## LABOR ACTION Workers! This Is Not Our War! In This Issue ----It Is a War for Boss Profits! South of Border Page 3 Join Hands in Independent A Poem "Cap" Rieber Labor Action Against the War! THREE CENTS ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY, SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL JULY 29, 1940 98 BOSS PARTIES RUSH CONSCRIPTION; PLATFORM FRAUD HIDES WAR AIMS! Willkie and Roosevelt Lie Conscription **Argentina Balks at Hull Colonies Plan**

# **Bill Passes** Senate Body

Amendments Can Not Make the Bill A Bit More Palatable

With Hitler's invasion of Britain awaited hourly, the U.S. Senate began to clear the decks for intervention in the world war. Democrats. and Republicans in the Senate Military Affairs Committee united in the drafting of a bill designed to conscript the nation's men, young and old, into the army of Wall Street imperialism.

Based on the Burke-Wadsworth Selective Military Training Bill the revised bill, which comes before the Senate early next week, calls for the registration of all males between the ages of 18 and 64. 1,500,000 men between the ages of 21 and 30, will be enrolled the first year for training by the Army and the National Guard.

In view of the opposition that met the announcement of the Burke-Wadsworth bill, the committee revised the bill in several non-essential details to make it appear as though a great victory has been won for labor and youth. Where the bill originally provided for \$5 a month pay, the revised bill raises this starvation rate to the no-less starvation pay of \$21 a month. Where the original asked for the registration of men from 18 to 65, the revised bill lowers the upper limit to 64! A great victory!

Other revisions include the raising of the training period from eight months to twelve months, and the training of the conscripts by the regular Army and National Guard, instead of by cantonments as in the last war.

#### **Passage** Certain

It is a virtual certainty that the Senate will swiftly pass the bill and

foreign ministers at Havana has passed from speech-making and welcoming, to the real problems which confront it. Called together for the general purpose of organizing the western hemispheres for defense against the Axis powers, the conference has gone over to the first point, the matter of the"collective-trusteeship" over the European colonies. As was pointed out in last week's issue of LABOR ACTION, there is no unanimity on this question, since the disposition of the European colonies is integrally related to the more important economic questions that confront the Pan-American conference, namely, the development of inter-American trade through the

proposed Inter-American cartel. The difficulties encountered by Secretary of State Hull on the question of the colonies reflect the more important problems, since Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and in part Brazil, are trying to ride two horses: maintain their economic relation with a Europe which may be under German domination, and still retain proper relations with the "colossus of the North"

While Hull has stated that "we must be in a position to move rapidly and without hesitation" on the

ism profitable for American industry and finance.'

The Pan-American gathering of matter of the European colonies, Argentina, through its spokesman, Leopold Melo, proceeds cautiously: "we must avoid any hasty improvisations beyond the borders of usual experience in anticipation of situations which may not come to pass or which may develop differently from our present calculations."

Warships Headed for South America Supplement U.S. Activities at Pan-American Conference

### U.S. Program

The program of the United States desires three initial agreements from the conference: 1. support for a concerted inter - continental struggle against "Fifth Column Activity"; 2. agreement on taking over the European colonies threatened with totalitarian control as a result of the new turn in the European war, and 3. agreement in principle on military collaboration of all American nations in defense of the hemisphere. The American bloc in the conference is a strong one and may succeed in carrying through its program despite the important opposition. On the immediate question of the colonies, Hull has proposed that a trusteeship be established over these

countries by those American nations which ratify the decisions of the conference.

Two movements have emerged as a result of the discussion of this question. One group calls for the independence of the European colonies, for the present an unlikely development in view of America's attitude. and the other, led by Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela, calls for a return of the colonies to the countries from which they were

taken during the 19th Century. The hypocrisy of the Washington position on these colonies is demonstrated by its opposition to either a return of the colonies to their original nations or to their independence. Washington has already made it clear that its whole purpose is to prevent the colonies in the Western World from falling into the hands of Germany or governments entirely subordinate to the German government. In the event of a turn in the war, the United States is quite reconciled to the continued existence of the colonies as British, French and Dutch possessions.

The idea, for example, of returning Aruba, Curacao and Trinidad to Venezuela, is, as the New York Post said, "a suggestion likely to be as

**Bosses on Run** 

In N.J. Scrap

**Iron Strike** 

Company Tries All

Sorts of Tricks

To Break Strike

Special to Labor Action

They Are Against the War displeasing to the American oil companies as to the Netherlands and Great Britain."

#### More Money

In the meantime, President Roosevelt, in an effort to bolster the American position at the conference and to show the Latin American countries that he means business, has requested an additional \$500,000,000 for the Export-Import Bank; the money to be used in gathering the surpluses of the South American countries. With it the United States intends to fight the Nazi barter system, to make the wetsern continents safe for exploitation by American finance and industry.

Of no incidental significance, was the announcement of the Navy Department to the effect that two of the fastest cruisers in the navy have been launched for service in the South American waters. This announcement is highly symbolic of the American policy. It is a warning to all concerned that the United States will not permit defiance of her dominant position in the New World and is prepared to go to war to enforce it.

## Nazi Invasion of Britain Looms As Halifax Rejects Hitler Offer

vasion of the British Isles following the radio speech of British Foreign Secretary Halifax last Monday night in which he rejected Hitler's demand that Britain sue for peace or be annihilated.

The Fuehrer's offer was made in a speech last Friday to his handpicked Reichstag, and broadcast throughout speech, Halifax who helped rearm the world. In a lengthy review of the the Nazis and build up their tre-

The Nazis threatened immediate in- chill may believe this will be Germany. I know that it will be Britain." Hitler's demagogic appeal to the British people to compel their government to accept his terms was answered by Halifax in equally hypocritical talk about the independence of the nations which fascist Germany destroyed. Referring to Hitler's

ver shows the verbal skill of Roosevelt." So comments, the Kiplinger News Letter ("circulated privately to business men," July 13) on the most important plank in the Democratic platform. In that comment you have the whole measure of the platform and the party it speaks for. Catering to the strong anti-

When They Tell the People

"NO WAR PLANK: On the surface, by the

formal words and rhetoric, the Democratic plat-

form will sound more anti-war than the Republi-

can. If there's discrepancy between words and

actions, voters may choose. This anti-war maneu-

war sentiment of the American people the tweedledee Democrats, like the tweedledum Republicans before them, wrote into their platform a plank that on its surface appears to be isolationist and anti-war. In fact, the plank itself was written by Senator Wheeler who, for weeks before the convention, made a terrific stir about challenging the Democratic party with a third, and anti-war, party. But the whole thing was done with a sly wink to the "big boys" in Wall Street: "Don't be afraid, this is only for the poor suckers whose vote we need."

Roosevelt has already proposed fourteen billions of dollars in war appropriations; his Democratic Senate is in the process of passing a conscription bill; he has called out the National Guard; in declaration after declaration he has stated his war aims in words clear enough to be understood by every man, woman and child-yet this man presumably stands on a platform that is anti-war.

The truth of the mat

Page 3 Page 4

and send it on to the House, where action will no doubt be equally fast. A few amendments may be tacked on here or there to make the bill appear more palatable. But no amount of amendments can revise the essentially vicious character of the bill. That the bill will be enacted into

law is indicated by the actions of the War Department which has already made its plans for the beginning of registration by September 1. Local boards will classify the conscripts. who will then according to age and health be assigned their place in the war services.

"Surely it is not too much to expect of government that it will also protect the inherent and statutory rights of labor to organize and bargain collectively.

"Defense" No Excuse for Cutting

Lashing out at the Roosevelt Administration's practice of granting arma-

ment contracts to corporations violating the Wagner Labor Relations Act,

John L. Lewis, in a sharply worded letter addressed last week to members of

the CIO's Executive Board, charged that "the government is making patriot-

tional Defense" labor will insist on its rights being respected, Lewis stated,

In a caustic reminder to Roosevelt that despite cries of impending "Na-

Labor Standards. Says Lewis

At the same time, Lewis made public a letter sent by him to Sidney Hillman, CIO vice-president and Labor Co-ordinator of the National Defense Commission, Lewis reminded Hillman that "it has long been the position of the Congress of Industrial Organizations that the government of the United States should require private corporations to comply with the laws of the United States and in particular with the National Labor Relations Act, before contracting with them for the delivery of goods or services."

Roosevelt has until now refused to act in support of the Wagner Act, a measure once sponsored by his Administration. In the interest of the militarization program he will seek further to appease big business. This merely means that labor must take into its own hands the enforcement of the Labor Relations Act. Labor must make it clear that further violations of the Wagner Act under the cry that it impedes "National Defense" will result in a new wave of strikes and sit-downs.

**Stalin Fastens Hold on Baltic People** 

### Liberation Lies Only on the Path of Socialist Revolution

Stalinist Russia has annexed the three small Baltic countries, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania after controlled elections brought out close to a 100 per cent vote for "affiliation" to the Soviet Union.

This action concludes the process of Russian control over these states which began after the Stalin-Hitler Pact of last August and the establishment of Russian military and naval bases there. Last month whole divisions of Russian troops were sent into the Baltic countries, and with their aid the old national governments were ousted.

The new "Soviet Republics" have decreed the expropriation of the old landowning class and the state ownership of land. The declaration of the "Latvian Republic," for example, limits land ownership "at no more than thirty hectares (about 75 acres)."

"Any attempt to encroach on the private peasant property or to thrust on the laboring peasantry against their will the organization of collective farms will be strictly punishable as acts detrimental to the interests of the people and the state."

Whatever the pious promises of Stalin, the masses of the Baltic states who suffered under the brutal exploitation of their native landowners and capitalists and their reactionary dictatorships are now the subject peoples of the more powerful tyrant in the Kremlin. Land is now state property. Tomorrow the factories will also become the property of the state.

But the state machine is the instrument of the oppressive Russian bureaucracy. This ruling group can

maintain and extend its power and revenue most effectively through such state ownership. In newly annexed territories it cannot tolerate the old ruling propertied classes, capitalist owners of factories and banks, and landowners for any extended period of time because this would mean a disruption of Russian statified economy, and future political opposition fostered by these old ruling elements.

#### **Masses Do Not Benefit**

The expropriation of the reactionary property owning classes by Stalinist Russia is not undertaken in order to bring freedom and security to the masses, but rather to gain for the Russian bureaucrats themselves the results of the toil and sweat of the workers and peasants.

That is why revolutionary socialists, the genuine defenders of the interests of the workers and peasants, who are for the working people taking over the land and factories and banks from the big landowners and capitalists and collectively utilizing these resources for the common good of the people, condemn the reactionary annexations of these countries by Russia. In the Baltic countries, as in Russia itself, the masses can benefit from these resources only if they overthrow the despotic Stalinist government and organize their own workers and peasant government. At the same time revolutionary Socialists refuse to take seriously protests against Stalinist reactionary measures by the capitalist imperialist governments and their spokesman. Last Tuesday, Sumner Welles, United States Acting Secretary of

State, denounced the Russian annexation of the Baltic countries in a statement, according to the New York Times, "the vigor of which stamped it as one of the most exceptional diplomatic documents issued by the State Department in many years."

