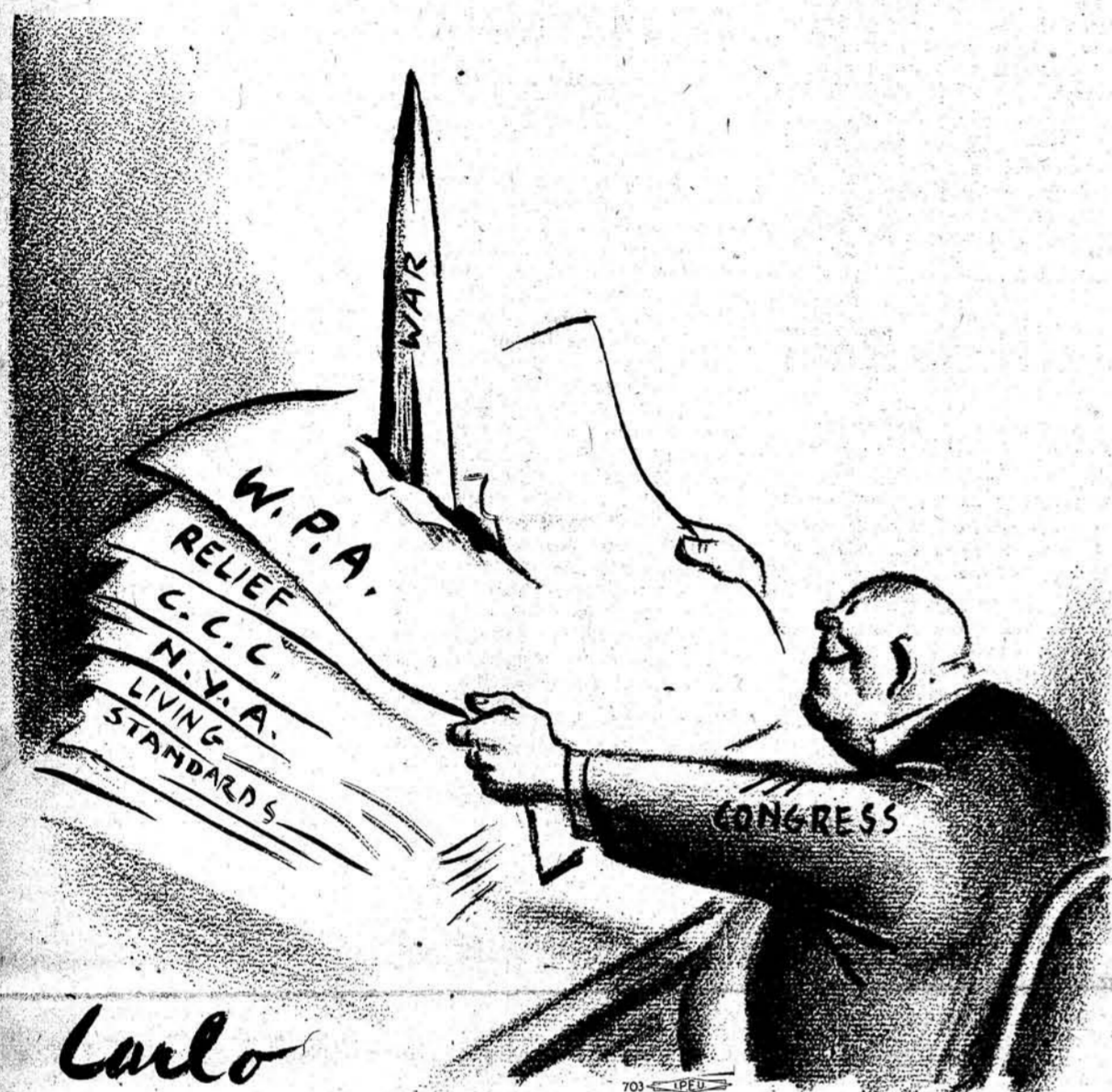


CONGRESS "ECONOMY" PROPOSALS STRIKE BLOWS AT NATION'S WORKERS

FILED FOR THE DURATION!



Carlo

Airplane Profits Jump 16 Times Above '39 Level

Profits of airplane companies are rising sky high.

Recent quarterly reports showed profits for three companies, Aviation Corp., Douglas and United Aircraft, running 16 times as high as in the first half of 1939, while the industry's production went up only eight times. Profits, which had averaged about \$2,500,000 for each of the first two quarters of 1939, were up to \$41,607,000.

In the third quarter of 1941, profits of the three companies rose 150 per cent over the third quarter of 1939, from \$17,303,000 to \$41,607,000!

Enormous Profits

This corporation reported a net income for the year ending September 30, of \$13,267,988 after taxes, reserves and amortization provisions (i.e., provision for future expenses) were deducted. The company paid \$27,670,104 in taxes.

When comparing the profits of these companies, like Bendix, with the wages of airplane workers, it is necessary to remember that the total of net profit and amount allowed for taxes, reserves and amortization should be compared with wages, and not merely net profit used in the comparison.

For the wages of a worker do not include the amount he will have to use for paying taxes.

Hence when you compare the wages of an airplane worker with the profits of the company involved, you must compare wages (which are calculated before the subtraction of taxes) and the profits of the companies before taxes are deducted.

If that is done, then the startling figures given above about war profiteering are even more startling. If that is done, it becomes even clearer that the bosses in this country are faking in a tremendous amount of profit out of the war.

Mr. Churchill Pulls A Fast One

Eggs and Horsefeathers or:

By Susan Green

Prime Minister Churchill never misses a chance to drag in by the hair some statement to the effect that in Britain there is no longer any double standard—one for the rich and another for the poor. The war has been a great leveler, don't you know.

So the other day, when—for public effect—Mr. Churchill was gloating over the two eggs he was getting for breakfast at the White House, compared to the one egg a week supposedly rationed at home, he of course had to add: "Just like everywhere else there."

Just like every one else there—who isn't in the dough. Mr. Churchill is in the moneyed class—and he looks too well fed to be limiting himself to rations. The fact is that money talks louder than ration enforcement in Mr. Churchill's "democratic England."

On the subject of eggs, William H. Stoneman, special correspondent for the Chicago Daily News, wrote on December 18th that a "whole raft" of hotels, clubs and restaurants in London were fined for buying large quantities of eggs at high prices.

For Once Knox Has Nothing to Say

Receiving no reply to their protest addressed to President Roosevelt calling for disciplinary action against both Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox and Rear Admiral W. H. P. Blandy for their advocacy of ride - them - out - on - a - rail violence against union organizers, the Workers Defense League has sent a reminder to the White House, including a copy of the original telegram to the President.

In the light of the current inquiry into the competence of high naval officers, following the Pearl Harbor affair, queries as to the activities of naval officers and the department head, Knox, inciting a lynch spirit against union organizers certainly seem in order.

It seems that de luxe establishments—of which there are not a few—pay high prices and are not made bankrupt by an occasional government fine. They can make a big profit no matter how much they pay for their raw materials, and their first interest is to attract customers by serving good stuff.

We can safely assume that London's East End poor do not patronize these establishments where prices are not an issue.

Under the headline "London's Black Food Market Becomes Shameful War Blight," Mr. Stoneman minces no words. "Al Capone at his worst was a Boy Scout compared to the boys who operate the Black Market in food in wartime England," begins Mr. Stoneman's report.

These racketeers deal in rationed foods. They specialize in fine cuts of beef, hams, poultry, eggs, oranges, onions, whiskey and cigarettes. War or no war, rations or no rations, the rich must live in the style to which they are accustomed. They can and are willing to pay—to pay enough to make it worth while for the illicit Black Market to cater to their demands.

While gentlemen in spats and mon-

The American capitalist class gave its version last week of what it means by its "war for democracy" and how it intends to conduct it and pay for it.

After harnessing labor to a no-strike program, and thereby to a virtual promise to refrain from any consistent, militant struggle for better wages and conditions, the boss class turned around and struck its first major blows at some of the most important economic rights and benefits enjoyed by the workers and poor farm-

In an adjoining column on this page there is a detailed account of how the Joint Congressional Economy Committee has proposed that every government agency which in any way aids the workers of this country be abolished, while not one agency or benefit enjoyed by the capitalist class is touched.

The report is signed by Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia, poll-taxer, labor-hater, enemy of the Negro people; who has voted against every pro-labor or progressive bill that ever came up in Congress; but who has always been a consistent advocate of the "war for democracy."

Consider what these proposed "economies" mean:

1) There are still more than 4,000,000 unemployed. It is estimated by Leon Henderson, federal price administrator, that there will be an additional 1,500,000 workers who will shortly be thrown out of work because of priorities unemployment. Does this congressional committee propose to help these unemployed workers? Does it propose to find ways and means to tide them over? No. It proposes to take work relief away from them almost completely; it proposes to drive them to the breadlines.

2) The cuts in farm relief. Most of the present \$1,500,000,000 spent on farm relief goes to the prosperous 50 per cent of the farmers who get 89 per cent of the nation's farm income, in any case. But some of it goes to the lower-income 50 per cent, who get only 11 per cent of the farm income.

Which group does Byrd propose to cut? Not a penny from the more wealthy farmers like himself. Instead, he asks for cuts of almost \$40,000,000, almost every cent of which would come from the low-income farmers or from the food now being furnished to under-nourished school children and families.

