

ALL OUT ON MAY DAY FOR PEACE, PLENTY-- A SOCIALIST WORLD!

Across the ocean, workingmen are being force to slaughter EACH OTHER in the uniforms of different countries.

In the United States they are fighting FOR THEIR OWN RIGHTS.

The boss-owned newspapers carry on a VICIOUS CAMPAIGN against labor, against the Bethlehem and Ford workers in particular. These two companies are notorious open-shoppers and violators of the Labor Relations Act. YET ROOSEVELT HANDS THEM THE FATTEST GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS!

But when the workers ask for a UNION CONTRACT, they are met with clubs and horses' hoofs.

Whose government is it, anyway?

The Bethlehem Steel Co. raked in a 100 PER CENT INCREASE IN PROFITS during the last year. But when the workers ask for a few cents more, they're told to work and shut up.

Instead of curbing the profiteers, the Roosevelt Administration is planning to put across anti-strike laws, just as soon as they think they can get away with it.

Prices—going UP!

Profits—SKY-ROCKETING!

That's why the workers are striking against the profiteers!

They are carrying on the tradition of the American labor pioneers who 55 years ago set aside May 1 as the day of their struggle for the eight-hour day.

OVER THERE...

What are they fighting for, on the OTHER side of the ocean?

Hitler wants what the British Empire has—the power to oppress and squeeze profits out of the workers in Europe and the colonies.

England is sitting tight on its money-bags and on the backs of its colonial slaves.

THAT'S WHAT THE WAR IS REALLY ABOUT!

Never forget the fact that—

—the British leaders financed and supplied and applauded Hitler almost up to the last minute. They thought they could use him. They weren't concerned about democracy and freedom for the German

workers THEN. NOW they want to replace Hitler with a dictator THEY can trust. It is not THEY who will give Germany back to the German people!

The FIRST World War was fought for democracy against the Kaiser, they TOLD us. And what was the result?

In this country, one new war millionaire for every five American boys killed at the front. In all the world, the growth of reaction and fascism—and the SECOND World War!

THIS war is being fought for democracy, they TELL us now.

This war is REALLY being fought for profits and power, the poor gangster attacking the rich gangster. If either wins, the RESULT will be reaction, more war millionaires, the death of democracy and a THIRD WORLD WAR!

SOMETHING TO FIGHT FOR...

Roosevelt and Wall Street are just itching to join the war.

First it was aid to Britain "short of war." Now it is "all-out aid to Britain." Tomorrow it will be "On to Berlin!" as soon as the country is militarized enough and the American people hypnotized into obedience.

First it was "neutrality." Now Roosevelt commits acts of war by seizing German ships and opening American ports to belligerent warships. Tomorrow it will be American convoys for British vessels.

First it was "defend our coasts." Then it was "defend the Western Hemisphere." Tomorrow we will be told that "our frontier is in Europe."

Roosevelt and Wall Street are slipping us into the war on the installment plan. Why not? The bankers and capitalists have something to fight for—markets, investments, profits, world power.

WE, THE WORKING PEOPLE, have something to fight for, too.

—Conscript the war industries and let them be run under workers' control!

—A capital levy to cover all war costs instead of indirect taxes on the people!

—Thirty dollars for a 30-hour work-week, with time and a half for overtime!

—No government contract without a union contract!

—Double the wages of the conscript soldiers! Give them the right to free speech, press and assembly in the camps! Away with Jim-Crowism and discrimination in the Army and in the war industries!

—Let the people vote on war! No declaration of war without a referendum of all over 18!

MAKE THE RICH PAY FOR THE WAR! DRAFT THE DOLLARS! DEFEND LABOR'S RIGHTS!

WE CAN WIN!

On May Day, raise the flag of the fight for workers' rights.

That's how WE, THE PEOPLE, will win —by fighting for ourselves, not for London bankers or Wall Street.

Fascism CAN be stopped—by WORKERS' action, not by installing a Hitlerite war-regime here at home.

On both sides this war is being fought over the backs of the workers. If they rise up and at last strike a blow for THEMSELVES, nothing can stop them.

May Day, the international workers' holiday, stands for the brotherhood of the workers all over the world.

We have our own world to build, side by side with our English, French and German brothers who are fighting against their own war-makers!

Peace for those who toil— Freedom for humanity groaning under the heel of imperialism and fascism—

Democracy for the laboring masses— The fight for these begins at home. The real war for democracy is the fight for a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT.

The old world of capitalism is dying in slaughter, destruction and mass misery.

Out of the war must come a new society —SOCIALISM! When the idle parasites who live on profit no longer own the means of life, when the factories, mills and mines are owned and democratically controlled by the workers—that is the only goal worth dying and sacrificing for.

That's the war aim of OUR side in the war—a SOCIALIST United States of the World!



THE WORLD AT WAR

The World Imperialist War Carries Within It the Seed of Proletarian Revolution

By MAX STERLING

May Day, 1941. Twenty months of the costliest war in the history of man have gone by and still the areas of the war keep expanding, sucking into their murderous misery nation after nation.

Thousands of corpses are daily piling up in the mountain passes of Greece and the deserts of Africa while in the metropolitan centers of Europe the mangled bodies of men, women and children are dragged out of the burning ruins.

With the belligerents adapting themselves more efficiently to total mechanized warfare on land, sea and air, the war is just beginning to reach its most devastating stage. Thousands of bombers are coming off the assembly lines in Germany, the occupied countries and Great Britain and America. With the war industries of the United States expanding to full strength, a terrible equalization in destructive strength is taking place which threatens in the next period to bomb out of existence the old great cities of Europe: Berlin and London, Bremen and Birmingham, Hamburg and the Midlands, and scores of others.

Sweeping over the world, the war is moving from the Balkans to the Near East and Far East. The oil of Iraq and Iran is a valuable prize. So is the strategically vital Suez Canal. The recently concluded Soviet-Japanese pact brings closer the hour of Japan's attack on the Dutch East Indies and the British stronghold of Singapore. And it is there in the waters of the south Pacific that our American imperialism is preparing to meet head on the battle squadrons of Japan.

The May Day demonstrations of 1940 met in the midst of the Nazi invasion of Denmark and Norway. The eight months of war up to then had been comparatively mild, and the great campaigns of the Low Countries and France were just in the offing. After the swift German blitzkrieg in Poland, the imperialists had settled down to what was thought to be a "sitzkrieg." There were those

who thought the war a "phony." How foolish these people were has been made amply clear.

Still, the eight months prior to last May 1 were filled with events of the greatest and far reaching importance. Of first importance was the Stalin-Hitler pact signed on August 21, 1939. It shocked the world and led to the Nazi invasion of Poland. From then on, Russia oriented herself increasingly into the orbit of Nazi imperialism, taking her share of Poland and following that by incorporating the small Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. During the winter months of 1939 Russia occupied the world stage with her war on Finland which ended in mid-March after two and a half months of bloody fighting which exposed all the weaknesses of the Russian military machine—and which, greatest crime of all, drove the Finnish working class into the arms of the Mannerheim bourgeoisie.

The invasion of Finland cost the Russians an estimated 250,000 men and the universal unpopularity of the war extended even to the Russian people, who were surprised by the adventure and who suffered the most because of it. The Kremlin, however, considered itself compensated by the acquisition of Finnish Karelia.

From the very start of the war, the American ruling class has been oriented toward intervention. The first significant step toward American intervention was taken on November 4, 1939, during the so-called "sitzkrieg" and some four weeks prior to the Russian invasion of Finland. On that day Congress, following the war-mongering leadership of President Roosevelt, amended the Neutrality Act by repealing the arms embargo to belligerents and substituting the "cash and carry" plan which enabled Britain and France to buy war materials from the United States. (It should be noted that when Loyalist Spain was fighting for its life, the embargo was vig-

(Continued on page 8)

What's New On National Strike Front?

Workers May Yet Have to Teach Ford Another Lesson

By SUSAN GREEN

On April 17, most of the morning and evening papers in New York City—and presumably throughout the country—carried a full-page advertisement by General Motors. Under a spread eagle, and decorated with pictures of marching doughboys appeared a chatty, homey-folksy "Message to General Motors folks everywhere." Such extensive advertising costs a pretty penny, you bet. But it was used in a good cause—against the workers!

You see, folks, those terrible workers—of whom 160,000 are employed by GM out of pure love—have warned the company that they will go out on strike if it doesn't come across with a satisfactory contract. And this in spite of the fact that GM has self-sacrificingly accepted \$750,000,000 of war orders. GM was relying on "the loyal cooperation" of its employees. And "at a time when your country is asking for sacrifice, can anyone justify seeking selfish advantage at the cost of production?"

You see, folks, these 160,000 workers, who with their families add up to maybe 750,000 human beings, are not "folks"—they are just workers from whom to extract profits. These workers are getting it in the neck from this armament program—out of which GM has already made plenty as an encouraging beginning. And, folks, these workers are trying to take their necks out of the way of being hurt.

Furthermore, these workers are just plain "criminals" for trying to take their necks out of the way. Mr. Knudsen himself says so. His opinion, as you all know, is absolutely unbiased. You are not supposed to remember that he handed in a fake resignation as General Motors boss.

(Continued on page 2)

Negroes Win Strike for Bus Jobs

Negroes Declare April 26 a Holiday—Will Parade Through Streets of Harlem

By BEVA CRAINE

A battle, well fought and won—such is the story of the struggle conducted by the United Negro Bus Strike Committee, hereafter to be known as the United Negro Bus Association. After four weeks of picketing Harlem bus stops, carrying such slogans as "Don't ride the buses until you see Negro drivers" and "Walk so that Negro men may live," militant, race-conscious Negroes under the direction of the committee, composed of the Harlem Labor Union, the National Negro Congress and the Greater New York Coordinating Committee, assisted by members of the Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League, had the satisfaction of knowing that what

they had pledged themselves to win was at last theirs.

Starting with a committee of five, interested in obtaining jobs for Negroes from the Omnibus Corporation, the movement grew so that at the last mass meeting held about two weeks ago over 5,000 Negroes enthusiastically supported the drive. The battle came to a close when an agreement was signed between the representatives of the Transport Workers Union, the bus corporation and the United Negro Bus Association on Saturday, April 19.

I was at the Abyssinian Church talking with Joe Ford, untiring and efficient picket organizer, and awaiting final confirmation of the agreement, when word came over the tel-

ephone that the contract was signed and the strike was over. Ford had just been in the midst of telling me that this strike was only a stepping stone to greater and more important struggles for jobs for Negroes.

To celebrate this victory, Harlem has declared a holiday for Saturday, April 26. All places of business are asked to suspend operations between the hours of 2 and 5 p.m. and all Harlem will march—churches, political clubs, trade unions, social groups and others. The participants will convene at 110th Street and Lenox Avenue at 1 p.m. Preceded by bands and picketers under the leadership of Marshals John Parris, Joe Ford and Walter Roark, the parade will march through the heart of Harlem

to 148th Street and Bradhurst Avenue at Colonial Park. At this spot there will be an open air meeting at 4 o'clock.

The three-party agreement calls for need arises of 70 Negroes in the maintenance division and of 100 Negroes in the bus drivers division. No member of any other race can be employed until this 170 has been employed. After that there will be an employment of one Negro for each white until 17 per cent of the working group is Negro (this is the same as the proportion of Negroes in the population of New York City)—this means over 500 of the 3,000-odd employees of the bus company will

(Continued on page 2)

MAY DAY • MASS RALLY

at MADISON SQUARE PARK

23rd Street & Madison Avenue

MAY 1ST 4:30 P. M. •

Speakers: JOSEPH CARTER EMANUEL GARRETT ALBERT GATES IRVING HOWE

Auspices: WORKERS PARTY, Local New York

A Manifesto by the American Committee for the Fourth International

We Look Forward to a Socialist World!

On this second May Day of the Second World War, the future of human society hangs in the balance. Capitalism is preparing more madly than ever to continue with its plan of survival by destruction.

Destruction of property and of men. Destruction of the workers' organizations, living standards and democratic rights where they have not yet been totally destroyed (Great Britain and America). Destruction of imperialist rivals: (every imperialist group against all

others). Destruction of the national aspirations of the colonial peoples (India, China, Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies, Africa and the West Indies). Such is the picture capitalist society presents after more than a year and a half of war, with the masses on both sides chained, bound and hounded on to the slaughter—in the sacred name of democracy, or the equally sacred name of fascism, for the capitalist old order or the capitalist "new order."

highly industrialized country, recognized by the British bourgeoisie as a greater potential danger than Hitler. In France the proletariat and the poor peasants, demoralized and disorganized as they are, remain the greatest obstacle in the way of manipulation of France for Hitlerite aims.

Even Hitler, after reducing the German workers to a state of servitude unknown in the history of Western Europe, finds it necessary to deliver speeches in which by demagogic attacks against capitalist plutocrats he seeks to pose as the natural leader of proletarian hatred against capitalist exploitation and oppression. Whatever the immediate source of the intrigues which preceded the Rumanian explosion, its violence, under the very guns of Hitler's armies, is an indication of the despair to which the European masses have been pushed.

In Ireland de Valera does not accede to the request of the British government for naval accommodations because he knows that so great is the hatred of the Irish people for British imperialism that any such action on his part will make Ireland a second Rumania, and seal his own doom.

From India, where the censorship is as rigid as in Berlin, come news only of unceasing arrests by the British government; and Gandhi, who began by declar-

ing himself in solidarity with the British government in the prosecution of the holy war against fascism, has found that position impossible to maintain and is now preaching individual civil disobedience by general non-violence—the old trick by which he has repeatedly sought to head off the Indian revolution.

In China the profiteering, dishonesty and oppression of the workers and peasants of China by Chiang Kai-Shek and the Chinese ruling class can be hidden no longer and is appearing in the American press as the class struggle in China after four years of war (and the imperialist intrigues of Stalin) begins slowly to push the war with Japan into the background. In China and India live nearly 500 million people, the vast majority of them literally with nothing to lose but their chains.

Negroes all over the world question the claim of Britain and America to be fighting for democracy. The masses in Latin America look with undiminished distrust at the gestures of friendship for the exploited made by Yankee imperialism in its drive to make itself master of Latin America. Even the victories of Hitler, his claims of German superiority, his spoliation of the conquered territories and the intensive Anglo-American propaganda have failed to dispel the distrust of British and American imperialism among all their victims.

The World of Capitalist Civilization Is Tottering

The imperialist conflict of 1914-1918 is repeating itself, but in a world so weakened by 25 years of economic crisis, political violence and imperialist clashes, that the whole structure of capitalist civilization trembles. So patent is the disintegration that even the President of the United States in 1941 can dare to speak in public of 1942 with the unprecedented qualification, "if the world survives." By world, this representative of bourgeois society necessarily means the bourgeois world. At no time in its long career has the future of bourgeois society been so dark as it is today.

Hitler, in order to maintain his advantage and avoid disaster, must soon strike a powerful blow. To confuse his enemies he sets rumors going and feints in every direction. But whatever his method—direct assault by land, sea and air; intensified blockade; mastery of the Mediterranean; abandonment of a weakened Italy for alliance with a tractable France; a combination of some or all of these methods—his immediate aim is still the destruction or subjection of British imperialism.

The uncertain outcome of this military conflict governs the whole of world politics at the present moment. Japan lays its plans in the Far East with ill-concealed impatience, ready to gobble all that it can as soon as it is assured of Britain's defeat. Stalin assists Germany materially and, through the Comintern, by propaganda. But he hesitates to join Hitler's "new order" until he is certain that Britain will not survive.

France is divided into three groups—the Laval group which sees the salvaging of the wreck that is French

imperialism only by freely allying itself with German imperialism; de Gaulle, who is prepared as freely to rebuild imperialist France under the wing of Britain and America; and Petain, who prefers to wait for more certain indications as to which side will win. His henchman, Weygand, guards French colonial possessions in Africa, ready to fight with German fascists or with British democracy according to the fortunes of the impending battle. In the interim, Petain destroys every vestige of democracy in France.

What of Britain itself? British imperialism is in a situation not altogether unlike that of the French. It faces domination either by American imperialism in the event of victory, or by German imperialism in the event of defeat or stalemate. For the moment, hopeful of retaining most of its possessions, goaded on by Roosevelt, it is prepared to fight, but its future course will be determined strictly by the necessities of imperialism and not by any devotion to democracy or hatred of fascism. Britain on the world scale is now in the same situation between America and Germany as was France between Britain and Germany on the European continent, and an impending or actual defeat of Britain by Germany will expose the pretensions of British imperialism to be guardians of democracy more effectively than Petain, Laval, Bonnet and Chautemps have been exposed! Already, Churchill, his hand on the throat of India, uses Bevin and the British labor leaders to introduce the militarization of labor, leading to the totalitarian régime.

U. S. Imperialism Seeks to Make Itself World Master

Such is the disintegration and bankruptcy of capitalist society that American imperialism, the most powerful of the "democratic" destructionists, seeks in vain to disguise the lusts and hypocrisy of the war under the slogans of defense and democracy. Taken by surprise at the speed of Germany's conquest of France, the American capitalist class, though united in its determination to make itself the most powerfully armed bandit of all, is torn by doubts and conflicts as to how and where and when to strike.

In its campaign for naval and air bases, it seeks to make itself more than ever master of the American continent. While it plays on the hatred of the American workers for fascism and bamboozles the American public with appeals for sacrifice to aid Britain, it inexorably presses British capitalism to disgorge all its American investments and thus surrender its fields of exploitation on this continent. But American capitalism knows that German victory will not only imperil the American stranglehold on Latin America. It will drive American capital out of Europe except on German terms and will give Japan, already difficult enough to restrain, the freedom of opportunity that it desires in the Far East. Hence Roosevelt's determination that Britain must fight to a finish.

