog of military reverses which is rapidly engulfing the Italian military machine?" He concluded Hitler would have to

After giving a number of signs

desires of the imperialist capital- in the Italian totalitarian facists. The mass basis of the here- | ade," Comrade Stern said: "One tofore imposing regime of Mus- cannot yet by far deduce from these signs that Italy is close to Even if Hitler should come to a complete breakdown. But they the aid of his ally, bolstering up do show how quickly reverses in the Italian imperialism, it would the field can expose the internal offer the Italian regime not more | weaknesses of a totalitarian rethan a short respite. To be ef- gime." The role in these reverses fective, the German ally must of the revolutionary defeatism of take over the entire military bur- the Italian masses has been dealt den of Italian imperialism: prim- with by the APPEAL in previous arily because the Italian army articles and again in an article will not fight; secondly because in this issue. We confess, howthe Germans will soon be infected | ever, that unlike our complaining with the virus of "Italian de- correspondent we aren't ready to featism." Even should the Ger- | set the date for the Italian remans take over the entire job volution. Our program is the revolution, can one conceive of German im- however, doesn't blind us to the perialism turning back to Italy | fact that Italian imperialism has the colonies she has to defend not yet shot its last bolt, and from the English with German | may temporarily be extricated from its difficulties by German In your treatment of the de- intervention.—EDITORS.)

TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND

Chicago & Indiana Harbor \$40.00 Pittsburgh 39.00 Flint Minneapolis & St. Paul 100.00 25.00 New York 5.00Texas 26.50 Newark 3.00 Buffalo 5.00 Reading 2.00 New Haven 8.50 San Diego Allentown 2.00

Payments made this week are as follows:

| TOTAL | | \$257.00 | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|-------------|------|--|
| Branch | Quota | Amount paid | % | |
| BOSTON | \$ 100.00 | \$ 131.00 | 131% | |
| PORTLAND | 10.00 | 10.50 | 105 | |
| TOLEDO | 50.00 | 51.00 | 102 | |
| Pittsburgh | 10.00 | 10.00 | 100 | |
| Allentown | 15.00 | 15.00 | 100 | |
| Chicago & Indiana l | Harbor 200.00 | 200.00 | 100 | |
| Milwaukee | 5.10 | 5.10 | 100 | |
| Reading | 5.00 | 5.00 | 100 | |
| Baltimore | 10.00 | 10.00 | 100 | |
| San Diego | 8.50 | 8.50 | 100 | |
| Rockville | 7.00 | 7.00 | 100 | |
| Texas | 5.00 | 5.00 | 100 | |
| Detroit | 200.00 | 200.00 | 100 | |
| Newark | 150.00 | 150.00 | 100 | |
| Hutchinson | 10.00 | 10.00 | 100 | |
| St. Louis | 5.00 | 5.00 | 100 | |
| Flint | 150.00 | 138.00 | 92 | |
| San Francisco | 100.00 | 85.00 | 85 | |
| Lynn | 100.00 | 85.00 | 85 | |
| Los Angeles | 150.00 | 123.70 | 82 | |
| New Haven | 20.00 | 16.00 | 80 | |
| Buffalo | 25.00 | 19.15 | 77 | |
| Rochester | 15.00 | 10.00 | 67 | |
| Minneapolis & St. Pa | | 630.00 | 63 | |
| Philadelphia | 30.00 | 19.00 | 63 | |
| New York | 1000.00 | 556.00 | 56 | |
| Quakertown | 7.00 | 2.50 | 36 | |
| Akron | 10.00 | 3.00 | 30 | |
| Youngstown | 50.00 | 6.00 | 12 | |
| Cleveland | 70.00 | 0.00 | 00 | |
| Individual Contributi | ons | 2.30 | | |
| | | | - | |

\$3517.60

TOTALS

2518.82

ORKERS' UAW Fisher Body Local Blasts TRADE SORUM Top Board's Rotten Settlement

Body, in protest against the ac-Fisher management:

ment of Fisher No. 1 on September 9, 10 and 11, 1940, and

WHEREAS: Upon proper noti-

up to go through the motions.

FLINT. Mich.—The following and these G. M. officials did agree unit of G. M. as new men, and Union, depends upon the reversal is the text of the resolution with the Company to the guilt of at the expiration of six months of the now existing policies of adopted by Local No. 581, Fisher 17 men causing them to be fired might apply, personally, as new the G. M. Department as prac-

tion of the International Execu- cal 581 and the 17 men affected they would have to serve an additive Board in the recent dispute were offered the alternative of ac- tional probationary period, the between the UAW-CIO and the cepting this Union-breaking agree- length of which to be decided by WHEREAS: 17 men, members negotiations on the part of the probationary period, to be determof Local 581 UAW-CIO, were un- G. M. Department or face the pos- ined only by the Management, justly suspended by the Manage-sibility of a strike which the In-they would have their seniority ternational stated they would fight restored to its original date, and publicly, and

WHEREAS: Eleven of these fication of this action by the Fi- men under the settlement, accept- state that the International Union sher No. 1 to the International ed by the G. M. Department, are can remove without trial Commit-Union, Walter P. Reuther with back to work in Fisher No. 1 unone other of the staff of the G.M. der a six month's probation pe-Department and Local 581 officials | riod and a one year sentence of conferred with the Management. | not being able to obtain the ben-Further conferences were held efits of the Contract for Union sionment among our Membership, with G. M. Officials in Detroit activities. Six men were not al- and and Corporation officials without lowed to return to Fisher No. 1. WHEREAS: The welfare and

The War Labor

Boards Of 1917

(Continued from page 1)

pine's vote that only one or the other would bother to show

tion of the strikes sweeping the 16 army cantonment con-

those maximum hours and minimum wages "compatible with

local practices"; and that the closed shop be eliminated on all

cantonment work "unless the individual contractor desires to

maintain one." The significance of this ukase is obvious.

Southern labor continued to receive slave wages. Wherever

the workers were previously unorganized and paid low wages

they remained that way. And collective bargaining was well-

nigh hamstrung as long as the closed shop was illegal. This

decision was reached, not over Gompers' bloody and protest-

pine, fought against the decision within the committee, but

once the two boss representatives had decided, Gompers'

pledge of national unity left no course open to Alpine but to

make the decision unanimous. That is the snare of such

ability to shove the decision down the workers' throats, it was

soon disillusioned. Angered by the betrayal, the workers

plunged into new and more bitter strikes. By the middle of

the summer the War Department,—with the unanimous ap-

proval of the board on which sat Gompers' representative—

sent troops into the cantonments and broke the strikes with

signed by both the Secretary of War and Gompers extending

the board's cantonment decision to cover all work on order

guide the government for years to come, a great cry of protest went up from the workers. To stifle their resentment and

(labor) will make every sacrifice which may be necessary to

make our (i.e. the government's war) triumph sure." From

that moment on Gompers was not even a trade union bureau-

crat; he was the country's number one scab and war-monger.

This was the inevitable consequence of his endorsement of the

ment's were established by other government departments.

The Navy Department patterned its labor board and pro-

cedure after the War Department precedents and the agree-

ment was signed between Gompers and the assistant Secretary

of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt. The government, with

increasing enthusiasm for Gompers, began to set up addi-

tional labor boards within the more important industries such

the first place they did not prevent various governmental de-

partments from competing for labor and thus inevitably rais-

ing wages to attract workers. This was naturally frowned upon

by the bosses. In the second place, the workers didn't share

Gompers' enthusiasm for the boards and their decisions and

hours of work lost due to strikes in astronomical figures and

hysterically demanded that something be done about it. Even

Gompers was disturbed by the maze of counter-rulings and

interpretations propounded by the various boards. And since

he had already committed himself and the trade unions to the

boards, why not a super-board that would have jurisdiction

over all departments, all industries, all workers? Again Gomp-

mission to explore the possibilities of the establishment of such

a board. Within a few short weeks the commission's report was

in, and in March the President announced the formation of

the National War Labor Board. The avowed purpose of the

board was to prevent work-stoppage during the war. It never

entirely succeeded in this respect but it did, with Gompers'

Labor Board will be reviewed next week, in the second article

(The strikebreaking activities of the National War

help, deal terrible blows to the American labor movement.

In February, 1918 President Wilson appointed a com-

The National Industrial Conference computed the man-

showed an increasing determination to disregard them.

There were two drawbacks to these boards, however. In

In rapid succession boards similar to the War Depart-

by, or under the supervision of, the War Department.

justify his position, Gompers declared:

war and of the labor board.

