

We Address The Workers Of the C. I. O.

LABOR ACTION

NOVEMBER 18, 1940

Organ of the Workers Party of the United States

THREE CENTS

INDEPENDENT LABOR ACTION IS THE ROAD TO FREEDOM!

Dear Brothers:

As loyal and interested members of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, most of your attention now is probably centered on Atlantic City where your annual convention is being held. We of the Workers Party also have an intense interest in your convention. We, like you, are mightily concerned with the things your convention will do and what the outcome of the convention will be. As workers we want to discuss with you some of the issues facing workers in the United States and specifically some of the issues that we suppose will come before your convention.

The most important questions facing the labor movement in the United States and your convention are: 1. The Second World Imperialist War. 2. Organizing the Unorganized Workers. 3. Trade Union Actions for Higher Wages and Shorter Hours. 4. The Right to Strike. 5. Internal Union Democracy. 6. Political Independence of the Unions. 7. Maintaining Unity of CIO. 8. Unity of the Whole Labor Movement in the U.S.

We Present Our Credentials

1. We think it is your right to know something about the Workers Party, what we stand for, what are our beliefs and why we are so concerned with your convention. That is, we want to present our credentials for your approval.

Some of you have heard of the Workers Party. Some of you have read our paper, LABOR ACTION, our monthly magazine, the NEW INTERNATIONAL and pamphlets that we have published dealing with important questions facing workers.

Thousands of workers who read the papers on February 21, 1939 know about the great anti-fascist demonstration against the German-American Bund at Madison Square Garden in New York City on February 20, 1939. It was the leaders of the present Workers Party who were the organizers and leaders of that militant outpouring of workers against fascism.

Not only is the Workers Party an anti-fascist party but an anti-war party. Every week our paper, LABOR ACTION, carries articles and editorials discussing the war with workers and explaining that this is an imperialist war and why workers should be opposed to it.

Men and women of the Workers Party are active members of the trade unions, both CIO and AFL. They function in their unions just like you: as loyal, disciplined and militant trade unionists, fighting together with their union brothers and sisters for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions.

Our party is an organization of militant workers with a workers economic and political program. We are a part of the working class movement, a part of its history, traditions and activity. We are not "outsiders" coming to the labor movement as strangers. We are workers and participants in the struggles of the working class.

These, in brief, are our credentials. These are some of the reasons why we are interested in your organization and in your convention. As a part of the labor movement we, like every other workers' organization have the right and the duty to take part in every aspect of labor organization and activity.

We have already said what we believe to be the most important questions facing the labor movement. All of these matters will be involved in the discussions that will take place in your convention. These questions will also come up in one form or another at the AFL convention that will be held simultaneously with your convention.

The Ruling Class Is For War

First Comes the War. This is the decisive question before the working class today. Workers and worker's organizations must take a position on the war and it must be a position based on a worker's program and the interests and needs of the working class. Neither your organization nor the AFL has taken such a position yet. The CIO and its constituent organizations have only followed after the ruling class; that is, on the question of the war your organization has trailed along with the bosses and the government. All of your leaders support the war. They support the efforts of the ruling class to drag you into another imperialist slaughter just as they did in 1917. In his radio speech, just before the election, John L. Lewis said some very harsh things about Roosevelt and war preparations. This could not mean much because Lewis was supporting Willkie who was just as much for entry into the war as Roosevelt.

All of the ruling class is for war. Not because they want to defend democracy but because they want to defend capitalism in the United States, their imperialist interests in such places as China and South America, their profits, and the present system of exploitation and wage slavery. It is for this that the government has drafted the workers into the army. It is for this that the ruling class is sending the workers off to die on the battlefields.

The bosses have made it very clear that what we say here is true. They look upon the war not only as a means of perpetuating their rule and their profits, but they also intend to make huge profits out of the war itself. You know what they are doing and there is no need for details. They want to scrap all the labor legislation, they want to break up the unions, they want every obstacle removed that might stand in the way of unlimited profits for themselves.

