# SENATE UPHOLDS POLL TAX!

### Post-Office Department Dictators Bar Mailing of Labor Newspaper

By HENRY JUDD

W.P. Sends

Letter of

Solidarity

ACTION for publication:

Editor, The Militant,

116 University Place.

George Breitman,

New York City.

Dear Comrade:

To Militant

The following letter, sent by Max

Shachtman, national secretary of the

Workers Party, to the editor of The

Militant was released to LABOR

We have learned with indignation

of the refusal of the post office au-

thorities to permit the November 7

and 14 issues of The Militant to go

through the mails. The failure of the

authorities to notify you of their de-

cision, or to offer any explanation

for it only makes their conduct more.

To allow this action to go unchal-

lenged would mean to condone the

usurpation of bureaucratic powers

been arrogating to themselves to an

increasing extent, especially since

the outbreak of the war. It is worth

noting that ultra-reactionary capital-

ist papers which carry on an un-

bridled campaign of denunciation of

of the war in such a manner that

they have been openly accused, by

responsible public figures, of aiding

and abetting fascism, continue to

publish without let or hindrance.

Obviously the post office respects

their democratic rights only because

big capitalist interests stand behind

them, and because their criticisms

are made from the standpoint of

extreme reaction. It is just as obvi-

ous that the authorities presume to

take their arbitrary action against

The Militant only because they know

it is a working class newspaper and

have powerful enough support to

resist successfully this clear-cut at-

tempt at suppression and persecution.

In is in the interest of every work-

ingman and every labor organization

in the country, to teach these inso-

lent bureaucrats a resounding lesson.

If they can get away with the hound-

ing and suppressing of The Militant,

in the dark of the night, and with-

out a thunderous and organized pro-

test of the whole labor movement,

then no labor paper in the country

is safe, whatever its political or eco-

nomic views may be. If these bu-

reaucrats, and the Roosevelt Admin-

istration, which presumably stands

behind them, are not immediately

compelled to reverse themselves, the

whole labor movement is in for

repetition of that infamous period of

the suppression of the labor press

during the last World War, under the

Postmaster Generalship of the odi-

ous Burleson. The time to stop Bur-

lesonism is the minute it shows its

ugly head, and before it gets well

Militant for its firm and courageous

stand and assures it of its complete

solidarity and unreserved support in

any counter-action that may be

National Secretary.

With best fraternal greetings,

The Workers Party salutes The

under way.

planned.

November 20, 1942.

Organized Protest Needed!

because they think that it does not

the government and of the conduct

NEW YORK CITY, Nov. 24-At the time of this writing, for the third time within three weeks, The Militant, a weekly labor and socialist newspaper, has been banned from the mails by the postal authorities in New York City and Washington.

The most astounding and reactionary aspect of this blow against the democratic rights of American labor and American labor publications has been the absolute refusal and failure on the part of the officials to give an explanation for their actions! Apparently, under the terms of the military dictatorship which the postal authorities seem to have set up for themselves, they can

just ban a paper from the mails AND THEN REFUSE TO GIVE AN EXPLANATION.

Under ordinary circumstances The Militant is delivered to the main post office in New York City, from which center it is shipped out to various parts of the country, under second-class mailing rights.

Now, it appears, the paper cannot be mailed out unless permission and approval are first obtained from the WASH-INGTON postal authorities, involving a delay of several days, even if the permission is grant-

The Washington officials had disapproved of four issues of The Militant prior to the banning from the mails of the last three issues, but these four issues had already been distributed throughout the country. Thereupon, the authorities gave their order that prior approval was necessary.

The editor of The Militant, George Breitman, only learned of the delay and ban placed on the paper when complaints and telegrams began to pour into his office. The authorities did not even consider it necessary to notify him! Such highhanded behavior is almost without precedent, even from the notoriously reactionary postal authorities.

Why the Ban?

An examination of the last three issues of The Militant can offer no serious reason or explanation for this move. There are no "military secrets" revealed, or any other news that could fall into a similar cate-

Could it be that the ban was placed on The Militant for its references to examples of Jim Crowism in the American Army; its illustrations of how the capitalist class of America is making huge war profits; its criticism of the recently adopted tax program that places the burden of the war effort on labor?

We are of the opinion that The Militant is under attack for exactly these reasons. If this is true-and there is still no statement from the Washington officialdom responsible for this disgraceful action-then it means that a labor paper representing a certain political point of view can be banned at any time that its opinion doesn't FULLY coincide with that of Roosevelt and the American ruling class. Could there be a greater illustration of totalitarian

against the American labor move-

Defend the Militant!

These steps against The Militant are a blow against every American labor paper, including LABOR AC-TION. The right of political criticism, the right of a free labor press, the rights of labor organizations themselves are deeply involved. Everyone understands that this action but the beginning! The next blow of the post office reactionaries may

well be directed against LABOR AC-TION which has also, as everyone knows, taken its stand for labor and against the capitalist war.

Then, if these totalitarians are not halted in their tracks right now, there will be additional measures taken against labor publications, not excluding the trade union papers of the AFL and the CIO. Defense of labor's rights to enjoy a free press demands complete solidarity and support to The (Continued on page 4)

By SUSAN GREEN

Why didn't President Roosevelt do something about the Pepper-Geyer anti-poll-tax bill?

Why did he allow it to be killed in the Senate by a sell-out agreement between the luke-warm proponents of the bill and the fascist-minded polltax senators?

Here is a capitulation President Roosevelt will have a harder time explaining than he had hemming and having about the deal between the greatest democracy on earth" and Nazi stooge Darlan.

When freezing wages is the order of the day, the President knows how to talk turkey. He says to the Congress: "Either you do-or I will!" Not that Congress needed to be threatened to freeze wages!

But when a bill involving the political rights of 10,000,000 disfranchised citizens is about to be tossed out the congressional window, the President has nothing to contribute but unbroken silence.

When asked for his opinion by the Washington correspondents — on the SEVENTH DAY of the filibustering antics of the poll-tax senators-

the President had the unbounded nerve to plead ignorance of the whole thing.

This historic press conference at which the President of the USA used the flagrantly flimsy alibi of not knowing what had been going on in the Senate for a full week, was reported in the New York Times of November 21 as follows:

"The President said, at his press conference, that he knew nothing about the filibuster. Asked whether he thought the poll-tax repeal, bill should pass, he reiterated that he knew nothing about it, had talked to no one about it, and therefore could not express an opinion."

Read that again—and again! Millions of American boys are and will be fighting for the capitalist brand of "democracy" in the four corners of the earth, while the President sees fit to express no opinion on whether the prohibitive poll-tax disfranchising 10,000,000 citizens should be repealed!

The President knew only too well what was going on in the Senate. You may be sure he knew without the direct appeal to him of the Committee to Abolish the Poll-Tax which represents seventyfive national organizations of labor, Negroes, women, etc. Yes, he knew without the direct protest to him by leaders of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods. But-

The filibustering poll-tax senators are all fellow Democrats. They are of the warp and woof of the President's own political party. That would very well explain his lack of opinion. Besides the President shares with this political oligarchy of the South the fear of the voting power of the millions of disfranchised poor Negroes and whites. What a political overturn they could make! They could even vote for a party of their own class instead of for the reactionary politicians of one or the other of the capitalist parties.

It is true that Senator Barkley, also a Democrat and leader of the supporters of the bill-if you can call them that-declared, in the course of the shouting, that "if the only way the Democratic Party could survive was to tax the right of poor people to vote for federal officials, then the Democratic Party is built on sand." He also said that the poll-tax is a "hangover from feudalism," which means that the Democratic Party is built on political serfdom in the South. WORDS-ONLY WORDS!

For neither Barkley nor his chief in the White House nor anybody else was willing to fight to free the political serfs. Barkley and the other "champions" of the poor in the South made a deal with Bilbo, Connally, O'Daniel, McKellar and the other feudal lords of the South-as dirty a deal as was ever made. That deal has not only thrown the antipoll-tax bill out of this session of Congress. Barkley also consented not to bring the bill before the NEW Senate. The arrogant anti-poll-tax bloc boasted that they expected to discourage "future congressional moves to outlaw the poll-tax." Very obviously they succeeded.

Every one of the ardent "democrats" capitulated. Senator Norris, old-time "liberal," assured the polltaxers, "I'm not going to annoy you by bringing the bill up again." Senator Pepper, Democrat, who intro-

### Our Hearts Continue to Bleed for the Rich

## On How Corporation Taxes Work

In its issue of November 16, LABOR ACTION listed a few of the companies which have gritted their teeth, determined to bear with fortitude the "socrifices" they are called upon to make-WHILE GRASPING IN THEIR GREEDY FISTS REGULAR AND EXTRA DIVI-DENDS, IN MANY CASES AMOUNT-ING TO MORE THAN LAST YEAR.

Yes, indeed. To the stalwarts of industry the new taxes are like water on a duck's back. Here is a little more proof.

After making deductions for depreciation, obsolescence, contingencies and ALL TAXES, American Tel. & Tel., Aluminum Co. of America, Mack Truck, among many other companies, CAN STILL PAY IN 1942 THE SAME HIGH DIVIDENDS AS IN 1941. Some sacrifice!

Kennecott Copper does its bit by declaring a 25 cents regular dividend-PLUS \$1.00 EXTRA.

Bohn Aluminum & Brass "earns" \$4.60 on each share of its outstanding stock for the first nine months of 1,942-which is \$1.34 more than last year, when there was no "equality of sacrifice" tax law.