More And More Boards

as maritime and clothing.

ers and Wilson saw eye to eye.

of this series.)

On July 27, 1917, a supplemental memorandum was

Rightly reading in this decision a precedent that would

"This war I regard as the rejuvenation of mankind. We

It is entirely probable that Gompers' representative, Al-

If the War Department had depended upon Gompers'

ing body, but by unanimous vote of the board.

The Workers Rebel Against Compers

bayonets.

The first problem presented to this board was the ques-

The decision handed down by the board provided for

men to the Manager of Fisher ticed by the G. M. Director, there WHEREAS: The Officers of Lo- No. 1 for employment. If accepted, nine long weeks of half-hearted services were satisfactory for the

> WHEREAS: In no part of the International Constitution does it teemen or Stewards, and

WHEREAS: This settlement faction, disagreement, and disillu-

Local 581 Officers being present, but would be placed in some other perhaps the very existence of the

fore be it

RESOLVED: That the International Executive Board be requested to remove immediately the ment which was arrived at after Fisher No. 1 Management. If their present G. M. Director from the position he now holds and select a man for the position who is not a member of the International Executive Board so he may be held responsible for his actions peanut politician around Plants, and be it finally

> RESOLVED: That copies of this Resolution, letters of explanation, and copies of the settlement has the effect of causing dissatis- on the 17 men be given to all members of the G. M. National Council convening in Detroit Dec. 7, 1940 for their information and

> > LOCAL 581 UAW-CIO

Grace Carlson's Speaking Dates

Have you carefully noted when Grace Carlson is speaking in your city on her national tour for the Socialist Workers Party? Here's the schedule of the tour:

| ١ | Day | Date | Place | Fri. | Feb. 14 | Pittsburgh |
|---|--------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------|------------|---------------|
| İ | Thurs. | Jan. 2 | Milwaukee | Sat. | Feb. 15 | |
| ١ | Friday | Jan. 3 | Chicago | Sun. | Feb. 16 | Indianapolis |
| Į | Sat. | Jan. 4 | ,, | Mon. | Feb. 17 | Louisville |
| İ | Sun. | Jan. 5 | ,, | Tues. | Feb. 18 | |
| | Mon. | Jan. 6 | | Wed. | Feb. 19 | St. Louis |
| ı | Tues. | Jan. 7 | \mathbf{F} lint | Thurs. | Feb. 20 | |
| ı | Wed. | J an. 8 | Detroit | Fri. | Feb. 21 | Memphis |
| | Thurs. | Jan. 9 | " | Sat. | Feb. 22 | |
| | Friday | Jan. 10 | Toledo | Sun. | Feb. 23 | New Orleans |
| į | Sat. | Jan. 11 | | Mon. | Feb. 24 | New Orleans |
| | Sun. | Jan. 12 | Cleveland | Tues. | Feb. 25 | Houston |
| | Mon. | Jan. 13 | Akron | Wed. | Feb. 26 | |
| | Tues. | Jan. 14 | Youngstown | Thurs. | Feb. 27 | |
| | Wed. | Jan. 15 | D. Cfin I. | Fri. to | Feb. 28 to | Los Angeles |
| | Thurs. | Jan. 16 | Buffalo Rochester | Thurs. | March 6 | and vicinity |
| | Fri. | Jan. 17 | | Fri. | March 7 | |
| | Sat. Sun. | Jan. 18 Jan. 19 | Syracuse Boston | Sat. | March 8 | San Francisco |
| | Mon. | Jan. 19 | DOSTOR " | Sun. | March 9 | ,, |
| | Tues. | Jan. 20 | | Mon. | March 10 | " |
| | Wed. | Jan. 21 | New Haven | Tues. | March 11 | " |
| | Thurs. | Jan. 23 | New York | Wed. | March 12 | |
| | inurs. | to Feb 3 | 11011 1011 | Thurs. | | |
| | Tues. | Feb. 4 | Newark | Fri. | March 14 | Portland |
| | Wed. | Feb. 5 | " | Sat. | March 15 | |
| | Thurs. | Feb. 6 | Allentown | Sun. | March 16 | Seattle |
| | Fri. | Feb. 7 | Reading | Mon. | March 17 | |
| | Sat. | Feb. 8 | Quakertown | Tues. | March 18 | 701 |
| | Sun. | Feb. 9 | Philadelphia | Wed. | March 19 | Plentywood |
| | Mon. | Feb. 10 | " | Thurs. | March 20 | Williston |
| | Tues. | Feb. 11 | | Fri. | March 21 | Fargo |
| | Wed. | Feb. 12 | Baltimore | Sat. | March 22 | " |
| | Thurs. | Feb. 13 | | Sun. | March 23 | Twin Cities |
| | · | | | | | |

by Farrell Dobbs THESE WORKERS PICKED

THEIR OWN PROGRAM

The recent strike of 7,000 CIO aluminum workers in New Kensby the removal of a fink as de- the Transformer Corporation of manded by the workers, and a America, a New York City contwo cent raise in pay.

While the strike was on, every by the Membership in the G. M. Pittsburgh industrial area took to demand laws forbidding strikes in the "defense industries," etc., etc.

> Shortly after the strike ended an election was held in this union. Local 2 of the Aluminum Workers of America. One of the slates in the election ran on a "More pay and less speed-up" platform. The following paragraph appeared in a long, red-baiting article in the Pittsburgh Press which viciously attacked this

"On the heels of a public warning by N. A. Zonarich, international president of the Aluminum Workers, that Communists were backing a slate of candidates in the Local 2 election, Rev. Charles Owen Rice (chaplain of the Pittsburgh Association of Catholic 'black day' for the union if the slate is victorious." One of the newspaper articles on this election carried this headline: "Reds This will mean only one thing to in Unions Attacked As Peril to U. S. Defense."

the "More pay and less speedup" slate had won by a wide brought forth at what is normmajority. Only one of the can- ally a joyous time of the year... didates endorsed by Father Rice I sincerely trust that every emwas elected. A similar red-bait- ployee will put his shoulder to ing campaign was carried on during the election in the East his job and salary... Pittsburgh Local No. 601 of the UERMW (CIO). Despite the in- moment," the letter concludes, in tensive press campaign, none of a two-line paragraph after 447 the candidates endorsed by Father Rice were elected in this

If there were members of the Communist Party on the progres- | Happy New Year.' sive slates which were elected in these two unions they were in beside the point. A majority of this boss and now he is trying favor of "More pay and less speed-up." They were not at all moment," he wishes them a "very impressed by the dire predictions of a "black day" in the union, and the "peril to U. S. defense" if the exponents of this platform were elected.

A BOSS' TEARS AT CHRISTMASTIDE

As the result of strike action, a contract was signed on the ington, Pennsylvania, was settled Friday before Christmas between cern, and Local No. 430 of the UERMW (CIO). The workers won an increase in wages, plus a vacation provision. Just before the opportunity to sound off Christmas a letter of "Christmas against the "reds" in the union, greetings" from the president of the company was handed to all manufacturing employees. The following are extracts from the "Normally, the management

would hail an agreement of this type with the same enthusiasm as has been evidenced by the majority of the men... Unfortunately, these gains place an additional hardship upon the company... The TCA Management has...repeatedly called the attention of the Shop Chairman to the lax attitude of a number of employees in the shop...it is your job to recuperate the losses which TCA has incurred and is sustaining as a result of employee activity ... It will be impossible for us to successfully compete in the open market unless some unusually efficient Trade Unionists) predicted a methods and attitudes are created in the TCA shop...You can't squeeze blood out of a turnip... If TCA is unable to compete... you...either loss of employment or greatly curtailed working When the votes were counted hours... It is unfortunate that these sad facts have to be the wheel in an effort to earn

> "Forgetting business for the words of complaint against the workers, "I take this opportunity to wish each and every one of you a very Merry Xmas and a

The question is, what turnip is being squeezed? The workers a minority. But this is entirely squeezed a few concessions out of the workers were obviously in to put a double squeeze on them. Yes, "forgetting business for the Merry Xmas," indeed.

> Join the Socialist Workers Party

Top Leaders Of Auto Union Are Hemmed In From Two Sides

(Continued from Page 1)

that is being sold them under the posts and a voice in the manage- full authority. name of "National Defense."

UAW BOARD MEETING

tive Board held its quarterly meet- THE FORD DRIVE ing in Cleveland last week, the agreement is reached, the dispute rector. may then be placed in the hands these paltry details.

