

Workers! This Is Not Our War!
It Is a War for Boss Profits!
Join Hands in Independent
Labor Action Against the War!

LABOR ACTION

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JULY 1, 1940

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY, SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

THREE CENTS

A Declaration Against the World Imperialist War!

FIGHT FASCISM WITH SOCIALIST ACTION!

Allied Thieves Fall Out Over Bandit Truce

French Rulers Fear
Workers Revolt—More
Than Hitler Force

The six weeks Battle of France ended last Tuesday morning as the Petain government accepted the terms of capitulation dictated by Hitler and Mussolini. The pro-British section of the French ruling class organized a "National Committee", in London, headed by General Charles de Gaulle, Under-Secretary of National Defense in the resigned Reynaud government, in order to continue the war against Germany.

Churchill and Petain, allies of yesterday, accused one another of breaking solemn pledges and responsibility for the collapse of France and the oppressive terms of the armistice.

The Hitler-Petain treaty provides for the complete Nazi domination of France. It includes: German occupation of two-thirds of France, the demobilization and disarming of all French armed forces (except those required to maintain "order" in the unoccupied territory) the handing over of all military equipment, facilities and property; release of German prisoners (while French prisoners are to be held), and the turning over of the French navy, except for that part of the fleet which will be permitted "to represent French interests in the colonial empire".

Mussolini took as his war booty some territory in the Alpine frontier already occupied by his troops. France is to demilitarize 31 miles of her southeastern frontier, the borders of Algeria and Tunis adjoining Italian Libya, and the fortified areas and naval bases of Toulon, Bizerte, Ajaccio and Oran. Italy is to get full rights to use Jibuti harbor and the

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To the Working People of the United States!

The German blitzkrieg has routed great armies and overthrown governments with a speed and completeness never before seen. France had been overwhelmed and few have any confidence that the British Empire will survive. Nazi successes have sent a thrill of horror and fear through the heart of every working man and woman in America. "Stop Hitler!" is the cry. For if he is not stopped, trades unions and workers' organizations everywhere will be destroyed. The workers will be reduced to starvation wages and slave conditions of labor. Jews will be driven once more into the ghettos and will have to scrub the streets under the whips of the storm-troopers. Negroes will be pushed still further into the slums and swamps of oppression and misery where they have lived so long. This is what Hitler's rule has meant wherever his cursed armies have conquered. Hitler must be stopped, for Fascism spares none. Every worker must steel his heart for a fight to the death against Hitler and all that he represents. But the war in Europe has taught us some terrible lessons. We shall learn them or we shall perish.

The blitzkrieg, despite its suddenness and unexpectedness, is but a part of the Second Imperialist War. And the Second Imperialist War was neither sudden nor unexpected. It was openly and methodically prepared for before the eyes of the world. Its causes are as clear as the preparations which led up to it.

THIS IS AN IMPERIALIST WAR

The Second Imperialist War is a continuation of the First which lasted from 1914 to 1918. The great powers had divided the world before 1914 between them, and when there was no more new territory to divide, they fought for each other's possessions. In 1929 came the great economic crisis, and, unable to recover from it, they prepared for war and are fighting again for the same reasons they fought in 1914. But today, after twenty-five years of almost unceasing crisis, Capitalism is so bankrupt that it can only wage war by slaughter, sacrifice, brutality and suffering on a scale far surpassing anything that the last war produced. Totalitarian government and blitzkrieg have not produced the hopelessness of Europe today. It is the hopelessness of Capitalism which has produced the totalitarian government and the blitzkrieg.

Yet today the now fearful power of the blitzkrieg seems to overshadow all. If Hitler defeats Britain, all Europe will be at his mercy, and in those countries where he does not personally rule he will try to install Fascist governments. In Asia, he will assist Japan to conquer China. He will carve

out a vast empire in Africa. Germany and the United States of America will then fight for control of the world market. As long as Capitalism lasts, these imperialist wars will continue.

But the victory of the Allies will not be the victory of Democracy. Following in the footsteps of France, Britain has already established a dictatorship. Should Britain be victorious, it will be only after a long hard struggle during which the British capitalist system in the main will become almost indistinguishable from that of Germany. Labor will have to remain in chains, or fight for workers' power.

THE WAR ENDS DEMOCRACY

The ruin and devastation caused by the last war threw Europe and the world into such a condition that famine and pestilence killed millions. Revolutions broke out, and were bloodily put down in every country except Russia. In the condition that Capitalism was in before this war began, after a war waged by totalitarian methods on both sides, Capitalism in Britain and France, as elsewhere, will be able to exist only by bloody dictatorship. Workers and farmers, in this grave hour when every joint of Capitalism is creaking and cracking, do not listen to the capitalists with their talk about democracy. They know what the future holds. Learn, and learn quickly so that you can prepare; for the capitalists are preparing.

How can workers in any country maintain their rights after a war? The American capitalists know that they will have to fight a victorious Germany and Japan for the profits of Latin-America and China. But they have now thoroughly learned the lesson that the blitzkrieg has taught. To win a totalitarian war requires a totalitarian state.

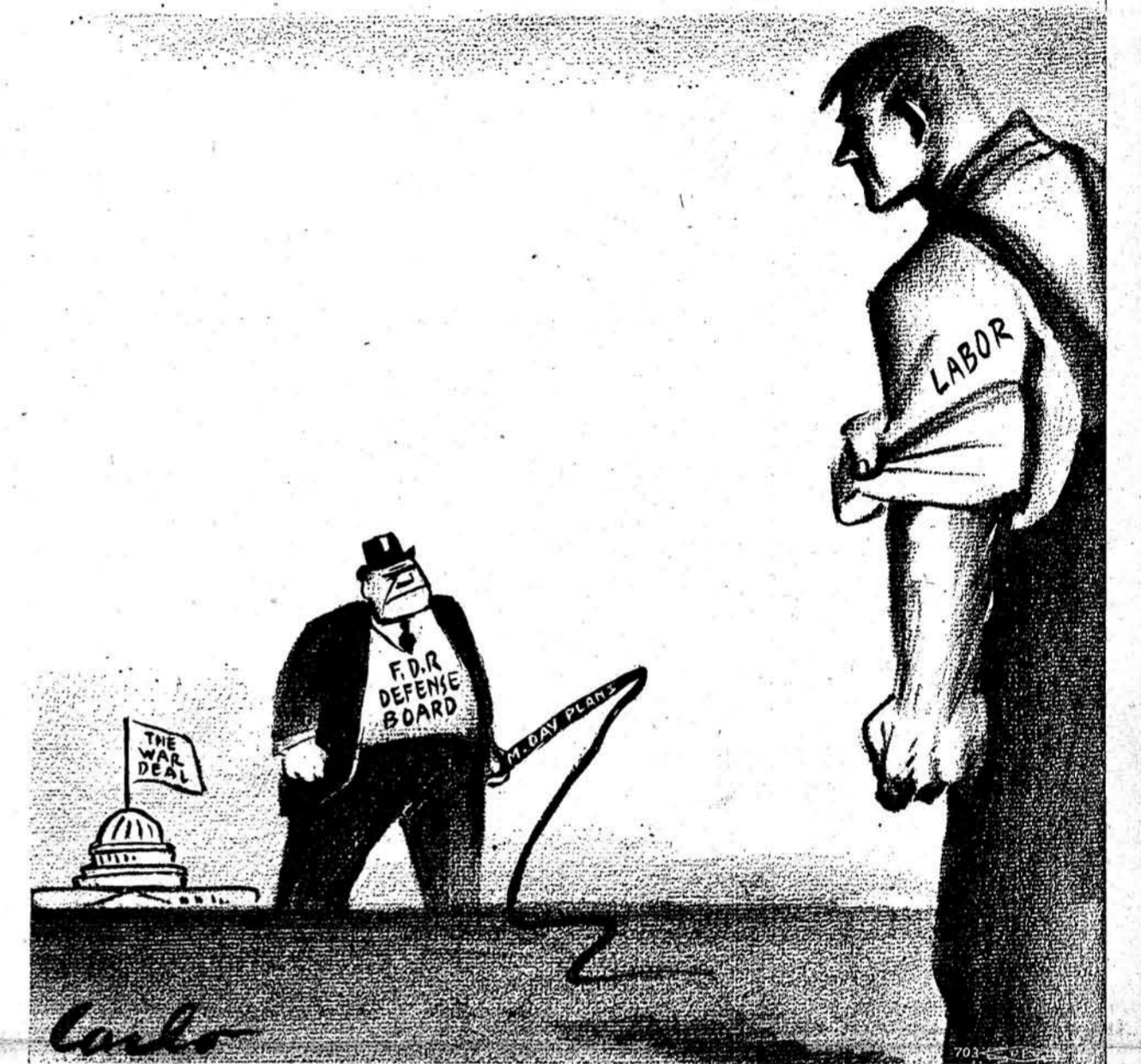
They know that under Capitalism the greater part of the funds for rearmament must come from the wages of the workers, and the extension of their hours of labor.

They have seen Hitler use sympathizers in Norway, Holland and Belgium to carry out his plans. To carry out their plans they will have to dominate Latin-America by armed force. This is the future. It is for this that Roosevelt, the agent of the Capitalist class, calls for billion after billion, not to defend democracy. Workers, look at France, look at Britain, and then say how much democracy will remain in America if the capitalists have their way.