American Shipbuilding Co. can pay a dividend of \$3.00 in 1942-which is \$1.00 more than in 1941. J. P. Morgan & Co. is so "burdened" by the new taxes of earnings are retained after taxes." that it pays out \$6.00 in 1942 against only \$4.00 in 1941. And Pacific Finance Co. of California has paid out \$8.20 a share this year compared with \$1.10 in 1941. Definitely, our hearts bleed for

After deducting everything deducti- centages!

ble, including ALL TAXES, Anaconda Copper still reports profits of \$27,-514,668 for the first nine months of 1942. And Baltimore & Ohio for 1942 has \$34,065,000 to the good-IN SPITE OF THOSE VERY NAUGH-TY TAXES.

On the basis of these fat figures, Eric Johnston, president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, has expressed the opinion that "profit margins on war contracts are narrow and only a small percentage

We are very sorry indeed for Mr. Johnston and for his class. Why don't we workers do something about it? Maybe we ought to demand wage decreases and more taxes-anything to widen the margin of profits and enlarge the per-

## **Arizona's Big Cotton Kings Strike** Against Paying 30c-an-Hour Wage

By R. CRAINE

There is a strike on in Arizona. Involved is the long staple cotton crop used in the production of parachutes for the Army and Navy-yet there is hardly a word of denunciation in the press, no cries of sabotage and no demands for immediate government action to "shoot the organizers" or to draft the strikers into the Army. For this is a strike of big cotton growers who are refusing to pay the government minimum of 30 cents an hour for cotton

For years the large cotton growers in Arizona have recruited laborers from Mexico or from among the dust bowl victims, the "Okies," and have paid them miserably low wages. The workers were completely at the mercy of their employers; because they lacked organization they had to accept whatever was offered them. The Senate Civil Liberties Committee has disclosed that the cotton growers spent in one year some \$125,-

000 for this method of securing cheap labor, that this expenditure was more than compensated for by the extremely low wages paid.

This low wage policy was maintained through the Farm Labor Service, which is financed by Western Cotton Products Co., a subsidiary of Anderson, Clayton & Co., one of the. biggest cotton firms in the world. Will Clayton, head of this outfit, is an assistant to Jesse Jones, Secretary

Because of the current labor shortage, the cotton growers have found it extremely difficult to get men to work their plantations. They have turned for assistance to the government, which has stipulated that while it is willing to get Mexican and other labor necessary for the cotton picking, and to pay their transportation to Arizona, the growers would have to pay a minimum of 30 cents an hour for this work, and supply men with decent living conditions.

The answer to this requirement,

in itself more than modest, has been, first, a "slowdown" and then a strike organized and supported by the Farm Bureau Federation. The FBF president, himself a rich Alabama plantation owner, Edward A. O'Neal, has stated that these wages were "outrageous" and that the 30 cent minimum would "socialize ag-

The government has made a number of overtures to the cotton growers, one of which was to raise the price of cotton. In spite of the fact that the increase in wages would thus be covered, the Federation is holding out against the principle of decent wages for 3,000,000 farm workers, stating further that the requirements of the government for decent living conditions. including toilets, baths, cold and hot water, was just a lot of "red tape stuff."

A telegram sent by McNutt, of the War Manpower Commission, and Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture, calls upon the Arizona cotton growers to accept the terms of the government contracts, or else the government will hold the growers responsible for saving the current crop of long staple cotton in that state?

That is how the government gets tough when it deals with big business. There is no indication here of the Army or Navy stepping in and running the plantations, no threat of "work or fight" to the rich cotton growers, as would be the case had the cotton pickers struck for higher wages and de-

cent living conditions. The farm lobby in Washington has many powerful friends in Congress and in the Senate who are demanding that farm labor be frozen at whatever wages the employers want to pay. What is needed is not a counter-lobby, such as the National Farmers Union, composed of smaller farmers, is trying to establish, but an organization of farm workers, which will enforce its own minimum wage scales and decent living conditions through union strength and

## Shipyard Union GEB Seeks to Suspend Local 9

Membership Faces Serious Threat in Undemocratic Move to Injure Union by Putting It in the Hands of a Dictator

SAN PEDRO-By the time this article reaches the members of Local who, as representative of the gov-9, the membership will be faced with such an all-out and vicious attack upon its democratic rights that the very existence of the union is threatened.

It seems that it is not enough that the companies have gotten away with one slice into union conditions after another, that the hiring hall is destroyed and that shady, undemocratic deals have been put over on the membership. The national office of the Shipyard Workers Union is evidently not satisfied with the speed with which the union is losing

The GEB has now acted to suspend altogether the autonomy of Local 9. And they have seen fit to appoint as dictator over the local

none other than the very phony ernment, crammed the rotten Los Angeles yard contract down the throats of the membership - that bird by the name of "Phony Promises" Pollard.

When Pollard was here before he showed his contempt for the democratic rights of the membership and his disregard for such details as the union constitution and by-laws. This 'time he appears as proposed dictator over the local in a completely unconstitutional move by the General Executive Board of the union. It is reported that President John Green, who delights in making long-winded speeches about democracy, is the very one who recommended setting up the dictatorship.

Coming right in the midst of nominations and elections of officers for the coming year, when the present incompetent officials were due to be turned out by a membership sick of sell-outs and misrepresentation, the action of Pollard and the gang behind him is clear. They seek to prevent the election of progressives to office-progressives who would build and strengthen Local 9 by democracy and education within the local and by fighting for union conditions.

If Pollard and the national officers get away with their proposed "blitzkrieg" against Local 9, Dictator Pollard will have the power to do just what he sees fit, without the slightest regard for the membership. Pollard will decide whether or not to hold the annual elections; and if elections are held, how to count the

ballots. If he wants to he'll put in a "provisional" government. He'll have his "Quislings" or get them by intimidation

But every member can rest assured that just as under any dictator, whoever is given the appearance of power, it will be Pollard who keeps real control. And Pollard will use that control to reverse any decision he disagrees with. He'll "discipline" or expel any man he doesn't like, or who doesn't like him-and, brother, that's considerable!

The action of putting a dictatorreceiver in charge of Local 9 is a typical AFL method of preventing the rank and file from exercising its own democratic rule. It is a method that AFL bureaucrats have for twenty to thirty years, but a practice from which CIO unions have kept themselves pretty well clean in the past.

If Green and Van Gelder of seven or eight years ago could have looked ahead to see the Green and Van Gelder of today, they would have blushed with shame. Eight years ago these men, as enthusiastic radicals, set out to organize the most democratic and most progressive union in the United States. That they succeeded to a considerable degree in the first years is testified to in the democratic nature and progressive principles then written into the union constitution.

Under the test of the great pressure of the imperialist war, Green duced the bill, agreed to the sell-

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# Europe in Revolt News from the Socialist Camp

#### A HAPSBURG AS A PILLAR OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

This column is hardly able to keep pace with events. Nearly every day another monarchist or fascist climbs aboard the "fighters for democracy" bandwagon. Archduke Otto von Hapsburg, pretender to the Austrian throne, is the most recent addition.

It was officially announced in Washington that a military committee for the liberation of Austria has been formed under the presidency of the Archduke and that "a special battalion of Austrians" will be formed to fight to free Austria from

Among democrats and liberals in Europe, the Austrian monarchy was considered to be the stronghold of the most reactionary oppression. The Vienna regime, before the First World War, oppressed millions of Czechs, Hungarians, Slovaks, Yugoslavs and Italians. It was the incarnation of all that was rotten in Europe. One of Wilson's propaganda aims during the First World War was that it was necessary to overthrow the Hapsburg monarchy in order to liberate the people of central Europe from centuries of oppression.

The revolution of 1918 and the collapse of the monarchy chased the Hapsburgs out. In the Second World War, American imperialism is now allied with the Hapsburgs and wants to put them back into power.

The ways of history are tortuous.

Schuschnigg and Dollfuss against the Austrian socialists, one of those chiefly responsible behind the scenes for the bloody crushing of the workers of Vienna, in 1934, could not succeed, in spite of all his efforts, to persuade French and English imperialists, that he was the best safeguard against revolutions in Central Europe. Even reactionary French and British politicians did not venture to get too closely associated with the Hapsburgs, fearing the reaction of the workers in their own countries and above all the reaction of workers in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, etc. Of course, they also feared a strong central European power bloc under a Hapsburg. Now, however, with American help, the Hapsburgs have again risen.

Otto von Hapsburg, intriguing with

To be sure, Otto will not yet be recognized officially. But the first step has been taken. A special battalion which will be completely made up of monarchists-because not even liberal democrats or socialdemocrats will ever join-is at hand.

Yesterday, Darlan, the fascist; de Gaulle, the "democratic" monarchist, and Sikorski, the anti-Semite; and now today, the Hapsburgs. We are indeed moving at a bewildering pace. And these are only the opening moves. At what is going on behind the scenes we can only guess.