One part, the majority, is lined ed group; another 40% of the only thing Lewis and his friends | the "Little Steel" strike.

ment of the war drive. That is what the differences between Le- the Board exists altogether, if the through this job. The present wis and Hillman amount to and most pressing and important un-leaders, shortsighted, bewildered The UAW International Execu- that is all they amount to.

committee is abolished. All ne- ed all questions concerning the creases. gotiations will be conducted right | Ford drive, its policy, selection of | The Vultee strike reminded ev- they thereby help defend "democat the plants between the local personnel, etc., out of its own eryone that the mass production racy." But they are learning fast. union bargaining committees and hands and into the hands of Wid- workers are unbeaten. They serv- This is indicated by the growing the plant management. If no man, the CIO-appointed Ford Di- ed notice on the plutocrats that unpopularity of Hillman. This is

of the "impartial umpire." Pro- stage. Thousands of Ford workers coming war. That fact is brought lious efforts to land a cushy govgram of action for G. M.? The have joined the UWA. Now the home even more forcibly today ernment job. The auto workers Board did not have any, and what drive must be pushed to its na- at every important union gather are bound to learn even more rapis more was considerably annoyed tural climax: either the opening ing where one meets young local idly in the coming period of riswith having its time wasted over of negotiations with the company leaders and plant stewards, burn- ing prices and growing repres-The Executive Board of the ion contract, or preparations for union and constantly demanding UAW is not a homogeneous body. the calling of a strike. Unfortu- more action, a firmer, more realup with the Lewis, Stalinist-back- to exist in the mind of the Ford of their International leaders. Board supports the Hillman-Reu- National Labor Relations Board, unorganized, are being drawn to- break openly and without equivother group. The conflict between on Hillman and Roosevelt to do gether by their common aspira- cation from the Roosevelt war the two groups is growing sharp the job for him. It was proper tions and aims. That is why the government. They must cut loose er. Personal relations are becom- to demand an NLRB election at bosses, in spite of all the belly ing more embittered, threatening Ford's in order to give the union crawling of Hillman and Reuther take the lead in launching an inat times to lead to an irreparable time to consolidate its position and the others, fear the union as dependent party of labor. Once break. Despite all this, the fact and strengthen its defenses. But the plague itself. remains that the two groups stand to depend on the NLRB or Rooson the same principled position, evelt, to depend on anything but must launch a whirlwind cam- new union leadership out of the Both favor 100% support to the the fighting strength of the union paign to sweep into the union ranks of its militant shop stew-Rossevelt war machine and its itself, is a terrible mistake and fold the hundreds of thousands of wards and uncorrupted local unexecutive agency, the Morgan-Du- unless corrected, might well lead unorganized workers of the auto- ion officers, who will lead the

| have against Hillman is that he| With the Vultee strike still | its organized strength to cut deep G. M. management, but they are is such a piker and perfectly will- ringing in their ears, the Board into the swollen profits of the not reconciling themselves to it. ing to sell Labor down the river hastened to wash its hands of all manufacturers. It must do all of The wave of the workers' resent. for a few measly jobs. Lewis, responsibility in the aircraft situ- this and constantly march forment against the corporation, and on the other hand, demands, as ation. They abdicated their au- ward-or go under in the coming even more bitterly against their he says, "recognition." He is hold thority here as they previously war period as the auto union and own union G. M. department, is ing out for the same price that had abdicated in the case of the the rest of labor went under in the first sign of the rising revolt the English capitalists paid. He Ford drive. The CIO will ap- France. against the whole rotten mess wants an assortment of cabinet point a director who will have

ion tasks are planned and exe- and stunned by the rush of evcuted by other people. But only ents, have already sold themsel-How is the Board solving the an ignoramus would ask a ques- ves to the Roosevelt war governfirst meeting since the Atlantic pressing tasks of the "organiza- tion like that. Everybody knows ment. They have taken on the job City CIO convention. It proceeded tion drives"? With the same bril- the Board is weighed down at the of Ed McGrady of NRA days and to the union's pressing problems hance and tactical wisdom dis- present time with the awesome of Sidney Hillman today—the job with customary brilliance. The played in the G. M. situation. In responsibility of how to manufac of a fireman putting out strikes G. M. hot potato was gingerly dis- the case of the Ford drive, the ture 500 "Spitfires" a day and na- and 'labor trouble.' posed of by tossing it back into Board acted with complete frank- turally has not the time to worry the laps of the local unions. ness. Acknowledging its bank- about petty shop grievances or in Roosevelt today. They sup-Henceforth the top negotiating ruptcy in black and white, it vot- cavilling demands for wage in- port the "National Defense" set-

> the workers have not yet had indicated by the auto workers' The campaign is in a crucial their say in the matter of the contempt for Walter Reuther's furfor the purpose of signing a unling with a crusading zeal for the sions. nately no such perspective seems istic and more aggressive policy fling away the hypnotism of the Director. He is depending on the These militants, still scattered and fense" propaganda. They must The UAW has a job to do. It

and parts industries. It must use every assurance of success.

The auto workers, it must now be said plainly, cannot depend on One might ask, of course, why their present leadership to push

The auto workers still believe

The auto workers must complete their education. They must company-inspired "National Defrom the capitalist politicians and on this road the auto workers will find no difficulty in building a Pont "Defense Commission." The to the same disaster that overtook motive, aircraft, steel-fabricating union forward on lines that give

Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

In an interesting series of articles in The Pittsburgh Courier, W. Robert Ming, Jr., Professor in the School of Law at Howard University. has dealt with the legal and technical aspects of the case of the S. S. Philadelphia sailors who were kicked out of the U.S. Navy because they signed a letter protesting intolerable Jim Crow

After demonstrating that the Philadelphia case shows how freedom of speech has been stolen from those in the Army and Navy, Professor Ming goes on to point out how much power this puts in the hands of the "brass hats." If the public outside can't get information about conditions in the armed forces from the only possible source-that is, from those inside-how can it possibly do anything to correct or improve those conditions? This means that if the soldiers can't speak about conditions to the public, the officer caste can do just about anything it wants.

Professor Ming goes on to show that the officer caste has still another weapon to keep the mouths of conscripted soldiers shut, in addition to the power to discharge those who speak up. The right ("ephemeral though it be") of a conscript to his former job depends on his getting a certificate from the Army "indicating satisfactory completion of the training course." Under the present conscription set-up, a worker who would protest to the world outside, would certainly not get such a certificate. "This possibility of dual punishment places in the hands of the officers of this great peace-time army tremendous power without adequate controls and safeguards for the protection of the selectees."

Where the Criticism Falls Down

But these articles in the Pittsburgh Courier are at their weakest point when the writer attempts to indicate how full rights for Negroes may be obtained and the right of freedom of speech and other civil liberties restored. For in his discussion of this, which is the key question, he limits himself to legal procedure and ignores the actual character of the courts and other institutions of the government.

How is the power of the officer caste to be limited? Operating under the Articles of War, they do just what they please, replying to criticism from the ranks with arrests and discharges, and to criticism from the outside with haughty contempt (the Philadelphia mess attendants were kicked out "in the best interests" of the Navy and themselves, says Rear Admiral Nimitz).

Says Professor Ming: "Practical solution of this problem created by the conflict between Army regimentation and civil liberty is possible. One simple device to secure the desired end would be to provide for review by civil courts of actions by court martials or punishments inflicted on members of the armed forces by officers..."

What are these civil courts anyhow? Fair and impartial; or the instrument of the ruling capitalist class? If Professor Ming doesn't know from his own personal experience, let him ask workers who have been out on strike. Let him ask a poor man who has tried to sue a rich corporation. with regard to the Negro people, the courts' approval of segregation in education and on trolley cars, their approval of the poll tax and the white primary laws and the other legislation aimed at maintaining "white supremacy."

If we consider here not the words about "justice" that are written into the laws, but really understand how they work, then we can understand that workers in the armed forces, colored or white, would get no better treatment from the civil courts than they do from the military. In fact, the consistent refusal of the civil courts to interfere with military decisions, is proof that they approve segregation, discrimination and denial of freedom of speech as practiced by the officer caste, and don't want to interfere with it.

If you really want to abolish Jim Crowism, if you really want to protect the rights and improve the conditions of the soldiers and sailors, there can be no half-way measures: the officers will either have the power to do what they want, or they won't. Either you go the whole hog and take control of military training away from the officer caste completely-or you waste your time and bat your head against a stone wall. Any program which falls short of military training under control of the workers themselves is one which leaves the reactionary officers with full power, and is therefore completely ineffective and

A Correction

In our pamphlet on the Philadelphia men. issued before their discharge, we feared because of the silence that surrounded the case that the boys would be framed-up in a court martial. We said, "The court martial, when it takes place, will be conducted behind closed doors. (The men) will not be permitted to use lawyers from the

According to Professor Ming, however, this is not legally correct. His explanation not only clears up this point, but shows why the boys escaped court martial and even worse punishment than they received.