No doubt Welles smiled cynically when he wrote that these states had "independent and democratic" forms of governments when everyone knows that they were organized after the World War as puppet buffer states against Soviet Russia, were controlled by one or another imperialist power, and had dictatorial governments.

However his statement correctly declares:

"The people of the United States are opposed to predatory activities, no matter whether they are carried on by the use of force or by the threat of force. They are likewise opposed to any form of intervention on the part of one State, however powerful, in the domestic concerns of any other sovereign State, however weak."

The people-yes! Sumner Welles? Ask the people of Cuba who remember this gentleman who "by the use of force or by the threat of force" decided which group of rogues should control the Cuban government in the best interests of American imperialism! The Roosevelt Government? Ask the Latin American people about Yankee Imperialism!

The people, above all the workers, must see through this fraud in order more effectively to struggle against all forms of reaction and oppression, and for freedom and security.

tained a solid strike front against Reichman and Hoffman Scrap Iron Yards despite violence and police intimidation.

NEWARK, N.J., July 23-For nine

weeks now, thirty-five colored work-

ers, members of Local 1120, Waste

Materials Union AFL, have main-

That the police are working hand in glove with the company is evidenced by the treatment of Ben Hagen, a militant unionist who was stabbed, as reported in the last issue of LABOR ACTION, by a company scab. After being wounded, Hagen was taken to the city hospital for treatment. Shortly afterwards, the police arrived and took Hagen, whose wounds were still bleeding under the bandages, to the local police precinct. There they "questioned" him for several hours, and then, literally, dragged him back to the hospital. Several days later, still weak from his wounds, he was again brought to the precinct for "questioning."

In an efforts to provoke further violence which will give it the basis for injunction proceeding, the company has sent scabs to eat in the restaurant where the strikers bide their time between picketing. Wise to the trick, the strikers have ignored the scabs.

#### New Charges .

Though previous charges against union leaders have been thrown out of court, the company keeps trying. This week, strikers Pierce and Taylor were charged with attempted assault. A hearing was held last Thursday and the men were released in the custody of their lawyer after being finger-printed.

Water transportation by scow is now completely blocked by the solidarity of the Longshoremen's union. The company has, therefore, been forced to resort to the more expensive rail and truck transportation. But the union is contacting the railroad brotherhoods and the teamsters' union for their backing.

With business volume dropping, the company is desperately seeking an end to the strike. Last week they reopened negotiations for a settlement with the local labor board. However their proposals were so vague, refusing to state exactly what sort of a wage increase they were willing to offer, that nothing came from the conference.

As previously reported, the strikers who had been working a 60 hour week at a 30-35¢ hourly wage, are demanding wage increases of from 12 to 32¢ an hour. They also demand a union shop, time and a half for overtime, double time for Sundays, adequate safety and sanitary equipment, and no speed-up.

developments of the war he placed responsibility for the conflict on the Allies, and declared that he never desired to destroy the British Empire.

He emphasized the friendly relations between Germany and Russia and stated that both powers have agreed on a "clear definition of their respective spheres of interests", and that "all hope that the completion of this (war) might give rise to fresh tension between Germany and Russia is futile." British hopes and efforts in this direction will end in failure.

In the last section of his speech he appealed "once more to reason and common sense in Great Britain as much as elsewhere," and suggested that the British sue for peace. "I do realize that this struggle, if it continues, can end only with the complete annihilation of one or the other of the two adversaries. Mr. Chur-

Stalinists Plan 'Workers Regime' In France - - If O. K. With Hitler

plan.' "

favors to Stalin.

### Third International Hits All-Time Low

The Third International, for years a pawn of the Soviet foreign office and a major obstacle to all revolutionary struggle, has at last reached an all-time rock-bottom low point. We realize this is a big statement, but we submit as evidence the following news story, which has all the earmarks of accuracy, from the N.Y. Times of July 20 last:

"After the fall of Paris, Maurice Thorez, the French Communist party's general secretary, is said to have proposed to exploit the new situation on the following plan:

"First, that the Communists were to receive power in unoccupied France; second, that the Communists would then recognize the Petain armistice: third, that in occupied territories authority was to be wielded by commissars of a "Republic of French Workers," OF COURSE UN-DER GERMAN CONTROL. (Emphasis ours.)

"The informant asserts that this project was submitted to Moscow on June 29, but that Moscow counselled the French Communists to be prudent.

"'We are going to take the matter up with Hitler,' S. A. Lozovsky, So-

mendous military machine, declared: "He says he had no desire to destroy the British Empire but there was in his speech no suggestion of the peace which must be based on justice and no word of recognition that the other nations of Europe have any right to the self - determination principle which he has so often invoked for Germany.'

To which Hitler could justly reply: the "self-determination" of the Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, Belgiums, Dutch and French, is of the same kind that the British bankers and industrialists have imposed upon the colonial peoples of their own empire, in India, Africa and Asia.

The speeches of Hitler and Halifax have in this sense a similar aim: each seeks to utilize the deep-seated desire of the people for self-determination and freedom, in order to further his own imperialist class interests.

viet Vice-Commissar of Foreign Af-

fairs, is said to have told Andre

Marty, Thorez's representative, 'to

find out whether he will accept your

This is the final end to which has

led the Comintern's policy of bar-

gaining among ruling-class govern-

ments, using its workingclass adher-

ents as pawns in the game of Krem-

lin power politics. Such American

workers as do not yet know it had

better soon learn that a party which

sacrifices workingclass interests for

power politics, ends up trading the

French workers, like beef on the

hoof, to Hitler in return for his

MATTER UP WITH HITLER"-these

words of foreign commissar Lozov-

sky form a fitting epitaph on the

tomb of the Third International.

THIRD CAMP - READ

FOR NEWS OF THE

LABOR ACTION

"WE ARE GOING TO TAKE THE

platforms mean damn little to boss politicians. They are conveniences for the snaring of votes. Except for preelection campaign speeches, they are forgotten the moment they are passed by the convention. This holds true for the Republicans as for the Democrats, for Willkie as for Roosevelt.

However, in the case of the Republicans the convention made no effort to conceal the fact that the platform was a pure formality, to be ignored by the candidate who has the final say in matters of policy. Accordingly, the Republicans wrote a very short platform. The Democrats, seeking to coat the fabric of fiction with a high gloss of sincerity, wrote a long platform, and even included in some of its sections a few progressive points with the "verbal skill" for which Roosevelt is known.

#### Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is of course the main issue. On this the platforms of the two parties are almost identical. They both declare for adequate "defense"; they both approve the huge appropriations; they both pretend opposition to "involving this nation in foreign war"; they both favor aid which in every sense but the military is equivalent to war "to all peoples fighting for liberty" (Republican) or "to these liberty-loving people wantonly attacked" (Democrats). They both lie.

They differ only in the conclusion. One platform says that the Democrats have not organized the preparation for war efficiently enough, and that the job ought to be turned over to the Republicans; the other says that the Democrats have done a good job in promoting the war aims of the bosses, and that the Republicans can't be trusted with the task. Such is the difference between the two: as "vital" as all that. Candidate Willkie has made it quite clean that he stands for the same principles as Roosevelt in foreign policy; candidate Roosevelt has made it clear. that his principles mean: WAR.

#### Patent Fraud

But even taking the platform as written, the fraud of its "anti-warness" is obvious. It reads: "We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our army, naval or air forces in foreign lands outside of the Americas. except in case of attack. We favor and shall rigorously enforce and defend the Monroe Doctrine." (The Republican plat-(Continued on page 2)

# With the Labor Unions-**On the Picket Line**

- By David Coolidge

### TWO PEAS IN A POD

Many political commentators have been saying that there is no fundamental difference between the Republicans and Democrats on foreign policy and national defense. Certainly there is no fundamenetal difference on these questions. How can there be? Both parties are operated and controlled by millionaires or their stooges, for the benefit of and in the interest of the rich. Right now foreign policy and "national defense" have a definite and close relationship to profits and opportunities for increasing profits in the next year or two. Both parties are interested primarily in the preservation of capitalism and capitalist private profit. We have already pointed out how even the patriotism of the big bankers and industrialists grows hot or cold depending on the size of profit permitted by the government.

Furthermore one party will be just an anxious as the other to protect the investments of U.S. millionaires in Europe and Asia and to protect and help extend their investments in South America. Both parties are willing to give business a little more freedom to exploit workers and thereby increase profits. That's the chief reason for the existence of both parties.

#### EYE TO EYE ON NLRB

One interesting instance of seeing eye to eye is the fact that both parties favor amending the National Labor Relations Act. The only difference between them is that the Republicans are more outspoken, while the Democrats pussy-foot. The Republicans want the Act "amended in fairness to employers and all groups of employes so as to provide true freedom for, and orderliness in, self-organization and collective bargaining." The Democrats pledge themselves "to maintain the principles of the National Labor Relations Act." This means of course that they favor its amendment. They too want an act fair to employers and "all groups of employes." Both parties are prepared to open the door for the extension of company unions. The AFL should note this while they are fighting to have this Act changed. Bill Green seems to be of the opinion that all he has to fight is the CIO. He forgets that all of the big employers are not as stupid and open as Weir and others in their company union procedure. They are learning new tricks.

Last but by no means least the Democrats will "work always for a just distribution of our national income among those who labor." To get the full flavor of this workers should think it over in connection with the Republican claim that "the Republican Party has always protected the American worker."

From time to time we hazard a guess on how long the U.S. workers will continue to fall for this Republican and Democratic tripe. Always protected the American workers! Work for a just distribution of the national income among the workers! This is what Morgan, Rockefeller, Ford, Girdler, Weir, Young, DuPont are aiming at when they hurl their thugs and gunmen at the workers. This is what Roosevelt, Willkie and all the other Morgan-Rockefeller-Young deputies are aiming at when they agree that wages shall be as low as \$15 a week while the big shots may go as high as \$10,000 a week. This is what they mean by "just distribution."

In the midst of all this one remembers with a shock that the first labor party (Working Men's Party) in the world was formed right in this country, in Philadelphia, 112 years ago this month. Despite the fact that over a century ago the workers of the United States began realizing that the parties of the bosses did not and could not represent them, they are still jumping back and forth from one boss party to the other.