Nothing would be cut from the huge appropriations for the AAA, which goes to the rich farmers. But \$250,000,000 would be cut from the Farm Security Administration which has helped,

(Continued on page 4, editorial column)

Concrete Proposals of Byrd Committee Analyzed Here

Last week the Congressional-Executive Department Joint Committee on Non-Essential Expenditures, which since last September has been investigating ways and means of economizing on the federal government's expenses, finally made its long awaited report. This report is important because it demonstrates clearly how big business and its reactionary politicians in Congress, typified by the poll-tax Senator Byrd of Virginia, the head of this committee, intend to make the people pay for the war. That President Roosevelt gives at least partial support to these proposals is seen in the fact that a cabinet member, Henry Morgenthau, signed the report.

The report takes the form of a series of recommendations aimed at bringing a total saving of \$81,716,965,061 next year through such means as abolition of the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Farm Security Administration, the Farm Tenant Program, the National Youth Administration, drastic cuts for appropriations for WPA, public works and agricultural aid.

These recommendations, if made into law, would mean the complete abolition of what remains of the New Deal's social reforms and, in the words of Senator La Follette of Wisconsin, "would cripple vital social services, hurt national health and fall most heavily on the lowest income groups among the population."

Among the most vicious of the committee's recommendations are the following:

1) A recommendation to slash WPA expenditures by \$400,000,000, or about one-half of this year's already inadequate quota. This would mean throwing at least 500,000 WPA workers out of jobs and back to the none too tender mercies of home relief bureaus. This cut is especially unjustified at present when only one out of every four of the nation's four million unemployed are working on WPA, and when priorities unemployment is expected to throw another two million workers out of jobs within the next four months.

2) A recommendation to cut \$100,000,000 from the Department of Agriculture appropriation for domestic consumption of food surpluses. This recommendation would, in the words of Roy F. Hendrickson, federal agricultural marketing administrator, "drastically curtail and possibly completely eliminate" federal subsidies for penny-a-day milk and free lunches now being received by 4,500,000 school children, and for surplus food and milk now granted to the relief population under the stamp plan. Said Hendrickson: "The ones who will suffer the most are the needy who are getting much of their daily nutritional needs through the stamp plan."

3) The recommendation to abolish the CCC and the NYA. This would mean that thousands of youth now employed by these two agencies would be thrown out of work to swell the ranks of the unemployed or to join the army. It would also mean that partial and inadequate vocational training which American youth has been receiving through NYA would be completely stopped.

4) The recommendation to abolish the Farm Tenant Program and Farm Security Program. It should be noted that there is no proposal to cut one cent from the AAA, which benefits mainly the large commercial farmers. Rather is the cut proposed in those two agencies, the FTP and the FSP, which have to some degree aided the poorer farmers, the share croppers and tenant farmers.

Consumer Goods Profits Increase 32 Per Cent

Producers of consumer goods in the third quarter of 1941 increased their profits over a year ago by 32.8 per cent. The combined net profits of 69 makers of foods and beverages, textiles and clothes, cigars, drugs and miscellaneous items were \$72,083,233 for the period compared with the \$53,259,001 made in the third quarter of 1940.

Principal gains for the nine months were shown by 15 drug and cosmetics producers, up 21 per cent, five apparel makers, up 25 per cent, and five liquor companies, up 39 per cent.

What all this means in terms of actual human existence should be clear. The workers, even during the height of war production, have no glorious future ahead of them. Even now, millions face unemployment.

Workers Face Unemployment, CIO Reports

By JACK WILSON

The terrible specter of mass unemployment hovered over the head of the American labor movement as the year 1942 rolled around.

This gloomy prospect was emphasized in an official CIO report, published in the CIO Economic Outlook, in forecasting employment trends for 1942.

The CIO economists predicted that 2,500,000 workers would lose their jobs by next October because of a shortage of materials and the failure to convert existing plants into war production facilities.

much better in democratic England than does price fixing. Mr. Churchill is indeed a very diligent propagandist for British imperialism. But fancy verbiage does not stand up against the shameful realities of the capitalist double stand-



ard: One for the rich and another for the poor—one for the bosses and another for the workers—plentiful food for the rich and plentiful rations for the poor.

Kitchen Bosses Go to Town

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—The kitchen bosses of Syracuse are in revolt over the high cost of living and the housewives of this normally conservative city are agitating in the streets.

Organized Housewives of Syracuse is what they call themselves and the breakfast dishes lie dirty in the sink as they recruit new members from door to door, street to street, block to block. The hands that rock the cradle are building a union.

A boycott is on against local milk dealers who raised prices one cent a quart for a second time in six months. The milk dealers' association, representing 40 local dairies, already has sent peace emissaries to deal with a new phenomenon in collective bargaining—the Board of Housewives.

Wages Lagging Behind

Wages are lagging far behind profits, according to the latest report by the Federal Reserve Board. It shows that:

Since the war began in September, 1939, workers' hourly earnings have increased by an average of 14 per cent, but the cost of living has risen 11 per cent, leaving 3 per cent as the net wage gain.

In contrast, the profits of 416 large industrial corporations, in the first nine months of 1941 compared to the same period for 1940, increased 31 per cent, and the profits of 250 corporations making "durable goods" increased 40 per cent.

Those increased profits were pocketed after paying all income and excess profits taxes.

The 31 per cent profit gain of all the corporations is more than 10 times the 3 per cent gain of the workers, and the 40 per cent profit gain of the durable goods manufacturers is more than 13 times the net wage gain.

If the 1941 profits were compared with 1939 instead of with 1940, the profit rise would be still greater.

Los Angeles Meeting Hits Minneapolis Convictions

LOS ANGELES—The need to defend civil rights in the United States during wartime was stressed at a meeting conducted by the Civil Rights Defense Committee in Los Angeles Sunday night, December 21.

The meeting marked one step in the local campaign to defend the 18 militants of Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis and of the Socialist Workers Party, who were convicted recently under the reactionary Smith Act of 1940. Their "crime," as pointed out by Dr. C. J. Taft, director of the American Civil Liberties Union for California, and chairman of the meeting, was the open advocacy of their views, a right vouchsafed by the Bill of Rights.

Speakers at the meeting, in addition to Dr. Taft, were Manny Garrett, of the Workers Party; Brother Haubrock, of the International Longshoremen and Warehouse Workers Union, Local 113 of San Pedro; Howard Rosen, chairman of the Los Angeles Civil Rights Defense Committee; and John Murphy of the Socialist Workers Party.

Dr. Taft emphasized that the American Civil Liberties Union is interested in the Minneapolis case because it regards the Smith Act as a violation of the Constitution, a violation that should arouse every lover of freedom to a determined protest.

Manny Garrett expressed the solidarity of the Workers Party with the tasks of the Civil Rights Defense Committee and with the fight for the repeal of the Smith Act. The first victim in the United States of the Second World War for Democracy, he asserted, is the Bill of Rights. This war for democracy—not, of course, for democracy for the natives of India or of Africa, or in fact for some 75 per cent of the population of the world—starts out, he said, with a conviction which, if upheld in the higher courts, will go far to kill the most elementary rights guaranteed by democracy.

The attack upon working class militants, he continued, is the first step on the road away from the "four freedoms" advocated by President Roosevelt, and in the direction of Hitlerism and the suppression of Brother Haubrock insisted that it is his opinion and that of the majority of the members of his union local that every man has the right to voice his views. "I have every interest," he said, "in their right to say what they think."

Howard Rosen, speaking for the Defense Committee, outlined various means by which the members of the audience could aid in the defense of the convicted men and women.

John Murphy, speaking for the Socialist Workers Party, pointed out that this is the first case since the celebrated one involving Eugene V. Debs during the First World War in which men were sentenced to prison not for their deeds, but for their views.

Food Prices Jump 22 Per Cent

Food prices have risen 22.4 per cent in the last year, according to a report issued by the National Industrial Conference Board. Food costs in November were that much higher than the August, 1939, level.

Living costs as a whole have risen 10.6 per cent above the pre-war level. Figures used by the Conference Board are regarded as conservative.

War Comes To Park Avenue

Several days ago New Yorkers read of the resignation of William Fellowes Morgan, commissioner of markets. Presumably Morgan quit because he didn't see eye to eye with eruptive Mayor LaGuardia on some appointments.

But behind this comparatively routine political quarrel there lies a tale of society intrigue and social jockeying between two rival sets of rich females from the 400 which threatens to create a first-class political scandal in New York.

And what is more, this tale has serious political implications in relation to the conduct of civilian war relief work.

Here is the story: Morgan, like all the other politicians, was cooking up some "defense" work for his department. He placed one Mrs. Preston Davies, a wealthy society woman, as his "defense" aid. Exactly who Mrs. Davies was going to defend is not clear—surely it wasn't Mr. Morgan—but be that as it may, she was to be the defense aid.

Mrs. Davies, however, is the head of the ritzy American Women's Volunteer Service which happens to be in disfavor with Mrs. Winthrop Aldrich, the head of the Mayor's Office of Civilian Defense. Mrs. Aldrich (be it noted in passing) is also a member of the 400, wife of the president of the great Chase National Bank and a social rival of Mrs. Davies.

So when Mrs. Davies was appointed as "defense" aide by Morgan, Mrs. Aldrich protested to Mayor LaGuardia on the ground that she, Mrs. Aldrich, hadn't had anything to say about the appointment of Mrs. Davies.

She Doesn't Like Her

Yes, we know this is all very complicated, but anyway Mrs. Aldrich doesn't like Mrs. Davies.

As a result the obediently gallant Mayor LaGuardia ordered Morgan to fire Mrs. Davies. But the equally gallant Morgan refused and resigned in protest!

A pretty tale, is it not? It reminds us of the last war, when the society ladies were weeping bucketsful of tears—in between caviar sandwiches—for the poor soldiers and getting in each other's hair in rival "relief" outfits, the main activity of which was holding large parties.