The incredibly impudent fraud that American imperialism fears invasion has been freely propagated by the Administration, but it has been again exploded by Lindbergh. A special importance attaches not only to the military but to the political opinions of this fascist-minded reactionary. Owing to his knowledge and experience of European conditions, Lindbergh, from the beginning of the war, has been guided by his fear of a danger which today is slowly forcing itself on the consciousness of American imperialism. That danger is the danger of the collapse of bourgeois Europe and arising from the collapse, proletarian revolution. This is the reason for Lindbergh's policy of victory to neither side and a negotiated peace.

The ambassador best acquainted with British conditions (Kennedy) has constantly held before the American bourgeoisie the tremendous social changes which are gathering momentum in the factories and fields of Britain. Their explosion may sweep into insignificance the plans and hopes of all imperialism. In the destruction of British capital and the growing dependence of British imperialism on the working class for the conduct of the war, Kennedy sees the inevitability of what

he calls national socialism. Periodically in the more responsible press, informed writers express their fear of the resentment, silent as yet but inevitably growing, of the European masses, subjected as they are to chaos, destruction and suffering at the hands of the bourgeois masters of European society.

The American bourgeoisie as a whole begins to be aware of the imminence of the danger. Each section recently sent its most trusted available representative for a first-hand report. Roosevelt, the one most committed to the aid-for-Britain policy, sent his personal friend, Harry Hopkins, to get the most trustworthy account of what is taking place in the social structure of Britain. Wall Street sent Willkie, who spent the greater part of his time in England interviewing trade union leaders, visiting factories and making a concentrated study of working class conditions.

Leading elements of the bourgeoisie are already questioning whether American aid to Britain means support to a new "socialist" society and they announce in advance their intention not to participate in any action which threatens, no matter from what source, the existence of the international profit system. Roosevelt and his advisers are aware of the danger. They are investigating it and they take care to diminish in American eyes the rôle of British labor, as witness, for instance, the shabby treatment accorded in the press to Sir Walter Citrine, secretary of the British trade union movement, on his visit to this country.

But Roosevelt has always been distinguished by a more thorough grasp of modern necessities than the nautical magnates of America. He knows that modern war demands state control of industry. He knows that the workers must either be beaten into war-slavery by fascist bands or cajoled into it by the social-democracy. He realizes that what is taking place in Britain is necessary, and is merely an extension of the "war socialism" of 1914-1918. Above all, Roosevelt understands fully that so long as Churchill, Bevin, Attlee, Beaverbrooke and Eden stand at the helm, with a peer like Lord Lothian or Lord Halifax to represent Britain here, there is not the slightest danger that capitalism will be abolished in Britain, except by a violent revolution which these supporters of the capitalist order could be depended upon to try to crush ruthlessly. Roosevelt therefore drives ahead. He seizes every opportunity and where they do not exist he creates them in his determination to bring the nation into actual military participation in the war.

With the Workers Rests the Future of Humanity

So great are the forces engaged, so widespread the ramifications of each protagonist, that whatever the result—triumph of Hitler, his defeat or an indecisive outcome—the strains and stresses to which weakened bourgeois society will be further subjected must create difficulties for the warmongers greater than those they try to solve by war. The gigantic preparations for mutual destruction into which these competing groups are forced in their struggle for survival, the great blows they have administered and will administer to each other despite their consciousness of impending catastrophe, all this proves the complete unworkability of the capitalist system and how close it has driven itself towards self-destruction.

In this merciless struggle for the domination of the producing many by the appropriating few at home and abroad, no revolutionary who retains the simplest elements of Marxism in his mind can believe that there is

any road for humanity out of this destructive and ruinous terror except by the unity of all the exploited and all the oppressed against all the organizers of destruction. Whoever wavers in the slightest degree from unswerving opposition to any and all of these imperialist states in their warfare, merely assists them in their common aim, the perpetuation of the system of wage-labor, the root and origin of the present catastrophe.

Despite the apparent undisputed domination of the bourgeoisie, the working masses and poor peasants show unmistakably that they are the only force which has any possibility of coping with the disasters forced upon humanity by the bourgeoisie. In America the proletariat responds to the war pressure of the bourgeoisie with powerful strikes and growing militancy. In Britain the proletariat is still in full possession of its organizations and, though dominated by fear of Hitler and war propaganda, is obviously the most powerful force in that

Revolt or Perish: These Are the Alternatives

Behind this tangle of diplomatic intrigue, military defeats and victories and preparations for destruction on an ever-increasing scale, there begins to emerge another force. Ever clearer grows the outline of the only force today capable of imposing order upon a world in which capitalism seeks to impose the destruction of all material and moral values on itself and all the human race.

These are the signs and developments in the coming period which the revolutionary movement must eagerly seek, soberly estimate and constantly hold before the masses of people. Both in theory and in practice we must constantly oppose the essentially bourgeois conceptions of seeing war and peace and the future of society as exclusively the result of the military and diplomatic successes and failures of the contending imperialist forces. A serious error at all times, it would be disastrous in the present period, when the events and turns of the desperate ruling groups (France yesterday, Italy tomorrow, Germany or Britain the day after) are entirely unpredictable even by the warlords themselves.

It is sufficient for us to remember that three great imperialist wars have taken place during the last 70 years—the Franco-Prussian war, the Russo-Japanese war and the First World War of 1914-1918. All three were brought to an end by the proletarian revolution and the

struggle for power by millions of workers, most of whom had never in their lives heard the name of Karl Marx. It is strictly in the objective economic development of capitalist society and the burdens it imposes upon the proletarians and poor peasants that lies the inevitability of socialism. And every capitalist tendency is accelerated in the so-called war economy which is only capitalist economy in desperate crisis.

The increasing bankruptcy of capitalism, the danger of its impending collapse obvious even to its most authoritative leaders, carries with it the absolutely inescapable emergence of the proletariat, as more and more clearly capitalism is driven to place the working masses between the two alternatives: Revolt or perish. The time, the place, the circumstance, the immediate result are beyond prophecy. The event itself is certain. The weak, the cowardly, the mentally unstable constantly seek avenues of escape as the two great classes draw closer for another of their perennial struggles for the mastery of society. But the genuine revolutionaries prepare themselves for the approaching conflict, looking behind the millions of soldiers and the totalitarian régimes at the gaping cracks in their economic and social structures, and seeing in the very scale and thoroughness of the military preparations the violence of the blows with which their collisions will administer to an already collapsing system.

Revolutionary Leadership Is of the Utmost Importance

Adequate revolutionary leadership is the crying necessity of the workers at this critical period. The social-democracy has completed the career of betrayal begun in 1914 and today, except in Britain and Sweden, no longer exists as an independent force in any European country. Instead the socialist revolution, rid of one canker, is threatened with a still greater danger. In every country, openly where possible or secretly, the Stalinists, backed with large funds, ally themselves with fascists, liberals, trade union elements or any social or political group convenient for the moment. They pursue one aim, the unscrupulous propagation of the policy which may suit the foreign policy of Stalinism at the given moment. The Stalinist bureaucracy is concerned with nothing else but its own survival and now more than ever is prepared to continue with its policy of sacrificing the proletariat of whole countries to achieve this aim. The workers and the revolutionaries must expose and destroy this organization or face the possibility of a repetition of the post-war failures on a still more catastrophic and disastrous scale.

The small and isolated groups which adhere to the principles of the Fourth International face a task of enormous difficulty. To steel ourselves for this we must bear in mind one historic position. The period we now live in can be compared to that darkest period of the First World War in the winter of 1916-1917 just before the revolution tore the first great rent in the pall of death and destruction which stifled all Europe and half the world from 1914-1917.

The whole world seems poised for one more dreadful plunge. Within the next few months we may well witness the beginning, perhaps the rapid consummation, of such a transformation in Europe, as has not been seen for over three hundred years.

The working class is being rapidly educated in the realities of world politics and is not dependent upon the Fourth International for either cause or impulse to revolt. That is the unavoidable task of capitalist society itself. But we can by study, self-discipline, scrupulous attention and devotion to the often prosaic duties which the life of the revolutionary demands, prepare ourselves and those workers with whom we come into contact for the great conflicts that are now approaching. The workers will lift us high and create the arena in which our present work will bear fruit a thousand fold.

They will learn; for today, not a few thousand pamphlets or small papers, but history itself is battering its lessons day by day into their consciousness. Without them we are nothing. The complete disappearance from the scene of the great mass proletarian parties of continental Europe shows the fate of those who, however plausible the pretext, desert the proletarian line and at-

tach themselves to bourgeois society. Their destruction was rapid, ruthless and inevitable.

That error we shall not make but instead shall work patiently but confidently among the masses, ready to act with that powerful initiative which their revolt and the momentous issues at stake will demand from Marxian revolutionaries.

The American Committee
For the Fourth International.

April 15, 1941.

Can You Hear Them Marching?

Listen. Can't you hear them?
It's the sound of marching feet,
It's the armies of the workers,
From every land they meet.

They are marching on to Victory,
They shall trample every foe,
For their slogan's human brotherhood
Everywhere they go.

They shall up the bars from prisons,
They will wreck each dungeon cell,
They will liberate the victims
Of the boss-created hell.

They will level social barriers
And by reason of their might
Eradicate for ever
The ruling parasite

They will trample class distinction
In the mud beneath their heels
For tomorrow's ruling class shall come
From factories, mines and fields.

They will raise the scarlet banner
And beneath its folds unfurled
Shall meet a congress of the workers
In a federation of the world!

A WORKER.

April 10, 1941.

Burying A Story

"It is only because we searched very diligently in our daily paper that we finally found the story of the report of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee placing sole responsibility for the 1937 Little Steel strike on the companies.

The story was buried way back among the very last pages of our morning paper.

The front page of the paper, you see, was occupied that morning with stories blaming labor for strikes, which probably accounts for the poor position that story rated.

It wouldn't have looked good if the newspaper blasted away at the unions while the Senate committee said that "serious interruptions of defense production will result if the companies do not alter their policy of flouting the labor laws."—From an editorial in "The CIO Aircraft Organizer."

Strikes--

(Continued from page 1)

You are not supposed to remember, folks, that Mr. Knudsen's safe-deposit vault is no doubt stacked high with GM stocks and bonds, from which paper he expects big profits squeezed from labor—while he is holding his sacrificial \$1-a-year job with the government.

So, come on, folks—all out to keep the necks of the workers where GM wants them! And, by the way, don't try to pull your own necks out of the way or you too will become "criminals."

The southern coal operators still refuse to grant the United Mine Workers' demands that wage differentials between North and South, be abolished. The following excellent argument for granting the union demand does not come from the union, but from the northern operators:

... transportation differentials have been wiped out as a competitive factor by application of the Guffey Coal Act to minimum prices. The southern coal price at the mines is exactly the same as the northern coal price, after freight rates have been taken into consideration and the transportation differentials wiped out by the Guffey Act."

However, the morality of the profit game calls for the southern operators' holding out for their 40-cent wage differential. It doesn't need an Einstein to figure out that 40 cents less wages to each miner per day adds up to a noticeable amount of profit. So much do the southern bosses hate to part with this tidbit that they have acquired a touching attachment to the nation's capital and will not go to New York to negotiate with the UMWA.

Meanwhile these bourgeois are responsible for the idleness of some 400,000 miners, for a growing shortage of coal and for holding up the war program—in which Representative Sumners and Mr. Knudsen are both vitally interested.

To date, however, the former has not recommended the electric chair for the guilty bosses, nor has the latter called them criminals.

Neither do these "impartial" boss politicians and their ilk consider it criminal that the southern bourgeois are using their old brutal tactics against the strikers. Mr. Lewis stated:

"Members of our union in that area are threatened with continuing lockouts, with withdrawal of credit in company stores, possible evictions from their homes and their civil liberties destroyed through a return of the rule of the company gunmen in the southern mining communities."

But the miners have learned the lesson of "divide and LOSE." They are holding strong in the north, middle west and south. More power to them!

There is an old saying that is hard to teach old elephants new tricks. The only hesitancy I have in using this adage in relation to Henry Ford is that elephants are such nice animals.

Anyway, no sooner did the men return to the plants than it became evident that Ford didn't learn everything he should have from the great militant strike his workers put up.

(Continued on page 7)

Shachtman Meeting In Los Angeles - -

Subject: THE PROGRAM FOR SMASHING
HITLERISM

Time: TUESDAY, MAY 13, AT 8:00 P.M.

Place: STUDIO HALL, EMBASSY AUDI-
TORIUM, 9TH AND GRAND

Auspices: WORKERS PARTY

San Francisco May Day Meeting—

TUESDAY APRIL 29—8 P. M.

628 Montgomery St.—Room 223 S. F.

TOPICS—

A History of May Day; May Day 1941

Auspices of the Workers Party, 628 Montgomery St., Room 223 S. F.

ADMISSION — — — FREE

LABOR ACTION

114 W. 14th Street

New York City

Dear Friends:

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

"Private" vs. "Public" Wealth

The following figures are taken from a table showing the total assessed valuation of the 48 states of the union, on the one hand, and the total assets of the 30 biggest U.S. corporations on the other.

	Billions
New York (richest state)	\$25.70
Wisconsin (fifth richest state)	4.80
Metropolitan Life Ins. Co. (richest corp.)	4.23
American Tel. & Tel. Co. (No. 2 corp.)	3.99
Missouri (No. 11 state)	3.80
Prudential Ins. Co. (No. 3 corp.)	3.12
Connecticut (No. 14 state)	2.90
Pennsylvania Railroad Co. (No. 4 corp.)	2.86
Mutual Life Ins. Co. (No. 18 corp.)	1.24
Oklahoma (No. 25 state)	1.22
Bankers Trust Co. (poorest of 30 corps.)	1.03
Alabama (No. 30 state)	.92

(Followed by 18 other states, all of them with less wealth within their borders than the assets of the smallest of the 30 corporations.)

Workers Party Program Is---

CONSCRIPT THE WAR INDUSTRIES UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!

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

THIRTY HOURS A WEEK! MINIMUM \$30 A WEEK!

Time and a half wages for overtime above 30 hours. For increased wages to meet the rising cost of living.

NO GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WITHOUT A UNION CONTRACT!

No plant is to be given a government war materials contract unless it has signed a contract with the union on the union standards.

A CAPITAL LEVY TO COVER THE WAR COSTS! NO INDIRECT TAXES ON THE PEOPLE!

No sales taxes, no tax burdens, on the workers, farmers and lower middle classes. All federal funds for the year to be raised by a steeply progressive tax on all incomes above \$10,000 a year, and a levy on capital.

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR! FOR THE CONSCRIPTS:

Former employers must pay the wage differential and guarantee the return of the job. Double the wages of the conscripts! This is an elementary demand and a modest one, to begin with. The right of the soldiers to organize and to bargain collectively with the officers. Conscripts should certainly not have less rights than workers. The right of the soldiers to free speech, free press and assembly in the camps.

DOWN WITH JIM-CROW AND ANTI-SEMITISM!

For complete economic, social and political equality for the Negroes in the country at large and especially in the army.

DOWN WITH ANTI-LABOR, ANTI-DEMOCRATIC, ANTI-ALIEN LEGISLATION! WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS! A PEOPLE'S ARMY!

There are already hundreds of working class and trade union rifle clubs in the country. Let them expand, take in and train new members, unite on a national scale! Down with conscription and capitalist militarism—organize the armed and trained defense of the workers, for the workers and by the workers!

AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY AND A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT!

May Day Dinner Party!

AT

MARINI'S

9 EAST 22nd ST., 7:00 P.M.

Fellow workers... we end our May Day Celebration this year with a real FEAST—from entree to dessert. Followed by dancing. Bring your friends and relations... Come, renew old friendships, meet new faces... Tickets are 75 cents.

For Reservations Call At
New York City Party Office—114 W. 14th St.
or phone CHelsea 2-9681

GET YOUR TICKETS EARLY!

Who Owns America?

The Monopoly Committee Makes Its Final Report

By Dwight Macdonald

1. The Mountain Brings Forth a Mouse

On April 29, 1938, President Roosevelt sent a message to Congress calling for "a thorough study of the concentration of economic power in American industry." A few days later the Temporary National Economic Committee (better known as "the Monopoly Committee") was born. It has been holding hearings and issuing reports ever since. Last week, after three years of activity, the Monopoly Committee closed up shop. It had spent \$1,062,000, had once had a staff of 182 experts, had looked into 95 different industries and heard 552 witnesses. It leaves behind as a permanent record 37 volumes of testimony, plus 43 exhaustive economic studies in special fields.

Out of all this you would expect something pretty formidable to come. Both Roosevelt in his 1938 speech and Chairman O'Mahoney of the Committee in his closing statement talk much of the connection between big business and fascism, and express doubts as to whether the "democratic way of life" can be preserved unless the growth of monopoly is checked. What does the committee propose to do about it? The recommendations in its final report boil down to: (1) better enforcement of the Sherman Anti-Trust Laws; (2) changes in present patent laws, to make it harder for patents to be used as a base for monopoly; (3) Federal chartering of interstate corporations (instead of leaving this in the hands of the states, as today); (4) encouraging small business by government-guaranteed loans.

All of these measures were proposed long before the Monopoly Committee began its studies; all of them are the mildest, most timid sort of reform gestures. The general press comment on the Monopoly Committee's final report, was well summed up in Time: "With all the ammunition stored up, a terrific broadside might have been expected. Instead, the committee rolled a rusty BB gun into place, pinged at the nation's economic problems."

