

# ROOSEVELT, PLEDGING AID TO ALLIES, DROPS MASK OF WAR NEUTRALITY

## Mussolini Times War Entry to Needs of Hitler Offensive; Makes Friendly Gesture to Stalin

As German troops neared Paris last Monday Mussolini declared war on Britain and France. This long awaited action was well-timed. It was timed for the moment when the Allies were in greatest need of material support and reserves. Mussolini's immediate military objectives are the destruction of British control over the Mediterranean, the life-line of its Empire, and the breaking of French communications with Africa. His first attacks were therefore on the British naval bases at

initiative in the Balkans whenever Hitler considers it necessary. However, the situation is further complicated by Turkey's pledge to the Allies to come to their aid in case the war should spread to the Mediterranean, or the Balkans—but only on condition that Russia does not join the Axis powers. Turkey has therefore asked Stalin what his intentions are.

### Moscow Silent

To date Moscow has remained silent. Indications are that Stalin will once again proclaim his "neutrality"—that is, retain his "non-belligerent" alliance with the Berlin-Rome axis, while strengthening his defenses against his own treacherous allies. If the Allies were to attack in the Balkans tomorrow, or if Hitler and Mussolini were to take the initiative, Stalin would seek an agreement with the Axis powers to share in the booty, annexing Bessarabia as a beginning.

But Stalin is more and more at the mercy of Hitler. The quick German victories in Flanders and France were not what Stalin expected. He expected a long drawn out war in which Hitler would need his support and permit Russia to grab new territories in exchange; a war which would be so exhausting to both sides that Russia would have a strong voice in the post-war re-division of Europe.

However, Hitler has already gained the main objective of his pact with Stalin: not to engage in war on two fronts at the same time. He wanted peace with Russia while he was fighting on the Western Front. Now he is in a position to decide whether to retain or break his alliance with Russia, satisfy Stalin's interests in the Balkans, or make demands on Russia itself under threat of attacking the Ukraine.

The Kremlin has therefore accepted the courting of England and France, and welcomed new ambas-

sadors to Moscow from these governments. At the same time Stalin has reached an agreement with Japan on the disputed Soviet Mongolian-Manchukuo frontier. He will seek to maintain his "non-belligerent" status as long as possible, but Hitler will decide when Russia will enter the war and on what side.

The entire world is thus becoming involved in the war. Italian entry and the German attacks on Paris gave Roosevelt the formal opportu-

ity to renounce United States "neutrality." Roosevelt openly proclaimed this country as an ally of Anglo-French imperialism, and pledged full support to them.

The American people, while bitterly opposed to German and Italian Fascism, are overwhelmingly against United States entry into the war. Roosevelt is utilizing this anti-Fascist sentiment to drag the country into full participation in the imperialist conflict.

President Roosevelt dropped the mask of neutrality behind which he has operated as he lost no time in answering Mussolini's declaration of war with a hard-hitting, bitter pro-Ally speech which aimed to offset the effect of Italy's move upon the morale of the Allied countries.

Following a recital of his efforts to persuade Mussolini to stay out of the war, Roosevelt reached the climax of his speech with the declaration that "the hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbors."

Without consulting Congress, Roosevelt pledged the full material support of America to the Allied cause. He declared that "we will extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation." He did not indicate, however,

whether this would include help for China in resisting Japanese conquest or help to India, Indo-China, Morocco and other colonies that are the victims of earlier conquests by Britain and France.

At the same time, the President said, "we will harness and speed up the use of those resources in order that we ourselves in the Americas may have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency and every defense." He did not, however, indicate, as some rumored he might, whether "training" referred to his alleged plan to introduce a bill into Congress ordering immediate conscription of manpower for the army.

Fiercely attacking his isolationist opponents and calling it a "delusion" to think that the United States can be safe as "a lone island in a world dominated by the philosophy of force," he then launched into a description of what would happen were the United States to become such an island. His description closely paralleled the speeches Hitler made in describing the condition of Germany after the World War. The President's words were as follows:

"Yes, the nightmare of a people lodged in prison, handcuffed, hungry, and fed through the bars from day to day by the contemptuous, un pitying masters of other continents."

### APPEALS TO YOUNG

Earlier in his speech, the President called upon the young generation of America—the speech was delivered to the graduating class of the University of Virginia—to think "not about the future of an individual or even of a generation, but about the future of the country, the future of the American people."

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### Hitler Didn't Invent Everything

"The U.S. Roosevelt intimates: the U.S. M-Day plan is perfect, so perfect that the actual Nazi program of complete national mobilization for a knockout blow was based on it, after a six-month study in 1934. Say they: he also has a pre-M-Day plan. All that has come out of the White House thus far—\$1,182,000,000 for armament, plus more than a billion dollars for more armament, a request for additional authority to call out the National Guard and reservists—all that is merely educational, preliminary; a step-by-step, carefully graduated plan to prepare the Nation imperceptibly for whatever may come, economic or political.

"Amid these plans there was perhaps one big thing that he overlooked. He apparently thought it superfluous to ask the people to cooperate . . ."  
—Time, June 10, 1940.

## Labor Action Correspondent Talks to Kearny Men, Finds Strike Sentiment Strong

By SUSAN GREEN

Special Labor Action Correspondent  
KEARNY, N.J., June 9—The CIO leadership is now using the "time cure" to complete the process of demoralizing the workers of the Federal Shipbuilding Co. plant in this city who returned to work last Monday.

Defying their leaders and the vicious propaganda against them, the workers had completely tied up naval construction here in an attempt to improve wages and conditions, but after a few days yielded to the pressure of the CIO leadership and the government. A mass meeting was held this morning to receive a report from the negotiating committee which had been at work for a whole week. According to John Dempsey, president of Local 16 of the Maritime & Shipbuilding Workers, to which most of the strikers belong, there are no developments.

I called up Dempsey to find out what had happened at the meeting. He was polite but brief, saying there was nothing to report. Pressed by my questions, he grudgingly stated that the meeting was a good one and that the men would

continue to work pending negotiations.

"But," I said, "that is exactly the situation the men were in a week ago. What progress has been made? What has the negotiating committee done?"

He hesitated, then informed me that the committee has made no progress.

"Are the men satisfied with that?" I asked.

"Under the present set-up they are," he answered.

"What set-up?" I asked.

"The set-up of national defense. The men are satisfied to go along."

### Men Say Different

I know from personal conversations with men at the plant that they are not satisfied.

The press releases given out by the union a week ago stated that the men were returning to work with an increase of from 2½¢ to 4¢ an hour, against their demand for 10¢. However, one worker after another told me this is false; they are working for the old wages pending the completion of negotiations, which

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## The First Casualty in the War for "Democracy"



## Jobless Spike "Red Scare"

Special to Labor Action

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Betraying the fact that they don't have a leg to stand on, the politicians and their mobsters who critically assaulted James Wilson, a relief worker, continue to shift the trial testimony from a recital of facts to the inspiration of a "Red Scare."

James Wilson has accused Ceme-

tery Superintendent, Ralph N. Hamilton, and his mobster employee, Emil "Wacky" Lauziere of beating him so that he required hospital attention when he refused to toady to Hamilton in return for the "favor" of being on relief. Lauziere has entered a cross-complaint charging Wilson (!) with the assault. But the fraudulence of this stands out like a sore thumb.

Where many witnesses, including a patrolman, have testified that Wilson was assaulted, lawyers for Hamilton and Lauziere have been unable to produce any counter-testimony worthy of the name. Instead, they have concentrated their efforts on the "Red" danger—not only to divert the trial, but to discredit the committee which was organized to defend Wilson and which is championing the cause of all relief workers.

Hamilton's mouthpiece is trying to prove—though it has nothing to do with the case even if true—that (1) the protest movement was inspired by the Communist Party, and (2) that Wilson is a member of that party.

### Committee Replies

Answering these irrelevancies, the Wilson Defense Committee is circulating a leaflet which says that the committee neither had nor has

any relations with the Communist Party, though it welcomes the help of any person or organization. In part this leaflet reads:

"The aim of the Wilson Defense Committee is to help the unemployed people satisfy these needs (for better living conditions). We are glad to receive the support of all persons sympathetic with these aims regardless of whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialist or Prohibitionist. From the very beginning of this fight we have received aid from the Workers Party of Boston."

### Real Issues

The importance of this case extends far beyond the immediate case of James Wilson. As stated in the above quoted leaflet, the Wilson Defense Committee demands:

1. A forty percent increase in WPA and welfare allowances.
2. Regular payment of adequate rent for all welfare recipients.
3. An end to intimidation of welfare and WPA workers by officials.
4. A complete investigation of the Cambridge relief situation.

It further offers its aid to the unemployed of Cambridge, who have rallied around the Wilson Case in  
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## Anti-War Voices in Britain

The Annual Conference of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, meeting at Blackpool, rejected by only the small margin of 62,908 votes to 58,358 a resolution condemning the war as imperialist. Since the absentees numbered 15,000, support of the war was given by a minority vote.