The American capitalists today call all who oppose them members of the "Fifth Column." The Associated Farmers of California, notorious en-

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Our War Against Dictatorship!



Roosevelt Actions Push Nation Further Along Path to War

By ALBERT GATES

Cast aside tradition to the wind, Roosevelt upset the Republican convention by announcing this week the appointment of Colonels Knox and Stimson to his cabinet as Secretaries of Navy and War respectively.

The naming of the two interventionist Republican leaders to the Cabinet has as its purpose: (1) to insure national war unity by creating the impression that partisan politics cannot be tolerated in the life and death struggle to maintain and extend America's imperialist interests, and (2) to obtain a strategic advantage in the coming elections.

Roosevelt's action is in part a maneuver. But it is also an integral part of his campaign for national defense and war preparedness.

The surrender of France and the occupation of her territory by Germany and Italy, which increased the military difficulties of Great Britain, has had an immediate reaction in the United States.

Upon the announcement that an armistice was to be signed, Roosevelt dispatched a note to Germany and Italy declaring that "the United States would not recognize any transfer and would not acquiesce in any attempt to transfer any geographic region of the Western Hemisphere from one non-American power to another non-American power."

At the same time that Roosevelt sent this warning to the Axis powers, plans were laid to establish a \$2,000,000,000 Inter-American Corporation, whose basic capital will be supplied by the United States, for the purpose of preparing the economic war with a victorious Hitler.

The aim of this corporation which is in the nature of an inter-continental cartel, is the complete control of all surplus commodities of the South American Nations. The corporation would undertake to dispose of these surpluses by agreements with the dominant European powers through a system of barter. But whether or not these commodities are disposed of, they shall be controlled by Washington to prevent the Latin American countries from entering into direct economic relations with Germany.

In this manner, American capitalism prepares to completely control the economic life of the Western World and accomplish the first step in the program of resistance to the encroachments of German industry. The United States is prepared to foot the bill for all losses through a failure to dispose of these surpluses. But even this is regarded as a small loss if Germany can be completely

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Kearny Contract Not So Good

Special to Labor Action

KEARNY, N.J.—The 7,000 Kearny, N.J., shipyard workers who were bludgeoned back to work by war-preparation propaganda after a 100% strike, are now tied down with a new contract, the duration of which has not been made public. Weeks of negotiating have resulted in an agreement, signed Monday, June 24, between Local 16 of the Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers and the Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock Co.

The chief demands of the men had been for a 10% an hour increase in wages and for a week's vacation after a year's employment. On the point of wages all the information obtainable from union headquarters was that "there were certain reclassifications and wage adjustments which will add \$66,000 per year to the company's payroll." The workers also lost their vacation demand. Instead, "all men with three years or more of service with the company will be granted one week with pay but owing to the national emergency the men may be asked to work during their vacation period and be compensated with one week's pay," which is a degree worse than what they had under the old contract.

The new agreement further provides that the union have the bargaining rights in the plant; that a management-union apprentice committee be set up to supervise the training of new workers, as well as a joint safety committee to supervise conditions in the yards.

GOP "Peace" Pledge Isn't Worth The Paper It Is Written On

The big capitalist parties are now poised for the presidential election struggle which will be waged under the clouds of the European war.

Under the leadership of Roosevelt, the Democratic Party has become the chief war party, the party of capitalist national defense. The impact of Hitler's victories over the Allies, with whom Roosevelt had established a bond of active sympathy, has unified what threatened to be a completely divided party.

At the latest reckoning, Roosevelt has 700 votes, an absolute majority of the Democratic nominating convention. Should he desire to accept

a third term, it is his for the asking. In any case, it appears now that he completely dominates the party and can pick his own candidate.

Having skillfully maneuvered himself into the position where he is now regarded as the only one who can organize the defenses of the nation, prepare for war and lead the country into battle. Roosevelt has routed his opponents inside the Democratic party. The Garners, George's, Tydings and others who had hoped to go scalp-hunting for the Administration at the convention are now completely lost in the shuffle.

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Congressmen Speed Conscription Bills

You May Be Too Old or Too Young to Work, But You Are Just the Right Age to Go to War

By ALAN SELKIRK

Encouraged by President Roosevelt's move to conscript all youth over 18 for "government service," key Congressional figures last week introduced a sweeping bill to conscript 40 million men into the armed forces.

From these twin moves it became clear that for the first time in the peacetime history of the United States universal military conscription may become the law of the land.

From the time two months ago when President Roosevelt requested Congress to authorize the construction of 50,000 airplanes a year, thereby initiating the vast program of militarization, the clamor for conscription has mounted steadily.

Times Urged Conscription

Three weeks ago this began to assume the character of an organized campaign. Sounding the biggest gun in the newly organized offensive was the New York Times. Pointing out that voluntary recruiting into the armed forces was lagging badly, the Times argued that conscription was the next logical step. At a press conference the following day, the President indicated his sympathy with the stand taken by the Times.

Immediately, however, there came a storm of protest from the public denouncing the idea. The President said no more—for the time being. The Times stuck to its guns.

In Washington last week came the first climax in the plot to militarize the American workers.

The White House announced its appointment of a Federal Adminis-

trator charged with conscripting all youth over 18 for "government service."

The broad formula "government service" was neatly intended to soften the widespread opposition to the earlier endorsement of "military conscription." To conceal still further the real character of his conscription plan, the President named

Tortured Body of Trotsky Secretary Found

Confessed Slayer Worked for Stalinist Publication, New Masses

Kidnapped and murdered by the Stalin-directed GPU, Sheldon Harte's body was found this week in an abandoned farmhouse about twenty miles from Mexico City. Harte, one of Leon Trotsky's secretaries, was kidnapped when the GPU agents staged a raid on Trotsky's home last month with the intention of murdering the great revolutionary leader. Bruises on the body indicated that Harte had been viciously tortured before being killed.

Arrests made by the Mexican government remove whatever doubt there might have been as to the responsibility of the Stalinist GPU. Among those arrested are two who confessed to the murder of Harte: Leopoldo and Luis Arenal. Both of these are well-known Stalinists. Luis Arenal, an artist, worked for Stalinist publications—notably for the New Masses during 1934 and 1935. He was also active in the Los Angeles C.P. during the same period.

Though the Communist Party of Mexico has denied implication in

a non-military figure, CIO Vice-President Sidney Hillman, as recruiting Sergeant-in-chief.

The main feature of the President's plan is the conscription of young men and women not only into the armed forces but into industry and agriculture as well. In this way it might be assumed that Roosevelt holds out to the nation's youth the

promise of escape from the armed forces.

However, a study of the President's proposal reveals that no such promise is contained in it. On the contrary, the plan, by its thorough-going character, promises nothing else than the complete militarization of the nation's young people.

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the attack, there can be no doubt that it was organized by the GPU. The CP statement even admits that of the accused at least two were CP members at one time, and that a third, whom they claim to be innocent of the charge, is still a member of the Stalinist Party. But these denials are of the same tissue as the accusations which sent hundreds of revolutionaries to their death in the infamous Moscow trials.

This is not the first attack on Trotsky's life, or on revolutionaries associated with him. Harte was the third of Trotsky's secretaries to fall into the hands of the GPU. Erwin Braun was kidnapped and never again seen. Two years ago in Paris, Rudolph Klement was kidnapped; his body was recovered in the Seine. And in Switzerland a year earlier, Ignace Reiss, who had broken with the Stalin gangsters, was abducted through a ruse and murdered. Then too the GPU timidly protested its innocence, but the court trial that followed clearly established their

guilt. Ever since Trotsky landed in Mexico, GPU agents have been busily planning his assassination. Names of GPU agents sent there with that aim have from time to time been publicly exposed, as for example, the notorious George Mink.

Trotsky's life is still in the greatest danger. The last attempt on his life failed only by a hair's-breadth. The GPU will most certainly try again. To the end of forestalling such an attack and pillorying the GPU assassins before the world labor movement, a hue and cry must be raised for the apprehension of all the GPU criminals, and for the protection of Leon Trotsky. Individuals and organizations must band together to safeguard Trotsky's asylum in Mexico, and to protect him from the enemies of the revolution who seek his death. This task is not the property of any one organization. It is the responsibility of every group and person who hasn't yielded to the corruption of Stalinism.

Picket Against "Powder Keg" in Sharecropper Plight

Poverty and Oppression So Stark, Writer Sees "Oakies" as Relative Aristocrats

By B. J. WIDICK

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—In writing about the plight of the sharecroppers and their problems, there is little one can add to what Charles Edmondson, of the St. Louis Post Dispatch, said in a special article last Sunday.

"Owing largely to the failure of the Administration in Washington to stand up to the politically powerful landowners in the South, the AAA is grinding the landless rank and file in this region down into a deeper and more stupefying poverty."

"As it works out over large areas, the AAA is a frustration of the law, a mockery of democratic procedure and a tool for the exploitation of one of the most cruelly submerged elements of our population."

"According to the Farm Security Administration, nearly 2,000,000 farm people have been forced off the land—into a poverty more intense than prevails among the agricultural workers John Steinbeck described in 'The Grapes of Wrath.' Steinbeck's Oakies are the aristocrats of the disinherited farmers, for they have jalopies in which to start the trek to the orange groves. Those remaining behind have no wheels on which to roll."