The bosses and government officials try to camouflage their real aims by telling us that they want to fight against fascism and for democracy. Well, they fooled us once on this business of fighting for democracy but we mustn't let them fool us again. We really want to fight against fascism and for democracy; for workers democracy but we can't do it under the bosses' government and in the bosses' army. We can't trust the ruling class and the ruling class government to fight for us and represent us. They will betray our trust and confidence. The only government that we can have any confidence in is a WORKERS GOVERNMENT. The only army that we could depend on to fight for our freedom is an army led and controlled by the workers.

The war will probably come up for discussion in your convention. The only possible working class answer to the war preparations of the ruling class is to come out with the strongest possible resolution against the war because it is an imperialist war and therefore it is against the interests of the working class.

(Continued in editorial column, page 4)

It All Depends!



Cartoon by La Verne Wilson, Reprinted Through the Courtesy of the American Guardian

Union Presidency Issue at CIO Convention

Sees Possibility Of Murray Being Elected President

By MIKE STEVENS

The third and most important convention of the CIO opens at Atlantic City on Monday, November 18.

The entire CIO has been thrown into turmoil over John L. Lewis' endorsement of Wendell Willkie. Even those few workers who wholeheartedly agreed with John L.'s criticism of Roosevelt were shocked by his endorsement of Willkie, to them the embodiment of reaction.

As soon as Roosevelt was elected,

the unions close to Sidney Hillman were instructed to send telegrams to Lewis demanding his resignation. The Textile officials are under Hillman's thumb because the Amalgamated Clothing Workers financed the organization drive in Textile and many of the Textile officials are still officers of the Amalgamated and paid by it. The Retail & Wholesale Employees International is also indebted to Hillman and its officials look upon Hillman as their ideologi-

cal leader. Other internationals such as the Rubber Workers are repudiating Lewis because they want the future president of the CIO to be someone amenable to the politics of the Roosevelt administration. Another factor guiding these Internationals is their fear that Lewis will stand in the way of merger with the AFL.

All these and many other CIO unions recognize Hillman as the liaison officer between the CIO and Roosevelt, but they don't want him as president of the CIO. The workers think politics are a necessary evil—Roosevelt is in, we should have someone close to him, but we have no confidence in Hillman as head of our trade union movement. That is why even the unions closest to Hillman were dismayed when the word came down that Hillman was seeing FDR to ask to be relieved of his National Defense post to run for president of the CIO. Hillman was laying his plans so that if Lewis did not resign, Hillman would announce his availability as a candidate and expect to be elected on the strength of the Roosevelt victory, knowing that Murray would not run against John L.

It is likely that John L. Lewis is going to resign. Unless Lewis can come to a convention with a machine that will push him in and proclaim him the "savior", John L. will not risk an ignominious defeat. Lewis will not sit on a platform and permit delegate "A" to speak for him and delegate "B" against. He stepped out of this political atmosphere long ago. He may therefore seek to forestall a Hillman move by shoving Murray in.

At this moment, it is not known definitely if Hillman will make a bid for the throne against Murray. If he does not, Murray will be elected with virtually no opposition.

I am subscribing —

Enclosed find _____ for a _____ subscription to Labor Action.
Name _____
Address _____
City _____

Labor Must Not Repeat The Mistake Of Voting For The Bosses' Candidates

Now that the presidential elections are over it is necessary to take stock of what was decided on November 5.

During the heat of the campaign, Democratic and Republican spokesmen called each other pretty near every uncomplimentary name in our rich vocabulary. Each side claimed that the victory of the other would mean the end of the "American way of life," etc., etc.

The workers were taken in by the Rooseveltians. It was not difficult to show them that Wall Streets' avowed choice for president, Willkie, was not their man, that he would do the bidding of the monopolists in cracking down on labor, mutilate the existing social legislation in the interests of big business profits, and hurl the U.S. into full participation in the war when the plutocrats so decided.

Teachers Face Union-Busting 'Investigation'

Special to Labor Action

The Teachers Union of New York City is being menaced by an ingenious union-busting device cooked up by the investigating lawyers for the New York State Legislature. The Rapp-Coudert legislative inquiry into the public schools has demanded that the union turn over its books, including its entire membership list, to the investigating committee. On the advice of the union's lawyer, President Charles J. Hendley of the union refused to submit to this request, and has been cited for contempt.