#### ON THE LOOKOUT FOR QUISLINGS

Germany's chances seem to be gradually diminishing and "postwar reconstruction" is beginning to . be negotiated with the good will and be less a preoccupation of wellmeaning "liberal" college professors. It is getting to be the affair of hardboiled military experts and diplomats. So, for example, it is being discovered that "the former French collaborationists; no matter what their expressed policy during the German occupation was, actually were hoping fervently for an Allied victory." And further, the Nazi General von Thoma, recently captured, has been brought under special honors to London, and the New York Times this week carries a strange article passed by the British censors (who do not pass anything not approved by the English government) stating that von Thoma seems, in fact, to be very much opposed to Hitler, whom he accuses of having led the army into defeat. "It was also reported that General von Thoma has uttered severe criticism of

Hitler's economic policy." And last, but not least, an influential British Catholic paper recently printed a sensational article in which it was stated that the Vatican would envisage some sort of "Mediterranean settlement involving Spain and

Italy.' The article says that the Vatican "would be concerned about the maintenance in Italy, no less than in Spain, of a political and social order that reflects the Catholic tradi-

tions of these countries.... A satisfactory Mediterranean peace could even the mediation of the Vatican so long as the United Nations are prepared to allow the best elements in Spain and Italy to remain in or

Who these "best elements" are is only too clear: Franco in Spain, and those particularly around Crown Prince Umberto who are disillusioned by Mussolini's failures. There are even persistent rumors that negotiations with Umberto are being carried on....

to raise them to power."

The deal with Darlan was the first to come into the open. We may expect many more to be known in the near future. American imperialism seems to be on the winning side. That's why all the reactionaries in Europe who had been going along with Hitler are now suddenly changing camps. They all aspire now to be American Gauleiter in Europe. American imperialism has now definitely adopted an aggressive policy.

Now more than ever is it of the utmost importance that American workers realize what is happening. This war is an imperialist war fought By H. ALLEN for the domination of the world. It will depend in no small measure on the American workers as to whether the sordid schemes of the imperialists will succeed in crushing the coming European revolution.

Europacus.

### Seek Local 9 Suspension--

(Continued from page 1)

and Van Gelder have forgotten their ideals and their loyalty to the working class and its struggle against boss oppression. But the rank and file of shippard workers throughout the country must still go to work at the same jobs and under the same conditions, war or no war. They cannot forget their working class aims, for daily they feel the oppression of the boss on the job; and they see clearly that, when they are forced to sacrifice in terms of working longer hours or cuts in overtime pay, or yielding union strength, it is the bosses who enrich themselves and who strengthen themselves for future struggles against the working class.

#### Stand by the Union!

In the struggle facing Local 9 today, the real union men will stand by the principles of democracy and progress on which the Shipyard Workers Union was founded, and resist to the end the betrayal of those principles.

In this fight, as in all other recent battles, it is easy to predict the role of the Stalinist clique of Alexander, Lopez, Gandall & Co. A thousand times over they have shown

how little they care for anything in the line of union principles or union conditions. They will care not one whit more for the democracy and autonomy of the local than they did for the hiring hall. If they think that ultimately Pollard will let them get their grasping fingers on Local 9, they will support his dictatorship in the meantime with gusto. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that they had some hand in bringing about the bureaucratic intervention of the national office.

But none of these baby Hitlers will

have the last word. If they win the battle now-which they will not if the rank and file rises up and fights -but even if they do win at the moment, the day of reckoning will come. Daily the injustices of boss oppression and the fakery of the sell-out artists will become more apparent to the awakening rank and file. And this aroused rank and file will toss this variety of parasites and political pygmies into the garbage heap where they belong. For that day we do our best TODAY and TOMORROW-defending the union, fighting to preserve the democracy of the working class, building our strength for the

### Of Special Interest to Women

On November 14 James F. Byrnes, economic stabilization director, had published in all the newspapers "a positive program that will guarantee our people the basic living essentials that they must have at prices they can pay."

By this time the housewife has learned to give such programs an I'm-from-Missouri reception. So she probably was not surprised—though plenty alarmed—to read on November 15 that, so good are the economic stabilizers at making and carrying out "positive programs," that THERE WILL BE A SHORTAGE OF BUTTER, CHEESE AND EVEN MILK.

To add insult to injury, it is predicted that the OPA will be asked to RAISE CEILING PRICES on dairy products-as if they now function honestly! And do you know why this "modest" request will be made to the OPA? To allow the rich dairy companies "FAIR" PROFITS!

There is something very positive indeed about all these programs. Working class housewives can always be positive that while they get it in the NECK, the bosses who own production get it in PROFITS.

Dr. Clive M. McCay, professor of nutrition, State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., recently declared that "the housewife should be as particular about what she feeds her family as the farmer is concerning the feed for his LIVESTOCK."

The similarity between your family and the farmer's livestock may be taken for granted by such pillars of capitalist society as professors of nutrition. Just as they take for granted that-while human beings are reduced to cattle-profits must go on as usual, only a little more

The working class housewife can afford to take neither for granted. She wants a society free from war and does not want to raise a family of cattle. Also she could be more particular about what she feeds her family if the bosses and the government agencies were less particular about that item of profit-as-usual-PLUS.

When she wakes up to her own interests, the working class housewife is going to be an ardent socialist. SHE HAS NO OTHER CHOICE.

Dr. Victor G. Heiser, medical consultant of the National Association of Manufacturers, reported "eleven thousand war workers killed or injured on and off the job every day since December 7, 1941." SOME CASU-ALTY LIST!

He said that "fatigue and malnutrition" are the causes of this amazing slaughter of industrial workers. It was to provide some protection against just such a situation that labor fought to have labor laws passed.

If any group of workers need protection today it is certainly the inexperienced women who are entering production in droves. Yet the laws passed for the protection of working women have as much effect today as a feather in the wind.

For instance, night work is limited by law, but state Governors have taken it upon themselves to extend the limit from 10 p.m. to midnight to all the way around the clock. This means that women will be working day and night-during the day in their homes and during the night in factories. Of fatigue and malnutrition they

Another instance is the lowering of the age limit for girls employed in industry from 18 to 16 years. This

 By Susan Green was arbitrarily done by a ruling of the U.S. Labor Department. Kids of 16 will be thrown into the industrial

MEN AND WOMEN WORKERS MUST PUT UP A FIGHT TO HAVE THE LABOR LAWS OBSERVED BY THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF.

cauldron where 11,000 workers are killed or injured each

Magistrate Jeanette G. Brill of Brooklyn is thoroughly convinced that "We have got to stop bringing unwanted war babies into the world."

Speaking on the subject of juvenile delinquency, she said that while she was on the bench in Children's Court in Brooklyn in one week-even before Pearl Harboreight girls between the ages of 12 and 15 were brought into court-about to become mothers.

She said that the situation is due to the fact that a "changed psychology exists among younger girls today. They label themselves the Victory Girls. They think that the boys are here today but may be dead tomorrow and they reason: 'We'll give them all they want.'" She said further that "War always brings about an increase in juvenile delinquency" and cited England's increased rate of 46 per cent.

Nobody can find fault with Magistrate Brill's understanding of her subject. It is quite complete—EXCEPT AS TO WHAT'S TO BE DONE. She made an earnest plea to schools and parents to "correct the situation," but no serious correction is possible without removing the cause itself-WAR.

The millions of boys who "are here today and may be dead tomorrow," the ignorant deluded kinds of 12 to 15, their unfortunate war babies-all are inevitable war This human waste can be ended by the world-wide

brotherhood of all nations in lasting peace under IN-TERNATIONAL SOCIALISM. That's the answer.

In one of her columns in the New York World-Telegram, written from England, Mrs. Roosevelt said of the children evacuated from the city to the country:

"The children are all very good. The poor little things, I suppose so much has happened to them that nothing surprises them any more. Usually these children are placed in some private house with large gardens, where the children thrive. But I fear the complication of returning to London's slums afterward will be great for both mother and child, for the latter will undoubtedly be very unhappy."

You've heard it said that this war is being fought for the "Four Freedoms"-the most important of which is "Freedom from Want"? Would you expect that in a society free from want, SLUMS WOULD STILL THRIVE? Or does Mrs. Roosevelt conceive of a society in which the "Four Freedoms" will flourish right in

What really happened is that she was so carried away by sympathy for the children that she forgot all about "Four Freedoms" propaganda and came out with the naked truth: RIGHT BACK TO THE SAME OLD SLUMS THE CHILDREN WILL GO-if they are not bombed into powder, in which case the children will have nowhere to go.

Children in rotten slums in peacetime, bombed out in wartime, only to be sent back again in peacetimethat's what socialists want to put an end to!

### Sparks in the News

154 Everett Weston

annual incidence of 200,000 juvenile delinquencies has boomed 15 to 20 per cent."-Newsweek.

This is a national average, which hardly reflects a rise of 100 per cent or more in large cities where war activity is centered.

One of the really amusing angles of the new front in Africa is the distance Wendell (Windbag) Willkie had climbed out on the well known limb. Definite preparation for the "sneak attack" were in the making for months. When FDR sent Willkie around the world, I imagine he had a good notion he would blast Stalin's second front line back to the front pages. For the refinements of capitalist politics, you can't beat our Franklin.

"A scandal in the tin drive which is likely to knock the WPB to its foundations may explode any moment.... In recognition of the brewers' 'sacrifice' in collecting tin cans in most of the big cities, ... (WPB) issued Order M-72-A, which authorizes brewers and bottlers to retain 50 per cent of the large-sized cans collected ... The brewers had already had the astonishing amount of 60,000 tons of virgin metal allocated to their uses.... A tin scrap section chief who protested was demoted." -Christian Century.

Get in the scrap-for caps!

"Of course the local boards need not pay any attention to 99 per cent of the things which we send out. It is a good thing they do not have to." -General Lewis B. Hershey, Selective Service chief.

"The problem of a 'shortage' of U.S. manpower... is partly a shortage of U.S. brainpower in using the available manpower."-Time.