"ON THE OTHER HAND, NOT SO FAST"

In a word, although—as we shall presently see—the Monopoly Committee discovered an even greater concentration of economic power than it expected to find, its final report proposes to do precisely nothing about it. There's nothing mysterious about the reason for this. Chairman O'Mahoney states it clearly at the beginning of his final statement for the committee: "No member of this committee and no person in any way affiliated with it has ever made any suggestion to the chairman or to the committee the purpose of which was to do other than strengthen our traditional economic and political order. . . . I believe therefore that

our final report should begin with a definite and unequivocal declaration of our faith in free enterprise."

The same note was struck three years earlier in the Presidential message which called the committee into being. Referring to "unhappy events abroad," the President warned Congress that democracy was not safe if "the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state itself."

Among us today a concentration of private power without equal in history is growing. The President also made it clear, however, that his proposal "is not intended as the beginning of any ill-considered 'trust-busting' activity." Quite the contrary, he insisted that his main concern was "to preserve private enterprise for profit."

The difficulty is a simple one. The United States today is dominated, politically and economically, by a few hundred huge corporations, banks and insurance companies. These are controlled by a few hundred thousand executives and big investors. This is that "growth of private power" which Roosevelt and O'Mahoney want to destroy—and this is also that system of "private enterprise for profit" which these gentlemen want to protect. Both jobs can't be done at once—at least not by the same political leaders. But it is not, to Roosevelt's interest to recognize this simple truth.

And so his 1938 message to Congress was a Presidential monopoly message in the classic American tradition; which goes right back to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law of 1890. To it can be applied the comment of Mr. Dooley on a similar message to Congress by Roosevelt the First some 40 years ago:

"The trusts, say he, are heebious monstheres built up by th' enlightened interprise iv th' men that have done so much to advance progress in our beloved country, he says. On wan hand I wud stamp thim under fat; on th' other hand, not so fast."

The Monopoly Committee has produced much data of the greatest value and interest for all students of the American economic system. There is a great deal of material in its published record which the labor movement can use effectively in its fight. But that its recommendations for ACTION, even if put through Congress tomorrow, would solve none of the problems the committee was created to study—this is agreed on by bourgeois as well as Marxist commentators. And the reason is that this is a class society and that the committee approached these problems—of unemployment, poverty, economic disorganization—from the point of view of the ruling class, that is, of those very trusts and monopolies which have created these problems in the first place. In the immortal words of Chairman O'Mahoney, early in the committee's history:

"We of the committee might just as well be sitting on the other side of the table [that is, with the monopolists being 'investigated']. Our interests are really the same."

A Series on the Aircraft Industry

Loads of Money—Not for the Worker

By BOB FELLOWES
Aircraft Worker

PART III

(Continued from last issue)

The aviation bosses are still motivated as before by only one thought—how can they make more millions of dollars? Democracy? Fascism? Bah! Don't be sentimental. How can we make profits?

Many aircraft companies, when hiring a worker, check on his references, speak to his minister, fingerprint him, put a picture on him, give him a number and search him when he enters or leaves the factory. They don't trust the worker. He may be a fifth columnist, don't you see! Yet the Douglas Aircraft Corp. made an agreement with the Japanese Nakajima Aircraft Corp. permitting the Japanese representatives to have full access to their factory in California.

In spite of the various export laws, Japan continues to receive large quantities of aircraft accessories and parts as well as new American designs. But don't think this is all one-sided. To show they are impartial, Douglas, with Curtiss-Wright, is building a plant in China to sell planes to China. Ain't pay-triotism grand?

Some of the companies feel that there are too many restrictions on them in the U.S. So they have built plants in Canada. In Canada there are no restrictions on profits, nor are there too many unions to worry about. Among such companies are Boeing, Consolidated, Pratt & Whitney.

Lockheed has interests in France, while United Aircraft, Curtiss-Wright and Republic have various interests in England. No wonder they are so interested in defending democracy and their right to make profits in England, France, China and elsewhere. But don't tell the workers that. Tell them you are fighting for democracy.

"Good Will" Pays

The "good neighbor" policy has resulted in the Pan American lines (owned by Morgan) receiving over a period of years \$48,329,457 from the government for spreading good will. Not bad, eh!

It is apparent from the record, that the American aviation bosses are, as corrupt, venal, reactionary and anti-labor as any similar boss in Germany or Italy could ever hope to be.

The aviation worker is one of the most underpaid workers in the U.S. This is understandable when you compare the millions of dollars that the bosses make as a result of the labor of the aircraft worker to the small wage he gets in return.

What the Bosses Do

More specifically there are executives in aircraft who receive salaries ranging from \$25,000 to \$80,000 a year.

What are the functions of executives? Do they labor, sweat and work under the same oppressive conditions that their men do?

The functions of these officials are generally limited to making contact with some politician or dollar-a-year man in order to get a nice juicy contract. Sometimes they are merely dummy presidents having such an honor because they own a large share of stock in the company.

But what of the men who work ten or twelve hours a day and then off to bed? What do they get for making possible \$25,000 a year salaries for some executive who doesn't know the difference between a rivet and a hole in the ground?

What the Men Are Paid

On the East Coast in the wealthiest centers of the country, the aircraft workers receive an average of 52½ cents to 87 cents per hour tops. In the Middle West, wages range from 47½ cents to 72 cents per hour. While on the West Coast, the center of the industry, rates go from 57 cents to 72 cents per hour.

One of the richest companies in aircraft, Curtiss-Wright, pays its men \$18 a week to start with. Quite a salary for a married man with a family.

At Glenn L. Martin, perhaps the biggest plant on the East Coast, workers receive an average of \$22.40 a week. Only recently President Roosevelt saved Glenn L. Martin \$2,000,000 in taxes by signing a bill limiting the excess profits tax law. But you don't see any of the Martin workers getting any part of that saving.

At the various plants located in Texas, Wichita and the South, the rates may average 40 to 45 cents an hour. Of course if you don't like these wages, the bosses say you can join the U.S. Army and get \$21 a month. Some run around!

These are but a few of the best samples of wages paid in the richest country in the world by one of the richest industries. This is the

situation at a time when aviation millionaires are making more and more millions with more to come.

School Racket

Papers play up the aircraft worker as wearing a silk shirt and drinking champagne. Let one of these newspaper gents come into the factory and put his soft carcass to work for \$22 a week. I'll bet he'll sing a different tune.

Many young workers are fleeced by the companies and their officials through the school racket. Whereas normally the factory would have to pay the beginner to work in the factory, they now open a school and charge \$100 or so and at the same time have the student do actual production for nothing. These guys running the industry are letting no opportunity get away for making money off the workers.

Working conditions in many of the plants are very poor. Spraying poisonous chemicals in the air has harmed many workers. Aluminum poisoning occurs frequently.

Add to this the constant presence of guards. You are scrutinized from the moment you enter to the moment you leave. In some of the factories it's like living in a prison.

Flock Into Union

It is, therefore, not surprising that many workers are flocking into the aircraft section of the UAW-CIO. For here at least they have a means of uniting their strength to protect themselves against their common enemy, the boss. In rapid succession the following plants have been organized recently: Vultee, Rangers, North American, Ryan, Harvill, Briggs, B. H. Aircraft Co., Western Aero Solar, Alcoa and Bell. The UAW is now trying to organize Consolidated, Martin, Wright, Douglas, etc.

The average minimum union wage is 62 cents an hour. The highest minimum wage is at Briggs in Detroit with 75 cents an hour.

One of the few closed shops in aircraft is Brewster Aero Corp. Here they earn 55 cents for the first four months and then up to 62 cents an hour. The average hourly wage at Brewster is about 67 cents an hour. Overtime is unsteady and no full advantage is taken of the closed shop possibilities.

At Bendix Aviation, strongly organized by the UAW, wages range from 68 cents to 75 cents an hour for a beginner to 94 cents per hour for the skilled operators.

As a whole the wages of the union

2. The American Ruling Class Sits for Its Portrait

In its three-year study of the American economy, the Monopoly Committee built up the most complete picture we have of the tremendous concentration of economic power in a few hands that has been going on in this country in the last 40 years. Its findings may be summed up very sketchily here under three heads: (1) the sheer size of big business in America today; (2) the dominating position of the big corporation in the American economy; (3) the tremendous concentration of wealth at one end of the social scale and the equally striking poverty of the great mass of the American people.

(1) THE BIGNESS OF BIG BUSINESS

To bring home the huge size of the great American corporations, the Monopoly Committee adopted a dramatic device. It listed, in order of asset value, the 48 states and the 30 biggest corporations. This table is reproduced on this page. Note that only ten states have total assessed property within their borders of greater value than the assets of the two biggest corporations: the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. and the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. Also that, at the other end of the scale, there are 18 states which are "worth" less than the smallest of the 30 biggest corporations. These figures cause even Chairman O'Mahoney of the committee to raise the question: "In popular discussion, these corporations are regarded as 'private enterprise.' But how private is such enterprise after all?"

(2) AN ECONOMY OF PRIVATE MONOPOLY

The committee analyzed the production of 1,807 manufactured products—a fair cross-section of the entire productive system. It found that for one-half of these products—ranging from cigarettes to steel ingots—the four biggest manufacturers in the field accounted for 75 per cent or more of the total U. S. output. A quarter of these products were found to be "extremely concentrated"—that is, the "big four" in the field produced much more than 75 per cent of the total output.

There has been a steady increase in the power of the big corporations for the past three decades, the committee found. In 1937, although "central office" establishments were only 3.8 per cent of the total number, they employed 51 per cent of all wage earners (as against only 47 per cent in 1929) and produced 61 per cent of the value of all manufactured products (only 54 per cent in 1929).

So, too, with corporate assets. There is a "proletariat" and an "aristocracy" among corporations. In 1937, the 228,721 American corporations with

assets of less than \$50,000 each were 55 per cent of the total number of corporations, but between them owned less than 1½ per cent of the national corporate assets. At the other end of the scale, the 394 biggest corporations—less than 1/10 of 1 per cent of the total number of corporations—owned almost 45 per cent of all corporate assets.

And so, too, finally, with income. In 1929, the 3/10 of 1 per cent of the nation's corporations which had assets of over \$1,000,000 swallowed no less than 80 per cent of the total corporation income. And in 1937, the "little fellows" (those with an annual income of less than \$5,000), constituting 65 per cent of all corporations, received considerably less than 2 per cent of the total corporate income, while the "big fellows" (those with annual incomes of \$5,000 or more) received 40 per cent of the total income. When Roosevelt speaks of "private enterprise," he means, economically, big business. The little business man has long ceased to have much economic significance—or power.

3. PLUTOCRACY AND POVERTY

The real political dynamite in the committee's findings lies in the terrible contrast its statistics reveal between the wealth of a few hundred thousand citizens of this great "democracy" and the poverty of the vast majority of the inhabitants of the richest country in the world.

First of all, the committee shows clearly that the gigantic corporations which control the American economy (and government) are in their turn held tight in the fists of a few big stockholders.

The next time you read about the wide distribution of stock holdings in the big corporations—the 840,000 widows and orphans who "own" AT&T, for instance—remember these two facts: (1) in recent years, less than 1 per cent of the nation's families have received over half the total dividends, and 1/10 of 1 per cent have received 35 per cent of all dividends; (2) even within the group of families receiving dividends, the same concentration occurs, so that 11 per cent of the dividend-receiving families got two-thirds of the total dividend distribution.

And the next time you read of how the policies of these huge corporations are democratically decided by majority vote of their millions of stockholders, remember these two facts: (1) the 20 biggest stockholders in the 200 biggest corporations between them held, on the average, one-third of the total voting stock (enough, ordinarily, to insure actual control of the corporations); (2) in 40 per cent of these 200 biggest corporations, control was held either in one family or in a small group of families. Finally: "Fifteen of the 200 great corporations were controlled by three families (the duPonts, Rockefellers and Mellons) and their holdings in these corporations were valued at \$1,400,000,000."

So much for who RUNS the economy. The evidence is even more striking as to who BENEFITS from the American economy. Who gets the gravy, to put it crudely.

"In 1936," reports the committee, "the lower two-thirds of the nation's income groups had only negative savings." The term "negative savings" is a polite way of saying that two out of three American families that year had to spend more than their income in order to keep alive. "The bottom third went into the red to the extent of \$1,207,000,000 and the middle third to \$252,000,000. The top third, on the other hand, saved \$7,437,000,000. To put this in another way: if the whole population were divided into equal numerical groups of 2,750,000 families each, the top 10 per cent, with incomes over \$4,600, saved 86 per cent of the total savings made in 1929, while the second 10 per cent, with incomes ranging from \$3,100 to \$4,600, saved 12 per cent, and the other 2 per cent of savings were accounted for by the remaining 80 per cent of the population."

Another fact, which the committee does not dwell on but which is indirectly stated in the quotation just given, is that the vast majority of the FAMILIES of this country—eight out of every ten—live on a FAMILY income of less than \$3,100 a year.

"A VERY DIFFICULT MATTER"

The main line of the committee's reasoning on this crucial question of the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many, can be summed up as follows:

- "Fully one-half of all corporate stock dividends are received by less than 75,000 persons of the 130,000,000 who inhabit the United States."
- "These evidences of ownership, however, are only part of the story. The control of the resources of the country rests in even fewer hands."
- "The contrast between the \$7,000,000,000 of savings in the upper third of the population and the \$2,000,000,000 of dis-savings in the lower third suggests that some levelling off of the income pyramid would result in the immediate betterment of the position of the lower third, without depriving the country of any needed funds for investment. . . . How to implement, such reasoning is a very difficult matter, however."

A very difficult matter, indeed! Especially if you start off with the aim so frankly announced by Chairman O'Mahoney in his final statement: "to strengthen our traditional economic and political order."

LABOR ACTION

Official Organ of the Workers Party

Published weekly by the

Labor Action Publishing Company

Vol. 5, No. 17

APRIL 28, 1941

114 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. (3rd Floor)

Editor: JOSEPH CARTER

Managing Editor: EMANUEL GARRETT

Business Manager: JOHN BILLINGS

Subscription Rate: \$1.50 per year,

\$1.00 six months

(\$2.00 per year or \$1.50 six months for

Canada and Foreign)

Re-entered as second class matter May 24, 1940,
at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the
Act of March 3, 1917.

(Continued on page 6)

MAY DAY, 1940, TO MAY DAY, 1941--A YEAR OF LABOR STRUGGLE

We Are Proud of American Labor's Victories

When the war hysteria was whipped up last spring after the collapse of France, and America began its vast preparations for imperialist war, the labor movement began to take it on the chin.

The steel and auto, and rubber and shipping barons grabbed up the juicy war orders and the profits started to roll in. Big business was happy. Fabulous profits were guaranteed by the government.

And the press, and radio, and movies, and the pulpit were used to fan a flaming fire of "patriotism" which was directed against the entire labor movement. In the name of "national defense,"

union contracts were violated, men forced to work overtime, conditions ignored and strikes stigmatized. To protest was "unpatriotic."

The labor-haters and the red-baiters had a field day. The presidential election was suspicious and, as we predicted, was proved to be phoney. Both Willkie and Roosevelt had the same program--Save Wall Street's investments abroad and profits at home.

The CIO and AFL conventions reflected the pressure of the union-haters against organized labor. The AFL bureaucrats stiffened their servility and patriotism; the CIO leaders fumbled around, Lewis blundering into support of Willkie, and Hillman becoming office boy for Roosevelt.

Unable to see further ahead than their noses and dues payments, the labor bureaucrats cowered before the thunderous crash of world and domestic events. They knew that the program of big business and its lackeys, the pot-bellied senators and congressmen and local politicians, was to smash the unions. But the bureaucrats were afraid to say so, let alone fight seriously against this anti-union drive.

The CIO top leaders held out better against the pressure than the despicable William Green and his associates, although Sidney Hillman did his best to prove that within the CIO he could be as big a scoundrel as Green was in the AFL.

"LET'S GET OURS!"

Under the guise of "national unity" the politicians introduced legislation designed to make slaves of the men who toil in the factories. Lynch speeches against labor and howls about "Communist plots" proved to be the favorite sport of the congressional windbags.

Conscription was used as a threat against strikers. While big business went hog-wild making dough, every conceivable trick and device was used to curb and smash the labor movement.

And then, just when the big shots thought they had things their way--like the French capitalists thought they had--and life looked rosy for Ford, and Dupont, and Grace, and Morgan, and Rockefeller, and others, the silent voice of the shop workers was heard!

"The big shots are getting theirs, let's get ours! My wife is raising hell about food prices going up. I'm tired of working like a dog, and being kicked around. I can get another job if I have to. Let's do something about it!" In hundreds of shops thousands of workers were talking like this during the few minutes of lunch time, or while they were punching the clock card, or going home on the bus.

The newspapers didn't carry page one stories about this rising sentiment of disgust, of resentment, and of being just plain fed up with things. The newspapers were too busy preaching that the workers must sacrifice while the big boys got fatter and richer. On top of that, the very people who spoke piously about another "war for democracy," kicked the unions right in the face when it came to a simple democratic right--the right to organize and to bargain collectively. And that was the final straw.

VULTEE MEN WIN

The first open expression of the feelings of the men in the shops came in southern California at the Vultee plant.

The Vultee men were being organized into the CIO and getting kicked around for doing it. They were told to be satisfied with a lousy 50 cents an hour while the company was guaranteed 12 per cent clear profit after all expenses, taxes and bond interest was paid.

So the men hit the pavement. Do you remember the "shock" the manufacturers got when that happened? How Martin Dies screamed about "red plots?" How a drunk army major tried to

Our movement takes great pride in the accomplishments of the American workers since last May Day because we have become an indivisible part of those struggles.