The Rapp-Coudert investigation was set up by last year's legislature, first to investigate conditions in the public schools of the state with a view to possible economies and increased efficiency, and second, to investigate subversive influences in the New York City school system. In pursuing the second part of its work, the committee uncovered an injudicious remark made by Hendley a few years ago to the effect that if there were Communists in the city school system, they would all be in the Union. The committee has made this the pretext for confining all its witch-hunting to the union. Union members and ex-unionists have been questioned by the committee in an effort to find stool-pigeons or finger-men for the investigation.

Purpose Is Clear

It is obvious to the labor movement that the investigation is designed to cripple the schools and reduce the union to impotence. The "possible economies" that the committee would recommend will of course be wholesale slashes in the budget for state aid to education, and the committee has refrained from reporting probably because it wishes to time the report with a demand for budget-cutting in next January's legislative session. The other half of the committee's work will be an attempt to prejudice the public against the schools in order to weaken labor's fight for state aid to education. As a part of the war preparations, the investigators will try first to get the Communists out of the schools if they can find them, but, more important, to smash the Teachers Union by using the membership lists to intimidate the teachers and to scare them out of the labor movement.

More ominous even than these aspects, however, is the method being

(Continued on page 2)

Role of Union Leaders

The Hillmans and Murrays and Tobins ably assisted in deceiving the workers as to the true record and program of Roosevelt. They pictured Roosevelt as "labor's man" against the big business candidate, Willkie. They are successful salesmen who will no doubt be rewarded handsomely by their boss.

John L. Lewis, on the other hand, didn't do so well. He bet on the wrong horse. While he recognized the reactionary character of Roosevelt's plans, he refused to take the only progressive course open to him: organize an independent labor party based on the unions, a party with its own candidates and program, against both the Democrats and the Republicans. Instead, he reverted to his old allegiance, the Republican Party, and supported the nominee of Girdler and Lamont. The workers did not follow him.

(Continued on page 4)

Sylvia Ageloff Freed

Trial Judge Raul Carranca Trujillo, in charge of the Mexican government's investigation into the murder of Leon Trotsky, has ordered the release of Sylvia Ageloff. The news, which we shall try to supplement with additional details in the next issue of LABOR ACTION, comes as a welcome report to her many friends in the Workers Party. Not for a single moment during the entire investigation was there any real suspicion that Sylvia might have been implicated in the horrible crime. LABOR ACTION, as well as all members of the Trotsky household, has insisted from the first that Sylvia was completely innocent.

Sylvia Ageloff was arrested by the Mexican police after Trotsky was murdered by Frank Jackson, GPU agent. Because Jackson had used her friendship as a cloak for his foul scheme, Sylvia was held by the police, although it was obvious from the start that she had no connection whatsoever with the crime, except as innocent dupe. In the investigation, Sylvia testified against Jackson, exploding at each turn his attempts to hide facts and distort testimony. It is not yet known if the investigation of Jackson has been completed. It is to be hoped, however, that the Mexican police will press the investigation until every strand leading from the GPU to Jackson is fully exposed.

With the Labor Unions On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

"NATIONAL UNITY" CAMPAIGN IS A FRAUD

The election is over and labor papers and organizations are rejoicing over the fact that "labor" was responsible for the defeat of Willkie and the Roosevelt "landslide." The workers and their leaders are calling the election a victory for them; democracy has been saved and the workers are secure in their rights.

"Labor," organ of the railroad brotherhoods, however is constrained to add a word of caution. "It would be a great error however to draw from Tuesday's verdict the inference that the American workers have approved all the President has done; that they believe he has done all he might have done; or that they have blindly followed him in the past or will do so in the future.

THE ISSUE REMAINS: CLASS AGAINST CLASS

These are fighting words from the 60 Families, from Wall Street, from the Chambers of Commerce, from the Girdlers, Morgans, Fords; from the real masters of the country. They have lost for the moment because "decent principles" did not count at the polls. With real class consciousness they intend to carry on against this "scum of the earth" that re-elected Roosevelt.