### AND AGAIN - PATRIOTISM PAYS DIVIDENDS

All workers who are satisfied with their wages, the wages system and capitalism would probably get mad as hell if they took a little time off to read more about what is really going on. For instance let's look again at corporation profits for this year: the grand year of national defense and patriotism. The New York Times reports that 100 corporations increased their earnings by 60% over the first half of 1939. These 100 corporations had total net income of \$113,658,828 for six months, an increase of \$70,818,876 over the first six months of 1939. Republic Steel (Tom Girdler) increased from \$1,083,311 to \$6,449,453 or 495%! General Electric, (Morgan, Young) from \$16,370,192 to \$25,871,572, or 58%. Atlantic Refining, (Rockefeller) \$1,-353,000 to \$5,266,000 or 289%.

American Telephone and Telegraph (Bell Telephone Companies, Morgan) net income for 12 months ended May 31 was \$203,549,917, an increase of \$35,446,093 over 1939.

This is the huge corporation which advertises that no one persons owns as much as 1% of its stock. This is just as much a sucker advertisement as the old gold mine "ads" or the patent medicine stuff. A.T. & T. has 18,686,794 shares of stock outstanding. Each share of this stock "earned" \$10.89 a share the past year. (This doesn't mean of course that dividends are \$10.89 a share). However any stockholder who owned even one half of 1% of A.T. & T. stock would have 93,433 shares. The real situation in 1928, (according to Berle and Means: "The Modern Corporation and Private Property") was that the 20 largest stockholders held 515,488 shares; George Baker leading

LABOR ACTION



# They Lie--

(Continued from page 1) form is written in almost the same

words.) Examine that sentence carefully and you find that "overseas" does not include South America, parts of which are more distantly oversea

than Europe. Roosevelt, realizing that the jig may soon be up in Europe anyway, and that the main war interest of American Big Business will be to grab full control of Latin America away from its Japanese and German rivals, has shifted the focus of his war preparations to the American continent and the Pacific. Not even the excuse of "attack" is needed according to the platform, for the sending of marines and soldiers to Brazil or Chile. This is in keeping with the Roosevelt's much-touted War" declaration, delivered "No some ten days ago, which slyly exempted the whole Western Hemisphere. And was followed by the proposal to call the National Guard into

active service. That Wheeler wrote the plank is an indication in full measure of his worth-and the worth of so many of these loud isolationists. Isolationism for a boss politician is merely a round-about way of supporting war. Wheeler stomped around the country threatening this, that and the other thing against Roosevelt the war-monger. But when it came down to brass tacks (and not making fervid speeches before Townsend con-

ventions), Wheeler knuckled down

and did his job in covering up for the war administration. And you can be sure, that Wheeler, no more than the Kiplinger letter, is not deceived by the "anti-war" declaration he authored.

#### Labor Planks

Other planks in the platform can be measured by the war plank. It costs the Democrats little to write into their platform a vigorous pledge of unemployment relief, when, at the same time, every dollar that is put into a battleship is taken by a Democratic Congress from funds that should go to relief. All it takes is "verbal skill." The Republicans favor a state-controlled relief system. The Democrats favor a federal system. Both, in practice, agree that it must be cut to the bone to build the war machine.

Similarly, it costs the Democrats little to "maintain the principle of the National Labor Relations Act." In practice they are already moving to amend it in Congress. Note: they want to maintain, not the Act, but the principles of the Act. The Republicans are less discreet; they say flatly that the Act ought to be changed so that Business will be less irked by it. A difference in "verbal skill"!

#### Bid to The Negroes

And it costs less to make a bid for the Negro vote by promising "legislative safeguards against dis-

## **Shachtman Sees Workers Victory Ahead**

## Addresses Large N.Y. Audience at Last Meeting of National Tour

Speaking before a New York au- tain, Laval and Company made a dience for the first time since the beginning of his successful coast-tocoast tour two months ago, Max Shachtman, National Secretary of the Workers Party, declared to more than four hundred workers Wednesday night, July 23, at Manhattan Plaza, "The revolution is everywhere because capitalism at its end makes life unendurable." Addressing himself against the

pending conscription of millions of American workers in the next months, Shachtman stated, "In the last war, conscription did not come until the United States was several months engaged in fighting Germany. What a sign of the change in our times that the present conscription bill is being jammed through Congress not only against the overwhelming sentiments of the great majority of American people, but during a time when we are still formally at peace.'

Recounting his observations and discussions with workers in various parts of the country during his tour, Shachtman told his audience, "The further West one goes, the stronger is the feeling against entering the war. War is not popular in the United States. The people of this country are against conscription. When the people read of the government's effort to limit war profiteers, they smile knowingly. They remember the last war."

Turning to the events in Europe, Shachtman declared, "Marshall Pe-

crimination in government service and benefits and in the national defense forces." On the face of it, that plank is among the most progressive ever adopted by the Democratic party. And, in its wording, so it is. But we note nowhere in the lengthy platform a specific statement: that the Democrats will support the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill, that the Democrats will support the bill now in Congress for over twenty years to outlaw lynching.

ity in the Congress for years now. The Republicans had a majority before that. Both, when voting time comes around, bid for Negro support (that is for the support of those Negroes who are allowed to vote in these democratic states). But when it comes down to actual deeds, then it's "no dice." Lynching is rampant in those very states which the Democratic Party controls. Tennessee, the scene of the latest lynching, is a Democratic state. One equality, however, we are sure the bosses will soon grant the Negro: to die by the side of his white brother on some battlefield.

swift capitulation to Hitler because they feared the rising tide of revolution. Fleeing French officers, who abandoned their regiments and crossed into neutral countries, felt that Hitler's victory was bad, yet his presence on French soil prevented 'the second disgrace of France in a century-another Paris Commune. 'The enslavement of the French

working class is now being carried out jointly by Hitler and Petain."

Charging that the United States is moving toward a totalitarian regime. Shachtman recounted the growing persecution of workers' organizations. "The growing persecution of the Communist Party merely means that the government is first attacking the most unpopular group, the better later to smash the whole working class movement. The antialien legislation is another device in that vicious drive. This legislation helps to drive a wedge between the native and foreign-born workers, and serves also as a weapon against those foreign-born workers who are militant and loyal to their class."

As another example of the growing totalitarian trend in the United States, Shachtman pointed to the recent Democratic convention. "The Democratic convention," the speaker asserted, "was for all practical purposes a totalitarian convention, run by a Fuehrer who did not even consider it proper to put in an appearance.'

After examining the candidates of

he's hounding the aliens here who you have to redeem them. And there are guilty of no other crime than the boss parties draw the line. Go that they were born in some of these "liberty-loving" lands, and came here to dig mines, fell timber, and pave roads.

> Roosevelt talks about giving relief to the unemployed; but he's taking that relief away. Roosevelt talks about providing jobs in industry for the unemployed; but the number of unemployed is still many millions and the only practical job he offers them is life in an army barracks at \$21 a month. Roosevelt talks about taxing the rich; but in practice he guarantees the rich their patriotic profits.

the two major parties, Shachtman

stated, "America is being geared for

war by both the Democratic and Re-

publican parties, by the Willkie who

is a Roosevelt out of office and by

Roosevelt who is a Willkie in office."

after eleven months of war, views

with redoubled confidence the possi-

bility of workers action, Shachtman

told his audience. "To those who

want to draft sixty million people.

for war, we say draft the wealth of

the sixty families. We are opposed

to the confiscation of sixty million

lives for the benefit of sixty pluto-

"Only a people's army, trained and

controlled by the workers, is capable

of defending the United States, both

against fascism and the capitalist

enemy at home. A workers program,

a workers party and a workers gov-

ernment is the hope of mankind in

these tragic and cursed times. We

are confident of the outcome. Al-

ready we can see that the revolution

is everywhere because capitalism at

Nathan Gould, Organizer for the

New York Local division of the

Workers Party, opened the meeting

as its chairman. Conrad Lynn, head

of the Negro department of the New-

York Local division, spoke briefly

on the Negro people and the war.

LET THE PEOPLE

VOTE ON WAR!

its end makes life unendurable."

cratic families.

Stating that the Workers party,

Facts count, not words. And on the facts, both Willkie and Roosevelt stand naked before the American people as agents of Wall Street, seeking election to better, each in his own way, carry out the war dictates of Wall Street and to pass out among party supporters the gravy of public office.

Willkie and Roosevelt, Democratic Platform and Republican Platformthey amount to the same thing. That is a fact every worker must learn.

- THE STORY OF A LYNCHING -



by one these are being ditched. Still, it's in the way he does this, that makes Roosevelt so valuable for the bosses. Willkie, big utilities head, is obviously the bosses' man although he's trying to "smile" his way around that. Roosevelt, equally well the bosses' man, conceals that fact behind a most engaging smile, and an over-dose of false promises and "verbal skill." That's why he considers himself so indispensable to the bosses, even if some of these do not appreciate him. That's why he ran the Democratic convention with the

iron hand of a Fuehrer—compelling it to do his bidding. It's facts, not promises, that count. Roosevelt talks democracy, but he's fostering a war dictatorship. Roosevelt talks about saving the "libertyloving people" of other lands; but

The Democrats have had a major-

Pledges and promises are cheap commodities. They cost nothing until

individual owners with 53,522 shares.

It is very easy to see that with its tremendous monopoly earnings the dividends of A.T. & T. are large. Furthermore they are regular and constant. This means that there is a small group of individuals and corporations, such as the Sun Life Insurance Co. with over 70,000 shares in 1928, that have nothing else to do but sit and wait for telephone workers to create wealth for them to pocket. We leave out of consideration here any discussion of the fact that the control of the company is in the hands of a very few large shareholders. The main point is not the per cent of stock owned by any one person, but the total number of shares owned, and the fact that these shares are concentrated in the hands of a few powerful corporations and individuals.

Here are a few newspaper headlines for the past week: "EARNINGS AT RECORD LEVEL, Eaton Manufacturing Company Clears \$1,908,348 in 6 months." "RECORD CHRYSLER WEEK." "21% GAIN IS SHOWN BY DUPONT; SECOND QUARTER TOTAL PUT AT 484,514,779." "OLDSMO-BILE SALES RISE 105%." "PACKARD SALES JUMP 222%." "100 CON-CERNS SHOW EARNINGS UP 60.5%."

#### BUT WHAT ARE THE WORKERS DOING?

We have said before that patriotism pays the ruling class. It is paying handsome dividends today in real dollars to the owners of the factories, mines, mills and the land. And what are the workers doing while the bosses are grabbing millions of dollars? Well, out in Pittsburgh some steel workers are hunting for "un-American" workers in their own ranks while the bosses give the witch hunt their blessings. One section of the labor movement is fighting to have the Wagner Act changed so that it will be fair to the bosses and company unions. That isn't the way they put it but that is what the AFL fight against the Act means. John L. Lewis is attempting to assume the role of president maker, just as though it made any real difference to workers whether Roosevelt or Willkie is president. Dubinsky at the last convention of the ILGWU, in addition to flag-waying and war-mongering, had the constitution of his union changed so that any militant paid officer can be kicked out by the top leadership of the union. All candidates for a paid office in a local union must deposit duplicate resignations in blank with the G.S.T. of the ILGWU and the local before they take office.