Toward those thousands of anonymous workers, who shut down Ford, and Bethlehem, and Allis-Chalmers, and Vultee we feel the strongest bond of solidarity. The revolutionary movement has no life apart from that of the working class. Its victories and defeats, its laughter and its tears, we share in the plant, at home and in this society under which we exist.

We curse--and try to remedy--the fact that our forces are yet so small that we are unable to take greater responsibility and more work in the union movement. A union button is a badge of honor in our ranks, as it is everywhere when good union men meet.

And while we have much respect for the AFL rank and file and some of the militant unions within that organization, we are pro-CIO. For the future of the labor movement rests with the CIO.

The CIO organized the mass production industries. And it is primarily the CIO unions in the past year that fought the giant corporations to a standstill.

By JACK WILSON

force the men back to work? How Sidney Hillman tried to discredit the strikers?

But the men stuck together. You couldn't fool them with the talk about "chipping national defense." They knew they deserved better consideration, higher wages, better conditions.

The Vultee strikers won! They proved again what the frightened labor bureaucrats didn't believe, namely, that you can strike and you can win if you don't fool around.

News of this victory flashed throughout the country. It stirred the hearts of the Harvester plant workers, the steel workers, the auto workers and other mass production employees. "WE CAN DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT!"

And they did!

The Vultee strike reminded them of the glorious days of the CIO and the lessons of the Goodyear strike, the General Motors sit-downs, the Little Steel strike, when the manufacturers trembled before the challenge, "The CIO is on the march!"

A sharp pick-up in dues payments and participation in the unions was noticeable throughout the country. And union organization drives were meeting with success.

ALLIS-CHALMERS

The Allis-Chalmers strike developed from incidents in the plant provoked by the company through hiring of some "toughs" to harass the union members. This grievance was the spark that set off the explosion. The union called a strike.

Despite Mr. Knudsen and Secretary of the Navy Knox--who owns some stock in Allis-Chalmers--and Governor Heil, and a red scare, and ravings about "sabotaging national defense" and other baloney, the workers remained solid.

So the cops, backed by the strike-breaking orders of Knudsen and Knox, tried busing the picket lines and aiding a "back to work" movement. They used an armed and moving fortress to terrorize the strikers, and they shot tear gas into the union ranks and clubbed the pickets.

But the Allis-Chalmers strikers remembered the lessons of the General Motors struggle. A huge mass picket line was the answer and when the cops played rough, they were taught a real lesson. The company had to shut down the plant again. And the cops were forced to call it quits.

In case any union man had doubts, the Office of Production Management (Knudsen-Hillman, etc.) showed its true colors, a super strike-breaking agency. And an ominous hint of the future was contained in Governor Heil's moans about, "We haven't got a National Guard to call and the Home Guard isn't built up yet."

HARVESTER FOLLOWS

Meanwhile, eyes were glued on Chicago where the International Harvester Co. workers were really revolting against the tyranny of the McCormick interests. All the threats and terror and discharges weren't enough to keep down the spirit of the workers. They joined the CIO and went out to fight for their rights.

Chicago has a foul name in labor history. It goes back to the Haymarket days. To the frame-up and death of the Haymarket

martyrs. But for those workers who didn't remember that struggle there was a more recent reminder of Chicago police brutality, backed by the government.

When the CIO boys formed picket lines by the Harvester plants, they knew that thousands of blue-coated thugs would be out there trying to crush them. They each asked themselves: "Will there be another Memorial Day massacre? Will we be shot down like dogs, clubbed, framed, blackjacked again?"

For two lifetimes couldn't erase the horror of that Memorial Day when the Chicago cops went berserk. When the Little Steel strike was broken in a bath of blood, while President Roosevelt tapped his cigarette holder and nonchalantly declared "A plague on both your houses!"

The Harvester strikers took their places in the front ranks of labor fighters in our history when they went out in the face of that possibility. Of such calibre of men are revolutions made. The strikers got slugged, the AFL betrayed them by leading a back to work movement, and they had to go back with the prospect of mediation at the hands of the new federal board. But they made their mark. They declared themselves men, not slaves. They have just begun to fight.

BETHLEHEM BOILS

On a plane with the Chicago strikers was the action of the men who sweat and toil in Bethlehem's octopus steel plants. Since this company crushed the Little Steel strike in 1937 its attitude toward the workers has been intolerable.

Over a billion dollars in war orders, unbelievable profits, favoritism from the federal government made Eugene Grace, czar of the company, and his board of directors crazy with power.

They laughed at the Walsh-Healy minimum wage bill, they sneered at the Wagner Act, they jeered at the National Labor Relations Board decisions, and fought the union all the way. They sponsored a company union, fired union men, terrorized the workers, and rode so roughshod that even a conservative labor leader like E. J. Lever of the SWOC said, "If you ever worked in Bethlehem you would not doubt that the Bethlehem corporation was stronger than the United States government."

But the boys in the shops got fed up. The breaking point came recently when company union elections were being planned in the various plants. The resentment over the lousy wages, the terrible conditions and the kicking around boiled over.

At the Lackawanna, Bethlehem and Johnston plants in quick succession strikes were called. The SWOC leaders were forced into this action by a militant rank and file. In the usual pattern of strikes, the government agencies tried to get the men back to work without any settlement, then the cops tried their stuff. The union ranks held firmly and small gains were made. Little Steel is organized! Now the job is to get some more for the workers.

AND COAL TOO!

Four hundred thousand coal miners are on strike as we write these lines. The United Mine Workers of America are demanding a dollar a day increase and will get it. John L. Lewis stepped back

into the national limelight in these negotiations. His blast at the strike-breaking technique of Roosevelt's new Mediation Board shows he hasn't made peace yet with the war machine.

The coal strike added four martyrs to our long list of victims of capitalist terror. Four Harlan strikers were murdered. "Bloody Harlan" is organized. Unionism has always been a life and death question with the coal diggers there. We should pause and pay tribute on this May Day to those gallant soldiers of unionism who are always on the firing line at Harlan.

Surely these brief records of deeds of the workers since last May Day alone should be a matter of great pride. But that isn't all. We can think of the sharecroppers and the California Oakies who are out on bitterly fought strikes in censored counties where we can't even find out what's happening. And the many other strikes and struggles.

FORD IS TAKEN

But most important of all, however, is the Ford strike. For Ford is the symbol of all that every good union man hates.

The year 1941 will be remembered in labor history as the year Ford was taken.

FORD WAS SHUT DOWN!

Four words! How petty the language! How magnificent the deed! Ford didn't think it could happen. Neither did the government. Nor did most of the top CIO leaders!

Ford was shut down! Harry Bennett, boss of Ford's Gestapo, thought he could provoke a small walkout by firing eight union militants--and then smash the CIO once and for all. The CIO leaders were scared. Michael Widman, head of the Ford CIO drive, had sent a wire to Washington saying he was afraid he couldn't prevent a strike.

Like a tidal wave the Ford workers swept everything before them. Enough was enough! Years of terror from Bennett's thugs had hardened their souls! Other auto workers under CIO contracts had higher wages, some security, some seniority and some respect as human beings from the company officials.

Eighty-five thousand Ford workers had covered and bitterly complained to themselves long enough. The NLRB records had unfolded the whole story of Ford's ruthless terror. His cynical violation of every half-way decent human standard.

The silver king is the most hated man in America, and not just among his employees.

This hate flared out in the open. The men started to join the CIO. The government gave him fat war orders. The men fumed. It wasn't getting easy to beat up union men, there were too many of them. Mass discharges only aroused more anger.

Sit-downs began! And the capitalist newspapers were afraid to mention the fact. Were afraid the idea would spread like it did in 1937.

When 20,000 workers sat down, it was a cinch. It was too late for piddling compromises. The Ford workers were determined to break through their shackles if only for a day. And they did. You can't quiet down until the steam is let off.

Even when some few hundred misguided Negro workers were used against them in a fight, the Ford workers didn't forget who they were sore at--Ford. They are trying to win the Negroes to the union banner.

Of course, the CIO leaders compromised. They accepted the proposals of Governor Wagner, and the strike ended.

But this was only the first major battle! And the CIO won. Tomorrow in the shop the struggle continues, even more intensely.

MAY DAY, 1941

May Day, 1941, comes with the workers carrying out the best traditions of this great labor holiday, a day dedicated to renewing and intensifying the struggle of the workers for their self-interest and progress.

And on May Day we can laugh at the fools who quote statistics to prove only a small per cent of the workers are engaged in strikes, thereby hoping to bury the class struggle and bow before the master class. This same stripe of statistician proved the Russian revolution was impossible in 1917 because of the "small number" of workers in Russia and their "backwardness."

A May Day Message to Working Women

By SUSAN GREEN

The working women of America have a glorious record of struggle, of which they can be very proud. The power wielded by labor today is the result of bitter combat, from which women and men have drawn strength and wisdom. On this May Day, the international holiday of the workers of the world, working men and women can join hands in mutual esteem as comrades in a good fight.

The exploiters and deceivers of the workers point a triumphant finger at the recent agreement between Big Steel and the CIO and say: "Where else in the world can labor sit down with the big industrial magnates and with representatives of the government and work out an agreement so beneficial to labor?" Such a thing, they say, can only happen in this great American democracy. Therefore, continues this tricky argument, let every mother's son go get his gun and fight for this grand and glorious democracy.

LABOR FOUGHT FOR ITS GAINS

All this is as false as that beautiful set of new teeth in the head of an old man. American democracy never handed the workers anything on a silver platter. Whatever gains the American working class has made it FOUGHT FOR. Industrial magnates and government representatives sit down with labor BECAUSE THEY HAVE TO. American labor is STRONG. It knows how to close down huge plants like Ford's and how to keep them closed. It knows how to stop the flow of profits into the bulging pockets of the bosses. That is their talking point.

Labor has gained this strength and knowledge over long years of fierce fighting--struggles that have piled up many martyrs to the cause. And every inch of the way the workers have been attacked not only by the private thugs of the bosses but by the city, state and federal forces of "this great American democracy." With its laws and with its guns American "democracy" has sought to keep the working class down. IT HAS NOT SUCCEEDED.

In all these battles the women have done their share. They have fought bravely on their own, striking for unions, wages and conditions, and picketing shoulder to shoulder with the men. They have also participated as fighting partners of their striking husbands, as fighting partners of their striking sons.

IN STEEL AND IN TEXTILE

In 1919 during the great strike that first shook the feudal foundations of the steel industry which now is forced to sign with the CIO, the women stood by their men for three and a half long months. Those were the days of Burleson and Palmer, when the revolts of the European workers produced such hysterical fear and hatred in the ruling class here that no terror against the workers was too terrible enough. In the steel districts the Cossacks of American "democracy" ruled supreme. Every vestige of free speech, press, assembly was gone. For weeks at a time strikers were isolated from each other, without organizers, without strike bulletins. The mounted gunmen went so far as to charge into groups of children

in order to provoke the fathers to fight and thus give the gunmen the excuse to let flow rivers of blood. The women had the strength to restrain their men. Their strength has gone into the building of the great labor movement of today.

In the textile strikes of the early twenties, that spread like wild fire throughout the New England states, the most backward, the most suppressed and exploited workers rose and did battle against their bosses and the forces of American "democracy." Against a 54-hour week, against a 20 per cent reduction in wages and against the well armed troops of "democracy" they fought. There were 100,000 of them, of all nationalities, many who came to the great American melting pot to escape the Cossacks abroad. Tens of thousands of women and girls were in the strikers' ranks and in some localities fought on for nearly nine months. Their strength has gone into the building of the mighty labor movement of today.

There was the great Passaic strike of 1926-1927. Fifty per cent of the strikers were women--enslaved women who had labored continuously for eight to ten hours every night without pause even for a drink of water, who had slaved thus even while carrying their unborn children. They became dauntless warriors of the working class. They marched with the men on the picket lines and were in the thick of all union activities. During "Terror Week" when men, women and children were indiscriminately and mercilessly beaten and ridden down by the mounted police of the bosses and "the great American democracy," these women did not run away, but kept reforming the picket lines with the men. Their strength too has gone into the building of the powerful labor movement of today.

AS MILITANT AS EVER

The growth of the CIO, the symbol and instrument of working class power in this country, was made possible by the splendid solidarity of the women with the men, by their courageous cooperation and at times brilliant initiative. Most dramatic is the part played by them in the great auto strikes. In Flint they went from house to house, from store to store, exposing the vigilante committees organized to fight the strikers, and succeeded in completely discrediting them. The women's battalion picketed the plants and by their unswerving militancy often shamed the police into less brutal conduct. In the famous "Battle of Bulls Run" the women had the satisfaction of being fighters on the victorious side.

In the strikes of today the women are as militant as ever. They took their places among the pickets at the Ford plants. In the less spectacular strike at the Leviton factory in Brooklyn, now in its seventh month, women who have never struck before are persistent and courageous fighters. In the New York bus strike that made such a stir, the wives and children of the strikers joined with them in their meetings and their activities.

THE REAL TEST IS YET TO COME

As the child is father to the man, so labor's history explains why the American workers can today talk turkey. Years of struggle

against the combined forces of American "democracy" and the exploiting bosses have made them strong--have increased their solidarity--have improved their strategy--have perfected their form of organization. In spite of the many setbacks inflicted by the craft form of organization of the AFL, in spite of the many sell-outs of false leaders in many of the unions, the rank and file workers have come out on top. And in this development of labor there has been no such thing as "the weaker sex."

But this May Day does not mark the achievement of the goal of the working class of America. Far from it. Today the call to fight rings out--more compellingly than ever. The real test is yet to come.

The rising cost of living, on the one hand and "frozen" wages on the other are bound to worsen living standards. The "mediation" boards will move heaven and earth to induce the workers to take it on the chin, while the bosses take it into their pockets. Payment for the imperialist war will in large measure be forced from the working class by income taxes, consumer taxes and all kinds of "voluntary" contributions. If the war continues--as it is expected to--for three to five years more, there will be shortages of food and other living needs. Suffering and privation are the "benefits" the working class will get from the war.

As always, the women will feel most the direct impact of these war conditions. They suffer twice: their personal privations and their anguish for their families. On top of this is the harrowing worry over their boys who are already being sent to the outposts of American imperialism--to defend "their homes" in the Philippines, Hawaii and other distant places. And there will be the broken hearts of the bereaved mothers that will gradually fill up with anger at the war makers.

WOMEN WILL PLAY THEIR PART

In the past such conditions have led to great revolutionary struggles, in which women have played a brave role. Back in 1871, the hardships of the Franco-Prussian war burst the bounds of endurance and the workers rebelled. For the first time in history, the working class of Paris took power and held it from March 18 to May 29. The Parisian working women knew how to fight. They were on the barricades, sewed the sand bags needed for defense, participated in the meetings of the peoples' government, formed revolutionary clubs for women. And when they stood at the open graves of their fallen comrades, they pressed their children to them and taught the little ones to cry out "Vive la Commune!"

The Paris Commune was drowned in blood when the Butcher Thiers invited the besieging German armies to enter Paris and do the filthy job. Then as in 1940 the French ruling class preferred the armies of the "enemy" capitalists of Germany to the power of ITS OWN WORKING CLASS. But the revolt of the men and women of the Paris Commune was not in vain. Perhaps the Russian Revolution could not have taken place without the example of the Commune.

The world-shaking events of 1917, which stand as the criterion

of action for the freedom-seeking workers of the world, also developed out of the unbearable conditions of war. The revolution was set in motion by a group of the most oppressed and downtrodden workers of Russia--THE WOMEN OF THE TEXTILE MILLS. On the 22nd of February, 1917, which was International Women's Day, they walked out on strike--against the orders of their leaders. They took the initiative. THE TIME HAD COME. They were through with slaving to fill the pockets of the bosses with war profits--through with standing hours on bread lines--through with being separated from their husbands at the front--through with being widowed.

They went out and more masses of women joined them. They locked to the government buildings, demanding bread. Then the more advanced workers also swung into action. First to fall under the revolutionary might of the masses were the czar and the old despotism. After a series of crucial events leading up to the October revolution the workers and peasants took complete power, ended the war, ended the rule of the capitalists, landlords and their fake democratic government.

Stalin and his gang of reactionary bureaucrats robbed the Russian masses of their revolutionary gains. But the glorious accomplishment of the Russian workers in making a successful revolution, the courage and initiative of the women in starting the massive, annihilating ball rolling over their vicious rulers, have not been lost. In some nation soon the workers will continue where the Russian masses left off.

SIDE BY SIDE TOWARD FREEDOM

AMERICA SHOULD BE THAT NATION! The working class here has not yet been crushed by a military juggernaut. It is stronger than ever before. So strong, in fact, that while the stupid politicians call for the electric chair for strikers, the wiser ones advise kid-gloves for the handling of labor. They are afraid that the great giant will lift its mighty fist and clap them down.

Will the workers of America allow themselves to be "mediated," then bludgeoned into powerlessness, or will they widen and deepen their struggle? Will the working women of America wait until their families are starving and their sons and husbands slaughtered, or will they carry out the tradition of women's militancy in the past and FIGHT NOW FOR PEACE AND ALL THEIR PEACE-TIME NEEDS!

Millions of stunned, starved, lonely women under Hitler's heel wait for a sign that will set them in motion. Millions of women squirming under the paws of the British lion wait for the dawn of a better day. The working women of America have it in their power to give inspiration and courage to all the others. They can make those miserable ones abroad understand that in America the working class has started on the road to power, and the END OF WARS AND STARVATION. Then they too will rise up against the bloody imperialists--dictators and exploiters alike! YOUR MOVE, WORKING WOMEN OF AMERICA!