What are these "ancient and honored gods" in whose cause the gang represented by the Sun will continue to struggle? They all can be summed up in two words: capitalism and imperialism. They will continue the struggle for the highest possible profits and the lowest possible wages. They will continue their fight against relief to the unemployed and WPA. They will fight against the unions. They will continue to demand the right to hire scabs, spies and armed thugs. They will continue to fight for complete and direct control of the government, in the name of their clique. Even if Roosevelt makes an effort to preserve the labor legislation, this gang will never consent, nor will it submit.

Here is the chief danger point for the workers. They cannot trust Roosevelt to protect their interests now, anymore than they could the past seven years. Roosevelt too is a child of Wall Street and will remain so. He will bow to the will and the demands of the 60 Families. They are the masters of this country, not Roosevelt and the little "New Dealers" like Ickes, Wallace and the rest. It is the 60 Families that own and control the land, mines, mills, factories and banks. They will have their pound of flesh and all the

OUT OF WORKERS' TOIL CAME HUGE BOSS PROFITS

The total dividends paid by about 1,000 corporations, banks and insurance companies for the first ten months of the four years, 1937 to 1940, amount to \$11,179,910,487. That is, for 40 months of 1937-40 workers produced enough wealth so that people who don't work might get eleven billion dollars. This is what workers were voting for when they re-elected Roosevelt.

Fourteen rubber companies had profits of \$37,000,000 in 1938 and \$62,000,000 in 1939. In 1938 these 14 companies paid dividends amounting to \$15,000,000. In 1939 these same companies paid \$24,000,000 in dividends.

The workers of the Pittsburgh

could read we never discovered that the leaders of labor had any such awareness. (Lewis seemed to have had such awareness but his cure was far worse than the disease, as LABOR ACTION pointed out after Lewis made his support Girdler-Willkie speech.)

What the workers may expect from the most reactionary section of the ruling class was explained by the New York Sun the day following the election. This gang, as explained in the Sun has no intention of yielding. They will carry on the fight for their ideas and principles. The New York Times announced on Saturday that "Willkie Men Plan Strong Opposition To Curb New Deal."

"The verdict of the people is given," says the Sun, "but that verdict does not deprive the minority of its continuing and undying right to fight on for the basic principles which Mr. Willkie and his followers supported. . . . This was the Battle of America. . . . It is lost for the moment, because of the billions in money that the winner spent. . . . in this hour the twilight of our ancient and honored gods seems to descend upon us, let us remember that night has not yet fallen. . . . if zeal, if honest anger at injustice, if enthusiasm for decent principles could have counted at the polls, yesterday would have been a victory for Willkie."

Roosevelts in the land cannot prevail against them.

"The twilight of our ancient and honored gods seems to descend upon us," says the Sun, but "night has not fallen yet." No; not yet. The bringing of night to this gang and the complete destruction of the ancient and honored gods is the task of the working class. This was the workers' job before the election, it remains their main job after the election. It's not Roosevelt's job and he won't do it. He will stay with his class and defend their interests.

The workers must stand guard now as never before. They did not break from the two old parties. It is not too late to assert our class independence. The main issue is the war. Keep an eye on Roosevelt and Willkie. Don't trust a single member of the ruling class. They are all for entry into the war. Not one of them can be depended on to fight for our interests on any front. Only the workers can do that.

Don't listen to the national unity talk. Learn from the ruling class as they have expressed themselves in the Sun editorial. They say "to hell with national unity." They are correct. They know that "national unity" is a fraud. They know that there can be no reconciliation between the workers and the bosses. The 60 Families know that the class struggle must go on, that they must continue to fight the working class.

The only "national unity" permissible for the workers is unity of the working class on a national and world scale. Unity of the workers against exploitation, against capitalism, against the imperialist war.

Plate Glass Company and the Inland Steel toiled and sweated so well for their bosses that these companies were in a position this year to pay a five dollar dividend instead of repeating last year's \$4.00 dividend.

Roosevelt said in his Brooklyn speech just before the election that he was a firm believer in "free enterprise." And what is "free enterprise"? It is the kind of social order that grudgingly grants the workers who produce the wealth a starvation wage while it at the same time gives the idle rich owners eleven billions in four years. This is what the workers perpetuated when they voted for Roosevelt.