We should like to know, however: What are these scatterbrain society dames doing in these war posts to begin with?

How have they gotten the monopoly on these "oh-so-interesting" war jobs to begin with—as is seen by many letters in the New York press of women (not in the 400) who try to get into these relief outfits and are snubbed?

If there is a need for "defense" aides, why isn't some competent person hired, while the society lassies are left to stew in their caviar and debutante parties?

Opera Buffa in The French Isles

The intermission has been reached in the newest opera-buffa entitled "St Pierre and Miquelon." Opera-buffa? St Pierre and Miquelon? You have the right to ask, why the Italian description for what is obviously a French farce? We don't really know, except that this time the Italians had nothing whatever to do with the script, production and performance of this diminutive diplomatic sideshow. The principal performers are Americans and Frenchmen. The rest of the cast is composed of Englishmen and Canadians. All of which has resulted in something utterly confusing. Let's see if we can't untangle a State Department mess.

1. Off the coast of Newfoundland lie the two French islands, St. Pierre and Miquelon. Since the fall of France they have been ruled by a governor appointed by Vichy's doddering chieftain, often advertised as the venerable God-fearing Marshal Petain.

2. Vichy France is a satellite of fascist Germany and under the leadership of the Marshal and the Anglophobe Admiral Darlan has been transformed in the image of the fascist states of Germany, Italy and Spain. Since the armistice, France has been a thorn in the side of the Allies, hindering their war effort while it lent genuine and positive aid to the German war machine.

IN THE WINGS STOOD GENERAL DE GAULLE

3. Over in the wings, however, stood the aristocratic General Charles de Gaulle, carrying the banner of the "Free" French. He had assembled a nucleus of an army; won over part of the French Navy; seized parts of the French colonial empire and has, ever since, waged what has been called a war against the "usurpers at Vichy." The Free French movement is dependent financially, morally and spiritually upon England in the first place, and the Allies in general. Truth to tell, the Free French are regarded as an integral part of the Allied front!

4. The "unified" Allied boards of strategy have accorded the aforementioned recognition to de Gaulle's movement. The lease-lend bill was extended to permit the granting of aid to the Free French and such aid has already been sent.

5. The established task of the Free French was an over-all attempt to prevent the conversion of France to a full-fledged military ally of Germany, to win the colonial possessions from Vichy to the side of England, and to participate in a military way on the side of the democracies. Good, bad or indifferent, this is what the Free French movement (headquarters in London) has endeavored to accomplish.

Let us get on. On Thursday, December 25, Free French marines under the command of Admiral Emile Muselier, who directed the action from aboard a corvette, landed on the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, took into custody the Vichy supporters and announced that a plebiscite would be held so that the people of the islands may determine their governmental allegiance through a "democratic" process. That was a good one—a plebiscite through the democratic process! The islanders are reported to have screamed: "Vive de Gaulle!" Baron de Bournat, the Vichy governor, reputed to be a student of Alexander Dumas, screamed back: "Vive Petain!"

HULL SCREAMS BACK AT BOTH

The State Department in Washington, through State Secretary Cordell Hull, screamed at both, saying that it was embarrassed by the "arbitrary action contrary to agreement." Whose agreement, and with whom? Hull's agreement with the French fascists? England's agreement with Washington?

But England insists it knew nothing about Admiral Muselier's adventure. It is true that the sea journey was begun in England, the ships and arms and money provided by the British, but that does not mean that they knew what de Gaulle and his admiral were going to do with them. Hell no. They might have been in training, or just taking a pleasure jaunt, or perhaps they were in search of the mythical Atlantis. In any case, the British are supposed to have been taken unawares!

But Hull is adamant. It upset the agreement with Martinique. It might have dire effects on American-Vichy relations! It ain't in accord with the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. The islands has got to go back to Vichy, radio or no radio. But if you're adamant maybe we can make a deal. Give the islands back to Petain and the Allies will take over the radio and thus prevent possible betrayals by the French fascists. The English are baffled. They would like to have the Free French keep it—even though they did not inform Churchill of their intention to carry through this coup.

The New York Post declares: "Sweep out the nullifiers!" PM insists that the action of the State Department is contrary to the Bill of Rights and decency in human relations. But these newspaper people don't know nothing about diplomacy.

England and Canada ain't giving no orders. Washington is. And nobody knows what deals they got on the fire with Vichy. Didn't they prevent the Panama Canal from being bombed by not seizing Martinique? Why upset the appeacrat?

But you can never tell. The show ain't over yet. This is only the intermission in a minor capitalist diplomatic production in the midst of an imperialist war for "democracy" and a little profit.

Sam Adams.

Stalin Jails Polish Social-Democrats

The American social-democratic journal, the New Leader, carries the news in its December 27 issue of the arrest of Henrich Ehrlich and Victor Alter, Polish socialist leaders who came under the rule of the Stalin government when it took over Eastern Poland.

Ehrlich and Alter had previously been arrested immediately after the invasion of Poland. At the time that Stalin signed his agreement with the Polish government in exile several weeks ago, Ehrlich and Alter were released.

Ironically enough, Ehrlich and Alter had just issued an appeal to the Polish workers to support the war of Stalin a few days before their arrest.

Exactly what Stalin's motives are in arresting these Polish social-democrats is not yet clear. What is clear, however, is that this incident is but another instance of the Stalinist policy of persecuting all working class opponents.

We await with interest the comment of those bourgeois liberal commentators who have recently devoted themselves to painting idyllic portraits of Stalin as a great "humanitarian" and "democrat."

AFL Says Real Wages Lower

WASHINGTON — Workers' real wages have declined since September 1, the American Federation of Labor reports here.

"In the last two months recorded, September and October, cost of living has risen faster than wages and the workers' real income has declined," the Federation says in its latest survey of labor conditions.

"The average pay for one hour's work will buy less than it did two months ago," the survey adds. "From August to October cost of living has increased 3 per cent, wages only 2.6 per cent."

The Federation says that after March, 1941, rising prices began to cut away workers' new buying power, but not until September did the price increase exceed wage increases. The cost of living in October was 11 per cent above pre-war, and 9 per cent above October, 1940, it reports.

"This price increase, which is bound to destroy workers' wage gains," the Federation declares, "can only be checked by setting up the proper price controls."

(Editor's Note: The AFL report is correct, except that it neglects to mention that real wages have really declined for the last three recorded months. Those are August, September and October. This fact is revealed in a recent survey of the ultra-conservative Business Week. This real wages were declining even a month before the AFL noted it as a fact.)

THE WORLD AT WAR

Churchill-Roosevelt Meeting Is First Step in the Creation Of Allied World Strategy

By SENTINEL

When Japan made its fateful decision to attack the United States and Germany followed up with its own declaration of war, the Allied leaders understood more clearly than ever before that they were up against a world strategic plan of the Axis.

The Japanese attack, therefore, brought to the Allied leaders the realization that the working out of its own counter world strategic plan was an unpostponable task. Consequently, hardly more than two weeks after the Japanese blasting of Hawaii, Churchill found himself in Washington with his large entourage of experts, military, economic and diplomatic.

That Churchill came to see Roosevelt for the second time, rather than FDR repaying Churchill's previous visit, is not without its own significance. That was a recognition of the fact that the American colossal dominates and dictates the Allied side of the war and that England now plays second fiddle.

The task of setting up a unified Allied strategy and command is not an easy one. The national interests—military, economic and political—of the different nations in the Allied bloc conflict at many points and must be reconciled, at least for the duration of the war in order to set up this unified command. However interested Churchill is in the solution of this task, he must necessarily plead the interests of the British Empire and see to it that these interests are subordinated as little as possible to the Allied world scheme as a whole. The same can be said about the representatives of Russia, the British Dominions, China and the others. The last word of course will remain with the United States. She intends to dominate both the war and the peace.

Military Division of Areas

The working agreement that is being framed in Washington will be based not only on the world picture as a whole but upon these considerations as well. A general strategy will undoubtedly be worked out which will decide which areas are to be defended and which are not.

Another point which will undoubtedly be decided in the Roosevelt-Churchill conference will be the manner in which the Allies will divide the world into military regions and their attempt to coordinate Allied military strategy in those regions. The probable divisions are: American leadership in the Pacific, British in the Atlantic, Chinese in the Far Eastern land areas, and Russian in the European land area. Naturally even this will probably not be permanent. The future changes in the war, bringing to the fore national interests at present obscure, will undoubtedly bring corresponding changes in the military commands.

The discussions among the various representatives of the Allies from this set-up emerges as of necessity extensive and all-inclusive. Considerable attention was no doubt paid to a detailed appraisal of the forces—military, economic and political—of the war and home fronts, of both the Allies and their enemies. The possibilities and potentialities of both sides must have been appraised. Then the probable length of the war must have been estimated and the plan for the conduct of the war was certainly worked out.

But all this is not complete without a discussion of the aims of the Allies—that is, what they are going to do when they have conquered the enemy. Who gets what; the post-war relations among the victors and the vanquished; how the map of the world will be changed; what countries will be resurrected and what countries wiped out; these are the questions that are being discussed in the Allied capitals.

Moscow Takes a Hand

They are questions that are being discussed not only in Washington but in Moscow as well. For the past few weeks, before and during discussions in Washington, no less a dignitary than Anthony Eden has been in the Russian capital negotiating on the war and post-war problems with Stalin himself. With the termination of these proceedings the announcement is made that on the points relating to the conduct of the war to defeat Germany and measures to be taken after the war to keep her down, Stalin and Eden are in complete accord.