Some weeks ago LABOR ACTION published a number of articles on the developing shop steward movement in Britain and pointed out its great importance. This movement is growing and strengthening. We print below an article on the latest developments among the British shop stewards and their meaning, and an article on the shop steward movement in Britain during the First World War.

By HENRY JUDD

One of the major contributions of the British working class to the international labor movement was the creation and development of what has come to be known as the shop steward system and its corollary, the works committees. These class struggle instruments of the workers reached their greatest development in England during the World War—when they served effectively in mobilizing the workers of England against the imperialist intervention schemes of the Tory government—and later during the famous general strike of 1926.

Since that time the shop steward movement has suffered an eclipse, as part of the general decline of British trade union militancy. Nowhere in the world is a working class so held in check by a hidebound, reactionary bureaucracy as is the British worker. But the first year and a half of the war has seen an important revival—not along the political front, where reformist domination of the labor movement is still all-powerful—then along the economic front. What could be more natural than to find the British workers reasserting themselves by means of their familiar institutions—the shop steward system and the works committees?

What are these institutions? A shop steward is a rank-and-file worker—a trade union member—who is directly elected by the fellow workers in their particular department, unit or shop of the factory. His job is to deal DIRECTLY, from day to day or hour to hour if necessary, with the shop foreman or the management. He brings the complaints, demands and grievances of his shop-mates directly to the boss or manager who, in turn, must deal with

Shop Steward Movement Comes Back

him because he knows that every man in his shop stands behind the shop steward. As the English put it, the shop steward is the man who holds debates with the foreman! He expresses most simply, directly and DEMOCRATICALLY the struggle within the industrial plant.

What is the works committee? This committee consists of all the shop stewards in a particular factory or industrial unit. It holds weekly meetings and each steward from the various departments brings his report to this body. It takes up matters affecting the factory as a whole, coordinates grievances in sections of the plant and expresses the higher unity of the industrial workers. On all serious matters the works committee (or factory council) deals with the boss in the name of all the factory workers. In addition, there are two further duties of the shop steward. Special stewards—known as trade union card stewards—keep tabs on dues, see that union work cards are in order, that no non-union men are sneaked in, etc. Stewards also must take note of various complaints made by the workers during the day's work which are to be called to the attention of the works committee.

WHY THE BOSSES FEAR THE SHOP STEWARD

The great fear of the shop steward system that exists in the mind of Britain's bosses is easy to understand. First, let it be noted that this system represents an independent workers' policing of the factory from the inside. Under this system the contract must be enforced, and all new grievances must be acted on instantly. Very unpleasant for Mr. Boss. Secondly, it represents in simple but powerful form, an embryonic workers' control of the factory. If says, in effect, that Mr. Boss is not lord and master of his plant, that another, rival authority exists. And Mr. Boss knows well where such steps lead—to revolution and expropriation of the plant! So he mobilizes his entire authority and his closest allies—the trade union bureaucrat and the government—against the shop steward system.

Shop stewardism reached its strongest point during the last war among the Scottish shipyard workers in the Clyde area. There

were 50,000 of them and they held real power in their hands. This time the movement was apparently revived by aircraft factory workers in and around the London area. The immediate cause for this revival was the heavy bombings of August and September last year.

The Tory government, with its Labor Party prisoners, demanded that workers remain at their work during air raids! This was shortly modified to request that workers remain at work until roof-spotters should inform them that the bombing situation was becoming dangerous. Ernest Bevin presented this request to the workers, and then the opposition began.

REPRISALS FAIL TO HALT MOVEMENT

Aircraft factory workers elected their shop stewards (since they knew they could obtain no satisfaction from their business and walking delegates) and presented their own demands to the government. First, they insisted that bomb-proof ARP shelters should be constructed by the government right on the job. Secondly, they demanded working class control of roof-spotting activity; that is, they should have the right to appoint their own spotters. Thirdly, no docking of pay during air-raid alarms. These demands were met by the government in a way that depended upon the strength of the stewards and their backing. In many places all demands were won; in other factories to a limited extent.

The government immediately began reprisals against the shop stewards, attempting to nip the system in the bud. Union bureaucrats—having nothing else to do since they had given up their powers during the imperialist war—threatened to expel shop stewards from the unions. This threat was particularly vicious in the Amalgamated Engineers Union, controlling munitions workers, but it did not materialize. A reign of transfers and dismissals of stewards swept Britain's factories. In one Scottish factory military police entered to break up a meeting of a works committee and arrest several stewards. In the month of October, 1940, fifty stewards were dismissed from the factories.

The answer of the workers was to renew their efforts and add another demand—compensation for all workers hurt during an air raid.

"TAKE UP FIGHT WHERE BUREAUCRATS LEAVE OFF"

And then in October of last year the Clyde shipyard workers came back to life and turned automatically to the shop steward system. A meeting of stewards, representing all the Scottish shipyards, was held. It is natural that they, being the most advanced and militant workers in all England, should formulate the most complete and serious set of demands. To those we have already listed they added the following: (1) An active drive against "non-unionism"—only union workers in the shops; (2) Shop stewards and works committees in every factory; (3) Fighting protection of all shop stewards and (4) Key men in plants who must remain during air raids to be supplied with helmets. Said the Scottish shop stewards: "We take up the fight where the union bureaucrats leave off!" At present, the major issues before the shop stewards consist in attempting to win higher wages to combat the daily rising living costs, and settling issues that directly arise from the war itself (air raids, compensation, transport disruption, etc.).

The industrial conscription powers now possessed by Bevin form a basis for serious strike struggle issues in the immediate future. Bevin now has authority to (1) Register all essential factories, industries and industrial workers; (2) Dismiss workers for "willful misconduct"; (3) Force all workers to stay on the job unless permission to leave is granted by the "national service officer." (This is, let it be noted, precisely the same as in Nazi Germany.)

The shop steward system and works committees are slowly but steadily expanding. Against them stand the government, the labor bureaucrats and the bosses. The future of the British working class lies in this struggle between the embryonic workers' power and the organized might of the English capitalist class. Here is the field of the "war within the war."

During World War I They Proved Labor is a Power

By PAUL TEMPLE

The best news out of England nowadays is the rebirth of the shop stewards movement. The information that trickles through the British censorship has a ten times greater meaning if we take a glance back at the shop stewards movement during the First World War.

Through the city of Glasgow in Scotland flows the Clyde River. In and around Glasgow and on the banks of the Clyde is the greatest concentration of heavy industry in all Britain, with the exception of the London area—machinist forges, munitions plants, as well as ship-building.

Out of the Clyde "engineering" district came the first strike for working class interests during the war and the first mass movement of industrial workers against the war. While the official labor leadership signed away "for the duration" every trade union right they had won by a century of struggle, on the Clyde the fighting machinists EXTENDED their power.

Propaganda lay thick over Britain, but in Glasgow no pro-war meeting could be held from the beginning of the war to the end. The workers wouldn't allow it. Lloyd George himself tried it and couldn't be heard above the singing of the Red Flag.

THE FIRST SHOP STEWARD STRIKE IN 1914

Who were the shop stewards? No new or "foreign" institution. Most good trade unions in America and England have them today. They are the local representatives of the trade union in each plant or department of a plant. They collect dues for the union, take up the workers' grievances in the plant, carry on the union business in direct contact with the rank and file.

When in 1914 the top labor leaders proclaimed, "The workers must now stop fighting for their rights!" the workers turned away from these leaders who wouldn't defend them any more, and found leaders in their own shop stewards.

Here's how the first strike broke out. Even before the war the Clyde workers were agitating for a four cents an hour raise. By 1914 the bosses, coining a flood of profits out of the slaughter, offered three farthings. The workers rejected it. In 1915 the shop stewards formed a strike committee. They didn't call it that because strikes had already been declared illegal in this democracy.

It was called a "Labor Withholding Committee." The workers just withdrew their labor and the bosses couldn't run the plants.

There were no strike benefits and no support from the national union, but the workers came out 100 per cent and went back with unbroken ranks when, after two weeks, it was decided to continue the strike as a slow-down. The shop stewards and local militants formed the Clyde Workers' Committee and continued the fight.

Later in 1915, the government introduced "dilution of labor." This meant the hiring of new workers regardless of union standards of wages, hours and conditions. To protect union standards, the Clyde Workers Committee demanded workers' control of the "dilution" and another mass upsurge started.

Lloyd George came to Glasgow to soft-soap the shop stewards. The first plant he addressed, the head shop steward introduced him to the meeting as "an enemy of the workers" and a lawyer to boot. He couldn't even convince them to have a photograph of the meeting taken. At the other plants, the stewards refused to gather until he negotiated with the Clyde Workers Committee. On Christmas Day he tried to address a city-wide meeting of stewards and couldn't be heard though he shouted until the sweat ran down his face. When he stopped through sheer exhaustion, Muir of the CWC got up on a seat, instantaneous silence fell, and the workers' case was presented. Lloyd George and his féliné walked off and went home and the CWC took over the meeting. A Glasgow paper which reported the meeting was suppressed and the committee put out The Worker.

Postscript: the shop stewards gained control of the "dilution of labor."

CARRY ON FIGHT AGAINST RENT INCREASES

Following the 1915 strike, the movement began a campaign against increased rents which were rising sharply. The housewives organized. Meetings of the working class women were held in back courts, kitchens and streets. The increased rents were not paid. Each time the sheriff's officers came for an eviction, they were smelted a mile away; bells were rung for the "gathering of the clans" and an army of infuriated women drove back the officers in a panic. Then the landlords tried court proceedings. On the day of the first trial, the factories for miles around emptied, the housewives declared their own general strike too, and a sea of workers surrounded the sheriff's court. Inside, the sheriff, white around the gills, phoned Lloyd George in London. "The workers are threatening to pull down Glasgow. What am I to do?" The trial was given up and in double-quick time the government passed an act restricting rents.

The shop stewards had won this victory for the rest of Britain's workers, too.

BECOMES A MASS ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

The movement began around the economic interests of the workers, but it quickly became a mass anti-war movement. "There's profit in blood," was the slogan. The posters said: "Your King and Country need You." And the workers added on:

"Your King and Country Need You,
Ye hardy sons of toil,
But will your King and Country need you
When they're sharing out the spoil?"

There were plenty of patrioteers around Glasgow, but somehow every meeting they attempted ended up as an anti-war demonstration. They tried to organize, and did organize, a Discharged and Disabled Soldiers' and Sailors' Federation to use as a weapon against the militant workers; but very soon the organization was supporting every act and resolution of the Clyde Workers Committee, as well as composing some of their own. When Winston Churchill came to Glasgow to speak at a pro-war mass meeting, the affair was organized almost as secretly and conspiratorially as an underground gathering in order that only the "right" people might attend. When an attempt was made by reactionaries to organize a strong-arm organization to break up the workers' meetings, the shop stewards formed defense guards on a factory basis and put a quick stop to it.

80,000 MARCH ON MAY DAY, 1917

And on May Day! The first big May Day took place in 1917, about two months after the overthrow of the tsar by the Russian revolution. The British labor tradition was to hold the celebration, not on May First itself, but the first Sunday following, as a picnic rather than a demonstration. The shop stewards were opposed to this, but compromised this year by holding it on Sunday but as a demonstration.

On that May Day of 1917 in Glasgow, 80,000 workers marched in the parade itself and a quarter million lined the streets!

"The demonstration declares for the overthrow of the capitalist system of production for profit. It sends its fraternal greetings to the workers of all lands," read the resolution that was passed by the throng massed around the platforms dotting Glasgow Green. Resolutions of solidarity with the revolutionary Soviets of Russia were cheered and adopted.

A British Shop Steward's Notebook

This picture of a shop steward's week is reprinted from the British New Leader (not to be confused with the social-democratic sheet of the same name published in New York.)

Monday

Food in the billets. In the morning I was approached by a body of men from the billets. The spokesman asked me to "smell" the food given to the men to bring to work. A day's food for an outdoor worker—four sandwiches of some unknown substance which even looked offensive. One smell was sufficient to convince me that the food given to these men was definitely rotten. These workers are expected to work to defend the right to allow the bosses to feed them—on four sandwiches of rotten food!

Tuesday

I took the men to the liaison office to put their complaint forward. The liaison officer had just received word from the office that all meetings on the job are banned by order of the government! We decided to hold emergency works committee to discuss this sudden attack upon us.

The order itself is quite a mild affair. It states that while meetings generally are banned, meetings of a strictly trade union character will be allowed (draw your own conclusions), providing we send in written application two days before the proposed date of meeting; no meeting to be held until the necessary consent of government official is given.

We decide to call this bluff by sending in a list of meetings for Thursday to be sanctioned. We must await Thursday for the next stage in this issue. This may be the result of the meeting which sent the wire to Bevin.

Wednesday

This contract worked on Whit Monday—ten weeks ago. Notices were then posted to the effect that single time would be paid for bank holiday pending negotiations. The following week the firm agreed to pay overtime rates. Every week since then the firm has promised to pay the Whit Monday money. After ten weeks (during which the interest on that money, which is rightly ours, must be a useful addition to the profits of the firm!) it has been paid. Even now only about half of the men have been properly paid. The rest of the men are tearing mad over this latest betrayal.

The enemy of the workers today (budget introduced), judging by the remarks I hear, is not Hitler or even the firm, but the chancellor of the exchequer! The chancellor and the boss have united, it seems, for the sole purpose of robbing us still more. "Tax the boss" is the war cry here!

After hearing what these men say on the budget, the price of the war, etc., it makes me want to vomit when I see "the daily dope" full of "working-class patriotism." I honestly dare not repeat the remarks of the lads about the war. If I did the job would be one shop steward less in no time! It is sufficient for me to say that the men have the correct Marxist analysis of events!

Thursday

You remember the general foreman on my section? In my first notes I pointed out how hostile he was towards us. After the show-down of a fortnight ago he has become so changed in his attitude that I did think once of making him a card steward.

Today, for instance, is TU ticket inspection day. On other sections this is done in the men's own time. I had permission from my general foreman to undertake the inspection in the firm's time!

So I have spent a whole day walking round among the men inspecting their cards, lecturing non-union men, etc. The non-unionists are chiefly the old and infirm men whom the government has resurrected from the scrapheap.

Meeting at dinner-time—actually I was so tired with walking about all morning talking to the men that I intended to abandon today's meeting, but the men came and wakened me and forced me to mount our platform (a huge pile of bricks) to talk to them! I would not have it otherwise for the world. How often do you see men actually crying out for someone to come and lecture them?

Friday

Today at the works committee meeting we dealt with the attitude of the officials on the section who, as I reported last week, refused to allow men to work while men on other sections worked. The steward on that section brought a resolution from the men demanding that the works committee send a telegram to Bevin asking for the removal of two officials concerned on the grounds that they are impeding production and that their Hitlerite tactics will probably lead to serious trouble. A resolution along these lines was duly sent to Bevin and Hicks.

The steward from the billets told the committee of the conditions of the billets, where the men spend all the time that they have away from work—in fact, they are the homes of these men. The steward told of one dictator ruling the lives of these men. This official made his own rules and regulations as he thought they were required. Following the demand of the men, we asked for a joint conference of the firm and TU officials to formulate a complete set of rules and regulations for the billets.

This is wage night, and the men usually queue up for their money outside the time office, marshalled by the foremen. Tonight the lads got out of hand and stampeded to the office in a mad rush.

I mounted the roof of the office and pleaded with them to show to the foremen that even if THEY couldn't control the workers, their own stewards could. In future the stewards instead of the foremen will marshal the men.

Saturday

Nothing of importance today—lull in the class struggle. "Night out" with the lads—headaches tomorrow!

But let me slip in a note which I intended to include the other day. The capitalists ignore the EPA (Emergency Protective Act) when it hits (X) them. But when it hits (no question here!) the workers—oh, boy, do they use it!

Recently the stewards decided to counter-attack the tactics of the firm in trying to separate the stewards from the men, by running a sick fund which would tie the stewards still more to the men. The firm brought in the EPA to stop that move. Then the firm asked the stewards to collect for the troops through the Lady "S" Fund. Well, the lads did collect—but we elected a work committee treasurer and he, not Lady "S," will have the pleasure of handing it to the troops.

There's the answer to "The Daily Dope" article about the way in which the workers are co-operating with the lords and ladies!

Sunday

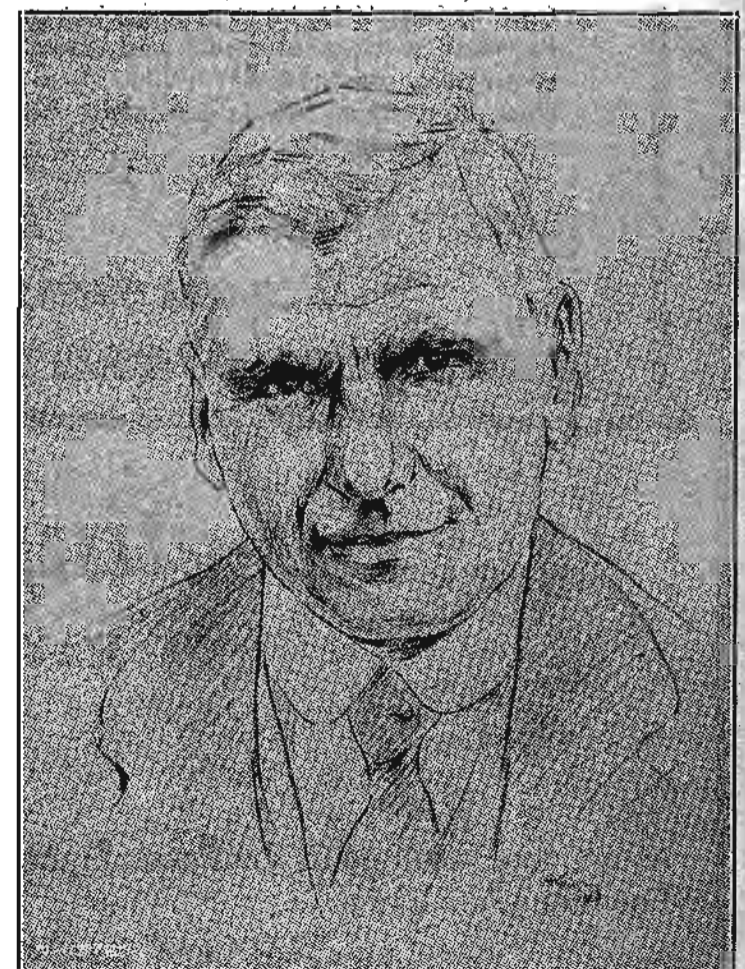
Today reminded me rather of the final scene of that fine film "All Quiet on the Western Front." I remember vividly the feeling of quiet, peaceful tranquillity, the butterfly, the distant harmonica, the drowsy humming of bees; this air of tranquillity suspended ominously over the job today. It was too much like the calm before the storm to be appreciated, but one couldn't help feeling that it was almost a day at work under socialism. No class struggle—no war—no labor troubles!