-LA-When the full story of MacArthur and the Pacific command comes out, it will make most interesting reading. Correspondent Harsch's story that "political Washington was largely responsible for setting up two

separate commands in the Far Pa-

cific" because of fear of MacArthur's

political ambitions was not complete-

"Since Pearl Harbor the nation's ly answered by MacArthur's apparently forthright "I started as a soldier and I shall finish as one. For part of the press continues to boom him. Pro-Roosevelt papers, for example, head dispatches from the Pacific "United Nations Headquarters," but the anti-Administration press, e.g., the New York Daily News, heads them "General MacArthur's Headquarters." There has been increasing recognition that a division of command down the middle of the Solomons makes little sense, and since MacArthur's statement that he has no political ambitions, there has been a large sentiment for a unified command under him. The Army & Navy Journal, for instance, lists apparently typical editorials from all over the country. The following quotation is from John Gunther's "Inside Asia," page

> "The flamboyant MacArthur . . . believes firmly that the Filipinos, even if absolutely out off from America, could defend themselves. General MacArthur has a battery of tactical reasons to support his claim.... For one thing they say that air power would not be effective against the islands and that an infantry invasion is hardly possible.... To assert that they could ALONE withstand a major war seems childish. A war would be a disaster."

"An officer at Fort Des Moines, Ia., wrote to the War Department to find out which side of his wife he should walk on. His wife is an officer in the WAACS. The answer: The mate with the higher rank walks on the right even if the male must shove his wife onto the curb."-Yank.

And what about Eagle Scouts? -LA-

The African invasion was a boon to Armistice Day speechmakers. The only phrase we did not hear was that victory was just around the corner. -LA-

Leon Henderson pointed out that normal consumption of coffee is thirteen pounds a year, as compared with a ration of one pound every

Correction: the figure thirteen pounds a year is based on the total population, including non-drinkers of coffee and children, who don't want and can't get ration cards.

### The American Legion

## It Was Organized to Preserve Capitalism

When Roane Waring, national commander of the American Legion, declared at the recent American Federation of Labor convention that, if he had the power, he "would shoot" a worker who goes on strike now, his statement doubtless surprised and shocked many people. But to those who know the record of the American Legion, Waring was merely taking advantage of the imperialist war to announce more publicly than before an anti-labor policy which the American Legion has always itched to carry out. In view of that statement and its long-standing anti-labor policy, a meager news despatch of the Associated Press (October 30) takes on special significance. The dispatch reads:

"President Roosevelt signed legislation today making members of the armed forces serving in the present World War eligible for membership in the American Legion. American citizens serving with any country allied with the United States also would be eligi-

Quite conceivably there-are today many workingmen who do not know about the anti-labor role that the American Legion has performed through the years, and in whom such an endorsement by President Roosevelt ("labor's friend") of the American Legion may occasion no surprise. Recent events and utterances by Legion spokesmen may have helped to awaken them. Even so, the entire labor movement must establish a clear knowledge of and attitude toward the American Legion, so that neither the appearance nor shameful utterances of Roane

Waring and others can ever again find a place on a labor platform or plain: convention. The history of the American Legion bears looking into, in order that labor may better understand that here is one of its potent enemies-today and tomorrow.

The basis for the formation of the American Legion was laid at a conference held in Paris, France, March 15-17, 1919, a few months after the armistice ending the First World War. This preliminary gathering was called upon the initiative of Lieut.-Col. Franklin D'Olier of the general staff of the Army; Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and other National Guard and Army officers. The first convention was held on Armistice Day, November 11, 1919, at Minneapolis, Minn. An official report states that it was necessary to "round up delegates," one of the problems being "to find men who had the railroad fare to attend the convention."

Army Ranks Distrust Legion

A petition of the Private Soldiers and Sailors Legion of the United States, presented to Congress on August 15, 1921, demanded that Congress repeal the Legion's charter because it had been formed with "unlimited funds" received "from sources which have never been revealed." This petition showed with what suspicion and doubt the ranks of the soldiers looked upon this hastilyformed ex-service men's organization. Their suspicions were well founded. The record finally shows that big business interests and top military men organized and backed the formation at the outset to the

Why? Let Lieut.-Col. D'Olier ex-

"After the armistice, bolshevism' was the bogey. Disgruntled soldiers had provided the manpower for the cataclysm in Russia.'

The purpose of that ex-servicemen's organization, its leaders have made clear, was to fight bolshevism and the newly formed republic of workers, peasants and soldiers of Soviet Russia. The task and aim of the American Legion today are essentially the same: to fight all progressive labor and radical movements on the ground that they are "subversive."

Red-Baiting-Their Weapon.

To the Legion, "subversive" means any form of radicalism or labor militancy: bolshevism, communism, socialism, pacifism, liberals, aliens, labor organizers, militant labor unions, and even the American Civil Liberties Union. It has red-baiting and apti-labor propaganda down to a fine art, conducting it today under the cover of "national unity" for the imperialist war.

First World War have steered clear

The American Legion is controlled and directed by a handful of men at the top: by the national commander and national committee. Conservative, middle - aged men with a military background, plus business interests - firm believers in and beneficiaries of capitalism (for instance, Waring, the national commander, is president of the Memphis, Tenn., Street Railway Co.) - being anti-union is second nature to these Legionnaires. Fully 80 per cent of the rank and file of the veterans of the

of the American Legion, realizing in some degree the anti-progressive role of the American Legion through the years. But what about the remaining 20

per cent who have joined the American Legion? They have a fundamental economic and social outlook which can be described as 100 per cent for catpitalism. The Legion's membership, and not only its ruling group, is largely middle class: independent farmers, business men, professional people, lawyers especially, and also skilled workers. In a more exaggerated and crudely reactionary form, the Legion represents the views and aims of the upper and medium middle classes. It is, therefore, ruthless in its hatred and opposition to anyone or any organization that advocates any change in private property relations. The Legion, therefore, regards itself as the "best insurance policy" for capital-

Pillar of Big Business

Big business has always realized the value to it of a permanent service men's organization of former soldiers, sailors, marines, etc. For 23 years the capitalists have given the American Legion unstinting support as a pillar of conservatism and reaction.

Today the big bourgeoisie are looking far ahead-to the post-war period-even while the Second Imperialist World War still rages and indicates no end. Valuable as have been the services of the American Legion in the past decades, the imperialist ruling class sees in this organization an even more valuable

instrument and ally in the future. That is why President Roosevelt has signed this important measure enabling and authorizing the American Legion to undertake immediately, NOW, a campaign to organize the men serving in the armed forces to-

The bankers, the big industrialists, the military caste, who were instrumental in the first instance in organizing the American Legion, understand clearly that their post-war political and economic perspectives include an ex-service men's organization that can be depended upon to serve their ends.

(Continued in next week's issue)

### Liked Sperry Article, Says Brewster Worker

Dear Editor:

Congratulations on your Sperry article. We here at Brewster are glad to see that at least one paper gives us the news about the victories labor gets out of real action.

I hope that you people answer the leaflet given out by the Communist Party on the War Labor Board (I am enclosing one). I would like you to know that no one has yet been so foolish as to give those one-sided facts in front of a union meeting.

The way we feel now, after one run-around after another, that guy would certainly get a merry recep-tion. You know, some of us live in the Bronx.

Brewster Worker.

#### Episode in Camden Shipyard Union

Dear Editor:

A member of Local 1 (IUMSWA-CIO) arose at a general membership meeting and moved to have the local donate \$200 to an airplane observation post in the Camden, N. J., area sponsored by the American Legion. Certain members spoke in support of the motion when a known mili-

tant shop steward took the floor. "What's the matter with you guys?" he asked. "Remember the strikes in '35 when we got our union. The American Legion were the scabs and strikebreakers and you want to give

them money! To hell with them!" President William Pommerer Local 1 seemed to recall that in the 1935 affair a couple of "smart lawyers" in the Legion had instigated the scabbing, but that "our boys in the Legion" had "straightened them

The motion was decisively de-

### The Readers of Labor Action Jake the Floor **Brewster Worker Hits** Stalinist Attack on LA Dear Editor:

I've been receiving your paper, LABOR ACTION, for the past several months now. I have found that I agree with many of the policies you advocate and disagree with some of

with the policy you advocate for the unions, a policy of fighting back against those people who would wreck the trade union movement. Last week a leaflet attacking your paper as Trotskyite-Hitler seditious propaganda was distributed by the

I'm in 100 per cent agreement

let argues against any militant action by the workers, except they call it "wildcat" actions, and mentions cases where the War Labor Board has handed down what they consider favorable decisions. (I should mention here that right now our union. Local 365, UAW-CIO, has a case before one of the panels of the War Labor Board.) Maybe the Communist Party doesn't know it, but in most cases the decisions of the War

Labor Board have not been in favor of the workers and their unions. Two of our shop stewards were fired recently. As a result of a twohour "walkout," a demonstration of solidarity by the men and women in Party. The fact that at the shop, these two brothers were you keep distributing your paper

I suppose if the members of the Communist Party in the shop, or those people who advocate their policies, had been in the leadership of our local union these men would still be out of work waiting for the decisions of some board of one kind or another. It seems to me that the action we took to defend our brother members is the kind of action that the Communist Party considers

I believe that Stalin's boys would wreck the unions here, regardless of the effect of such action on the lives of millions of workers of this country, if by so doing they could guarantee victory for Russia.

Enclosed find a denation to help

its own fight on the home front, de-fending itself from attacks by people Painesville & Eastern Railroad in fending itself from attacks by people inside and outside the labor move-Brewster Worker.