"Public opinion was aroused (after news of the arrests leaked out) . . . You know what the Navy did in the face of this public outcry. They turned down the recommendation (of court martial) of the captain of the Philadelphia. That was dangerous-if these men had been subjected to a general court martial they would have been entitled to the assistance of outside counsel, and a public hearing, a statement of charges, and the other protections which our legal system has devised for the safeguard of the defendants, even if they are members of the armed forces.

"Instead the 'brass hats' decided that these men should be discharged from the Navy-not 'honorably' . . . but rather, they were to be given 'undesirable discharges'."

The CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF The War And Coming Revolutions The CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF TO THE WAR AND COMING REVOLUTIONS

The Germs Of Workers' Uprisings Infect All Warring Nations

By ART PREIS

The first symptoms of a new wave of workers' revolutions supposed to uphold. are appearing in Europe and, in the first instance, in Italy. Churchill and the "democratic" ruling class have been quick to label it the "Italian disease"—as if this penetrating germ can be Italian prisoners of war in Greece, exorcised by incantation and prevented from spreading.

The hasty reassurances exchanged among the "democratic" capitalists concerning the peculiarly Italian character of the ence between the attitude of of settling disputes. Some of these, coming revolution remind one of nothing so much as what hap- ficers and common soldiers. Vir- he indicated, were due to a 'setpened in Europe when, in the 14th and 15th centuries, the rav- tually all the officers profess con- tled policy of the Communists." ages of syphilis spread. The French termed it the "Italian dis- fidence in and loyalty to Mussoease"; the Spanish, the "French disease"; while the Italians were | lini, and most of them attempt to | 844,000 workdays lost in the first absolutely certain that it was] spirit of defeatism which preocthe "Spanish disease." No coun-

ember 10 the leading fascist news-

cries against the defeatists:

close around their Duce."

THE WORKER-SOLDIER

This defeatism, and it grows

with each new military set-back,

The capitalists in each countion as one which can strike ahead, stated: elsewhere but not in their own country. But in their hearts they know differently. Proletarian revolution was no "Russian disease" in 1917—it spread across Europe, even though it was drowned in blood.

try would claim it!

The first military defeats sustained by Mussolini have sufficed a mark that will not soon be foro expose the basic weakness of gotten." the fascist grip on Italy.

While no direct manifestations against defeatism is in itself an of the crumbling fascist rule have admission of the discontent with as yet been able to seep through the war so wide-spread among the "Italian disease." the totalitarian prison walls of Italian masses. The same Il Po-Italy, the admissions and protest- polo di Roma on December 13 ations of the official Italian press and spokesmen are revelatory.

It is quite clear that the Italan masses who, since the last Soon we shall catch them and war, have suffered a standard of make them swallow all their sin- against the entire ruling class of ployment of a non-union worker, living as low as any in Europe, ister prophecies, all stupid antici- Italy. Churchill calls for the but the fact that it was conducted are now launching an irreconcil- pations of their idiotic defeatism spread in Italy of a "mild" "non- in defiance of a law exacting peable struggle against conditions which the present war has have any hold on the granite mass ary "disease," one which would source of the strike was much brought to the intolerable stage.

FASCISTS TRY TO APPEASE MASSES

Mussolini's regime, unable to gloss over the appalling living conditions, makes haste to lament with the masses. A campaign is the reflection of a much more suddenly blossoms forth against serious condition in the Italian the "hoarders and profiteers." Not armed forces. the fascist regime and the capitalists it serves, but anonymous hoarders and profiteers, whose presence had up to this time el- in Greece and Albania to the uded the all-seeing eyes of the secret police, are held responsible Greek and British forces and the for the plight of the Italian neople. Regime Fascista, newspaper ers. A few commentators, howedited by Roberto Farinacci, for ever, know better. Thus Hanson mer secretary of the Fascist party, declares—but without naming Italo-Greek war in the New York IN BRITAIN names - that these profiteers

"We do not live by bread alone," cessity. With things increasing illusions of the glory."

But most of all, it is the increasing this war. He does not believe The New York Times, December

Leland Stowe, in a dispatch to

the New York Post of December writes:

"There is an enormous differpaper, Il Popolo di Roma, admit- Young lieutenants, aggressively the workers had "voluntarily" try today likewise label the ting heavy Italian losses, increas fascist, are frequently defiant and given up the right to strike. 'disease" of proletarian revolu- ing vicissitudes and hard days arrogant, sometimes sneering and discourteous.

"These gentlemen who smell of thing, incorrigible rumor-mongers few have a vestige of self-assur- lassitude. who always have something to ance left. Again and again, they This same dispatch reveals that

It seems to us the hour has come The violence of this campaign and to get back to Italy."

that this is not an exclusively set the enormous price increases "Italian disease" which brought "We know them. We have iden- forth Churchill's recent incite- ment workers in Lancashire, Engtified them for some time now. ment of the Italians against Mus- land, ended on December 27. The solini-against Mussolini and not | strike was ostensibly over the em which has not and never will infectious" form of the revolution- nal sentences, shows that the of the Italian people gathered leave intact the Italian Royal fam- more deep-rooted. ily, the army generals, the police BRITISH "DEMOCRACY" apparatus, the fascist machine, the profiteers and capitalists and the hunger and misery of the Italian masses. Above all, a "disease" which would contain no danger of spreading beyond the Italian borders into the British Empire.

It is the custom of the "democ-For while Italy at the present ratic" capitalist press to attribute moment appears most susceptible the defeats of the Italian army to revolution, conditions in England also indicate no great im-"brave fighting qualities" of the munity to this contagion. The British ruling class fears this "cowardice" of the Italian fightmore than a thousand military defeats.

W. Baldwin, writing about the STRIKE STRUGGLES

Times on November 26, says, "And One of the indicative symptoms the heart of the Italians is not that the workers of England are in it-except for officers and a not too ready to "sacrifice" in the says La Vita Italiana. "There are few picked Fascist troops, the interests of British imperialism, allowance than civilians. many other things of prime ne- Italian army seems to have no is the persistence of strikes in at this rate, are wages and sal- Not courage but morale, is the of these strikes has managed to tremes of exploitation which they there to forget the hundreds of aries to remain unaltered?" La decisive factor in the Italian mili-Vita of course offers no answer tary defeats. The Italian soldier censorship. And they are partipart of the Nazi and fascist re- Anderson shelters, the millions the direct descendant of the cularly significant because they gimes. mollify the masses by echoing magnificent fighters under Gari- are waged in defiance of the dicbaldi-doesn't want to fight in tatorial law against strikes.

in the cause which his arms are 20, inconspicuously carries the tween 30,000 and 40,000 British following tiny item:

"LONDON, Dec. 19 (UP)-Minister of Labor Ernest Bevin told 26 describing an interview with the House of Commons today that standards, Minister of Agriculture there had been stoppages of work in British munitions factories contrary to the legal procedure of

Bevin, on December 17, reported justify the invasion of Greece. The ten months of 1940 due to strikes, higher ranking professional mili- in a nation in which Sir Walter cupies the ruling regime. On Dec- tarists show obedience to the re- Citrine, speaking before the AFL gime and unquestioned patriotism. convention last month, declared The New York Post, December

17, in a London dispatch quotes "On the other hand, the Italian the London Daily Express as aldefeatism are those who read our soldiers are mostly a spiritless, leging that the "Liverpool docks war bulletins with the air of being | pitiful assortment. They are rag- | were working at two-thirds capafed up, those who know every- ged and miserable, and only a city due to labor agitation and

add when a communique is read. say frankly, 'We've had enough.' the English workers are not so "They seem to have no shame willing to "sacrifice" as Citrine to beat them up so it will leave over having thrown down their states. Two of the largest British weapons. They want nothing ex-trade unions, the Confederation cept food and for the war to end of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, with 450,000 members, But it is mere wish-thinking, and the Amalgamated Engineerwhen the Churchills brand it an ing Union, with 400,000 members, are both making insistent de-It is precisely the knowledge mands for wage increases to off-

