

16,000,000 Workers Get Less Than \$16, But - - - BOSS STOOGES ATTACK OVERTIME PAY!

Pollard Gets Dictatorial Whip-Hand Over Local 9

SAN PEDRO, Nov. 24—The autonomy of Shipbuilders Local 9 was officially scuttled tonight by order of John Green, president of the IUM-SWA. Pollard, who only a few weeks ago represented the government in forcing a rotten sell-out on the men, has been installed as dictator representing the international union.

Last week's LABOR ACTION carried a full account of the moves preceding this dictatorial attack on the democratic rights of the local.

Pollard boasted tonight of being here as hatchet man against the progressives in the union who have vigorously fought the sell-out policies of the leadership—on the hiring hall and on one issue after the other.

He is now installed as dictator under the pretext that the local was mismanaged by the officials. That the local has been mismanaged, in the sense that the leadership did not put up a fight to protect the interests of the men, is undeniable. But it is also undeniable that it is NOT Pollard's intention to remedy that aspect of the local's mismanagement. On the contrary, he is there to continue the policy of retreat which has already weakened and dangerously injured the union.

The real reason behind the suspension, and the installation of Pollard as dictator, is to prevent the election of progressive officers in the coming union election.

The progressives in Local 9 have real strength. They have, throughout, constituted a thorn in the side of the sell-out clique, in which the Stalinists and reactionaries have locked arms in fond embrace. It is possible that the progressives could carry their candidates in the elections, so aroused are the men and so strong is the tradition of militancy in this local.

It is, therefore, to strike a blow against the powerful number of militants in the union, who insist upon defending the union, come what may, and to prevent the election of their representatives as officers, that the local's autonomy has been taken away.

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L.A.'s Article on Sperry Sit-Down Goes Over Big in Many Plants

By W. CLIFF

Sperry workers in Brooklyn opened their eyes last week when they read on the front page of LABOR ACTION their first news of the successful sit-down strike at the Nassau foundry. Although it had been over a week since their fellow workers in another Sperry plant had beaten the company and won raises by their militant action, the union, Local 450, UE-CIO, had not seen fit to tell the membership of the victory and Shop News, the local's paper, had mentioned not a word. It was in LABOR ACTION that they read the news, and copies of the paper passed from hand to hand quickly as the workers got wind of the story. Nor did the AFL, which is seeking to win the Sperry workers, inform its membership.

As reported in LABOR ACTION, UE grinders and AFL foundry workers in the Nassau plant, enraged by the lack of expected pay increases, sat down unanimously on November

13 and refused to resume work until they were given raises. Unable to intimidate the men and their militant UE stewards, the bosses were forced to give in at the end of twenty minutes and work was resumed. This was a rank and file victory—a victory won by the men in the shop, without reliance on outside forces.

LABOR ACTION pointed out that Sperry workers are beginning to realize how strong they are when they stand together. They are learning what real unionism is: that when they fight together they win.

With the quick success of the foundry workers, the ineffectiveness of the entire policy of the union leadership was shown up. That is why the UE did not tell the story to its members. Ditto the AFL.

The importance of the article to union men is shown by the reaction of the Brewster workers to it. At Brewster, where LABOR ACTION

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Negro Subjects Segregation In Army Units to Legal Test

An interesting case that may have far-reaching consequences comes before the Federal Court in New York on December 4.

Winfred Lynn, a Negro gardener in Jamaica, L. I., who refused to report for induction on September 18, contends that any induction order which would require a Negro to join a segregated unit is a violation of the Selective Service Act which presumably orders that "in the interpretation and execution of this act, there shall be no discrimination on account of race or color."

At present, draft boards select draftees from two lists—white and

colored. Negroes inducted into the Army are sent into Jim Crow regiments. The outcome of Lynn's case will therefore be closely watched by Negroes as well as by all those who have opposed Jim Crow in the Army. Lynn has stated that he is willing to "enter the Army." "But I am not going to go into the Army to be Jim Crowed. I will go to the penitentiary instead, if I have to, for as long as they want to send me."

Lynn is being defended by his brother, Conrad, who has declared that if he does not succeed in securing his brother's release, he will carry an appeal to the Supreme Court.

On the United States Since Dec. 7, 1941

AN EDITORIAL ON THE YEAR SINCE PEARL HARBOR

One year has passed since Pearl Harbor. One year since a fleet of Japanese dive-bombers attacked the American Pacific Fleet as it lay at anchor, precipitating the long-inevitable war between the United States and the Japanese Empire for control over the Pacific Ocean and its riches.

This event in itself was not of serious importance, except as the first in a series of events that have changed and transformed the country within the space of a year. The Pearl Harbor incident overnight became lost in the declaration of war against Germany and Italy, and America was at war with the Axis powers.

Within the past year virtually every country in the entire world has been driven into choosing one side or another in the global warfare between the two great imperialist war camps.

WHAT KINDLED THE FLAME?

Surely every American worker understands by now that the American ruling class, and its spokesman, President Roosevelt, did not go to war MERELY because of Pearl Harbor. Far more basic and important forces, of an economic and political nature, had long since kindled the fire. The Japanese imperialists applied the torch and the world was in flames!

In a document issued shortly after the declaration of war and well worth re-reading now, the Workers Party took an uncompromising stand

on the war. It is declared that "The Second World War, like the First, is a war between two great imperialist camps to decide, with the blood and misery of the peoples, which of the imperialist groups shall dominate the world, which of them shall oppress and exploit the hundreds of millions of colonial slaves, which of them shall bestride the commercial lanes of the earth, which of them shall control the sources of raw materials and cheap labor that guarantee a continuous flow of profits to the capitalist monopolists, which of them shall be masters of the fields of capitalist investments."

Pointing out that Hitler fought to replace the British Empire with his own German Empire; that Japan fought for a Far Eastern Empire; that England fought to preserve its colonial possessions, (India, Africa, etc.) the Workers Party predicted that the American imperialist ruling class would reveal, in the course of the war, that it too was driven by imperialist motives of profit, "that the United States inevitably enters the war in order to challenge ALL competitors and to assert its imperialist rights to mastery of the world and its wealth."

THESE ASSERTIONS PROVED BY THE WAR

Look at what has happened, at what has been revealed during the first year of a war that may stretch out for many years to come.

POLITICALLY, the assertion that Roosevelt fights

to establish democracy on a world scale has been blown sky-high. Deals with pro-fascist, Nazi-collaborator Admiral Darlan; aid and support to Otto of Hapsburg, the reactionary former friend of Il Duce and Prince Starhemberg of Austria, the monarchist claimant to the throne of the dead Austro-Hungarian Empire; declarations of sympathy for King Victor Emmanuel of Italy, etc.—these are the realities of American war politics, not to mention support of Queen Wilhelmina, King Peter of Yugoslavia, King George of Greece, etc.

The Atlantic Charter, supposedly the written expression of democratic war aims, lies ignored and abandoned, for all its weakness and inconsequence. Have its "principles" been extended to the British Empire, to India, not to speak of the outright American colonies of Puerto Rico and other lands controlled by American capitalists? Has Roosevelt made one protest, for instance, against the slaughter of thousands of Indian people by the British soldiers, people guilty of only one "crime"—demanding their national independence!

It is worth noting that President Roosevelt—the "New Dealer"—has remained absolutely silent for a solid year on all questions of social reform, workers' housing, economic security, post-war planning, etc. His address to the Herald Tribune forum on post-war problems stated bluntly that this is no time

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Equal Pay Is a "MUST", Not a "MAYBE"

And the Strike at Ford's Ontario Plant Is an Invaluable Lesson in How to Protect the Woman Worker and Defend Wages

By JOHN BERNE

The WLB issued an order on November 25 ALLOWING employers to increase wages of women workers to equal those of men for the same work.

Usually orders ORDER, but this order merely ALLOWS. For the present, skip that.

What is interesting is that it took the WLB so long to recognize the indisputably fair principle of equal pay for equal work. Indeed it took the WLB a mighty long time.

Even before the USA officially entered the war there was a hue and cry to get women into industry. Since Pearl Harbor, pressure from government agencies, from economic responsibilities imposed on women by the draft, from the ever-mounting cost of living, have sent hundreds of thousands of women to the production lines. IT HAS BEEN NO MILITARY SECRET THAT IN A GREAT MANY CASES THE WOMEN HAVE BEEN WORKING AT LOWER PAY THAN MEN.

But the WLB has done nothing—till just now—to protect the women from this exploitation to which they have been and are being subjected. It has done nothing—till just now—about this threat to the whole wage structure.

If the labor leaders who speak softly to the Washington big-wigs, but ram anti-labor decisions down labor's throat, did anything about the inequality in women's pay, it certainly did not bring any results.

Now, at long last, the WLB issues its ALLOWING order. Does it come out of the goodness of the WLB's bureaucratic heart? Guess again.

It is not a coincidence that in the past weeks a demand for equal pay for women has been made by the workers of Ford Motor Co., of Chrysler, of General Motors and of other large companies. That demand spoke to the WLB in no uncertain terms.

Furthermore—AND MOST IMPORTANT—it is no coincidence that 13,000 workers in the Ford Motor plant at Ontario, Canada, are on strike. Their grievance is that the company employs women at rates less than formerly paid to men. Night shift workers joined the day shifts in this strike of both men and women workers against undue exploitation of women and to protect wage scales.

In a word, the WLB acted only WHEN IT HAD TO. The workers are agitated and worried and are doing something about it. It was the action of the workers themselves—brought to a climax by the Ford Motor workers' strike—that made the WLB realize that it had to. It now understands that if workers in Canada will strike for equal pay for women, workers in the USA can do likewise!

However, the fact that the WLB has declared equal pay for equal work as its policy—the fact that the WLB will ALLOW bosses to adjust women's wages "with those of men for comparable quality and quantity"—does not mean that such adjustments will automatically be made by the bosses. That definitely "ain't necessarily so!"

With an eye to the post-war period—when jobs will be scarcer than workers, to put it mildly—the bosses realize that the lower wages paid to women will tend to become the nor-

mal scale which men will also have to take or leave. Thus working men, their wives and children—working women and their dependents—will all be reduced to poverty or near-poverty in the post-war period.

The only thing that will knock this "clever" idea out of the bosses' heads is the realization that the workers won't stand for it.

Women have a right to wages according to their work. The unfair exploitation of women is a threat to all workers and must be fought by men and women workers together.

The militant action of the Ford Motor workers in Ontario has set the pace. It did wonders in helping the WLB in the USA to realize that the time had come to issue its "allowing" order.

This is a lesson to all workers on how to make the BOSSES realize that while with the WLB equal pay for equal work is only a MAYBE—with the workers it is a MUST.

Post Office Continues Autocratic, Unexplained Suppression of Militant

Since our last report on the suppression of The Militant, the Post Office Department has withheld from the mails two more issues, namely, the issues of November 21 and 28.

This makes a total of four issues barred from the mails—all without notification to The Militant—AND ALL WITHOUT DEIGNING TO STATE THE REASONS WHY.

Furthermore, the Post Office has actually destroyed two of the issues it did not mail, those of November 7 and 14. Of this high-handed act The Militant was informed—AFTER THE EVENT.

Ghost of Bursleson

Particularly noteworthy is it that it took the Post Office Department two weeks in each case to make up its mind—according to its own secret standards—whether to let the issues go through or destroy them.

"This means," The Militant comments, "that even if the Post Office decides to permit an issue through the mail, the delay practically destroys the second-class privileges of the paper."

The ghost of Mr. Bursleson, postal dictator of World War I fame, walks again. That violator of freedom of the press followed the same heads-I-win-tails-you-lose policy. He with-

held periodicals from the mail and then refused to admit future issues to second-class privileges on the ground that since one issue was skipped, the publication was no longer a periodical.

No Specifications

The attorney for The Militant, Albert Goldman, could get no satisfaction in Washington other than being informed that the issues declared unmailable previous to the four November issues, were those of August 22, September 5, 12 and 19.

The solicitor of the Post Office Department in Washington, Calvin Hassell, to whom Mr. Goldman spoke, refused to specify which were the "offending" articles. Neither could Mr. Goldman get any statement of policy from the Post Office Department on what they consider "objectionable or subversive."

The American Civil Liberties Union states that an examination of the issues of The Militant barred from the mails "discloses no material that can be properly construed as violating the Espionage Act in the light of previous decisions."

The facts in the case add up to an autocratic, high-handed and vicious attack on a labor publication. The Post Office Department assumes dictatorial powers. It places

itself above the need to notify, explain or give reasons.

Attorney General Biddle, member of Roosevelt's cabinet, stated a year

State Cop Kills Negro-- Goes Free!

Louisiana has added another to the number of Negro soldiers killed here in the United States by white cops. Last year Alexandria, La., was the scene of an attack on Negro soldiers which resulted in twenty-six shot or otherwise wounded. Early last month a Negro military policeman, Private Raymond Carr, was shot by a state trooper, Dalton McCullon.

The Army and the Louisiana state police are in full possession of the facts. They know that Carr was killed in cold blood by the state police after the latter started an argument with Carr on the streets of Alexandria.

While Carr was on duty in Alexan-

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ago: "Insofar as I can, by the use of the authority and influence of my office, I intend to see that civil liberties in this country are protected; that we do not again fall into the disgraceful hysteria of witch-hunts, strike-breakings and minority persecutions which were such a dark chapter in our record of the last World War."

Is the despotic suppression of labor publications like The Militant to be the way in which civil liberties are to be protected by the Roosevelt Administration?

An Attack on All Labor

In his letter of sympathy and solidarity to the editor of The Militant, Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party wrote that "It is in the interest of every workingman and every labor organization in the country to teach these insolent bureaucrats a resounding lesson. If they can get away with the hounding and suppressing of The Militant... no labor paper in the country is safe, whatever its political or economic views may be."

LABOR ACTION is in complete agreement. This Nazi-like attack on The Militant is a threat to the freedom of the press of all labor.

Overtime Pay Is Target In Campaign On Workweek

By GERTRUDE SHAW

Without any camouflage, the post-election attack against the forty-hour week is really a murderous assault against wages.

Workers are actually putting in many more hours than forty. In fact, they work too long and get too tired—as testified to by the 11,000 industrial casualties EVERY DAY.

What bothers the bosses and the political boosters of boss profits is that the workers are being paid time and a half for work beyond the forty hours.

All talk about a forty-eight-hour week is so much dust in the eyes—thrown by labor's worst enemies. What they are aiming at is to take away from workers who daily risk their life and limb a few dollars—the few dollars the workers now make on time and a half.

How much are workers making, anyway? With this bountiful overtime pay, are they rolling in wealth? A good question—to which there is a very factual answer!

Yes, there is a war boom. Yes, workers are being paid time and a half over forty hours. BUT WITH ALL THAT "PROSPERITY," 16,000,000 WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES ARE EARNING LESS THAN \$16 A WEEK!

These figures are for July of 1942, issued by Secretary of Labor Perkins. And these figures mean that at the height of the war boom one-third of the working force of the country gets old-time, sweat-shop wages. That's capitalism for you!

All right. Let's come up the scale. Let's see how the better-off workers are making out.

The average wages in all manufacturing industries reached \$37.88 a week in September. Out of this small amount must be paid the following long list of items: food, clothing, rent, entertainment, education; household furnishings and furniture; doctors, dentists, hospitals; debts and insurance; income taxes, victory taxes, war bonds; rising prices and consumers' taxes. Has something perhaps been omitted? Well, just keep the change.

Secretary of Labor Perkins obligingly breaks this figure down a bit and reveals that the average wages in the manufacture of non-durable goods are only \$29.71—not \$37.88. With a wife and kids and the above list of necessities, these workers cannot be exactly rolling in wealth.

These days non-durable goods means mostly civilian production. So let's see how the other workers, the favored war workers, are wallowing in the lap of luxury.

Elsa Maxwell—that lady columnist who knows from nothing except how to gush—recently wrote in the supposedly pro-labor New York Post the following fabulous lie about wages: "Experienced workers average from \$100 to \$200 a week." Thus Elsa Maxwell, the party-throwing expert of high society.

However, Secretary Perkins has statistical responsibilities which demand some regard for the truth. She assures us that in the production of durable goods—which these days is mostly war production—the average weekly wage in September was \$44.47.

Go back and look at the list of necessities that \$44.47 has to cover! Of course, with \$44.47 a worker can do a little better than with \$29.71. He can do a lot better than with \$16—which is next to nothing at all. But he won't have much money to hide under the mattress. If he can get by without resorting to the loan sharks, he'll be a mighty good financial manager.

The labor-haters in Congress are paid \$200 a week out of public funds. Nearly all of them have some other sources of income—honest and otherwise. They get fees of one kind and another. They get returns on investments. Where do they get off to attack labor's overtime pitance?

And what of the big industrial (Continued on page 2)

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Camp

EUROPE AND THE DARLAN AND HAPSBURG DEALS

There is no doubt that very large numbers in Europe expected Roosevelt, after beating Hitler and driving him out of the occupied countries, to help build democratic regimes and even favor "socialist experiments."

Who will still believe that the object of American imperialism is to destroy fascism when the landing of American troops in North Africa has only helped strengthen the grip of a reactionary military clique in that country?

Other illusions have also gone by the board. From now on it will no longer be possible to indulge in vague dreams about liberation coming first and social reorganization in its wake.

ON THE DIPLOMATIC USES OF FOOD

Herbert Lehman has just been appointed food administrator for the relief of Europe. This is a very important announcement because it indicates the possibility of a piece of odious blackmail.

can be no doubt that a very definite trend toward the left will be noticed among many European underground organizations. Many will come to the conclusion that there can be no reliance on any outside forces—that only independent struggle will save Europe.

The events of these last weeks impose a tremendous responsibility on us. It will depend on American workers to a considerable degree as to whether the people of Europe will be enslaved under the twofold domination of "native" reactionaries and American imperialists.

Local 9--

What Pollard's policy will be like has already been indicated by the appointment of Mulholland as executive secretary of the local. Mulholland is generally regarded in the yard as a company man.

The American Legion

As Labor-Baiters, They Are 100 Per-Centers

By HARRY ALLEN

The American Legion, declaring itself to be "100 per cent American," might be expected to uphold the Constitution and the Bill of Rights; and to stand for the democratic and civil rights of all the people.

But just exactly how does the American Legion believe in upholding the constitutional and civil rights of Mr. John Doe, Mr. Common Citizen or Mr. Bill Workingman?

100 Per Cent Labor-Baiting

The first thing you learn is that to be a "100 per cent American" you have to agree 100 per cent with all the Legion stands for and to combat the "insidious program of bolshevism, radicalism, etc."

- 1. Barring all "subversive" publications from the mails. It would also forbid the passage of such publications in interstate commerce.
2. Free Speech? Certainly. But then, says a Legion convention resolution, "Free speech stops where treason begins"—and the Legion sets the standards and limits.
3. The American Legion was two

decades ahead of the Rapp-Condit Committee in shouting about "disloyalty in schools," in advocating teachers "loyalty oaths," As ex-National Commander Hayes plainly put it: "Check (spy) on the teachers in your schools."

The Cry Against "Aliens"

4. "Aliens"—that, too, has always been the alarm signal of the American Legion. So the Legion has stood, for the deportation of aliens; has sought to stop immigration for ten years; and opposes employment of any aliens by the government!

But actually the American Legion has never cared two raps about "aliens" as long as the millions of foreign-born workers who were employed in the coal, iron ore and copper mines, the steel mills, railroads and other basic industries, slaved uncomplainingly for long hours, miserable wages and bad working conditions.

The "alien" problem begins for the Legion, as it does with all the capitalists and their apologists, when the foreign-born workers go militantly on strike for their interests, help to organize strong labor unions and insist on their economic and political rights.

In the Legion's eyes, such people, even if they are Mayflower descendants, are "aliens" who, if they can't be deported, ought at least "to be shot." That is what the Warings and other Legionnaire spokesmen really believe and advocate.

5. For years, moreover, these "100 per cent Americans" have stood for so-called "European" customs. For instance, the Legion has always advocated compulsory finger-printing for all, with an eye primarily on its utilization for spying on and blacklisting militant workers.

The Legion knows how to improve on the anti-labor techniques of employers; and, gradually, Legion ideas have made their way in all too many respects.

6. Though it professes to believe in the Bill of Rights—for instance, in "free assembly"—the American Legion has gone about trying to prevent labor and radical meetings by "discouraging" landlords from renting halls to such groups or organizations. It began this noble work as early as Armistice Day, November 11, 1919, when Centralia, Wash., Legionnaires made a premeditated attack on the IWW headquarters, resulting in injuries and deaths.

Further, the Stalinists have pledged support to Pollard through Lopez, their leading spokesman. What is clearly brewing, therefore, is an all-out and concerted attack on the militants—that is, on UNION CONDITIONS AND STANDARDS, under the protection of a dictatorial suspension.

To soften the effects of this undemocratic blow on the ranks, Pollard has promised an organization drive. But Pollard's promises are well known. He is known here as "Phony Promises" Pollard and he didn't acquire that reputation undeservedly.

7. Respecting voting rights, the Legion's opposition to permitting "communists" on the ballot is well known. Thus, for example, when the Communist Party in the State of New York (for which we hold no brief, as LABOR ACTION readers know) presented petitions this year containing

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- (1) Arcadia Book Store—Seldin and Woodward.
(2) Carl's Book Store—Clairmount and Woodward.
(3) Book Store—Baltimore and Cass.

50,000 signatures to place their party and ticket on the ballot, the American Legion, in line with its entire past course toward labor and "radicals," challenged the petitions and did its utmost to prevent the Communist Party from appearing on the ballot.

Moreover, if the American Legion had its way, such organizations as the Workers Party, SWP, SLP—in fact, any organization advocating in some form the abolition of capitalism would be proscribed as "un-American."

Goes Free--

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dria, he was approached by a state trooper, who wanted to know what part he had in a quarrel between a man and a woman several feet away.

The "alien" problem begins for the Legion, as it does with all the capitalists and their apologists, when the foreign-born workers go militantly on strike for their interests, help to organize strong labor unions and insist on their economic and political rights.

The other soldier related that when he was held for questioning he was told by Captain Green of the state police: "N...r, do you mean to tell me that you were born and raised in the South and didn't have no better sense than to resist a white man like that. You know what happens to N...r down here in the South whenever a white man speaks to one."

Referring to the 1941 riot, he added: "You heard about us killing up ten or fifteen of those N...r soldiers in that riot. You should have taken a lesson from that."

Eloquently spoken! Here is the explanation of the killings and the lynchings! Keep the Negro in his place—if need be, shoot him up.

Dalton McCullon, state trooper, Southern white man, killer of Carr—goes free. His wrist was slapped for his crime: he was suspended from the force for one whole day. Otherwise life goes on just the same.

Overtime--

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boys who are the powers behind the congressional throne? There's Tom Girdler of Republic Steel pocketing in salary alone \$275,000 in 1941—and Ferguson of Newport News Shipbuilding being paid \$127,000—and Love of Burlington Mills rewarded with a \$179,652 salary—and Grace of Bethlehem "earning" a salary of \$537,734—to take a few at random.

Where do these fattened leeches, sucking their profits from labor's toil, get off attacking the workers' bit of overtime?

Obviously the bosses and their politicians believe the worker and his family are beings of inferior flesh. They consider themselves the "Aryan" class in American society—with the workers created as their eternal slaves!

In the last week there has been an ominous lull in the war these foes of labor are waging against the forty-hour week and against the workers' overtime pay. Doubtless preparations are being made for the next encounter.

Is organized labor also preparing for a counter-offensive? This is what it must do!

can" and, hence, not entitled to the rights of the Constitution and Bill of Rights. The Legion's similarity to Hitler's concepts are quite marked on all these scores.

8. In the First World War, war hysteria resulted in the persecution and jailing of thousands of men and women. A large number were sentenced to long prison terms. Even long after the war ended, the American Legion, true to its character, strongly opposed the release of the political prisoners. Today its position remains the same, as is indicated by its opposition to the release from prison of Earl Browder, Communist Party secretary (even after the latter was out-percentageing the American Legion itself in his support of the imperialist war and on his phobia, opposition to and hatred of genuine working class militancy).

A Menace to Democratic Rights

All this and more the American Legion has stood for and continues to advocate. Therefore, one can only describe the "100 per cent American" Legion as a MENACE TO THE CIVIL AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE, AND THE WORKERS IN PARTICULAR.

Roosevelt's authorization to the American Legion to organize the present members of the armed forces only serves as a spur to the Legion to continue without hindrance, indeed with permission, its reactionary program among the young generation of soldiers and sailors.

9. The American Legion officialdom waxes angry and indignant when it is charged with being fascist in its outlook and practices. But an examination of its record of intolerance,

opposition and persecution of labor and liberal elements through the years demonstrates its fascist characteristics in many significant aspects. An editorial from a Southern newspaper, the Roanoke, Va., World-News, expressed itself as follows on the character of the American Legion:

"The American Legion program has marked similitude to the fascists and Nazis... It is intensely nationalistic... In prating of Americanism, it speaks the language of Hitler and Mussolini.

"With their soldier caps and uniforms, they assemble in the same manner that characterized Hitler's Storm Troops in the days that Hitler was waging his struggle for power.

"In their concern for self, rather than the body of people, they resemble the Brown and Black Shirts.

"Like the Nazis and fascists, they are intolerant of all thought that is not like theirs. They are aroused to a fury by any concept not fitting into their smug scheme of things."

They are ready "to squelch by strong-arm ways individuals and groups who do not agree with them. And in this, again, they agree perfectly with Il Duce and Der Fuehrer."

Later-day developments, since the time of this editorial, attest to its accuracy in describing the fascist characteristics and potentialities of the American Legion. For a knowledge of its leadership, its composition, its interests, its association with big business, it is, moreover, not difficult to see how such an organization could be used by demagogues in the coming period for definitely reactionary ends; and, ultimately, to put over a fascist program.

Sparks in the News

By Everett Weston

Commenting on the dearth of literature in Germany these days, Herr Goebbels remarked: "No national socialist should consider it beneath his dignity to write fiction."

"The traditionally polite, semi-formal meeting of the (Stalinist) P.E.N. Club, with some eighty literary 'names' in attendance, began very quietly. But soon... a free-for-all was touched off when Clifton Fadiman... seconded a motion by Rex Stout to generate an active hate against all Germans, and not merely against Nazis... A lull occurred to decide the difference between 'reasonable hatred' and 'calm hatred.'"

"With all my heart I hate the fascist occupants... I swear in the name of the warriors who sacrificed their lives for our happiness that I will forever remember."—Oath sworn by 15,000,000 Russian children.

"We must hate with every fibre of our being. We must lust for battle; our object in life must be to kill; we must scheme and plan night and day to kill."—Lieut. Gen. Lesley J. McNair.

As the good folk say in this happy season: "Peace on earth to men of good will," that is, to you and me—but sometimes I'm not so sure of you.

D'Lo, Miss., was the first town in the country with every draftable man in the armed forces.

Mississippi has always been first in lots of things: highest in illi-

eracy, most still births, ONLY state with a Bilbo.

"Beginning November 30, bread rations in Hungary will be reduced from 200 grams to 160 grams daily, following a decree by the Ministry of Food."—New York Times.

That is to say, from about seven ounces to about five and a half ounces. The average loaf of bread in this country weighs sixteen ounces.

"The age limit for girls employed by companies engaged in war production was lowered from eighteen to sixteen years by the U.S. Labor Department."—Yank.

According to a recent article in PM about child labor in Connecticut: "...More than 10 per cent of the 1,142 students of two Bridgeport junior high schools are illegally employed.... Of a total of 13,329 students surveyed in Hartford, Bridgeport, New Britain and New Haven, more than 20 per cent were illegally employed... One 12-year-old boy in a Hartford bowling alley was found to be working sixty hours a week, quitting each morning at four o'clock seven days a week..."

The U.S. Labor Department is taking steps to eliminate all ILLEGAL employment.

"Archdukes Otto and Felix are still plugging for U.S. recognition of their Free Austria movement and have seen important State Department officials recently."—Newsweek.

The current roster of hungry ex's now fighting for freedom, democracy and a full belly really needs a couple of Hapsburgs to make it complete. How about it, FD?

"A little later (in 1922) WEAF broadcast the first program sponsored by an advertiser, a talk about a cooperative apartment house in Jackson Heights."—Telephony.

WEAF is now owned by NBC, which is still refusing time to the Cooperative League because cooperation is a "controversial issue."

NEW READERS: The following new subscriptions were received by LABOR ACTION during the past TWO weeks:

Table with 2 columns: City and Number of Subscriptions. Includes Buffalo (17), New York City (8), St. Louis (6), Detroit (3), Los Angeles (2), Washington, D.C. (2), Cleveland (2), San Francisco (1), Philadelphia (1), Total (41).

CHRISTMAS GIFTS: We suggest that a subscription to The New Internationalist makes a fine Christmas gift. The subscription rate is \$1.00 per six months; \$1.50 per year.

Press Action

Sperry Article --

(Continued from page 1)

was distributed earlier in the week, many copies of the story were clipped from the paper and were pasted or tacked on posts and bulletin boards throughout the plant by the workers in the shop.

At Ford Instrument Co., LABOR ACTION was circulated quickly throughout the shop, and workers gathered in washrooms to discuss the Sperry article.

Yet the Sperry workers' own union, which is presumably trying to organize them so that they can fight the bosses and raise the miserable Sperry pay rates, deliberately suppressed the story. Sperry workers can learn a few things from this.

They can learn that their union leaders are not interested in militant action by the workers in the shop but want the men to restrain themselves and wait for the good graces of the company and government agencies. They don't want the men to learn that their greatest weapon is their own action. The union bureaucrats are afraid of the militants in the shop—that is why they suppressed the story!

Workers can see now what is behind the union's attacks on LABOR ACTION, and the present nationwide campaign to suppress the paper—a campaign in which the bosses and union bureaucrats have joined hands. They are learning that union "leaders" are afraid of LABOR ACTION because it prints stories of militant activity in shops throughout the country. They are afraid of LABOR ACTION because we expose their own rotten capitulation to the bosses. They are afraid of LABOR ACTION because they are afraid of the nation's workers.

Workers, on the other hand, are learning that on the pages of LABOR ACTION they can find the lessons and the tactics that they must employ against the bosses. They are learning that LABOR ACTION is THEIR paper, the paper that stands squarely for the men in the nation's shops, and fights always for their interests, for real union principles, for real union action. They will remember this the next time their union bureaucrats denounce LABOR ACTION.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Finds a Copy, Sends in Sub

Gentlemen: Please put my name on your mailing list for one year for the LABOR ACTION and I will remit as soon as the first edition arrives.

Sorry that I didn't know about your paper sooner. Just today I happened to find one copy in the street. Picked it up and read it and it appealed to me, so I decided to invest 60 cents for one yearly subscription.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Coast Guard Patrols Shipyard on Pretext

Dear Editor:

Conspiring to discredit the Shipyard Workers Union, CIO, the Bethlehem Fairfields Shipyards in Baltimore called in the Coast Guard to patrol the plant a week ago Saturday because of "tension existing between factions of the industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America over union policies."

The company, it seems, would like to hire Negroes, but the union is split on the question and the Bethlehem-Fairchild Shipyards couldn't

take any chances on work stoppages (even if they were over reactionary grievances).

Well, now, what's the story? Does the company really fear a crisis in the union over the Negro employment question?

Five miserable, brain-stunted, Southern press-reading, backward workers showed themselves to be disgruntled over prospective employment of Negroes and blatantly voiced their sentiments.

The Shipyard Workers Local 43 promptly threw them out, a rapid expulsion even in the CIO. It would appear that this action clearly indicates the simplicity of the position of the workers in this matter. The union policy is unequivocally against any form of race prejudice.

"There have been no disturbances," states a company spokesman to the Associated Press.

Calling out the Coast Guard, says the company, is to avoid the "possibility of unpleasant actions." So what's the complaint? "No disturbances!" "Possibility of unpleasant actions." "Tension among workers."

But we DO know of the longstanding Jim Crow policy of the Bethlehem-Fairfield hypocrites. We DO know that only pressure instituted by workers themselves through their international union forced them to consider employment of Negroes.

Oh, yes! The company is building "Liberty" ships.

Bethlehem Worker.

On Bell Aircraft Jim Crow Policy

Dear Editor:

One of the most pressing problems in Buffalo these days is the "manpower problem." It is estimated that 40,000 additional female workers will be required within the next few months to meet the war plants' labor demands.

It is a known fact that potential Negro war workers are given the cold shoulder throughout the country. In Buffalo each plant sets for itself a "Negro quota" to which it adheres as much as possible. Out of about 18,000 colored people living in Buffalo, an insignificant number are employed in the war plants. This in spite of the need for workers.

In Bell Aircraft, for instance, out of more than 15,000 workers, there are less than 400 colored employees. As a further insult, most of the latter are not on production, but do menial work as sweepers, dusters, etc.

Many of the Negro girl workers at Bell have taken courses in aviation work, and have recognized certifi-

cates attesting to the satisfactory completion of these courses, but Bell, in preference to shifting these girls on production where they will be more useful, practices a vicious Jim Crow policy and hires unskilled white girls for production work.

A conscious policy is being followed by Bell to get rid of the Negro workers whenever possible. In one case a girl sweeper was fired one day before her sixty-day probation period ended because she refused to do work for which she was not hired.

Bell Local, 501, UAW-CIO, is formally attempting to place the Negro on the production line, but the lack of a militant approach prevents any really effective action. Resolutions are forthcoming against the poll-tax, but none which concretely plan for the smashing of Jim Crow at Bell.

M.K.

YPSL Disputes Our Position on Elections

Dear Editor:

I read Max Shachtman's article on the reasons why labor should not have supported Alfange and the A.L.P. I agree with his conclusions, though much of his analysis was guesswork. I also note that the only candidates in the whole United

States who were endorsed by the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION were the Cannonite candidates in New Jersey and Minnesota. Now, there were a number of states, including New York, where candidates were being run by the Socialist Party. Will you please tell me, and also your readers, why LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party did not support these candidates? Perhaps you may disagree with parts of their program, but you cannot deny that the Socialist Party is a workers' Party.

Now it might not make much real difference, in votes, at least, which candidates you supported. But it shows you up as a pretty sectarian bunch when you conclude that the Cannonite candidates, after all your bitter experience with them, are the only candidates deserving of labor support.

Virgil J. Vogel, Young Peoples Socialist League.

P.S.—Also please tell your readers why you do not say anything in LABOR ACTION about the arrest of Francisco Largo Caballero and Santiago Casares Quiroga, Spanish working class leaders who face death before Franco's firing squad. Chicago, November 28, 1942.

LABOR ACTION did tell its readers why it did not support Socialist

What India Means to the American Working Class

India and Its Relation to the Conduct of the War

By J. R. JOHNSON

Ever since the Indian civil disobedience campaign of 1920-21, the British imperialists have trembled at the thought of having to hold down India through another war and post-war period. This fear for the empire—and India is two-thirds of the empire—contributed more than anything else to the British policy of appeasement.

What was true in 1939 is now doubly and triply true. In a war such as this, all the tendencies which have been developing in previous years are violently brought to a head. The war to date has shown that at a time when India is struggling more determinedly than ever to be free, Britain needs India now and in the future more than ever.

The war so far has shown the powerful tendency of the great national economies to burst their bonds and seek domination of the continental area, not only all over the world, as formerly, but in those areas where they are geographically situated. Thus the United States ensures its domination over the American continent and today Canada, for instance, must look first to America and only secondly to Britain. Japan aims at mastery of the whole Far East, with herself as the center. Germany holds the continent of Western Europe and will hold it or perish.

Britain Looks to Far East

The geographical area to which Britain properly belongs is the continent of Europe. But Britain is too small and too weak to dominate the European continent. It is losing its economic grip over large parts of Latin America, and United States imperialism will never lose that to Britain again. Unable to do in Europe what Germany is doing, and able to hold her own in Europe only as a pawn of America, Britain's sole hope of imperialist prosperity is now the Far East. India is absolutely necessary as a base, not only for interest on investments, but for raw materials, for people to exploit, as an industrial center, as a military center, as a political base, in the militarized world of the future.

Britain cannot let India go, or loosen her grip. She must, whatever she does, TIGHTEN her grip. An American economic mission already was in India. America is not fighting Japan for the benefit of Britain's imperialism. America aims at doing in India and China

what she does today in Brazil and Mexico. Should Britain weaken her grip on India, then against a powerful competitor like the USA she is lost.

Britain has already made it clear that she is not giving up Hong Kong. But Hong Kong is too small to be a really powerful outpost for the kind of military power on which all capitalist economic and political penetration will rest in the future. Britain will hold India or will exist merely as a little island community off the coast of Europe.

It is this which accounts for the stern attitude of Mr. Churchill on India. Churchill is an imperialist, he is a British Prime Minister and he knows well how to combine conciliatory words in Britain with terror in the colonies. At a certain stage in the Indian crisis a statement was due from him; and it was expected that, bearing in mind that the war was supposed to be for "democracy" and the fact that the whole world was listening, Churchill would be conciliatory. Said the London Economist of July 25: "Nothing that (anybody) could do could compare with what Mr. Churchill might achieve if he were to address to India this July the same sort of inspired words as he addressed to his own country on behalf of Russia in June last year."

Churchill addressed the House of Commons in the harshest and most unyielding language he could find. The policy outlined by Cripps, said Churchill, "is the settled policy of the British Crown and Parliament." Not an inch more. He said that Attlee, leader of the Labor Party, had gone over his speech with him the night before. That was to make it quite clear to whom he was speaking that it was useless going behind his back to intrigue with the Labor Party. And it is the conviction of this writer that Churchill was speaking neither to the British people nor to India but to Franklin D. Roosevelt, leader of American imperialism. Whereupon Roosevelt sent Willkie to deliver some messages, while Willkie waited until he got back home to deliver the most important message of all, the one to India.

The Second Front

Second front or no second front? Obviously a second front is necessary for imperialism. At present it seems that one is in the making.

A military plan is not merely a plan of soldiers seeking the best way to win. It is governed by the economic interests of those who are waging the war. And there is abundant evidence that the divergent economic interests of British and American imperialism caused conflict as to exactly what plan should be followed.

In the summer of this year, Walter Lippman, well informed conservative spokesman for American imperialism, paid a visit to England. When he returned he gave his impressions in the New Herald Tribune of September 29. He found two danger spots: first, a lack of confidence in the government because of too much preparation and no corresponding action; the second problem had to do with "the empire and with the United States.... This question," he said, "is much too complicated to be discussed or even defined" in a few paragraphs. And there he was certainly correct. But he said what the basic trouble was:

"British and American land, sea and air forces are... being scattered like confetti over all the spots of the earth that national interests, imperial interests and the older professional strategists seem vitally important." This he says results in focusing attention on a "vast series of nuisance issues between the parts of the empire and between Britain and the United States." There is friction as to "what should be defended and why." The problems "are wringing the brows of the Foreign Office and the State Department." The language was cautious. Obviously the point was a delicate one in the sense that nobody wanted the workers to start thinking about this.

Two weeks later Lippman returned to the attack. His article is headed "The British and Ourselves." And its first sentence is worth study. "With the enemy whispering in our ears that we are the catspaws of Churchill and in British ears that Roosevelt is scheming to devour the empire..." Lippman adds that we must seek the truth "humbly and sincerely." And the truth? The truth is that the time has come for "the reconciliation of all the English-speaking nations." They were separated in the past. And what form in this reconciliation to take? "To see the past truly is to see that what separated us was the empire; and therefore we (must) as much

as the British, renounce all the privileges and ambitions of empire in order that we may become trustees, with our allies, of the peace of the world." This for Britain is death. For America it means the world.

Lippman was very cautious in his expressions. Life magazine was much cruder in the article we referred to in the first of this series. Said Life: "Take this unhappy matter of the 'second' front. In a war to hold the empire together a second front might not be so important at this time. But in a war to assure victory for the United Nations... it does seem to be most dreadfully urgent."

There are all sorts of military facts, doubts and prejudices that go into any consideration of the second front. It is certainly a very complicated question. But it is as certain as can be and there is clear evidence to show, that when the British sit down to plan, they plan a war to keep the empire together, for they dare not let it fall apart; while the USA plans to win the war, but so as to be in the best position to swallow the empire!

Should the Japanese strike and there be a repetition of what happened in Burma, the whole world will feel the shock. Churchill knows that not only his government will fall, but the Conservative Party will be in serious danger and the coalition of all parties may split all ways. Victory in the war without keeping India has no sense to the British rulers.

The USA is so situated that Roosevelt can risk a second front and even lose a battle. But if Britain sent an expeditionary force to Europe which is defeated, she knows that this may be the signal for revolt in India, Egypt, the Middle East, and the beginning of the end in Africa. Roosevelt and Willkie, too, want some sort of freedom patched up in the East, some pseudo-constitutions and some promises and strengthen the political offensive in the Far East and at home, thus cutting the ground from under the Japanese propaganda. Churchill and the British are, up to now, unshakable. That is the real war these gentlemen fight.

Roosevelt's Plan

Isn't there some possibility that Roosevelt and Willkie have some real plan which will give real freedom to India? Nothing of the sort. What they are scared of is the Indian masses. They have confidence that they can handle the other parties in this maneuvering—the Indian

landlords and capitalists led by Gandhi and Nehru. Anything that can be patched up to look like freedom, with American imperialism and American power as the new masters, would be gobbled up by Gandhi and the right wing of the India Congress. They, too, want Britain to do something now, particularly since in addition to one set of powers—the imperialist armies—they now have another to deal with, the revolting Indian masses.

But aren't the Japanese afraid of the Indian mass revolt? THEY ARE. They are as much afraid of it as the United Nations are afraid of the European workers' revolution. But war is war. Roosevelt's plan is to use the European revolution against the Axis and then suppress it by policing Europe and imposing governments subservient to American imperialism. The Japanese plan is exactly the same, in reverse! To use the Indian revolution against the United Nations, and then suppress it by policing India and imposing a government subservient to Japanese imperialism. As frantically as Roosevelt and Churchill shout "free enslaved Europe," just as loudly do Hitler and Hirohito shout "free India." The American worker must watch these things and work out what is going on behind the abominable lies and hypocriticals of the politicians.

These interests are shaping the war. They are shaping your lives and mine, where we shall fight, how long we shall fight. They are also shaping the peace. For the peace is the outcome of the war as it actually took place.

But there is something else to be watched. In this seething mass of power politics, grab for empire and fooling of the people, we must be aware of the fact that force decides, the force of imperialist armies on the one hand and the force of revolting peoples on the other. At the start of the war it is the armies that are most powerful and strike the decisive blows. As the war drags on, the power of the people begins to assume a growing importance. Sometimes, as in Russia in 1917 and in Germany in 1918, it erupts and smashes the army of the imperialist rulers. It is this power in India which we must watch. Sooner or later it is going to tear through its chains and over night change the global war and the global peace.

(Continued in next issue)

America Since Pearl Harbor - -

Continued from page 1

to talk about the world of the future! Then what about this better world that we are supposedly fighting and dying for?

TRANSFORMATIONS ON THE HOME FRONT

And let us examine what has happened on the home front. A transformation, at a dizzy pace, has taken place. Gone is the famous American standard of living, replaced by a war economy, rationing and shortages. LABOR ACTION has, during the past year, described in great detail the infamous manner in which the burden of the war has been placed on those with the lowest incomes—the workers and small farmers, as well as the lower brackets of the middle class.

Labor has been forced to abandon its right to strike.

Labor works longer hours than ever before in its history, under heavier strain and supervision, with double time overtime pay given up.

Labor pays heavier taxes, with forced savings and still heavier taxes just around the corner. The whole burden of the war is forced on the working class—it does the fighting, it does the dying, it does the paying!

Meanwhile, capital makes profits (LABOR ACTION publishes the gory details virtually every week) that are astounding, even to the capitalist and the "Sixty Families" themselves! The jacking up of income taxes on workers is far greater than increased rates on boss incomes and boss profits.

The drive against labor, the drive against the forty-hour week, the refusal to liquidate vigorously the Jim Crow policy in the armed forces and in war industry, the preservation of the poll-tax system, the denial of mailing rights to workers' papers like The Militant, the breaking of strikes by Army and Navy forces—all of these facts are further evidence of the true character of the war. The growth of authoritarian and totalitarian methods of ruling, the growth of bureaucracy and military methods—these are the outstanding characteristics revealed in the development of the war.

And what is promised the people for the future?

Wages will be frozen even more rigidly than they are now. Actually, heavy wage cuts will be installed, by the method of forced savings, income tax deductions in advance, etc. The American standard of living will drop.

Every decree, every rule and regulation, every taxation program, every measure directed against labor that has already been adopted in the first year of the war will be doubly reinforced during the second year of the war, if the capitalists have their way. For, it is apparent, the year II of the war will be marked by great offensives on both the military front (against America's imperialist rivals) and on the home front (against the living standards and against labor).

SOCIALISM—THE WAY TO PEACE

For LABOR ACTION, the anniversary of Pearl Harbor is a day for reiterating its working class opposition to capitalist war and for reaffirming its belief that world peace can be obtained only through workers' action for the destruction of capitalism the world over and its replacement by socialism. In the words of the statement issued to the American people by the Workers Party on the first days of the war, and with which we agree:

"This war, with all its devastation and horror, is a child of capitalism. The people will not forever, or for long, endure the unspeakable sufferings of the war or of the system which gave it birth. To preserve themselves from complete destruction, to preserve what we know of civilization, to march forward to a decent world for humanity, the workers must and will replace the capitalist system with the order of socialism and bring an end to the bloody carnage, to all exploitation and oppression. We are supremely confident that the war will be brought to an end by this fulfillment of the destiny of the working class. Patiently and perseveringly the Workers Party will contribute all in its power to hasten this fulfillment."

On the first anniversary of Pearl Harbor, LABOR ACTION renews its pledge to fight for the interests of American labor, to fight for an end to the war by working class, socialist action.

NOW OUT!

The "All-Russian" November Issue of The NEW INTERNATIONAL

Articles on Russia, Past and Present, by:
KARL MARX LEON TROTSKY N. LENIN
MAX SHACHTMAN ALBERT GATES, ETC.
Book Reviews of Latest Publications on Russia, Etc.

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David Coolidge Reports on CIO Convention

Resolution on Jim Crow Good, But Lacks Teeth

(Continued from the last issue)

Next to Roosevelt and the various government speakers, it was really the Stalinists who occupied the center of the stage at the recent CIO convention in Boston. This was not due to any definite plan of the Stalinists themselves, but to the fortunes of war and Attorney General Biddle. The spotlight was on Curran and Bridges, and to a lesser extent on the Stalinists from "white collar" unions.

Curran came into the limelight because he is the head of the National Maritime Union. Two thousand members of this union have been lost at sea since the United States entered the war. Three hundred of them were Negro seamen. It was of course altogether fitting and proper that the CIO, and all the labor movement for that matter, commemorate the sacrifice that these workers have made. None of the things that we have to say about Stalinism is directed at these men or at their comrades among the living on land and sea who have been caught up in the net of the Second Imperialist World War.

NMU Gets Plaque

A memorial plaque was presented to the NMU by Murray from the CIO. There was also a "Memorial to the CIO Members in the Merchant Marine Who Have Died in the Service of Our Nation." In presenting the plaque to Curran, Murray made the presentation address, in which he praised the heroism of the men who man the ships carrying war supplies all over the earth. "They are the

boys," said Murray, "who give their lives, of their blood and of their limb to help America and its allies win this war."

While it is true that these "boys" have given their lives, there was nothing said in the resolution or in Murray's speech to indicate that there is doubt in anybody's mind that this war may not be exactly the kind of war it is claimed to be. While plenty was said in the convention, even by such a war supporter as Senator Pepper, to create some doubt even in the mind of the most obtuse or enthusiastic, the resolution and Murray's speech were completely silent on the question of whether or not this is really a war for democracy.

Pepper seemed to be a little disturbed. In commenting on the statement of Churchill that he had not become Prime Minister to sit in at the funeral of the British Empire, he said: "...If we are not sincere when we say that we fight for democracy, we prepare to betray another generation." Was the generation that fought and died in the First World War betrayed? If so, what guarantee have the men who fight in this one that their generation is not being betrayed? The workers of the world must answer this question for THEMSELVES.

In the course of Murray's presentation speech, giving the plaque to Curran, he made the statement: "This is what I personally think of you, this is what the CIO thinks of you, and your union." This was a sort of queer remark and of course does not mean that Murray has changed his mind about "communism." It is, rather, that in their journey around the circle, the Stalinists have met Murray in all-out support of the imperialist war and have found themselves in his embrace. Perhaps it was not accidental, however, that the above quoted statement by Murray to Curran did not find its way into the printed proceedings of the convention.

Bridges Gets Spotlight

Harry Bridges also found himself in the spotlight at the convention. He was the subject of glowing praise and sanctimonious approval by Murray and the other big shots, including David MacDonald. Was this praise being bestowed on Bridges because he was AT ONE TIME a militant labor leader who led a couple of militant mass strikes? Nothing of the sort. The CIO leadership was demanding that the deportation warrant against Bridges be lifted and he be made a citizen because, AND ONLY BECAUSE, he supports the war. His labor record was not even

mentioned, nor was it even hinted that his deportation may have been decreed because of his PAST militant activity.

Murray said that "it has not been demonstrated to the satisfaction of labor and many citizens that Harry Bridges has ever been affiliated with or a member of any subversive organization or groups that have for their purpose the overthrow of the government of the United States. Harry Bridges has given loyal support to the government of the United States in support of this war. Australia would welcome Harry Bridges back. They believe that he would be an aid to them in winning the war."

What did Murray think of Bridges two years ago? What would be his attitude on Bridges if he had supported a resolution in his international against the Roosevelt-Murray "no-strike" agreement that was forced on the CIO? What does Murray think would be the attitude of Australia toward Bridges if he should once again become a militant labor leader during or after the war?

MacDonald said that the way he looked at it is that "Mr. Bridges is even now a good, decent American citizen." Bittner felt that "the Bridges case is an indictment against the government of the United States." Of course Bittner did not tell the convention just what the indictment was. This was true of all of them. They are for Bridges now because, AND ONLY BECAUSE, he is a supporter of the imperialist war.

They have a hunch, of course, that all is not exactly straight with the Bridges deportation proceedings. They know that the case arose in the days when the Stalinists were not supporting the United Nations in the war. They know also that the bosses feared that Bridges might call another strike, and for this reason wanted to get him out of the country. But they don't mention this. It might interfere with the "war effort." They are not concerned now with whether or not Bridges is a Stalinist. They will hold this in reserve until after the war is over.

Discussion on Race Discrimination
One of the most interesting discussions in the convention was on the question of the Negro and the CIO. There was a resolution on "discrimination" which said in part that "we of the democracies are fighting fascism at home and abroad by welding all races, all religions and all peoples into a united body of warriors for democracy. Any discriminatory practices within our ranks, against Negroes or other groups, directly aids the enemy by

creating division, dissension and confusion." The resolution resolves that "the CIO now reiterates its firm opposition to any form of racial or religious discrimination and renews its pledge to carry on the fight for protection in law and in fact of the rights of every racial and religious group to participate fully in our social, political and industrial life."

There was objection to this resolution. The claim was made, notably by some of the Negro delegates, that it was not strong enough. Yancy, of the Transport Service Employees, said that "we agree that reiteration is necessary, but at the same time we think we ought to get away from platitudes and take out of the framework of words this reiteration of our policies and put it into real and practical action.... We believe this resolution should be recommitment and that it should be strengthened by additional facts, such as are brought forth in the Executive Board's resolution as submitted and accepted."

The resolution was discussed by Murray, Brophy, Bittner and many delegates from the floor. Townsend, president of the Transport Service Employees and member of the CIO Executive Council, told the convention that "it is incumbent upon each and every one of you to recognize how serious this problem is.... We are going to neglect the use of this manpower (Negro) and if you yourselves think more of your prejudices than you do of your freedom you will lose that freedom.... I warn you that unless those of you who make up the Congress of Industrial Organizations don't do more

than give lip service to this burning question then something will happen that will cause all of us to regret."

Walter Reuther spoke on the resolution to the effect that the resolution and the facts given in Murray's remarks should get down to the people in the factories, for "unless they understand the things we talk about in these resolutions, they will remain high-sounding, pious resolutions.... I think it is the duty of every delegate here today to go back to their respective organizations and see that they take up the fight against racial discrimination, not as a secondary consideration... but this fight against racial discrimination must be put on top of the list with union security and other union demands."

It was clear that this problem of discrimination against the Negro in the unions and in the factories was beginning to worry the leadership along with their worries over Congress, the WLB and other government agencies. Discrimination against the Negro was beginning to interfere with the prosecution of the war. Their attitude is that if Negro support is to be won for the war, then discrimination must be eliminated or at least lessened.

This is the chief motivation today behind their concern over race discrimination: the solidarity of labor, black and white, is necessary to win the war. On the more important matter of the necessity for the solidarity of labor to win greater security, concessions from the bosses and a better life for the American workers as a whole, these leaders were strangely silent.

New York Workers Attention!

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

Mock Trial at CDRC Affair

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is presenting a mock trial opera, auction and dance on Saturday evening, December 12, at 9:00 o'clock at Werdermann's Hall, 160 Third Avenue, near 16th Street, New York.

The proceeds of this affair will go toward providing Christmas presents for all the children of the defendants. Many of these worker-parents have had great difficulties in earning regular incomes since the convictions.

This affair will mark a year since eighteen CIO trade unionists and Socialist Workers Party members were convicted in the Minneapolis trial, as the first victims of the infamous "Gag" Act.

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

Editorials

Kings and Their Cabbage Patches

"The Austrian monarchist and labor circles here are battling for control of an Austrian Legion, now being organized by the War Department to aid in the eventual invasion of Europe," says the New York Post of November 23.

The two parties involved in the struggle are also fighting for supremacy in the "Free Austria" movement. They are, on the one hand, the monarchists, led by the extreme reactionary, Archduke Otto von Hapsburg—a nonentity who would like to swing his golden scepter to the tunes of Johann Strauss over the enslaved heads of the Czechs, Yugoslavs, Serbs, Poles and Hungarians. And on the other hand they are Austria's old social-democrats and trade unionists, now bootlickers of American imperialism.

What is interesting is Washington's response to these highly incapable leaders of "Free Austria." The State Department has been dealing with the National Committee, the central board representing all Austrian forces except the laborites, and completely dominated by the monarchists. "He (Archduke Otto) is friendly with President Roosevelt and his family, Assistant Secretary of State Berle and Senator Pepper (Democrat, Florida)." It therefore appears as though Roosevelt and his government wish to have nothing to do with even the poor, harmless social-democrats, preferring to make friends with Mussolini-inclined Archduke Otto and his clique.

FDR gave us a pretty strong idea of the post-war Europe he would like to see when he recognized the French fascist, Darlan. Is this another indication of his post-war program—a semi-fascist, semi-monarchist Europe, controlled by its relative across the Ocean, Uncle Sam?

Scram, Mr. Cripps!

In an editorial in an April issue of LABOR ACTION we wrote as follows:

"On Sunday, April 12, 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps—the pettifogging lawyer spokesman for the dying British Empire—passed away from this world's political life. His body is reported returning for a well-deserved rest and final interment in Britain's graveyard of political has-beens."

We don't like to brag, but it looks like we called that one! Sir Stafford's final burial took a little longer than we had expected, but then, the British Tory gentlemen are such—gentlemen!

Now, as was announced last week, he has been removed from the War Cabinet and his post as government spokesman in the House of Commons. Some second-rate post, Minister of Aircraft Production, is handed to him—for how long is a question.

This renegade to the socialist and labor movement, who tried in vain to sell a bill of goods to India's 400,000,000 people, is discarded by his master, Churchill, like a squeezed lemon. "You served your purpose,

Cripps, so scram!" That's what the Prime Minister said; and so did the Labor Party bureaucrats, particularly Herbert Morrison, who serve in the War Cabinet.

Churchill used Cripps in a final effort to line up India; having failed, Cripps was to no further use. Again it's: "Good-bye, Mr. Cripps!"

Save Caballero!

The press has reported that Largo Caballero, leader of the Socialist Party of Spain and head of the Popular Front government during its war with fascist Franco, and Santiago Quiroga, Republican leader and member of Caballero's government, have been seized by the Germans during their occupation of Southern France and handed over to the butcher regime of the Spanish fascists.

Since then nothing has been heard about the fate of these two men. But, when it is recalled how the Franco regime proceeded to execute the leaders of the workers' organizations following the fascist victory, it is not difficult to foretell their fate unless the widest possible protest is organized to bring pressure on Franco through the proper channels.

We were never political followers of Caballero, the weak-kneed socialist, or Quiroga, the republican democrat, and during the Spanish Civil War a wide gulf separated us. But the defense of these men from the fascist murderers is a duty of all working class organizations. To permit the execution of these men is to strengthen the power of the fascists.

Though Franco has denied that they have been executed, experience has long demonstrated that not the slightest reliance can be placed on his word, nor on the word of any fascist. Nazi Germany, Vichy France and fascist Spain—these are the culprits behind this latest act of infamy.

The need of an organized campaign in their behalf has never been more urgent than now. Protest to the State Department! Demand that it intercede in behalf of these men. Trade unions, rally in behalf of your class brothers!

Farrell Book Banned

James T. Farrell's book, "Studs Lonigan," has been banned by the American Library Association. Farrell's book has been subjected to a violent attack and censorship, notably by the Catholic hierarchy, since the date of its publication. It has nevertheless, enjoyed a tremendous popularity here and abroad.

"Studs Lonigan" is a significant contribution to American literature. Both as a social document, in its presentation of an important segment of American life, Chicago's South Side, and as a literary work, "Studs Lonigan" ranks high in recent American literature. Without its incontestable merit, the censorship would be an intolerable act. Given the value of the book, that censorship is merely more odious.

The issue arose when the English publishers reported their stock exhausted and ordered new editions from the United States. Though originally on the ALA list for shipment abroad, the book was suddenly withdrawn under the pressure of reactionary groups.

Commenting on the censorship, Farrell has said that it "indicates a resurgence of war-time censorship." Prominent literary figures, among them Carl Van Doren and Stephen Vincent Benet, have already denounced the censorship. The obligation to protest the censorship rests on us all.

C. P. Attacks Labor Action, Issues Leaflet at Brewster

A leaflet distributed to the workers of the Brewster Aeronautical Corp. by the Communist Party of Queens reveals that the Stalinist buzzards have been to the fifth pile again and have returned with a leaflet reeking with a stench that only they can generate in the labor movement. The leaflet is entitled "How Brewster Workers Can Help Our Boys on the Offensive."

After a paragraph on the African campaign they get down to the business of demanding that every "patriotic Brewster worker" insist on "maximum production in the entire plant and each department." Now we know what they mean by "maximum production." They mean that the workers in the factories are to accept whatever production standards are proposed by the bosses, no matter how back-breaking they may be, no matter how hazardous and no matter how long the hours. "Patriotic workers," to the Stalinists, are workers who are willing to become production slaves; meek and docile pack-horses who bow before the lash and vituperation of every little foreman, without a murmur of protest.

After which comes a weak and meaningless paragraph addressed to Van Dusen, pleading with him to get on with the task of job evaluation. This must be done so that the Brewster workers can get up to "maximum production." This is the only paragraph in the entire leaflet that even hints that the bosses or the government bureaucrats have any responsibility at all for production.

The Real Reason

In the next paragraph they get down to the real reason for issuing this leaflet. The "workers must be on

guard against those disrupters who tried to provoke them into 'wildcat' actions... the workers must be on guard against Hitler's provocateurs, the slimy Trotskyites and their seditious sheet, LABOR ACTION, whose special role is to paralyze production in order to bring about our country's defeat."

And then these bootlickers, who hung onto Hitler's coattails until he shook them off, say that the reason the "Soviet Union" fights so well is that it exposed this Trotskyite-Hitler fifth column at the Moscow trials and wiped them out."

We will return to this typical piece of Stalinist slander in a moment. First we want to deal with what they have to say about the War Labor Board and their cowardly and traitorous approval of this bankrupt and boss-ridden institution.

They warn the workers against "wildcat" action by telling them about the action of the WLB in refusing union security to an AFL union because this union had "two short strikes last July." What these wretches are saying is that the WLB will get you if you don't watch out. They are not concerned with the validity of the strike. No matter what the grievance of the workers, if they strike it is a "wildcat" action. To the Stalinists, any strike that is not ordered by or approved by their own bureaucrats is a "wildcat" action.

They give full approval to the WLB. Anyone who doesn't is a liar, provocateur and disrupter. As we will show in a moment, this would include every leader of the CIO, great and small, except the Stalinists.

The "disrupters" can get nothing from the WLB, but "disciplined and patriotic labor" can. The leaflet goes

on to cite three instances where the WLB granted wage increases. This is their "proof" that if the workers will only behave themselves they can have all their "just" grievances taken care of by the WLB.

We are at a loss to understand how these scoundrels, even such craven and brazen scoundrels as the Stalinists, can come before labor with such an all-out defense of the WLB. Every worker except the dead or the dying knows that the WLB is stalling and side-stepping, and that one of the chief sources of dissatisfaction in the shops today arises from the inability of the unions to get action from the WLB. Furthermore, every worker also knows that the wage awards of the WLB are inadequate and that the no-strike agreement made by the trade union leadership is a millstone around the neck of labor.

In the recent CIO convention, perhaps one-half of the discussion revolved around the incompetence and the stupidities of the WLB. And not only this, but it was charged in the convention that all of the administrative boards in Washington are dominated by the employers and serve their interests. Despite this, the Stalinists tell the Brewster workers that if they are good the WLB will be their friend.

They yelp to Van Dusen about "job evaluation." But actually they don't give a damn about job evaluation. They have but one real interest and that is to serve their master in the Kremlin—whether that means sell-out treachery or frame-ups against militants.

As to LABOR ACTION and their suggestion to the government that the frame-up methods made famous at the Moscow trials be used in the United States, we will only say that these butchers will not get away with it. They won't get away with it because the workers know the Stalinists and their history in the labor movement. Labor is well acquainted with Stalinist "patriotism." We know all about their union wrecking, their political twisting and turning at the command of Stalin, their frame-up of militant workers and their bootlicking whenever it serves the interests of Stalin and the GPU.

They appeal to the law. We know too what their law is. Stalinist "law" is the law of the axe, the frame-up, betrayal and murder. They will side with the bosses and sell out the workers, they will bow to any little government board or any backwoods reactionary congressman if this is necessary to advance the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

LABOR ACTION will continue to exercise its right to discuss the problems of the day with the workers. We will discuss and explain every major question that comes before the working class. We will discuss these questions from the position of the working class and its class interests. We will not support the bosses or defend their interests. We will leave the defense of the bosses to the Stalinists. They are well equipped through long practice to carry out this assignment.

We do not believe that all the baying and shrieking of the Stalinists about "sedition" and "fifth column" will fool a single worker or deter him from reading LABOR ACTION. Workers who read our paper know all about this Stalinist charge of "sedition." And they know whether or not LABOR ACTION argues properly and correctly for the rights of labor in the United States.

LABOR ACTION is pleased with the reception that the paper has had and we have a hunch that the Stalinists are only worried for fear that LABOR ACTION will finally become an antidote to the poison carried in the Daily Worker and Stalinist leaflets.—D. C.

Get Set for Big Night Xmas Eve!

Who said "there ain't no Santa Claus"? That assumption, dear reader, is correct. Technology has pushed the bearded old geezer out of the picture and the Grand Bazaar at LABOR ACTION'S forthcoming Christmas Eve dance in New York will prove that Santa was a pious, penny-pinching piker.

Eric-a-brac, clothing, jewelry, books, pictures, games, cosmetics, stationery, phonograph records and hardware are only a few of the items thus far received and slated to be sold at the dance at below "cellar prices." More than one purchaser at the recent fall frolic bazaar cast backward glances at the stalls, lest someone revoke his "steal."

The Christmas Eve dance will mark the culmination of intensive efforts to make this, the last social event of the year, an entertaining evening for all.

Organized group dancing, always a delight for spectators as well as participants, is also planned. Music will be provided by Gerald Felix and his Seven Calypso Swingsters. Watch this column next week for further details.

FOOD:

Its Use Will Be A Mighty Weapon

By Henry Judd

"Food will be a mighty weapon and a powerful persuader in that crucial interval between war and peace when the future of the world will be decided." (New York Times editorial, November 28.)

Herbert Hoover, former President and World War I food administrator, has written recently, "agriculture must be envisioned as a munitions industry and treated as such." In this statement he echoes the now familiar slogan of the Roosevelt New Dealers and government administrators: "Food will win the war and write the peace." How innocent and sweet-sounding are all these statements, editorial remarks and slogans issued by our leading spokesmen, as they spur on the American farmers to greater productive efforts.

Governor Herbert Lehman, leading figure in the Democratic Party and a member of the "Sixty-Family" Lehman Brothers—that filial organization of big shot financiers, investment brokers, bankers and finance-monopoly capitalists—has just been appointed by FDR to take charge of the "rehabilitation of Europe and other war-devastated areas"; to supply the starving and war-weary masses of the world with food, supplies, money to set their industries and economic life in order again, etc.

FOOD AS A MILITARY WEAPON

Food, and everything that it implies—the ability to keep going, to live—is obviously a tremendous weapon in the hands of those who possess it. Europe is starving right now; it is not necessary to wait until the war is over to find hundreds of thousands of men, women and children who are starving, in addition to the tens of millions who are undernourished and hungry. In the economic chaos that will grip Europe with the downfall of the Hitler regime, the upsurge of national and revolutionary movements, the devastating invasion of the continent by the "democratic" forces, the starving condition of Europe will be intensified. Yes, food, the RIGHT to eat, will become (already has become) a dominant POLITICAL question!

This is what the New York Times means when it describes food as a "powerful persuader." Do you want to eat? To go on living? Then you had better know which side your bread is buttered on! Are you with us? Then here's a slice of bread, with a vitamin pill thrown in. Are you against us? Then eat cake!

Administrator Lehman, too, understands the use of food as a "persuader" and a weapon in the imperialist war. That is why he spoke, in his first statement upon acceptance of his new post, about American troops probably remaining in the countries they occupy (to keep law and order and hand out food to the deserving) for at least a year after the war is over and won. That is why he, too, emphasized the vast importance and significance of the whole question of post-war supplying and rehabilitation.

FOOD TO NOURISH REACTION

Although it is clear that the role of food and rehabilitation in World War II will be far more important than it was in the last war, America has already had one experience in which food was utilized to help bolster up reactionary and imperialist causes. Last time it was supervised by Herbert Hoover; this time it will be Herbert Lehman, with more authority and more important missions to perform. Hoover used American food to back up every reactionary clique and counter-revolutionary regime that attempted to seize power in the Central European and Balkan states during the revolutionary upheavals of Europe after the 1917 Russian Revolution.

The individuals are changed, but their goals are the same. Yes, America's rulers will hand out food and supplies to those who give it full support and are willing to set up reactionary European governments—the de Gaulles, the Prince Ottos of Hapsburg, the Count Sforzas of Italy, the Darlans of France, the Queen Wilhelmas of Holland, the Mikhailovitches of imperialist Yugoslavia, etc. They will get food to stabilize their rule and provide a support for their reactionary governments, the better to do the bidding of Anglo-American imperialism. They will get food as a part of the deal between FDR and the reactionary monarchists, royalists, semi-fascists and diverse reactionaries who constitute the so-called "governments-in-exile."

But suppose the oppressed nationalities, the workers and peasants of the European countries, refuse to accept FDR's Gauleiters? Suppose, as we strongly suspect and hope, they ignore the de Gaulles and King Peters and establish THEIR OWN workers', socialist, democratic rule, ousting the capitalists responsible for the war? Will they get food and reconstruction supplies IN THAT CASE? Or will they meet with the same hatred and opposition that the Russian people did in 1917 when they overthrew the Czar and established their workers' and peasants' government?

If it is up to FDR, Lehman and their fellow imperialists, the answer is obvious. Food only to those who support us; no food to revolutionary workers or revolutionary movements. The criteria? Capitalism and its private property!

FOOD AS A WORKERS' WEAPON

FDR uses food as an imperialist weapon; socialists use it as a revolutionary, working class weapon in the struggle for peace and an end to the war. This is why American workers must prepare to fight for the right of ALL European workers, poor people and peasants, to be fed, without any political strings attached. A workers' government in America would have as one of its major objectives the helping of ALL its brothers in Europe; starving victims of a capitalist war they never wanted in the first place.

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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 MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- \$1.00-an-hour minimum pay! Time and a half for overtime; double time for Sunday and holiday work.
- Wage increases to meet rising costs. No wage or job freezing! Equal pay for equal work!
- For a greater share of the increasing national income. For a higher standard of living!
- No sales tax on consumer goods! No tax on wages! Against forced savings!
- For control of price fixing and rationing by committees of working class organizations, housewives and farmers' organizations. Freeze rents and consumer goods prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living.
- No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
- Maintain and increase all government social services!
- SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!
- A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
- Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
- Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the three percent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

- The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces.
- The right of soldiers to vote in all elections.
- The right of all youth, male or female, to vote at the age of eighteen. Old enough to fight; old enough to vote!
- For adequate dependency allowances paid by the government with NO deductions from the soldier's pay.

SMASH JIM CROW!

- Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!
- For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes!

BE PREPARED!

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

Washington Letter

A Military 'Master Plan' For Counter-Revolution

By PETER DANIELS

WASHINGTON—Before the North African campaign American military leaders looked with disdain on "the post-war planners" who concerned themselves with what kind of a world they wanted to have after the war. Now, however, these military men themselves are very much concerned with the problem of how America is to control foreign countries. The future of Europe and Africa is a matter of military expediency for them.

There are two schools of thought in Washington, the "radical" and the "moderate." The "moderates" believe it will be possible to run European affairs after the war through a system of "Franco" governments. This group believes that Germany should be disarmed but that she should be permitted to be an active participant in world economy. They assume that an international army or international police organized by the United Nations, or more specifically by the United States, could be depended on to keep Germany in check and to prevent another rise of German militarism. The function of the international army would also be to guarantee social "order."

A "Master Plan"

The "radicals" plan to wipe out German industrialism before any peace terms are to be discussed. The argument here is that at the end of the war Germany will be the only country in Europe with its large-scale industries left intact and that this would place Germany in a dominant position as far as European industrial economy is concerned. The destruction of German industrialism would also have the purpose of eliminating America's most powerful industrial competitor and leave the United States in possession of the industrial world monopoly.

They realize that the liquidation of German industrialism would have to be a post-war task rather than a wartime affair. These strategists are thinking in terms of a "master plan" which provides for the complete destruction of Germany's main industrial areas by mass air raids, air raids that will no longer be obstructed by a powerful defense system. In other words, as long as the Nazi military system holds together this destruction of Germany's industrial areas remains nothing more than wishful thinking. However, upon the collapse of the Nazi military system it is possible to envision how American air fleets can bomb out entire industrial districts without any risk to themselves. This "master plan" will be especially directed against those districts where the workers may have seized power and started a proletarian revolution.

By destroying vital industrial areas in Germany, these strategists expect to kill two birds with one stone: wipe out the center of proletarian revolution and also destroy the basis for the growth of an industrial rival.

Such ideas have to be taken seriously because they represent the direction of men who hold important military positions. These conceptions accord with other preparations

being made for the suppression of revolutionary movements.

Rely on Air Power

Many weak governments which fear that they will not have popular support after the war, cherish the thought of having the world policed through air power. They agree with Sir Stafford Cripps, ex-leader of the House of Commons, who said in a recent broadcast:

"The power of air, which daily shows itself in growing strength, provides an opportunity which never before existed, to control world order. An international air force could reach the most remote corners of the world and could strike at any who sought to break the peace for their own advantage."

In other words, if a proletarian revolution should break out and disturb the existing "world order," then a message to a few airports would bring mass air raids that could, within a few hours, destroy centers of proletarian revolution.

The threat implied in Sir Stafford Cripps' statement expresses the realization that a revival of proletarian class warfare will be the inevitable outcome of this war. For that reason, attempts are made now during the war to organize the counter-revolution.

Darlan-Eisenhower

In connection with such ideas, it is important to note the character of the actions in Africa, especially the deal with Darlan. Quite obviously, General Eisenhower did not deceive Darlan nor did Darlan deceive Eisenhower. Rather they seem to have made a pact whereby the corrupt semi-fascist colonial administration of the French generals was to be used to maintain civilian order in Africa and is perhaps to be used for other important purposes.

The French colonial army, like all colonial armies, is composed mainly of mercenary types. They will probably be reorganized and re-equipped and since most of them come from diverse lands and are willing to follow their superiors blindly, for money, there is the danger that the colonial troops are being prepared to be sent to France—not only for the purpose of fighting the foreign invader but also to be used against the French people. It must be borne in mind that these same troops at first fought the Nazis, then overnight became their allies in fighting American troops and then again shifted quickly to become the defenders of "democracy."

What role will American troops play if they enter Europe. Will they bring freedom and liberty to the people? According to General Gullion, who is in charge of training of American personnel for the occupation of foreign countries, "It is the duty of the occupying authorities, whether military or civilian, to preserve so far as possible the local institutions, laws and customs of the occupied region" (New York Herald Tribune, November 17), which is another way of saying that fascist legislation and the "rules and customs" of fascist governments are to be the guiding principle for the occupying civilian administration.