LABOR ACTION

114 W. 14th Street
New York City

Dear Friends:

I am interested in learning more about the Workers Party and its fight against the bosses' war plans.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Brockton Shoe Union Considering CIO Affiliation

Special to Labor Action

BROCKTON, Mass.—The Brotherhood of Shoe & Allied Craftsmen, an independent shoe workers union is seriously considering affiliation with the United Shoe Workers of America (CIO).

The Brotherhood has 10,000 members in 16 Locals in and around the city of Brockton. The move for affiliation is being pushed by rank and file committees of workers who realize the importance of a national union. They point out, among other things, that the shoe industry is unique among the large industries of America. The shoe-machinery companies own the machinery in the factories, so that when the workers demand salary increases and bettering of conditions, the manufacturer packs up his office equipment and moves to another city. The shoe industry is known as a carnival, an industry on wheels. The large factories manufacture only a small percentage of the shoes made. Only a national union can cope with this situation.

Some Opposition

The officials of the union are not openly fighting the affiliation move because the rank and file sentiment is entirely for it. But in many ways they are trying to discourage it. Over a period of years they have built up small jobs in the Locals for themselves. There are 85 officials in the 16 Locals. Business Agents, Presidents, executive board members, sergeant at arms, all receiving weekly salaries ranging from \$5.00 to \$50.00. If affiliation with the CIO goes through, the workers are going to consolidate the 16 Locals into 5 Locals and this will mean abolishment of at least two-thirds of these pie-cakes.

Another group that is hoping affiliation will, at least, be postponed are the Stalinists in the USWA. They had hopes of capturing the USWA at the next convention, but with the Brotherhood membership coming in at this time, it will counter-balance the votes of the Stalinist controlled New York section of the Union.

But the workers are determined that they want to affiliate and from all indications nobody can stop them.

"Democracy" at Work

The British authorities in their India colony have forbidden publication of any paper, magazines, leaflets, etc., opposing the imperialist war into which India has been dragged against its will. In addition, no publication may mention anti-war meetings or speeches that are made in the country.

As a result of this action, practically all Congress nationalist publications will have to suspend indefinitely. Mahatma Gandhi has already announced that he will cease publication of his famous weekly paper, "Harijan," in protest against this latest demonstration of British authoritarian rule.

These edicts are closely related to a heightening of nationalist tension produced by the limited anti-war, civil disobedience campaign now being conducted by Gandhi and the Congress movement. Nationalist leaders of India estimate that at least 10,000 of their followers have been placed in the concentration camps of the British police authorities for the "crime" of advocating independence for their country.

Breaking Through the Oriental Censorship

Ceylon: The Island of Paradise

By SHERMAN STANLEY

COLUMBO, Ceylon — American tourists in great numbers used to call at this large island lying off the southernmost tip of India, while en route to Bombay. All this has halted since the war—along with Ceylon's vital-international trade in rubber, copra and tea. Out here the effect of the war is not as direct as in Europe, but just as bad. Trade, communications, almost all necessary supplies are cut off as the Axis snips, one by one, the threads of the British Empire. If Egypt falls, then Churchill's warning that all imperial communications may cease will become a reality for Ceylon and India.

This amazingly beautiful tropical island has been called in tourist literature blubs the "Pearl of India", "The Garden of Eden", an "Oriental Paradise", etc. So far as its scenic beauty is concerned, for once the blubs are true.

It's Hell For Bosses

As for Ceylon being a "Paradise" that is true in another sense, with a slight modification. It is a "Paradise" for nationalists, revolutionists and colonial workers and peasants striving to rid themselves of Britain's death grip. But for the English plantation owners and the British authorities it is far from a "Paradise"! It is a Hell on Earth!

And all this is due to the famous (in Asiatic circles) Lanka Sama Samaj Party—the Ceylon Socialist Party. This Party, originating a bare 5 years back, has grown with great speed and assumed leadership over the island's labor and peasant movement. Particularly strong is its influence among the hundreds of thousands of Tamil tea laborers who are the proletarians of Ceylon.

It is worth while mentioning the reasons that lie behind the success of the Sama Samajists. I would summarize them as two-fold.

First, over a period of years they steadily evolved their own revolutionary political program, clarifying its practical and immediate details. They learned the doctrines of revolutionary Marxism and faced the War with a clear program—against both imperialist war camps; for the colonial socialist revolution.