A six-day strike of 5,000 gar-

PUTS THE SQUEEZE ON

We can expect that Churchill. like Mussolini, will shortly be forced to denounce the "hoarders and profiteers." On December 26, the British press announced that Lord Woolton, Food Minister, is expected to introduce a further reduction in the food rations in January, 1941. Even the cheapest, poorest meat scraps are to be rationed, under the new regulations, and the present allowance of one shilling ten pence (about 35 cents) worth of meat per person per week, is to be reduced to one shilling six pence (about 25 cents) worth. This, for the first time. will also affect the soldiers, sailors and airmen, who up to now have been permitted a much larger

the N. Y. Post, December 19: "LONDON, Dec. 19 (AP)—Be-

women will have to work in the fields next year to keep agricultural production up to present Hudson said today. There are now 9,000 British women land

The compulsory toil in the fields invoked against the working women of Nazi Germany is here fore-

A Columbia Broadcast corres oondent, Larry Lesueur, in a broadcast from London, December 12, stated that Liverpool shipowners "complain that the young dockworkers have been drafted into the army and they are asking that the workers return in the form of flying squads of soldiers to unload ships under military

"Ship owners also would like o have about 3.000 more workers around the ports to create a reserve of men and competition for iobs, but naturally the unions are

These representatives of the British ruling class are asking, n other words, for slave workers, toiling at the point of a bayonet; and for permanent unemployed reserves to hold as a threat against the employed workers. In this is revealed the real "war aims" of the British capitalists,aims which differ not a whit in kind from those of the German

GLARING EXTREMES BETWEEN RICH AND POOR

While the Lancashire garment strikers were whipped back to work with prison threats, the New York Times on December 22, published the following:

"MANCHESTER, England, Dec. 22 (UP)-Corporate profits of Lancashire's cotton spinners this year will be the largest since 1921, united Press survey disclosed

Milo M. Thompson, chief of the Associated Press London Bureau, who has just returned from England, describes the luxury and comforts of the bomb shelters for the rich in London, such as that of the Savoy Hotel, and contrasts it with those for the ordinary people. The rich sleep in "the beds of luxury you read about in the mattress advertisements." They have dance floors, orchestras and bars. There is no crowding; all the comforts of home and aristoc ratic club are there.

"The ever present nurses and More and more, the British rul- physicians in such places add to vital British industries. The news ing class is introducing those ex- the feeling of security. It is easy who sleep in ordinary basements, The following item appeared in and the great army of those who are glad to have concrete subway platforms or the cobblestones under the arches below them if only they are safe from the death and dismemberment rained from above," (New York Post, Dec. 23)

POVERTY FOR NOW; PROMISES FOR LATER

It is a sign of the complete de generation and incapacity of the British ruling class that it permits this fantastic spectacle to go on. Future historians will re cord that not all the previous contrasts between rich and poor drove the British masses toward revolution as much as did the luxurious underground play ground shelters of the rich.

ger. Every week Harold J. Laski. Raymond Postgate and other "labor" supporters of the war wail in The Tribune: "We wonder if Mr. Churchill is aware that, in spite of all the talk, there is no ... evacuation scheme ... no improvements of shelters . . . The

pend on the speed and efficiency of adequate sheltering . . . " But to no purpose. The ruling class continues to rhumba at the Savoy However, the ruling class is perfectly willing to make prom-

Churchill, on December 18, speaking at Harrow, exclusive school for the British upper classes, declared that "the advantages and privileges which hith-

erto have been enjoyed only by

the few shall be far more widely

shared"—when the war is over. Hitler, a few weeks ago, stated that he will introduce the "perfect socialist state"-when the war is

Thus it is, that each in turn. offers the benefits of a mild innowoman must learn. Tomorrow culation of "socialism," to offest she will be the worker in the the dread "plague," the workers' revolution.

But the innoculation will not work. The "Italian disease" will spread.

War and revolution-they were inextricably connected in 1917. It took three years, the last

WhyBrowder&Co. Now Yell For U.S.--USSR Amity

Stalin's general staff appears now to be convinced that Germany cannot successfully invade. Britain. This is the conclusion to be drawn from the latest article estimating the military developments signed-like most of the previous onesby "Colonel Vasilyev," published in Trud, and cabled from Moscow to the Stalinist press here.

Had Germany launched an invasion last Sum mer, immediately after the French defeat, says the article, (Daily Worker, Dec. 29) "there is hardly any doubt that they (the Germans) would rout England's armed forces in comparatively short time. However, Germany at that time evidently considered herself unprepared for the operations against English territory with the aid of land forces . . . "

As for the present situation, the article_says: "Lately the question of invasion of England has again been the subject of lively discussions. Estimating the situation in the Anglo-German theater of military operations, one draws the conclusion that irrespective of the methods of conduct of the war by Germany, the struggle will retain a protracted character.'

Which is a cautious and diplomatic way of saying that Germany cannot succeed, in the estimation of Soviet military experts.

German aerial warfare, says the article, "did not achieve decisive results."

Neither is Germany succeeding in her attack on British communications lines: "In spite of the fact that the losses of the British merchant fleet are 'severe,' the total tonnage of British merchant. vessels nevertheless exceeds the required min-

"But British successes," the article concludes, 'cannot yet be called the turning point in the course of the war." It is clear, however, that this Soviet article considers that that turning point is likely.

In this estimate of the war by Soviet military authorities we have the clue to the suddenlylaunched campaign of the Communist Party and its front-men for American "friendship with the Soviet Union." A letter by Corliss Lamont to the New York Times, urging a Soviet-U. S. rapprochement, speeches by Browder and Foster cautiously launching the same line-this is preparation for a new turn by Stalin back toward the "democracies." But as long as Hitler has his teeth, Stalin will remain respectfully ready for new deals like the partition of Poland.

Stalinist preparations for a possible new turn in the United States are already evident in the slogans raised here on military questions. In Britain and its colonies the Stalinists are ultraradical. For example, in Canada the Young Communist League recently issued a manifesto which says to drafted men: "Trainees, form camp committees, to protect your daily interests . . . Fight against the fascist officers' clique in the army" (Daily Worker, Dec. 15).

In the United States, however, no slogans remotely resembling this are raised. Here there is not a whisper of soldiers' committees from the Stalinists. After all, the United States is the unquestioned dominant figure among the "democracies," and the one which Stalin will have to court, if Germany loses the initiative in the war.

One Sabotage Case They're Not Pushing

There's been lots of talk about labor's "sabotage" of the war program, but here's one story of sabotage that they haven't been yelling about.

Fort Sill, Oklahoma, was for a few years the home of the Army's Field Artillery School. The site was considered unsatisfactory as the years went by. It was an area of subnormal rain fall, and the water shortage was getting worse with the years. But the school had a normal garrison of about 3,400 men, their water supply could be supplemented by bringing in water, and the usual inertia of the army kept the school there. But the situation was conceded to be bad.

Yet, in September, when the Forty-fifth National Guard Division, comprising Oklahoma, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico and Arkansas, was ordered to active duty, an astonishing thing happened. Fort Sill was selected as the site for the Division's tent camp! Every army officer who knew his business knew the trouble with Fort Sill-but nevertheless it became the site for the tent camp which was eventually to house some 30,000 to 40,000 men.

A total of 8,500 men and officers were sent into camp. Construction was started on hospital buildings, recreation halls, utilities, etc. The camp was prepared with much labor to house more than 21,000 men in short order. Work went on. Soon the number in camp reached 14,000 soldiers. To make a long story short, the tent camp-its cost is estimated at \$5,000,000-was well on the way to completion, and many additional projects connected with it were completed.

Finally, in mid-December-i. e., nearly three and a half months after the camp was selectedthe water situation became so bad that the camp had to be abandoned. The Division will be transferred to Abilene, Texas—as soon as a tent camp has been constructed there.

A crew of Oklahoma businessmen are at the bottom of it. They stood to gain and did gain from the selection of Fort Sill. They had friends among the officers who had a say in it. They're not weeping about the "mistake," they madeplenty out of it.

There are no indignant articles in the press about Fort Sill. Nobody is pointing the finger. of indignation at those Oklahoma businessmen.

Can you imagine what would happen if a trade union made an honest mistake which cost one per cent of what this Fort Sill spree cost?

Women And The Class Struggle

They Play A Decisive Role In The Labor Movement

in the history of the trade union who were engaged in union activities. He used every means available to create hostility between men and women workers. a serious economic problem to movement. solve. Some effective means of resisting the boss was necessary. The only answer was organized higher wages and better condiunions such as those the men had.