"The writer found widespread neglect of the rights of the non-voting groups, which include practically all the rural Negroes, and, because of rigid poll taxes, most of the white sharecroppers as well."

Practice and Theory

In theory, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration provides that farm subsidies authorized by Congress be divided between the landowner and the tenant or sharecropper. In practice, the landowners either keep all the subsidy outright or introduce tractors and other machinery to displace farm hands so all the subsidy can be kept. Making share-croppers or tenant farmers into day laborers who get paid the least of all, guarantees the landowners the most profit.

In theory, all "producers", landowners and sharecroppers, or tenant farmers, have the right to vote in electing all important committees that administer the law, etc. In practice, thousands of Negro and white sharecroppers never vote. Never were told they could, and where they knew they could, it was "safer" not to vote.

...Can't Vote

However, there is "democracy" in many areas. The sharecroppers and tenant farmers are herded together to vote. But any ballot which is against the landowners proposals is simply thrown out. And terror is used to keep down the negative votes. This is the kind of "democracy" which prevails especially in the delta sections of Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana. Also in Alabama and Georgia.

Only in southeastern Missouri where the sharecroppers union now affiliated to the CIO, received nation-wide attention through its high-

way starvation siege are things a little better. Besides, some enlightened landowners broke the united front of reaction and had their sharecroppers vote what they thought.

Government subsidies come in soil-conservation checks, price-adjustment or parity checks and soil-building checks. Around these payments, besides all the other handicaps and difficulties, are woven a set of rules, procedure, etc. which the average sharecropper doesn't understand because he has been kept in darkness about his rights. So he's hooked.

Vigilantes

To keep the sharecroppers ignorant of their rights, and to prevent them from struggling for their rights through union organization, the landowners band up in vigilante groups who specialize in beating up union

organizers, terrorizing sharecroppers who may become union builders, and keeping the poor people down through sheer brute force.

Because there is a large supply of labor, and because it is mostly unorganized despite some courageous efforts, wages are terrible.

In California, for example, wages are supposed to be \$2.10 a day and board. In this section of the country a tractor driver gets \$1 a day, for 12 hours work, a plowhand \$.75 a day, a woman hoeing cotton is paid 60 cents for her back breaking labor. Cotton pickers get from 50 to 75 cents per hundred pounds.

Less than ten cents an hour, often only five cents an hour for hard labor under a hot blazing sun. That is the situation among hundreds of thousands of farm hands here.

As though that weren't miserable enough, most of the day laborers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers are forced to buy from landowners' stores. Prices are at least 25% higher for all things, compared to a survey made by a Church.

And, of course, there is the usual chiseling on loans or materials advanced to the tenants or sharecroppers, and the setting of all standards, purchase of all goods, and so forth solely by the landowner who sees to it that he comes out way ahead.

Is it any wonder that landowners admit, "We are sitting on a powder keg." And they keep the explosion down by sitting down hard on the poor folks, Negro and white.

Roosevelt—

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eliminated from the American markets.

The plan for the establishment of the cartel has already met with a favorable response from many Latin-American countries who fear treading on the toes of their powerful Northern neighbor. They realize in addition, that the cartel would guarantee them against losses and they are quite willing to take that chance.

Heretofore Pan-Americanism was essentially a political objective. It has now become also economic and military. To enforce its policy in the South American areas, the Administration is going to enforce its demand for naval and air bases in the main countries.

New Appropriations

During the week, with the drastic turn in the war, the advocates of increased militarization of the United

Two Weeks Remain in Drive for Subs

New York Local Still Ahead of Other Party Branches

Forty-Eight new subscriptions were received by LABOR ACTION in the June sub drive. The New York local continues to lead the campaign with twenty-one new subscribers making a total of thirty-nine subs from the city. St. Louis is in second place with nine subscriptions while Chicago was heard from with seven. New subscriptions were received from Philadelphia, Oakland and Akron.

We are still waiting to hear from a number of cities. Boston, Cleveland and Newark are some of the larger centers which have not sent in a single subscription. The same is true of Youngstown, Rochester, Pittsburgh and Texas. Los Angeles and San Francisco sent in only one subscription each. A very poor showing indeed. But the comrades have written in promising to fill their quotas.

Two more weeks remain in the campaign. We feel certain that the quotas can easily be filled. Let's get going comrades.

Conscription—

(Continued from page 1)

Indeed, according to the President, the imposition of military patterns in industry and in agriculture would tend to take the minds of the young people off the various "isms." Implicit in the President's plan is the destruction of all forms of independence in the nation's youth. Inherent in the plan is the cowering of the spirit of insurgence.

Whereas the White House took special pains to cloak the real intent of its conscription drive, in Congress there was little concern for the popular temper. Making no bones about what they were up to, Democratic Senator Burke of Nebraska and Republican Representative Wadsworth of New York combined to introduce a bill authorizing the conscription of 40 million men into the armed forces.

The two Congressmen unhypercritically entitled their bill "The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940."

Providing for the registration of millions of American men, the Burke Bill also specifies that men between the ages of 21 and 45 are to become liable for military training and service. Men between the ages of 18 and 21 and those between 45 and 65 are to become eligible for Home Defense. Provisions for pay are at the fat rate of five dollars a month or sixteen cents a day.

An Expeditionary Force

Interesting is the difference drawn between home defense and military service. The logical assumption to draw from this distinction is that all men not required for home defense will be trained as an expeditionary force. The distinction explodes the "National Defense" cry of its sponsors. "National Defense" is daily being expanded to include not only the territorial United States but the entire Western Hemisphere and the farflung holdings of American imperialism, not to mention the possible inclusion of the Dutch East Indies.

That there is no conflict between the harsh Burke Bill and the President's sugar-coated presentation was further indicated by responsible Congressional leaders. Senator Burke, himself, declared that the measure is "entirely in line with the President's present desires."

According to Frank L. Kluckhohn, Washington correspondent of the New York Times, "Chairman May of the House Military Affairs Committee stated that his group would begin hearings (on the Burke bill) in about two weeks, by which time he expected the President would express his ideas as to what form compulsory training would take. He indicated that the Committee would consider the various proposals and then write a COMPOSITE MEASURE."

Union Opposition

Earlier in the week, John P. Frey, President of the Metal Trades Department of the AFL, specifically attacked the President's youth training plan.

Speaking at a meeting of officers of twelve metal unions representing 900,000 workers, Frey declared, "We can see no need for compulsory training of youth for the defense industries outside the established Federal agencies that have the personnel for this work."

Frey was warning the organized labor movement that its bitterly won standards were in jeopardy of being undermined by the introduction into industry of a military labor corps forced to work for military pay.

John L. Lewis also declared himself sharply on the issue last week when he called the President's plan a model for "forced labor battalions" reminiscent of Hitler Germany.

FOR NEWS OF THE THIRD CAMP—READ LABOR ACTION

Building Workers Denounce Scheme of Phila. Politicians

Special to Labor Action

PHILADELPHIA, June 20—Virtually every worker in the building and construction trades laid down his tools, and massed 20,000 strong on Reburn Plaza, to protest the action of the Philadelphia Republican-dominated City Council in scuttling the 19,000,000 slum clearance plan sponsored by the Federal Housing Authority.

The demonstration was one of the biggest and impressive turnouts witnessed in the city. While the "City-fathers" were deliberating just where to plunge the knife that would end all hope of removing some of the blighted areas in the "City of Homes", a mass picket line slowly circled City Hall.

For more than two and a half hours the workers were addressed by the leading state and city AFL functionaries, John L. McDevitt, a member of the Philadelphia Housing Authority, and President of the Building Trades Council, recounted step by step the procedure of the Republican Organization in delaying and preventing and finally scuttling the scheme for removing a few of the more malignant sore spots in the city's bandbox areas.

After leaving Reburn Plaza, a few thousand demonstrators picketed downtown hotels where the Platform Committee of the Republican National Convention was holding its sessions.

The City Council dominated by the Joe Pew-Jay Cooke faction of the Republican Party dropped the Housing Plan for the reason that a few administrative jobs would go to Democrats. Hence, thousands of workers must now continue living in filthy slums because of the "peanut politics" pursued by capitalist politicians.

French Truce

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Jibuti-Addis Ababa railway. Fear Revolt

At the same time both armistice agreements provide for denunciation of the treaties by the Axis powers "in the event the French Government does not fulfill its obligations." Here is a warning to the wealthy "200 ruling Families" of France—who came to an agreement with Hitler in order to protect their own oppressive rule and tremendous investments in the French colonies—that they will have to cooperate with Germany or lose everything.

These rulers fear above all working class revolution and colonial revolt. That is why they tolerated the Peoples Front governments organized by the Socialist and Communist Parties. They alone could not have stopped the growing revolt of the French working class since 1934. They alone could not have broken the glorious mass sit-down strikes of the French workers in 1936 which threatened their very domination. Only the Socialist and Communist leaders could in those days assure the continuation of wage slavery and imperialism. They broke the independent actions of the workers, the sit-down strikes, the movement towards workers' rule—all in the name of "national defense" and "the struggle against fascism". When these lackeys of imperialism were no longer needed—and when Stalin made his alliance with Hitler—they were pushed aside by the real rulers of the French empire. They had done their job. They prepared the road for the victory of Petain and Hitler.