Now is the time for unity among the workers, all of them, the AFL, CIO, railroad unions and the numerous other independent unions: unity for more wages, shorter hours and complete organization of all industrial and agricultural workers.

#### COCKROACHES AND CHISELERS

The State Labor Department of New Jersey reports a "disturbing" disregard of the state labor laws by Atlantic City employers. In one day seven inspectors found 193 violations in 69 restaurants, hotels and other business places

Fashion Lane Dress Company admitted in court that it had falsified its books to conceal its practice of scab production. Furthermore the company paid wages under the legal minimum and jumbled its records to keep this tact from being discovered.

Signal Knitting Mills of Chattanooga, Tenn. has granted a closed shop to its workers. After the NLRB had ordered the Company to disband its company union the outfit organized another company union and announced that it had signed a "closed shop contract" with the new union. Justice (ILGWU paper) reports that the "closed shop" was in effect before the union was formed.

John L. Martin writing in Justice on "Union News From Dixie" has the following juicy morsel: "The war fever has hit the chamber of commerce boys in Dixie with the factory bug, and every little crossroad town is whooping it up for a bigger and better war so they can get a 'new industry'."

Charles Hardy, president of the American Car and Foundry Co. had a little difficulty at the last stockholders meeting. Last year Hardy's salary was \$73,695. It was also revealed that a law firm headed by Hardy got \$112.825 in fees from the company. One stockholder felt that \$30,000 a year salary should be enough for their president. He was defeated however when the president announced that he had been successful in getting an order from the government for 900 army tanks. \$73,695 a year is about \$1400 dollars a week or nearly \$30 an hour for a 48 hour week. Hardy is probably one of the boys who believe that his workers should be satisfied with 30 cents an hour. If they want more money let them work more hours.

In last week's issue of LABOR AC-TION we ran a story of a lynching in Tennessee. In this issue. Conrad Lynn, well known among militant Negroes, reports his conversation with the widow of the lynched man. .

#### By CONRAD LYNN

Mrs. Annie Williams is in Farmingdale, Long Island now. Your reporter found her resting in a little farmhouse on the outskirts of that town after a harrowing flight from Brownsville, Tenn. where her 27 year old husband, Elbert Williams, was lynched last month. She was not at all reluctant to tell the story.

"But you better call in Joe. He remembers more about it than I do." Joe Boone, her brother, walked in. Yes, he knew the facts. His place had been only two doors away from the Williams' house on Bradford Street in Brownsville. They had lived there all their lives.

#### Form NAACP Branch

Brownsville is the county seat. Its population is between three and four thousand. The county, with a population of 15,000 is predominantly Negro in the ratio of 3 to 1 over

the whites. The town itself is 60 miles east of Memphis. Eighteen months ago, a Negro law-

ver named Ballard, from Jackson, Tenn, met with five Brownsville Negroes and discussed the formation of a local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The major program of the branch centered about securing the vote for Negroes.

The branch grew rapidly. By April, 1940, it had 50 members. Negroes of the town developed race pride. They began to patronize the Negro businessmen. The whites didn't like it.

## **Reign of Terror Begins**

The Election Poll Books opened in April. Ballard asked for volunteers to go to the election board and demand the right to register. Five men stepped forward. They went to the

board the next day. The officer in charge told them they were at the wrong place. They were sent to someone else and from him to someone else. Finally they were told the books would not be opened till later.

In February, a Negro youth named Bailey had been arrested for shooting a white. The boy's father retained set for the fourth Monday in May. Seizing upon this circumstance, the

whites spread the word around that the NAACP had actually retained Ballard for the Defense. That proved that this "Nigger" organization was stirring up trouble between the races. Davis and Walker, officers of the branch, were questioned and told to

beat it. They stayed. On the morning of the trial, when the attorney, Ballard, rose in court for the defense, a band of white hoodlums seized him, loaded him into a car, drove to the outskirts of town and told him to get out, and never come back to Brownsville, if he knew what was good for him.

The next Saturday night, Elisha Davis was forcibly placed in a car. "They asked him the names of the members of the branch. He named a few. He told them he'd need the membership list if he was to name any more. They gave him a 'stay away.'"

Elisha Davis left town that night. He left a wife and 7 children behind. The oldest child is ten. Might say he was just starting out in life.

#### Come for Williams

The following Thursday, June 20, a car drove into Elbert Williams' house about 10:30 at night. "Did you recognize the car, Mrs.

Williams?"

"Yes. It was Milton Allman's car. He's the mechanic at the Ford garage. I couldn't swear that he was in the car then but I knew the two officers. They were the day marshal and the night marshal. They had Tom Davis, Elisha's brother, in the back of the car. Tippin, the marshal, came up the steps. He asked for Dick. That was my husband's nickname. Dick came out. Tippin told him he wanted to ask him more questions. As Dick was led to the car,

I heard Tom Davis call: "Tell him Dick, what you told me this afternoon.'

"What had they been talking about?"

"That afternoon, Dick had discussed with Tom the possibility of taking over the filling station Elisha had

abandoned when he left town." They took the men away. Annie Williams went to the nearest phone to call the sheriff. Joe's wife, Alice, drove to town to try to find out what it was all about. She saw Allman's car in front of the City Hall. She drove back to get some clothes

Ballard to defend him. The trial was for Elbert. He had been taken in his pajama bottoms.

Elbert Williams Thought He Had a Right to Vote

When she got back at 12:30, the night marshal told her that the boys were not there. In fact he hadn't seen them at all. (Tom Davis had been released a little while before.)

#### 'Didn't Need No Clothes'

The next morning, Annie Williams, sought the help of her boss, the laundry owner. (All the Boones and Williams worked in the laundry.) He refused to do anything. She went to his father, the Postmaster.

"He 'lowed Dick 'didn' need no clothes.' Then I went to Sheriff Hawkins. He told me Dick was in jail but he wouldn't let me see him." That day the Sheriff left for Jackson. Another appeal to the laundry boss on Saturday was unavailing. The day before, Joe had gone to Memphis to "wait it out".

Sunday morning, June 23, Al Rawls, the undertaker, sent Joe's brother around to Annie Williams to tell her that they had found a body in the Natchez River. Annie went down the river five miles, 200 feet south of a big iron bridge, and there she saw the body covered with a sheet. She demanded that the sheet be removed. With great reluctance the sheet was pulled back and she looked on the horribly bruised and swollen features of her husband. A gaping hole was in the chest and it was clear that the man had received a terrible beating.

Coroner Billy Cox insisted on throwing the body into a wooden box, and burying it 'in a shallow grave by the river.

'High Sheriff' Hawkins came to the house the next day. He expressed his sympathy and said something would have to be done. He warned the family not to tattle to anybody, particularly strange whites.

#### **Keep Moving**

Annie went to the father-in-law's home in the country the same day. The Boones and the Williams kept moving from place to place at night. But they appeared openly on the streets on Brownsville in the day. The whites did all their dirty work at night.

"Didn't the Negroes have anything to protect themselves with?"

"No, the whites can carry guns openly, but its a chain-gang crime for a Negro to carry a weapon. The day they drove Elisha out of town, we saw a large band of whites with

pistols and rifles in his filling station. We told the day marshal but he did nothing about it. Then the NAACP always told us to keep quiet so they wouldn't have no reason to work on us."

"After Dick's disappearance, several of our members wanted to go back in a body and demand what had become of him. But our leaders persuaded us not to do it."

The following Monday, the Boones and Williams went to Memphis, After several days they came north.

#### **Mayor** Owns Houses

At the conclusion of the interview, Joe Boone insisted upon driving your reporter back to the railroad station. Mrs. Williams earnestly asked for a return visit and expressed her willingness to do anything to help track down the perpetrators of the crime, as well as to further the fight of the Negroes in the south. Intelligent and fearless, she is typical of

the new southern Negro. On the way to the station, Joe told about the general condition in Brownsville. "George Reed, chairman of the three-man Town Commission, who acts as Mayor, owns most of the houses the Negroes rent. They are mostly one room affairs with a kitchen. The roofs are of tin and the walls of the cheapest .pine boards. He owns most of the places in Bradford and Jefferson Streets in the Negro section. He had told our members that the NAACP is heading for trouble in his town. The roads in the Negro neighborhood are muddy and rutted. The white sections have paved roads. Occasionally a white

employer who has to drive into the neighborhood for his colored washerwoman, complains and then they dump ashes into the more obvious holes."

"Two days before they took Elbert, Ed Lee, manager of the Coco-Cola Bottling works asked me where Elbert lived. Allman, the mechanic who owned the car, skipped town the Tuesday after the body was found.'

#### No Calls, No Mail

"You see they were jealous of the new way things were going. The NAACP had encouraged Negroes to trade among themselves Davis' filling station was a two-by-four place before but after our organization got started, he got more business than anybody else. After he was run out of town, the whites expected to take over, but Elbert talked to Tom Davis about buying it." Perhaps that has something to do with Elbert's murder. The station has been taken from Elisha's wife and she was told that she has to get a lawyer and \$40 be-

64

JE.

fore she can get it back. During this period, Negroes were not permitted to telephone out of town. Telegrams were not delivered. The mails were tampered with. If a Negro attempted to put through a call to Memphis, he was told that the telephone exchange was out of order.

The Grand Jury will conduct a hearing on the case August, 12. The FBI agents have questioned Tip Hunter, the "night law". His story is that he turned Elbert loose and never saw him again, according to the Memphis "Press-Scimiter".

INFORMAL HOUSE KERHONKSON, N. Y. 7 miles from Ellenville Situated at the foot of the Catskills 'midst all the wonders of woods and



## **Of Special Interest to Women**

#### By SUSAN GREEN

The season is here when the underprivileged children are getting free outings to the country or free boatrides. These children from the slum tenements of the nation are dependent upon public or private charity for a peek at nature and a whiff of fresh air.

Officials, big and little, come into the limelight on these occasions, make speeches and have their pictures taken. Mayor LaGuardia's picture with a group of children appeared the other day under the heading "Mayor bids bon voyage to slum children off for day's outing". These cocks of the roost act as if this charity is something to boast of.

As far back as I can remember, and I am sure even before that, such free excursions were handed out to hundreds of thousands of slum children. And every year the Mayor LaGuardias shamelessly advertise the fact that there continue to be great numbers of parents to poor to live in decent homes, to say nothing of sending their children on a summer vacation to the country.

The poor are always with us. But the nation becomes wealthier and wealthier as the years go by. Some years ago unbiased statisticians made interesting estimates of what the people of this country could enjoy-IF THE WEALTH WERE RELEASED FOR THEIR BENEFIT. It was stated as a conservative estimate that every family of the land could live on a basis equal to a \$5,000 a year income.