Coming home on the bus one was drawn back to life in a capitalist state—the men were discussing income tax in no uncertain terms. Why are these men so antagonistic to income tax? From the various points raised in the discussion I imagine the reason may be: they say that if they do contribute to the present state funds it is never used by the state for the benefit of the working class. It was strange to hear so many workers being bothered by income tax.

The militancy of these boys may be endangered by the "big wage packets" (earned by working every hour available). The real drive for increased wage rates will come if Bevin decides to lower the working week. The men have not yet felt the pinch of the totally inadequate increase in rates of pay compared with costs of living.

I prophesy trouble when the lads here do feel the pinch.

Shop Steward



JOHN McLEAN

English Miners Strike

NBC's reported from London stated Sunday night that 2,000 English miners walked out for a wage increase for the coal cutters, and that 3,000 more miners have joined them in sympathy.

From THEIR Capital

We Send You

May Day Greetings

—Washington, D. C., Branch

GREETINGS to the

LEVITON STRIKERS

—Susan Green

Greetings to Labor Action

From Joan and Susan

May Day Greetings to LABOR ACTION

And the Workers Party

—Worcester Branch

May Day Greetings

North and South Philadelphia Branches

Revolutionary Greetings

Boston Branch

With Unceasing Militancy
Let Us Press Forward to
The Socialist Revolution

—San Francisco Branch and Bay Area

Let's Make Every Issue
OF LABOR ACTION

An Eight-Pager

—Los Angeles Branch

On May Day, 1941, let us once again commit to our minds the words of the great revolutionist, Leon Trotsky: "The task of the party consists in LEARNING, from experience derived from the struggle, how to demonstrate to the proletariat its right to leadership."

TROTSKY BRANCH **AKRON LOCAL**
WORKERS PARTY

A Scene at the May Day Rally Held Last Year by the New York Local of the Workers Party at Columbus Circle. Max Shachtman is the Speaker Seen in the Picture.

In San Francisco You Can Buy Labor Action at:

- Alameda News Agency, 9 Market Street.
- Fitzgerald News Agency, 21 24th Street
- Joe's Cigar Store, 1352 Polk Street
- Bob Danca's Smoke Shop, 1986 Sutter Street.

In Oakland:

De Lauer News Agency, 12th Street and Broadway.

Cleveland Audience Welcomes Shachtman's Anti-War Speech

CLEVELAND—A very successful meeting was held for Max Shachtman, secretary of the Workers Party, on Sunday, April 13, 1941.

Shachtman, speaking at the Hotel Allerton on "A Program to Smash Hitlerism," addressed an enthusiastic crowd of 100 people, among them many Negroes.

An index of the enthusiasm of the audience was manifested in the collection of \$26.

While in Cleveland, Shachtman made arrangements to speak over the radio on a forum upon his return trip. He also spent a full day in discussions with contacts, sympathizers and branch members, and reviewed the branch work with the comrades.

The speech of Comrade Shachtman was all the more welcome in Cleveland, since in their public agitation against the war the other working class parties in Cleveland have been almost completely dormant.

A banner turnout is expected for Shachtman's return trip.

Schedule of Shachtman National Tour

Seattle	Friday, May 2
Portland	Saturday, May 3
San Francisco	Tuesday-Wednesday, May 6-7
Oakland	Thursday-Friday, May 8-9
Los Angeles	Sunday to Saturday, May 11-17
Houston	Friday, May 23
Kansas City	Tuesday, May 27
St. Louis	Thursday to Sunday, May 29 to June 1
Streator	Monday, June 2
Chicago	Tuesday-Wednesday, June 3-4
Louisville	Friday, June 6
Cincinnati	Saturday, June 7
Columbus	Sunday, June 8
Akron	Monday, June 9
Youngstown	Tuesday, June 10
Pittsburgh	Wednesday-Thursday, June 11-12
Washington	Friday, June 13
Baltimore	Saturday, June 14
Philadelphia	Sunday, June 15
Reading	Monday, June 16
Mt. Carmel	Tuesday, June 17
Newark	Wednesday, June 18
Massachusetts (Boston, Lynn, Worcester, Fitchburg)	Friday to Monday, June 20-23

MAY DAY GREETINGS

from

Irving Plaza Hall

(15 Street and Irving Place, New York.)



Thousands Rot In Camps as Shippers Profit

By FRED MORRIS

In the concentration camps of France, thousands of men, women and children lie dying of slow starvation and diseases caused by weakened resistance and terrible sanitary conditions. In Portugal, European and American refugees jam Lisbon in clamorous attempts to secure passage on the one shipping route open between Europe and America.

One company, the American Export Line, monopolizes that way of escape because it holds the subsidized government assignment for it. Its own facilities are absolutely inadequate to carry all who want passage, but when the United States Lines wanted to put some of its vessels into the New York-Lisbon service, not through any generous motives but to garner some of the profitable trade, the Export Lines first insisted on a share of the profits, else it would not give up its government-granted monopoly. Finally, an agreement was reached and approved by the Maritime Commission for eleven evacuation voyages made by the U.S. Lines. The Export people were paid \$382,750 as their share of the profits, while the U.S. Lines cleaned up \$476,895 in net profits.

This information comes from none other than Rear Admiral Emory S. Land, chairman of the Maritime Commission. And this company, which collected \$382,000 for doing nothing but selling a privilege which the government GAVE them and paid them for exercising, is now seeking an additional subsidy to start a weekly air line between New York and Lisbon.

Aircraft--

(Continued from page 3)

A very fundamental weakness of the aircraft section of the UAW is the fact that most of the members are new to unions. The union leaders must see to it that these workers are made 100 per cent union conscious. Every worker should treat every other worker like a union brother. They must be educated in the spirit of industrial unionism.

There are greater battles to come for aircraft labor. Roosevelt and the bosses are getting under way an offensive against labor, particularly in aircraft. The union ranks must be solidly closed to meet this offensive. Aircraft workers, on guard!

Next week we will discuss what will happen to aircraft workers after the war.

THOUSANDS WAIT FOR VISAS

Meanwhile in the French concentration camps, there are thousands either holding U.S. visas or trying to get them. No effort has been made to help them escape their living hell—neither widespread granting of visas, nor shipping facilities to carry them out of the country. While sanctimonious members of the social elite organize their Aid Britain committees, and government big shots talk about using American naval convoys to safeguard shipments of war supplies to "democracy's bastion" men who fled the Hitler peril in imminent danger of their lives, or who actually risked their lives on the battlefields of Spain fighting for democracy, are allowed to die like flies. They can't pay swollen passage fees and they constitute a "dangerous" element because they have shown their willingness to do something to secure a democracy about which the dowagers and debutantes can only prate.

Think of the situation of these people: no visas; or, if visas are obtained, no way of using them to leave the camps; often the visas expire before they can be used, and then the process must be repeated. One woman killed herself a short time ago for that every reason; her husband's visa did not expire and he got away to the U.S.

Authoritative information about conditions in the concentration camps has finally gotten into the press. After repeated attempts, a group of correspondents obtained permission to visit them—after sufficient time had elapsed to give the authorities a chance to spruce up in preparation. Nevertheless, this is what the correspondents saw: An "atrocious camp for the Spanish militiamen" at Argèles-sur-Mer. It was at this camp that organized protest demonstrations recently occurred, the French government forestalling attempts to get more information about them. At Gurs, there is a camp for German Jews who fled the terrors of Hitler only to find themselves placed in a "hopeless situation." On the visit to the Rivesaltes camp, bad enough, the internees there considered themselves as "100 per cent better off than we were at Gurs" or "I will be ready to accept anything rather than return to Argèles."

REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS FROM A FRIEND

COLUMBUS, OHIO, BRANCH
PLEDGES INCREASED
ACTIVITY IN SPREADING
OUR PAPER, LABOR ACTION

MAY DAY GREETINGS
FROM SYRACUSE BRANCH

LET'S PUSH FORWARD
IN THE SPIRIT OF THE
BETHLEHEM STRIKERS
—BUFFALO BRANCH

REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS
FROM THE KANSAS CITY,
MISSOURI, BRANCH

FORWARD TO THE UNITY
OF BLACK AND WHITE
AGAINST CAPITALISM
—BALTIMORE BRANCH

MAY DAY GREETINGS
TO A WORKING CLASS
ON THE MARCH
—LYNN BRANCH

MAY DAY GREETINGS
FROM THE
STATEN ISLAND UNIT
OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S
SOCIALIST LEAGUE

HELL—THE BEST DESCRIPTION

Remember that these are reports of the conditions as seen in short, prepared for visits. Remember also that some of these camps are now greatly reduced in size; for example, the Argèles camp now holds 12,000 as against its former 80,000 to 70,000. One wonders how much of the reduction is due to premature deaths. Some have been shipped to North Africa.

Although the newspaper men were not allowed inside this camp, they were driven around the barbed-wire fence encircling it. That was more than enough for anyone, even one without a squeamish stomach. Floorless sheds, lacking windows and lighting, filthy ragged garments, people sleeping on vermin-infested sand, frequent births with many deliveries on that same sand, inadequate food to say the least. An "overpowering odor" emanated from the eating places. Most of the men have been living under conditions even worse than those just described for three years. Four thousand women live in this rat hole.

At Rivesaltes, many of whose occupants came from Argèles, there are 6,000 children, but here at least there is some approach towards sanitation. Despite crowding and little food, it is incomparably better than Argèles which, after all, is used only for Spanish militiamen and women.

The Jews at Gurs are not very talkative, but they use one expressive word to convey their views about that place—"hell." Nor can they be blamed after having just gone through a severe winter in high altitudes with no beds or mattresses and few blankets; without fuel and water which was always frozen. One writer laconically remarks: "Many persons died."

SOCIALITES HELPED, OTHERS NOT

Returning to our earlier remarks, we wonder why no attempt is made by the "arsenal of democracy" to rescue these human beings whose living conditions are worse than that of swine who are at least fattened before they are killed. Are the members of our first families, our prominent financiers and industrialists whose names appear as sponsors of this or that committee which seeks to pull us into war to see England concerned only with the well-being of those of Anglo-Saxon descent and completely immune to any feeling of sympathy for Spaniards, anti-fascist Italians, Jews and anti-Nazi Aryan Germans? It certainly seems so. Although it needs to be added that socialite refugees, dukes and duchesses and idlers of all degrees, have found no difficulty here. They evidently make fine night club companions.

And in this evidence of callousness, we read also the complete hypocrisy of those who urge that this is a war for democracy, for the welfare and freedom of oppressed peoples. Those who will do all in their power to help English imperialism but who yet refuse to aid the worst sufferers of fascist terror can scarcely be entrusted with defense of democracy. Only the working class, which has everything to gain from a truly democratic society where none will want and where concentration camps will be unheard of, can be relied upon to defeat fascism and to go forward to the new, socialist society.

Greetings from Local New York

WE HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN TROTSKY'S LAST WORDS:

"GO FORWARD!"

May Day Greetings to the Paper Fighting For Negro's Rights

—HARLEM BRANCH

We Pledge to Carry on in the Spirit of Activity that put Shachtman on the Ballot

—BRONX BRANCH

The Workers Party Fights Fascism Wherever It Finds It

—YORKVILLE BRANCH

Forward to a Regular 8-Page LABOR ACTION By May Day, 1942

—BROWNSVILLE BRANCH

We Salute the Paper of Revolutionary Action on This Workers' Day

—LOWER MANHATTAN BRANCH

May Day Greetings to a Fighting Anti-War Paper

—UPPER WEST SIDE BRANCH

Negro Masses and the Struggle for World Socialism

By J. R. JOHNSON



ODELL WALLER

"Democracy" Marches On

By HENRY PELHAM

The Administration, press, radio and Negro misleaders inform us every hour within the 24 that the fate of democracy hangs in the balance; we must preserve the American way of life with all-out aid to Britain.

We are, however, aware that democracy like charity should begin at home. This has been demonstrated in recent months by the lack of democracy in Gretna, Va., where Odell Waller, 23 year old Negro, tried to eke out an existence for his 65 year old widowed mother, his wife and himself as a sharecropper, receiving as his share one-fourth of the production from the acreage he and his family worked.

When the federal government instituted its conservation program, the boss farmer cut down his tobacco acreage and requested Waller to work the wheat acreage without making any settlement for past work done.

This caused a dispute between the boss and Waller, who, thinking that the boss was reaching for a gun, beat him on the draw and shot the thieving boss.

Waller has been convicted and sentenced to be executed; his case is before the Virginia State Supreme Court for review, due to the efforts of the NAACP, Workers Defense League and other interested labor organizations.

Last summer, Elbert Williams, Negro worker of Brownsville, Tenn., attempted to exercise his democratic rights by forming a group of local workers to register and vote in the coming presidential election. For this effort to test the American way of life, at least in Tennessee, he was spirited from his home after midnight by a group of known white men and lynched. His body was not found until several days later in a decomposed condition. Only his wife was able to identify the remains.

Many Such Cases

March 25 marked the tenth anniversary of the Scottsboro case, which received international publicity although the Stalinists, through the International Labor Defense, had made it practically impossible for any other organizations to work with them. As a result of a horse trade, five of the boys were pardoned and four doomed to rot in prison.

I mention the Scottsboro case because it was the most famous, and most widely publicized case in recent years. But almost daily there are cases of equal or lesser degree. Two such were cited above. More than that, however, the persecution of the Negro people is part and parcel of the American way of "democracy." A Negro applies for a job, he is told "No work for you. A Negro tries to rent an apartment, he is told "No rooms for you here"; or "You can have the place if you pay twice what a white man pays."

A white man was recently killed in a street car fight by two Negroes who came to the defense of a Negro woman. The white man had refused to share his seat in the jim-crow section of the car with the Negro woman, directing various insults and orders at her. This happened in Louisville, Ky., the home of bourbon whiskey, colons, fast horses and rabid race prejudice. You can be sure that the two Negroes will be fully punished for a crime that was not really theirs.

The press frequently prints lurid stories of alleged rape by Negro men of white women. Most of these are outright and scandalous frame-ups. In every case some poor Negro is dragged before a court, sometimes compelled under torture to confess, and then sentenced. There is, however, no punishment for the rape of Negro women by white men. Lately there has been a wave of sex crimes committed against Negro women by white men. In almost no case has the criminal been punished.

In eight southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and Texas) the vicious poll tax system still prevails. This of course also disfranchises the

Marxism, on every fundamental issue, always seems to the bourgeois to be standing things on their heads. The bourgeois thinks that a man's mentality shapes his environment; Marxism shows that it is his environment which shapes his mentality. The bourgeois thinks (or pretends to think) that Hitler caused the war and the crisis; Marxism points out that the First World War and the economic crisis caused Hitler. The bourgeois thinks that its own educated and trained members are the leaders of society who must be looked to for leadership out of world chaos. Marxism knows that it is this group which forms the greatest social barrier to the solution of our difficulties today; that the class in society to whom we must look for a solution of war and economic ills are the workers, and particularly the most miserable, the most oppressed, the most enslaved, the most degraded, the most exploited. It is this which makes the Negroes, in Africa, in America, in the West Indies, of such enormous importance in the struggle for socialism.

THE SYSTEM MUST BE OVERTHROWN

This, like all Marxist deductions, rests not on psychology, but on the solid foundation of economic analysis and on the economic analysis, not of any single society, but of capitalist production on a world scale. What is the crying contradiction in society today? It is the contradiction between the capacity of production, actual and potential, and the consuming power of the masses limited by the fact that in modern society the masses are compelled to live on what is sufficient to maintain them alive and to reproduce another generation of workers.

That contrast is seen in America most clearly between the possibilities, for example, of cotton production and manufacture and food in the Southern states, and the semi-primitive conditions of life to which the millions of Negroes are condemned. To limit the example to the South for the moment, "prosperity" will never return to that area until the ten million Negroes have such housing, clothing, food, education and recreation as are fit for human beings in the twentieth century.

Transfer the problem to the international field. The world market includes nearly 400 million Indians, over 400 million Chinese, 120 million African Negroes. Today American industry or German industry or British industry, each by itself, can supply the needs of these workers as long as they continue to live at the rate of five or six cents a day, as the overwhelming majority of them do.