**Soldiers Called Out** In Cleveland Strike

Dear Editor: Thirty-two members of District 50 of the United Mine Workers had a grievance. They also had courage and were sick and tired of the boss' lies and stalling. Thirty-two men-and it took a detachment of soldiers with bayoneted rifles to break their strike!

It happened near Cleveland last week when the soldiers, perhaps shamed by the role they were forced striking serves three large war

bor that troops were used as strike- troops. breakers in a Cleveland area labor William Ulle, District 50 local union president, said the walkout

was called in support of the union's demand for reinstatement of twentyseven employees who were fired during a strike on the road in 1935. The troops, from Fort Hayes, Columbus, were under command of Colonel J. C. Daly of the Fifth Serv-

ice Command. He said he was act-

ing on orders of the War Depart-

ment in Washington. The line on which the men were

on the pretext that the operation of the road was vital to defense that Lake County. This was the first (but the bosses, rather than deal with the not the last) time since Pearl Harmen's grievances, called in armed In this isolated but not insignifi-

> cant incident there is a lesson for workers who believe President Roosevelt or the Administration are friends of labor. More and more, as the war progresses, their "friends" will drop their pretenses and become known for what they are, the friends and servants of the ex-B. O'Day.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Pass this paper on. Give it to your fellow worker. He'll

out."

feated.

Max Shachtman Discusses:

# Nine Lessons of North African Invasion

In the last issue of LABOR ACTION, Comrade hSachtman dis- Fought for the Preservation or Acquisition of Empires and Impecussed six of the Nine Lessons of the North African Invasion. These were: 1. The Question of Who Fires the First Shot Is Not Important in Judging a War or the Participants in a War; 2. Diplomacy Is Hypocrisy and Deceit Practiced with Equal Cynicism by the Imperialists of All Countries; 3. Middle Class Liberals and Intellectuals Are Not to Be Taken Seriously When Serious Matters Are Involved; 4. This War Is an Imperialist War, That Is, a War

rial Power; 5. This Is Not a War for Democracy and Against Fascism, for Progress and Against Reaction. Those Watchwords Are Only Covers for the Real War; 6. The End Justifies the Means Only if the Means Are in Harmony with the End, and if the End Itself Is Just.

Readers who missed the first section of Comrade Shachtman's article are urged to write to LABOR ACTION for a copy. We continue and conclude the article in this issue with-

#### 7. THE FATHERLAND OF ALL CAPITALISTS IS CAPITAL.

A good deal of bunk and stupidity has been written in the past two years about Quislings and Quislingism, and the North African events are a good occasion for introducing some clarity into the subject.

The newspaper propaganda about the Quislings aims to show that there are good capitalists and capitalist politicians, and bad ones. The former are first-rate patriots who love their fatherland above all else and are ready to make any sacrifice they can for it; under no circumstances will they cooperate with reactionary fascism: The latter, however, are not real patriots; they do not really love their fatherland; their only aim in life is to sell it out to Hitler and then go to work for him as office-boys.

Stuff and nonsense, from beginning to end.

There is not a single capitalist or capitalist politician worth mentioning who will not cooperate with Hitler or any other fascist, or even directly create or promote a fascist movement, If such an action suits his main aim-the protection of his capital. And for that matter there is not one of them who will not fight Hitler if that will serve the same aim.

The capitalists of the United Nations are not fighting Hitler because he represents fascism, which threatens democracy. They don't give a hoot in hell about democracy. They are fighting Hitler because he represents aggressive German imperialism, which threatens their own imperialist power. They capitulate to Hitler only when they find the Germans overwhelmingly superior, only when they consider it impossible to continue the war with any prospect of victory, or if they believe that to continue the war means a working class revolution. It is only then that they become "Quislings," that is, they subordinate themselves to a victorious Hitler, they cooperate with him in the hope of getting the best possible terms. But they never really give up their hostility toward him-not as the representative of a political system called fascism (they are never hostile toward that) but as the representative of a rival national imperialism. While "cooperating" with the victor, they bide their time. They wait for a better day, a more favorable day, when they can turn against the victor and inflict upon him the same "peace" terms that he inflicted upon them when he had the upper hand.

That's the way things really are with the so-called Quislings. The French capitalists "cooperate" with Hitler not because they want to serve German capitalism but because they think "cooperation" is the best way to serve their own class interests in the long run. In exchange for their "cooperation," they may get some relief, some concessions, from Hitler. They may get a breathing spell until the tide turns. That is how the German

capitalist class and capitalist politicians "cooperated" with the victorious Allies in the last war. They waited for the turn in the tide, for the time when their representative, Hitler, could do to the others what the others tried to do to them.

Of course, there are non-cooperator, "non-Quislings," among the French and Belgian and Dutch and Norwegian capitalists. But between them and the Vichy type there is no difference in principle of any kind. There is only a difference in judgment. In their estimation, Hitler has no chance of a durable victory. The United Nations are sure to win. Therefore, they string along with the latter. No difference in principle, we repeat; only a difference in judgment. It's like investing in one stock instead of another. The only reason you choose one against the other is that you expect more returns on your capital.

That's why, for example, the minute some of the Vichy rats concluded that the tide was turning, that the United Nations were getting the upper hand, they suddenly became "anti-Hitlerite," jumped across the Mediterranean, and announced themselves again as great French patriots. That's all that Darlan's turning of the coat means, or Nogues's, or Juin, or Flandin, or Pucheu or all the rest of them.

Naturally, there are some genuine Quislings, as the term is popularly understood. They include such vermin as Quisling himself, Ante Pavelich, Jacques Doriot, Anton Mussert and the like. But they are small-time political muscle-men, adventurers for hire, and they do not seriously represent the serious interests of the capitalist class. With hardly an exception, they are concerned mainly with their petty political fortunes, with a modest amount of subalternate power.

With the capitalist class itself, with its authentic political representatives, things are different. They aren't really Quislings, in the sense of avidly obedient tools of Hitler and Hitlerite Germany. Fundamentally, they were and they remain true and loyal to their religion—the religion of capital—the Norwegian capitalists to Norwegian capital, Dutch capitalists to Dutch capital, French capitalists to French capital, just as German capitalists are true only to German capital and Japanese capitalists to Japanese capital.

Defense of the nation? Defense of the fatherland? Do not be absurd! Capitalists are interested in defending the borders of their country only when their capital is at stake. If their capital is better protected by cooperation with the foreign invader and violator of their frontiers, they choose cooperation. If it is better protected by war, they send us off to war! That's all there is, at bottom, to the problem of Quislingism.

The religion of all capitalists is capital. The fatherland of all capitalists is capital.

#### 8. DEMOCRATIC IMPERIALISM CANNOT WIN THE GENUINE SUPPORT OF THE COLONIAL MASSES IN ITS "WAR AGAINST FASCISM."

Every thinking worker, and enlightened people generally, ing victims of fascism? But he does want to see fascism crushed, hate fascism. It isn't Germany he wants crushed, or the Ger- no matter where it raises its head, no matter what language it man people, for what can he possibly have against those suffer- speaks. It can and will be crushed. But only free people can do it, and no people is free that helps, in any way whatsoever, keep other people enslaved. The vast majority of the enslaved peoples of the world today are the people of the colonies and half-colonies.

But imperialism, the democratic variety included, is not at all interested in emancipating these peoples. Just the contrary. It is in the business of keeping them under its arbitrary thumb. The latest experience in North Africa proves it.

The United States and England announced that they came to North Africa in order to free it. That is absolutely right-if you understand by that promise the idea of freeing North Africa of German and Italian domination. But just who is it that is to be freed in Morocco, Algiers and Tunisia? The Moroccans, the Algerians, the Tunisians? Not on your life! It is French imperialism that is to be freed, and the Moroccan and Algerian and Tunisian people who are to exchange the rule of BerlinomelVichy for the "good old" tyranny of French imperialism.

That is why the secret agents of America who went to North Africa before the invasion approached the civil and military representatives of old French imperialism, and held before them the bait: If you support us, you can have your African empire back without Axis supervision or control.

That is why these agents did not approach the workers and peasants and tribesmen of North Africa with the honest proposition: If you support us, you will be free of ALL foreign domination, you will enjoy national sovereignty, as any civilized people should, you will not have your destiny and your resources ruled by others, you will genuinely enjoy that basic democratic ' from salt.

right, the right of national self-determination. They didn't approach the natives with such a proposition because it is not in the nature of imperialism to make, much less to keep, such a pledge. And every intelligent colonial knows it.

The colonial people therefore do not join either imperialist camp of their own free volition. We do not mean native colonial tyrants, reactionary feudal lords, beys and shahs and generalissimos, because they readily join the imperialists who are their best protection from the democratic aspirations of their own people. We do mean the people, the colonial masses.

The best that democratic imperialism can do to obtain the support" of the colonies is to ape the Nazis and their methods. They do not (they cannot!) win the genuine support of the colonial people by saying, and proving in action, that their fight is really a fight for the freeing of all oppressed peoples, nations and persecuted national minorities. So they say instead: "Don't go with the Axis. Don't be impressed by its words and deeds. Just look! We are just as tough as the Axis. We can conduct blitz-war just as well as the Axis can. We can be just as ruthless and hard-boiled. If you're smart, you'll join us." In other words, the colonial peoples are to be won by a species of intimidation.