There is no necessity for slums-nor for povertynor for charity. They are inflicted upon us by the sixty families who grab most of the wealth of the nation and what is left over they have their boss government waste in wars for their profit. For them and for their lackeys poverty is a good thing-it enables them to stick out their chests and strut about puffed up with their "generosity", when they throw the poor dog a bone, or a boatride.

At the Democratic party convention held in Chicago last week, not a har-pulling match, but a political fight took place among the women delegates. It was over the adoption of a plank in the party platform, calling for a vote on an Equal Rights for Women amendment to the constitution.

The group in favor of such a plank-which by the way lost the fight-argued that there are still many inequalities between men and women that should be remedied. They pointed out that in Oklahoma women are barred by law from holding important public office; that in Wisconsin, Minnesota and other states women are prevented from enjoying the same rights as men with respect to making contracts, inheriting property, etc.

It is plain that this group was interested in getting restrictions removed for women of the propertied class. The working woman worries about other things than holding public office, making contracts and inheriting property.

The opponents of this group argued that as a matter of fact an Equal Rights amendment would act as a

boomerang against working women. The women trade unionists at the convention were pretty solidly against it. David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, also participated in the dispute. He stated that an Equal Rights Amendment would result in wiping out all existing legislation in favor of women. He went further and predicted that "Wages, work hours and general working conditions, not only of women, but of men as well, would show an immediate deterioration and would tend to depress labor standards in all industrusties".

That is absolutely right. If an Equal Rights for Women Amendment were passed, the bosses would waste no time in fighting as "unconstitutional" all existing laws providing some protection to women in industry. Clever well-paid lawyers would get busy showing that "equal rights" does not mean "special privileges". This crooked procedure was followed by the bosses with the Fourteenth Amendment to the constitution. This amendment was passed after the Civil War to protect the Negro from harmful state legislation. The bosses have ever since been using it to have labor legislation declared unconstitutional.

Yes indeed. The women trade unionists at the Democratic party convention were absolutely right. They know what scoundrels the bosses are.

Since these trade unionists are so wised-up on the nature of the bosses and distrust them so profoundly, they must answer a very important question. WHAT WERE THEY DOING AT A CONVENTION OF A BOSS PARTY? The Democratic party, like the Republican party, is a boss party. The acts of the Democratic administration speak for themselves. It rounded up fourteen billion dollars to prepare for a bosses' war; it has passed tax laws putting the squeeze on the masses, at the same time making war profits a sure thing for the bosses. It has pushed the movement to enslave labor by compulsory training and conscription. And it is just warming up for further action against the workers.

Trade unions are working class weapons against the class enemy-the bosses. What justification is there for trade unionists joining with the class enemy in politics? Such class collaboration is treason to the cause of working men and women.

Today in Hitler-dominated France the mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, sweethearts of 1,500,000 dead Frenchmen weep. Their tragedy can be traced back to the same kind of class-collaboration treason that trade unionists here are guilty of. In 1936 the workers of France were practically ready to'sweep the bosses out of existence. But they listened to the beguiling voice of class collaboration. Instead of forming an independent workers' government, they joined with the bosses in the Popular Front government. That was their great mistake.

Correct working class politics now will save the working women of America tears later on.

of a compulsory-service act has many arguments in its

favor, but it should be clearly understood that its adop-

## WALL STREET ASSERTS

By 1914, the year after Wilson was inaugurated into the presidency, the first world war had broken out in Europe

Wilson, who had promised to the people of the United States a new era, a "New Freedom," the "New Deal" of that day, was forced by the savage forces of war to change

careful. The manner in which he dealt with the war proved from the beginning wholly unsatisfactory to the big business interests, to the "real masters of government."

of the Morgan interests, began from to push to one side the former

Princeton professor.

Street manipulators.

# We Heard Pretty Promises Once Before

### Wilson Claimed to Have the Best of Intentions, But He Got Us Into the War Nevertheless

A few days before the Democratic nominating convention met in Chicago, President Roosevelt sent a stirring message to the Congress.

"We will not send our men overseas." the President's message declared.

The newspapers picked up the cry and ballyhooed it across the nation. One week later, at the Democratic convention, this promise not to send American men overseas was written into the platform.

What all this means can best be understood if we turn back the pages of American history twenty-eight years. At that time the American people

were made similar promises, promises that were much more vigorous and less ambiguous.

They were made by a man who was destined to become a world figure of the first importance, much the same as President Roosevelt is today among the world's leading statesmen.

The year was 1912. The man, a tall, thin, former professor at Princeton University, was Woodrow Wil-

Mr. Wilson, running as the presidential candidate of the Democratic party, had a good understanding of the great and complex problems then confronting the world.

Speaking at an important political rally during the campaign of 1912, the learned professor declared to his astonished audience, "The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States. It is written over every intimate record of Congress; it is written through the history of conferences at the White House . . . A small number of men control this country . . . They are the gentlemen whose ideas are sought when important measures of government are under consideration. . .

Mr. Wilson, in the year 1912, was speaking with rare understanding and great probity. He was exposing to the public gaze who are the real and incontestable masters of government.

That was the year 1912.

## ITS GOVERNMENT RULE

But Wilson proved too timid, too

Big Business, under the leadership the first day of the outbreak of war,

These interests, asserting their

mastery over the ship of state, took

it upon themselves to initiate a vast

preparedness program. It was under

the Morgan-inspired preparedness

program, for example, that the Platts-

burg Military Camp was established.

Today, in 1940, the trainees at that

camp are Morgan partners and Wall

The new President, in his first

When the steamship Lusitania was

In his campaign speeches of 1912,

Wilson had observed on one occa-

sion, "There are some men who are

trying to grind us down and do us

injustice, but the truth is, we are

all caught in an economic system

which is heartless."

sunk in 1915, the President told the

thing as being too proud to fight."

year, viewed all this with dismay.

Came June 1916, the president was "money-changers," and the "economso thoroughly convinced of preparic royalists." edness that he sanctioned what at

that time was the largest peacetime military budget in the nation's his-Almost simultaneously, a Council

of National Defense was established. presided over by big business, by the "masters."

#### HE DID NOT KEEP US OUT OF WAR

tory.

In 1916 a national election was to take place. Wilson entered the presidential race of that year under the famous slogan, "He kept us out of war."

Once elected, Wilson moved to speed the preparedness program. At the same time he made a gesture towards negotiating a peace in Europe.

The peace effort flopped and Wilson stepped up his militarization program. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, was lined up for "National Defense." Early in 1917, on March 5, Wilson received an urgent telegram from the then American Ambassador to Great Britain, Walter Hines Page.

"The pressure of the approaching crisis has gone beyond the ability of the Morgan financial agency," declared the Ambassador. "Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our pre-eminent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted."

One month later, on April 2, Wilson came to the rescue of the Morgan financial agency. In order to maintain America's pre-eminent trade position, Wilson, on April 2, addressing a joint session of the Congress. urged a declaration of war against Germany.

The Morgan interests, "the masters of government," had scored a signal victory. They had succeeded in maneuvering the United States into a war to salvage and secure their loans and investments.

To hide the real intent of the war, to cloak its aims, Wilson, the learned professor, declared in his War message to Congress, "We shall fight for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations . . . to make the world at last free.'

#### MOVING IN THE SHADE OF WILSON

This is the year 1940. Instead of the New Freedom, there

is now a New Deal. Roosevelt is now in the White

House, but he moves in the shades of Wilson. Like the professor who once de-

nounced the "small group of men who control the government," Roosevelt similarly once denounced the

But just as the apostle of the New Freedom later took into his National Defense Council these self-same "masters," Roosevelt today includes in his Wilsonian modelled National Defense Council the same "moneychangers" and "economic rovalists" he once denounced.

Like his predecessor of twenty years ago, the President of today speaks and urges "armed neutrality." Like the Princeton professor, the squire of Hyde Park clothes in lush phrases the coming war "to maintain America's pre-eminent trade

position. Like Wilson before him, Roosevelt makes gallant efforts to enlist in the war drive outstanding labor leaders like Sidney Hillman, William Green, Daniel Tobin and others.

And finally, like Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt is making

great use of German rivalry in Latin America. In 1916, Wilson started a big spy scare in this country with embroidered tales of German infiltration into Mexico.

Page 3

The game hasn't changed much in twenty years. The slogans remain what they were; the masters are still that small group of capitalists and manufacturers; as for the stakes, it is still the maintenance of "America's pre-eminent trade position."

America's entry into the war must be averted. The task of staying out cannot be left in the hands of the idealists and pacifists. Wilson, who claimed to be the most idealistic of pacifists, proved to be the hangman

of thousands of American youth. War, reaction, dictatorship will be averted when the great majority of workers and farmers finally combine to overthrow "the heartless economic system" of the small group of capitalists and manufacturers who are

the masters of government.

## By Walt Whitman To a Foil'd European **Revolutionaire**

This poem, of which we quote only the opening stanzas, was first published in Whitman's "Songs of Insurrection" in 1856. The "Yet" was added in 1870, after the defeat of the Paris Commune.

Courage yet! my brother or my sister!

Keep on! Liberty is to be subserv'd, whatever occurs; That is nothing that is quelled by one or two failures,

or any number of failures, Or by the indifference or ingratitude of the people, or

by any unfaithfuless,

Or the show of the tushes of power-soldiers, cannon penal statutes.

#### Revolf! and still revolt! revolt!

What we believe in waits latent forever through all the continents, and all the islands and archipelagos of the sea;

What we believe in invites no one, promises nothing, sits in calmness and light, is positive and

composed, knows no discouragement,

Waiting patiently, waiting its time.

(Not songs of loyalty alone are these,

But songs of insurrection also;

For I am the sworn poet of every dauntless rebel, the world over,

And he going with me leaves peace and routine behind him, And stakes his life, to be lost at any moment.)

"The name of Stalin always was cheered for five minutes or more."

-from a newspaper account of the meeting of the Esthonian parliament at which, the "voluntary" merg-

#### THE BLITZKRIEG AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

"No such critical situation has confronted democratic liberties in the United States since the world war as that which has developed with the success of the German armies in Europe and the fear of the involvement of the United States in the war. Although the outbreak of the war in Europe in September, 1939, produced a period of tension and excitement, it had little effect upon the practice of civil liberty. After the initial shock, the country settled down to an acceptance of the war. The President declared a national emergency and invoked a number of extraordinary powers, but little disposition appeared to restrict civil rights. Bills in Congress aimed at aliens and radicals made no headway. "But with the success of the German armies in the spring of 1940, the whole atmosphere changed in a few weeks' time. A vast propaganda against 'Fifth Columnists' and 'Trojan Horses' developed. The immediate response was a wave of intolerance . . . and in Congress the threatened passage of bills of a character unprecedented even in the world war . . .