Thus the British Foreign Office announces:

"The conversations, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, showed an identity of view of both parties relating to the conduct of the war, and especially with regard to the necessity for the utter defeat of Hitlerite Germany and adoption of measures to render completely impossible any repetition of German aggression in the future.

"An exchange of views on questions relating to the post-war organization of peace and security provided much important and useful material which will facilitate future elaboration of concrete proposals on this subject.

"Both parties are convinced that the Moscow conversations constitute a new important forward step toward closer collaboration between the USSR and Great Britain."

Aside from the accord in the military sphere (in which Russia's decision not to take on Japan at present is completely understood) the other sections of the agreement indicate the importance of Stalin's role as a participant in the forging of a new Versailles. This is in line with his whole manner of conducting the war. It is in line with his agreement with the reactionary Sikorski to set up a strong Poland and his suggestions for an international army to police and guarantee a capitalist Europe on the model of Versailles.

A New Versailles

That Roosevelt is in agreement with this is clear not only from the "Atlantic Charter," but from the statement that he is reported to have said to the departing diplomats at the end of the just completed discussions that "this time we shall see that Germany is disarmed and stays disarmed." This is also clear from the promises of a restored Europe similar to that of the Versailles system.

Lest there be some who feel that the peoples of the occupied countries may take matters into their own hands and overthrow the yoke of Hitler before the Allied "liberators" do the job, Churchill's first remark upon his arrival in Washington should serve to disillusion them. Churchill explained that the opposition to Hitler in the occupied countries cannot be expected to be strong enough to cause his overthrow while the repressive forces that he employs are as strong as they are. The might of Hitler will first have to be given a shattering blow from without, he asserted. By "without" he means, of course, the armed might of the Allies.

Roosevelt and Churchill are very much concerned about the possibility of revolt even in Germany and the occupied territories. They are anxious to have their armies on the scene—together with their friend Stalin's—if and when the people of Europe revolt in order to make sure that a docile capitalism, instead of socialism, comes from these revolts.

Hence, for the working class and the colonial peoples who have now been drawn into this terrible war it is necessary to keep in mind that when they try to establish a socialist society of their own, they will meet the opposition of Roosevelt and Churchill, as well as Hitler. And Stalin will be standing right alongside of Roosevelt and Churchill, fighting against the working class.

It is impossible to divorce Stalin's aims from those of Roosevelt and Churchill. He fights not only to maintain his power, but in that fight he supports without reservation the war aims of Roosevelt and Churchill, which are just as reactionary as those of the imperialist Axis powers.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Are Radicals Personal Failures?

Dear Editor:

There is often mentioned in the press the idea that radicals are that way because they are personal failures in business or art or the professions. That is true in some cases. One runs across unsuccessful actors whooping up the theatres in the Soviet Union because there is always a steady job for actors there. One meets fellows who are so bitter and cynical that they would not be successful in anything, not even in radical circles.

The other radicals have discovered that the business system has failed them or others they know. They know how to work but business does not know how to give employment. They know how to punch the time clock steadily, but it's the owners who give them such low wages and filthy workshops that they can't live. It is business that makes radicals hate it. The radicals are a success in comparison with the dummies who believe it is the best possible world.

Carl Peterson.

Editor's Note—Well, we must confess that we haven't given this matter much thought lately—what with other things like the war to think about. One thing we do know—we suspect that you'll find a pretty representative cross section among radicals—the bright and not so bright, the bitter and the cheerful, etc. The main cause of personal dislocations and of psychological abnormalities are undoubtedly social—merely one of the results of a degenerate economic system.)

IWA Worker on Closed Shop and Union Amendments

Dear Editor:

As we have experienced it, the blessings of a closed shop in our local of the International Woodworkers of America are not entirely unmixed. Especially is this so in securing it one has to agree to take in all of the present employees of the contracting employer. In so doing the union has gotten a fine job lot of snks, company stooges, goons, two-card carriers and outright union-haters—commonly known as rugged individualists.

From this choice assortment comes a constant stream of friction and dissension. Squabbles and disruptions are the natural offspring of such a hybrid, as is produced by the naive attempt to cross a class-conscious worker with a boss-conscious special privilege seeking scissor-bill.

The closed shop is not an end in and of itself. But a means to obtain better wages, shorter hours and safer working conditions. Once it is obtained the union's battle is not won. It is only an additional lever and its purpose is not served by merely forcing these links into our midst. It is and can only be beneficial when such potential traitors and reactionary offal are permanently disposed of.

Internal Disruption

With such groups in our midst coupled with the recently passed IWA amendments 2, 3 and 4, and in conjunction with the current war hysteria of our super-patriots, a perfect theater is ready made for the

machinations of these forces. By creating turmoil in and prolonging our meetings, disgust may be so engendered that formerly good union members may and do fail to attend regularly.

This enhances the relative strength of these would-be "fifth columnists." Soon they will become so emboldened that they will be attempting to invoke the application in some form or another of the above-mentioned amendments against the very men who had led the building of the union.

These amendments deny a man's rights to political affiliation of his own choosing and violate the essential spirit of the CIO. In as much as the local is not the sole owner of the contract with the company, once such amendments are successfully invoked, then one can be automatically mucked from the job which he has helped to build up to where it is worth holding.

With these ill-advised changes in our constitution in conjunction with our other unmixed blessing, it will be only by the utmost vigilance and uncompromising determination in our local that we will prevent the corrosion and disintegration of our union. A working class movement cannot stand still; only through further militant advance tending toward more workers' control of the means of production, by accepting nothing on faith and bowing down to no outside authority can we look to the future.

A Member of Local 6-28, IWA.

(Editor's Note: LABOR ACTION disagrees with the comments the union brother makes on the closed shop. We are publishing next week an exhaustive article on this subject by Jack Wilson, which will, take up this problem.)

Chicago Lecture: What Shall Labor Do About the War?

The Cost of Living, the Right to Strike, Civil Liberties, War Profiteering—

Hear: G. L. LEE Discuss These Issues at

LYON & HEALY HALL

Jackson & Wabash Avenues, Studio 10

SUNDAY, JANUARY 4, AT 2:30 P. M.

Auspices: CHICAGO LABOR ACTION FORUM

Admission: 10 Cents. Unemployed Free

Another Reader Wants Shachtman

Dear Editor:

I am in complete agreement with the sentiments voiced in a letter to your reader's column by Theodore Lyons in the last issue of LABOR ACTION.

There is no doubt that LABOR ACTION is the best by far of all the radical publications—but it could improve itself much by the addition of a weekly column by Max Shachtman. Here's hoping we see that column soon.

Mike.

Cicero, Ill.

UAW Victories In Syracuse

Dear Editor:

Another step was taken last week to make Syracuse a union town when the United Automobile Workers, CIO, won an NLRB election in the Owen Dyneto plant by a vote of 258 to 68.

The UAW had previously won another election in the Brown Lipe Chapin plant by a vote of 1,029 to 347.

The local UAW has been very much on the alert and is the most militant union in the city. They have concentrated on their main job—fighting for better conditions for the workers. This has made the local Stalinists very angry, because they are a lot more interested in their brand of politics than in organizing workers into unions.

J. P.

Iron Workers Hit "No Strike" Policy

Dear Editor:

Your readers might be interested in knowing of a recent incident that took place in one of the Chicago locals of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers (AFL). Upon the demand of the president of the international and the Chicago Building Trades Council, the local leadership quickly and bureaucratically pushed through a motion putting the local on record in favor of the labor-betraying "no-strike" policy.

In spite of the fact that no discussion was in order and the membership did not hear any opposition, most of the members at the meeting did not vote, thus indicating their tacit opposition at least.

But in the shop, where the men feel more free to voice their opinions, most of the talk was against the "no strike" policy. Everyone understood that this meant taking away labor's basic weapon and that the results of this policy would be a tremendous setback for the entire labor movement.

One fellow said: "The union took away our right to strike, but what the ——— does the boss give up?" Everyone gave the nod to his explosive and unprintable answer.

M. K.

READ, SUBSCRIBE TO NEW INTERNATIONAL

Racketeering In American Trade Unions

By Mike Stevens

The continuous publicity in the newspapers about racketeering in the trade union movement has puffed up this problem way out of proportion. The trade unions in the United States with their ten million members have far fewer crooks than business organizations.

Nevertheless, the fact that there are even a few makes it important, particularly now in a situation, that we face the issue, trace the roots and growth of racketeering in the labor movement and develop a program for its elimination.

Westbrook Pegler screams himself hoarse about racketeer control NOT because he wants the workers to control their own organizations but as a step in the attempt to discredit the entire trade union movement.

The racketeer-gangster stage is the height of degeneracy and machine control in the trade union movement. Racketeers find it easy to "muscle in" only on unions where rank and file democracy is absent and a bureaucratic machine exists; where meetings are not held regularly, elections of officers few and far between, where most of the posts are appointive ones, where agreements are made between the union officials and the bosses without the rank and file making its demands or being permitted to control the acceptance or rejection of the agreements.

METHODS OF RACKETEERING

These are the methods that breed racketeering. But these happen to be the methods and ideas of trade union organization of the entire AFL Executive Board. These are the methods by which they remain in office. Should they agree to rank and file control of the unions many of them would be out of office. Dubinsky's resolution at the New Orleans AFL convention putting the power of suspending unions into the hands of William Green & Co. is very dangerous. Dangerous not to the racketeers but to the union militants who are striving to bring about changes in the unions which would drive out the racketeers and make racketeering impossible.

Every bureaucracy develops and maintains a machine for one reason—to perpetuate itself in power. The trade union officialdom is no different in this respect.