Dover, N. H., 1828, organizing one of the first walkouts by women, against wage reductions and monthly payments. These textile workers organized street parades and protest meetings to publicize action during strikes. their demands. Women textile workers of Lowell published a paper in 1845 called the "Voice of Industry." This newspaper was devoted to publicizing conditions of women workers in the textile industry. The militant organization of textile workers gave an impetus to the women workers in the printing, shoe and tobacco trades. Social and educational gatherings were initiated by groups of organized women vorkers. These groups became centers of hundreds of workers where they spent their free time. For many years women were or-

the role they began to play in | more because she is secure. | things the housewife can do in

eight hour day, labor legislation, tions enjoyed by workers today, prison because of their militant

Through such experience the a better life. working woman also began to take an active part in politics. Increased exploitation, continuous struggles with the boss, government in action against the and away from the "democratic" tacting workers' families.

The importance of the woman in the home to the working class | striker is fighting for. Her place | trying to earn a meagre living ganized into separate local unions | movement, is no less than that | is with him on the picket line | while the boss squeezes every with no national or international of the woman in the factory, and at the union headquarters, ounce of energy from her. Beaffiliations. This was only be- Marriage is no escape from the At strike headquarters there are cause tomorrow the men will be cause they were refused entry problem of earning a living. Gone any number of things the wives taken from their homes and into the international unions of are the days-if they ever ex- can do. Arranging mass meetthe men workers. Recognizing the isted-when a woman can say ings, money-raising affairs, or forces of the bosses government time, for the first rumblings of significance of the self-organiza- that she is going to be married ganizing food and clothing com- and sent out to die once again revolt. It will not take that long tion of the women workers and and will not have to worry any mittees, are only a few of the on the battlefields.

parties of the boss.

The role of the woman worker the labor movement, the Knights Whether as the wife of a worker a strike. has always been a decisive factor of Labor, in 1881, admitted or as a woman in the factory, women into their organization. she is just as much an integral militant work of housewives durmovement. At first the boss util- | Years later, 1918, the AFL ad- | part of the working class. In it | ized her as a source of cheap mitted women into all their na- her interest lies and she must tile strike, 1926-7, the housewives labor and later to replace men tional and international unions. fight for its emancipation. More organized into the "Council of Women, united with men, have than ever, as a wife, she con- Working-class Housewives," to ing class is unaware of the dancontributed their share of hard stantly finds herself affected which members belonged and conwork and sacrifice to the organ- directly or indirectly by the sucization of many unions, some of cesses and failures of the trade tion. These women set up child-It was not long before women which today are among the union and labor movement as a ren's kitchens from which 500 recognized the fact that they had strongest in the American labor whole. She and her children will always be affected by the wage picket lines the wives took their The ten hour day, then the cuts and working conditions of share of picket duty. her husband.

During a strike in which her husband is involved her role is So we have the daughters of are the result of the militant doubly important. The morale of native New England farmers in struggles of men and women the striker depends much on the and marched en masse to the workers. Women alongside of the understanding and cooperation of men faced tear gas and machine his wife. She must stand firm beguns of the bosses' police on the hind the striker-husband and picket lines. Others were sent to give him courage to carry on his struggle against the boss in order to give her and the children

The boss doesn't care one bit about the welfare of the worker's the wives of miners during wife and family. During a strike strikes. he will suddenly display a preseeing the armed forces of the tended interest in them in order to persuade the wife to make workers, opened her eyes to the her husband return to work, thus real meaning of this so-called using her as a means to break "democratic" system of govern- the strike. The movies, church, ment. Such material forces as schools and even personal con-OMIC weapon of the workers. these impelled her toward the tact are the instruments availworking class political parties able to the boss to use in con-

> Every wife should understand and have confidence in what the | factory, supporting her family

We cite a few examples of the

In the great steel strike in Gary Indiana, the wives and daughters of strikers organized

They organized house-to-house men and gained sympathy for the strike from many of their wives. In Mother Jones' autobiography she tells of the valiant work of

Tomorrow she will stand

alone, that is why today the families, thrown into the armed

tributed from all over the nachildren a day were fed. On the

steel mills and helped persuade the non-strikers to join the strike. groups to contact wives of these

In a society of class conflicts, women in the factories and in the homes must take their place in the ranks of the working-class. They must recognize the unions as the most effective ECON-

The New Revelation

According To Saint

Conscientious objectors to draft registration, mem-

bers of the Young Peoples Socialist League (Second

International), recently argued their case before

Study the statement of Howard Schoenfeld, mem-

"I respectfully submit that I am a Socialist, a firm

ber of the Socialist Party, as printed in the pamphlet,

believer in democracy, and, by training and belief,

a pacifist, and that, as such, I cannot conscientiously

take part in war, training for war, or in the sur-

rendering of liberty, or in registration for such pur-

citizen to study the methods of war and murder.

which is in direct contradiction to the law of God

and the commandment: THOU SHALT NOT KILL."

Further, "It (Selective Service Act) forces the

And still further, "Although I am a pacifist, I am

not a member of any religious sect. I believe in God, '

the Kingdom of God on earth, and that we are all

sons of God, and that, therefore, there is a common

Brotherhood of Man. The Socialist Party of the U.S.

A. is a group of people working in a practical man-

ner toward the establishment of what I believe to be

As a pacifist, a disbeliever in violence regardless

of the class employing it or the cause which it up-

holds, Schoenfeld and his colleagues advocate a phil-

osophy which would condemn the German and Italian

to a perpetual slavery. It means submission to the

armed force of the ruling classes and the complete

voked to give added weight to this conviction, these

conscientious objectors find themselves in the realm

of the capitalists entirely. The bourgeoisie have a

virtual monopoly on divine revelation; the ruling

When God and the Ten Commandments are in-

workers, indeed all the oppressed masses of the world;

Norman Thomas

Federal Judge William Bondy.

'Why We Refused To Register":

the Kingdom of God on earth..."

The Philosophy of Slaves

disarming of the working classes.

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

- 1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions.
- 2. The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become
- 3. Confiscation of all war profits-all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
- 4. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
- 5. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the
- 6. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces-Down with Jim Crowism.
- 7. An end to secret diplomacy.
- 8. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.

AT HOME:

For:

- 1. A job and decent living for every worker.
- 2. Thirty-thirty-\$30 weekly minimum wage-30 hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
- 3. \$30 weekly old age and disability pension. 4. Full social, political and economic equality for the
- Negro people. 5. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and
- 6. A twenty-billion dollar Federal public works and housing program to provide jobs for the unem-
- 7. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
- 8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade
- 9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Roosevelt's Speech

President Roosevelt's "fireside chat" last Sunday night was the equivalent of a military engagement of considerable magnitude. Roosevelt, proponent of measures "short of war" to aid Britain, in this speech went up almost to the final point short of an actual declaration of war in aligning this country on the world war front.

Roosevelt dropped all diplomatic pretenses as far as the fundamental issues were concerned. He served notice on the Axis that U. S. imperialism regards itself as the prime object of the tripowered Axis alliance. He ruled out any question of a "negotiated" peace and in doing so accepted on behalf of American imperialism the gage thrown down by German imperialism, which has already indicated that it likewise regards this war as an "all-or-nothing" affair.

To the American people, the president offered only the thinnest of pious hopes that this country will be spared from war. He made it clear that when he talks about "peace" he actually means the "peace" that will ensue only when the German forces have been defeated by force of arms. His speech was, in effect, a call for expediting U. S. industrial mobilization in preparation for the approaching, greater battles of the war.

He said he wanted to keep us, our children, and our grand-children "out of a last-ditch war." Firm alliances now to Britain, he implied, would enable us to fight that war one ditch removed, rather than at the last ditch.

"The United States," he said, "has no right or reason to encourage talk of peace until the day shall come when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world."

It is clear that these "aggressor nations" will be brought to such abandonment only by the pressure of superior military force. It is equally clear that Roosevelt is declaring that either Germany dominates the world or the United States dominates the world. He quoted Hitler as declaring there could be no compromise in this struggle, and he definitely accepted the challege. It is now merely a question of the tempo at which the country can be prepared and finally plunged into the conflict.

Roosevelt, representing the real masters of this country, has thus told us several things as plainly as he dares at this stage:

- 1. This country is before long to plunge into a war that has world-domination as its stake.
- 2. Even now this country is no more neutral than Italy was before it entered on Germany's side last June. The New York Times found a phrase to describe our present position: it is not merely "non-belligerence." It is now "dynamic non-belligerence." In plain language this means

we are one brief step removed from the status of an out-and-out belligerent.