There is no solution to the world economic problem until their problems are settled. These hundreds of millions must be released from the vast slums in which they live. But who keeps them there? It is the ruling educated class, the imperialists, and those groups which hang on to imperialism. For these millions to be freed at all, they have to overthrow the present system. Poor, backward, degraded as they are, on the historical scale they are part of what Lenin called the Russian toiling and exploited masses, "the most advanced representatives of society." Lenin knew the weaknesses and the deficiencies of the Russian people, but he knew that if Russia was to lift itself at all out of its barbarism, these very masses had to do it.

Today, so-called "educated" society will destroy civilization unless the miserable, the oppressed, the degraded take the direction of society into their own hands. They want leadership. They will make many mistakes. But they must become in their own spheres the motive force of the social transformation, or society will perish. The educated bourgeois despises the Negro. The revolutionaries, not from sentimentality, nor humanitarianism, but from sober calculation, knows what the Negroes mean in the struggle for a new society.

THE MASSES DETEST IMPERIALISM

From the theoretical point of view, the obvious question now arises. Is it obvious to the Negroes themselves

or how soon will it be? Here again we must avoid psychological reasoning and examine instead what has happened during the last few years in the struggle against fascism and imperialism. Both fascism and imperialism are universally detested by the great majority of working people in every country.

When Mussolini attacked Ethiopia the Indian masses held a day of mourning to show their solidarity and sympathy. The social-democracy in Europe protested and called upon their imperialist governments to fight for the liberation of Ethiopia. Haile Selassie and his government trusted to social-democratic tonfoolery, to the League of Nations and to the treacherous assurances of Barton, the British minister. But the Ethiopian people themselves fought and never ceased to fight. Not for one single day did Ethiopian warriors cease a highly organized guerilla warfare against the fascist invaders.

The situation soon became unbearable for Mussolini and he made overtures to Haile Selassie asking him to come back as ruler under-Italian domination. It was the only way Mussolini could see to pacify the new colony. Haile Selassie refused. Today the British have supplied Selassie with armed forces and have marched into Addis Abbaba with him. But the class conscious Negroes all over the world are profoundly suspicious of Britain's role. It seems to them that one imperialism has been substituted for another.

But let us imagine for a moment that instead of British imperialism, a proletarian government in Britain, or in Italy for that matter, not necessarily well established but struggling to consolidate itself, had been able to send token detachments, perhaps not very large shipments of guns and ammunition, and a declaration of independence for all the Italian or British colonies in Africa, or both. Let us imagine that nightly on the radio a government, a proletarian government, called for revolution in Africa. The collapse of imperialism in large parts of Africa would follow with a speed which would surprise those who cannot see the hollowness inside the palatial facade.

The large masses of the African people have absolutely nothing to attach them to imperialism. They trace all the evils from which they suffer to the white man in Africa, "the devil is a white man." There are some workers in western civilization who think they have something to cling to. They vote for Roosevelt against Willkie. They think that even if America must keep out of war, they must send bundles to Britain and "we" must arm. There are a hundred million people in Africa to whom all this means absolutely nothing. The Ethiopians had arms and fought to a finish. The rest are beaten and demoralized, but they hope in secret. Their hopes are to drive the imperialists into the sea. That is why all over Africa the Ethiopian struggle is followed with such passionate intensity. They see in Ethiopian independence the symbol of their own emancipation.

OUR TASK IN AMERICA

Let us now look at the Negroes in America and the present war. Today every imperialist government, and particularly the American government, has one task to perform, to prepare the country for war. This preparation is material: armaments and army; and it is psychological: war to defeat Hitler, was for "democracy," to defend our liberties, the necessity for sacrifice, etc. A great part of the American masses as a whole accept the necessity for "defense." They want the sacrifice to fall where it properly belongs, on the rich. They think that "defense" is one thing, but that fighting with Japan over China or sending an AEF to Europe is something entirely different from "defense." The revolutionary task consists in showing the workers that when Roosevelt says "defense" he means American imperialist aggression and that if we consider imperialist aggression to be the cause of war, then we must begin here, against Roosevelt.

Now it is the masses of Negroes who understand this better than anyone else in America. At a mass meeting

held for the purpose of developing the fight for Negro, but drivers in Harlem, one of the speakers referred to the fact that he had seen in a Harlem shop window a request for bundles for Britain. The mere statement evoked a tremendous response of decisive laughter and strong feeling from 5,000 people. Roosevelt's propaganda had left them cold. The average Negro simply cannot be made to feel excited over bundles for Halifax, Churchill and the enslavers of Africa and India. He may remain passive, but as seen as the revolutionary point of view is placed before him he sees it at once. On the other hand we can be certain that if, at that meeting, historical circumstances had made it possible to appeal for a workers' Britain, struggling against Hitler for the poor, oppressed and exploited of Britain who had issued a declaration renouncing imperialist domination over India and Africa, there would scarcely be a member of a family present who would not have gone to find some treasured garment or precious nickel to send.

Exactly the reverse is the case among the "educated" rulers. They are busy with their bundles and armaments for Britain and they only hesitate when they suspect that these bundles may ultimately find their way to a socialist Britain. At the first serious hint of it, they would throw every ounce of their available weight on the side of Hitler. There are a few petty bourgeois Negroes who clutch their \$40 a week to their bosoms and feel social solidarity with J. P. Morgan. They talk a lot and write in to the newspapers. They "represent" Negro thought in their own stupid minds and in the minds of the American boobwhatsie.

LOOK TO THE MASSES FOR A WAY OUT

But the large majority of the Negroes, the overwhelming majority, are hostile to and resentful of Roosevelt's propaganda about a war for democracy. Like all masses, however, they can judge only by action. They want to see the socialist alternative. But once it is posed concretely they will automatically prove themselves what Lenin called the Russian workers. "The most advanced representatives of society."

Wall Street, Roosevelt and the rest, with their bundles (and armaments) for Britain are representative of all that is most backward, barbarous and destructive in society today, class-conscious and cold-blooded. If the British workers tried to break away from imperialism tomorrow even in order to attack Hitler more fiercely, these lovers of Britain would turn against the British workers, intent on destroying them. The Harlem Negroes who fight for jobs, thousands upon thousands, supporting the cause "on principle," are fighting for a new order of society. A workers' Britain officially denouncing imperialism in Africa, would set Harlem ablaze with revolutionary enthusiasm. Where then must we look for the way out? Where but to these and all who are like them, with nothing to lose but their chains and the whole world to gain.

WEST INDIANS SHOWED THEIR METTLE

What they want is leadership. Let us take a concrete recent example from the West Indies. Some years ago, a series of strikes and riots ran through the West Indian islands. In Trinidad there was a magnificent general strike. It began in big oil industrial plants at one end of the island and in a few hours all work had come to a standstill. In Port of Spain, the capital, which is situated at the other end, the school children ran out of school and went home and the domestic servants who worked for white people, despite the fact that they got the best pay, all left their work and went home too. Why, exactly, many of them could not say. The West Indian population, chiefly agricultural laborers, stopped work on the big estates. All the working people simply drew together against the white ruling class.

The governor sent for cruisers and some marines landed. Airplanes cruised overhead, dropping leaflets and, of course, showing thereby that they could drop

bombs just as easily. The people refused to be intimidated. It is reported, however, that some of the marines told the Negro workers, "We won't shoot. We have nothing against you. We want you to win your strike." The news spread in the same way as during the February revolution the news of the cossack who winked at the crowd spread among the St. Petersburg proletariat. How many marines were prepared to shoot or not to shoot is not important. What matters is this: the police force is Negro, chosen from among the masses of the people. Its loyalty during a crisis is in doubt and has been for over twenty years. If such a crisis existed and one revolutionary detachment of marines landed and joined the people, and said that it would fight with them, there is not one single West Indian island, not one single African colony (except the Union of South Africa) where the imperialist régime would not be doomed.

In India there is a force of reactionary Indian princes and Indian bourgeois; in China there is the Chinese bourgeoisie and landlords; in the Union of South Africa there is a comparatively large white population. But in French Africa, British Africa, Portuguese Africa and the West Indian islands, at any grave social crisis the revolutionary whites, if they can show force and clear leadership, can give an invincible impetus to the world revolution. What is curious is that the imperialists fear this more than the revolutionists expect it.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE FROM THE WEST INDIES

The second West Indian example is more recent and more striking. It is the case of Martinique. When bourgeois France collapsed before the blitzkrieg, the Martinique Negroes awoke to world politics. They had to choose. The local government declared for Vichy; Roosevelt naturally wanted them to declare for de Gaulle. That would have enabled Britain to get the planes intended for France which were bottled up in the island and which might get to Hitler. But the Martinique Negroes, as PM's special correspondent found out after an investigation, wanted neither Pétain nor de Gaulle. They didn't want America either, for French Negroes detest American race prejudice. The Negroes were overwhelmed for an independent Martinique in a Pan-American federation. They do not know it as yet but they will get independence of any value only under socialism.

Nationalism has not been strong in the West Indies, least of all in the French colonies. The Negro population thinks in terms of dominion status. Suddenly events in Europe faced these somewhat isolated Negroes with what seems to be two alternatives. They chose a third almost overnight. Who doubts that if given a lead they will fight for it and sweep their oppressors into the sea?

Let us sum up. We face alternatives of socialism or an increasing barbarism. The solution of the problem requires, among other things, the release of the productivity of a billion colonials, among whom there are 150 million exploited Negroes. Their release necessitates the overthrow of capitalist wage slavery. Having gained nothing but misery from capitalism, they are ready to fight it, instinctively, as a man is always ready to throw off someone who is sitting on his back and squeezing his life away.

The Negroes try to organize themselves and must be aided in their attempts to prepare a striking force. The decisive battles will be fought in the great centers of capitalist production, by the advanced and organized workers. There can be no lasting victory anywhere without victory there, but as we calculate forces and estimate chances let us remember that all these millions of colonials, and among them the Negroes, are our potential allies, who need only the stimulus of our own action and the sight of some representatives of the western proletariat ready to fight with them. They can fight without that, but with it they are invincible. It is true of Africa, it is true of the West Indies and it is true also of our own "colonial" South.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

CRITICIZES BREWSTER UNION PAPER

Dear Sir:

In your paper you've been printing letters from Brewster men, in which they wrote of the many grievances they had with the way the union was doing things. Most of them wrote about the need of having a union paper. Last Friday we saw the first issue of a new union paper. From what I've seen of other union newspapers, I would say that this paper doesn't even come close to the others.

I think that a union paper should not only serve as an information bulletin, but should also be educational. By this I mean that information as to what is going on in the plant as regards its activities in the field of sport, recreation, organization, etc., are important, but not as important as it can be as an educator. The paper should carry articles on what the duties of the shop steward should be, articles on how the many union committees should function, articles on the progress the CIO is making in its drives for unionization, articles on the many grievances the men have with the company. In short, the paper should be the voice of and the fighter for the rights of labor and get merely the sort of

white worker or sharecropper who is too poor to pay the tax, hence too poor to vote. How especially vicious is this system is revealed in almost every court case in which the white plutocracy is trying to railroad a Negro to jail or the chair. Those who do not pay the tax cannot serve on juries. In the case of Waller, for example, this meant that his peers, that is his fellow sharecroppers, were barred from sitting in judgment on his case; his fate was given into the hands of a white farmer jury. In pressing its appeal the Workers Defense League is making this its principal point.

"Yes, Negroes have little to defend in this 'democracy.' That is why they, less than any other section of the population, have fallen for the war propaganda. The Waller and Williams incidents are an innumerable argument

thing that's put out by a social club. The union is not just a social club, but an organization with a purpose, to better and protect the working and living conditions of its membership.

Maybe I'm being too critical of the first issue, but I think the editors would have done well to have read other union and labor papers.

Yours,
B.

REFUGEE DESCRIBE RUSSIAN CONDITIONS

Dear Editor:

Here are some little stories from the Soviet Union which will help give you a better picture of what the daily life of the people is like over there. The source is a group of Polish refugees who were moved from the Russian part of Poland to the interior of the USSR; they managed to get passports and crossed Siberia

Negroes Win - -

(Continued from page 1)

eventually be Negro workers."

The co-chairmen of the drive issued the following statement: "This is not the end, but merely the beginning in the historic struggle of the Negro people of the 20th century to assert their rights to dwell in the heart of this democracy of ours, rather than on the fringe. Our slogan as we march forward together is—racy. We are calling upon all lovers let's make our land safe for democracy that all members of this democracy, white and black, to racy, even though they are a minority, shall be free."

Now that the bus strike has been won, the committee which conducted it will continue as the United Negro Bus Association to represent the Negroes who obtain jobs with the bus company and to see to it that the provisions of the contract are carried through. However, each of the three organizations composing the original committee will return to its own activity. The Greater New York Coordinating Committee, which itself is composed of many organizations, has plans for extending this struggle.

An important place for such a campaign is in the war industries where there are many jobs available from which Negroes are barred in spite of the fact that many of them are well trained to fill these jobs. The Workers Party is ready to participate in such a campaign, to obtain jobs for Negroes, in the same manner as we participated in the Negro bus strike, in the capacity of pickets or in any other way which

will advance the struggle for social, political and economic equality for the Negro masses.

ALL OUT TO THE VICTORY PARADE ON SATURDAY, APRIL 24.

Strikes--

(Continued from page 2)

Attacks on union men have continued in the plants. Ford thugs have beaten up unionists wherever and whenever they thought they could get away with it. Ford still hopes to break the overwhelming strength of the United Automobile Workers so as not to have to negotiate with the CIO union, as he has agreed to do. Undoubtedly the great majority of the men in the plants will vote for the CIO.

As a result of Ford's renewed efforts at intimidation, threats of another strike were in the air. Once more the state police appeared at the plant gate. Great crowds of workers milled about. Finally, stewards of the UAW instructed the workers to disperse. Later a union sound truck announced there would be no strike because Ford officials had agreed to "keep matters peaceful."

That remains to be seen!

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!

to reach the USA. They were intellectuals and trained observers of social phenomena.

Some Polish workers (one of the refugees among them) were moved to Russia and put to work in the mines. They decided, since they were prisoners doing forced labor under bad conditions, to sabotage by slow-down. They did. After the first few days one of the Russian workers approached them. "Comrades," he said, "we would like to ask you not to work so fast—or else the management will cut out piece

rates." This was just one example of the extreme degree of apathy throughout Russian production.

The exiles commented on the tremendous fear of Germany prevalent throughout Russia. Several had discussed the possibility of a German attack with Russian officers. The Russians admitted that Germany could take the Ukraine and Caucasus without much difficulty; they were depending upon the same factors that defeated Napoleon to stop Hitler.

On passing through Siberia they

noticed many trucks being driven to stations where their motors were changed to burn charcoal gas. One foreigner inquired the reason. At first he got the official answers: "We must conserve fuel for the military," etc. Not satisfied, he question further and finally asked the engineer in charge of the operations. He was quite frank. "We must do that because we don't have enough gasoline." "But why is that?" "Because we send so much to Germany." Again the foreigner asked why. "If we didn't they'd come and take it."

Several of them, who had been in Lithuania during the Russian occupation, affirmed the existence of peasant soviets.

In the villages they passed through, they held elections to the soviets. came. This was unscrubbed and GPU hirelings put in charge. In many cases, the Red Army officials who had approved the elections were puzzled at the changes.

It was the opinion of these observers, among them economists, that in general the standard of living of the peasants was higher than before the Revolution—at least in that they had more to eat; while that of the workers was lower. This was due to the general inefficiency of production, plus the emphasis on war production and the general breakdown of the system of distribution. In one town where they asked for cigarettes they were told, "We have been without them for two months, but are expecting some within a few weeks. We are lucky, compared with our neighboring town where they have been without them for six months." This was not due so much to a shortage of cigarettes as to lack of organization and facilities for distribution.

These are some of the highlights. What a picture they paint!

M. G.
Kansas City, Mo.

An article by Leon Trotsky will be published in the next issue of The New International. Hitherto unpublished in English, it is called "Bureaucratic Socialism and Anti-Semitism."



ONE YEAR OF THE WORKERS PARTY

Vigorously Pressing Its Revolutionary Line Before Widening Groups of Workers, The Party a Completes Year of Activity

By HARRY ALLEN

Formed in April, 1940, following the split with the Cannonites (SWP), the Workers Party has completed one year of well-rounded activity. The Workers Party has carried on in the principles and program of revolutionary Marxism—translated into the modern epoch, on the fundamental program of Bolshevism. Any efforts by this or that individual to derail the movement of the revolutionary course have met with complete failure. Born in the difficult period of a split in the ranks of the Fourth International and the beginning of the Second World War, the Workers Party has consistently put forward the revolutionary anti-war position before the working masses. It is an active revolutionary, anti-war party that our organization, from top to bottom, has made its mark and will continue to do so in the future.

The Workers Party has demonstrated actively that it can carry on against the stream of growing patriotism and social-patriotism and class-collaboration policies in the labor movement. The organization is politically and organizationally sound and stable. Its political line and activity gradually make their way. Below are sketched briefly, for the information of the sympathizers of the party and readers of our press, some of the highlights of the Workers Party life and activity in the past year.

A few days after the Workers Party was formed, a special May Day issue of LABOR ACTION, official organ of the Workers Party was gotten out for distribution on May Day. This was the first number of LABOR ACTION. The Workers Party held an open air May Day demonstration in New York City at Columbus Circle.

The early weeks of the party were given over to the establishment of the necessary departments of work and institutions. Less than four weeks after the party's inception, LABOR ACTION emerged as a weekly newspaper. Despite all hardships, the membership and sympathizers of the party have maintained our excellent weekly paper.

Likewise, the theoretical organ of the party, The New International, continued to appear, but with our limited resources, only as a 16 page publication. The Challenge of Youth, monthly organ of the YPSL, continued regularly.