The period of negotiations with the bosses for union agreements, or working rules, is the time when the bureaucratic machine literally shakes in its boots. At these negotiations, the corrupt union officials direct their main energies toward control of the workers' jobs and in signing an agreement for the longest possible time. But in order for the bosses to even recognize the union officials, let alone sign agreements with them, the officials must be able to convince the bosses of the union's strength and power.

LEADERS' CONTRADICTION

And it is here that the trade union officials are caught between the contradiction of having to wrest some concessions in order to keep the union intact (if only to insure them their soft positions) and on the other hand avoiding at all costs the activation of the rank and file through militant struggles. It is precisely this contradiction that forces them to call in gangsters and racketeers (or use gangster methods themselves) to aid them in their disputes with the bosses.

That is why, often, when the most conservative and bureaucratic unions are on strike the most violent type of action takes place. Thus gangsters in some unions became part and parcel of the existing bureaucracies and in many of these unions the racketeers easily displaced the machine of the old line bureaucrats with their own. For it is only one step further in the process of degeneration of a trade union from a machine bureaucracy to a gangster-ridden officialdom.

To permit the development of an active rank and file means the development of initiative, criticism, decision and leadership by those who interests are almost always contrary to the wishes of the bureaucracy. An active rank and file means democracy, a threat and a danger to the bureaucrats' pie-cards.

CASE OF WILLIE BIOFF

In 1936 when the workers in the Hollywood studios began to talk union, the movie magnates imported Willie Bioff, a Chicago gangster, signed a union agreement with him and forced 12,000 workers into Bioff's union. Whenever a worker asked for an accounting of the finances, or suggested salary agreements in new agreements, or brought forth any grievances against the boss he was immediately fired and blacklisted in the industry.

The rise and development of industrialization in this country, when one worker no longer did all of the work that went into the making of a single product, was the objective condition for industrial unionism. But the AFL by its refusal to discard the outdated craft basis aided in bringing gangsters into the labor movement.

The ever-growing capitalist monopolies found craft unionism a beautiful set-up for defeating the workers by playing craft against craft. A single craft, representing its jurisdictional handful, found all the other crafts working and scabbing whenever it had a struggle with the boss. Its own militancy was not enough to combat the giant trusts and the union leaders, instead of calling for unity of all crafts, used hired thugs.

SHRINKING OF PROFITS

The shrinking of profits caused by the depression broke the tie-up between the gangster-politicians and the capitalists. The capitalists had no need for their allies of yesterday who no longer could produce juicy contracts or guarantee the growth of a business. The capitalists rid themselves of this excess baggage by "municipal reform." The Seabury-Dewey exposures were just that and every little more. But for the workers it was not so easy.

Before the 1929 crash, trade union leaders had often worked hand in hand with the racketeers, and these elements had wormed their way into the unions. The depression and the end of prohibition found the racketeer for they had the support of the union officials. The workers were now getting only an occasional day's work but the officials wanted to continue getting the graft of the pre-depression age and for this reason they needed the racketeers to force the collecting of high dues and assessments and to extract graft of one form or another.

With the recent re-hiring, the new workers coming under the jurisdiction of racketeer dominated unions are demanding the same wages and working conditions as those won on the picket line by militant unions—and they are willing to get into the struggle to get them. And the old problem in an aggravated form once again faces the bureaucrats: of NOT activating the workers whom they fear more than any employer. But the task is not as easy as in the past. The rise of the CIO has forced many craft unions, in an effort to survive, to accept semi-industrial union forms. Today unskilled workers are organized, thousands in a single shop, in comparison with the isolated and divided skilled hundreds of a few years ago.

Racketeering has crept into the trade union movement through many channels. But there is only one program that will drive it out—Rank and file control of the trade union movement.

Winston Churchill:

Knight of St. George or Imperialist Aristocrat and Friend of Reaction?

By HENRY JUDD

"I am a child of the House of Commons. I was brought up to believe in democracy; trust the people. . . . I have been in full harmony with the tides which have flowed on both sides of the Atlantic against privileges and monopoly and I have steered confidently toward the Gettysburg ideal of government of the people, by the people, for the people." (Winston Churchill to the American Congress.)

Seldom has human history recorded so many misstatements in so few words uttered by one man!

Winston Churchill—head of the British Conservative (Tory) Party; Winston Churchill—Prime Minister of the greatest imperialist power on the face of the earth, the British Empire; Winston Churchill—imperialist leader of the English capitalist class which rules over 500 million colonial peoples in Asia and Africa; Winston Churchill—man of the "old school" ties, offspring of Anglo-American aristocracy, descendant of the Duke of Marlborough—this is a more accurate portrait.

Since Churchill's arrival in Washington two weeks ago the American press, radio and propaganda institutions have outdone themselves in the Churchill build-up. Franklin Delano Roosevelt has temporarily receded into the background before the more dramatic and colorful leader of the British Empire. As a cynic remarked, "Churchill did everything but take out his first papers!"

KNIGHT OF ST. GEORGE?

Churchill is portrayed to us as the fighting symbol of world democracy, as the resolute representative of the British people, as the embodiment of "good" against "evil," as the hope for a shining future, as a modern Knight of St. George come to slay, in mouth-filling Victorian oratory, the Nazi dragon.

But LABOR ACTION finds it necessary to remind its readers that Churchill is here for other reasons—more sinister reasons—than campaign and warlike oratory.

Churchill is here to plot with Roosevelt the future course of the imperialist war in which both nations, England and America, are now engaged. Behind the talk of "world-wide strategy," "united command," "plans for taking the offensive," "divisions of supplies and resources" lie many sacrifices and heart aches planned for the people of America and England alike:

(1) The representatives of "democratic" imperialism are planning where, when and how to set millions of American boys on the transports going to the battle fields of Africa, Asia and Europe. In a word, they are dealing with and, in their own way, settling the fate of countless numbers of American youth, British soldiery and Allied forces.

(2) They are seeking to iron out various differences that arise from British and American commercial and economic rivalry. All is not brotherly love between the "Allies" when the question of who gets what arises. But Churchill, as is proven by the fact that HE—not FDR—undertakes the arduous journey, yielding to America, as he must. He has told Roosevelt straightforwardly that henceforth America must bear the burden of the war in terms of manpower, supplies and resources.

CHURCHILL—THE MAN

And what about Winston Churchill, the man? LABOR ACTION, after examining his references, his character witnesses, his experience, etc., finds him well qualified to play the role of militarist, imperialist, war-monger, racial jingo, Tory, colonial slaveholder, opponent of labor unions, arch-

conservative.

Ex-Friend of Hitler: "I have always said that if Great Britain were defeated in war I hoped we would find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful position among nations." (Winston Churchill in a speech, November 11, 1938.)

Ex-Friend of Mussolini: "If I had been an Italian I should have been wholeheartedly with you (the fascists) from start to finish in your triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism." (Winston Churchill in a speech, January 21, 1927.)

Head of the British Tory Party: This is what he wrote about that party back in 1908 when he was a Liberal: "A party of great vested interests banded together in a formidable confederation . . . the tyranny of a well-oiled party machine, sentiment by the bucketful, patriotism and imperialism by the imperial pint. . . . dear food for the millions, cheap labor for the millionaires. That is the policy which the Tory Party offers you."

MILITARIST AND WAR-MONGER

Militarist and War-Monger: First Lord of the Admiralty during the last World War. Organized and planned the disastrous Gallipoli campaign against the Turks. Organized and planned the British intervention expeditions against the Russian Revolution at Archangel. Participated actively in England's war of conquest against the Boers in South Africa. Led British troops on the northwest frontier of India against rebellious tribesmen where he specialized in burning villages and pillaging the homes of defenseless natives.

Tory and Colonial Slave Master: Churchill has an unenviable reputation in the colonies and particularly in India. He has consistently opposed every extension of democracy to the colonial peoples forced to live under British rule.

Hollywood Tries To Patent the War!

When the news of the Pearl Harbor attack reached Hollywood, the film colony reacted in expected fashion. After the first few curses and some flag waving, the boys rushed to the patent offices with titles featuring the name Pacific. For Hollywood saw a chance to capitalize on the war, to make money. And that's what Hollywood is in the business for.

Overnight, scenes and characters in movies already in production were changed. As one film columnist put it, "No longer fearing to offend Japan, since its market was closed, the Japs were made villains." A classic example of Hollywood's intellectual courage, and limits.

In passing, we want to point out that everything didn't change like the movie scripts over night. Gloria Vanderbilt's marriage lived up to the "best traditions" of the movie capital. Better than any movie premiere and so romantic and thrilling! Isn't it wonderful how the poor little rich girl found happiness, war or no war. Boy meets girl, boy gets girl,

basic formula of Hollywood movies. Hollywood is sensitive about many things. But one of them isn't the charge of "war propaganda." Hollywood is proud of this. In retrospect, the charges of the Senate committee last summer about Hollywood war propaganda now look like an honor, "an example of the far-sightedness of this progressive industry."

The war has made the scandals around the Bioff regime in the unions seem like another world. And this is rather pleasant. The notoriety achieved about the income tax evasions of Joe Schenk, a pillar of society out this way, has been submerged. It isn't patriotic to refer to such grand chiseling by the movie moguls. Destroys national unity and all that sort of thing, don't you know.

But to return to the lots. Even a Cecil B. DeMille super-colossal couldn't compete with the excitement at the studios after the war began. Hysteria was rampant. The blackouts, the changes in production schedules, worry over drafting of the

bright young stars (Mickey Rooney is 21. Perhaps his small stature will save this goldmine for MGM), reports of enemy aircraft, concern over the many Japanese servants who fill the swanky homes of the stars, etc. etc. All these things crashed down on Hollywood with a terrific bang. And many a head is still swimming around from the impact of the blow.