You can dragoon people into supporting you by such methods, but you cannot win their genuine, heartfelt support and solidarity. Yet, such methods are not the special peculiarities of General Eisenhower, or President Roosevelt, or Prime Minister Churchill. They are the methods that are inherent in imperialism of all varieties, as inseparable from it as a salty taste is

#### 9. NO PEOPLE CAN REALLY ACQUIRE ITS FREEDOM AS A GIFT FROM IMPE-RIALISM. THEY MUST FIGHT FOR IT THEMSELVES.

There are many who support democratic imperialism because they say that whatever the criticism that can and should be made of it, it is nevertheless much preferable to Hitlerism, and it will at least bring freedom to many oppressed nations and peoples.

They are fooling themselves, if not others. Freedom is not gift within the power of imperialism to give, not because it "doesn't want to" but because it just isn't in its nature to give it. You might as well ask a leper to bring you good, robust

Oh, well, that's just a theory. Yes, but a theory based on a vast accumulation of facts, of living experience, and added to every day.

Are the Moroccans, the Tunisians, Algerians, or the Libyans or Egyptians to be liberated, or gain full national sovereignty the only possible basis for liberation), as a result of the victory of either imperialist camp? You have to be a first-class dope, or a political blind man, to believe that if one of the imperialisms emerges from the war, flushed with the power of victory, it will turn around to the colonies and say: All right, we quit; we withdraw; the country is yours. If British imperialism will not even make a serious concession to India now, at a time when it is in a bad jam and needs as much popular Indian support against its Japanese rival as it can get, do you think it will make India any gifts if it wins the war in Asia?

It is precisely in order to prevent the genuine freedom of the colonies that the imperialists find it so easy to come to terms with people like Darlan, Chatel, Esteva and Boisson. They need these scoundrels in order, as Professor Jean Boorsch of Yale University said the other day, "to keep the natives in line."

We have been told that the imposition of the Darlan clique upon North Africa is just a "temporary arrangement." But what about the imposition of the de Gaulle clique upon Madagascar a couple of weeks ago? And what about the recognition of that clique, not only as the "rightful rulers," so to speak, of the French colonies, but as the representiives of the people of

If it is still permitted to put the question: Who is this leader of French democracy, de Gaulle? Who elected him? And is it the intention to impose him upon "liberated France" as her protector, as the preserver of "law and order"? Darlan and his sinister crew are semi-fascists. And de Gaulle? He is a monarchist! He wants to put a king in power in France! He doesn't even use the French republican tricolor as his banner, but the flag of the Cross of Lorraine, the flag of Joan of Arc, that is, the flag of the present-day French royalists! As you see, he's not like Darlan-he's a REAL democrat, and right now he is the appointed leader of the "new France."

Imperialism has no gift of freedom at its disposal. Imperialism comes to rule over and exploit other peoples, not to liberate them. That holds regardless of its name or nationality, or its

he PEOPLE of the colonies can get their freedom ONLY by fighting against imperialism for that freedom. Only what the people get by fighting for themselves, under their own independent banner, is worth getting and keeping. That is true of the colonial peoples. It is true also of the working class, whose duty and task it is to be in the forefront of the fight to free all colonial peoples, for it is only by their freedom that we can win our own. Imperialism cannot and will not do that job for us.

-David Coolidge Reports on CIO Convention-

### Discussion on Wages Reveals Basic Error in the CIO's Orientation

(Continued from last week)

The presence of high government officials at the recent CIO convention helped to decide the tone of the convention, give it its real meaning, and make clear the real reason why the convention was being held. Last week we commented on the speeches of Bard and Pepper. It should be reported also that on the first day Under Secretary of War Patterson addresed the convention. All that was necessary to have the three branches of the government represented was to have some justice of the Supreme Court present and making a speech.

This convention, probably to a greater degree than preceding ones, was devoted almost wholly to support of the imperialist war and devising suggestions as to how the government might more efficiently and effectively prosecute its war. All was not clear sailing for the leadership, however. Although the delegates were not from the rank and file, they were people in close contact with the rank and file, and people faced with serious questions arising in the

Furthermore, the leadership itself knew that its policy of retreat and capitulation had not succeeded in accomplishing those

things which had been claimed was clear even to the most obtuse of the bureaucrats that their famous slogan of "Victory Through Equality of Sacrifice" had been made applicable only to the workers and had not touched in any appreciable way the profits and income of the bosses.

Wages and the War

The longest discussion in the convention revolved around the resolutions on manpower, total war mobilization, and stabilization of national economy. These were the chief resolutions relating to the conduct of the war with which the convention was concerned.

The resolution on stabilization pointed out that (a) wages had been stabilized; (b) cost has not been controlled; (c) over-all and democratic rationing has not been accomplished: (d) the 1942 tax legislation actually takes away from the low income groups money which they need to buy the bare necessities of life.

Then this resolution resolves that "labor does not seek any special privileges...we merely seek the adoption of policies which will assure the maximum utilization of all our manpower and all our resources in a manner that will guarantee an early victory in this war." After which it calls for a "win-the-war tax program."

The resolution closes with the contention that "wages should continue to be stabilized but not frozen. The wage program should be measured in terms of what will best assure the most efficient workers for production... wage freezing must be condemned as a blow against the fullest prosecution of our war effort."

A Feebls Distinction

It is very difficult for anybody to discover and understand what exactly is the distinction that the CIO leadership makes between what is called "wage stabilization" and "wage freezing." The resolution and the leading speakers in the convention ignored completely the fact that the policy of the War Labor Board, which was laid down in the Little Steel decision, is a policy which ties the workers to their standard of living as of January 1,

LABOR ACTION has already pointed out that this decision and procedure simply mean the stabilization and freezing of a low standard of living. It provides no opportunity for an improved standard of living and for increased real economic benefits. Furthermore, the vague language of the resolution about paying wages that will create the highest production is really nonsense. It is significant that nothing is said in this resolution about a demand for higher wages to limit the tremendous profits of the bosses. All these bureaucrats are concerned with is wages high enough to guarantee maximum production. This for the reason that they are concerned primarily with support of the imperialist war.

The resolution on total war mobilization says in part that "total war mobilization cannot operate or be organized except through the direct and fullest participation of labornot through any advisory committee, but with labor given the highest responsbility in the formulation and execution of all the policies and activities. This full and equal representation of labor has not been achieved...the CIO therefore demands the participation of labor in all the administrative agencies which make and execute our war policies -and at every level."

Source of Difficulty

This is really a demand not only for the placing of labor representatives in the administrative agencies, but also a demand for the placing of labor in responsible cabinet positions. This must be true because the formulation and execution of policies and activities is a political function. The tragic and naive incompetence of the CIO leadership to think clearly on this question is really the source of the difficulties that the

CIO and its membership face today. This was further illustrated in the discussion of the resolution on the recent elections. This resolution said that "with the forces of labor and other supporters of the leadership of our Commander - in - Chief not always united, and with the finger not accurately pointed to the conveyors of confusion and of internal opposition, the candidates qualified for membership in a true win-the-

war Congress went down to defeat." In the discussion of the resolution, one delegate said that in Michigan from 25 to 35 per cent of "our people were not even registered to vote. They don't even think that it is important to register, and then when election day comes around they do not get out and cast their ballots. ... Although we haven't got any form of socialism or technocracy or anything else, collective bargaining as we have come to know it has probably been taken over by the govern-

In the discussion of this resolution there were many things said about the necessity of labor being represented in the government. Comparison was made with the situation in England, but nobody seemed to be aware of the fact that in England it is not the trade unions as such that are represented in the government, but the British Labor Party. They talked in this convention as though the problems of labor can be solved simply by placing a dozen or so trade union leaders, as trade union leaders, on the administrative board.

There was a great deal of shooting at the mark, but everybody missed. The real question that was posed before the convention was independent political action, a break from the Democratic and Republican Parties, and the establishment of an Independent Labor Party, national in extent. But the convention and its leadership steered clear of that logical con-

The resolution on manpower called for the full utilization of all workers, Negro, alien and women, and a demand that every restriction on their ise be broken down and eliminated.

drafting of labor. It was urged that a national mobilization plan be adopted "with full participation of all elements in our population" in order to "bring about the integration of our war machinery."

Reuther Approaches Genuine Point

At the request of Murray, Reuther made a long speech during the discussion on the total war mobilization resolution. In the course of his speech he remarked that "Mr. Nelson is not a New Dealer, and if you check the people who make up the War Production Board you will find for every New Dealer there are two hundred rock-ribbed reactionary Republicans. They are making the policy in Washington.... I came back from Washington about three weeks ago in a plane. There were two representatives of the War Production Board in front of me.... They were reading the news about Stalingrad. One fellow said: 'All we have to do is just give the Russians enough so they can hang on, and they will destroy each other."

Reuther also told the convention about a document being circulated in Washington by one of Nelson's closest advisers "which proves beyond doubt that Mr. Weinberg is using material put out by a notorious strike-breaker, labor-baiter and Jewbaiter in the city of Chicago, one Harry Jung, who has been carrying on a vicious campaign against labor. Mr. Weinberg is using material from this fellow's agency in his fight inside the War Production Board against organized labor."

It is interesting that in the course of this speech Reuther approached the heart of the difficulties that the workers in the shops face today; that is the problem of getting their grievances settled. He said: "We go to management and they say take it to Washington. We know that we can't take shop grievances to Washington." Reuther's solution for this difficulty, however is not to make a demand for the restoration of genuine collective bargaining between the workers and the bosses. Instead he suggested that the regional offices of the War Labor Board appoint ar-

bitrators to handle grievances. The whole discussion revealed that the entire course of the CIO during the past year has been one which has and could only lead to defeat for the membership. Time and again leading speakers emphasized the point that the course pursued during past months has not produced the results that the leadership evidently expected.