In the Argyleshire, Scotland, election recently, the vote was 12,000 Tory against 7,800 "agin the Government." Since the Conservatives, Liberals, and Labor Party maintain an election truce, the 12,000 votes represents the combined strength of all pro-war parties.

Nearly one-third of the votes at the Scottish Trades Union Congress were recorded against the war. The delegates voted by mandate from their unions, but they themselves show by their attitude that many more than one-third were opposed to the war.

## "My Friends" Is First of Penny Pamphlets To Be Published Monthly by the Workers Party

In "My Friends, A Fireside Chat on the War," the Workers Party has set a high standard for its new series of penny pamphlets. Written by a Negro, who calls himself Native Son, the pamphlet imitates the style of President Roosevelt in his periodic talks to the people. It gives the reaction to the war of a man who fought in the last one.

"So, my friends," it ends, "good night. I shall not quote scripture but I shall end with a piece of personal history. I went to the last war. I was treated like a dog before I went. I was treated like a dog while I

was there. I was treated like a dog when I returned. I have been played for a sucker before, and I am not going to be played again."

Here is a man who knows from experience what a war for democracy is about. He knows because he fought in one. He knows because he feels the brunt of America's "democracy" every day of his life.

And his conclusion is that, yes, he will fight for democracy, he will fight and he will die. But he will fight against the system that Jim-Crows him, not for it. He will fight against Hitler, and against Roose-

velt. He will fight for socialism. This is a pamphlet that every party member and every party sympathizer must spread far and wide. It sells for only one cent, and for two weeks only a bundle of a hundred may be had for eighty cents. The Harlem Branch has set the ball rolling with an initial order of 1000.

FOR NEWS OF THE  
THIRD CAMP — READ  
LABOR ACTION

## Flagwaving Judge Sentences Framed EWA Men to Jail

Special to Labor Action

NEW YORK, June 11—Despite the recommendation of extreme clemency by the jury which found them guilty, after being out for almost twenty four hours, members of the crew of the Matson Liner EWA, who had been charged with instigating a mutiny, were given jail sentences.

Four of the men, characterized by the Government as the instigators of the "mutiny," were sentenced to serve 77 days. Of another group of three, for whom the prosecution had recommended eight months, one was sentenced to three months and the other two to two months. Another group of four were sentenced to

serve one month, and the five remaining men were placed on probation for one year.

The defense will appeal the case to a higher court, although it is probable that the men will have served out their sentences by the time the appeal is heard. The fight will nevertheless be continued, for, as the counsel pointed out, a fundamental principle is involved. If the conviction is sustained, seamen everywhere may be charged with mutiny for the slightest protest against violation of their rights.

The charge of mutiny grew out of the refusal of the captain of the S.S. (Continued on page 2)



# Pro-War Faction Carries CIO Council Meeting

Council, However, Takes Progressive Position in Voicing Opposition to Alien Bills

By B. J. WIDICK

Victory for the Roosevelt pro-war faction, headed by Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, marked the recently concluded sessions of the CIO executive council. Only the absence of Hillman, due to illness, prevented a more complete rout for John L. Lewis, CIO chieftan.

Unwilling and unable to oppose the war hysteria prevailing in Washington, D.C., Lewis angrily ate humble pie at the CIO sessions. He was afraid to renew his blistering attacks on Roosevelt's blitzkrieg against the organized and unorganized workers in the last year.

Instead, the CIO council endorsed the Roosevelt "defense" program although Lewis knew it meant strangulation of basic union rights. Partly because of rank and file pressure, and Lewis' minority stand against war expressed in the often quoted words, "Labor wants no part of war," the CIO council tossed some small soap about "no involvement in European war."

## Wilson—

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huge numbers, to help them in settling their grievances with the welfare officials.

Although Hamilton and his henchmen have tried to smell up the courtroom with good Red Herring, the jobless of the city understand what is really involved. This is indicated by the attendance at the trial. So many sympathizers of Wilson have turned up for the trial, that it was necessary to move the hearings to larger quarters.

So far, the political stooges for the boss class have been unable to stifle the work of the Wilson Defense Committee. It is to be expected that they will try more dramatic stunts: so and so is a "red," so and so was heard to say this "un-American" thing. But the issues remain: (1) the assault on Wilson; and (2) relief conditions in Cambridge. Indications are good that out of the Wilson Defense Committee will grow a permanent organization of the unemployed.

## With the Third Camp

### INDIA

Recent Arrests for Anti-war work:

Jai Prakash Narain, Congress leader, for an anti-war speech.

R. S. Nimbkar, General Secretary of the Girmu Kamgar Union, which is directing the Bombay textile general strike, for defying the prohibition of meetings.

Sem Prakash Misra, a Congress lawyer, for an anti-war speech.

Maulana Sjahid Fakhri, President of the Allahabad Congress Committee and of the Jamait-Ul-Ulema (a Moslem organization), for "seditious" speeches.

However, the patriotic speeches of the CIO leaders, including Michael Quill, Stalinist leader of the Transport Workers Union, showed that the bureaucrats were willing to "defend American interests" to the last drop of the rank and file's blood.

### Some Dangerous Signs

The Lewis disavowal of "Communism, Nazism, Ku Klux Klan," etc. was the first stage in his move to clean the CIO skirts of the Stalinists, although the resolution passed against "isms" will in the future be used primarily against union militants who will fight to preserve union gains despite the war.

Failure of the CIO council to back the shipyard workers' very much justified strike in Kearny, N.J. before M-Day goes into effect, showed what contemptible cowardice the bureaucrats would be after M-Day. They will not defend the inalienable right to strike for just grievances.

Failure of the council to endorse the previous Lewis stand against Roosevelt's third term because of Roosevelt's open anti-labor policies, revealed that Lewis has back tracked on this issue, and that Hillman, as a stooge for Roosevelt, is gaining more influence in the CIO, although Lewis had a voting majority in the council.

### Hedging on Unity

An open break between the Hillman and Lewis forces on the question of labor unity was avoided through a compromise resolution which meant all things to all men. The majority of the CIO council members favored the immediate renewal of peace negotiations with the AFL. Lewis said they are hopeless at the present time. Afraid to buck Lewis openly, leaders like R. J. Thomas of the auto workers, and S. H. Dalrymple of the rubber workers, sought to conciliate the division. The question had been discussed in a tense atmosphere. Right afterwards, Lewis made a public interpretation of the resolution passed, giving his view that unity negotiations were not feasible at present. This caused anger and uneasiness among the other CIO leaders.

Insofar as Lewis is fighting against a unity which means chaining the entire labor movement to the Roosevelt war machine his struggle has merit. Its weakness is that he doesn't call openly for a unified labor movement to fight war.

### Silent on Hillman

One of the most ticklish subjects among CIO top leaders was left untouched by the council: the question of Hillman serving on the War Resources Board. It didn't occur to the council members to blast this Board whose purpose is to assure Wall Street control of the American war machine. That would be too "radical." No one thought of denouncing Hillman for taking the job of lining up labor and the youth to die again for Wall Street profits.

Thus Hillman pulled a fast one on John L. Lewis, with the aid of Roosevelt. Hillman got the job as "labor representative" on the Board, a post which Lewis, of course, was certain only he was capable of holding.

### In Its Favor

Despite its capitulation before the Roosevelt war plans, the CIO council nevertheless did take a position

on some questions which creditably contrasts with the infamous betrayal of the AFL executive council.

Opposition to the "alien bill" which can so readily be turned into a drive against unionists, the demand that the Walsh-Healy wage law continue to apply in steel and other industries furnishing material to the federal government, and a protest against revision of the Wagner labor law were voiced by the CIO

company union status provided they still retain the privilege of collecting dues.

Unfortunately, the voice of the rank and file that wants peace, and jobs at a living wage, and security, was heard neither at the CIO council meeting nor in the top AFL circles.

Labor is once again being sold down a river of blood by its self-styled leaders.

## Newark Adopts Food Stamp Plan for Jobless

NEWARK, N.J.—The Food Stamp Plan is coming to Newark. This is the plan being introduced by the federal government allegedly to "give a more balanced diet" to the home relief and WPA workers. The Stamp Plan takes the place of the surplus commodities formerly passed out to the unemployed. This was the stuff the farmers raised but could not sell because there were too many unemployed and other poor folks in the country with no money to spend.

The plan was to have started in Newark June 2 but it may not begin before June 11. The City Commissioners, according to federal requirements had to provide a sinking fund of \$100,000. The city fathers failed to provide this fund in time for the June 2 opening. Furthermore, and what is more important to them, they got into a squabble among themselves trying to decide who will pass out the jobs. The stamp bank will need cashiers and clerks. Murphy of the Finance Department wants the stamp set-up in his de-

partment. Franklin, who heads the Department of Public Relief, wants to do the choosing. And so it goes while the unemployed wait.

### Jobless Must Wait

The unemployed will have to wait—because although the plan does not start now, food stamp vouchers are being given to the unemployed in reduced amounts. He gets the balance later. This means that the unemployed will have to live on even less than before until the stamp bank is opened and the plan gets going.

The government says that the plan is "voluntary," you don't have to participate if you don't want to. But there is a catch in this. If you decide that you don't want to be bothered with all the red tape of the Food Stamp Plan, and refuse to participate, you are cut off from receiving the surplus commodities that you formerly received. In dollars and cents this means that you will get only a dollars worth of food for one dollar while the food stampers

are getting one dollar and fifty cents worth for their dollar.

### Price Raising Danger

There is another aspect of the Plan that the unemployed will have to watch. This is the opportunity it gives grocers to raise prices. Stamps are issued in denominations of 25 cents. Grocers are not permitted to give change. This gives the grocer a chance to raise the price on a 23 cents article, say, to 25 cents. The unemployed will also have to watch to see that grocers do not palm off old food supplies on them.

One advantage that the Food Stamp Plan will give the unemployed is the opportunity to spread their purchases over several stores and not virtually be confined to one store as formerly.

(Other articles on the Food Stamp Plan, including our attitude toward the Plan, will appear in subsequent issues of LABOR ACTION—Ed.)

## The ILGWU Convention Decided as Follows:

1. It reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor. 12 voted against, all others for.

2. It endorsed Roosevelt for a third term. Eleven voted against; a number voted for a Stalinist resolution. All others, including Charles Zimmerman, Lovestonite, voted for the Roosevelt resolution.

3. It voted support to the Allies in the war. Minority report by Stalinists received 10 votes. Minority report against both warring camps by Louis Nelson of the Knit Goods Workers received 17 votes. Agnes Zimmerman voted with the majority.

4. It gave the GEB the right to appoint a person or persons to supercede the elections' objections committee elected by any local or joint board. Dubinsky explained this as follows: In Toronto, the GEB advised the local that owing to their war position, Communists should be barred from candidacy. The local ignored this advice. The amendment gives the GEB power to overrule the local.

5. All candidates for paid office must place duplicate resignations in the hands of the local executive and of the GEB. By two-thirds vote, either body can at any time accept the resignation and oust such officer or officers. Decisions of local executive boards may be appealed to the GEB; decisions of the GEB are final.

6. A new clause added to the constitution puts "circulating directly or indirectly any leaflet or written or printed matter which contains

defamatory, derogatory or scurrilous statements concerning the ILGWU, its subordinate bodies or any officer thereof" on the same disciplinary plane as actions detrimental to the ILGWU.

7. It voted \$25,000.00 to the Red Cross.

8. It proposed increasing Dubinsky's salary from \$10,000 to \$12,500 a year. Dubinsky thought he could manage on \$200 a week and that this was not a good time for the boost. So the matter was dropped.

9. It opposed "imperialist war as a curse on all mankind," but endorsed the present war of the Allies.

10. It authorized the calling of strikes on the expiration of agree-

ments, by the New York Cloak Joint Board, the New York Knit Goods Union in July of this year and the New York Joint Board of the Dress-makers in January, 1941.

11. It endorsed the formation of a national labor body, but in the coming elections decided to support candidates running on the New Deal platform.

(In the June 3, and June 10 issues of LABOR ACTION, as well as in other columns of this issue, readers will find comment on some of the above decisions. We will make further comment on others of these in subsequent issues—Ed.)

## Put Gantner and Mattern On Unfair List, Ask Strikers

NEW YORK—Locked out as a result of their struggle for union recognition, the workers of Gantner and Mattern, leading bathing suit manufacturers, are still holding their ranks firm and have, during the past weeks, attracted the support of numerous CIO and AFL unions.

Determined to smash unionism in the knitwear industry, the firm has steadfastly refused all efforts at arbitration. In answer to the company's refusal to reach an agreement with the ILGWU, the California State Federation of Labor and the San

Francisco Labor Council, in which city the company plant is located, passed resolutions placing Gantner and Mattern on the "We Don't Patronize List."

Samuel Wolchok, International President of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees of America, a CIO affiliate, promised wholehearted support of the retail clerks to the Gantner and Mattern strikers. "The Gantner and Mattern Strikers," Wolchok declared, "are fighting for union recognition and a decent, American standard of living. Their just case will be recognized and supported by the American people."

The strike committee has issued a call to all workers to place Gantner and Mattern on the unfair list. Workers are instructed by the Committee to boycott the company's following trade names: "Golden Gate," "Hi-Boy," and "Wikies."

## Strike Against 'Slaughter-House' Plant Conditions

Special to Labor Action

NEWARK, N.J.—Workers at the scrap iron plant of Reichman and Hoffman are on strike. The strike has been going for two weeks and all of the company's sixty employees are out except three bosses and two scabs. The men are striking for higher wages, shorter hours, sanitary facilities, safety appliances, a closed shop and seniority. The workers in the plant are members of Local 1120, Waste Material Workers Union, affiliated with the International Hod Carriers and Common Laborers Union, AF of L.

The union first asked for negotiations. This was refused by the bosses who tried to hire scabs to take the strikers' places. Failing in this, due to the picket line and vigilance of the workers, the bosses then began firing union members.

Wages in the plant are as low as \$3.00 for a ten-hour day. Workers are often compelled to work overtime without extra pay. There are no sanitary facilities or safety appliances. On account of this and the speed-up the workers call the plant "the slaughter-house." They are demanding a forty-two hour week and a wage scale of \$.52½ to \$.75 an hour.

White and Negro workers are solidly supporting the strike and expect to win their demands.

## Yes, Some People Are Losing Interest In Civil Liberties

"There is some likelihood that the country will go on an hysterical rampage . . . But it would be suicidal to blind oneself to the fact that the Fifth Column is a reality in every land, including our own. The instant suppression of treasonable groups and the careful investigation of those whose loyalty is suspected seems necessary even in peacetime. If we enter the war, it is obvious that some of our liberties will suffer. But those who believe that the temporary darkening of individual freedom necessarily means its permanent and total eclipse have little faith in the people. During the Civil War . . ."

—The Call, May 25, 1940.

"Norman Thomas . . . said he already saw signs of a waning interest in civil liberties by the Administration in Washington."

—N.Y. Times, June 2, 1940.

## "Total War" Directed at Farm Labor

Boss Association Organizes Vicious Vigilante Bands

LOS ANGELES, June 9—(Special to Labor Action)—A "total war" against the rights of agricultural workers was launched this week by the anti-labor Associated Farmers of California.

This association is one of those vicious vigilante organizations that for decades have terrorized workers throughout the fertile valleys of the state.

It now promises to intensify its activities: "We are not going to pull our punches."

Taking advantage of the phony "Fifth Column" hysteria that is being trumped up, these fine gentlemen have established a four man committee to "organize every resource" at the command of the Associated Farmers.

Spokesmen for this organization stated that they were "eminently fitted" for the task they have set themselves. They boast brazenly that through the Associated Farmers they have units in 43 of the state's 58 counties, and promise to do a "job."

Their "job," as every worker in the state well knows, is to crack down, and crack down hard, when ever agricultural slaves dare to raise their heads and seek to improve the starvation conditions under which they live.

Workers of California must understand that these vigilante committees, are a terrible danger. They must organize against these hypocritical "patriots" and smash all moves directed against their right to live as human beings.

## EWA Case—

(Continued from page 1)

EWA to allow the men to draw one-half of their accumulated wages at the various ports en route. According to the provisions of Federal law this constitutes a breaking of the articles which leaves the men free to quit the ship. When they docked at Colachel, India, the men were refused a "draw." At Madras, where they protested to the U.S. Consul, they were told to proceed to Aden, Arabia. Finally, at Port Said the men, again protested to the U.S. Consul, who ordered that their wages be paid.

The men charged that the captain was unable to allow them to draw money because he had invested the money set aside for this purpose in beer. The captain apparently intended to sell this beer to the crew on credit against their accumulated wages. This is a violation of Federal law, but there has been no report of the captain's indictment.

The judge prefaced the sentencing of the men with a homely little lecture about the virtues and rewards of allowing the boss to have his way. Pointing out to the men that if they had obeyed the captain's orders they would not have gotten into trouble, the judge went on to some unofficial flagwaving. In sanctimonious tones he enumerated the blessings of living under the American flag. His remarks did not include any reference to the fact that the only "crime" of the seamen was that they had protested against a violation of their rights.

### Filmsiness Obvious

In sentencing the men, the judge virtually admitted that the case was from the first a phoney, worked up by the FBI and the steamship companies to intimidate union militants. Were the charges against the men true, the verdict would most surely have been more severe and the jury would hardly have recommended "extreme clemency." As it is, the jury just went along with the real conspiracy—the conspiracy against the men, and the judge "saved face" with the sentences meted out, not daring to further provoke the anger of organized labor.

That the FBI took a hand in the case, serving the original subpoenas and aiding the prosecution at the trial, is of especial interest to workers. It indicates that the EWA arrests were not an incidental "misunderstanding" but part of the general Federal drive against union militancy, in this case the Sailors Union of the Pacific, which is renowned among labor for its fighting defense of labor and union standards.

workers what parts go together. He commented upon the heat and explained that when the temperature is 90° outside, it is 115° in the shipyards because the metal retains the heat. Shipyard work, he said, is no joke in the summertime.

About the strike, he said: "It got off on the wrong foot because of the leadership. When leaders start to break strikes, something stinks. These boys have got a lot of explaining to do."

## A FIGHTING PAPER—CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

### AN EDITORIAL

## The ILGWU Returns to the AFL

By a vote of 640 to 12 the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has voted to go back to the AFL. The vote was followed by singing, shouting and marching around the hall. The decision to return to the Green organization has been hailed as a victory for something or other, both by the union leadership and the reactionary press.

Just what happened between the speech of Dubinsky—in which he advised independence—and the vote to return is not clear. Dubinsky had told the convention that the union should remain independent because it could not accept the authority given to the Executive Council of the AFL to suspend international unions; because it could not support the tax levied to raise money to fight the CIO and because the AFL leadership was doing nothing to rid the organization of racketeering.

It is true that a letter came from Green promising to make recommendations to the next convention to lift the anti-CIO tax and to strip the Executive Council of the right to suspend internationals. But Green was strangely silent on racketeering in the AFL. Dubinsky had made this an important point.

What about the charge of racketeering? And what about industrial unionism and the organization of the workers in the mass production industries? Dubinsky says that the ILGWU will work inside the AFL for unification. What is his unity program? Dubinsky is silent on this.

Furthermore, mere AFL affiliation will not solve the many pressing problems that face the workers in the ILGWU. There is a serious problem resulting from unemployment. There are problems of wages, working conditions, breaking of contracts and unorganized shops, especially the run-away shops. Did the workers think about these things while they were shouting themselves hoarse over reunion with the AFL?

Two factors were evidently dominant in the decision not to remain independent and to go AFL. First the movement toward complete support of Roosevelt's war entry plans. Under the pressure of Dubinsky and other leaders the convention whooped it up, giving full and uncritical support to the government's war making program. Perhaps Roosevelt, working through Hillman, had a hand in the proceedings. This means of course that the rank and file delegates and the membership did not have much to say about where their union went and what it did. Secondly, it is well known that the movement away from the CIO was based largely on opposition to the influence of the Stalinists in the CIO. While opposition to the Stalinists is correct, the fight against this deadly poison in the labor movement cannot be carried on effectively by running away. What guarantee is there that Stalinism of some sort cannot penetrate the AFL if flight is to be the only defense against these trade union wreckers? A better method would be to stand and

fight the Stalinists and expose their treachery. Oppose them however, because they are corruptors of the labor movement, because they are reactionary and bureaucratic, because they send their murderous G.P.U. into the labor movement and because when it suits their purpose, they sell out the workers to the bosses.

In many respects the ILGWU is one of the best unions in the country. Its leadership has done a good job in building a strong union. But it must be emphasized that Dubinsky and Co. are not distinguished for democracy and militancy. The conditions that exist in the industry and the sad plight of many needle trades workers attest to this. We don't believe that the convention just adjourned convinced many delegates that their leadership has any intention to tackle the job that needs to be done, in any serious way. Dubinsky and Co. right now are more concerned with winning the workers over to a war program and to support of a third term for Roosevelt, than they are with wages, hours, better contracts and unemployment. The needles trades workers must ask themselves this question: will support of the Roosevelt war machine give them higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions? They must get the answer out of their own experience and from their own needs, not from Dubinsky.



# Labor's Inquiring Reporter

Reporter: A. ROBERTS

**QUESTION:** Several days ago President Roosevelt told a group of reporters that he will brook no strikes interfering with the national defense program. In spite of that the workers in the Kearny, N.J. shipyards struck for an increase in wages to meet the rising cost of living. Do you think the workers in the United States should and will follow suit or do you think they should just submit to Roosevelt's order?

**PLACE:** Tagliabue Manufacturing Co. (Electrical Instrument Makers) Parker and Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.

John Halen

(United Electrical and Radio Workers Local 1202 C.I.O.)

Brooklyn, N.Y.

This is the way I feel about it. There should be some way of coming to an understanding between the Government and the Unions for automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living. There should be no strikes, however, to hinder the National Defense Plans. We put the CIO in here and we intend that it remains here. Unless something is done to meet the rising living expenses there will be discontent.

C. G. (Local 1202)

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Well, now I don't know. Those boys have to be admired at least for having the guts to do what they wanted. It seems to me that if the President says no strikes it's law. I don't believe we should

go against his wishes. After all he knows what's best for this country. I don't like to see things go sky high without wages going up too. As a matter of fact prices can't go up unless wages go up.

Name and address refused.

Look I've got a wife and family. I never heard of your paper but it sounds like one of those red sheets. Now I'm not one of those guys who go around hollering red, but I just don't want to get mixed up with it. All I say is that no President is going to keep the people quiet when they're hungry.

A. R. (Local 1202)

Brooklyn, N.Y.

First of all I want to tell you what I think of this defense business. I remember the last war. All the big boys were talking defense. We had to have preparedness then. The papers were full of "Hun atrocities" and all that. At first we were going to keep out of it. Just like now, all we were going to do was to send the Allies a little material. Before we knew it we were in. I don't want it to happen again. How I'm going to stop it I don't know. All I know is that they will have to come and get me this time. Now about the strike. More power to those people. I wish the boys in my shop were that way. I don't suppose you can find many like that. People are falling for all the newspaper talk and I'll bet it won't be long before they'll be lynching people for talking against preparedness and war just as in the last one, only worse.

D. O. (Local 1202)

Brooklyn, N.Y.

I don't think those people should have struck. Now I agree with you that if the cost of living goes

up then wages should go up. But I don't think living will go up this time. The government had very bad experience during last war. This time there will be no profiteering. If there will be no profiteering then prices won't go up. For that reason it is foolish to strike especially since we have to prepare defenses against Hitler. One more thing. Those boys went against the Union. Good union men don't do that.

M. F. (Local 1202)

Brooklyn, N.Y.

That strike sure tickled me. You know what I liked? The fact that the heads of the union was against the strike and the men went out anyway. Now about Roosevelt's no strike order I say this: I don't like any one man to tell you what to do whether it's Roosevelt or Hitler but you've got to remember one thing. Fighting a dictator is not like fighting a Kaiser. You have to throw everything you have into the battle. You can't let anything stand in your way. When fighting a dictator you have to use dictator's methods. That's what England found out, only I'm afraid too late. Only the Communist's "Fifth Column" will object to that. You needn't worry about living costs going up. The government will take care of that this time if only to avoid trouble with the people.

L. J. (Local 1202)

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Now you can talk and ask questions but in a few months you'll be shot for even thinking about it. Roosevelt's biggest mistake is acting like a dictator just when he is getting ready to send us to fight one. He loses the peoples' confidence by acting that way. They will never submit to an order like that. The shipyard strike proves it.

The First of a Series of Articles on

# The 'Democrats' Act: (1) Against Aliens

By William Petersen

**"THE U.S. M-DAY PLAN IS PERFECT, SO PERFECT THAT THE ACTUAL NAZI PROGRAM OF COMPLETE NATIONAL MOBILIZATION WAS BASED ON IT, AFTER A SIX MONTH STUDY IN 1934."**—Time, June 10, 1940.

"Democracy is the ideal organization for a country at peace . . . Fascism, on the contrary, is the natural organization of a nation whose leaders seek to increase their power by war or the threat of war . . . Just as a democracy, when attacked, must fight guns with guns, tanks with tanks and planes with planes, it is compelled also to fight totalitarian organization with something very similar to totalitarian organization . . ."

So writes the editor of the N.Y. Times, the most realistic of the boss papers. A nation at war is a fascist nation. When we go to war under Roosevelt to fight "for democracy," by that very act we will give up what little democracy we actually do enjoy.

But F.D.R. is not waiting for the formal declaration of war to make deep inroads into the rights of American workers. In a series of lightning moves, the Washington democracy boys have chiseled as much off the basic defenses of labor as mob hysteria allows them.

Here in a series of articles LABOR ACTION gives a factual account of how civil liberties have suffered by the war moves of Roosevelt. It will survey bills, passed and pending, as they affect the youth, the workers' pocketbooks, labor unions. It begins with the group subjected to the fiercest attack to date—aliens.

School, as special examiner for the government. His finding was that Bridges was not a member of the Communist Party. Now Representative Allen introduces a measure to deport Bridges as a "Communist."

Another arch-democrat from the South, Texas' Tom Connally (who spent three hours recently in a bitter attack on the Negro people), introduced a bill that would deport aliens for (among other things) writing seditious articles (not defined), possessing dangerous weapons, engaging in prostitution.

That other famous defender of democracy from Texas, Mr. Dies, has not of course missed this chance to get his name in the headlines. He asked for another \$100,000 appropriation for his committee, to be added to the \$200,000 it has already spent (relief was cut by more than a billion this year). Also, he introduced a bill reducing immigrant quotas by a third and providing for the deportation of all alien Nazis, Fascists, Communists and criminals (all undefined).

**IT TAKES A DEMOCRAT . . .**

But the best job was done by perhaps, the best democrat of them all. When Senator Robert Rice Reynolds, of North Carolina, returned from a trip to Germany in 1938, he made speeches telling Americans that

the Nazis were not so bad. Fritz Kuhn publicly endorsed his attitude toward Germany. This defender of democracy, from North Carolina, which every Negro knows to be a very democratic state, had some real fun with what is still called a "Civil Rights Bill."

This bill, introduced by Senator LaFollette, was based on a four-year study by the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee into the criminal anti-labor practices of big business. It was designed to prevent such democratic practices as labor spies, professional scabs, the use of machine guns or tear gas by company guards. To this bill democrat Reynolds tacked on an amendment: ". . . It shall be unlawful for any person engaged in interstate or foreign commerce . . . to have in his employ any alien, Communist or member of any Nazi bund organization . . ." This even Reynolds was unable to get through. The "Communist or member of any Nazi bund organization" (not further defined) stood, but the bar on aliens was reduced to "no more than 10 percent in any interstate enterprise."

Reynolds, new found friend of democracy, introduced two more bills, one calling for the appropriation of \$50,000 to investigate fifth-column and related activities, and another requiring all departments of

the government to give to the Senate a report on the number, compensation and length of service of aliens in their employ.

Among other incidental measures, one called for the stricter control of crews of ships at American ports. Another requires, for the first time, passports from Canadians and Mexicans. The 20,000 Canadians and 5,000 Mexicans who daily commute across the border to work will presumably be exempted. Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold, director-in-chief of the anti-union drive, pointed out the "peril" to national defense in alien patents, and laid out plans for circumventing the laws concerning them.

**STATE GOVERNMENTS GET THE IDEA**

State and local governments did not lag far behind F.D.R. and his gang. Bronx Councilman Keegan introduced bills calling for the registration of aliens, and Pennsylvania's Governor James pointed out that it was "inevitable." Georgia, which has several times led the list in the number of lynchings, also led in the fight against aliens. The state requires, as a form of minor graft, most business and professional men and some types of workmen to take out licenses. Governor Rivers, by decree (that fine democratic mode of action) announced that all licenses held by aliens would be revoked. They cannot get on WPA either, for aliens have been banned. Previously, also without the benefit of any legislative action, he had required all aliens to register and be fingerprinted.

All this has its ridiculous features too. Sixty Indians were barred from the WPA project on which they had been working because the boss was not sure they were not aliens. But basically this is a tragedy for thirty million people in the United States. Many of them came here years ago, years ago declared their intention of becoming citizens. Many of them have children born in this country. But because Roosevelt directs a social system that drives to war, they are treated like criminals or worse—all in the defense of "democracy." And worst of all, so well is the war propaganda working, that 95 percent, according to a Gallup poll, favor the registration of aliens.

In this inning all the runs were made by the warmongers.

## Sparks in the News

TO THE READER: Do you come across "sparks" in the news yourself? Is so, by all means send them in to this department. Clippings most welcome!

This war is, in one of its minor objectives, a war to make the world safe for the gold standard.  
—Oscar T. Hobson, Financial Editor, News Chronicle.

ANTIQUARIANS' CORNER: LATEST NEWS FROM THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

PARIS, June 6—Despite an international situation that has long deprived its work of any but abstract interest, the League of Nations is endeavoring to maintain its structure in the hope that a new world may ultimately permit international collaboration again.

The League has, however, abandoned all attempts at any political role. Its meeting over Finland was its last gasp in that respect . . . Nearly three-quarters of the League's personnel has been dismissed.  
—N.Y. Times, June 7.

Attaches at League headquarters were disappointed that Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway had not appealed to the League. Such appeals, they said, would not have implied that practical help was available, but that the pleas for aid would be on the League's records.  
—U.P. Dispatch to Chicago Daily News, quoted in New Republic, June 3, 1940.

I called Senator Nye in Washington. "Senator, is anyone paying any attention to the great millions probe your committee conducted several years ago?"  
"Nobody at all."  
"How many volumes of testimony did your committee publish?"  
"Forty-eight."  
"Anybody reading them?"  
"Nobody."  
"Does the new defense plan carry any safeguards against the extravagance of World War days?"  
"Not a bit, no sir."  
"May I quote you?"  
"Certainly."

The 48 volumes sleep, covered with dust. The Senate spent \$125,000 on this investigation. It lasted three years.

We are trying to get as many and as good planes and ships and guns for our money as possible and it is from the standpoint of economy and efficiency (at least) that someone ought to read the 48 volumes produced by the Senate Munitions Committee. It would seem an

obvious move when starting on a \$3,000,000,000 defense program. I should think any good executive would push the buzzer and say "Boy, bring me the Nye report!"  
—Samuel Grafton's column in the N.Y. Post, May 25.

Wonder why no one presses that Buzzer!

A recent newspaper headline, over a story from Cairo, Egypt, gives a good rough summary of the progress of Western civilization in the last six thousand years. It reads:

**TUT-ANKH-AMEN MUMMY PUT IN BOMBPROOF VAULT.**

WHO SAYS THERE ISN'T A GOD?  
In our early youth we were quite impressed with Ingersoll's final proof of the non-existence of God. Taking out his watch he would give God three minutes to strike him down. When the three minutes passed and nothing happened, he triumphantly "proved" to his audience that there is no God.

Close to our fourteenth birthday this proof ceased to be convincing. But now comes news from Soviet occupied Poland that definitely proves the existence of God and even the fact that He has a moustache. Polish children are asked by their Soviet teachers what the Crucifix is. The children answer that it is the Deity. They are told to pray to the Crucifix for candy and, nothing happens. The children are then shown a portrait of Stalin and are told to pray for candy. Promptly the doors open and baskets of candy are distributed. If, this isn't the most modern and convincing dialectical educational practice, then we give up.  
—Jewish Frontier, March.

Under the heading, "STIRRED TO DEPTHS", the monthly bulletin of the India League of America, June issue, reports this description by Gandhi of an interview he recently had with the Viceroy of India:

"I told him that I could not contemplate without being stirred to my very depths the destruction of London. And as I was picturing before him the Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey and their possible destruction, I broke down. I have become disconsolate. In the secrecy of my heart I am in perpetual quarrel with God that He should allow such things to go on. My non-violence seems almost impotent. But the answer comes at the end of the daily quarrel that neither God nor non-violence is impotent. Impotence is in men. I must strive onward without losing faith even though I break in the attempt."

The far-reaching moves against aliens in recent legislation, both Federal and state, are important in themselves. They vitally affect the lives of some thirty million people in the United States. But to grasp their full significance, it must be understood that they are a part, the first part, of a general drive toward war. Fundamental in this drive is a feeling of unity among the American people, a feeling that we are Americans and the rest of the world is made up of "aliens." This must be, if it is to be effective for the purposes of the warmongers, an unreasoning feeling, based not on real distinctions but on that mystical stupidity called patriotism.

Aliens are not a unified group. They come from various countries, and support to some extent both sides in the war. Those from Hitler Germany are, many of them, refugees from Hitler oppression, and most of them have learned nothing from their experience. They are the most belligerent warmongers—on Roosevelt's side—in the country. But when we go to war, we must not make distinctions; we must have a blind hate for everything foreign. And in preparing for war, we move against all foreigners, all aliens.

**PRESIDENT HIMSELF LEADS THE PACK**

The drive against aliens, like all the rest of the war drive, was led by the President himself. Responding promptly to the blitzkrieg invasion of the Low Countries, he called for transferring control over aliens from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice. "This reorganization," he said in his recommendation, "will enable the government to deal quickly with those aliens who conduct themselves in a manner that conflicts with the public interest." About 1000 inspectors and 800 patrolmen are thus brought under the direction of Attorney-General Jackson, whose chief activity in the past months has been the illegal union-busting campaign.

Three days after the President's recommendation, a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee (the same committee that buried the anti-lynch bill in its files) sent out a bill requiring all aliens to register at post offices and be fingerprinted within four months. The term "alien," here as in all these bills, includes every foreigner who has not actually completed his naturalization.

In the House, a bill by Allen of Louisiana set another precedent. In 1938 Harry Bridges, west coast labor leader, was investigated by James M. Landis, dean of the Harvard Law

## Roosevelt—

(Continued from page 1)

His advice to the young generation did not, however, cover those American problems which the Roosevelt administration has failed to solve during eight years—unemployment, housing, concentration of wealth, "overproduction" on the farm and hunger in the cities. It is to be assumed that on these questions the sons of wealthy and middle class families who graduate from the University of Virginia are to think as in the past—each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost.

It is obvious that "the future of the American people," in the mind of the President, does not mean the future of that "third of the nation" that is ill-housed and under-nourished, but, rather, the future of the bankers and industrialists whose interests spread over South America and the Far East.

**NOTE:**

The lack of space compels us to omit from this issue the latest results in the Subscription Drive for Labor Action. The next issue will contain a full report on the drive.

**ANOTHER WAR CASUALTY**

CHERRY TREE, Pa., June 4 (AP)—Coroner E. L. Fleming reported today that John L. Sebring, 16, a high school freshman, became so upset over the war in Europe that he killed himself yesterday.

The above was written in July 1939 (American Mercury). The "extraordinary defense measures" referred to are not the stupendous five billions appropriated last month, but the much more modest appropriations passed by the prior Congress.

On the subject of air defense Fletcher Pratt, writer on military affairs, author of "Sea Power & Today's War," military critic for the New York Post, contributed a very illuminating article in the Saturday Evening Post of December 2, 1939, in which he said:

Efforts to conduct a serious aerial offensive against America are foredoomed to failure for so far in the future that any large addition to our anti-aircraft establishments would be more dangerous than useful.

Mr. Pratt went into great detail to support his contention, "considering all the possibilities." Major George Fielding Eliot, recognized military authority, author of many books on military matters,

## Profits--Coming and Going

If the totalitarian countries of the earth have become formidable military powers, American business is largely to blame for this.

Mussolini sailed into power on a river of castor oil and blood, and established his despotic rule over the masses. But democratic American business men saw no objection to supplying him with the sinews of war. As Mussolini's armaments increased, American exports to him increased, until in 1939 the figure for scrap metal alone amounted to 425,896 tons. Mussolini's battleships and bombers contain this metal. The bank rolls of American capitalists contain the profits from these transactions.

**IN GERMANY TOO**

Hitler stamped into power on spiked iron boots and crushed to pulp the labor movement, the Jewish people, all human values. But that made no difference to the business interests of the great American democracy. It sold to Hitler, as it has to Mussolini, the means to build his military might. In 1938 the shipment of scrap metal from here to Germany leaped to 230,903 tons, against 88,153 of the previous year. The tanks and bombers that spread destruction in Holland, Belgium and northern France contain the metal sold by American business. The profits of American business were swelled by these transactions.

Not only that. The tanks and bombers that Hitler will use tomorrow will contain the metal shipped by American capitalists. In the month of March 1940 no scrap was

sent to Germany, but 48,258 tons were sent to Italy, said to be more than the previous average monthly totals to Germany and Italy combined. Italy has become the emporium point for supplies from America to Germany. The large dividends declared by American companies for this quarter were in part made possible by shipments to Hitler.

**AND IN JAPAN**

Jingolism swept Japan. Manchuria was conquered and subjected to Japanese rule. A war of invasion was launched against China. Months of horror and destruction have extended to years, and still the slaughter goes on. But the Chinese people, for whom official tears were shed, are being mowed down with firearms made of American metal. Reports show that in 1934 Japan bought 1,168,496 tons, that since that year the figure has never dropped below a million tons a year; and in 1939 it skyrocketed to 2,016,065 tons. This metal goes into Japanese tanks, bombers and battleships. And the profits go into the pockets of our democratic capitalists.

Today Roosevelt calls for a five billion dollars defense program. He describes the mighty military equipment of potential enemies. He spurs the country on a frenzied stampede to outbid the armaments of Germany, Italy, Japan, which were built with American metal.

**BOSSES "WORK" FOR PROFIT**

What a contradiction! comes the cry from several quarters, such as

the New York Post, where the talk about fighting for democracy is possibly taken seriously. First, say these "naive" ones, we make our enemies strong, and then we have to become stronger than they.

There is no contradiction! Only those who do not know or choose to forget the true nature of capitalism can talk of a contradiction. The boss system functions through selling goods for profit, wherever and whenever it can. This alone is its morals, ethics, ideals.

American capitalists made money selling goods to the totalitarian powers to build up their war machines. Now they will make money selling goods to the Allies and this government to build up THEIR war machines.

**AS IN THE LAST WAR**

The profits of General Motors, Bethlehem Steel, United States Steel and other huge concerns from the last war, reached incredible levels. The Nye Committee which investigated the part played by business in the last war, revealed machinations that stagger the imagination. The same machinery for making profits is being moved into the defense program now. Stettinius of U.S. Steel slides into a strategic post. Knudsen of General Motors does likewise.

But didn't Roosevelt say that the American people are not going to tolerate the making of large fortunes out of human misery? Everything that is known about capitalism, its relations with the government, points to the fact that this is just a bit of stage setting. The American masses are going to pay for this war. It must therefore be made to appear that the capitalists are not going to get rich from it.

Roosevelt has taken a leaf out of the books of Mussolini and Hitler. They shout that EVERYBODY must sacrifice for the fatherland. The masses are then ground under foot. But when the profit statements of the big German and Italian corporations come out, they tell a different story:

**THE BOSSES GET THEIR PROFITS--COMING AND GOING!**

Harlem Comes Downtown  
**Jam Session**  
DANCE & ENTERTAINMENT  
Saturday, June 22 at 9 P.M.  
IRVING PLAZA  
15th Street and Irving Place  
Tickets 25c  
Auspices, Harlem Branch W.P.

## Building Armaments for What?

President Roosevelt has deliberately thrown fear into the hearts of large numbers of American people—fear that this country is not safe from invasion. He made it appear that bombers will descend upon the U.S. from bases in Bermuda or Mexico or Greenland, and rain destruction upon us.

There was method in the president's madness. He got what he wanted: the fabulous appropriation of five billion dollars for the most gigantic armament program in all history.

This program is going to cost the masses plenty: a mounting cost of living, heavy direct and indirect taxes, the loss of civil liberties, the suppression of the right to strike, hatred, suspicion, suffering bred by the "fifth column" propaganda, and finally the lives of those who will have to go to war.

The idea most people have is that these sacrifices have to be made for national defense. That is the idea the president and the powers-that-be want them to have.

But the rulers have fooled the masses before. When the people are asked to pay such an enormous price

—amounting actually to the establishment of a totalitarian regime here—they should be very clear about what it is they are paying for. Is it for national defense?

Before Mr. Roosevelt inspired the panic, many articles were written by recognized military authorities stating what's what. The ideas expressed in the pre-alarmist days are more reliable than what is being said and written today. What ideas were expressed then?

In December 1939, Brig. Gen. Hugh S. Johnson wrote an article in Current History Magazine on the subject, "Can Hitler Invade America?" He began his article with the statement:

From the point of view of cold, hard military logic, the idea is preposterous.

To support his conclusion he gave an array of important military facts. To the question, can Hitler ever invade America, Gen. Johnson replied:

The final answer to that question comes to me from many sources. Most of the high-ranking officers of the army are my contemporaries

and some of them are my confidants. I know much that can't be said here. But I can assure you that the men whose main job is planning our national defense declare that, if we make reasonable preparations, there isn't a power or combination of powers on earth that could threaten the Americas against our opposition.

Let the reader note that not the fabulous sum of five billions is called for, but "reasonable" preparations. Let the reader also remember that these men "whose main job is planning our national defense," as well as Gen. Johnson and the military authorities to be quoted below, based their opinions on the requirements of modern mechanized warfare.

Hanson W. Baldwin, who is a good enough military authority to be employed in that capacity by the New York Times, gave the weight of his authority to the statement:

I believe that Continental United States even without the extraordinary defense measures adopted by Congress is well-nigh impregnable.



# 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 utilities, etc.
4. Against both imperialist war camps. For the Third Camp of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples.
5. Let the people vote on war. For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18.
6. Abolish secret diplomacy. Open the files of the State Department.
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 discrimination 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.

## Against Jim-Crow!

Some Negro papers, notably the **Pittsburgh Courier**, and many individuals, are waging a campaign for more Negro regiments and for the admission of Negroes to the navy and the air force. In so far as this is a campaign against jim-crow segregation and discrimination, Negroes are 100% correct in demanding admission to all branches of the military service. Negroes should fight against jim-crow in the army with the same vigor that they oppose jim-crow in civil life

If however the campaign is for the purpose of supporting Roosevelt's so-called defense program and proving what a willing defender of the U.S. the Negro is; well, that is another story.

In the first place we want to assure our Negro brothers that they need have no fear of not getting into the army. They will not be excluded when the war comes to the U.S. That's the time that white folk's forget a lot of their race prejudice. When it comes to dying for one's country, white capitalists and their stooges on the Potomac are always willing to give the Negro a break. Not equality of course but wide opportunity to die and be buried for one's country. Dead Negro soldiers will be buried in Arlington too; in a flag draped casket, with military pomp alongside some Georgia Negro hater.

Negroes will be permitted in the air corps and the navy if that is necessary in order to defeat the enemy. Not because anybody's attitude toward the Negro will have changed but in order for the bosses and their government flunkies to save their hides, their factories and their banks. Oh yes, Negroes will be permitted to die for their country.

The government isn't paying any attention to the demands of Negroes for regiments, aviators, officers etc. because they don't have to right now. There is no pressure and really no danger. The government believes that whenever it decides to form a few more jim-crow regiments, Negroes will join up gladly and be thankful. Furthermore they are convinced that Negroes will never oppose the draft.

The government and the bosses think of the Negro as they think of the white workers. They feel even more certain of the Negro's patriotism. They believe that the Negro will be a flaming patriot in this war and rush to the defense of "his country." Didn't Negroes docilely accept the call for military service in 1917 while 74 Negroes were being lynched? Didn't Negroes along with white workers continue fighting to make the world safe for democracy in 1918 while 54 Negroes and a few whites were being lynched? The fact that 16 Negro soldiers (the Houston Martyrs) were hanged for daring to defend themselves in 1917 did not stop Negroes from going to France in jim-crow regiments to be shot. The Roosevelt government and the ruling class don't believe that any concessions need be made to the Negro. They don't believe that Negroes have learned anything since

the last war. In fact they don't believe that any of the workers have learned anything.

We support the Negro people in their struggle against jim-crow and inequality. As we have said, this goes for peace time or war time, it applies to the army and navy as well as civil establishments. The primary struggle of the Negro should be for full political, social and economic equality everywhere and all the time.

We will return to this subject at another time.

## Conscription?

We live indeed in a land of "peace" and "democracy." Citizens, it is said, are free to pursue life, liberty and happiness—unmolested by governmental interference.

Witness, for example, the sovereign state of New Jersey. As everywhere, New Jersey has a great many unemployed. These thousands of men and women can seek life, liberty and happiness as best they can—with only one restriction. By order of State Relief Director Arthur Mudd they must, if they be single, seek these Constitution-guaranteed rights in the . . . army! Military service is "employment," says Mr. Mudd, and you, jobless young man, must accept that employment, else the government won't feed you. You're against the war? You don't want to join the army? You want a chance to work and live like a decent human being? No matter. Join the army or starve! Take your choice.

Make no mistake. Mr. Mudd is not a freak. If he speaks sooner than Roosevelt, he nevertheless speaks the same language. Conscription is in the cards—if not today, then tomorrow. Mr. Mudd's vicious order, even if self-decided, is conscription of a kind. The more obvious kind is yet to come—and it may come sooner than you think.

Despite the war-hysteria loosed by Roosevelt and his lackeys, the prospect of dying for uncertain values has not appealed to the young men who must do the killing . . . and get killed. For all the terrific propaganda, recruitment in the army and navy remains much below quota. The quota called for an enlistment of 3,025 corpses-to-be by the end of June in the second corps area (New York, Delaware and New Jersey). But only 720 young men offered themselves to the sacrifice. And then not because they were taken by the "save democracy" hokum; but rather because they cannot get jobs, cannot live in poverty stricken homes.

The United States has not yet entered the war, though—if Roosevelt has his way—that is only a matter of time. Already, a sweeping drive for peace-time conscription is under-way. In an editorial published last week, the **New York Times**, mouthpiece of the Wall Street profit-makers, called for immediate conscription, Roosevelt nodded approval. "Commenting on the New York Times editorial advocating conscription on the United States, Army men here (Washington) generally lent their support to the proposal," said the **Times**.

An interesting sidelight to all this is the fact that recruitment has been kept down by the high number of rejections (64%) among those who did volunteer.

"The high number of rejections on this score (physical unfitness) Army men reported, probably had some connection with the high number of applicants attempting to join the Army because of long unemployment." How bitter is the irony of boss society! In this wealthiest of all nations, bossdom has been unable to give the jobless anything more than starvation relief—to those who could get that much. Starvation has weakened the bodies of the nation's young men . . . to the point where they are not even fit sacrifices to the greed and profit-lust of the bankers and the bosses.

But sacrifices these must have. The wealth and profit of conquest must be extended. Baby debutante needs a new pair of yachts! Don't let the Germans get at those juicy colonies! Let's grab them "ourselves"!

Be forewarned, fellow-workers. What Mr. Mudd does today will, in bolder scope, be the law of the land tomorrow. Unless . . . we, employed and unemployed, unite to smash the Mudd scheme with mass action, organization, and determined demonstration that we will not accept Mudd's ruling. Unless . . . we, all of us—employed and unemployed—answer the fat-bellies and "conscriptors": "Fight your own war. It is a war for profits. The workers want no part of this war!"

Coming Next Week: Archibald MacLeish. Will the New Librarian of Congress become Roosevelt's Official Book Burner?

# Liberalism Marches--Where?

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

For years Marxists have been insisting that the fine professions of the liberals were a fraud, for years we have been prophesying that these highminded idealistic gentlemen would crack under the first real war pressure and line up enthusiastically with the reactionaries and imperialists they so boldly denounced in quiet times. For this harsh view of liberalism we have been called all sorts of names, from "cynics" to "sectarian fanatics." Now the war pressure has come, suddenly and crushingly, and every morning's paper is documenting our prophecies.

Last week the **New Republic** announced the resignations of two of its editors, Lewis Mumford and Waldo Frank. They have resigned because they don't think the **New Republic** is warlike enough. As far as one can tell from their vague and confused letters of resignation, they doubt the simon-pure quality of the **New Republic's** anti-fascism and seem even to suspect that their fellow editors may be tainted with fifth columnistism.

Last week the papers carried a short item to the effect that Bertrand

Russell has publicly renounced his pacifism and is now supporting His Majesty's government in the war.

News now comes, in the **New Leader** (of London) for May 2, that Victor Gollancz, the British left-wing publisher whose Left Book Club was one of the most important Stalinist "innocent" organizations, and John Strachey, who must be counted as essentially a liberal despite his long service to Stalinism, have definitely left the Stalinist camp. They have run out so fast, indeed, that, as is often the case these days, their momentum has carried them clear into the middle of the British imperialist war camp.

"The disappointing thing," writes Fenner Brockway sadly, "is that both Strachey and Gollancz have become pro-war on the British and French Side." Poor old Brockway! What disappointments the next few months still have in store for him!

### "The Frankfurter Decision"

The most complete job of moral hari-kari, however, was committed by Felix Frankfurter, defender of Sacco and Vanzetti, onetime "man behind the New Deal" and now a Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

According to **Uncensored**, whose current issue tells the whole story, "Justice Frankfurter has been one of the most active and most emotional under-cover advocates of foreign intervention in the capital." Last week Frankfurter drew the logical conclusion from his pro-war position: he wrote one of the most ominous and reactionary decisions that has lately come out of the Supreme Court.

By a vote of 8 to 1 (the honorable dissenter was Justice Stone) the court decided that two school children, members of Jehovah's Witnesses, must salute the American flag, despite religious scruples against doing so. Lined up with Frankfurter in handing down this decision were all the other "New Deal" justices—Black, Murphy, Reed, and Douglas. The current trend of Supreme Court decisions in such civil liberties cases has been liberal, but the war is really serious now and the smiling puppet-master in the White House is in no mood for any fooling around. His "boys" on the bench are showing they know how to behave.

One of the organizations which helped defend the non-flag-saluters was the American Civil Liberties Union. Frankfurter was a member of its national committee until he went on the bench.

In his decision, Frankfurter hailed the stars and stripes as standing for "absolute safety for free institutions against foreign aggression." Later on, he stated that the issue was whether schools should be barred "from determining the appropriateness of various means to evoke that unifying sentiment without which there can ultimately be no liberties, civil or religious."

Justice Stone wrote a memorable sentence in his dissent:

"History teaches us that there have been but few infringements of personal liberty by the State which have not been justified, as they are here, in the name of righteousness and public good, and few which have not been directed, as they are now, at helpless political minorities."

Historical note in conclusion: Frankfurter was one of the twelve lawyers who signed a celebrated attack against the Palmer "red raids" of 1920; one of the prosecuting attorneys working for Palmer in those raids was named Owen J. Roberts. Last week, Frankfurter and Roberts, sitting side by side on the Supreme Court bench, voted side by side to compel school children to salute the flag.

## Defy Patriots; Push Meetings for Shachtman

Unintimidated by the witch hunt loosed against California labor by "patriots" who see in the war situation an opportunity to crush labor organization, the Workers Party branches are vigorously preparing to spread the message of anti-war militancy in a series of mass meetings arranged for Max Shachtman who is now on a national speaking tour. Confident that these meetings will attract large numbers of workers, the branches have been out on the streets with leaflets, and open-air meetings despite the wide-spread campaign against civil liberties organized by the real "fifth column" in America—the bosses and their government agents.

Shachtman whose meetings in the east and middle west have been the most successful held in several years by a spokesman of the revolutionary position, will be in Bay Area for five days. In San Francisco he speaks on June 14 at 3261 Clay Street, and in Oakland he speaks on Wednesday, June 19 at 8 P.M. at the Jenny Lind Hall, 2229 Telegraph Ave. After leaving the Bay Area Shachtman will go to Los Angeles for six days, June 20 to 25. He begins the trip back east with a meeting in Austin, Texas on July 2.

### TOUR SCHEDULE

City	Date
MAY 16—JULY 20, 1940	
SAN FRANCISCO AREA	
June 13, 14, 15, 16, 17	
LOS ANGELES AREA	
June 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25	
AUSTIN	July 2
HOUSTON	July 3
ST. LOUIS	July 7, 8
STREATOR	July 9
CHICAGO	July 10, 11, 12
LOUISVILLE	July 13
COLUMBUS	July 14
AKRON	July 15
PITTSBURGH	July 16
WASHINGTON, D.C.	July 17
READING	July 18
ALLENSTOWN	July 19
PHILADELPHIA	July 20

Keep Cool and Kwenched  
**CABARET NIGHT**  
THIS SATURDAY, JUNE 15  
8:30 P.M.  
— at the —  
UPPER WEST SIDE BRANCH  
916 Ninth Avenue (59th St.)

## THE NEGRO'S FIGHT—Poverty, Disease Is Native's Lot In West Indies

By J. R. JOHNSON

The column this week is devoted to the first portion of an article on the West Indies sent us by George Padmore, a Negro revolutionist now living in England.

After very considerable delay the Imperial Government has at last issued the recommendations of the West Indian Royal Commission, but significantly enough it has refused to make public the Commission's findings.

The fact that the Government has been forced to suppress the evidence of its own Commission is in itself the gravest indictment of its imperialistic misrule.

All attempts to whitewash colonial administration, however, are of little avail, since it is impossible to conceal the shocking conditions which prevail. Every report—Royal or local—since the last World War tells the same story—a story of unmitigated widespread poverty, of disease, starvation and stark exploitation. Not without reason, Lloyd George has referred to the West Indies as the "slums of the Empire."

This description can with equal truth be applied to other colonies, even on the basis of conservative official reports. Thus the report of the Colonial Office Committee on Nutrition (published in 1939) says among other things that "almost everywhere health is impaired to a greater or lesser degree by malnutrition, and in most parts there is insufficient wealth, either in food or in money, to supply requirements." The report is, in fact, a lengthy catalogue of poverty and squalor. In very few colonies does the income of the native peasant exceed \$25 a year.

Describing conditions witnessed by members of the Royal Commission, the **Jamaica Standard** writes: "At the first house visited it was pointed out that a father, a mother and a child would sleep in one bed while the rest of the children slept on the floor underneath. There was one small pit latrine for four families. The residents crowded around the Commissioners, shouting, 'We are suffering greatly, Sir, and want help right now. We are all starving, we cannot get work and the Government won't do anything for us.'"

"The Commissioners then walked down Ackee Walk, forty acres of tumble-down shacks without ventilation or the most elementary sanitation. Barrack-like, with as many as fifteen rooms in one range, they had been made from bits of wood from motor packing cases, tin or old boards, with roofs of dry coconut palms. Improvised beds on which five or more persons slept were frequent here, and many more slept on the floor underneath. There was no ventilation in any of the rooms and some were completely dark.

"At Orange Bay, the Commissioners saw people living in huts, the walls of which were bamboo knitted together as closely as human hands were capable; the ceilings were made from dry crisp coconut branches, which shifted their position with every wind. The floor measured 8 feet by 6 feet. The hut was 5 feet high. Two openings served as windows, and a third, stretching from the ground to the roof, was the door. A threadbare curtain divided it into two rooms. It perched perilously on eight concrete slabs, two at each corner. In this hut lived nine people, a man, his wife and seven children. They had no water and no latrine. There were two beds. The parents slept in one, and as many of the children as could hold on in the other. The rest used the floor."

### GOVERNOR SACKED FOR EXPOSING CONDITIONS

In Trinidad the Governor, Sir Murchison Fletcher, was forced publicly to condemn conditions as disgraceful. He declared that "the white employing class will find a shield far surer in showing sympathy to the colored workers than in a forest of bayonets." Referring to the report of a doctor from the Dutch East Indies, Sir Murchison said, "He was obviously shocked by the evidence of malnutrition . . . He informed me that though he had had twenty years' experience in the Dutch East Indies and although he had first-hand knowledge of conditions resulting from vitamin deficiencies, he had never seen such distressing conditions as existed here among the East Indian laboring population, where apparently men and women suffered from the absence of all the known vitamins . . . Every adult over the age of twenty years was affected and . . . the working life of the population was reduced by at least 50 percent."

The Governor made an appeal to the sugar industry, which he declared had been placed in a position of prosperous stability due to the action of the British taxpayers. "I hurriedly looked up some figures last night," he told its representatives in the Legislative Assembly, "and I find that with respect to last year (1936) the Usine Ste Madeleine paid 5 1/2 percent dividends, Caroni Sugar Estate 6 percent, and Orange Grove 7 1/2 percent and arrears on preferential shares. I do appeal to that industry to examine themselves and see whether they cannot spare something more for labor."

The sugar king and oil barons were indignant. They replied to the Governor by securing his recall to Britain, where he was sacked by Lord Harlech, then Secretary of State for Colonies.

(To be concluded.)

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## Our Readers Take the Floor...

### A MINER GREETES LABOR ACTION

Dear Comrades:

I received LABOR ACTION, and I thank you comrades for a really fine workers paper. The article on page 1 of the May 20 issue, "Against the Allies and the Axis—for Camp of World Labor Revolt", expresses the true revolutionary spirit. That is the spirit of the day. I support you with all that there is in me. But what can I do for you financially when I am one of the relief slaves, because I am unemployed? I have great confidence in the Workers Party in organizing this machinery for proletarian liberation.

With proletarian greetings,  
Dickson City, Pa. S.D.  
May 21, 1940.

### BOSSSES ARE SISTERS UNDER THE SKIN

Editor:

Anticipating a demand for a wage increase from their employees, the publishers of the **Philadelphia Record, Inquirer and Evening Ledger** joined two weeks ago to resist all attempts to boost the present wage-

scale. A letter signed by their representatives and stating this view was sent to the local Newspaper Guild.

This was in accord to the policy adopted (need I say unanimously) at the convention of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. The association stated then: There is no justification in the history of newspaper wage relations or in current business factors for further increases at this time.

The liberal **New Deal Record** and the reactionary **Inquirer** are apparently at opposite political and economical poles. But their "bitter" differences of opinion are washed away by the common fear that part of their profits will be used in purchasing shoes for their employees children.

Then the liberals and the reactionaries (bulwarks of the free press, of course) join hands to thwart the worker's demands.

Class will tell; or if Kipling will allow "Judy O'Grady and the colonel's lady are sisters under the skin."

Fraternally yours,  
J. H.  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
June 9, 1940.

## What Next in the World War?—Read June New International

The June issue of the **New International** will be off the press this week featuring a new series of articles on the war. The leading editorials deal with the war in Europe and the extremely important question of prospective political developments in the United States, the manner in which the war has affected the two-party system in this country.

The relations of the United States to South America and the whole question of the domination of the western hemisphere by the United States is dealt with in an article entitled, "A New Horizon for American Imperialism", by Albert Gates. "Marxism and National Defence", is the subject of an interesting analysis by Ernest Erber. This article was written in the light of the recent drive for American rearmament in preparation for war.

This issue of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL will contain the first of a new series of articles by Dwight Macdonald, "Reading from Left to Right." Other contents are a discussion article on Marxism and the concluding section of "Where is the Petty-Bourgeois Opposition."

## Crucible Workers Strike For Better Conditions

HARRISON, N.J.—Discontent with working conditions, hours of work and hourly pay, which has been smouldering among 155 men in the Electric Furnace department of the Crucible Steel Company of America's Harrison plant finally came to a head last week when the entire department walked out on strike.

The men are demanding a 10% increase in hourly wages, a cut in the rate of production and a Monday to Friday work week with time and one half for Saturday and Sunday work. These are the same demands put forward by the men when they went out on strike last November. The SWOC, although backed by an overwhelming vote in favor of strike, called the vote off at the last minute in all plants of the Company, and signed a miserable contract in January of this year. In the Harrison plant, the SWOC lifted the charter and installed hand picked officers in place of the militant leadership elected by the membership last June.

The most deep rooted grievance of the men in the Electric Furnace department is against the use of the stagger system, or broken work week. Whereas men in other plants work Monday to Friday inclusive, the men in several departments of the Harrison plant work every Saturday and Sunday through-out the year with no extra pay. Instead they receive two days off during the week. This system keeps the furnaces pro-

ducing every day in the week, every day in the year . . . AND NOT ONE CENT FOR OVERTIME IS PAID OUT BY THE COMPANY.

### Scabs Hard to Get

At present, all the men have been fired by plant manager, A. E. Van Cleave, although anyone willing to return to work will be immediately rehired. Not one man has yet offered to return to work. Over one hundred new men were put to work but all quit when they learned that the department was on strike and joined the strikers.

Only one furnace is working at present. Ten experienced scabs brought from the Syracuse plant of the Company are putting out one heat in 9 hours as against the average time of four hours. At this rate the plant which is busy producing shells and other ordnance materials for the Roosevelt War Government will be forced to close down within the next few days.

The Company has started a whispering campaign accusing the strikers of "fifth column" activities; but the workers know that the Company and its Wall Street coupon clippers started a drive against their wages and working conditions a long time ago. They also know that the Company has always had a "fifth column" amongst them for years, only before they were called company stooges and scabs.