But the production men settled down quickly. There were important things to consider. How popular will Japanese spy stories be as themes of movies? Can the studios duplicate on the cinema the drama of Wake Island, or will it offend the moviegoers? Will war stories go over during the war, or should they be held until afterward? Can't the program of "shorts" which are open propaganda be set up? Or are the movie audiences already tired of Hollywood's efforts, two years old, in whipping up the old do-or-die spirit? Perhaps "escapists" are the only money-makers—look at what the comedians did in 1941!

The answer to these many questions is of vital significance to America's war plans, and Hollywood knows it. Naturally, all these questions will be answered in such a way that the profits still roll in. (The studios hit the jackpot in 1941 and are relatively wealthy. Each big company has loads of movies already finished and waiting for their turn to be released.) You can bank on one thing: Hollywood will live up to its motto—"Never give the audience a break, if it's avoidable!"

One of the things that Hollywood is very sensitive about now is the salary and bonus system, which was once its proud boast and received wide publicity. The producers are squirming about the revelations at the Schenk and Bioff trials. And now the stars are worried. Of course they are doing their bit by entertaining at the Army camps. But the fact remains that they are making anywhere from \$50,000 to \$250,000 a year while doing it. And that's a lot different than \$21 a day once a month.

Babbitt in Stalinland:

Mr. Davies and his Mission to Moscow

Joseph E. Davies spent the major portion of his life as a mid-Western corporation lawyer. In 1936 he was appointed American ambassador to the Soviet Union, in which post he remained for two years.

Last week Mr. Davies published a book called "Mission to Moscow." Seldom has any book appeared under more favorable conditions or prominent auspices. Sections of it were previously published in several magazines, including the New York Times Magazine; it has been widely advertised; the State Department gave Davies permission to quote from his confidential dispatches from Moscow; and President Roosevelt himself has given the book his endorsement.

It is apparent, then, that this book takes on the character of a semi-official state document, that it is part of the present campaign conducted by the American press and government officials to polish up the political character of their new ally, Stalin.

Those sections of the book that have already been previously published are sufficiently revealing of its main tenor to make possible a definite judgment.

Whitewash of Stalin
Davies has written a complete whitewash of the Stalin regime. The fact that most of the things he says were written at the time he was in Russia, and not now as retrospective bouquets for friend Stalin, changes nothing. It must be remembered that 1936-1938 was a Peoples Front period in which relations between the Roosevelt and Stalin governments were fairly friendly, as is the case at present.

Nor is there reason to give any special importance to the fact that Davies was present in Russia during the Moscow trials and observed them. That would be important only if Davies presented any new evidence; and that he signally fails to do.

When considering a trial, it is necessary to consider all the available

data, and on that basis come to a conclusion. This a person in America can do as well as a person in Russia, provided the same data is available—and probably better, considering the state of affairs in Russia.

Why then should Davies' book be considered as shedding any new light on the Moscow trials? Davies uses only one new argument to justify them. He says that the military successes of the Russian army prove the Stalinist claims that the elimination of Tukhatchevsky and all the other generals was necessary because they were fifth columnists.

A Vicious Argument

Now this is a peculiarly vicious and illogical argument. The successful resistance of the Russian army to Hitler's invasion does not necessarily prove anything about the guilt or innocence of the defendants in the Moscow trials. Surely you cannot prove that people were guilty of a charge because

the "crime" they were alleged to have planned did not take place after they were killed; for the crime might also not have taken place if they were not guilty of the charges!

Davies asserts that nobody could find any verdict but guilty about the defendants. Why? He does not say. He does not attempt to examine the evidence in any scientific manner: its internal coherence; its relation to other known facts; its credibility; its contradictions. He does not attempt to discuss the findings of the Dewey Commission on the Moscow trials; he makes a bland assertion, tosses in some gossip about the reaction of other ambassadors, and repeats some old wives' tale about Tukhatchevsky being involved with a beautiful German woman spy—and that is the "new light" being shed on the Moscow trials.

There is, however, some light shed. But it is on Davies and Stalinism, not on the trials. It is apparent that

Davies' original prejudices against the "terrible Bolsheviks" he expected to find in Moscow are gradually dispelled. And for the good and sufficient reason that there are no Bolsheviks left in Moscow; they have all either been shot or sent to Siberia.

Stalin the Builder

He finds Stalin a practical man — "a greater builder than Peter the Great or Catherine"—pretty much like an American captain of industry in his habits and outlooks. And it is this that intrigues Davies: his discovery that the outlook and morality of Stalinism and capitalism are, after all, not so very different. Stalin gives him the impression of a "strong mind that is composed and wise." And to a mid-Western corporation lawyer, whose mentality has been molded by American Babbittry, Stalin's mind can readily seem "wise and composed."

It is only when he notes in Stalin "kindness and gentle spleness" that one desires to say: "You can put it on, brother, but, please, not so thick."

In reality Davies' dispatches, notes and commentaries are of the most intellectually banal and pedestrian variety. He has absolutely nothing new to reveal factually; he is incompetent of even the simplest type of historical analysis. He is only able to repeat the gossip of the Russian capital and send it to the State Department in confidential pouches, which have now been opened for the benefit of Partner Joe.

It is a commentary on our times that this book is published with a fanfare of acclaim at the very time that Trotsky's biography of Stalin comes under the axe of the "black censorship."

Originality of thought, power of expression, uncompromising advocacy of ideas—these are out of fashion. Better a bit of gossip on Tukhatchevsky's mistress and Stalin's kindness!

What Are the Coughlinites Doing Now?

By Irving Howe

One of the most interesting results of the war in domestic political life has been the reaction of the Coughlin movement. This native fascist organization, which reached a peak about three years ago only to subside into a comparatively routine existence in recent months, has been developing an extremely clever and dangerous line with regard to the war—a line which requires the wary attention of all workers.

The approach of the Coughlinites, until the entrance of America into the war, was patterned along the classical lines of fascist demagoguery. Appealing primarily to the lower middle class elements of the population—those who had been hit hardest by the depression and who were most susceptible to reactionary prejudices—the Coughlinites combined a surface "radicalism" with a basically fascist program, as Hitler did. Coughlin spoke with bravado against the capitalists—or at least the Jewish capitalists—even though his program proposed the continuation of capitalism.

Coughlin mumbled something about a fair wage for workers, but showed himself an unceasing enemy of the trade union organizations, like the CIO, which the workers were building. Coughlin attempted to capitalize on the discontent that was arising in the country by harnessing it to the most despicable prejudices, such as anti-Semitism.

Recently, Coughlin's major line of attack was on the war issue. He was the ideological inspirer of the fascist section of the America First Committee. Coughlin's paper, Social Justice, carried pages of isolationist propaganda, liberally mixed with anti-Semitism. Isolationist Senators Nye, Wheeler and Clark were its heroes.

REASONS FOR ISOLATIONISM

The isolationist position of the Coughlin movement was motivated by several considerations. The most important were:

1) The Coughlinite movement had not yet received the support of the major section of the American capitalist class, which was interventionist and which did not utilize the Coughlinites because it did not yet need a fascist movement to save its economic system. Accordingly, the Coughlinites received support only from some of the capitalists in whose interest it was not to enter the war against Germany. This, of course, is one of the reasons why the Coughlinites stagnated in recent years—the lack of a need, from the capitalist point of view, of calling up a fascist movement, left the Coughlinites without what must necessarily be their main financial and ideological support if they are to be the fascist movement of America.

2) The Coughlinites reflected the opinion of that minor section of the American capitalist class that was in favor of appeasing Hitler in order to form a world bloc of capitalist powers to fight against Russia. But the main enemy of American capitalism—as the overwhelming section of the American capitalists correctly realized—was Germany, and therefore the advice of Social Justice was not heeded.

3) The Coughlinites were trying to develop mass support on an issue which would excite people—and the most important was the war issue. They adopted their violent isolationism as a means of attracting the tremendous latent anti-war sentiment that existed until the entry of America into the war. The purposes for which they were going to use this sentiment were clearly fascist.

NOT LIKE WHEELER AND TAFT

Now that the war is here, the Coughlinites have not abjectly surrendered to the Roosevelt Administration, as have Wheeler, Taft and other former isolationists.

Just as Lindbergh played a long chance in making an anti-Semitic speech which he knew would bring a shower of abuse on his head, but which he hoped would help pave the road to playing the role of America's future Fuehrer; so the Coughlinites are now taking a long range perspective by voicing such an extremely critical attitude.

They ridicule the shift of the New York Daily News, which has resurrected Stephen Decatur's slogan about "my country, right or wrong." No, says Social Justice, we will support our country only when it is right, and not when it is wrong. The implication as to which case applies at present is plain.

Social Justice appears in its December 22 issue with a sharp attack on the "war profiteers"; it attacks the "filthy internationalist gold-mongers," the "motion picture artists living on fat salaries of \$100,000 a year," etc. The old fascist demagogic technique is apparent: develop a mumbo-jumbo, mixing in popular prejudices against movie actors' high salaries with the popular prejudices against "gold-mongers."

But Social Justice makes no attempt to explain to its readers the cause of the war. It makes no attempt to tie up the existence of capitalism with the outbreak of war, because it dares not do so; it is pledged to rescue capitalism.

TRY TO EXPLOIT LEGITIMATE COMPLAINTS

The Coughlinites are playing the game of keeping mum about their attitude toward the war itself, while demagogically attempting to exploit the legitimate complaints and distress which will undoubtedly arise among the people as the war proceeds.

It is necessary for the working class movement to keep a sharp eye on the Coughlinites. Those who really want to build a new and better world of socialist freedom must see to it that the fascist demagogues do not succeed in enticing the people with their false "radicalism."

The fascists must constantly be exposed for what they are. It must be made clear that for all their fake criticism and attacks on the war-makers and profiteers, that they aid in maintaining the continued rule of the war-makers and profiteers because they stand for the retention of capitalism in its most vicious form.

Carol of Rumania

A revealing sidelight on the problem of war aims in this war was provided by the announcement last week that the former King Carol of Rumania was hoping to return to the throne if the Allies win the war. Exactly what reception the British will give to this move is not yet known.

We doubt that the Allies, who have already announced they intend to exempt a considerable section of the world from the "benefits" of their Atlantic Charter, will openly agree to Carol's request. For, while Carol was a faithful servant of British and French imperialism while in power and while the British might think him usable again in the future, they could hardly afford to so publicly tarnish their already none too bright statement of war aims by solidifying themselves with this worthless profligate who was once king of Rumania.

H.

Chicago Lecture:

Negro Workers and the War

Discrimination in Defense Plants, Red Cross Refusal to Take Negro Blood, Jim Crow in the Navy—What should the Negro do about Jim Crow in the war?

Guest Speaker: GRACE LEE

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Editorials

Economy Measures

(Continued from page 1)

to some degree, the 50 per cent of the farm population who only make 11 per cent of the farm income and who exist on incomes between \$200 to \$500 a year!

3) The youth agencies which have taken kids off the streets and given them at least something to do, for grossly inadequate wages it is true, and with very poor vocational training facilities—these too are to be abolished. What then is to happen to American youth, Senator Byrd? But the senator has an answer the form of which doesn't even require the formality of purchasing coffins!

4) Some 4,500,000 school kids are to be deprived of free lunches and the supplementary food allowances given to relief families will be abolished. Do you know what this means, Senator Byrd? Has any child of yours ever had to get free lunches at school because his mother didn't have enough food?

The workers know what that means. They know too that these 4,500,000 kids won't be able to get milk and decent food if these proposals go through.

The working people are being asked to work all sorts of hours, in some New York plants as much as 70 hours a week. Where are they to get the strength, where are their children (the workers of tomorrow) to get the strength to continue working if these proposals go through, and they are deprived of essential foods?

This is what the bosses—who are wallowing in such astounding war profits—and their Charley McCarthy congressmen mean by "national defense." They mean high prices and low wages, they mean big profits and low taxes for themselves, imperialist expansion while cutting into the living standards of the workers at home. That's what "national defense" means under capitalism, while capitalists rule.

Is there one proposal here to cut into the profits of the bosses? Is there one proposal here to hit at those government agencies which aid the capitalists? Is there one proposal here which would abolish war profiteering?

Some of our most naive people will depend on President Roosevelt to stop this "economy" drive. But they will be sadly disappointed. The fact that FDR's man Friday, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, has signed this proposal should be enough to show where the Roosevelt Administration stands.

It is of course quite likely that FDR will propose modifications to the Byrd plan, softening it up here, sugar coating it there, leaving the hulk of the relief agencies while killing the core. But that is one purpose which such extreme proposals as that of Byrd has: to give "liberals" like FDR a chance to polish it up a little, prune it down a little, and cut out the most extreme sections while leaving the essential proposal intact. And thus FDR will be able to pose as a friend of the people and win the plaudits of the liberal press.

There is only one force that can stop this skullduggery—that is labor. Where are the voices of the CIO and AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods? Does the no-strike agreement with which they signed away their birthright to the bosses, prevent them from holding big meetings and demonstrations on THIS question?

It is the workers and the poor who will suffer. It is they who will feel the first brunt of the war. It is they who must raise their voices.

No cuts in WPA, NYA or farm relief!

Full trade union wages for every worker thrown out of a job through no fault of his own, because of priorities unemployment!

For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living!

Make the rich pay for their war!

Soak the rich, not the poor!

The Director Of Censorship

News of the appointment of Byron Price, executive editor of the Associated Press, as director of censorship raises several important problems.

The official reason for the creation of this post is that it is necessary to keep military information secret. If that were all that the director of censorship would do, the matter could be pretty much dropped, because, among other reasons, we have no particular interest in such news.

It is to be feared, however, that Mr.

Price may not confine himself to censoring merely military information. The experiences of the last war would indicate that considerably more than military information is at stake.

The question now is whether the censor will use his great powers to cover up government mistakes and to bottle up domestic news as well as military secrets.

For a certain type of reactionary mentality, the publication, for example, of news about capitalist profiteering might be considered censorable on the grounds that it "would impair morale."

For this reactionary type of mentality, it might seem desirable to censor critical, or dissenting, or radical journals which did not even attempt to comment on military affairs, but which expressed ideas or social theories of an unpopular nature.

These fears are not decreased when one glances at Mr. Price's record and remembers that he is the author of a Girdlerish statement that he would resign from the Associated Press before deigning to negotiate in collective bargaining with the Newspaper Guild.

The Black Censors at Work

There has been little since the entry of America into the war as intellectually filthy and reprehensible as the decision of Harper and Brothers Publishing Co. not to publish the book which Leon Trotsky was writing at the time he was murdered, a biography of Stalin. Harper had previously contracted for its publication.

The company's statement says that "the decision was taken for reasons of policy, as it did not seem an appropriate time to bring out a book critical of Russia's internal affairs. The book is both a biography and a historical appraisal in Trotsky's well known vigorous style. It is the book on which he was working when he was assassinated."

When a LABOR ACTION reporter inquired as to when the "appropriate time" for publication would be, he was informed by Harper's press representative that the book might be published . . . after the war! It is out of fear of insulting Stalin—the 'Kremlin butcher who has the blood of a generation on his hands—that Trotsky's book will not be published. It is out of fear of pricking the delicate sensibilities of this latest convert to the "Democratic Ideal" that the American reading public is to be deprived of Trotsky's last major work.

Compare this with the semi-official endorsement which the Roosevelt Administration has given to the Stalin regime and its infamous Moscow trials by permitting ex-Ambassador Davies to publish his "confidential reports" about the trials in a widely publicized book that has received the endorsement of President Roosevelt himself.

Everyone knows that this is no isolated incident. Everyone knows that it has been the studied policy of the American capitalist class and its intellectual servants ever since Stalin changed sides in the war to facilitate Stalin and portray him as a fine and noble gentleman, viz., ex-Ambassador Davies, Harry Hopkins, Duranty, etc.

And if at the same time they can still the voice of the revolutionary socialist, Trotsky, why, that is killing two birds with one stone! It is therefore, we feel certain, no idle conjecture when we venture to say that there must have been no inconsiderable pressure from certain high sources which helped Harper arrive at its decision.

But they are great fools, after all, if they believe that they can thereby quiet the voice of Trotsky. He is head and shoulders above all of them; a giant among groveling pygmies. Trotsky's voice will continue to boom out the truths of revolutionary socialism—and no two-penny Torquemadas will stop him. Many have tried before, with known results.

It is the task of the Marxist movement to see to it that Trotsky's works receive the widest circulation, especially today, when his council is most needed.

And the advanced workers will not permit themselves to be deprived of Trotsky's last great work. The book which he worked on at the very moment he was murdered by Stalin's catspaw, the book which was his summation indictment of Stalin's crimes—the advanced workers will not allow themselves to be deprived of this book merely because it is to the passing imperialist interest of the American capitalist class, of which Harper is part, to refrain from criticizing "Russia's internal affairs."

St. Louis CIO Steel Drive Faces Tough Race Problem

ST. LOUIS—The CIO has started an organizing campaign at the Scullin Steel Co. which employs about 2,000 workers, about half of whom are colored. These Negro workers and some of the white workers were formerly members of the Scullin Steel Co. Mutual Aid Association which recently dissolved. After the dissolution, a new organization called the Independent Steel Workers Organization was formed.

The CIO filed charges with the NLRB on November 26 against the Independent Steel Workers Organization charging that it had been formed merely to take the place of the old Mutual Aid Association, which the Scullin management had agreed to dissolve and not recognize. There may be other factors which entered into the decision of these workers to form the new organiza-

tion. There are white CIO members in the Scullin plant. Recently some of these white workers on furnace floor No. 2, who hold cards in the CIO, walked out when three Negro workers were promoted to the furnace floor as second helpers. The three Negro workers were promoted on the basis of seniority.

The Negro workers at Scullin Steel have also been in contact with colored workers employed in steel plants in nearby Illinois towns. Workers from these Illinois plants are in the CIO and have had contracts since 1937. These workers reported that discrimination exists in these plants but that the CIO had not exerted sufficient pressure to have discrimination removed and the Negro workers placed on a plane of equality in the plant.

It is also probable that the Negro

workers at Scullin have read about discrimination against Negro workers by the CIO glass workers in Oklahoma and the recent incident in Columbus, Ohio, where 300 white workers walked out of the tool and die department of the Curtiss-Wright plant when a Negro was transferred to work there as a skilled worker.

In the Curtiss-Wright walkout, the United Automobile Workers (CIO) took vigorous action at once against it, giving full support to the Negro worker and his right to have the job. The UAW fired the organizer of the union who had prompted the anti-Negro actions, and sent in a new organizer. The white workers returned to work and the Negro worker is still on the job. This policy has been carried out by the UAW in every instance where such discrimination has been practiced either by the union members or by the management whenever such discrimination was reported to the national office.

This is the general policy of the CIO, not only on paper but in action. This holds for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee as for other CIO unions. There are and have been numerous violations of the policy in action. These violations are more likely to happen in Southern than in Northern cities. But even in the South these differences between Negro and white workers have been broken down, at least in part, in the CIO unions. This is true notably of the United Mine Workers and the Agricultural Workers Union.