## **Sparks in the News**

#### LEARNING FAST

ing of Esthonia into the U.S.S.R. was discussed. .

clare a state of war.'

#### tion would create a profound, lasting and inescapable change in the economic, social and political life of our country and might well retard the growth of our civilization. A measure of such consequence if enacted in time of peace may become a permanent part of our his plans. institutions; it should not, therefore, be considered by Congress in this era of hysteria, but, if intended as a permanent measure, only in a time of calm calculation. On the other hand, if conscription is needed merely as a temporary emergency measure to last for the duration

of the emergency, then the emergency ought to be defined; if the international picture is black enough to warrant conscription then the President should declare a state of national emergency or Congress should de-

"At no period in the twenty years of its existence have the Civil Liberties Union and other agencies engaged with protecting civil rights been confronted with such an array of threatened measures of repression."

-from the 1939-40 report of the American Civil Liberties Union. .

#### MR. BALDWIN ON CONSCRIPTION

Hanson W. Baldwin is the N.Y. TIMES military expert. He cannot, therefore, be accused of "Fifth Columnism" when he expresses, in the August issue of HARPERS, certain views on conscriptjon which will not be relished by either Congress or the President.

"Conscription in time of war can be justified," writes Mr. Baldwin. "But at a time like the present it cannot be justified on a basis of Hemisphere defense, for no such mass of men as conscription would provide can effectively be used in this Hemisphere-with one possible exception: if we were preparing for a death struggle with a Japanized Asia and with a completely Germanized Europe in which all the navies and merchant marines and shipbuilding facilities of the Continent were in German hands-a possibility which we have previously discussed and considered to be most unlikely.

"Events do not warrant the painting of the international picture in such black overtones as this. But whether or not conscription is genuinely needed, it should never be endorsed except after careful consideration and with an understanding of the basic change in our lives and our customs that it will entail. Invocation

#### THIS IS WHAT HITLER'S "NEW WORLD ORDER" LOOKS LIKE

From a statement issued recently by the Dutch Legation in Washington, we excerpt some of the details on what the Nazi air force did to Rotterdam AFTER the Dutch army had surrendered:

"When Rotterdam was bombed, the Dutch Army capitulation had already been handed to the German High Command. The Germans say the planes were in the air and could not be called back.

"The crime against Rotterdam was a deliberate, fiendish assault on unarmed, undefended civilians. In the seven and one-half minutes the planes were over the city, 30,000 people died, 4,000 unoffending men, women and children per minute. Seventy thousand others were maimed and injured.

"The final ghoulish touch to this man-made inferno long ago issued to the American of death was that the Germans made aerial motion people his famous declaration, "I pictures of their handiwork, this film presumable for hate war." terrorization purposes throughout the world. Indeed an inspiring piece of propaganda and a cultural achieve-CAUGHT IN A ment to inaugurate what Hitler calls the dawn of the Nazi millennium."

#### KIPLINGERISMS

"Wage-&-hour standards will be maintained for a few months (until after the elections), but it is an open secret that eventually some relaxation on hours may be required . . . on some defense production."

-Kiplinger Washington News Letter ("Circulated Privately to Business Men") for July 13. .

### WE COULDN'T PUT IT BETTER OURSELVES

"The volunteer system has failed. With the use of every known form of ballyhoo, supported by the indisputable fact that the nation actually is in danger, the Army recruiting program is lagging."

- from "Questions and Answers on Conscription", a leaflet issued by the Military Training Camps Association.

## **N.Y. Police Slug Strike Pickets**

of Harry Golding's Interlining Company are still out on strike. Eleven weeks ago they struck for

union recognition.

Mr. Golding replied with a lockout.

The workers answered with a militant picket line, staged daily in front of Mr. Golding's establishment at 216 Broadway.

Mr. Golding, however, remained unimpressed. He went even further. He hired scab labor to do his work.

Last Thursday, July 18, Mr. Golding's workers answered the provocation with a mass picket line attended by the seven hundred members of CIO Local 65, United Wholesale and Warehouse Employees. Thursday, July 18, at twelve o'clock

NEW YORK CITY-The workers the enlarged picket line marched peacefully in front of Golding's shop. They chanted their slogans with enthusiasm. They wanted union recognition.

#### Summoned by Police

Suddenly a horde of police pounced on the orderly picket line. The police immediately arrested the strike leaders and ordered the picket line dissolved.

The strikers insisted on their peaceful right to picket. Furthermore, they insisted that the police release their arrested leaders.

The police refused to give up their "prisoners." They threatened the strikers with drawn guns.

made, the pickets marched to City Hall to protest the brutality of the police.

At City Hall Plaza, the marching pickets were met with renewed police attacks. One of the pickets was beaten into insensibility. A striker attempting to rescue his fallen union brother was similiarly beaten by the police. A press Photographer, fearing the police, destroyed a plate showing a woman being kicked down

a cellar stairs. Entering their twelfth week, the workers of Harry Golding's Interlining Company are still out on strike. They mean to win.

A FIGHTING PAPER — After some ten arrests had been CHALLENGE OF YOUTH South of the Border

#### **HAVANA HOCUS-POCUS**

The special Conference of American Foreign Ministers in Havana threatens to split the whole idea of Pan-Americanism into as many parts as there are delégates. Such pieces as are saved by the United States delegation may yet add up to an impressive total. But the falling away process has begun, and it becomes increasingly clear that Germany will have a trade, if not a military base, American people, "There is such a to the south of us, sufficiently strong to give Washington an excuse for In a similar vein, Roosevelt not so doubling the navy regardless of cost.

> For Hull, who persists in applying 19th century free-trade ideas to 20th century situations, the whole thing is a dismal headache. By no amount of hocus-pocus can he come home with anything in the bag, not already there. At the last minute Roosevelt may send someone in over his head, who can wave the "big stick" more effectively.

> What is spread on the public record of the conference will be meaningless, and will probably ruffle Hitler less than a militant speech by the Foreign Minister of Monaco. Germany, though not officially represented, throws a heavy shadow over the conference. Such decisions as are made will be arrived at behind closed doors. For the United States, these decisions will concern secret agreements with the Central American and Caribbean countries, principally Cuba and possible Mexico, for "military cooperation" in the area of the Panama Canal in the form of naval and air bases.

This will form "blocs" and "spheres of influence" which will ignore Great Britain, France and Holland and bring this side of the world closer to a showdown between German and American trade and military interests. Germany is proving a stubborn and well-intrenched adversary and semi-bankrupt Latin America a willing battleground. Geography, power politics and even a number of economic considerations give this country the inside track on ultimate domination of the South American continent. But such domination is not won at conferences. American capitalism needs the countries to the south of us more than is the case the other way around. In a world economically growing ever smaller, Wall Street cannot find another area to exploit, whereas in Germany, South America can al-

ways find another master. The knot with six tails or with nine?

#### DOG-IN-THE-MANGER ECONOMICS

Hemisphere defense as well as the problem of what to do with the possessions of France, the Netherlands and Belgium in the Americas are of little concern to the governments of Latin America. At least they are secondary in relation to a much more burning issue. This issue, for which the United States has no solution, is Latin America's chief economic problem: warehouses filled with surplus, and in many instances perishable, products which we won't, Great Britain has ceased and Germany wants to buy.

Since most Latin American countries must "export or die," surpluses rotting in warehouses added to more surpluses make any talk short of buying talk an affront to Latin American ears.

Roosevelt has let loose a large balloon in the shape of a plan for an economic union in the Americas that would offset an economically unified Europe, organized under the Nazis. It is meaningless so long as this country cannot buy what South America must sell, except such products as happen to be non-competitive in world markets. It is the kind of plan that makes Dorothy Thompson fairly ooze idealism, and it takes in a lot of liberals. But it does not fool the partners to the bargain, our neighbors to the South. In effect, the plan says: "The U.S. can't buy what you have to sell but will market it for you." Latin America is realistic about a deal in which all the aces (bank-

ing, heavy industry, credit facilities) are in one hand, while all the deuces (farm products and raw materials) are in the other.

#### ARGENTINE MOVES INTO THE NAZI ORBIT

Among the four largest South American states-the so-called "AB-CP" powers-Argentine is moving most rapidly toward economic dependence upon Germany. Chile and Peru are not without lines leading to Berlin: Brazil plays a game of balancing one against the other. But with Argentine all the eggs are rapidly being placed in one basket. This explains her intransigent position at the Havana conference-leader of the anti-American bloc. Argentine-United States trade has

always been rocky. The "hoof-andmouth" disease ban on Argentine beef imposed by Congress is well enough known not to need comment. Now comes another difficulty, reported in the current issue of The Hemisphere, which throws light on Argentine's decision to throw in with the "new order" in Europe.

American farmers will bring to market this year a flaxseed crop of 28 million bushels, thus virtually eliminating the need for the usual imports of this product from Argentine. In 1936 flaxseed led all our commodity imports from Argentine; some 13 million bushels valued at nearly \$15,000,000 were imported. As The Hemisphere suggests, Argentine normally sells more flaxseed to the United States than meat to Great Britain. Of such things are trade enmities born.

The "drop-in-the-bucket" \$20,000,-000 credit to Argentine arranged by the Import-Export Bank cannot offset the effect of this loss of market, for now how is Argentine going to repay the loan? What's more. Argentine can reflect with bitterness that the same Import-Export Bank has promised a credit of \$120,000,000 to Brazil, besides showering Dictator Vargas with three destroyers, ninety six-inch guns sold him last March, and scores of other favors, which keep him in office.

#### FAMINE, LATIN AMERICA AND THE SOVIET UNION

A widely overlooked point concerning the Havana conference relates to the Soviet Union and its special interest in keeping Hitler absorbed in trade war activity over Latin American hegemony. The European food situation today is very grave. It is not only that food reserves are low. The fall crops are so far below expectations that conditions approaching famine are foreseen for this winter in many parts of Hitler's new Europe. Disaster can be averted from two directions: overland from the East, that is Russia. or overseas from the West, that is Latin America. Germany's patience with the inefficiences of Stalin's management of the wheat fields of the Ukraine may become exhausted. But so long as Germany points her nose toward the Latin American food trough, the Soviet Union is provided with an effective rod to draw the lightning of a German thrust that might be made to the East.

masters. for a subscription to Labor

### I am subscribing –

Enclosed find Action. Name Address City

By 1915, Wilson was being ground down on all sides by the Morgan interests. His good intentions proved of no avail. Caught in the vise of a heartless economic system, he began to give in to the "real masters of government." By July, Wilson had dumped overboard his aloofness and his principles. In July, 1915, Wilson made formal announcement of his conversion

to the principle of preparedness. Six months later, in January 1916, Wilson toured the Middle West, traditional isolationist center, advocating

preparedness. Wilson was turning out to be a useful tool in the hands of the real

HEARTLESS SYSTEM The timid President of 1915 was lashed on all sides by furious critics. Former President Theodore Roosevelt attacked Wilson for his "weakkneed" attitude. The pressure upon Mr. Wilson was to have its effects.

### EDITORIAL PAGE

# Editorials-

### **OUR PROGRAM AGAINST** THE WAR

- 1. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war. All war funds to the unemployed.
- 2. For a rising scale of wages to meet increasing cost of living. Thirty Thirty —\$30 weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers.
- 3. Expropriate the Sixty Families. For Government ownership and workers control of all war industries-aviation, steel, chemicals, railroads, public utlities, etc.
- Against both imperialist war camps. For the Third Camp of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples.
- Let the people vote on war. For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18.
- Abolish secret diplomacy. Open the files of the State Department. 6.
- 7. Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America.
- 8. Against compulsory military training and conscription.
- 9. For the defense of civil liberties and workers' rights. Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day Plans and war-time dictatorship.
- 10. For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimin-ation against Negroes in industry and trade unions.
- 11. For an independent Labor Party.
- 12. For Workers' Defense Guards against Fascist and vigilante attacks.
- 13. No confidence in the Roosevelt government. For a workers' government and a people's army.
- 14. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, and for the World Socialist Federation.

## They Act for War

The President says "No War." Congress says "No War." The politicians of both the Republican and the Democratic 'hue say "No War." Having thus put themselves on record-in words- they proceed to the actual business of preparing the war.

How else interpret the speed with which the Senate is pushing passage of the Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Bill? By September 1, the machinery for the registration for war service of all males between the gaes of 18 and 64 will be completely organized. About half-a-million men, the youngest, and consequently the choicest sacrifices, will go into immediate training. Over a million more will be called into service before the year is out.

Armies are created for war. That is their sole purpose. In "normal," peace times, a small army is adequate for the protection of the profit interests of the boss class. In war time, super-armies are needed. The Burke bill is consequently designed for the creation of such an army.

## We Know Its Name

Walter Lippman, columnist of the New York Herald-Tribune, and ardent Willkieite, has discovered that the Republicans and Democrats both are lacking in a grasp of reality. Both parties live in a sea of illusion, they are "washed out" and have not yet "nerved themselves to facing the real issues."

The real problem, says Lippman, is for the country to "prepare its defenses against total war." To effect this preparation the Republicans and Democrats must scrap all their conceptions of how to organize the country's economic life. Both New Dealism and anti-New Dealism are obsolete. "To prepare for total war . . . is impossible both under the New Deal conception of social reform and under the anti-New Deal conception of competitive private enterprise."

Mr. Lippmann has a solution: military dictatorship, joint rule of the army and navy. Let the admirals and the generals run the country. To prepare for total defense "there will be needed a new kind of planning—military planning . . . there will be needed a new kind of regimentation-differs from the regimentation that business men complain of under the New Deal but differs no less from the free enterprise that they have hoped to return to." Then Mr. Lippmann talks about an era

of "military organization, military planning, centralized direction, conscription, regimentation and hard discipline."

We have heard of this system before, this system which is neither bourgeois democratic reform nor bourgeois free enterprise. We know all about this "military planning," this "centralized direction," this "regimentation and hard discipline." We also know about the concentration camps, the burning of the books, the persecution of the Jews and the caster oil brigades.

There is nothing new in the proposals of ex-socialist Lippmann. This system has already come to full flowering in Germany and Italy. It has destroyed the organizations of the working class, every trace of human freedom and every pretension to human deceny.

Call it what you will, Lpipmann. Dress it up as you see fit. Talk all you want about emergencies and the price we must pay. The working class in the United States will not pay your price. They know what the system is that you propose. ITS NAME IS FASCISM.

## Not Fascist?

# \_\_\_\_\_ Who Is Mr. Torkild Rieber?

If you want to see what a REAL "fifth columnist" looks like, here's the story of the chairman of the Texas Oil Corporation and his business deals with Franco and Hitler.

#### By DWIGHT MACDONALD

There was an odd little news item buried in the back pages of the N.Y. Times the other day. Quoting recent statistics on American oil exports, the article stated that "diplomatic circles in Washington" fear that "there is every reason to believe that far more oil has been reaching Germany from America since the war started than Herr Hitler has obtained, or can hope to obtain, from Russia." This oil has reached Germany first through Italy and then, since Italy entered the war, through Spain, whose current imports of American crude oil and gasoline are "far in excess" of last year's figures. Already Franco has accumulated a reserve stock of almost 6,000,000 barrels and American tankers (under foreign registry to get around the Neutality Act) bring in more every week. Thus the American business community is preparing to save democracy from the foul monster of fascism.

#### ENTER "CAP" RIEBER

"Diplomatic sources assert," continued the item, "that the Texas Oil Corporation, of which Torkild Rieber is chairman of the board, has a contract to supply the Spanish oil monopoly with most of its gasoline and crude oil. This contract is said to permit the Franco government to call for almost unlimited oil supplies.'

## Our Readers\_ Take the Floor ...

SPEAKS UP FOR A SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Editor: One reason why we want a socialist society is that, frankly, we have to work too hard for too little in return. The reason we are working with such sweat in order to earn a little is because we have to make money for those that do nothing and therefore add nothing to the sum total of labor.

Factory engineers work out the most efficient plans for the bosses who in turn give their money to support idle wives and dainty college girls. All people who are idle no matter how much money they have. mean just so much more hard labor for those under the lash of the efficiency experts and the time study boss boot-lickers.

Under socialism there would be some standard by which every person's socially productive value could be judged. At present the standard is "who you are' rather than what you can do."

Torkild Rieber is no free-lance ing business leaders-in short, Riebadventurer who chanced to strike a ers." Granted his ability and toughgood bargain with Franco. He is exness, "Cap" Rieber doesn't seem to ecutive head of one of the biggest fit the role of a democratic Galahad. To date, he has been a member of oil companies in the country, and the other team. Life tells the story of his dealings with Franco-and Hitanother big Rieber deal: ler-form merely one strand of the "When the Spanish civil war broke complex web of business interests out, in July, 1936, Texaco had five which ties Wall Street to the Rome-Berlin axis. According to a recent tankers on the high seas bound for Spain. Rieber was in Paris. He flew profile in Life, Rieber is a lusty, high-powered sort of fellow, who to Spain, took a good look around worked his way up from captain of and forthwith ordered his tankers a Texaco tanker to the chairman's to deliver their oil to the insurgents desk. Life is no end impressed by ... For the next two years, Texaco "Cap" Rieber, as it affectionately supplied Franco with all the oil he calls him, venturing to suggest he is needed, while the Loyalists never had enough. If Franco had lost. nothing less than "the greatest oil Texaco would have been out some man alive." It chronicles in detail his brilliant exploits, which include \$6,000,000. But the gamble won and opening up the great Barco oil not only did victorious Franco pay concession in the depths of the Colhis bill but the Spanish monopoly is ombian jungle (Life says nothing of currently buying all its oil from the skullduggery the U.S. State De-Texaco.' partment had to resort to before "Cap" Rieber got the concession safe-

gave Texaco a large interest in the

rich Bahrein oil field at the entrance

OIL FOR THE LAMPS OF FRANCO

triotic note: "The American indus-

trial machine is the one force left

in the world that can stand up to

the German war machine, but to do

so it must have the most aggressive

kind of industrial leadership. The

nation needs able, hardboiled, dar-

and found out that the money goes

to the R.R., company and out of the

sum turned in the porter receives

a salary of \$2.40 a day or \$14.40 week-

ly. Previously these men (some with

twenty to thirty years of service)

averaged \$25 or \$35 a week. Under

this new 10¢ check system, they turn

in as high as \$4, \$5, or \$6 daily. Re-

gardless of the amount he turns in,

Why this railroad blitzkrieg (which

smacks of Hitler) affects fully 500

men at the two stations and natural-

ly their families are deprived of a

Imagine the profit these two rich

corporations are making. This sy-

stem is four weeks old now. I was

in the station last week, and re-

fused to allow one of those checks

to be put on my bag. If we, the

public will denounce this system we

will help a large group of honest

workers. I am a real American and

refuse to impose on or exploit any

Please call this check system to

everybody's attention and give these

workers your support by refusing to

allow the porter to put checks on

your bags. Also, denounce this sy-

stem to the New York Central and

New Haven R.R. The New York

Central address is Grand Central

give these workers,

South Norwalk, Conn.

company. - Ed.)

Station and the New Haven R.R.

Yours truly,

he only gets \$2.40 a day.

decent living existence.

worker.

Life ends its profile on a fine pa-

to the Red Sea.

#### IT'S A SMALL WORLD, ly put away), and a big deal which HERR HITLER

"In the light of subsequent events," says Life hopefully, Rieber now regrets his decision to back Franco. If so, he is concealing the fact very successfully. As we have just seen, Texaco sells more oil than ever to Franco-and through Franco, to Hitler. Rieber's relations with Berlin are extremely cordial. After the war began last fall, he visited both Rome and Berlin. His influence with the Nazis is strong enough to get all sorts of special favors for his company. He pays these back. Last April there arrived in this country a certain Dr. Gerhardt Westrick, whose official title is Commercial Counsellor to the German Embassy, and whose unofficial title is "Hitler's ambassador-off-the-record to U.S. businessmen." Dr. Westrick is trying to interest American businessmen in friendly cooperation with Nazi Germany after the war. And one of his best "contacts" over here is Torkild Rieber of Texaco. It's a small world! So small, in fact, is this world of big business that it includes even the upstanding patriots who (at a mere \$1 a year, plus whatever else they can lay their hands on) are running the national defense program for our idealistic President Roosevelt. And so we find the following curious chain of relationships. (1) On July 10, 1940, the Texas Corporation offered to the investing public \$60,000,000 of 3% debentures. (2) The banking house which is floating this security issue is the powerful Wall Street firm of Dillon, Read & Co. (3) The president of Dillon, Read & Co. is James Forrestal. (4) Mr. Forrestal is now on leave of absence in Washington, where he is functioning as special executive assistant to that great champion of democracy against the Nazi hordes, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. A small world?

## -THE NEGRO'S FIGHT-Labor Will Take Care of Its Own **Union Problems**

Page 4

#### By J. R. JOHNSON

On July 8, this column was guilty of an error. In the imaginary speech which unfortunately was not delivered by a delegate to the NAACP Convention, the orator called upon the President of the United States to do several things. Among them was the demand to summon William Green to the White House and inform him that any union which discriminated against Negroes would henceforth be dubbed Fifth Columnist and an enemy of democracy.