What we want to emphasize is the fact, known to every militant member of the CIO, that defeat was guaranteed when the right to strike was surrendered. It is known in every shop and factory that when the threat of strike was removed the whole management. from plant owner down to the smallest foreman, began a planned policy of riding the workers and refusing to discuss grievances. It is also known by every worker that there is one way and only one way to correct this situation and that is to go back to the timehonored methods that have proved effective in forcing management to settle grievances. All the talk about supporting "our Commander - in -Chief" will have absolutely no influence on hard-headed corporation

Next week we will resume this report, dealing with the Stalinists, the United Mine Workers, unity, and the resolution on discrimination.

#### Buy LA and NI In Buffalo:

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### **Detroit Workers, Attention**

For further information about LABOR ACTION, write to PO Box, 1805, Detroit



### THE NEW CRISIS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

JOHN L. LEWIS—THE CIO—TRADE UNION UNITY WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF A LECTURE BY

> DAVID COOLIDGE (National Labor Secretary of the Workers Party)

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6, at 8:00 P.M. IRVING PLAZA—IRVING PLACE AND 15th STREET

Auspices: LABOR ACTION

Questions and Discussion

### Editorials

### Fact, Fancy **And Fiction**

The New York Times is devoted to the interests of imperialism, be it English or American. Although it would like to see the question of India settled, in accord with American desire to intervene in that country, it nevertheless is sensitive about sweeping attacks made upon British imperialism. That is why its November 21 issue has as blatant and lying an editorial as one could find anywhere.

Entitled "Imperialistic Profit?", it is based upon "statistics" supplied by one T. A. Raman, formerly in charge of the United Press of India-a news service that exists by British permission — and now openly propagandizing in the United States for the British and against Indian nationalism. Here are the lies:

1. "India, for example, today pays no sort of direct or indirect tax to Great Britain, or any subsidy or tribute."

Excuse us, please, but what is the profit made from British investments, the interest drawn from British loans, the land and internal revenue taxes, the taxes on commodities that are used to keep the British administration in India going, etc.-what is all this money (running into hundreds of millions of dollars annually) if not "subsidy and tribute" to Great Britain?

2. "British industries operating in India -factories, mines, public utilities, estates, trading concerns—have today an estimated capital value of a little less than \$2,-000,000,000. Their profit in recent years has been computed at about \$70,000,000."

Excuse us, please, but both figures are outright lies. We do not know where Raman gets his \$2,000,000,000 investment figure from. Perhaps he omits the many companies, etc., which the British do not COMPLETELY own; only 55 or 75 per cent! Every other estimate is closer to \$4,000,000,000!

Even taking Raman's \$2,000,000,000 figure, how absurd it is to say that the British make only \$70,000,000 out of it! A MERE 31/2 PER CENT AVERAGE PROFIT; a nice, gilt-edged conservative investment! Actually every other estimate (for reference, we refer to Henry Judd's pamphlet, "India in Revolt") places the average rate of profit between 10 and 12 per cent. It is precisely because of super-profits that imperialism risks the investment of its capital over-

3. "There are, all told, about 10,000 British making a living in India."

Excuse us again, please, but this is the most stupid lie of all. The 1941 census places about ONE HUNDRED THOU-SAND Englishmen in India-not counting the tens of thousands of English and American troops there now. Do these excess, unaccounted-for 90,000 English get their livelihood from England? Is their food, salary and shelter brought to them in convoy?

And what of the tens of thousands of

ABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

ship measures!

for equal work!

ard of living!

war industries!

social services!

PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

cate all war profits!

ers' control!

1. Hands off the right to strike! For the

2. \$1.00-an-hour minimum pay! Time

3. Wage increases to meet rising costs.

4. For a greater share of the increasing

5. No sales tax on consumer goods! No

5. For control of price fixing and rationing by committees of working class or-

national income. For a higher stand-

tax on wages! Against forced savings!

ganizations, housewives and farmers'

organizations. Freeze rents and con-

sumer goods prices at the 1940 level to

stop the rise in the cost of living.

7. No government contract without a un-

8. Maintain and increase all government

9. A government levy on capital to cover

10. Conscript all war industries under work-

11. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"-the

three percent of the people who own

ent of the national wealth!

the cost of the imperialist war. Confis-

SOAK THE RICH-LET THEM

ion contract! The closed shop in all

No wage or job freezing! Equal pay

for Sunday and holiday work.

defense of civil rights and all workers'

rights! Against any wartime dictator-

and a half for overtime; double time

English RENTIERS, coupon clippers, who DON'T live in India, but back in England? Where does their livelihood come from, if not from India? Not to mention the fact that these 100,000 Englishmen occupy all the key administrative and executive posts! They are the bosses of industry, the governors and judges, the police chiefs and military officers, the bankers and lawmakers, etc.

and the state of the party of the state of

4. "As to foreign trade, the balance visà-vis England is now overwhelmingly in India's favor."

Here, at last, is a truthful statement. Yes, India sends more to England than she gets in return! Especially since the war began. Jute, rope, cotton, tea, coffee, hides, metals and ores-hundreds of materials used for war purposes-have been drained out of India to England in exchange for damn little except credits. Some people call this "a favorable balance of trade." We call it naked imperialist robbery. The fact that Britain can conduct this robbery and get away with it only PROVES what a hold these bandits still have upon that enslaved country!

### **Profit Item**

LABOR ACTION makes it a point to cite profit figures as often as it can locate them. Nothing so well explodes the hypocrisy of the kept press when it wails about capitalism being backed to the wall by "incentiveruining" taxes as do these little profit items. Nor does anything else better indicate that the war is paying off in fat dividends ("incentives") to the rich - and that it is high time that labor demand an end to ALL war profits.

Tucked away on page 38 of the New York Times, in the "Financial Section," of course, we find this little item: Western Union Telegraph Co. reported a net income of \$6,519,815 for the first nine months of 1942, "after all expenses, taxes and other charges." This net was equal to \$6.23 a share on the company's outstanding capital stock as compared with \$5.09 a share for the same period last year.

Note then that Western Union upped its net over a millions dollars (it was \$5,326,-192 last year) -and all that after paying taxes, expenses and other charges.

That's a pretty penny whichever way you look at it, but it is far from being the prettiest penny the bosses are "earning" these war days. Western Union is by no means the biggest money maker. But the results of its "incentive" are interesting as on the current two-week period. an illustration of what the money-bags are Editor. pocketing—while labor has to fight tooth and nail to hold on to its miserable wage rates and its rights.

#### In the Next Issue

WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

Against Both Imperialist War Camps! For the Victory of World

Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory

of the Third Camp of Socialism!

LABOR ACTION will publish another "Washington Letter" by Peter Daniels. These "Letters" have provoked wide comment. In addition: an answer to a Stalinist leaflet, attacking LABOR AC-TION, which was distributed at the Brewster plant; a second article of a series on India, begun some weeks ago, by J. R. Johnson, and a review of Henry Judd's excellent pamphlet on India.

### Senate Upholds Poll - Tax - -Roosevelt Is Silent on Deal

(Continued from page 1)

out. Republican Leader McNary contributed his ignominious part.

This is how the politicians of both boss parties and of all shades of boss clas opinion fight for democracy at home.

During the coure of the eight-day jockeying, before the bill was killed by agreement, a beam of light was again thrown on the dark status of the Negroes in this "land of the free and home of the brave"-where racial discrimination is supposed to have been abolished by presidential decree.

In the course of a round between Senator Barkley, for the bill, and Senator McKellar, against, the latter argued that the passage of the bill was pointless because it would not grant "ANY ADDITIONAL PRIVI-LEGES" to the Southern Negroes. Do you know to what this bourbon referred? He referred to the fact that in Southern states there are means-official and unofficial-of preventing Negroes from voting-NO MATTER WHAT THE LAW IS. McKellar had in mind the many ways used to intimidate the Southern Negro-including lynch law, which is still stronger than any other law in the South.

What do you think the "champion" of the anti-poll-tax bill replied? Was he perhaps indignant? Did he swear to fight such criminal intimidation of the Negro people? On the contrary, he as much as said that THAT part of the game is okay with him. Said Senator Barkley:

"That may be true, but this bill's passage would enfranchise 200,000 white people-poor tenant farmers who may want to vote but will think a long time before paying \$1.50 for that right when the money might be needed to put shoes on their barefoot children."

The millions of Negroes in the eight poll-tax states are not the concern of great "democrats" like Senator Barkley. Lynch law "MAY BE TRUE" for these millions of darkskinned poor people. But Barkley, Pepper, Norris, McNary-and Roosevelt-cooperate with the politicians

### Press Action

The following Press Action item was intended for publication in the last issue of LABOR ACTION. At the last moment it was ripped out to make room for the bulletin on the banning of The Militant. It therefore covers the two-week period that ended last week. Next week, we shall publish the figures

#### UP-AND-UP WE GO:

The regular press run of LABOR ACTION, representing copies sold and distributed each week, has now increased to the all-time record high of 27,000! WE EXPECT TO HIT THE 30,000 MARK before long! No wonder we say that LABOR AC-TION is America's fastest growing labor paper.

#### SUBSCRIPTIONS:

We are now averaging better than twenty-five new subscribers and new readers each week. In the hot race between New York City and Buffalo, the former came out in front this week, but Buffalo is all set for tops next time. Here are the subscriptions that have come in during the last TWO WEEK period:

NEW YORK CITY25
Buffalo 18
Los Angeles '5
Chicago 3
Akron 2
Iowa 2
Washington, D.C 1
Detroit1
Total 57
Consider the Control of the Control

lynch law.