But the reactionary masters of France still fear workers' revolution. As a British broadcaster declared the other day, "during the last week before Marshal Petain asked for an armistice the men around him seemed to be worried less about the German advance than about the possibility of social troubles in France."

While Churchill hurled charges against the French government that it had pledged not to sign a separate peace, Petain revealed that the British government consented to the armistice negotiations. Churchill was then forced to admit that he had agreed to the capitulation of France, on condition that the French navy be turned over to British imperialism. This deal was finally rejected by the French partners so that they could keep their own colonial booty. Each imperialist government looks out for its own reactionary interests.

And with the truce in France, Hitler is reorganizing his forces for an assault on Britain, beginning with an intensification of air raids. England has retaliated with aerial bombardments of Germany, and continues to strengthen the military defenses of the British Isles.

STALIN IN NEW MOVE

While the major powers were busy in the west, Stalin tightened his control over the Baltic countries and prepared for action in the Balkans. In Estonia, where the reactionary ruling class resisted complete Russian domination, the Stalinists seized

St. Louis Movie Operators Oust Racketeers, Win New Contract

Special to Labor Action

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—The most remarkable and inspiring labor victory of the year was won this week by the rank and file of the movie operators union here when they finally cleaned out the racketeer elements controlling the union, and smashed a boss attack against the union.

It took a well-timed 24 hour shut-down to bring the bosses to their senses and sign a three year contract with the union.

One of the main demands of the union was that the bosses, Fanchon and Marco, owners of a chain of big theaters, drop legal suits totaling \$275,000 against the union. The union forced the bosses to withdraw their court action against the union! What a lesson for the Apex union, and for the dozens of other unions who are tied up in court.

Signing of the three year contract,

the government buildings and set up a Stalin-puppet regime.

Reports of a clash between Soviet and Rumanian troops last week were denied by both governments. However, as stated in previous issues of LABOR ACTION, Stalin seeks to get Bessarabia as payment for his aid to Hitler. According to a Washington dispatch by Frank L. Kluckhohn in the New York Times (June 26), diplomatic circles in the capital, believe that this agreement has already been reached. He writes:

"Germany has an agreement with the Soviet Union under which the Russians will be permitted to take over Bessarabia and the Reich is urging the recently reconstituted Rumanian government to concede this territory without fighting, it was reported in well-informed diplomatic circles here today."

He reports the well-known fact that despite the present alliance Stalin fears an eventual attack by Hitler. For the present however, German and Italian Fascism are concerned with defeating Britain, and therefore still desire peace in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. If and when the defeat of the British Empire is achieved Hitler can march against the Soviet Union.

THE BETTER HALF The "First Lady of the Land"— Lieutenant in Jingo Brigade

We herewith present a few items of special interest to our women readers. It is our intention to regularly publish material on the effect of Roosevelt's arms program on the working woman, what the women can do in the fight for socialism and against war, and so forth. You are invited to submit your own contributions.—Ed.

By SUSAN GREEN

Do you realize what an important part Eleanor Roosevelt, the President's wife, is playing in preparing this country for war?

Of all the first ladies of the land, she is the most active in public affairs. She is here, there and everywhere, talking at this convention, at that dinner, at another celebration. At the same time she has been played up as a woman among women, with ordinary womanly interests. Perhaps you have heard her on the air for the makers of Sweetheart soap, telling about the simple meals served in the White House, about where she buys her clothes, or how beautiful a sunset is from an airplane. In this way she gets herself liked by many women who serve not simple meals but skimpy ones, who can't afford a dress a year, who never get nearer to an airplane than a tenement house window.

Now that her husband is No. 1 war monger, she has become his first lieutenant, but all within the role of the kindly, understanding woman. She agrees that war is "the most stupid thing on earth" and is very sad about it, but we must be prepared to fight. She hopes that "youth will always feel that war is a horrible thing," but anyway they should go to war this time. She understands why those who haven't received much out of life don't want to die, but a little "mental prep-

aration" (Hitler-Mussolini style) will help them meet "today's peculiar conditions."

Behind her kindly smile, the first lady hides the grimace of death.

The newspaper correspondents leaving Paris with the fleeing people, have reported heartbreaking stories. William Bird, writing in The N.Y. Sun, tells one of the most horrible ones I have read. His car was progressing slowly in the stream of slow-moving people and vehicles and he got well acquainted with his immediate neighbors in the procession. He writes:

A pregnant woman afoot begged a lift to the next railroad station. She told us she had had no news of her husband since the offensive began. She hoped that she was going to have a girl so that she would have company during the next war.

This woman has lost all hope. She can visualize nothing but a life of continuous woe. All she wants is that her child shall be a girl so as not to have a son to send to the next war.

It is a great tragedy when people lose their fighting spirit and submit to a ghastly fate that others make for them. That is why this story is so horrible to me.

I hope the working women in America will be such brave fighters against the bosses' war that they will inspire new hope in such hopeless people as this French woman.

Since President Roosevelt started the national defense hysteria, several women's organizations have been formed to prepare for war. The National Legion of Mothers formed what they call "home defense rifle clubs against parachute troops." In New York a so-called Defense Corps of women is taking shape. They will wear black-blue uniforms with red doughboy hats, and will be "available at two hours' notice in case of an emergency" to be ambulance and bus drivers and armed watchmen, to replace the men drafted into the war.

The moving spirits of such organizations are women of the boss class. Mrs. So-and-So from Westchester, a swanky residential section of New York, and Miss This-and-That from Long Island, a Wall Street bankers' hang-out. With these women LABOR ACTION has nothing to do. They are helping prepare a war which will benefit their own class.

The working girls and woman who may fall under the influence of this national defense hysteria and join up with such war organizations, would be helping to send their brothers, fathers and sweethearts, their husbands and sons, to waste their lives in bloody slaughter for PROFITS for the bosses.

I am subscribing—

Enclosed find _____ for a _____ subscription to Labor

Action. _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

For Labor Action—

Join Workers Party

Recognized as Bona-Fide

Withdrawal of the suits and the signing of the three year contract means that the bosses admit that further struggle at this stage against the bona-fide union is out.

Workers Party Publishes Second In Series of Penny Pamphlets

The National Office of the Workers Party rang the bell again with the issuance of its second penny pamphlet in three weeks. The first pamphlet, "My Friends, by Native Son", was a discourse on the President's war plans. Now comes the pamphlet, "Conscription—for What?"

This pamphlet is in the nature of an open letter to the President and deals with the present drive to increase the armed forces in preparation for war. Written by a jobless worker, the pamphlet shows the class

character of the armed forces, and how by its past it serves the interests of the boss class.

"We trust only our own army—one that is democratically controlled by the workers and poor farmers—a PEOPLE'S ARMY", says the pamphlet in calling for a workers government and national defense of the interests of the wide masses against fascism of the German and Italian variety, as well as our native reactionaries and fascists.

The pamphlet is published in an edition of ten thousand copies.

As the convention opened, the conflict over the presidential nomination became more intense. The lack of unanimity on the candidate is an indication of the lack of unanimity on world problems inside the party, which at one time lumbered along on the successive waves of prosperity.

While over in the Democratic camp, only Senator Wheeler threatens to bolt and form an anti-war party, at Philadelphia there are many candidates, all of them publicly professing more or less identical programs.

The Dewey Boom appears at this writing to be suffering the effects of "age", but more important than that, it is apparent that New York's State's Attorney does not have the confidence of the party big-wigs, who frankly will not trust their party in the hands of an inexperienced "upstart", especially in the present life and death struggle with Roosevelt.

Many "favorite sons" have cropped up in the convention. There are

As one newspaper puts it, "there is nothing in the platform that Roosevelt himself could not subscribe to. War, like sin, is something everyone is against."

The program declares against America's involvement in the present war, advocates an intense national defense program, and stands for aid to the Allies within the "limits of the law", but deplors "provocative" statements by the President. Thus, the party hopes to capture the anti-war sentiments of the population and at the same time satisfy the war needs of the ruling class whose interests it represents and serves.

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A DECLARATION AGAINST WORLD IMPERIALIST WAR

(Continued from page 1)

emies of the workers, have declared a private war of their own on what they call "subversive activities" and they promise to persecute "Fifth Columnists" with, as they say themselves, an energy never before seen. Under the slogan of defending democracy they will drive down still further the pitiable living standards of the agricultural workers. That is what war for democracy means. That will be the fate of the whole working-class unless it opens its eyes on time. The signs are written in the sky for all to read.

We know that when the workers realize what the capitalists are doing, they will be compelled in self-defense to strike back. But many workers, particularly the Jews, in their fear of Hitler, feel that the working-class must submit to Roosevelt until at least Hitler is defeated. A bitter awakening awaits them. Roosevelt fears Hitler, but there is something that he and Churchill fear more than Hitler, and that is the organized force of the militant working-class movement. Shall we remain blind to the lessons of the last few years? Did the ruling-class of Britain and France do all that they could to defeat Hitler? Hitler was always a greater danger to British and French capital than he is to American capital. Yet the British and French capitalists welcomed Hitler's coming to power. They allowed Mussolini to conquer Ethiopia. Rather than send arms to the Spanish workers and peasants they preferred to see Mussolini dominate Spain. Roosevelt passed a special law to prevent arms going to Spain. Britain, France, and America armed Hitler and Mussolini. Why?

They knew that Hitler was the last hope of German Capitalism. They knew that to overthrow Hitler would mean a Socialist revolution and perhaps workers' power in Central Europe. They preferred the danger of defeat by Hitler to the workers' revolution. For if Hitler defeated them, they could still keep some of their capitalist wealth and prepare to fight him again. But once they are defeated by the Socialist revolution as they were defeated in Russia, there is no more hope for them. Roosevelt knows this also. And though he may fight a desperate war with Hitler, at the first hint of social revolution either here or in Germany or elsewhere, Roosevelt or his successor will join with Hitler or some other representative of Hitlerism, to smash the working-class into the dust. Understand, then, the madness of surrendering our

liberties to Roosevelt in the hope that he can be trusted to overthrow Hitler.

SOCIALISM IS OUR ONLY HOPE

What then must we do? We must respond to the crisis of humanity with the understanding and the power demanded by the gravity of the hour. It is Capitalism which is dragging us down and we must strike at Capitalism. We must struggle for a new order of society, for Socialism. By Socialism we mean the taking over by the people of the great forces of production, steel, oil, coal, chemicals, and railways, from a few monopolists. We, the people, created them, we alone can create them, we must take them into our hands. The land must belong to the people again. We must form a workers' government which will control industry in the interests of the whole nation, and not in the interests of a few profiteers.

The workers have the strength to do it. And if only we can summon up the courage and organize ourselves, a glorious future awaits us. American agriculture alone can feed the whole civilized world, American cotton alone can clothe every living human being. American industry today can produce five times as much as the whole of Europe and in two years the whole of America's capacity to produce can be doubled. Starting here, we can change the world, if we have the vision and the will.

But what do we have instead? One-third of the nation lives in rags and starvation, and now we must lose the little that we have in order to prepare destruction. At one stage of the last war the capitalists were destroying property at the rate of ten million dollars per hour. At the beginning of this war, the preparations alone were costing twelve times the preparations for the last war. Yet those are the alternatives; Socialism and progress; Capitalism and destruction. That is the choice. No worker who sees it can hesitate! We gain nothing by supporting Roosevelt. Let us inspire the stricken workers of Europe and the enslaved colonial peoples with the news of a powerful workers' movement in America that boldly raises the banner of Socialism. The despairing workers of Europe, the Indians and the Africans, the persecuted Jews, and the oppressed nationalities, Poles, Czechs, Scandinavians, Dutch, and Belgians, will lift their heads once more at the sound. That hour will mark the

beginning of Hitler's end. With power in our hands, with our own democratic People's Army unleashed by Socialism, with the tremendous industrial capacity, we can not only stop Hitler, but so destroy his system that no future Hitlers can ever arise again.

We are not alone. The British working-class, seventy per cent of the population, was only driven into accepting the totalitarian state because its own labor leaders were given high places in the government. The French working-class is cowed, but it is not defeated. In Africa, one hundred million Negroes only need an example. The brave warriors of Ethiopia have never ceased to fight Mussolini. For years now, the Indian revolution of over three hundred millions people has been held in check and betrayed at every critical moment by Gandhi, the representative of the Indian landlords and capitalists who fear the Indian Masses much more than they hate British Imperialism. What greater inspiration could they have than the mighty working-class and farmers of America, the Negroes and the persecuted aliens, all banded together in the struggle for Socialism, for that peace, freedom and equality which only a new productive system can give. This system can come only by the organization of society on an international cooperative basis which will forever put an end to Imperialist war.

WHO ARE THE MISLEADERS?

What leadership do the other workers' organizations offer to the great masses of the people in this crisis? The labor leaders, Lewis, Green, and Hillman, like their friends in Europe, think only of their comfortable jobs and their easy lives under Capitalism. In Italy, in Austria, in Spain, in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in the Scandinavian countries, in Britain, and in France, everywhere they refused to fight for Socialism, but joined with the capitalists in defending capitalist democracy. Look at the result. Must we in America join them in this insane folly, this attempt to defend what is doomed to destruction? No. Let us learn the lessons written in blood and tears across the continent of Europe during the last twenty-five years.

The democratic rights and privileges which are the life-blood of the workers cannot be maintained under capitalism today. The labor bureaucrats have ruined millions of workers by claiming that this can be done. It is only by Socialism, by the change in the productive system, that the democratic rights of the workers can be maintained and extended. And the labor bureaucrats, instead of leading the fight for Socialism, act merely as agents of Capitalism in the working-class movement.

The Stalinists today have at last been found out for what they really are—paid agents of Stalin, serving the interests of the Moscow bureaucrats. As long as Stalin wanted an alliance with Britain, France, and America, they supported every measure of Roosevelt and urged the workers to fight for Capitalist democracy. But when Stalin chose to ally himself with Hitler, these agents of Russia changed their policy. Today they pretend to be against the war. In reality they do all they can to assist Hitler's victory. When Hitler conquered Norway, he suppressed every working-class organization except the Norwegian Communist Party which issued a manifesto in his favor. Their opposition to the war is a deception and a trap.

Enemies of Socialism try to frighten the workers from the struggle by pointing to the crimes of Stalin in Russia. The Fourth International was first in the struggle against the greed and corruption of the Stalinist bureaucracy, and its agents, the Communist Parties of the Third International. But let us beware of confusing the crimes of Stalin with the heroic struggles of the Russian workers and peasants. Stalin's crimes have been directed

chiefly against them and against all in Russia who opposed him. In Russia, imperishable achievements followed on the abolition of Capitalism. The whole world knows them. But Russia remains a state confined within national boundaries. She cannot lift the capitalist world surrounding her; instead the chains and wars of Capitalism are dragging Russia down. One victory of the workers anywhere, and the Russian revolution will move forward again, sweeping away Stalin, Molotov, and all his other accomplices in the suppression of the Russian workers and peasants.

Meanwhile, we condemn the Hitler-Stalin pact with its shameful partition of Poland. We condemn the invasion of Finland and the Baltic States. We propose to the workers, both inside and outside Russia to resist these and similar actions, which are hostile to the interests of the world revolution.

While Stalin has thus aided the victorious march of barbaric Fascism in Western Europe, Hitler tomorrow will turn on his Russian ally in order to plunder the rich resources of the Soviet Ukraine and destroy Soviet nationalized property. In such an event the rotten Stalin clique will be even less able to defend the Soviet Union than were the miserable rulers of imperialist France. The Russian workers and peasants, supported by the workers of other countries, can defend their country against Hitler and capitalist imperialism only by the relentless struggle for the overthrow of the Stalin regime and for socialist democracy.

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO LABOR

Workers and farmers, it is upon us that the main burden always falls heavier and heavier. We pay always in labor, and when war comes, in increased labor and blood. Our only salvation lies in resisting capitalism at every step, in peacetime as in war. We do this, not by sabotage, blowing up munitions factories, or by assisting the fascists to victory, as the Stalinists are doing. NO. Our method is the mobilization of ever-increasing groups of workers, giving them the vision to understand the crying necessity for Socialism and the mighty power of the workers to achieve it. The violence of Capitalism is opening the eyes of more and more workers every day. What system is this that can exist only by the periodical destruction of millions of men and billions worth of property? The reaction of the masses is sure to come. We who see the problem must ceaselessly and strenuously prepare for the triumph of Socialism. But we fight the capitalist class wherever we meet it, according to our strength. War may overwhelm us. We shall bend but we shall not break. And the harder and more fearlessly we resist Capitalism, the quicker they will come. Let us then gird ourselves for the struggle. Onward to Socialism, without wasting energy and strength in trying to uphold the tumbling ruins of capitalism.

1. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war. All war funds to the Unemployed.
2. Against both Imperialist War Camps. For the Third Camp of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples.
3. No Confidence in the Roosevelt Government. For a Worker's Government and a People's Army.
4. Against Compulsory Military Training and Conscription.
5. For full social, economic and political Equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in Industry and Trade Unions.
6. For Peace Through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the World Socialist Federation.

What's Going On in Brazil?

By M. LEBRUN

The openly pro-fascist speech of President Vargas of Brazil, coming only twenty-four hours after Roosevelt's violent condemnation of Italy's entrance into the war, was a rude blow to the famous solidarity of the pan-American "democracies."

To save face, Secretary Hull was forced to issue a statement that Vargas' speech was purely an internal matter, having nothing to do with Brazil's foreign policy. The very next day the Brazilian dictator telegraphed the boss in Washington to confirm Hull's interpretation and assure Roosevelt that "Brazil will not fail him in loyalty."

It is obvious that no one, not even Hull, believes Vargas' explanations. But on the other hand that shows how much the White House is ready to accept his open attack on "the old formulas of democracy" just so that he continues to be a loyal lackey of Wall Street.

No Democracy This

As Vargas knows very well, Roosevelt's anti-fascist "crusade" is only directed against Hitler and Mussolini. That is why he cynically says in his telegram that his speech "might cause surprise only to persons devoted to routine, not to a far-seeing mind like that of Roosevelt, who is liberal-minded, progressive and forward-looking."

Roosevelt supports Vargas' corrupt, semi-totalitarian regime—a regime which "burns the books" of all non-conformist authors, which keeps tens of thousands of political prisoners on infested prison islands, which has destroyed the autonomy of the unions and incorporated them into the state, which has outlawed all strikes and suppressed all freedom of speech, press and association, which has made "political crimes" punishable by death, and which holds power only by the terror and dictatorship of a police more inept but just as infamous as Hitler's Gestapo.

Despite Hull's declarations, it is

not so easy to separate internal and foreign policy. The Vargas regime is a military-police dictatorship with no support outside of the army officers and generals. The Ministers of War and the Navy and the Chief of Staff, Goes Monteiro, are known for their Nazi sympathy, and Vargas is their political prisoner. To escape their control he has made several attempts to organize a sort of official party, or national legion, upon which he could base himself; but the generals blocked every attempt. On the other hand, the U.S. Department of State, in order to balance the pressure of the generals and to control Brazil's foreign policy, forced Vargas to accept the pro-Yankee former ambassador to Washington, Oswaldo Aranha, as minister of foreign affairs.

War Pressure

The war has brought with it an increased pressure on Brazil by Yankee imperialism which caused the pro-Nazi elements to retreat. The British blockade cut off commercial relationships with Germany. At the same time, the war has stopped almost half of Brazil's export trade. The result is a terrible deficit in the commercial balance for the first part of this year. And under these unfortunate conditions Washington has forced Vargas to resume payments on the debts owed this country, which had been suspended since 1937, thus disposing of certain credits opened in Brazil's favor by the Federal Reserve Board.

But Yankee pressure is not limited to politics and economics. "Friendly" visits by U.S. cruisers and war-ships to Brazilian ports are increasing. After a prolonged resistance on the part of the generals and the other fascist sympathizers in the government, Roosevelt has finally succeeded in getting Vargas to grant the U.S. certain air and naval bases in Brazil, at several strategic points.

Hitler's spectacular victories and Italy's entrance into the war, have however, given new courage to the fascist elements. Then too all indica-

tions point to the likelihood that they have inspired the fascists of the old Integralist movement, which has been very weak since the unsuccessful putsch of May, 1938, to reorganize their forces. That is the explanation of Vargas' new attempt to break away from the already too severe control of Wall Street.

He also sees the chance of getting more substantial support from Hitler and Mussolini. And he is afraid of an alliance behind his back of the reactionary elements, the officers of the army and navy and the Integralists. That is why he is trying to come to an understanding with the Integralists, whose role it is to give a national and popular character to the Nazi penetration of Brazil.

At the same time he is playing his old game of trying to fool both sides and thus assure his position no matter who wins. Although his personal inclination is towards Hitler, he cannot, now, do without Washington's support. Washington, on its side, knows that it cannot trust him, but still considers him the only guarantee against an ever-possible plot between the generals and the Nazis.

Mass Demonstrations

Roosevelt's trouble is that he cannot get rid of Vargas and the menace of Nazi domination without a demagogic policy of appealing to the Brazilian masses. At present they are largely pro-Ally, and believe in Roosevelt's "democracy." Thus, two days after Vargas' speech a large pro-U.S. demonstration was broken up in Rio. By demonstrating for Roosevelt, the demonstrators wanted above all to show their opposition to Fascism and the Vargas regime. It was such a large and determined demonstration (due to the censorship we do not yet know all the details of its numbers, etc.) that the police had to use revolvers to break it up, and it caused great repercussions throughout the capital.

This was the first political demonstration of such size in Brazil since the coup d'etat of 1937, and may mark an important turning point in the political situation of that country. Although once again the healthy sentiments of the masses have been channeled in a false, capitalist direction, they will soon learn that it is not Yankee imperialism, not Roosevelt, that will deliver Brazil from the tyrant Vargas.

Roosevelt and Wall Street fear above all else a rising of the colonial slaves. That is why they prefer to buy miserable dictators like Vargas or replace them by others of the same stripe, rather than to call the masses into action. That is why they will not be able to capitalize very much on Roosevelt's present popularity. The force of events will push the Brazilian masses in the direction of the only channel that can really satisfy their democratic sentiments and their aspirations: the anti-imperialist and anti-Vargas revolution.

Tax Bill Makes Masses Pay for Boss War

Business Cooperation Assured by Fat Profit Guarantees

Married people earning \$2,000 a year and single persons earning \$800 will now be subject to a direct income tax in order to pay for the huge armament program. Thus Congress has set in motion the machinery by which the masses will pay in dollars as well as in lives for the bosses' war.

At the same time business was assured the bloody booty of war by the Senate Naval Affairs Committee which voted a GUARANTEED profit of 7% on war orders. This merely sets a floor; there is no ceiling.

By extending the income tax to the lower brackets Congress has in effect attacked the standard of living of a large group of workers. As the appropriations for army, navy, airforce, mount we may expect that taxes will be extended to the still poorer layers of the population. (Rising prices, and a multitude of other devices are already taking their toll in poor man's income.)

The accounts of the bill tell us that "Corporation income taxes will be increased slightly." This slight increase in corporation taxes, is especially interesting in view of the report which "shocked" the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, to the effect that \$1,000,000,000 worth of shipbuilding contracts have already been placed on the cost-plus-10-per-cent basis. Simple arithmetic shows the

minimum profit on these transactions to be a round \$100,000,000. But the cost-plus method for figuring profits has become notorious for the profiteering it permitted in the last war. "Cost of productions" can be made to cover a multitude of profits.

Presumably to forestall a protest from the public, the Senate Naval Committee is recommending a reduction to a cost-plus-7-per-cent basis on future contracts. The cost-plus basis being a very roomy one, it may even be made to accommodate the supposed 3% reduction.

Bosses Are Heard

The debate on this question before the aforementioned committee afforded an illuminating commentary upon American democracy and upon the patriotism of the bosses. The latter were well represented by Fred Eaton and Sidney Krause, both members of the boss class and of the president's exclusive Defense Advisory Commission. They were not enthusiastic about LIMITING profits to 7%, saying that the limitation would tend to make the manufacturers "less eager" to cooperate in the necessary production of war materials. The Naval Affairs Committee "compromised" by voting to GUARANTEE 7% and not LIMIT the profits to 7%.

If any members of the \$2,000 mar-

ried income group and the \$800 single income group appeared before the Congressional committees on taxation to state their case against being taxed, not a word was said about it. Of course, none were present. How "eager" these groups are to cooperate does not seem to matter. They can be handled effectively by compulsory military training laws, by conscription, or by being treated as "fifth columnists."

The "eagerness" of the bosses to cooperate is being kept at a high pitch by the incentive of unprecedented profits without heavy taxes. The House and Senate Committees refused to recommend (in an additional tax bill they are discussing) an amendment imposing certain excess profits proposed by Senator LaFollette. However, these committees with great speed recommended to further increase the tax on cigarettes and to include theatre admissions. In the bill already passed, ½% more per gallon was placed on gasoline, and other consumer goods are taxed.

Thus the trend is clear. Plus the other hardships that war is inflicting on the masses, they will suffer from direct taxation, and the purchasing power of the dollar will be lowered even more by taxes on what they buy. For the bosses it will be an entirely different story.

You Are Free When...

Listen, workers, you want to fight for democracy because democracy means freedom—

Ain't you free?

Of course you are. You are free to get up at six or starve to death. You are free to vote Republican or Democrat, and get hooked either way. You are free to work if you can get work. You are free to pay the landlord if you've got dough to pay him. You are free to eat if you got cash or credit. You aren't free if some one else can tell you you'll work or can't work.

You aren't free if you have to choose between boloney and porterhouse steak (with the porterhouse running a bad second).

You aren't free when you have to beg some one to hire your labor.

You will only be free when you own the means whereby you live.

You will only be free when you own the farms—the factories—the mines—the mills. You are free when the public is your boss—and don't you forget that you are the public.

St. Louis Worker

Shachtman on Last Lap of Speaking Tour

At the first of several meetings arranged in Los Angeles for Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, who is now on a nation-wide speaking tour, close to 150 people heard the revolutionary answer to the war-mongers and witch-hunters. That so large an audience turned out to hear the Workers Party spokesman is a tribute to the fine work done by the branch members—accomplished in the face of a rabid campaign against labor organizations. We have already reported in LABOR ACTION the steps taken by the District Attorney, the Associated Farmers, and all those others who constitute the real fifth column against labor and democracy in this country. No other city has yet had to withstand as vicious, and encompassing a drive as had Los Angeles.

Shachtman, now on the last lap of his tour, the largest undertaken by a spokesman for the revolutionary position in many years, has had an unusually successful series of meetings. In San Francisco, Shachtman spoke at a fair-sized meeting which was prevented from being larger by a last minute change in the arrangements. At the last moment, the proprietors of the hall in which the meeting was originally scheduled, denied the use of the place to our branch which was then compelled to seek another hall and issue new publicity. In Oakland, where close to fifty tickets had been sold in advance, over sixty workers were in attendance. They responded to the speaker's remarks with fine enthusiasm and warmth.

In addition to the public meetings, Shachtman has been holding many meetings with the branch members. Social activities of one kind or another have also been held in connection with his visit to the different cities, and money has been raised for the party fund.

TOUR SCHEDULE

MAY 16—JULY 20, 1940

City	Date
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
ALLENTOWN	July 19
PHILADELPHIA	July 20

Spread Strike To Honolulu

NEW YORK, June 24—Twenty-five radio workers, the entire force stationed at Honolulu, struck in sympathy with the 800 locked-out employees of the Radio Corporation of America. Foreign remittance men also struck. Mass picket lines are being maintained at all company centers, as the lock-out went into its second week.

The company continued to refuse to negotiate with the American Communications Association, CIO, the legally elected bargaining agent of the men.

A "back to work" movement, started by the company, was characterized by Mervyn Rathbone, President of the Union, as a failure. Locked-out RCA workers reaffirmed their intention to win a collective bargaining agreement before returning to work.

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Where You Do as You Please

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.

On Civil Liberties

There is still a great deal of difference between Hitler-fascism and Roosevelt "democracy." Trades unions are still allowed to function in this country; we still possess some very important democratic liberties. Only a fool would fail to see that. But it would be a greater fool who failed to see the unmistakable signs of "progress" towards totalitarianism.

The freedom of man to speak and associate as he wishes was one of those principles for which the American colonists fought the British Crown. A man's freedom to THINK as he wishes was never questioned—not here, not in any country based on what little democracy boss rule has allowed. That is to say, it was not questioned in modern times until Mussolini and Hitler came along. Under these gentlemen it did indeed become a crime to think at all.

Now comes the WPA order compelling all individuals working on WPA to state, under threat of being fired for the wrong answer, that they are neither Nazis, Bundists, Communists, Trotskyists or adherents of any of the revolutionary splinter groups. Note: these individuals are not being tested on their ability to work, nor on their diligence, nor on their actions. They are being tested solely for their views. Is this—

The American System?

Yes, unfortunately, it is fast becoming part of the American system. Elsewhere in this issue we publish another in the series of articles on the suppression of vital liberties. Read the facts carefully. For labor must pay close heed to this!

The boss class did not concede labor those liberties that it now enjoys. The right to vote, the right to organize—these and others were wrested from the boss governments over years of bitter struggle. Unions were built in defiance of the bosses and their government agents. Poll taxes were for the most part similarly abolished (for the most part—because a large section of the population is still subject to them.) Every democratic gain was won the hard way—in sacrificing, organized struggle against Ludlow massacres and frameups.

These rights and liberties they now seek to take away from us. Democracy

in any real sense doesn't fit into the scheme of things any longer. The next order of business is WAR—war to glut the pockets of the profit-makers. And to wage that war, to fight the totalitarian nations on the military and economic front, they are gradually totalitarianizing this country.

But just as the people were in the past able to win those liberties that are menaced, can they now defend them. Above all, is this the—

Job of the Unions

Organized labor must act TODAY. Tomorrow, with a totalitarian base already laid, it will be too late.

Liberty is a precious thing—even that caricature of liberty under which we live. Allow the slightest encroachment, and before long all of it will be destroyed. That is what happened in Germany. That is what happened in France.

Under the excuse of resisting fascism, our liberties are being whittled away one by one. To that, labor must rise in forthright answer: "... fascism must be fought and defeated, but we ourselves, through our own organized might, our unions, will do that. Fascism cannot be fought by totalitarian dismissals on WPA. It cannot be fought by those who stand opposed to labor. Labor will take into its own hands the fight against fascism. And in so doing, it will crack every last blow at union standards or civil rights."

Beyond that lies the road of real liberty. In the fight against totalitarianism, in the fight for greater freedom, labor must look forward to creating a system where liberty is not paper-deep—where liberty means emancipation from boss tyranny, and wage slavery, where liberty equals—SOCIALISM!

Negro "Patriotism"

Speaking before a Chicago conference on Employment Problems of the Negro, Lawrence Oxley, a Negro army officer in the last war, said that if Negroes are not given jobs they "may become the nucleus of fifth column maneuverings." Oxley also informed his audience that although Negroes were "innately patriotic and loyal under ordinary circumstances, are nonetheless susceptible to un-American propaganda when the conditions under which they live foster such a change."

What does Oxley mean by Negroes being "innately patriotic under ordinary circumstances?" When was the time in this country when Negroes could be innately patriotic and loyal? What are "ordinary circumstances" for Negroes? Could they be "innately patriotic and loyal" during and after the last war when they were being jim-crowed and lynched to help make the world safe for democracy?

Does Oxley or any other Negro leader believe that his race—which is pushed into the gutter, which is spit upon, continually degraded and made to understand that it has no country—can possibly be patriotic and loyal? Loyal to what? Patriotic for what? Loyal to Roosevelt who hasn't said one word in support of the Anti-Lynching Bill? Loyal to his supporters in the Democratic Party whose hands are red with the blood of countless Negro victims of the mob? Loyal to the Republican Party scoundrels whose indifference to Negro rights is exceeded only by their pious hypocrisy? Loyal to the boss system of oppression and poverty?

And what is this "fifth column" rubbish in relation to the Negro? The Workers Party advocates and struggles for political, social and economic equality for Negroes. We say to Negroes: carry on this fight in peace time and war time. We say to Negroes and all other workers: your main enemy is right here in the United States. Here is where you are disfranchised, segregated and lynched. Begin your struggle against the main enemy. Do your fighting here.

The "Democrats" Act: (3) To Destroy Labor's Standards

In this, the third of a series of articles LABOR ACTION is presenting on Roosevelt's blitzkrieg drive toward a totalitarian state, the widespread anti-labor moves of the Federal government are reviewed.

By WILLIAM PETERSEN

The current attack on labor by FDR and his FBI boys did not begin last week. More than a year ago, in preparation for the war that had not yet started, important steps were taken against various unions, and by implication against the working class in general.

For example, in the Fansteel case, sit-down strikes were declared illegal, and a broad path was opened for the evasion of all New Deal labor legislation. The Supreme Court admitted that the company had used illegal union-busting tactics, but because the workers had staged a sit-down—had also behaved "illegally"—the company got off scot free. A sign was hung out: "Invitation to the Frame-up."

In another very important decision, a lower court awarded the Apex Hosiery Company damages of almost three-quarters of a million dollars against the union. Based on the prohibition of restraint of trade in the Sherman Act, which was passed in the 1890's, the decision pointedly ignored the 1914 Clayton Act, which

specifically exempted trade unions from this prohibition. Only this month the Supreme Court reversed this decision, but it was made clear that the general principle of the lower court was held correct: "We must regard the question whether labor unions are to some extent and in some circumstances subject to the (Sherman) act as settled in the affirmative." In other words, under certain circumstances, not defined by the Court, a union can be put into bankruptcy after every strike.

MANY BLOWS

In the little more than a year since these two decisions, labor has suffered many blows. It was told that it could not strike against the government, and in Minneapolis some 32 militants were arrested for doing so. The FBI acted against a whole series of unions, beginning with the powerful Teamsters. One state after another—Oregon, Minnesota, Wisconsin, New Jersey—passed vicious anti-labor laws. But it took the fifth column hysteria of the past month to set the Roosevelt Reaction in full stride. Such semi-fascist groups as the Associated Farmers in California welcomed a new excuse to beat up union organizers and led in the organization of patriotic anti-fifth-columnists.

Three bits of proposed legislation in the mass that has been offered

since Hitler marched into Holland, are worthy of special attention. These are the Hoffman bill concerning strikes in war industries and the moves to alter or repeal the Walsh-Healey and the Wagner Labor Relations Acts.

When the Kearney shipyard workers struck for a ten-cent hourly raise they started a storm of protest in Congress that left no question how much longer the gentlemen there would tolerate such strikes. Georgia's Cox thought the strike "tantamount to treason." Secretary of the Navy Edison, in milder but also more responsible terms, said, "We cannot afford to have trouble of this sort in these times."

Representative Hoffman of Michigan did more than add to the general denunciation; he offered a bill requiring workers in factories producing "anything" for defense purposes to sign contracts outlawing strikes. There is little likelihood that this particular bill will pass, but it is nonetheless important as a straw in the wind.

STRIKE-BREAKING

When the United Automobile Workers Union threatened a strike against the Timken-Detroit Axle Company, War Secretary Woodring sent his representative out to Ohio to help the boss beat the strike. Lewis has announced that the CIO intends to organize the aircraft industry, and if he does make the attempt it is certain that the drive will not even begin without clashes with the government. On the other side, in testifying for the Vinson navy expansion bill (which has since been scrapped as inadequate), Admiral Samuel M. Robinson, coordinator of ship construction, called for upping workers' hours from 40 to 48.

Naval officials have supported the move to repeal the Walsh-Healy Act, providing for a maximum 40 hour week in companies working under government contract, and requiring that these corporations pay their workers not less than the "prevailing minimum wages" as determined by the U.S. Secretary of Labor. In the steel industry, for example, a minimum wage of 60 cents an hour has been established under this law. If the act is repealed this rate can be reduced to the 30 cent hourly minimum provided for in the Wages and Hours Act.

REVISING NLRA

But the most important of the current moves is the projected revision of the National Labor Relations Act. This has not quite been the magna carta of labor, as one liberal called it, but it has given important assistance to organization drives of every union. The so-called amendments, introduced by Virginia's arch-reactionary Smith and passed in the House by 258 to 129, are not revisions; they wipe out the total effect of the law.

The new law would be administered by one man, assisted by a three-man bi-partisan committee with judicial powers only. The administrator, subject to more rigid control than a group, would direct investigations and prosecute complaints before the board. Decisions would be made by a preponderance of evidence, rather than by substantial evidence as under the existing law. "So far as practicable," the board's procedure would be wrapped in the red tape of legal rules of evidence.

There could be only one election in a plant in one year, and the boss as well as the workers could petition for an election. Thus at the beginning of an organizational drive, the employer could call for an election and be safe for the next year. Before the elections, the bosses are given full rights to circulate their views among their employees, provided such acts are not accompanied by "coercion, intimidation, discrimination, or threats."

Other still more reactionary features are introduced. Sit-down strikes are in effect outlawed. Employers can refuse to bargain with aliens acting as union spokesmen. A twelve month limit is set on back pay for reinstated employees who are fired in violation of the National Labor Relations Act.

This bill is supported by William Green, after a last minute deal with Congressman Smith. He got a few minor concessions for the defense of the sectional interests of craft unions, and helped put over the bill which is directed as much against the AFL unions as those of the CIO.

The CIO is conducting a drive in all unions, including locals of the AFL, for resolutions expressing opposition to the destruction of existing labor legislation now being undertaken in Congress. All militant workers should support this campaign for defense of workers' standards and union rights.

Our Readers Take the Floor...

REPORTS A TYPICAL THOMAS SPEECH

Dear Editor:

Norman Thomas, Socialist Party spokesman, addressed a large meeting on June 19 on the question of America and the war.

Throughout his speech, Thomas took great care to make it clear that his heart is with the Allies, and that he favors "adequate national defense" for this country.

Though Mr. Thomas opposes Roosevelt's conscription drive, he stated that "I have the highest respect for men who as individuals volunteer to fight in Europe." Among the reasons he gave for opposing American entry into the war in Europe was: "It would be monstrous folly for a nation as unprepared as ours to throw itself into war at this time." The audience was left to speculate as to whether the Socialist Party is merely waiting till the U.S. is better prepared before it declares itself for intervention.

Mr. Thomas attacked the government's use of the "Trojan horse" and "fifth column" scares to hamstring American labor and blackout civil liberties in preparation for war. However, he left this point hanging in the air by demanding effective detective work to find "spies" without clearly defining "detective work" or "spies."

The general impression left with the audience was that though Thomas and the Socialist Party oppose American participation in the war, they are leaving a broad avenue open to giving the government critical support in a war for "hemisphere defense." Larry O'Connor Pittsburgh, Pa.

This Writer Is Way Off the Mark

Editor:

What we need to discover is some kind of psychological thought which will find a way of eradicating the wish for war. There should be some way of immunizing the thought of people against any wish for war. Nothing seems to stop them now.

The voice against war is the voice of human reason and the voice of true humanity. Let us go into a philosophical study of the nature of man to find out why he rejects the best wisdom you and I can offer while he follows after the war-monger. Some stray thought we may have might be a key to immunizing man against war.

Yours,
C. P.
Chicago.

We're afraid that you are all wrong. The wish for war is confined to insane asylums and profit-makers. The great mass of people wants war so little, is so overwhelmingly against war that the war-mongers must resort to the most brazen lies and demagoguery. Note the Gallup polls. If the masses are "won over" to war it will not be because of their bad "psychology"; it will more likely be because of the terrific pressure of false propaganda—and terror against those who resist. Were wars the result of "psychology" it would be a relatively simple matter to fight it. Unfortunately, wars are the result of forces quite independent of anyone's "psychology"—they are the result of a system of greed and profit which requires war for its sustenance.—Ed.

Progressives Win Food Election

NEW YORK—For the first time in three years the Stalinist machine in the Cafeteria Employees Union, Local 302 has gone down to defeat in the special presidential election held this week. Bill Kincheloe, one of the founders of the progressive movement in the local, running as the candidate of the United Orange Ticket received 2,400 votes, defeating Costas Dritsas who received 2,150 votes.

The special election was caused by the resignation of President Mesevich, now manager of the New York Joint Board. Mesevich, whose Culinary Trades Unity Club had been aligned in a coalition administration with the Stalinists, had seen his group fall apart during the last six months as the Opposition grew. Finally, during the last few days before the election, the membership of the Club repudiated some of their leading officials by voting to endorse Kincheloe. On Election Day, Mesevich campaigned for the Orange Ticket. All through the election campaign, old timers, who had never before supported the progressives, flocked to their banner and campaigned for Kincheloe.

The Stalinists put everything they had into the campaign. Never in the history of the local did any group spend so much money and effort on an election campaign. Dritsas was their strongest possible candidate, the only Stalinist in the union with even a slight chance of winning—because of his Greek nationality, and because he had organized the 1000 workers of the Exchange Buffet chain into an efficient voting block in the two years that he was their business agent. With his failure the Stalinist machine in the local is broken, and the prospect of a clean sweep for the Orange Ticket in the general elections six months from now seems assured.

The Local 302 victory is the second progressive victory in three weeks. Three weeks ago, in Local 325, the Brooklyn Cooks and Countermaids Union, the Stalinists were swept out of office. Here, a spontaneous rank and file revolt arose—there was no long struggle to build a progressive movement. It is hoped that the new officials in Local 325 will follow truly progressive, militant policies.

Is the Lovestone Group Going to Back the Allies?

Is the Lovestone Group going to support the Allies in the present war? Already their leading union spokesman, Charles Zimmerman, manager of Local 22 ILGWU, at the recent International convention, voted in favor of the majority pro-Ally resolution, calling for support of Roosevelt's fraudulent "short of war" aid to Anglo-French imperialism.

The Workers Age, while maintaining silence on Zimmerman's action, comments editorially on the convention resolution.

"With all its entirely proper denunciation of the totalitarian dictators and declaration of sympathy for the Allies, even with all its expressions of confidence—misplaced, in our opinion—in the President's foreign policy, the convention... might at least have repeated the stirring declaration of William Green that the United States should remain out of war." (June 22—Our Emphasis).

In endorsing the convention's "declaration of sympathy for the Allies," the editorial implicitly takes issue with the minority position which condemned both camps in the war. It merely commends that section of the minority report which opposed American involvement in the war.

While Zimmerman supported the pro-war resolution, other Lovestoneite delegates voted for the minority anti-war resolution introduced by Louis Nelson, manager of the Knitgoods Workers Union. But apparently neither expressed the official viewpoint of the Lovestone group...

AN "IN-BETWEEN" POSITION

The Lovestone group, which in recent years has given uncritical support to the middle class isolationist movement led by the La Follette and Wheeler, is now seeking to develop an "in-between" position: against Roosevelt's program of involving the U.S. in the war and for "sympathy" with the Allies.

If such sympathy has any practical political meaning it signifies support of Anglo-French imperialism in the present war; and this regardless of eloquent criticisms of the imperialist democracies. As yet, the Lovestoneites have not drawn this logical conclusion.

However, in the current Workers Age, Jay Lovestone and Will Herberg each initiate the first of a series of discussion articles re-examining the revolutionary socialist position on the war. Herberg finds that an "allied victory (is) far preferable" to a Fascist victory but does not state what practical consequences follow. Lovestone rediscovered quotations from Marx and Engels (on the Franco-Prussian War)—the same quotations used by the German Social Democrats in the last war to justify their social patriotic position—and suggests that since a German Fascist victory will destroy for a long time the possibilities of working class revolution, it is necessary to support the Allies today.

Though these are the first articles in their re-evaluation, and they therefore have not stated their full conclusions, the leaders of the Lovestone group are moving towards open support of the Allies. Will the ranks follow?

(On another occasion we will discuss the Lovestone and Herberg series in detail.)

50,000 Informers

The 1941 Federal Emergency Relief Appropriations Act bars "aliens, communists, and members of any Nazi Bund organization" from WPA employment. Lieut. Col. Brehon B. Somervell, director of WPA in NYC assures us that Communists include members of the "splinter groups" in the labor movement. We are correct in assuming that "Nazi Bund organization" does not include native American fascists: Coughlinites, silver-shirters, vigilantes, etc.

There seems to be, according to Lieut. Col. B. B. Somervell, some difficulty in spotting the "subversive elements." They tried to conceal their real views and affiliations—like some presidential candidates and congressmen. The FBI, the NYC police, the WPA Investigation Bureau are, evidently, not enough to ferret them out.

Through the medium of the press he invites 50,000 "responsible individuals" to write him letters in regard to the individual "subversive elements" on WPA. The letters must be signed and their authors must be motivated by the highest ideals. No grudge letters will be considered. Whoever heard of the FBI or WPA Investigation Unit ever giving credence to an anonymous letter?

And if the evidence showing that an individual is a "Communist, etc." is not conclusive? No possibility has escaped Lieut. Col. B. B. Somervell. He admits himself competent to "function as the court of last resort in determining whether a person entertained subversive views." His modesty is almost discernible.

We are cheered to learn that "subversive elements" dismissed from lucrative WPA jobs may be eligible for relief. Last year it was necessary to give half the aliens dropped from WPA home relief. Commissioner William Hodson, NYC Department of Welfare regrets that "There is nothing in the Public Welfare Law that would permit us to discriminate against Communists or Nazis or any other group."

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