- 3. Roosevelt warned in plain language that American labor is to be yoked, and yoked right now, to the war wheels of the bosses. He expects the war arms drive to proceed, he said, "without interruption by strikes or lockouts." He also, it is true, chided industrialists who are extracting dollar for dollar against plant expansion. With them, as we know, the government deals in terms of concessions. But with labor, it will increasingly deal with an iron hand.
- 4. Finally, Roosevelt warned that the arms drive will of necessity involve a lowering of our standard of living. This is the real meaning of his remark that industries producing consumer goods will yield, if need be, to conversion of their plants into war material producing units.

The United States is no longer merely on the road to war. The United States is at war. This is the premise from which all thought, all action must now proceed.

We are for an irreconcilable struggle by the labor movement in defense of its rights and its needs, in wartime as in peacetime. Precisely for that reason, we don't want to hear any more muddleheaded and cowardly speeches from labor "statesmen" about the unfairness of the government doing this or that to the labor movement "in peacetime." No, it's not peacetime. Let us face this fact openly, and go on from there.

Stalin's New Life

One of the first fruits of Stalinist pamphleteering for the new year is a little pamphlet entitled "Soviet Jews-A New Way of Life," issued by ICOR, the Stalinist "mass" organization which, since Biro-Bidjan was created in 1928, has been singing its virtues. Incidentally, it is not accidental that the cover of this new pamphlet shows an idyllic picture of happy Jewish collective farmers in the...Crimea. For, after thirteen years of state-sponsored Jewish colonization in Biro-Bidjan, even the Stalinist statistics of this pamphlet claim only a Jewish population there "in the neighborhood of 50,000." During that period, ICOR has raised in the capitalist world on behalf of the Jews of Biro-Bidjan, enough money to buy a collective farm for each of those "in the neighborhood of 50,000."

Never mind how few Jews live in Biro-Bidjan. It is more important to appreciate the "new way of life," which this pamphlet describes so warmly. Such breadth, such universality of culture! Take, for example, the sub-section of this pamphlet entitled, "German Refugees and the Soviet Union." The interlocutor is speaking to representative Soviet Jews, and asks them, "But don't you think you Soviet Jews should appeal to your government to allow the German Jews to come in?"

"We don't want them here," was the answer. Then, just to make sure you get the point that this is not just an individual's answer, nor merely a Jewish answer, the interlocutor goes on: "Do you Soviet Jews oppose their admission?" That provides the springboard for an authoritative

declaration: "When I say 'we', I mean all of us, not just Jews. The German Jews are almost all bourgeois or bourgeois-minded. They hate us. After they got here they'd only make trouble for us and for themselves. Let them go to Palestine or America."

And even that isn't enough. The interlocutor again speaks: "I'm sure after what they've gone through they'd be grateful for a haven." Whereupon the voice of the Soviet "new way of life"

"Only until they've had a hot bath and had their bellies full... We can do without them." So this is how they talk in "a new way of life."

And this horrible, swinish outlook is brazenly peddled by Stalin, satellite of Hitler, in the name of the Soviet Union, that is to say, in the name of the October Revolution!

Halifax Is Real

There has been a quite-understandable awkwardness in the press comment on the appointment of Lord Halifax as Britain's ambassador to the United States; an awkwardness which, in the case of the labor and liberal press has turned into downright embarassment. For no editorial agility can successfully fit Lord Halifax into the current myth of a "transformed," "socialist," "labor-led" England. When editorial agility attempts the task, you get some really weird results, as witness these unbelievable sentences from *The Nation*:

"Until his unfortunate appointment as Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax had enjoyed a reputation as an enlightened Tory, and as Viceroy of India he had shown an unprecedented breadth of imagination. We hope the American atmosphere will assist the resurrection of the Halifax of the twenties." That is to say, of the Halifax who was ruthless dictator over four hundred million unwilling inhabitants of India. If you want the details, just look up *The Nation* of the twenties.

The liberals might as well reconcile themselves to many an embarassed moment, when Lord Halifax gets here. The lovely haze created by reading Harold L. Laski and listening to Sir Walter Citrine is apt to be rudely rent in many spots, for Halifax, true representative of the British ruling class and not of its labor flunkies, is as real as hell. As real as those subway "shelters" in which the workers of London are packed in, while their betters dine, dance and sleep in luxurious underground palaces.

How Stalin Celebrated The 23rd Anniversary

Not One Mention of the Fight Against Fascism Was Included Among the 43 Slogans Issued For the November 7th Ceremony

gan in the Soviet Union. Likewise taboo were any and all anti-war or anti-imperialist slogans. As a of fascism, war, imperialism, victims of fascism, colonial peoples, ion!"; the November 7th celebrations, oourgeoisie, is not referred to di-

The sole mention of the world silence. situation was contained in the following slogan: "Long Live the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Government! The policy of Peace Between Peoples and Assuring the Security of Our Fatherland!" In other words: Long Live the Hitler-Stalin pact!

Even such a ritualistic slogan repeated for years as "Long Live the Soviet Power in the Whole World!" was omitted in 1940.

In 1935, at the beginning of the People's Front" policy-remember?--the slogans issued by Stalin for the Eighteenth Anniver-Greetings to the Proletarians and the Building Trades, Build More-Toilers of France, the Vanguard and Better, and Cheaper! Work-Fighters Against Fascism, Against ers, etc. of the Light and Textile Imperialist War!" In 1940-sil-

Also, in 1935, "Bolshevik Greetings to the Revolutionary Prole | Soviet Land!" Workers, etc. of tariat of Germany! Long Live the State and Cooperative Trade Netmany! Long Live Comrade THA- viet Consumer!" "Fight For Cul-ELMANN! Let Us Tear Him tural Soviet Trade in City and From the Clutches of the Fascist | Country!" Etcetera. (Pravda, No-Hangmen!" In 1940, the Kremlin vember 4, 1940). was too busy shaking the hands people, or any other victims of more meat. Stalin's treacherous and fatal pol-

ing oil to Mussolini, still remembeneath the Kremlin's notice.

In 1935 so many slogans against | ers were told to give three cheers On the occasion of the Twenty- Fascism were launched that to for the June 26 labor laws which Third Anniversary of the October really do them justice we would enslaved them, and which they Revolution, Stalin prohibited the have to reprint entire issues of are bitterly opposing. raising of a single anti-fascist slo- | Pravda (not to mention the Daily | The list of "Long-Live" slogans Worker). Let the following suffice: "Fascism is the Most Savage suffice: Offensive of Capitalism Against matter of fact, the mere mention the Toiling Masses!"; "Fascism -this Means War of Aggress "Fascism—This Means class-war prisoners, refugees, was Hunger, Poverty, Misery!"; proscribed. In the 42 official slo- "Down With Fascism! Down gans issued by the Kremlin for With Capitalism!"; "Fuse Into a Single United Front For the capitalism itself, let alone the Struggle Against Fascism - The Bitterest Enemy of All Peoples!" and so forth, and so on. In 1940-

What, then, was the content of 1940? It was mostly "greetings." technicians of Ferrous and Nonings with an injunction: "Fight to Increase the Production of Metal! Fight for its Quality!" The workers, engineers, etc. of the Machine Building Industry were greeted:-More and Better Ma-Fuel and Electric Industries etc. of the Chemical industry sary included: "Our Flaming More Chemicals! Workers, etc. of

chinery! Workers, etc. of the More and Better Fuel! More and Better Electric Energy! Workers, Industries-"More Calico, Silk, Cloth, Knitgoods, Footwear, and Clothing for the Citizens of the

Nor were the collective farmers of Fascist diplomats to worry forgotten. They got greetings, about Thaelmann, the German too, with orders for bigger and Communist Party, the Spanish better crops, and, in particular,

A FEW STIFF DEMANDS In 1935 the Kremlin, while sell- ARE INCORPORATED

Another set of slogans dispensed bered to send greetings to the with greetings and simply raised "Popular Masses of Abyssinia, "demands": 1) "Create Mighty land!" In other words, the work- Organized Power of Our State."

is too long to exhaust. A few will

1) Long Live the Soviet Trade Unions! (purged in July). 2) Long Live the Komsomols!

(purged in July). 3) Long Live Our Working Class! (chained to the factories). 4) Long Live the Collective Peasantry! (failed to fulfill quotas of grain deliveries to the

5) Long Live the Soviet Intellectuals! (now being purged).