A WIDE RANGE OF ACTIVITY

Realizing that it would be the revolutionary anti-war activity of our movement which would be the determining factor in the future life and development of the Workers Party, the political committee decided on a national tour by Max Shachtman, national secretary. This was the first of the party's important anti-war activities. This lengthy tour by Shachtman, in which he put forward the position of revolutionary internationalism on the central issue—the imperialist war—proved a big success.

The party, during the past year, has consistently endeavored to engage in the widest possible variety of work—public activity, trade union work, organization and field work, etc.—and at the same time to develop the necessary measures to ensure the ideological and political consolidation of our party on firm Bolshevik foundations. With the aid of objective factors, the social composition of our organization has significantly changed so that the membership is now becoming increasingly proletarian in its composition. The recruits who have come into the party in the past year have been almost entirely proletarian.

BRANCHES ORIENT TOWARD THE UNIONS

The party has organized and functioning units or potential units in: Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Akron, Detroit, Ann Arbor, Chicago, Seattle, San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, Los Angeles, San Pedro, Houston, Kansas City, St. Louis, Streator, Louisville, Columbus, Youngstown, Pittsburgh, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Mt. Carmel, Newark, Boston, Lynn, Worcester, and Fitchburg, as well as members at large in other cities. In the past year, thriving branches have been organized in Buffalo, Kansas City, Mo., and Baltimore.

Trade union and industrial work has developed in important sectors of industry, particularly in Massachusetts, California, Missouri, New York, Ohio and Illinois. Measures were taken by the recently-held March plenum of our party to implement concretely certain phases of our trade union work. The change in the social composition of the organization has reflected itself in the trade union work of the organization, and, conversely, the trade union and industrial work of the organization puts its stamp on positive changes in the social composition.

PRESS AND NEGRO WORK SPURRED

Our major instrument, LABOR ACTION, is regarded as an outstanding labor and revolutionary publication and persistently makes its way among more and more of the industrial proletariat, sharecroppers, Negroes and other exploited elements. The sale and distribution of LABOR ACTION before factory gates in various cities is proving enormously successful, and brings LABOR ACTION and our party more and more steadily to the attention of wide masses of workers. The circulation steadily increases as a result of the fact that more and more members are being drawn into the systematic sale and distribution of the paper. A task of the future is to maintain our weekly organ and to double its circulation. The membership feels confident of being able to accomplish this in the next few months. Special editions of LABOR ACTION (e.g., the Negro and CIO numbers) have been issued on occasion.

The local organizations have displayed a commendable initiative in several instances and are showing themselves entirely capable of the development of local work (the issuance of local literature, agitational and propaganda leaflets, etc.). Local New York conducted one energetic congressional election campaign during which thousands of pieces of literature were distributed, scores of public (street corner and indoor) meetings were held—a campaign in which the membership engaged with its full force.

In order to develop and guide the work of the local organizations more directly, the national office has engaged regularly in field work and has had its few functionaries in the field for considerable periods of time.

Work among the Negroes was conducted, particularly in Chicago, and latterly in New York, as well as in several other cities (Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Boston, etc.). One pamphlet (10,000 copies) on the Negroes was issued and was quickly disposed of among Negroes who were more than eager to read what our Party has to offer as a solution toward the Negro's problem. The national Negro department of the party is today in a position to function more systematically and one can easily expect

a sharp increase in the scope of the Negro work. For several months a national Negro organizer has been utilized by the party in the eastern area.

PAMPHLETS AND TOURS POPULARIZE PARTY

Our organization, despite its smallness and limited resources, has nevertheless regarded national public tours on the burning issues of the day as a paramount activity and necessity. In the space of one year our party has conducted two extensive national tours by Max Shachtman, national secretary, and David Coolidge, labor secretary; at this moment a third national tour is being carried through by Max Shachtman. It is a considerable effort and achievement for a small revolutionary organization in this period—an effort which has not been challenged or equalled by another political organization in the working class movement.

Our party, as a tendency of the Fourth International movement, has endeavored to demonstrate actively its international solidarity with the exploited workers and peasants and colonial peoples throughout the world. Within a month after the Workers Party was formed it took steps to establish contact with Fourth International movements in other countries.

A few penny pamphlets have been issued to date by the party: "My Friends—A Fireside Chat on the War" (addressed to the Negroes); "This Is Not Our War," a manifesto of the Workers Party on the imperialist war; "Conscription—What For?"; The recent plenum decided to issue a series of popular and fundamental pamphlets on various issues before the working class, and these will appear in rapid succession.

The issuance of popular leaflets has also been planned; one on the lease-lend bill having recently been issued, and another (on May Day, 1941) came off the press a few days ago and has been widely distributed in all parts of the country.

The youth organization (YPSL) has also, during this period, conducted systematic activity among the working class youth and students. It has regularly issued The Challenge of Youth, one of the finest of revolutionary youth publications of any period, and has also published a number of popular penny pamphlets to the working class youth and Negro youth. The sale and circulation of these pamphlets has met with very considerable success.

In the field of refugee and defense work, the organization has worked with various committees engaged in raising money to aid the stricken revolutionary refugees abroad and in obtaining visas.

While the organization has endeavored to conduct activity in all the fields of working class endeavor, the party has not neglected its internal life and development, though much more still needs to be accomplished. In order the better to review and to plan the work of the organization, two plenums were held since the formation of the party, and the second national convention is now being planned for the earliest possible date.

EDUCATION GOES HAND IN HAND WITH WORK

In the field of internal education, bulletins and reports have been issued by the national education department. Greater cohesion and national planning are now being undertaken. New York, Chicago and Los Angeles were especially successful in carrying through classes and workers schools. In order to assist still further in the ideological and theoretical development of the membership, as well as to serve the advanced workers and sympathizers of our movement, The New International, monthly theoretical organ of the party, was recently increased in size from 16 to 32 pages and every effort will be made to continue the publication on the new basis.

A brochure, The ABC of Marxism, dealing with the fundamentals of Marxism in all their important aspects, is now off the press.

The party has endeavored to carry out the principles of democratic discussion and during the past year has issued eight internal bulletins on various questions. Internal discussion membership meetings, on a local or branch scale, have been carried on without in any way interfering with the external life of the party. Indeed, the internal discussions and the issuance of internal bulletins have contributed much to the clarification of the membership on important issues, and thus have also made it easier to conduct the external activities of the organization. Both the internal and external organs of the party (The New International, Internal Bulletin) have carried articles on the issues being discussed by the membership, such as the Russian discussion (still being conducted); on Germany; the nature of Bolshevism; war and military policy; etc.

The foregoing is but the briefest summation of the efforts of our party in the one year of its life to date. The party has had to carry on against tremendous obstacles and not everything has been milk and honey by any means. There have been losses of this or that individual who dropped by the wayside; but these have more than been matched by new recruits who have shown their calibre and ability to function as revolutionists.

The Workers Party is not a large organization—yet. But its membership has its roots solidly in the ground-work of Bolshevik theory and practice; its political line is clear, its membership persistent and determined to execute the party's program despite all obstacles. The members (and those of the YPSL too) are therefore confident of the future of the Workers Party and the Fourth International, and intend to carry on toward the goal of the socialist reorganization of society.

Shachtman Meeting
In San Francisco - - -
Topic: HITLERISM MUST BE SMASHED—A PROGRAM ON HOW TO DO IT
Time: WEDNESDAY, MAY 7 AT 8:00 P.M.
Place: 83 McALLISTER ST.
 There will also be a Social and Dance with Shachtman as the Guest of Honor, on Friday, May 9, at 240 Golden Gate Avenue. Admission: 20c.

LABOR ACTION
 MAY DAY, 1940—
AGAINST BOTH WAR CAMPS — FOR THE CAMP OF WORLD LABOR!
 Third Camp Unites Workers, Colonial People Against War
 Uncensored Report Reveals French Brutality

LABOR ACTION
BOSS PARTIES RUSH CONSCRIPTION; PLATFORM FRAUD HIDES WAR AIMS!
 Argentina Balks at Hull Colonies Plan
 Workers and Nationalist Leaders Tell the People When They Tell the People They Are Against the War

LABOR ACTION
A Vote for Shachtman Is a Vote Against War!
CONSCRIPTS FACE DEATH IN BOSS WAR!
 Roosevelt and Wilson Are Both of a Piece—Both Deserve the Nation's Youth
 The Presidential Race
 Labor's Voice Against the War
 I'm Opposed to the War
 Conscript—FOR WHAT?
 MY FRIENDS—A Fireside Chat on the War
 This Is Not Our War!

LABOR ACTION
Against Conscription! Against the War!
 Oppose the War Dictatorship!
 Down with the War Dictatorship!
 When Will the U. S. Enter the War?
 Congress is Considering the Selective Training and Service Act

LABOR ACTION
STALIN HAS MURDERED OUR COMRADE TROTSKY
 Leon Trotsky
 THE HERITAGE By Max Shachtman
 HIS PLACE IN HISTORY By L. R. Johnson
 SIXTEEN YEARS OF TERROR By Allen Case
 TROTSKY'S WRITINGS IN ENGLISH
 A Bibliography

LABOR ACTION
STOP F.D.R.'S UNION-SMASHING DRIVE!
 CIO Scores Important Victory in Vultee
 We Must Answer Government Strike-Breakers with the Aid of Organized Union Members

LABOR ACTION
ORGANIZE THE WAR INDUSTRIES NOW!
 Bethlehem Victory Puts New Heart into Buffalo Workers
 Labor's Victory Are War Workers' Victory
 Labor's Victory Are War Workers' Victory
 Labor's Victory Are War Workers' Victory

LABOR ACTION
NO GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WITHOUT UNION CONTRACT
 The National Industrial Council
 Labor is Fighting in Music
 YPSL Aid Negro Bus Campaign

The World at War—A May Day Survey

(Continued from page 1)

ously enforced.) Shortly afterward, Roosevelt pledged U. S. aid to Canada in the event Canada was attacked. Secret commitments, of which the people were kept ignorant, were made with Britain.

While the ruling class of the United States was laying its plans for world domination through war, the voice of the camp of proletarian opposition to the war made itself felt in the domains of the British Empire. On March 1, 1940, the working committee of the India Congress passed a resolution, disassociating the party from the war and threatened to inaugurate a civil disobedience campaign. Three weeks later, on March 24, the New South Wales Labor Conference, meeting in Sydney, voted 195 to 88 against Australian participation in any wars overseas.

By May Day of last year, five countries—Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway and Denmark—were already under the sway of the Nazis. Nine days later, Hitler, having secured his northern front, launched the speedy campaigns in the Low Countries and in France which were to alter the relationship of forces and, by extending the war to a battle of the continents, prolong indefinitely its outcome.

Before the mechanized superiority of the Nazi military machine, the armies of Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg and France collapsed one by one. The populations of the invaded countries could not be aroused to causes that had made them sick of fight for the same imperialist the last war, which was still indelibly engraved in their minds. They could not be aroused in the absence of a revolutionary leadership, poised though they were—in France, for example—for revolutionary action. The rulers of France chose fascism as the alternative to proletarian insurrection.

Once more, millions of refugees clogged the machine-gunned roads, their cities and villages in ruins. Fields and factories were neglected, families by the millions broken up and the spectre of sickness and hunger spread its arms. In Lorraine, the Germans forcibly uprooted 800,000 people from their homes while the new authorities erected vast concentration camps for the hundreds of thousands caught within their borders.

With the close of the western campaign, the war had already lasted an entire year. The cost in those killed and wounded, in property destroyed and war expenditures was enormous. Estimates of those killed, wounded, missing or captured range from a minimum of 3,352,000 to 5,362,000. The official German figures revealed that 840,000 were taken prisoner in Poland and 1,000,000 are unaccounted for. In the destruction of Warsaw, no less than 51,000 people were killed. The Red Cross estimated that 100,000 French troops were killed, while four times that many were probably wounded and 2,000,000 were taken prisoners. The British losses were put at anywhere from 100,000 to 250,000 killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. The German dead were placed at 15,000 and many more than that number wounded. The Russian losses were estimated at 250,000 dead and an equal amount wounded, while the Russians placed

the Finnish dead at 85,000 and the wounded at 250,000. The Dutch foreign minister claimed that one-fourth of the Dutch army of 400,000 were killed and that in the "total" bombing of Rotterdam 30,000 civilians were killed. The Belgian casualties were reported as from 500,000 to 800,000 "lost."

Such were the losses at the close of the western battles. From then to the Italian campaigns in Africa and Greece, the character of the war was signified by mass German air raids over the British Isles and British retaliation on German cities and German-controlled Channel ports. London was subjected to daily and nightly air raids in which as many as 1,000 German planes participated at one time and from which there was no let-up for months at a time.

As always, the poor bore the brunt of the havoc and the inequalities between the poor and the rich, for whom secure shelters had been provided, was dreadfully exposed. To quell the dissatisfaction of the poor and to get the masses to exert the maximum war effort, Churchill recruited labor ministers for his cabinet. Such, in essence, was the so-called "drift to the left" in British politics.

Rationing of food in Britain followed the food rationing long existing on the Continent. The cost of living rose sharply while wages remained more or less fixed. However, despite the efforts of the Minister of Labor, Ernest Bevin, strikes broke out in the textile, transportation, and shipbuilding industries.

Meanwhile, Great Britain was sustaining severe shipping losses. Even as early as last August, 3,000,000 tons of British shipping had been swallowed by the seas while the German losses came to about 1,250,000 tons.

In money expended to promote the war, the British were spending at the rate of \$56,000,000 a day or the equivalent of the entire British national income just prior to the war. The Nazis on their part were using up to 70 per cent of their national income for their destructive effort. These expenditures exceeded by far the daily expenditure rate of the last World War.

It was at this most crucial stage in the Battle of Britain that President Roosevelt came to the rescue of Churchill and arranged the deal which transferred 50 American destroyers in exchange for long-term leases on British bases in the Atlantic. American airplanes were speedily shipped to the British Isles.

British resistance in the air, in all probability, upset the German plan to invade the heart of Britain. Military experts estimated on October 7 that since the beginning of the war 6,500 German planes valued at \$500,000,000 had been destroyed and that 13,000 German aviators had been killed.

The United States, gradually taking over the British Empire's wealth and commerce, was preparing in the meantime for its own eventual participation in the war on the side of Britain. Congress appropriated billions of dollars for armaments and American industries were geared to a maximum output of war materials. All out aid to Britain was, for the time being, accompanied by the soothing phrase "short of war." But on September 16 Congress voted to conscript the youth of the nation for

military training. The axis powers countered the American moves by enlisting Japan in a tripartite pact with Germany and Italy. Shortly after this the Germans occupied Rumania, after satisfying the Russian claims to Bessarabia and Bukovina. The course of the war had finally brought the Nazis to the Black Sea and marked a clash of interests between Stalin and his partner, Hitler.

Three weeks later, on October 27, Mussolini tried to bag his share in the Balkans by invading Greece. Traditionally the satellite of Britain, the Greek dictatorship stubbornly resisted and, threw in its lot with the "democracies." President Roosevelt extended his intervention in the war by promising to send aid to Greece. Roosevelt announced also that production of planes to Britain would proceed on a 50-50 basis.

The Italian invasion of Greece struck a serious snag as the Greeks turned back the incompetently prepared Italian attack. The Italian peasant soldiers had no heart for the fighting. The Italians were driven back deep into Albania while the British added to the disaster by commencing on December 9 a swift attack in Egypt and Libya that routed the Italian armies. Over 150,000 Italian prisoners were taken in a campaign that brought the British beyond Benghazi.

These smashing defeats suffered by Mussolini brought him to the brink of disaster. Among the Italian people, their hatred of the fascist regime mounted. There were reports of demonstrations in Turin and Milan and other Italian cities and the singing by Italian prisoners of the revolutionary song, *Bandiera Rossa* (Scarlet Banner).

Hitler proceeded to prop Mussolini's staggering regime. Accordingly, the Nazis moved vast numbers of German troops across the Brenner Pass into Italy and entire German airplane fleets flew across the Italian border. The Nazis took over the commanding posts in Italy and, though the Italian fleet suffered additional disasters at the hands of the British, Mussolini's position, now definitely subordinate to Hitler, was for the time being secure.

Moving closer to intervention, Roosevelt dispatched his plenipotentiaries to all parts of the world to assure those in the war and those not yet in the war of American support and to make secret American commitments. Thus Hopkins and Willkie were sent to England and Ireland, Donovan to the Balkans and the Near East, Currie to China, while Admiral Bealy was assigned to Vichy. Russia was wooed anew and the embargo against her was lifted.

To speed the American war industries, a new four-man board was created called the Office of Production Management, with Knudsen of General Motors as the real boss flanked by the secretaries of War and the Navy; and including Sidney Hillman in the rôle of head strike-breaker. During the month of February, Congress passed the momentous Lend-Lease Bill which accorded to Great Britain and her allies all the financial and material support of American imperialism. The cost of the American war effort was already reaching the staggering figure of \$25,000,000,000 a year, and the United States was not yet an active belligerent in the war!

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
 A Monthly Organ of Revolutionary Marxism
 Leon Trotsky
 THE HERITAGE By Max Shachtman
 HIS PLACE IN HISTORY By L. R. Johnson
 SIXTEEN YEARS OF TERROR By Allen Case
 TROTSKY'S WRITINGS IN ENGLISH
 A Bibliography

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
 A Monthly Organ of Revolutionary Marxism
 The Strike Wave and the War
 The American War Economy
 What Lies Ahead From An 8-7

LABOR ACTION
NO GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WITHOUT UNION CONTRACT
 The National Industrial Council
 Labor is Fighting in Music
 YPSL Aid Negro Bus Campaign