As a result the political interests of the 10,000,000 disfranchised poor are "represented" by such peerless specimens of political degradation as Senator Bilbo of Mississippi, whose own words characterize him much better than we can:

"Us Southerners don't care if Nigras are on juries when niggers is bein' tried. In fact, if Ah were prosecuting Ah'd prefer to have Nigras on the jury. There's nothin' one Nigra likes so much as convicting another nigger."

This is the type of Negro-hating, worker-hating, low-grade politician to whom the whole Senate buckled under and whom President Roosevelt supported by his silence. The killing of the anti-poll-tax bill shows that

#### Southern Justice Not Color Blind

Fifteen year old Russell Newcom was sentenced to three years in the state penitentiary in Gloucester, Va. last week on charges of attempted rape, in spite of the fact that the presiding judge himself did NOT think the boy was guilty.

Russell is a young Negro boy who was arrested last August because he had approached a young white girl who was riding a bicycle and asked her for a ride. He was accused of placing his hand on the handlebar of the bike and his other hand on the girl's wrist. When the girl's parents heard of this they became hysterical and called the sheriff, who questioned the boy. Russell admitted asking for the ride, but denied again and again that he had intended to

James A. Hubert, reporter for the New York Age, stated last week that when he interviewed the presiding judge, Justice J. Douglas Mitchell, he got the distinct impression that the latter believed the boy to be innocent, but that the jury would find him guilty because "public sentiment would stand for nothing less." Young Newcom received a three-year jail sentence, although everyone knew that if he were white he would not even have been brought to court.

Justice is blind-but down South it is not color blind.

### Ban Paper--

(Continued from page 1)

Militant in its fight to have the ban withdrawn at once and the three issues that have been held up released without any delay.

As The Militant has stated in a press release issued this week (a release which was completely ignored by the boss press), we must "preserve the right of all labor papers for a free press unhampered by reactionary bureaucrats!"

LABOR ACTION stands solidly with The Militant and demands that the Washington authorities restore its full mailing rights. HANDS OFF THE LABOR PRESS! FOR A FREE PRESS IN AMERICA!

### Well, Maybe!

"So you're planning, soon as the war's over, to cash in those war bonds and buy a car, build a house, take a trip abroad or shoot the wad on something else equally extravagant? Well-maybe. "But it's worth noting that already,

in the last issue of the Department of Commerce's official survey of current business, there's a long, serious article pointing out that, unless the purchasing power you lent to the government by purchasing those bonds is 'immobilized' until industry once more can meet consumers' demands, inflation will remain as a post - war threat." - Washington Memo, in New York Post, Nov. 5.

extend democracy. It is motivated by greedy fear for its entrenched privileges and day by day becomes more reactionary.

The anti-poll-tax fight is by no means ended. Since the poll tax is a prop under the powers that be, the working people cannot expect these powers to remove the prop-UN-LESS THEY ARE MADE TO.

Labor has been delivered a resounding slap in the face by the action of the Senate. It must recognize this and fight back. Not by mild and mellow protests to the President as made by the Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax-and by the kowtowing Murray, Green & Co.

To win the anti-poll-tax fight every local in every union must voice its protest and demand that the 10,000,000 disfranchised be given their elementary political rights. Organized labor must take the lead in holding mass meetings and demonstrations. The masses must make it known that they are not going to take pro-fascist capitulation as an

### **WDL** Banquet Honors John Finerty

Some 250 friends of John F. Finerty, well known fighter for civil liberties and lawyer for the American Civil-Liberties Union and the Workers Defense League, gathered to honor him at a banquet sponsored by the Workers Defense League on Friday, November 20. A plaque, testimonial of his fine work as defense attorney for Odell Waller, Negro sharecropper who was legally lynched in the electric chair for killing his boss in self-defense, was presented to Finerty.

John F. Finerty has a long record of brilliant legal defense work in behalf of the unprivileged and oppressed who fall victim to capitalist justice. His work as defense attorney for Sacco and Vanzetti is known throughout the world and he was associated with the defense of Tom Mooney since the early days of the

As attorney for the Commission of Inquiry into the charges made against Leon Trotsky at the Moscow trials. Finerty helped make possible the hearings held in Mexico which gave Trotsky the opportunity to prove CONCLUSIVELY the frameup character of the trials. This was truly one of the greatest services Finerty has ever rendered in the interests of truth and justice.

Speaker after speaker paid tribute to Finerty's devotion to the fight for justice and liberty, laying especial take on cases judged hopeless by others and will convert them into great struggles for justice.

Whatever Finerty's own philosophy about his work may be, in spite of his belief that the class struggle is a myth and that there is good and evil on both sides-he has for many years and in many cases helped defend labor against boss justice, and in all cases he has been on the side of progress and freedom against reaction and injustice. For this and his many services to labor he richly deserved the honor bestowed upon him.

#### Thanksgiving Cheer

The New York City Department of Markets has figured out that this year a Thanksgiving dinner for six persons will cost about 33-1/3 per cent more than it did last year. The housewife feeling this pinch

might adopt one of two solutions: She could spread the good things thinner - and thus everybody will have a third less to be thankful for.

Or she could put two members of the family to bed without their dinner-and thus one-third less people will have as much to be thankful for.

### How Does This Term Apply to the War?

By Henry Judd-

The first anniversary of Pearl Harbor draws near and we are about to be showered with a deluge of propaganda reminding us of the treacherous attack made upon the Hawaiian naval base and the fact that an unwilling American government was, as a result, forced into the World War.

This is a good time to discuss a term very often used in LABOR ACTION; the term IMPERIAL-ISM. Often we are asked by new readers of our paper, "You keep saying that this is an imperialist war; that every country (including America) is in it for imperialist purposes. Just what do you mean by that, EXACTLY?"

#### IMPERIALISM IS MODERN CAPITALISM

Broadly speaking, imperialism means the aggressive attack, conquest, domination and control of a weak country by a stronger one. It means a policy by which one country is converted into the COLONY of another and deprived of its independence and freedom.

In the modern world, today, where capitalism in one form or another exists in every important country, imperialism has several easily recognizable characteristics:

1. The industry and economic life of the colony is all grabbed off by the foreign ruler, the capitalists of the foreign nation send their idle capital for investment in the colony and subject its working population to semi-slave conditions. (Hitler does this in Poland and France: Japan does it in the newly-conquered nations it has grabbed; England has done it for 150 years in India, for example.)

2. The conquered country is occupied and policed by the soldiers and agents of the conquerer (Hitler in France and Norway; Churchill in India, for example). 3. The conquered country—the colony—is

robbed and drained of its food, its wealth and riches (as Hitler did to Poland; as Japan has done to Manchuria; as France has done to North Africa. for example).

4. The subject country is not only deprived of its national freedom, but it is denied all forms of democratic liberties (free speech, unions, the right to vote, etc.) and any effort to get these rights is met with violence and gunfire. These are some of the universal and easily ob-

served characteristics of imperialism, clear for all to see and most openly practiced by the fascist Axis powers. Can we say that the same characteristics and tendencies can be seen in America's first year of war action? In the first place, America entered the war last

year already an imperialist power, with a colonial empire all its own. True, it was nowhere the size of the British Empire, but it was substantial. It included such outright colonies, run directly by Americans, as Puerto Rica, the Philippines,

Hawaiian Islands, various territories in big Chinese cities like Shanghai, Tientsin, etc. Still more important was the political and economic hold that American imperialists had over various countries such as Cuba, the Central Amer-

ican republics, huge parts of South America, etc., not to mention the power gained from huge capital investments in Canada, China, Europe, etc.

#### IMPERIALISM IN THE WAR ITSELF But these tendencies, these expressions of im-

perialism, have increased and extended themselves many times since the first days of Pearl Harbor. The evidences are many: 1. American authority, control and domina-

tion over the Sounth American countries gone ahead full steam. The economic life of these countries falls nearly, now, into America's war machine. Their raw materials go to the war industries: American commodities and war equipment go back. Rival economic competitors (German and Japanese) have been brushed aside or are on the way out (England). American exporters run their trade.

2. American troops are on every continent (except Europe proper) in ever-growing numbers. North Africa is but the latest. The presence of American troops means, in effect, centrol and military domination. This is obvious with the former French North African colonies; it is also true for the Solomons, New Guinea, the Caribbean islands, Iceland, etc. And such effective control will grow as more American troops are poured into India, Austrilia, etc. These occupied territories are policed and regulated by American im-

3. In North Africa it has been shown most clearly that American rulers too will continue to deny democratic rights and liberties to the people, just like the previous French rulers did. Not one sign exists to show that these colonies will be turned back to their rightful rulers, the people who inhabit them. 4. American capitalist economic control-lend-

lease credits; open capital investments; control over trade and tariff regulations, etc.-has grown tremendously over such nations as Canada, New Zealand and Australia (the British Dominions). It has already been made clear that the rulers of America will take whatever metals and ores the North African colonies formerly produced for French and then German imperialism. As the troops march in and take over, the economic functionaries and rulers follow close behind, striving to fit the economy of the occupied territories into the American war effort. Sometimes the conquest is bloodless, as in Latin America. But the result is This is what we means by the imperialist char-

acter of the war; a charge LABOR ACTION cannot but repeat as the first anniversary of Pearl

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- 18. For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilante and fascist attacks!
- 19. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
- 20. For Peace Through Socialism! For the independence of all colonies!
- 21. For a World Socialist Federation! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism!