LABOR ACTION In This Issue -Let the Bankers Fight On the Maginot Line, Labor's Fight Is The ILGWU Convention ...... Page 4 Editorial on SWOC ......Page 4 **On the Picket Line!** Situation in Brazil ......Page 3 MAY, 27, 1940 98 ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY, SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL THREE CENTS **BOGSEVELT LAUNCHES BLITZKRIEG** TO DRIVE U.S. LABOR INTO THE WAR

# **SWOC Meet Skirts Organization Issues**

# **Takes Vague** Anti-War Position

CHICAGO-The Steel Workers Organizing Committee held its second national convention at the Morrison Hotel here, from May 14 to May 17. The 830 delegates represented 654 union agreements covering 525,000 steel workers in this country and Canada.

The convention adopted a resoluion, proposed by the Murray-Lewis machine, which was in complete control of the entire session, opposing American entry into the war. This "anti-war" resolution was much weakened, however, by various escape clauses pledging support to the Government "in any emergency" and to defend "our country and our free institutions against foreign invasion". Stephen Decatur's famous phrase about "my country, right or wrong" appeared in the resolution. No delegate rose to ask which country was meant: the country of Wall Street and the steel barons, or the country of the remaining 95% American of the people? Refer Third Term

There was considerable sentiment on the floor for a resolution favoring a third term for Roosevelt, but after effective intervention by the Murray-Lewis machine, the convention voted to refer the matter to the executive committee of the SWOC.

The convention heard an illuminating report by William Mitch, Southern director of the SWOC, on difficulties in organizing labor in the deep South. In states like Alabama, Mitch said, less than twenty per cent of eligible voters have the franchise, and almost every town has police regulations prohibiting Negro and white workers from meeting to-



As the Nazi war machine smashes simultaneously towards Paris and the Channel ports, an equally powerful and ruthless blitzkrieg for "National Defense" is being waged in the United States.

To a wildly cheering Congress, President Roosevelt last week delivered a warlike "defense" message asking for the immediate appropriation of \$1,182,000,000. Outstanding items asked for by the President were a super-armada of 50,000 warplanes (about 10,000 more than Hitler has), and a special \$200,000,000 "blank check" fund, to be spent by the White House without accounting to anybody.

IN THE HOLY NAME OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, this bill is being rushed through Congress and is expected to be on Roosevelt's desk for signing by the end of this week.

IN THE HOLY NAME OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, Hoover and Dewey and other leading Republicans who up to now have tried to cash in on the deep anti-war sentiment of the American people by playing the



The speed and power of Hitler's offensive against the Allies have produced, in the last two weeks, a great change in the American political scene. Millions of Americans are now asking themselves for the first time not, "Should we go to the aid of the 'democracies'?", but, "How can we defend America against the possible victory of Hitler?"

The emphasis has shifted from a crusade "to make the world safe for democracy" to a matter of national self-preservation against the terrible Nazi war-machine.

President Roosevelt has been quick to seize his chance to get the country into the war. He has started up again, on an even bigger scale, the war drive he unsuccessfully tried to launch just fail. This time it seems to be going over better.

Why are many American workers beginning to look with a more friendly eye on Roosevelt's "National Defense" plans? Some of them understand that the so-called "democracies" are in reality imperialist powers with vast colonial empires, that French and English workers are starved and kicked around by the few who own things. But, they argue, Hitlerism is even worse. than "democratic" capitalism, and it must be stopped. Hitlerism must be stopped. The Allies are now trying to stop Hitler.

Their conclusion is: support the Allies. And, since if Hitler wins the war

isolationist game, now have dropped the mask and have openly endorsed Roosevelt's war program.

IN THE HOLY NAME OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, Roosevelt is preparing another War **Resources Board, to regiment** labor and industry when M-Day comes. The fuhrer will probably be either Chairman Stettinius of U.S. Steel and the House of Morgan (who headed last summer's short-lived War Resources Board), Joseph P. Kennedy, Wall Street tycoon and now U.S. Amassador in London, or Bernard Baruch, the financier who ran American industry in the last war.

In the holy name of National Defense, the President is already trying to set up a coalition cabinet, which would impose on the nation the dictatorship of united American big business when the war crosses the Atlantic. It is reported he has offered a cabinet post to Colonel Frank Knox, pro-war Republican and owner of the Chicago Daily News, and that Knox has accepted. Alf Landon was invited to the White House for lunch to discuss the idea. and was speedily disinvited when he publicly opposed it. In the helv name of National Defense, the entire American battle fleet has been kept in mid-Pacific ever since Hitler struck in Holland, to protect American imperialist interests in the Dutch East Indies. The British Government has just shown its appreciation of this sort of "National Defense" by offering to the U.S. fleet, whenever requested, the entire facilities of her great naval base at Singapore. In the holy name of National Defense, the President and Congress are conspiring to repeal the Walsh-Healey Act and lower the wage-andhour standards of workers on Government munitions orders. In the holy name of National Defense, the Administration is seeking to build an army and navy of unheard-of size: ARMY: 750,000 regulars; 250,009 reserves. (Present strength: 230,000.) NAVY: 500 ships, including 17 battleships, 35 cruisers. (Present strength: about 400 ships.) AIR FORCE: 50,000 planes. (Present strength: 5,000.) With every mile the German tanks and troops advance in Europe, the temperature of the American press rises, the warmongering plans of the White House grow bolder. Roosevelt is clearly taking advantage of the American people's understandable abhorrence of Hitler's brutal blitzkrieg to drive ahead on the war plans he was forced by the pressure of popular opposition to drop last fall. "National Defense!" shriek President, Congress, press and radio. But what they mean is defense of the business interests of American capitalism in the Pacific, in South America, in the Mediteeranean and elsewhere throughout the globe. The navy is now engaged in "National Defense", it is true. But it is National Defense not of the United States but of the Dutch East Indies. As for the army, according to TIME of April 15 last, "The last place the U.S. Army expects to fight is on the U.S. mainland."

gether. The convention went on record for the continuance of the SWOC's policy of black-and-white unity.

Technological unemployment was discussed, and a resolution adopted for a thirty-hour week at a minimum pay of six dollars a day. The Real Issue

The red-hot issue confronting the convention was the bureaucratic control exercised over the SWOC by the top officials: Philip Murray, Clinton Golden, David McDonald, Van Bittner. This bureaucratic clique has run the SWOC in' autocratic fashion ever since Lewis installed it in 1936.

The two organizational issues were (1) the rank-and-file demand that the SWOC be set up as an international union, with democratically elected officers and a constitution;

(Continued on page 2)

# **Negro's Fight**

### By J. R. JOHNSON

The —

Six weeks after publication, Native Son, a novel about a Negro by a Negro, Richard Wright, had sold a quarter of a million copies. This is not only a question of literature. Whatever brings a nationally oppressed minority to the notice of the oppressing majority is of political importance. /

Bigger Thomas, the hero, comes very close to raping a white woman; then, accidentally, it is true, murders her. He burns the corpse in the furnace. Then he writes a fake kidnapper's letter to the parents of the girl, demanding ten thousand dollars as the price of restoring her to her home. His crime is discovered and to save himself he coldbloodedly murders his Negro girl-friend, Bessie. He is caught and is sentenced to death. The action takes place in Chicago. **Crime and The Negro** 

This is the bald outline of the story, and periodically you can read in the press similar stories about Negro "rapists, and Negro "killers". Not only the white but the Negro press features such crimes. Whenever the Anti-Lynching Bill comes up in the House you can be sure to hear Southern senators quoting statistics to show the high percentage of dangerous criminals in the Negro population.

Now the most dangerous criminals, gangsters and racketeers in America are not Negroes. Al Capone is no Negro. But Richard Wright, the Negro author, has accepted the challenge. He says in effect "You fill your press with accounts of Negro crime. In the South, you use the

(Continued on page 3)

# Wilson Case Rouses Workers

# Huge Meeting Protests Slugging of Relief Worker

CAMBRIDGE, MASS .- An audience of five hundred local residents, mostly from the workingclass section of this third biggest industrial city in New England, heard speakers denounce the brutal beating by a political gang of James Wilson, relief worker and father of nine. Wilson's condition is improved, but

he is still on the danger list at the Cambridge City Hospital, with a fractured skull and injured spine. He was beaten up because he refused to take \$3 for a \$50 auto repair job he did for the politician, Ralph ("Ratty") Hamilton. Wilson's family was also cut off relief.

The mass meeting was called by

week instead of the \$10 they had been getting for years. When Mayor Lyons refused to take any action on the case, the Middlesex County district attorney, Robert F. Bradford, the Wilson Defense Committee, which announced he would "personally" investigate the whole business. The distributed 5.000 circulars. Speakers local police are holding Emil ("Wacincluded August Van Schyndel, a ky") Lauziere, a political henchman labor organizer, and Herbert Robof Hamilton. Lauziere slugged Wilinson, a Harvard Law School stuson, while Hamilton supervised the dent. Chairman was William Tracy job. It looks like a matter of time of Roxbury. The size and enthusiasm before the defense committee lands

of the meeting scared off a gang of hoodlums sent down by "Ratty" Hamilton to break it up. They slunk out of the hall a few minutes after the meeting opened. Wilson Family Back on Relief Rolls

The activity of the Wilson Defense fighting union to protect the inter-Committee has already forced the ests of Cambridge relief families. In local politicians, who fear expouse this direction, the city's jobless leadof rotten relief conditions in Camers feel, lies a real hope for a cleanbridge, to make big concessions. The up of Cambridge relief abuses.

# **New Branch Formed On Shachtman Tour**

The special nation-wide anti-war and party organizing tour of Max Shachtman, National Secretary of the Workers Party has started off with a bang. Excellent meetings were already held in New Haven, Connecti-

chusetts. The high point in the first week

of the tour was the organization of a branch of the Workers Party in the Fitchburg-Gardner territory of Massachusetts. Shachtman will complete the Massachusetts portion of the tour with a meeting at Worcester and then move on to New York State.

Party branches at Rochester and Gloversville, New York, have already prepared meetings for Shachtman on the subject, "Will the United States be Drawn Into the War?". Next in schedule are meetings in

the Middle West to be held at Youngstown, Akron, and Cleveland in Ohio to be followed by meetings in Illinois and Michigan.

Wilson family was speedily put back

on the relief rolls-and at \$12 a

The energy and devotion of the

organizers of the Wilson Defense

Committee, and the heartening suc-

Hamilton in jail.

# Will Debate Professor in U. of Michigan

ANN ARBOR, Michigan-A highly significant and topical debate has been arranged at the University of Michigan for Max Shachtman, now on a speaking tour for the Workers Party. As a result of a challenge issued by the Politics Club on the campus, Professor Albert Hyma of the University's history department, has agreed to debate the National Secretary of the Workers Party on (Continued on page 4)

with this country seems likely, the conclusion extends also to supporting the Roosevelt "defense" program.

# What Is the Roosevelt Program?

It is true that fascism is worse, from the viewpoint of the masses, than democratic capitalism. But it is not true that the "National Defense" program now being put through by Congress and the White House is a program to defend this country from attack by Hitler.

It is a program to defend the world-wide imperialist interests of American business against the threat of a rising Nazi world empire. The fifty thousand airplanes, the five hundred warships, the army of one million men now being feverishly created at a cost of billions, these will fight in South America, in Europe, in Java and Sumatra, and not on the American mainland or in American home waters. They will fight to protect American export markets and American foreign investments, for the world-wide interests of the U.S. Steel Corporation, the Chase National Bank, and a few hundred other super-corporations which control this country today.

Hitler can be stopped this way-perhaps-but not Hitlerism, not the system of totalitarian terror and crushing of the labor movement which Hitler represents. On the contrary, in order to "stop Hitler" this way, it will be necessary to Hitlerize this country, to smash the workingclass and regiment the American people the same way Hitler has regimented the German people.

That is the only way Hitler can be "stopped" by a capitalist government. For Hitlerism has its "Fifth Column" in America-the Sixty Families and their banks and corporations, who stand for the same things that Hitler stands for, and whose class-brothers in Germany put Hitler into power.

#### cess their efforts have had, has given For a Workers' Government! a real boost to the formation of a

The only way to fight against Hitlerism is for the American workers and farmers and unemployed to take over control of the government. Only a workers' government, representing the ninety per cent of the American people not represented by the existing government in Washington, only this can "stop Hitler" without in the process Hitlerizing America.

A workers' government in America would mean (1) that the country's armed forces would be used to defend the homes and land of the American people and not to protect the worldwide imperialist interests of the Sixty Families; (2) that "National Defense" would mean what it says and not be as it is fast becoming, a Trojan Horse for letting loose upon the American people the terrors of totalitarianism; (3) that Hitler would find it enormously difficult to rally the German people in a war against such a workingclass government over here.

Why has Hitler been able so easily to defeat the armies of France and England? The right-wing columnist, Dorothy Thompson, gave the answer the other day when she wrote:

"Those who are fighting must know for what they die; they must know they are not dying as units of an expiring world, but dying for a new world . . . dying not for yesterday but for tomorrow, not for nationalism but for commonwealth, not for money but for a decent human life, not for domination but for union with equality."

Hitler has been able to put over on the German people the illusion that they are "dying not for yesterday but for tomorrow, not for nationalism but for commonwealth". It is a fraud and a swindle, but the German people seem to accept it-for the present. And Germany is winning the war.

The only real, true answer to Dorothy Thompson's list of war aims is revolutionary socialism. A workers' government alone faces not towards yesterday but towards tomorrow. A workers' government alone can oppose the false "revolutionary" spirit so skillfully worked up by the Nazis, with the real burning, living faith of revolutionary socialism.

#### THAT IS THE ONLY WAY TO STOP HITLERISM!

ONLY THE AMERICAN MASSES CAN DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST HITLER! and the state of the 14-15

FOR A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT AND A PEOPLE'S ARMY IN AMERICA!

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# Exclusive Washington War-Mongers **Speak Plainly**

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Page 2

They Cast a Greedy Eye on All of the Western Hemisphere

### By GEORGE MULVANEY

WASHINGTON-Hitler's successes in Holland and Belgium have whipped Congress into a frenzy over "national defense".

New Deal senators, jarred out of their complacency concerning the strength of the British and French forces, have revealed their inmost hopes and fears in private conversations. Foremost among these has been Sen. Tom Connally, negro baiting Administration spokesman from Texas.

"We must prepare the nation's young people to be sent into action in the very near future," Connolly told friends. "When Hitler finishes with England, he will cast his eyes at Canada which will want to throw in her lot with us.

"Of course we must be prepared to defend what will then be part of our country."

Chairman Key Pittman, of the Senate's foreign relations committee, confided privately that "England and France are beaten and we must do something about it. Unfortunately, we are NOT ready to go to their aid immediately because the public would NOT stand for it. However, the nation will soon be rearmed and by that time the people will realize we must help the allies.

#### Lundeen Says His Bit

Senator Ernest Lundeen, Farmer-Laborite from Minnesota, again raised his voice to demand acquisition by the United States of English and French possessions in the Western Hemisphere. Lundeen is the author of a bill authorizing the state department to accept Bermuda as part payment on the war debts.

"I hope to see the day when the American flag will fly over all the land in the Western Hemisphere, "Lundeen told some friends. "By that, I mean to include Greenland, Iceland and the islands in the Caribean and off the coast of South America."

The temper of the Senate became even clearer when the "tarheel fuehrer," Robert R. Reynolds, of North Carolina, offered amendments to the LaFollette civil liberties bill which it would require the fingerprinting of all foreigners in the United States and which would prevent employers from hiring more than 10 percent of non-citizens.

"I am leaving that 10 percent for those aliens who wish to become American citizens," Reynolds said. "Of course, I hope to see the day when NO alien is permitted to work in this country at all."

Senator LaFollette announced he

Also Call for 30-Hour Work Week and Industrial Unionism

The Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155 will submit to the Convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers a series of resolutions calling for opposition to United States involvement in the imperialist war, for the amalgamation of all needle trades unions, for the unity of the labor movement through reaffiliation to the A.F. of L., for greater relief appropriations and for labor to clean its own house of racketeers and resist government interference.

The resolutions on the knitgoods industry call for the endorsing of a general strike in the Metropolitan Area in the event the negotiations for the renewal of the present agreement fails. Other resolutions call for the thirty hour week, for a Farmer-Labor Party and for the industrial form of organization.

The anti-war resolution follows in full:

## AGAINST WAR

WHEREAS, the tragic struggle which is swiftly engulfing all European civilization is basically a result of the economic conflict inherent in our capitalistic, imperialistic system which must lead to everrecurring war cycles, and

WHEREAS, the brutal, ruthless attack of the totalitarian states on the small nations, and more recently against the Scandinavian countries, is a crime against the people of the world and still further strengthens our opposition to Hitlerism and Fascism, and

WHEREAS, the English and French rúling classes cannot be depended upon to fight Fascism, since it abetted the rise of Hitlerism in Germany, helped defeat the people's struggle in Spain, is maintaining a dictatorial rule in its own colonies, and is throttling the labor movement in its own countries, and

WHEREAS, America's involvement in war would unleash all the forces of reaction, the menace of a military, fascist dictatorship; intolerance and race prejudice, and WHEREAS, America's involvement

in war will mean a drastic curtailment of the rights of trade unions and other labor organizations and their freedom of action, therefore be

RESOLVED that this convention reaffirm its opposition to militarism, imperialist war, and the present preparations for war as stated by previous conventions, and be it further

RESOLVED that we do our ut-

most to prevent the growth of a

war economy and fight for a con-

structive peace economy which will

give all people, including the "one-

third of a nation who are ill-clothed.

ill-fed, and ill-housed", economic se-

**RESOLVED** that we continue to give our full support to the underground labor movements in Fascist and totalitarian countries, and be it further

**LEST WE FORGET!** 

Over a million sons of American workingmen and farmers were sent to Europe in 1917 and 1918 to "Stop the Kaiser" and "Make the World Safe for Democracy".

LABOR ACTION

THE COST:

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**Knitgoods Workers Draft Anti-War** 

**Resolution for ILGWU Convention** 

Dead Wounded Prisoners Total & Missing 126,000 234,000 365,000 4,500 THE RESULT:

Fascism in Germany, in Italy, in Spain, military rule in the Balkans.

# AND NOW?

Shall we permit the Wall Street profiteers to again make suckers of us? Labor's fight is NOT on the Maginot Line or the Siegfried Line - it is right in this country, on the Picket Line!

# Our Readers Take the floor ...

### A LETTER "JUSTICE" FAILED TO PRINT

The following letter sent to Justice, official organ of the ILGWU, is only one indication of the drive of the International officials against all militants' in the union who refuse to toe the line. On the pretext of figting foreign "isms", the officials

are discriminating against active and loyal unionists who insist on democratic control in the union, and who favor the organization of the workers rather than deals from the top with the bosses.

In Boston the conditions in the dress shops are very bad due to the fact that some of the biggest shops have been organized from the top. That is, the bosses were approached first and agreements were made with them. In exchange for privileges of various kinds, the bosses agreed to the check-off system and forced the workers to join the union or leave the job.

The new agreements are very unfavorable. The older union shops had the 35 hour week with minimum wages, price committees, and other union conditions. The new agreements provide for a 40 to 42 hour week, no minimum wages, no right to strike or to participate in helping

pickets in other strikes. Also included is the system of price settlement by which the bosses determine prices and the workers have the 'right' to complain about them.

Dorchester, Mass. As a result of these new agree-

members who carry the burden of the Union were anxious to have me

serve, and urged me to run. "Another thing the Boston manager failed to bring out was that I ran as a delegate to the Convention. I was defeated by only four votes. I am an alternate delegate.

Manager Kramer continues his report: "In refusing to re-elect this candidate for chairlady, the Boston dressmakers have proved to my satisfaction that they want peace and harmony in their local and will

make no room for foreign 'isms'." If Kramer would attend more assiduously to the complaints of the dressmakers in the shops and less to "isms"-then we would have peace and harmony not only in Local 46, but throughout the Union. And, just what does he mean by these "isms." I have never brought my politics into the Union; nor have I ever sacrificed one trade union principle for politics. Perhaps that is one reason the "big shots" don't like me. . . . And, just what "isms" is he talking

about? What are we? Stopges for the Dies Committee?

Let me note a most peculiar fact in conclusion: it seems that Kramer and the Daily Worker (and the Freiheit) are in accord. They have both expressed themselves as being happy that I was defeated.

Very truly yours, (signed) Jennie Chiplovitz

May 6, 1940.

# New York Meeting **Opens Shachtman** Speaking Tour

and a second second second second

NEW YORK-With a call to the American workers to organize their own army of resistance against the war, Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, speaking before a responsive audience of more than three hundred at Labor Temple last Wednesday, launched a coast to coast tour that will carry him into fourteen states and into twenty-nine cities with the antiwar message of the Fourth International. Declaring that the Nazi thrust into

the Low Countries had put American entry into the war on the order of the day, Shachtman stated, "Yankee Imperialism's eagerness to take over the Dutch East Indies already sees the American fleet concentrated far out in the Pacific Ocean. For the maintenance of the great democratic principle of rubber, the Sixty Ruling families are ready to sacrifice the lives of millions of American workers.' Pointing to the request of Presi-

dent Roosevelt for additional military appropriations totaling more than one billion dollars, Shachtman declared, "The military machine is being expanded and enlarged while at the same time millions upon millions of workers continue to go illhoused, ill-fed and ill-clothed."

#### **Charges War Plot**

Charging Roosevelt and the Sixty Ruling families with a pre-determined scheme to hurl the country into the war, the National Secretary stated. "The American workers want jobs, not guns. The American workers want decent houses, not muddy graves. To that end, the Workers Party urges upon the American workers the immediate formation of a counter-army of resistance against the war and the war-makers. That army, composed of the toilers in field and factory, is the only army capable of securing peace, bread and the only democracy worth having, Socialist democracy."

Harry Allen, national organization secretary and Albert Gates, business manager of LABOR ACTION, also spoke.

Colorful placards distributed about the hall declared, "Against London-Paris, Against Berlin-Moscow, For the Third Camp of World Revolution."

# **SWOC Skirts** Vital Issues

# (Continued from page 1)

(2) the resentment of the members at the extremely high proportion of the dues collections now taken by

national headquarters. Spinner and Unger, candidates of For years now the SWOC memthe United Opposition, received the bership has been pressing to have highest votes cast for any candidate. the "organizing committee", in which Leo Tepper, candidate for organizer, the Lewis-Murray top leaders have lost by only 157 votes. Many other complete and unchecked power, reposts were lost by the United Opplaced by a regularly constituted position by such small margins. The union. At this convention, the well-Stalinists were able to carry the oiled Murray machine rode over all such demands with scarcely a bump. Only one delegate, William Billingsly, of Lorain, Ohio, had the guts even to bring forward the demand on the floor. Murray instantly arose and demagogically offered to hand in his resignation "on a silver platter". Cries of "No. no!" and "That's out!" arose. Murray then took out of his pocket a leaflet issued by the Communist Workers Party, a tiny splinter group, which he cleverly managed to imply was somehow connected with Billingsly and the advocates of a constitutional union. Having thus pinned the "red" label on his opponents, Murray put forward his own proposal: to hold a constitutional convention for the purpose of setting up a union in ... 1942. The delay, he explained, was necessary because unity must first be effected with the old Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers (The Amalgamated is moribund and has now some 5.000 work-

# LABOR ACTION SUBS COMING IN FAST

LABOR ACTION is off to a flying start. There are few remaining copies of the first regular number of the paper which was issued in an edition of five thousand. Extra bundles went out to all the leading cities in the country, from coast to coast. The splendid May Day issue brought in extra orders for special street sales of the paper.

And and the second

The New York branches organized street sales of LABOR ACTION during the entire week. These sales were supplemented by open air meetings where concentrations were held on the paper.

With the appearance of the paper,

subscriptions are beginning to roll in. New York tops the country with twenty-one subscriptions, followed by St. Louis with 14. During the first, week a total of fifty-five subs were received.

This, however, is only the beginning. We are waiting to hear from such centers as Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles and San Francisco. The small towns are heard from. H.K., of Butte, Montana writes in enthusiastic praise of the paper and sends a donation. The same, is true of B. in Fargo, North Dakota, Gloversville, New York, sent in three subscriptions.

part America's oppressed race will

the subject of a discussion article by

M. Lebrun, who analyses the char-

acter of the nationalized economy

under the impact of the war and the

Hitler-Stalin Pact. It is an important

contribution to the subject of the

features a document: "Where is the

Petty-Bourgeois Opposition". This is

The NEW INTERNATIONAL also

Soviet Union.

The nature Russian economy is

play in the American revolution.

**Special Anti-War Number Of New Int'l Out Soon** 

The May Issue of the NEW INTER- dents, the important and decisive NATIONAL will be off the press in a few days as a special anti-war number. In face of the present international situation and the danger of American entrance into the war. the editors of the theoretical organ of the Workers Party have prepared a series of important articles on the war in Europe, it's effects upon the Continent and the development of the class struggle issuing from the second world war, and a special sec-

tion dealing with the war and its effect on the United States. J. R. Johnson, noted Negro writer has written a political review of

one of the documents of former minority of the Political Committee in the Socialist Workers Party. It Native Son, the best seller novel by is in the nature of a reply to Com-Richard Wright. Johnson's article rade Leon Trotsky's article, "From Scratch to the Danger of Gangrene", treats the question of the Negroes which appeared in a previous issue n the American class struggle, showing through historical preceof the NEW INTERNATIONAL.

# PROGRESSIVE SLATE JARS STALINIST HOLD IN FOOD

The elections recently held in Waiters and Waitresses Union, Local 1, AFL resulted in a tremendous loss of prestige for the Stalinist machine which for a number of years has dominated the local. The blow was delivered by a hastily organized United Opposition, led by Charles Spinner and Morris Unger (who recently broke with the administration), together with Leo Tepper, leading Progressive. Despite the fact that the United Opposition had only three weeks, in which to organize before the election, they succeeded in electing two business agents. There were 2700 votes cast in the election. The two business agents,

of organization of new shops in the local's territory, and the failure of the officials to organize the busboys A growing opposition to the Stalinist policy in the New York food unions has manifested itself in other locals. Recent elections in Waiters Local 16 and Cafeteria Employees Local 302 have resulted in severe setbacks for the Stalinist machine and their bureaucratic allies.

# Illinois WPA Fires Over 60,000 Workers

CHICAGO-The program to lop off 60,000 workers from the WPA rolls in Illinois is progressing according to schedule as revealed in a report by Charles E. Miner, state administrator

Every possible pretext is being used to lay off workers in an attempt to conceal the source of the order to cut down-the Roosevelt administration. Workers are told they are being dropped for "intoxication", "incompetence", "bawling out the foreman", and similar reasons. A typical case is that of James Anderson, Negro war veteran who was fired because he was told he had not filed a statement of income. Anderson and the other workers on his project were very much puzzled by this since no one had ever asked for such a statement. WPA officials refused to enlighten them on the question.

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democracy in the local, the neglect in the union shops into the local.

would "interpose no objection" to Revnolds second amendment, although he could NOT accept it in the name of the civil liberties committee. Other senators arose and announced their support of the proposal "as a means of fighting the Trojan horse and subversive elements curity and a stake in peace and dein this country."

# When the Pink of Reformism **Turns to Jingo Yellow**

mocracy.

Federation came out for American entry into the war. Running ahead of even FDR in his seven-league boots, it asked whether it might not be "better for us to throw our weight into the scales before the situation becomes desperate, and thereby save the world and ourselves from untold suffering?"

Only four weeks before, a resolution calling for indirect intervention was passed at a convention. This is regarded as a "supplementary" resolution, bringing the first "up to date."

The Social Democrats now have the distinction of publishing one of the two U.S. papers which have to date called openly for entry into the war. The other is the archconservative N.Y. Herald-Tribune.

Also yielding to the pressure of the Roosevelt war drive, the Socialist Party, in the person of its presidential candidate, Norman Thomas, urged the appointment of a special commission to study the country's defense needs before Congress appropriates more money. Like the entire boss press, Thomas feels that a commission appointed by the President and made up of military experts, members of Congress, and "laymen" should at once systematically plan on "defense" expenditures.

In England too the fair name of socialism was upheld last week by the Second International. In a statement attempting to justify their entry into the government, the Labour Party at their convention pointed out that "an inherently socialist plan" would help to win the war.

The plan for the future activity of the Labour Party was divided into three sections: 1) planning to support the war during its duration, (2) anticipating victory and its accompanying conditions, and (3) a long-term program for after demo-

Last week the Social Democratic bilization. Perhaps some of the rank and file members noticed that the possibility of a German victory is not considered. Did some of them also note that the imminent breakup of capitalism in world revolution

was also overlooked?

# Akron Meeting in Medford Biulding

AKRON, Ohio-Max Shachtman is scheduled to speak in this city on May 27, on the subject: "Will the United States Be Drawn into War?" at the Medford Building. This meeting is arranged by the Akron Branch of the Workers Party, as part of the tour of the National Secretary of the W.P.

### NEGROES ATTEND L.A. PARTY MEETINGS

LOS ANGELES - An enthusiastic and responsive crowd listened to Workers Party speakers, in the South Side Negro area here last week at two open-air meetings.

Former sharecroppers, poor Negro workers, unemployed, and young people heard stories much like those they have lived through-felt in their skin and bones-and applauded the Workers Party, program for ending racial discrimination, poverty, and

imperialist war. Hundreds of leaflets were distributed. Classes of the Workers Party were announced. After the meeting a number of Negroes attended a dance at the headquarters of the Workers Party.

As a result of these meetings, many people have been coming to classes on Negro Problems sponsored by the Party. Three Negro workers have joined the Party and two younger Negroes have joined the Young Peoples' Socialist League.

ments the conditions in the older union shops have been forced down. The letter to Justice (which the editors of Justice have failed to publish) reads as follows:

To the Editor of "Justice":

As an old member of the Boston Joint Board-I entered the Union during the first General Strike in 1913-I wish the privilege of replying to the report made by Manager Philip Kramer on Local 46 elections which appeared in the April 15 issue of Justice. He writes: "An unusual thing oc-

curred in the Boston Dressmakers' Local 46 when Jennie Chiplovitz up for reelection and the only candidate running, was defeated on a yes and no ballot."

### **Illegal Procedure**

Sir:

That an "unusual" thing happened, Manager Kramer is quite right, but he does not tell the whole story. And, in the interest of fairness, you should print my side of it. The "unusual" was present when a printed card with a slate on it as follows was passed out to every worker who came to vote:

> Members of Local 46 For Chairman - Vote "No" Jennie Chiplovitz Yes No.

I enclose a sample of the card, with the X under the "No."

The younger and new members were stopped during working hours and brought to the office and instructed to put their X under "No." The card was given out to the shop chairladies and chairmen as coming officially from the Union. The old red herring was pulled out of the mud and conveniently used to smear

I consider the entire procedure unconstitutional. See Section 24, page 33, of the Constitution and By-Laws. I said so publicly at an open meeting, and read this section, and it is recorded in the Minutes of the meeting.

#### Urged to Run

I have always been active, have served on the Executive Board, and as a Joint Board Delegate, and since my term as Chairlady of Local 46, no one has ever brought any charges against me. No one has ever doubted my sincerity or questioned my loyalty or devotion to the Union. I did not want to run again for Chairlady of my Local, but was

forced to, because no one else would accept the responsibility. The active

### MORALS, MR. LORE ! To The Editors;

I sent the following letter to the N.Y. Post, but since they have not chosen to print it, I am submitting it to you for publication.

May 12, 1940. To The Editor of The N.Y. Post:-Ludwig Lore in "The N.Y. Post" of May 11, 1940, states:

"Spain is also mobilizing. Franco is showing his gratitude to France and Great Britain for their unselfish assistance during the Spanish Civil War."

For the past four or five years, Mr. Lore has been posing as a great friend of "democracy." For this "democracy" he called upon the working people of the world to support the British and French governments as the best method of continuing the democratic rights that the Spanish workers died for. (Needless to say, ers.) The convention overwhelminghe never thought it sufficiently imly endorsed Murray's proposal. portant to explain the actions of President Roosevelt in maintaining the embargo during the Spanish Civil War.)

All during the Spanish Civil War, Mr. Lore together with other opponents of France, denounced the British and French governments for their part in the farce of "non-intervention."

Suddenly, after the victory of fascism in Spain, when millions of antifascists have died or suffer a living death in the concentration camps of France and the jails of Franco, Mr. Lore has realized that the British and French governments were giving "their unselfish assistance" to Franco "during the Spanish Civil War."

Now, Mr. Lore calls upon the people to give support to that same British and French imperialism in the fight for "democracy." No, Mr. Lore, the snobbish ruling class of England and the bankers who rule France are no more interested in the fight for "democracy" than is Hitler.

Just wait until the Indian masses decide that they want to enjoy some democracy and see how Britain treats them.

One would think that after the experiences of the war of 1914-18which everybody knows was not fought to make the world safe for democracy-and the Treaty of Versailles, you, Mr. Lore, and men of your generation would not come around peddling lies that lead thousands of men to die on battlefields Bronx, N.Y.

### Soft-Soap and Strong-Arm

The battle was sharper on the percapita tax, since this bit of highway robbery by the Murray gang is widely unpopular in the SWOC. Seventyfive cents out of every dollar collected in dues goes to the national office in Pittsburgh. This is the highest rate in the entire CIO. It means the local lodges have almost nothing left for their own activities-which is probably OK with Murray.

Murray managed to steer the convention away from any action on this steal by a skillful combination of soft-soap and strong-arm tactics. He appealed to the delegates "not to cut off my right arm", and dramatically asked, did they trust him or didn't they? But when a delegate asked how he could get a roll-call vote on the issue. Chairman Murray answered him with a smack of the gavel.

like cattle, with no solution but new wars and misery!

You, Mr. Lore have many times moralized about the immorality of Stalin's puppets who tell any lie that suits their immediate political purposes. How do your morals differ when today you even hail France as a comrade-in-arms in your crusade to send millions of young Americans to die in the interests of British-American <sup>c</sup>imperialism?

Sylvia Remarre

election only by directing sharp attacks against the records of certain individual oppositionists in an attempt to smear the whole opposition slate.

### **Opposition** Program

Name

City

This marked the first time that the Stalinist machine and their labor faker friends were seriously threatened by the membership. In the past, the Opposition was ineffective due to divisions within its ranks, and lack of adequate leadership. The Opposition campaigned on a 21 point program. The main issues were the fight against the lack of

DOPEND SHEET

[	am	1.1	
	in	learning more about the Workers	Party
	in	joining the Workers Party	

Address		
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# LABOR ACTION

# **To See or Not To See**

### A MOVING ANTI-WAR APPEAL "That They May Live" a French film with English subtitles.

The censors pounced upon this French film immediately upon its production. It was never seen anywhere in Europe. And no wonder. It is an international appeal to the peoples of all countries not to forget the millions of the dead and wounded of the last war.

The story begins on the last day of the last warjust before the armistice. Twelve men go out on a death patrol. The same day, the armistice is declared. But for these men it comes too late. Eleven of them are brought back dead to a town crazy with the joy of peace. The twelfth, who lives, is so moved by the tragedy of the useless death of his eleven comrades that he pledges to devote his life to the cause of peace. He will see that people will never forget the war dead.

He is an inventor of some note and sets up his work shop on the edge of the huge war cemetery. At this point the story becomes weak and unclear. There is an unmixable mixture of pseudo-science with the supernatural. Apparently the inventor works on mechanical contrivances to render ineffective all instruments of slaughter, and at the same establishes communion with the dead. He becomes a little crazed and totally blind.

When he regains his vision and his mental clarity, it is 1938. The country is again feverish with war preparations. His own inventions have been turned to the uses of slaughter. He has no recourse now except to the supernatural. He goes to the cemetery at Verdun and appeals to the war dead to arise and walk the earth as a warning to the people.

Here is the powerful part of the picture. Victor Francen, a very fine actor, puts everything he has behind his role. He appeals, in French, in English, in German, to the international brotherhood of the war dead, to arise and save the living from the horrible death they knew. The emotional stir of his appeal is tremendous.

ON THE INFORMATIVE SIDE "The Maginot Line - West Wall" - a short

Major Eliot. N.Y. Herald Tribune writer on military matters, appears in this movie short explaining the fortifications on the western front. With diagrams and actual pictures his explanation becomes very graphic. If you don't already have a good idea of the maze of death traps comprising these fortifications, watch for this short.

by Susan Green

In comparing the Maginot Line with the West Wall, Eliot states that the French built theirs in eleven years without stint of materials, whereas the Germans hurried theirs through in four with great economy in the use of materials. For all that, the Nazi got through.

### SWELL ENTERTAINMENT AGAINST A REALISTIC BACKGROUND

# "Primrose Path"

Elly May does not want love. She dresses like a boy and acts like a boy-just to keep the boys away. But love finds her just the same. Then her troubles start. Elly May is the poorest of the poor. Her father is a drinking weakling with scholarly pretensions but no earning power. Her mother keeps up the slum existence of the family by giving gentlemen what they want. How can poor Elly May win her man if he knows the truth about her? So she lies. She pretends her family is not poor. She pretends it is respectable. She gets her man. Then comes the day of reckoning.

Ginger Rogers as Elly May is good to see. She does the part of the tomboy without any unnatural underscoring.

The gags are lively. As an illustration: "We paint the ham on with a brush", Elly May informs the customers. Also on the humorous side is Elly May's kid sister. Her recitation "Don't Swat Your Mother" is worth the price of admission.

#### IF YOU LIKE ACTION "Dark Command"

The worst crudities of the usual western are missing from this one. The background is the struggle between the North and the South for the state of Kansas, just before the civil war. Walter Pidgeon does well as the villain, a soured school teacher who turns bandit and practises his are under the uniform of the confederacy. The hero, a two-gun cowboy from Texas, is very attractive in the person of John Wayne, and fully deserves to win the southern girl. Claire Trevor. You pay your money, and if you like this sort of picture, you'll get your money's worth.

# **Sparks in the News**

"I think I may quote from a private letter I recently had from Mr. Harold J. Laski in England . . . 'I do not yet know my plans but if things go well I shall come to America one day again and we shall go on talking. Meanwhile you keep American liberalism in the saddle."

-Rexford G. Tugwell, writing in the New Republic for May 13. .

Professor Laski, has lately been talking big about "socialism" after the war. (He bases his hope on an Allied victory, of course.) But these liberals don't really much care whether Utopia is socialist or whatever, so long as they can keep on talking. That's the main thing, Rex -keep the New Deal in the saddle so that when Laski comes over again you two can get down to some serious-talking.

"BROKERS EXCITED AS SALES POUR IN . . . Reports from Western Front Drive Volume of Trading to 3.074.340 Shares."

£.

Ger

to

"INDIANS HERE ILLEGALLY IS SOLON'S VIEW."

-headline in the FLORIDA TIMES UNION over report of a speech by Representative Hendricks about the Seminole Indians of Florida.

Why don't they go back where they came from?

### A. HITLER, J. STALIN & CO., SPECIALISTS IN HAPPINESS

The world has long misjudged Hitler and Stalin. Their methods may seem a little crude sometimes, but they have only one great aim in life: to spread sweetenss and light, to brighten the corner where they are. (They even go around looking for more corner to brighten - Finnish corners, Norwegian and Dutch and Belgian corners.)

The only question is, which is the greater cheerer-upper? In a recent Pravda, the Soviet novelist. Alexis Tolstoy, put in this formidable claim for Stalin:

how to make people happy. Dr. Ley has his candidate: Adolph Hitler! Writing in the Angriff last week, Dr. Ley says of Adolf, "the greatest of the great":

"He brought Germany to reason and thereby made us happy. We are convinced he will bring Europe and the world to reason and thereby make Europe and the world happy. That is his irrevocable mission."

"The Empire is a basic factor in France's strength. The Empire offers By PIERRE

"In the previous German aggres-Chinese workers. France's overseas

# **Brazil Dictator Throws Scores Into Jail As Poverty Mounts and Unrest Spreads**

size of what is left accounts for the

fact that the average Brazilian dies

before he reaches 40, twenty years

younger than the average in the

All those who speak aloud against

the bad conditions are tossed into

jail. One prison island alone, the

island of Fernando Noronha, holds

over five thousand opponents of the

Brazilian rulers and the foreign im-

During the past weeks several new

police raids were carried out. The

government set up the absurd claim

that the discontent was all just "a

Moscow plot". At the same time a

crumb was thrown to the masses.

Dictator Vargas announced a new

wage law, temporarily raising the

\$1.00 a week in Sergipe. Because of

Prominent among those arrested

in the latest batch was Honorio de

Freitas Guimaraes on the usual

"Communist" charges. Actually Gu-

joins the ranks of imprisoned anti-

Carlos Prestes, Hilcar Leite and

countless others. Prestes is serving

a seventeen year term for having

led the revolt against Vargas in 1935.

Leite, who was released from prison

two years ago after serving several

years for his fight against the Vargas

dictatorship, is now in the second

year of a new eight year sentence

imposed upon him for his revolu-

perialists whom they serve.

United States.

Wide-spread Arrests

-----

### By D. MONTANEZ

The war in Europe is already seriously affecting the economic and political life of Brazil. Moving against a rising tide of dissatisfaction and unrest, the dictatorship of President Getulio Vargas struck out in two directions in recent months. Large-scale arrests of opponents of the dictatorship were followed by the announcement of new minimum wage laws.

The cost of living in Brazil has been steadily rising for some time. A recent poll by Brazilian newspapers showed that the average Brazilian gets less than one pound of food a day, including 1 ounce of meat, one-fiftieth of an ounce (!) of butter or lard, 2 ounces of rice, 1 ounce of sugar, and so on. His income varies from about \$1.75 a week in Rio de Janeiro down to 75c a week in Sergipe. Half of this tiny income goes for rent. The small

# JOHN STRACHEY QUITS C.P. ON WAR ISSUE

John Strachey, well-known English Stalinist writer, has broken with the Comintern. In a letter to the NATION and NEW STATESMAN, of London, he gave it as his view that the present line of the Stalinists is pro-German rather than antiimperialist, and cited as evidence the manner in which the invasion of Norway was handled in the London DAILY WORKER. The author of THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR POWER, THE NATURE OF THE CAPITALIST CRISIS, and THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SOCIALISM, Strachey is the best known of foreign Stalinists.

There is no way of telling from his letter whether Strachey is breaking with Stalinism for revolutionary reasons or whether he is writing as an internationalist or in defense of the British imperialism he has been supporting for the last five years. The indications support the latter

PARIS-It will take time and a

sands of children find themselves

without teachers and without schools.

Already, Le Temps, the organ of the

to cut teachers' pay, to put even more

difficulties in the way of education

for working-class children, and to re-

inforce the reactionary character of

tect morals and morale: reopening the

race tracks, keeping up the National

Lottery (no profits are too small for

the budget!), encouraging greater ac-

tivity of the boites de nuit. Nothing

like pretty uniforms, stripes, medals

for giving an air to these revels! And

both morale and the entente cordiale

are strengthened when our British

allies, whose pay is more substantial

than that of our own troops, partici-

again with their dollars, the mer-

chants of vice are asking-those en-

Sarraut, Minister of the Interior, who

finds himself in competition with an-

Measures are being taken to pro-

teaching for the "elite."

**French** Premier Runs Brothel To Boost People's Morale

> The "black-out" has by now extended to the whole of French culture. With a few honorable exceptions, the leading men of letters ask nothing more than to get into uniform, either physically or spiritually. Those interested in soft jobs find plenty of them in the vast bureau-cracy which enables the General Staff

though the merger of the Leninist Workers Party and several groups of dissident Communists. The Stalinist Communist Party once had much influence in Rio and Sao Paulo, large industrial and commercial center, but their support of the "democratic" set of imperialists (particularly Roosevelt) and their native agents. lost them most of it. C.P. support of the Vargas condidate two years ago, and stool-pigeoning announcements over the Moscow short-wave radio of the legal names of those Communists who opposed this line, resulted in several splits and mass desertions. In Sao Paulo, by unanimous vote of their Regional Committee, the dissident Communists came over to the R.S.P.

### Brazilian Boss Class Split

minimum to \$2.75 a week in Rio and The internal situation is complicathe war-time dislocation of trade, ted, however, by the struggles and and profiteering, it is expected that plots within the Brazilian capitalist class itself. There is one opposition the cost of living will continue to group that has for some time centered rise, wiping out the small wage raise. around the Constitucionalista Party, led by Armando de Salles Oliveira of Sao Paulo, seat of much British influence, and Flores da Cunha of imaraes is an anti-Stalinist. He thus Rio Grande de Sul. Both are in exile, accused of plotting against Varimperialist leaders, along with Luis gas.

Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha heads the pro-United States group. There is also a pro-German group, the Integralistas, with much support in the army.

The R.S.P. was founded last year Vargas, while largely under Wall Street's thumb, has flirted with the Integralistas, and is not greatly trusted by the Yankee imperialists. U.S. interests are quite concerned about Brazil. There are almost half a billion dollars of investments and loans involved, and strategic military-naval bases, and Aranha is looked upon with much more favor by Roosevelt's ambassador in Riothe reactionary Jefferson Caffery. The rumor, reported in the press of Uruguay, that Aranha visited Flores do Cunha while in that country, may foreshadow some new changes, including joint U.S. and British pressure to push Brazil closer to the Allied Powers.

The Vargas regime is very weak. It has no support among the masses. There is much dissension within the capitalist class itself. There are the British and German interests, trying to fish in troubled waters . . . And the war sharpens the crisis.

Page 3

That is why Vargas repeats his past performances - his constant "red" scare every time he feels himself tottering. But not all his "Moscow plots", nor his police raids, nor his brutal torturing of anti-imperialists nor his dungeon prison islands, nor his Wall Street loans, can save him and his system. The discontent continues and spreads, and not all his whips and bayonets can stop the 45 million workers and peasants of Brazil when they start moving.

# עוגפעון וועט שנווטויטים נווט שנוויטים איייי The \_\_\_\_\_ **Negro's Fight**

### (Continued from page 1)

Negro's alleged criminality to prove that he can only be kept in order by extra-legal means, such as lynching and a brutal segregation. Very well then, let us take one of the worst possible examples of Negro crime, let us examine the case; let us see who this criminal is, let us see whom he murdered and why, let us see what was his state of mind before he murdered and after. Let us see who were his friends, who persecuted him, who tried to help him before the murders, and who tried to help him afterwards."

The result is one of the most powerful novels of the last twenty-five years. Wright says: Black Bigger did the things he did because American capitalist society has made an outcast of the black man. Bigger is not the sinner. He is the man sinned against. Bigger stands in the dock and is sentenced but it is the American social order which is on trial.

To conceive such an idea and to carry it out as Wright has done is a tremendous achievement.

a pritrie register and a constant

# Is Bigger "Typical"?

People have criticized Bigger Thomas as not being a "typical" Negro. What is a "typical" Negro? "typical" of what? In capitalist society at the present time, no "typical" Negro could express the point of view that Wright wished to portray. Bigger Thomas represents the Negro in revolt. He does not quote Marx and say "Workers of the world, unite" or "Black and white, unite and fight." He does not even know what the "Reds" stand for. But he is a revolutionary nevertheless, instinctive but none the less powerful. In his eyes, as in the eyes of most Negroes, it is white society which suppreses him, humiliates him, stands over him with a whip and keeps him cowering in holes and corners.

view.

"The French view is that colonization can only be justified by the services it renders to the native population. . . .

her children; she brings her produce.

roundabout way for this letter to sion, 350,000 colonial soldiers were reach you. 1940! First year of transabsorbed in the Army of Justice .... atlantic commercial air-service. 1940! They were assisted by 50,000 Indo-Already six months of war, six months of military dictatorship in tionary activity in the Leninist Workers Party, forerunner of the present Revolutionary Socialist Party (Brazilian section of the Fourth

### **Revolutionary** Socialists in Vanguard

International).

The Revolutionary Socialist Party is today playing an important part in the struggle against the Vargas rule. It fights for a decent living wage and for the right of union organization. It demands the calling of a freely-elected national Constituent Assembly, the freeing of the thousands of political prisoners, the ending of Wall Street and all other imperialist control in the country. It fights for bread and freedomfor a Socialist Brazil.

-N.Y. Times, May 18. War is Hell? Depends on whether you're in front of a stock ticker-or

a machine gun.

"Because of their unclarified citizenship status, a group of sixty Iroquois Indians who live in the Navy Yard district of Brooklyn have been denied WPA employment . . . L. William Santasiere, attorney for the Indians, declared that while the Indians were not citizens, they are not. on the other hand, aliens . . . He said employers were afraid to take them on because they held no citizenship papers."

-N.Y. Times, May 16.

"Stalin knows what should bring happiness to Finland. He more than anybody else knows what will bring happiness to all peoples of humanity. He thinks of everything that may give joy to every moment of human life. There is not one single human being who is not his friend and for whom he would not give all his heart. Oh, how much happier would the British people be if Stalin consented to organize their bliss!"

But Dr. Robert Ley, head of the

possessions contributed to the victory with 3,500,000 tons of goods and foodstuffs.

"In the first months of the present German aggression, the colonies have supplied more than they had given in the four years of the last war; more soldiers, more tea, more coffee, more cereals. We are now certain that should the need arise, French West Africa alone could raise a force of a million experienced warriors.

"The existence of these impressive reserves strengthens our firm confidence in victory."

-Le Temps, as quoted in the May issue of War Commentary (London).

# German Labor Front, won't let Tolstoy get away with his claim that Stalin is the world's No. 1 expert on

One may still read, on a statue in to maintain control over the cona Parisian square, these words of sciousness of the masses. Danton: AFTER BREAD, EDUCA-TION IS THE FIRST NEED OF THE **Re-Name Paris Streets** CITIZEN. The State has placed sandbags around the statue, but not

In the Paris suburbs, the streets around the educational system. Thouand schools named by the dissolved Stalinist municipalities after Lenin, Barbusse, Maxim Gorky, Vaillant-Couturier, etc., have all been rebig bourgeoisie, is starting a camnamed. The reaction attends to the paign for "intellectual reform," i.e., smallest details.

Among the few writers who have had the moral courage to publicly oppose the war, honorable place must be given to Jean Giono and Henry Jeanson. Giono's case is already well known in America, but a few words on Jeanson may be worth while. Wellknown for his "mots a l'emportepiece", for his cinema scenarios and his cinema criticism in Le Canard Enchainé (which he left when it went into its Stalinist phase). Jeanson had already been sentenced to a short prison term last summer, before the war began, for writing in an anarchist paper articles "tending to provoke insubordination in the armed forces." When the war broke out, he refused to recant, and his sentence was increased to five years.

The one hope for the future lies in the still uncorrupted spirit of the masses. Those in the factories behind the lines are refusing to follow the leadership of the veteran traitor, Jouhaux, of the Confédération Genérale de Travail, and are "voting with their feet," leaving the C.G.T. unions half-empty. Those on the Maginot Line have shown an apathy and sullen rebelliousness which has alarmed the General Staff. Today G.H.Q. devotes much thought and money to supporting "Front Papers," supposedly written "by the soldiers themselves." It goes without saying that it is "official thought" alone which is represented in these publications. But-and this is what keeps both General Staff officers and revolutionaries awake at night-who knows if tomorrow this instrument, like other bourgeois instruments, will not be turned against those who use it today?

# Philly W.P. Opens Anti-War Drive

PHILADELPHIA, Pa .- The Philadelphia Branch of the Workers Party is holding a four week open air anti-war campaign as part of a general summer campaign of struggle against the war and American intervention. A series of Saturday night meetings are scheduled at 22nd and Turner Streets. The Young People's Socialist League is actively cooperating with the W.P. in this undertaking.

And Bigger will not stand for it. He hates the white skin as the obvious symbol of his oppression. It is an accident which sets him off on his career. It is his intense nature which drives him so far along the path of crime. But in his sense of oppression, his hatred of the whites, and his violence, once he takes that road, he is typical of millions of Negroes.

The great majority of them feel as Bigger feels, think as Bigger thinks and hate as Bigger hates; but they have learnt to suppress it. The flames burn very low, but they are there. Far more powerful stimuli will be needed to make them act as Bigger acted. That is all.

When Liebnecht said in 1914 "The main enemy is at home" he seemed a lone figure, a madman. But by November 1918 he was a very "typical" German. In that all important sense Bigger is "typical". He is not travelling up a by-path. He is on the main road, only further on than the rest of his people. A great social crisis will convert millions of Negroes into Bigger Thomases. Only where he acted against isolated persons, they will act against orgainzed society.

# A Novel That Approaches Greatness

Wright shows all but the most supreme confidence in the rightness of his theme and his capacity to carry it out. I say "all but" because Wright makes Bigger very nearly rape the woman and commit the first murder by accident, at least as far as he acted consciously. Shakespeare and Dostoevsky certainly, and perhaps Tolstoy, would not have hesitated: they would have made Bigger consciously commit both crimes. That Wright was not certain of himself is proved by the fact, among others, that he makes a lawyer deliver a long, bad, and tiresome speech at the very end of the book, saying all over again what the book had already very clearly and powerfully said. He need not have been afraid. The novel contains abundant evidence that he could have carried even this extension of his theme to a triumphant success.

Consider, for example, the main psychological theme of the book. Bigger commits murder. But having committed murder, in the instinct to save himself, he pits his brains against the whites and for the first time is conscious of acting as a man, free, unrestricted and with a will of his own. Wright does not only say this in words. He has conceived and executed his novel in those terms. Before the murder Bigger is irresolute, frustrated, longing but hopeless. Once he realizes, however, that he has committed murder and must defend himself, he becomes the embodiment of initiative, endurance, courage and will. How the boy fights! I can remember nowhere in literature so magnificent and yet so unrhetorical a determination to fight to the end. It is not merely for his life. Trapped on the roof, he counts his bullets and leaves the last one for himself. It is pride in himself. It is pride in himself, as a free man with a hardly-bought freedom. He will not capitulate to those white men -it is a revolutionary pride.

In the May issue of the New International I shall deal more amply with this novel in which artistic insight and integrity clarifies and illuminates fundamental political truths of the first importance, arrived at by logic and analysis,

# **John Brown--Revolutionist**

#### By ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY

May 9th was the 140th anniversary of the birth of John Brown, "Father of the Second American Revolution."

John Brown hated slavery, and he believed that it could not be destroyed by peaceful means. He thought the North was playing around with the question and had no intention of conducting a real struggle for the liberation of the slaves. He knew that thousands of northerners were "copper - heads" (pro-slavery agitators). He had witnessed the Texas and Mexican Wars for the extension of slavery, the Missouri Compromise and the Supreme Court Dred Scott decision calling for the capture of runaway slaves and return to their legal owners. Furthermore no political party, not even the young and "radical" Republican Party, had ever put an anti-slavery plank in its platform.

### **Rifles**, Not Bibles

Therefore it was necessary, in the opinion of John Brown, to pass over from the Bible to his Sharp's rifle, from reliance on prayer to musket and ball.

His plans were ambitious. He made trip to Europe in 1851 and studied fortifications and military tactics. He was especially anxious to learn how to fortify and fight in hilly and mountainous country.

In 1855 he went to Kansas in a covered wagon loaded with guns and ammunition gathered from various sources, private and governmental. Once in Kansas, Brown and

his sons began active warfare against the defenders of slavery to make Kansas a free state.

After the bloody Kansas campaign, Brown organized a convention of free Negroes in Chatham, Canada, to prepare for the final blow. He conceived the notion that when the call was sounded slaves all over the South would rise and join him. The convention adopted a militant constitution, formed a skeleton government with John Brown, Commander-in-Chief.

On the night of October 16, 1859 the Commander-in-Chief led his small forces into Harpers Ferry, Va. (now West Virginia) and captured the government armories, jailed some of the inhabitants and signed up the slaves for the "Army of Freedom."

Of course this small band of untrained and poorly armed whites and slaves could not succeed. Brown fought to the last ditch but was finally captured. Ten were killed and eleven captured. Two of the dead were Brown's sons. Brown was taken by a company of marines commanded by Robert E. Lee.

John Brown was tried for treason, conspiracy and murder. He was found guilty and hanged in Charlestown, December 2, 1859. At his trial, Brown said that if what he had done "had been in behalf of the rich and powerful . . . it would have been doing very well."

John Brown failed to accomplish the concrete things that he set out, to do. He was an individual terrorist been "traitors".

who thought all that was necessary pate. When will the Americans come to arouse the slaves to follow him and overthrow their masters, was an trepreneurs so carefully protected by example of devotion to a cause, purity of motive, courage and selfis himself financially interested in one sacrifice. He did not understand for of the most popular Parisian brothels. instance that a slave uprising and In this business enterprise, Sarraut revolt, like any other revolution, other Cabinet minister, Paul Reywould have to be prepared by propnaud, whose establishment, L'Horloge aganda, agitation and organization. d'Or, is internationally famous. (Rey-There would have to be a program naud has become the Premier since (freedom, equality, land) that the the above was written.) slaves could understand and would accept.

Furthermore John Brown did not understand the nature of the opposition of the North to the South. The Free-Soilers hated slavery not so much because they were interested in seeing the slaves freed, but for the reason that slavery was a threat to the development of northern capitalism and the expansion of northern business based on wage labor. The freeing of the slaves was a byproduct of Northern victory.

### Eagle of Rebellion

John Brown's effort had very definite progressive features.

1. He did not hesitate to go beyond the law in his struggle against slavery. He set freedom above the law; the slaves and their friends must establish their own legality. It has always been true that only those groups, classes and races have gained their freedom that dared go beyond the law and rebel against "their government." The leaders of liberation movements have always

2. John Brown's plan to overthrow slavery by armed violence, was the method that was later successful. It was the only method that would get results, and northern capitalism did not hesitate to resort to this method. The Union soldiers marched into the South during the Civil War, singing, "John Brown's body lies mouldering in

3. The dramatic action of John Brown at Harpers Ferry was "a shot heard 'round the world." It was really the opening gun in the second American revolution. It was the action that really pushed the North to gird itself for battle.

the grave, but his spirit marches

Despite the failure of his personal efforts, John Brown remains one of the great liberators of the poor and the oppressed. We see him as one caught up in "the inspired frenzy of history," which is revolution. John Brown remains for us an

eagle in the war against tyranny,

oppression, and injustice.

**They Also Serve** 

Page 4

3

# **Democratic Union** In Steel Industry!

Three years ago the Chicago police and the Republic Steel Corporation got together to slaughter ten unarmed demonstrators in the Memorial Day Massacre. This was the most tragic episode in the tragic Little Steel strike .The strike was tragic because it was lost despite the great spirit of the rank and file. The Lewis-Murray leadership in the Steel Workers Organizing Committee met the brutal onslaught of the steel barons, not by workers' action but by relying on President Roosevelt. And Roosevelt said, "A plague on both your houses!"

Meeting in Chicago on the eve of the third anniversary of the Memorial Day Massacre, the SWOC last week held its third annual convention. Chairman Murray commemorated the massacre in a particularly gruesome way. He invited Mayor Kelly, whose police force perpetrated the slaughter, to address the convention. Kelly, obviously uneasy and nervous, said he regretted the entire "incident" and termed it "an unfortunate situation." The delegates, whom Murray had practically instructed to be friendly to the Mayor, responded only halfheartedly.

Murray, whose policy of dependence on the boss politicians was responsible for the defeat of the 1937 strikes, and Kelly, whose police (still unpunished and unrebuked) had butchered the strikers-their union at the convention was a revolting symbol of what is wrong with the SWOC.

However, the organization of hundreds of thousands of steel workers, added to the unionization of such mass production industries as auto and rubber, marked an important turning point in the labor movement of the country. This great forward step was a serious threat to the big monopolists, and gave heart to the workers in other industries.

Great and urgent problems now confront the SWOC: unemployment, especially pressing in steel because of the new continuous strip mills and other radical technological improvements; the urgent necessity to organize the Little Steel companies, which are now a constant threat to the SWOC's gains and its very existence.

Above all, there is the issue of war. Steel is basic to capitalist production, in peacetime and in wartime. The drive to drag the United States into the war means that the employers and the government will seek to destroy labor standards and the union itself. The steel workers should be in the forefront of the movement against the war plot of Roosevelt which can serve only the profit of big business. They should struggle for the maintainance and extension of collective bargaining, for a thirty-hour week, increased wages and full civil liberties. On all these issues the recently concluded SWOC convention passed resolutions, some good, some inadequate. But these problems cannot be solved effectively until the SWOC reorganizes itself into a democratically controlled international union. And this, as the news story elsewhere in this issue makes clear, is just what the Chicago convention failed to do. In the early days of the CIO movement, the Lewis leadership set up "organizing committees" to get work started in the basic industries. In rubber, in automobiles, in glass and aluminum these committees have long since been superceded by regularly constituted international unions. with constitutions and at least the formal possibility of democratic control by the members. Not so in steel. The SWOC is still the original "temporary" organizing committee, run entirely from the top by the original group of old-time mine leaders installed by Lewis. Any rank-and-file SWOC member can tell you how things are run in the SWOC by the Murray - Golden - McDonald - Van Bittner bureaucracy: that organizers are appointed from the center without regard for the wishes of the locals; that 75% of all dues are siphoned off to national headquarters; that agreements are signed by the top bureaucracy over the heads of the local unions. (At the convention, Secretary-Treasurer McDonald, "on advice of counsel," refused to submit a detailed financial report.) Murray's report talks big about keeping out of war, but how can his bureaucracy lead the steel workers against the Roosevelt war drive when Murray himself has long been a loyal co-worker of the Administration? The Chicago convention failed to answer these questions in the only way they can be answered: by replacing the Murray bureaucracy with a real democratically controlled international union capable of fighting big business and the war plans of Roosevelt. It is now up to the members of the SWOC to press vigorously in the lodges for this step-and it must be taken before 1942, the date Murray has set. LET'S HAVE A DEMOCRATIC UNION, NOT AN "ORGANIZING COMMITTEE", IN STEEL!

• ...

# Let's Have A Real The Lesson of the Wilson Case

The brutal beating of James Wilson, Cambridge relief worker, throws the spotlight once more on the need for the nation's jobless to get together in fighting unemployed organizations. Wilson was terribly beaten up by a crooked local politician and his gang. His crime? He had objected to being paid \$3 by the politician for a \$50 auto repair job. The penalty? Not only beating to the point of death, but also loss of the miserable \$10 a week relief Wilson's family of nine had been trying to exist on.

Elsewhere in this issue we describe the magnificent response of the workers of Cambridge to the Wilson Defense Committee's efforts. This is a good beginning. But there is more to be done.

Wherever unemployed workers are so organized that they can throw thousands of their numbers into the streets, around relief stations, in front of city halls and state capitols, such incidents as this Boston beating do not occur.

We hope that the Boston unemployed will answer this attack by prompt and vigorous action that will express itself concretely in the form of a militant organization of the unemployed workers.

# In the Nature **Of Hypocrisy**

A small sensation was created when the Communist Party, following the German invasion of the Lowland Countries, attacked Hitler in the columns of its paper. The N.Y. World Telegram considered this a news event worthy of reporting.

"The imperialist bandits in each country-the Anglo-French and Hitler bandits -a handful of the population-are turning the world into a madhouse of murder,", declared a Daily Worker lead editorial. (May 11).

And here and there in articles and speeches the Stalinists suggest that they consider all the belligerents equally guilty for the war, and for the invasion of Holland and Poland, and that they are against both warring camps.

This hypocritical pretense is exposed by the authoritative statement of Pravda, organ of the Russian Communist Party, published in the Daily Worker of May 17: "It is now clear what a responsibility the British and French imperialists took upon themselves when they rejected Germany's peace proposals and thus unleashed the second imperialist war in Europe."

The German offensive in the Lowlands is pictured as a preventive and defensive action for which only England and France are responsible

# **A SECOND INVASION FROM MARS**

# Is It Hitler? - Or Could It Be Orson Welles Again?

Last year the people of New Jersey and points West were thrown into a panic by a "news" broadcast that our planet had been invaded by the Martians. The invasion turned out to be a realistic radio play by Orson Welles. Last Thursday the people of New Jersey and points West were again thrown into a panic by none other than our good friend President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

With a few well chosen statistics on our nearness to the war world. such as "From the fjords of Greenland it is four hours by air to Newfoundland, five hours to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and to the Province of Quebec, and only six hours to New England" and some dark hints about "parachute troops", "fifth columns" etc. our "pacifist" President let loose an avalanche of the Trojan Horse jitters. At least one prominent figure, Colonel Lindbergh came out against the "hysterical chatter" which FDR helped unleash. Lindy said: "The only reason that we are in danger of becoming involved in this war is because there are powerful elements in America who desire us to take part. They represent a small minority of the American people, but they control much of the machinery of influence and propaganda. They seize every opportunity to push us closer to the edge."

# St. Louis Party **Branch Pushes** Anti-War Work

ST. LOUIS, Missouri-The St. Louis branch of the Workers Party has completed plans for an intensified anti-war campaign during the summer months. The first success recorded in this campaign was the organization of a unit of the Young People's Socialist League.

The arrival of B. J. Widick, a leading member of the W.P. in St. Louis, as a full-time Party worker, will act as a great spur to the activity of the branch. The branch is now concentrating on the sale of LABOR ACTION and the NEW INTERNA-TIONAL, and the meeting for Max Shachtman.

No sooner had FDR finished his speech than our "small minority" began to get to work. That great liberal Maury Maverick, Mayor of San Antonio, Texas, set to work right off "mobilizing" San Antonio. He is equipping all police cruising cars with two-way radios, submachine guns and other arms. He stated "the Southwest must be an armed camp" because a German "fifth column" was "well organized"

in Mexico City. Up in Hartford, Connecticut twenty-four hour armed guards were established around the State's twentysix armories and one military airplane hangar.

In Sacramento, the Assembly passed a resolution unanimously urging a \$250,000,000 Congressional appropriation for California coast defense. Little Falls, N.Y. wants State teachers to learn how to "administer to pupils during air raids."

Jeannette, Pa. has formed what is believed to be the first anti-parachutist legion in the U.S.

In Clayton, Mo. the Veterans of Foreign Wars recommend that Congress authorize the War Department to supply all posts of the VFW with rifles and ammunition "for distribution in the event of invasion by parachute troops." "No aggressor" they say, "will ever attempt to invade America with parachute troops if he knows 2,000,000 World War overseas veterans are ready and equipped to combat such maneuvers." Chicago is going to organize its Boys Clubs to combat "fifth column" activities.

### Really an Attack on U.S. Labor

The A.F. of L. endorsing the preparedness drive states: "We must redouble our vigilance against treachery and the creation of 'Trojan Horse' organizations by Soviet and Nazi adherents in this country."

**Clarence Budington Kelland struck** a humorous note when he remarked that "the fifth column in this country is headed by that fellow in the' White House."

But the most sinister note came, of course, from Representative Dies, who declared that Hitler and Stalin were building up "fifth columns" and "Trojan horses" within the na-



# Shachtman Will **Debate Professor**

#### (Continued from page 1)

the subject: "Aid to Allies vs. Socialist Opposition to War".

Originally, Prof. Preston Slosson, also of the history department, had been invited to debate, but upon his declination, Prof. Hyma accepted. The debate has created a great deal of interest in Ann Arbor, since the subject deals with the most important problem facing the United States, that of probable American entrance into the war.

In preparation for this huge meeting, the branch of the Workers Party has ordered a special bundle of 400 LABOR ACTIONS.

# TOUR SCHEDULE

MAY 16-JULY 20, 1940

City	Date
PITTSBURGH	
YOUNGSTOW	N
AKRON	May 27
CLEVELAND	
ANN ARBOR	
DETROIT	
MADISON	June 1
CHICAGO AR	EAJune 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
SAN FRANCIS	SCO AREA
	June 13, 14, 15, 16, 17

LOS ANGELES AREA

June 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25
AUSTINJuly 2
HOUSTON July 3
ST. LOUISJuly 7, 8
STREATORJuly 9
CHICAGOJuly 10, 11, 12
LOUISVILLEJuly 13
COLUMBUSJuly 14
AKRON July 15
PITTSBURGHJuly 16
WASHINGTON, D.CJuly 17
READING July 18
ALLENTOWNJuly 19
PHILADELPHIAJuly 20

**Hitler's War Cause** In accordance with terms of the Stalin-Hitler alliance which led to the partitioning of Poland and the outbreak of the Second World War, the

Stalinist press continues to parrot the propaganda of Hitler and Goebbels. "It is now clear," writes Pravda (May 16),

organ of the Russian Communist Party, following Hitler's offensive in the Lowland countries, "what a responsibility the British and French imperialists took upon themselves when they rejected Germany's peace proposals and thus unleashed the second imperialist war in Europe.

"The Anglo-French bloc can boast only one success: it has succeeded in hurling two more countries into the flames of the imperialist war."

#### SHIELD HITLER

Hitler's share in the responsibility for the robber war among the imperialist powers and for the destruction of the small nations of Europe must be denied by those who participate in the spoils, the criminals of the Kremlin. They can attack only one party to the war which is reactionary on both sides.

Every action of Hitler is pictured as a defensive measure, thus justifying his invasions. of Norway, Belgium and Holland

"Having frustrated the plans of Britain and France in Norway," writes a Red Army commentator in the Soviet Press of May 18th, "the German High Command decided to upset their. plans in Belgium and Holland as well, to challenge the Anglo-French bloc to battle on the territory of these countries before it should on its own initiative undertake active operations.

"The official memorandum of the German Government states that German troops are going into Belgium and Holland in order to prevent its enemies from using these countries for the struggle against Germany. It is quite probable that this is precisely the main objective." (Sunday Worker, May 19, 1940).

### EVERY BIT HELPS

When Hitler invaded Norway, the Communist Party of that country issued a manifesto (April 11) which repeated the official German pretexts for the invasion, and attacked only England and France. The manifesto was printed in the organ of the party in Oslo, Ny Dag, and was so helpful to Hitler that he permitted its publication in Fascist occupied territory.

It reads in part: "German troops have occupied several important points in our country, including Oslo. The German military authorities declare that the aim of the occupation is defense of the country and to prevent the possibility of its becoming transformed into a theatre of military operation.

"The situation created in this connection depends on the strivings of the Anglo-French military bloc to extend the imperialist war and also to disarm Scandinavia-strivings the clearest expression of which is England's violation of Norwegian neutrality by the laying of mines along the Norwegian coast. . . . (Daily Worker, April 17, 1940).

It appears that such a democratic existence is threatened not by Hitler and Anglo-French imperialism, but only by the latter!

In fact, the Daily Worker correspondent informs us: "It is the intention (of the Communist Party, Ed.) to open all closed trade union executive offices and to renew their work." A measure possible only if the "trade union executives" are agents of Hitler.

### **ADVISING THE NEUTRALS**

The Russian press now warns the small nations that if they wish to maintain their "neutrality" they should not assist the Anglo-French on but learn the "lessons" of Norway, Holland and Belgium. "One must reiterate again and again," writes the Russian government organ, Izvestia on May 16, "that the policies of certain neutral countries assisting in the furtherance of the war can be described only as suicidal. Such is the result of the slogan of the extension of the war advanced by the Anglo-French bloc." Hitler protected his eastern flank by the pact with Stalin and the joint division of Poland. He supported Stalin in the war against Finland. The Russian army in the occupied territory of Finland aided Hitler's invasion of Norway by preventing Swedish intervention. German and Russian representatives met "in conformity with Article III of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact regarding mutual information and consultation", according to the Russian news agency, Tass, of May 3, and it was agreed "that both states regard themselves as interested in the preservation of Sweden's neutrality."



**Needle Trades Convention** under present conditions, to serve the cause of labor

The Convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, opening in New York City on May 27, faces grave problems which press for action.

The conditions of the workers in practically every

unity. At the same time, the Convention would set a fine

example for the rest of the labor movement if it adopted colution of the Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155, for a conference "for the purpose of amalgamating all needle trades unions and (thus) bring about uniform conditions for all needle trade workers." The picketing of one union by another, the strikes called by one union against another-which weaken all the unions involved-are caused by overlapping within the needle trades industry, and the organization of the workers into separate unions and locals. Conferences and joint committees have failed to solve these recurring jurisdictional disputes. The amalgamation of all the needles trades unions into an industrial union is the only solution of these disputes.

Yet the American Stalinists have good reasons for their formal, merely-for-therecord criticism of Hitler.

As agents of the Kremlin their main job is to rally the American people in support of the foreign policies of the master. Before the Stalin-Hitler alliance, this dictated a program of support to Roosevelt and his war program because it appeared that Russia would be an ally of England and France against Germany. The Communist parties throughout the world were ardent champions of a war of the "democracies" against Fascism.

However, the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact changed matters. Therefore, while Roosevelt continues his plot to involve the United States in the war against Germany, the Communist Party, as a defender of the Berlin-Moscow axis, opposes the President's reactionary program.

To carry out their aims in face of the overwhelming anti-Fascist sentiment in this country, and particularly in view of the effect of Hitler's invasion of the Lowlands on the American people, the Stalinists are compelled from time to time to pretend an opposition to German imperialism in the war. Otherwise they would not get to first base in their "anti-war" campaign.

So that while Roosevelt utilizes the healthy and progressive anti-Fascist feelings of the workers to drag the United States into the imperialist war, the Stalinists take advantage of the strong anti-war sentiment and the growing distrust of Roosevelt among the politically advanced workers, to advance the cause of the Berlin-Moscow axis.

If tomorrow the Russian army were to cooperate with the Reichswehr in the Balkans, the Stalinists would quickly drop all pretense of opposition to Hitler's war, and go over to open support of the war of the totalitarian powers.

Or, if as a result of a decisive victory of Germany on the Western Front, Hitler should move against Russia, that is, break the present alliance with Stalin, the Communist Party would once again howl in favor of intervention by United States imperialism in the war against Germany. They would once again parade as superpatriots and drop all talk against American imperialism.

ion of the industry have become last convention. Unemployment and part-time work, the drift of the industry away from the large unionized cities, and the failure to organize the small towns, and even important metropolitan shops are among the chief problems. The attempt of the union officials to meet these problems by accepting wage cuts and failing to enforce union agreements, the policy of organizing shops without consulting the workers on the terms of the contract, thereby getting bad conditions and cutting standards in other union shops have aggravated the situation. All these factors add up to increased insecurity, and even desperation, among the needle trades workers.

Many locals will introduce resolutions for the 30 hour week at the convention. The adoption of such a measure, its inclusion in all new contracts, and its enforcement, by general strikes in the different departments of the industry, if necessary, will be a big step forward in reducing the nightmare of unemployment.

Other resolutions will call for serious organization drives in the industry. These campaigns can be successful in the small towns as well as the large cities if planned and executed with the full participation of the workers: that is, if the workers in the shops are constantly consulted, if they are put on the negotiating committees, if they have a deciding voice in the terms of the contract, if the officials are not afraid to engage in strike actions when necessary.

Union democracy-which includes the right of groups to exist in the union all year round, and not merely for the three months prior to International conventions-is a prime condition for the healthy growth of the union. The convention delegates will have the opportunity to express themselves on this important matter, and it is to be hoped they will reject the three months restricted period proposed by the General Executive Board in favor of full democracy.

#### The Question of Labor Unity

The Convention will also have before it numerous resolutions on the question of affiliation-AFL, CIO, or independent existence. The needle trades workers are strongly for labor unity. They understand that only the bosses have anything to gain from labor division. As original members of the Committee for Industrial Organization, they are wholeheartedly for the industrial form of organization and appreciate the great contributions of the CIO in organizing the workers in the basic industries of the country-steel, rubber, auto, etc. They are opposed to the reactionary leaders of the AFL who sabotaged the organization of these mass production workers, and who were consequently responsible for the split in the trade union movement.

The needle trades workers want labor unity on the basis of preserving and extending the industrial form of unionization.

At the same time they know that John L. Lewis has not been over-energetic or over-anxious for unity with the AFL and that affiliation to the CIO at this time would not aid in the fusion of the two great union centers, but rather make it more difficult for the International to put pressure on both sides towards this end, more difficult for it to act as the promoter of local united action among CIO and AFL affiliates.

For these reasons, independent existence of the International, and energetic action by the incoming General Executive Board for the fusion of the two federations and the independent unions is the best way,

#### The Menace of War

Yet, as grave as these economic problems of the needle trades workers are, the overshadowing question uppermost in the mind of everybody is the frightful insecurity resulting from President Roosevelt's campaign to drag the United States into the Second World War. As part of this campaign, the Administration in Washington has launched a drive against the unions-on the pretext of "trust-busting" and the struggle against "racketeers"-and will soon try to destroy existing social legislation and civil liberties,

The needle trades workers, as their brothers and sisters in other industries, will be called upon to make sacrifices in the name of "the struggle against German Fascism" and "for national defense"-that is, work longer hours, accept wage cuts, refrain from striking, permit government control of the unions and send their sons to the slaughter-fields of Europe.

The members of the International, above all, have shown that they are ready to make real sacrifices to aid the workers of other countries against Fascism. They contributed generously to the underground workers' movement in Germany, and to the struggle of the Spanish people against Franco, Hitler and Mussolini, at a time when President Roosevelt-following his "democratic" imperialist colleagues in England and Francesabotaged the struggle by imposing the shameful embargo on the shipment of arms and airplanes to the Loyalist government.

The Second World War, however-as the resolution of the Knitgoods Workers Union for the International convention correctly declares-is a struggle between two imperialist camps: the Anglo-French robbers vs. German Fascism supported by Stalin. The English and French ruling classes who helped put Hitler into power and rearmed his murderous troops, are not fighting Fascism. They are defending their oppressive rule over the colonial peoples from a rival power. The struggle to defeat Fascism is the task of the workers themselves, and can be achieved only by world labor solidarity in the struggle against all the exploiters and their system of wage slavery and imperialist destruction.

That is why the convention should reject Roosevelt's war drive, and instruct the incoming G.E.B. to struggle against every measure he takes to drag the country into the war. Existing social legislation, the rights of collective bargaining, and civil liberties must be defended against all attacks.

The proposal to support a third term for the leader of the war party in the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, must be rejected by the convention if it is to take its place in the forefront of the workers' movement against the war.

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union can and should occupy such a position.

Stalin assists Hitler in putting pressure on the Balkan countries not to commit "suicide", that is, not to help England and France but rather to come under the protective wing of the Berlin-Moscow axis. Stalin of course, is interested in making these countries vassals of his own.

3

#### GENERAL MISTRUST

However, the totalitarian allies do not trust one another. Stalin mistrusts the intentions and plans of Mussolini in the Balkans. He understands that in the event of a quick and decisive victory of Hitler on the Western Front, the Reichswehr would be free to move against the Soviet Union in order to plunder the rich resources of that country and establish its own, unshared domination over Southeastern Europe.

So that while supporting German imperialism's reactionary war today, Stalin at the same time is preparing his own defenses for the morrow by alliances with and control of the neighboring countries.

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