Must Be Alert

The fact that there are violations of the CIO general policy in relation to the rights of Negro workers by white workers in the CIO only emphasizes again how important it is for Negro CIO members always to be on the alert to defend their rights, not only against the boss but also inside the union. Negro workers must keep up an everlasting struggle for full equality in the unions. All matters of discrimination should be taken up in the union meeting and the demand made for its elimination. If Negro workers do not get justice and equality of treatment in the union and in the plant by taking these matters up in the local or with local officials, then they should make these demands on the top leadership of the international or the CIO. This is the proper procedure to follow.

Company unions are no better for Negro workers than for white workers. So-called independent unions are too weak to get results even if they are really independent and not mere company unions. The worst possible course for Negro workers would be to fall into the boss's trap and support his company unions.

A Boss Trick

The bosses use this device to separate the workers and wreck the real unions. Negro workers must not allow themselves to be deluded with this bait of the bosses. Above all, Negro workers must not allow themselves to be beguiled into the belief that they can solve their problems as workers by consenting to the formation of Jim-Crow workers' groups in the plants and factories. Ford tried this. His idea was to have a group of Negroes who would oppose the UAW (CIO) and form themselves into some sort of organization that would in fact be a company union.

What advantages can the Negroes at Scullin Steel get from the Independent Steel Workers Organization? Will it be superior to the CIO? Of course not. How can it be? Will the white workers who join this organization be more willing to work with Negroes than the white workers in the CIO? If it is a Jim-Crow outfit, what can it accomplish?

These are some of the questions that the Negro worker everywhere must ask himself. Thousands of Negroes all over the country have answered that question in the only way that can possibly do the Negro workers any good. They are in the CIO fighting for their rights inside the organization and alongside the white workers against the bosses.

To create real solidarity between Negro and white workers is not an easy job but it must be done. The greatest impetus to the accomplishment of this task has been and is being given by the CIO and its affiliated international unions.

Profits Highest In Last Nine Years

The Exchange, magazine of the New York Stock Exchange, states that in 1940 more than 300 stocks listed on the Exchange paid better than 1939. So far, it continues, 300 in 1941 have topped their 1940 yields.

Predicting a bright year for the bosses, the magazine says: "This will be one of the best years for dividend income that stockholders have ever seen . . . the yields on these stocks are now at the highest levels in nine years."

Lest We Forget

by Tom Gilbert

PROGRESS

A comparison of the present Allied leadership with that which wrote the Treaty of Versailles and sowed the seeds for the present war is interesting. In place of the liberal Democrat, Wilson, we have the liberal Democrat, Roosevelt. In place of the Liberal, Lloyd George, we have the Tory, Winston Churchill. But in place of the French reactionary, Clemenceau, we have the great Russian humanitarian, Stalin.

HISTORY SPEAKS

"The liberties of Rome proved the final victim of her military triumphs."—The Federalist.

QUESTIONS

Is it the destiny of mankind to be fooled into a war every 25 years in order to "end all war?" How much longer will the people be fooled by the capitalist "statesmen" of the world? When will they raise their voices in the name of their own interests?

THE GREAT DEMOCRAT

"The truth is that Gandhi-ism and all that it stands for will sooner or later have to be grappled with and finally crushed. The loss of India would mark and consummate the downfall of the British Empire."

"We have no intention of casting away that most truly bright and precious jewel in the crown of the king which more than all our other Dominions and dependencies constitutes the glory and strength of the British Empire!"

What about the Atlantic Charter?

Priorities Unemployment Doesn't Hurt Auto Bosses

By BILL HAINES

One of the best examples of how the bosses are profiteering from this war while the workers are suffering is the automobile industry. On December 23 the New York Times reported on the 1941 earnings of the automobile industry.

The Times reports that the automobile industry shattered all recent record for third quarter profits this year. Eleven auto companies received \$59,871,700 profits in the 1941 period, a gain of 279 per cent over profits in the third quarter of 1940.

For the first nine months of 1941 the four largest companies made a total of \$199,341,000, a gain of 22 per cent over 1940 profits; and increased their sales by 49 per cent over 1940. All of these profit figures are calculated after tax deductions.

While the auto bosses are making these tremendous profits, the workers in the auto industry are facing an extremely serious crisis. In the last few weeks the following layoffs have occurred, because of priorities unemployment:

1,000 Fisher body workers in Lansing, Mich.;
3,000 Fisher employees in Cleveland;
5,000 Cadillac workers in Detroit;
4,000 General Motors workers in Linden, N. J.;
30,000 Ford workers in Detroit, and
1,400 Chevrolet workers in Tarrytown, N. Y.

Officials of the United Automobile Workers Union predict that 300,000 auto workers will be out of work by the end of January, with 150,000 idle in Michigan alone. Changeover from automobile to defense production is proceeding so slowly that only about 15,000 workers will be hired each month to do defense work, according to CIO estimates. This means that the great bulk of auto workers will be unemployed for a long time to come.

The UAW has proposed a five point program to meet priorities unemployment:

Establishment of the 32 hour week;
Government appropriations to increase benefits payable to workers under the unemployment insurance law;
Government appropriations to train displaced workers for defense work;
Price control without "freezing" wage rates; and
Conferences between UAW and OPM officials to lay the groundwork for full conversion of the auto industry into war production.

YOUNG MAN wants to share room with other young man—willing to pay as high as \$4.50 per week. Interested parties should write to LABOR ACTION.

LABOR ACTION

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

Dear Friends:

I am interested in learning more about the things your paper stands for.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

REVOLUTION:

Why Churchill Sees None in Germany

By PAUL TEMPLE

Churchill's main purpose in crossing the Atlantic was neither to make a speech before Congress nor to eat eggs for breakfast. Of the two, the second was more heartening to Churchill than the first was to the American people.

The speech was of the Blood-Sweat-and-Tears variety, which the Prime Minister has already found to be a best-seller. The Allies, he said, will not be able to take the offensive until 1943. After four years of war—equal to the duration of the last World War—they will be ready to get started. It would seem that modern imperialist wars, like their twin brother, industrial crises and depressions, get longer and more costly each time.

Behind Churchill's prediction of a long war lies another prediction, made at his press conference. We ask you to note it, because he thereby throws away the only weapon which can shorten the war and blow up Hitler. This prediction is:

"WE CANNOT EXPECT A REVOLUTION AGAINST THE NAZIS."

Why not, Mr. Churchill? Twenty-three years ago the German people rose in revolt against a regime which they had begun by unitedly supporting.

This is not a matter of Churchill's "inside information" against ours. No doubt the British Intelligence Service has its spies and channels of information. In the year 1916 a spy would have informed the Prime Minister that civil peace and war unity still reigned in Germany; but little more than a year later a vast political strike movement of millions spread through Germany and Austria; and less than a year after that came the revolution that overthrew the Kaiser.

Spies can tell Churchill when a revolution begins, but not about the forces that give rise to it.

WHAT TO REVOLT FOR?

A lot of the people who talk about the possibility of a European revolution against the Nazis talk as though a revolution just happens when people have something to revolt AGAINST. The masses in Hitlerland have plenty to revolt AGAINST. But—

There will not be a revolution there until they have something to revolt FOR.

And the fact is that Churchill and his partner Roosevelt have nothing to offer to inspire revolutionary unity and courage in the millioned masses of Hitler's slaves. The hate of the slave for the master is a powerful force, but the slaves do not become an army without a banner, a goal, a PROGRAM of freedom.

Says Nazi Wilhelm to Worker Fritz: "If Germany is defeated by English guns, remember what they did to us last time! They will split us up until we are no longer a nation. They will impose crushing war burdens that will fall on all the workers. . . . Whether you like Hitler or not. . . ."

Has Churchill or Roosevelt stated war aims that will take this fear from the minds of the German people and permit them to turn against their present rulers without fear of a new Versailles?

Says Worker Fritz to himself: "A Roosevelt for a Woodrow Wilson, and a Churchill for a Lloyd George are poor guarantees that things will be different this time! The 'Atlantic Charter' does not even SAY that it guarantees Germany a democratic government. There are many signs that the British leaders are thinking in terms of replacing Hitler with other fascist fuhrers willing to take dictation from London."

HE MIGHT ALSO MENTION

Fritz might mention, if he knew, that Duff Cooper of the British cabinet has let out, on and off, his hopes of a "palace revolution" in Germany—that is, a change of personnel at the top of the government. That when Churchill addressed a special appeal to Italy to throw out Mussolini, he appealed to the heads of the Army and the Pope, and did not breathe a syllable about replacing Mussolini with a democratic government. Above all, that it is stupid to put any trust in the good intentions of politicians who looked fondly on Hitler as their shield against revolution, until Hitler began stepping on their own toes.

The root of Hitler's strength is that the German masses see no better alternative before them. Hitler told them that he was against capitalist privilege and for a new order of society. He gave them a new slavery instead, but he knew what they were willing to fight and sacrifice for.

Churchill and Roosevelt offer the old capitalist-imperialist status quo. When Columnist Dorothy Thompson lies, saying that England is now practically socialist, she is only doing a Schickelgruber. No wonder the German masses are not aroused to a pro-British revolution!

No wonder Churchill does not "expect a revolution" in Hitlerland! For arousing the forces of revolt there means getting rid of the Churchills at home and replacing them with a workers government which will REALLY abolish capitalist privilege, offer a democratic peace to a workers' Germany and spur the German people to clean house with their own broom.

No Government Contract Without a Union Contract

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