6) Long Live the Communist the 42 slogans of the Kremlin in Party of the Soviet Union! (now being purged, with the mass Thus, the workers, engineers and purge scheduled to be consummated by February 15, 1941, when Ferrous Metallurgy received greet- the Eighteenth Party Conference

TWO SIGNIFICANT SLOGANS TO EXAMINE

There are, however, two slogans among the 42 that merit special, notice. First, there is the rather unexpected and sudden reference to "Our Socialist Espionage Service-the CHEKA," in confor the strengthening of the Red Army. The Cheka, as is well known, was originally organized in the period of the Civil War. The Kremlin's secret police were first labelled the GPU and then renamed the NKVD because the other name had become so abhorrent. Why this return in 1940 to Heroic Communist Party of Ger- work-"Better Service to the So- the Cheka? Is it to strike greater terror among the populace? Or is it a direct threat that policeterror is to be intensified and supplemented by martial courts? Undoubtedly, both the one and the other.

The second slogan follows ver-

"Let Us Unfold the Criticism of Our Inadequacies! Let Us Strengthen Still More the Might and Organized Power of Our State!'

Now, on the surface this may seem only an innocuous incanta-Courageously Defending Their In | State Labor Reserves for Industion of Stalin's "Bolshevik Selfdependence." China then received try and Transport!" In other Criticism"-but it is nothing of two greetings: 1) "Fraternal Greet- words, Long Live the October 2nd the sort. This ominous slogan ings to the Heroic Working Class | Laws Instituting Child Labor in | quite clearly demands a greater and all the Toiling Masses of the Soviet Union! 2) "The Strug- centralization of power, and a fur-China. Long Live the Communist | gle Against Laggards and Disor- | ther "strengthening" of the tota-Party of China!"; 2) "The Im- ganizers of Production is the litarian apparatus. All "criticperialists are Dividing and En- Struggle for Strengthening the ism" has been "unfolding" preslaving China! Greetings to the Might of Our Fatherland and Its cisely in this direction. The com-Chinese People Fighting for Their Red Army. Long Live Labor Dis- ing weeks will reveal just how Emancipation and Independence!" cipline and Exemplary Order in Stalin proposes to reinforce in his the Enterprises of Our Father-own two hands the "Might and

class also argues the justice of imperialist war, and its naturally attendant evils such as conscription, on the basis of supernatural mandate. And the churches of all varieties lend a thousand times more impressive authority than even the most vehement conscientious objector can command. In either case, the

can show any direct testimonials from the Lord. Nowhere in the statements of Schoenfeld and his colleagues is there an awareness of the class struggle, of the class character of imperialist war, nor even the beginnings of a realistic program which the workers can utilize in an effective fashion against the

workers can only take their word for it. Neither side

While a handful of conscientious objectors can afford to bask in self-righteous martyrdom, the billionheaded masses of the world cannot simply sit down and say, "We won't fight." And for the same reason that they cannot say, "We won't work."

So long as the workers cannot overthrow the system of war and exploitation, they cannot be simple "abstainers" from the system. Their wives and children must live. Mass suicide cannot change the hearts. of the master class, which has waded through oceans of blood and mountains of slaughtered flesh in its rise to power and in the maintainance of its rule.

Pacifism, fortunately not a disease of the American working class, hasn't a leg to stand on.

In the end, it is precisely such pacifism which lends itself to the support of capitalism and the war system when the workers, who are not so pacifist, turn against the oppressors. This was amply proved by the conduct of the pacifists during the last war and, especially, during the Russian workers' revolu-

Norman Thomas Speaks His Piece

We see the implications of this in the statement of Norman Thomas in The Call, Socialist Party weekly, for December 14.

Thomas takes his stand on the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. In commending the constitutional case presented by the defense lawyers for Schoenfeld, and the other young Socialists, Thomas

"There is a difference between peace-time conscription and the war-time conscription upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court. It is amazing to what extent the peace-time draft law delegates power to the President and breaches the defenses of individual rights contained in the first ten amendments to the Constitution.

"Granting that the temper of the times makes it likely that the courts will sustain the constitutionality of the draft, it is a service to all of us to know where we stand constitutionally...

"This is not and should not be just a Socialist Party cause. It should have wide-spread support from all opponents of PEACE-TIME military conscription ... " (Our emphasis)

This Revelation according to Saint Thomas does not, in its logic, argue against conscription-just against conscription until war is declared, or until the U. S. Supreme Court puts the final seal of approval on peace-time conscription.

According to this, the worker youth dragooned into the armed forces by the draft can now console themselves that it is really all very unconstitutional; as they can draw comfort from the thought, when they are actually under shot and shell, and the court has acted, that their situation has the full backing of . the U. S. Supreme Court-and Norman Thomas.

What farcical figures the Norman Thomases cut. whether in the garb of parsons or constitutional lawyers! Not content with violating the jurisdictionof the capitalists in the domain of theology, the Thomases want to instruct the ruling class on the meaning of its constitution, interpreted and enforced by its courts and laws.

Meanwhile, the workers will continue to undergo the military training, and wear the uniforms and carry the arms which the ruling class thrusts upon them; for pacifism is alien to them, fortunately. In their own way and in their own good time they will find means to put a stop to war, irrespective of the opinions of divines, Supreme Court justices, or that amalgam of the best qualities of both there groups.

And Suppress His Book CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — William American Communist, who was The Communists asked no fee, a close personal friend of and made only one stipulation Lenin. When he died in 1921 he -that all reference to Trotsky left the British copyright in should be eliminated from the

Z. (Zigzag) Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, spoke at a Memorial Anniversary meeting for John Reed, Harvard alumnus and American revolutionist, author of the great eyewitness chronicle of the Russian Revolution, "Ten Days That Shook The

Following Foster's eulogy of the great John Reed, several people took the floor for questions.

They inquired how the speaker could praise John Reed, and bask in his tradition, when John Reed's book is banned in the Soviet Union and suppressed by the Stalinists everywhere else.

Another question put to Foster was: "Isn't it also true that you wrote an extensive work in 1921, following a visit to the Soviet ter by failing to mention Stalin's | Socialist Workers Party. name even once, while writing a special commendatory biographi-

cal sketch of Trotsky?" Foster answered briefly—the atmosphere was getting too warm British Embassy to prolong the meeting. It was | Washington, D. C. true, he opined, John Reed bad Dear Sir: overestimated Trotsky, as had others (i. e. himself).

Foster "forgot" to add that Reed's book bore an introduction written by Lenin-who also seemed to have shared Reed's "er-

nicle sought permission from the a foreigner, with the authorities. to stand at the opposite pole to Communist Party of Great Britain Frank, however, explained to the the Petain government which to reprint serially John Reed's tribunal that he had been con-"Ten Days That Shook the World." demned in absentia as a revolu-What happened was reported as tionist by the French governfollows in the London Evening ment and felt that, had he regis-Standard, Nov. 12, 1937:

of the Bolshevist uprising was | been turned over to the French written by John Reed, the government, despite the fact that

his book to the Communist Party.

They Honor John Reed---

"When the News-Chronicle approached the copyright owners for permission to serialize the book it was gladly given.

SWP PROTESTS PIERRE FRANK

The imprisonment of Pierre Frank, French revolutionist, by Union, entitled 'The Russion Re- the British authorities, was provolution'? And isn't it also true tested to the British Embassy in that you went John Reed one bet- Washington this week by the

The text of the S.W.P. communication was as follows: Charge d'Affairs

We have received word from

been sentenced by a London out of France by the "democrats" police tribunal to six morths at who preferred Hitler to a rehard labor.

tered with the British authorities government. "This contemporary account | in the usual way, he would have

he was in England as a political refugee. Frank's explanation appears to

"Confronted with this mod-

ern version of Hamlet without

the Prince of Denmark, the

Liberal organ abandoned the

project."

us as an eminently reasonable one for his failure to comply with a technical procedure required by British law. An explanatiton which should certainly have been accepted since he was being accused of nothing more than a mere technical violation. Instead, however, the explanation served only to harden the prejudiced tribunal against him. We are informed that the judge, upon hearing Frank's explanation, utilized it to denounce Frank as a "subversive person." Prejudice alone can explain the vindictive sentence of six months at hard

labor for a mere technicality. We protest this sentence and call upon the British authorities to release Pierre Frank and to London that Pierre Frank, a well- accord him the democratic rights known French revolutionist, has of a political refugee. Hounded surgence of the French people, The charge was that Pierre Frank now finds himself hounded In 1937 the London News Chro- Frank had failed to register, as by a government which claims still seeks to imprison Frank. Elementary justice demands that this fighter for French liberty be given his liberty by the British

> Very truly yours, JAMES P. CANNON National Secretary