It was pointed out to me, and with truth, that we do not call upon the capitalist government to interfere in trade union affairs. That is very true. Also it has been pointed out that under the present circumstances to call a union Fifth Column and enemy of democracy on account of its discrimination against Negroes is, to say the least, unwise, if not politically dangerous. I accept both corrections.

#### WHOSE JOB IS IT?

#### First, let us get the political points clear.

There is racketeering in the unions, and every honest workers hates it. But when Westbrook Pegler writes article after article attacking the unions we mobilize all our forces against him even though what he says is true. Why? Because we know the capitalist class from long, long experience. Wherever a capitalist or a writer in the capitalist press attacks racketeering in unions, he is hoping really to weaken the unions. We tell him, "Even if what you say is true this is our business not yours. We know what you are up to. We shall struggle against the racketeers, but without your help, thank you."

The same with the Stalinists. They are the most dangerous force for corruption and betrayal that has ever been a part of the labor movement. But we do not want the capitalists to drive them out of the labor movement. The capitalist attack on the Stalinists means always an attack on the labor movement. We, the workers, must analyze the role of the Stalinists, point it out to their rank and file, and then gather as much support as possible to drive them out of all positions of influence and authority.

In the same way, discrimination in the unions is the business of the unions and of those Negroes who attack discrimination, not as enemies of unions, but because they wish to participate in the benefits of unionization as free and equal members of the working class.

It is true that the demand appears in a long list whose main object was to expose the hypocrisy and pretense of Roosevelt as a friend of democracy and of the Negroes. We know that Roosevelt would not carry out one of the demands. Yet we must make them in order to expose and keep on exposing the colossal fraud that American democracy is. But we must always be careful and keep the class line clear. The same in regard to William Green and the unions being called Fifth Columnists and enemies of democracy by the President. However, that does not close that matter, not by any means.

#### ANSWERING REAL "FIFTH COLUMNISTS"

Today every capitalist, every member of the Government, all the war-mongers never open their mouths without shouting "Fifth Column" and calling all those who oppose their war "enemies of democracy." They are preparing to drive millions into the slaughter to defend what they are pleased to call "the American way of life." As every Negro knows, this way of life means economic discrimination, Jim Crow, lynch terror and all the other familiar features of Negro life in America. Negroes must be ready for these war-mongers. As soon as they begin their blah about fighting for democracy, Negroes should hurl back at them exactly what this democracy is. Now William Green is one of those who has repeatedly helped to sabotage the struggle against discrimination in many unions of the AFL. But Mr. Green is one of the noisiest shouters for the necessity of defending our liberties and wants action taken against all Reds, by which he means all revolutionaries who oppose the Government's war preparations. Now we don't want President Roosevelt interfering in this, but if William Green or any henchman of his stood on any platform and talked about the necessity of defending democracy by going to war against Hitler, every Negro in the hall would be perfectly justified in shouting at him, "What about some democracy here, in your unions, Mr. Green?" And if Green called revolutionary workers Fifth Columnists, then a revolutionary worker is quite entitled to tell him, "If a Fifth Columnist is an enemy of democracy, then you are one, Brother Green.'

Forty million men registered for war service, millions to be given war training. And yet they dare pretend that their policy is "No War." Why then, Messrs. Politicians, a super-army, and a conscript army at that?

For all the high-pressure salesmanship organized by the administration, youth remained indifferent to the recruiting pleas. The prospect of life in an army barracks for \$21 a month, with the ultimate reward of a bullet wound bravely won in the conquest of some territory so that a fat idler can have more coupons to clip—that left youth pretty cold.

What else to do? A really democratic republic would ask the people to vote on whether or not they want war. If the people wanted war, conscription would be unnecessary. But that is precisely the point. The people do not want war. Hence conscription-to compel the masses to fight in the war against their will.

How flimsy the difference between the various shades of Democrat and Republican is made manifest by the bill's authors and progress. The Roosevelt administrations, for all its disclaimers, wants conscription. So do the Republicans. Senator Burke's name was splashed all over the papers recently because he broke with Roosevelt, and joined the Willkie camp. Yet in the actual business of running the government in the interests of Wall Street, they all get together, see things eye to eye. Wall Street doesn't mind a little playacting and bluff when it does no harm. But when there's work to be done, Wall Street insists that its lackeys work hand in glove.

Conscription means war. War means death for the masses, profit for the rich. Fellow-workers raise your voices loud in protest. Time is short-Action must be swift. Through your unions and organizations demand that Congress reject the Conscription bill. Raise the cry: LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!

When a man doesn't recognize fascism when he sees it, how can he possibly be expected to fight it?

We refer here to our Ambassador to France, William Bullitt, who arrived in this country the other day to report personally to President Roosevelt. Questioned by reporters when he got off the Clipper, Bullitt advised the reporters that Petain's regime could not legitimately be called fascist, that Petain was, in fact, a very fine man.

Very interesting! Every last vestige of democracy destroyed; government by dictate officially decreed; pronouncements made in the name of "We, Phillipe Petain"; anti-semitism unloosed; the fascist organizations, like Doriot's coming out in the open; etc., etc. And that's not fascism!

Ambassador Bullitt would be performing a signal service to the world if he set his views down at full length. Why, by the time he finished this monumental work, we might find that fascism is, after all, only a mirage.

Had Bullitt's statement come from the known admirers of fascism in this country, it would occasion no comment. But Bullitt is no dyed-in-the-wool old-time conservative, politician. He's one of Roosevelt's boys—a New Deal liberal. And he is, we suppose, party to the Roosevelt ballyhoo that this country must prepare for war to fight off the fascist menace, and to preserve democracy.

But we have said before that the fight against fascism can only be handled by the workers who are the real enemies of fascism. We have said before that when the bosses say they want to fight fascism, you must understand that by fascism they mean their rivals in the contest for imaperialist domination of the world. We have said before that Roosevelt, in the name of democracy, is gradually fastening a dictatorship on this country. And with Ambassador Bullitt's statement in mind, we say all this again.

How indeed can you fight what you don't-or won't-see?

Yours, Chicago, July 14 E.P.

### COMPANY CHEATS THE "RED CAPS"

#### Dear Workers:

As I am a great believer in justice for every man, naturally I am deeply interested in the life of all oppressed people and all workers. Let me ask you this. What has the Workers Party done toward the outrageous and undemocratic injustice that is going on right under your nose? I will call mention two specific cases. One is at 125th St. R.R. Station and the other is at Grand Central Station at 42nd St. These stations are using the 10¢ check system for each bag or parcel that a porter carries for you. He must put a 10¢ check on all. The public has been under the impression (through circulars and articles that the R.R. has distributed and printed) that this check money went to the porter. I inquired

## Johnson Article in the New Int'l **Reviews Capitalism and the War**

The July issue of THE NEW IN- to go to war in behalf of the demo-TERNATIONAL is now off the press featuring an extensive review by J. R. Johnson, entitled "Capitalist Society and the War." Analysing the developments of the war, the articles makes a detailed investigation of prewar forecasts, the manner in which the concrete developments destroyed all previous calculations, and the prospects of a new world situation. "I have attempted," said Johnson,

"to discuss the new theories that have sprung up with Hitler's phenomenal military victories. There are many people who have lost all sight of theory and perspectives, who are completely bewildered by the present-day conditions. We have a new species of social-patriots who want

### I am interested –

in learning more about the Workers Party\_\_\_\_

in joining the Workers Party\_\_\_\_\_

Name Address '\_

City \_

It's positively microscopic

## These N. Y. Stands Sell Labor Action

#### LOWER MANHATTAN:

address is New Haven, Connecticut. 14th Street-6th Ave. N.E. & S.E.; University Pl. S.E.; Broadway Thanks for any support you can S.W.; 4th Ave. S.W., N.E., S.E. 1 & 2. 3rd Ave. N.W.; Opposite Jefferson Theater; 2nd Ave. N.W. E. Rosen 12th Street & 2nd Ave. S.E. Biderman's-184 2nd Ave. (The Workers Party is, naturally, Modern Book Shop, 27 University one hundred percent behind the port-Place. ers. We intend to publish in the 8th St. & 6th Ave. N.E. near future a full account of the 7th Ave. & Christopher St., S.W. situation in which the porters find 75 Greenwich Ave. near 11th St. themselves. For our part, we will do 131 W. 33rd St. Room 704. all we can to denounce the injustice 38th St. & 7th Ave. N.W. of the system. Our services are avail-42nd Street-6th Ave. S.W., S.E.; able to the porter's union. In the opposite Sterns; 5th Ave. S.W. meantime, we recommend the sug-2nd Stand. gestion made in the letter-commun-23rd Street-Broadway S.E.; 4th icate your protest to the railroad

Ave. S.W. Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St. Maisel's Book Store-424 Grand St. 1st St. & 1st Ave.

K & K Store, Monroe and Market St. S.W. Bowery & Delancey St. S.E.

#### UPPER WEST SIDE, MANHATTAN

59th St. & 9th Ave., S.E. 64th & Broadway, Candy Store. 96th & Broadway, S.W. 103rd St. & Broadway, Candy Store. 110th St. & Broadway, N.E. 114th St. & Amsterdam, S.W. Candy Store.

#### HARLEM:

116th St. & Lenox Ave., N.E. 120th St. & Lenox Ave., S.E. 125th St. & Lenox Ave., S.E. 135th St. & Lenox Ave. N.E. & N.W. Wigderson's-396 W. 145th St. near St. Nickolas.

#### BRONX:

Freeman St. & Southern Blvd., N.W. Simpson St. & Southern Blvd., N.E. 174th St. & Boston Road, W.S. Allerton Ave. & White Plains Road, S.E. 167th St. & Jerome Ave., S.E. 170th St. & Jerome Ave., S.E. Burnside & Jerome Ave., S.E. & S.W. 143rd St. & Southern Blvd. BENSONHURST, BROOKLYN:

Bay Parkway & 86th St. Bay Parkway & 66th St. Ditmas & MacDonald Aves. New Utrecht & 49th St.

We do not want Roosevelt interfering but for that very reason we must be vigilant and spare no effort to make the unions examples of true workers' democracy, in which all, Negroes and whites, will function as free and equal citizens.

In conclusion let me say that we would welcome letters addressed to this column expressing a point of view on the Negro's fight. We are a party who welcome discussion, not necessarily expressing a party point of view, nor coming from party members. We hope to have in the future regular letters from our friends.

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spective is by no means hopeless.'

existing war governments in all belligerent countries and that this per-

tribution to Marxist analysis, of immediate and decisive importance.

The article is divided into three sections: I. "Dynamic" Fascism, II. "Decadent" Democracies, and III, The Future. The editors of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL feel that the article, which takes up the entire issue of the magazine, is an excellent con-

cratic imperialists in the interests of socialism. What I have done is to review the world situation in the light of the war, to show that there is no way out except through socialism, through the overthrow of the