Secondly, these comrades—most of whom came from middle class backgrounds—deliberately set out to make themselves revolutionary leaders. By their energy, total devotion to the Sinhalese people and dynamic participation in the daily lives and struggles of the island's workers and peasants they have succeeded. Today their leadership is unrivaled and recognized by all—including the clique of British planters who dominate Ceylon's politics. Every labor strike, every peasant move, every anti-war action, every progressive political step is guided by the Cey-

Teachers—

(Continued from page 1)

used. If the legislators succeed in convicting Handley of contempt and in seizing the membership lists, they will have made a precedent for wrecking every union in the state. That is why practically all unions throughout the state have offered their support to the Teachers Union and Handley in fighting the contempt proceedings. All of labor knows that if the fight is lost in this case, more unions will be endangered in a very short time. The Rapp-Coudert investigation is the opening move in the union-busters' campaign.

lon Socialist Party! It has won the justified support and protection of the masses whom it serves.

Threats Fail

Since the war began the Party has been systematically attacked and threatened by the British authorities. Driven underground by repressive measures, it functions with almost as much effectiveness as previously. Here are several illustrations: When its two members in the Ceylon State Council were jailed for delivering anti-war speeches and demanding Ceylon's independence, the Party organized a demonstration of many thousands of workers within 24 hours. The demonstrators defiantly marched to the jail where their leaders were being held, organized a mass meeting, sang revolutionary songs and listened to their leaders who spoke through the bars of their cells!

The island is plastered at regular intervals with posters expressing revolutionary demands and numerous leaflets containing stirring messages from Party leaders are broadcast. The illegal publications of the Party appear with a regularity most an-

noying to the British. In the numerous strikes on Ceylon's tea plantations these comrades have had a leading role. Some strikes have been bloody affairs, with the planters not hesitating to murder and employ all sorts of violence against the strikers. But the laborer's union has stood firm and continues to press its demands.

Internationalists

In various court cases and trials the Sama Samajists have made it abundantly clear in their testimony that they are internationalists, having no interest in either of the warring camps. Accused of being "Fifth Columnists" their answer was that they oppose Hitler first of all by fighting the British authorities and plantation masters who have adopted all the methods of Hitler in this colony.

The British have given up any hope of winning the masses of Ceylon to their side in the war. Instead, they aim solely at suppressing the Party as much as possible, terrorizing its leaders, preventing the spread of its influence to India and adjacent sections of their Empire. Their ob-

jective is to hold on to power by sheer military force and weight. So far as destroying the Sama Samaj Party is concerned, they do not have the ghost of a chance because its roots have sunk far too deep.

In Ceylon we have a brilliant example of what can be achieved by a fighting party of genuine socialists. It is also an illustration of independent action on the part of the masses; of the Third Camp at work among the colonial people. Naturally—as in every other section of the world—a long, tough road is ahead for the Sama Samajists. If the totalitarian attack on the British Empire succeeds, Ceylon may fall under domination of one of the fascist powers. But from our knowledge of and experiences with this Party we know it will doggedly plug away, fighting against any and all imperialisms for the program of revolutionary internationalism. By one of those ironic developments of history, the small and relatively unimportant—from an economic standpoint—Island of Ceylon has become a major revolutionary center on the Asiatic continent. On its shores there lives the most powerful colonial section of our world-wide movement.

Of Special Interest to Women

By SUSAN GREEN

In a tiny item tucked away in an evening paper I read that the Department of Agriculture in Washington states that food costs are going to rise during 1941, which is only a few weeks off. Evidently the boss papers do not think this news important enough to give it a headline and put it where people can see it.

The Department predicted that the prices will go up on meats, dairy and poultry products, fruits and vegetables. It seems to me that includes nearly everything we eat, except cereals and fish. So when we housewives go out with a shopping bag and a dollar to do our marketing in 1941, the bag will be much lighter to carry home than it has been in 1940.

Election is not so far back that we don't remember what Mr. Roosevelt was promising about maintaining the standard of living of the American people. I'm not going to say a word here about that mythical "standard" nor about the one-third of the nation whose standard is even less than a myth. All I want to say is that the most powerful microscope could not have found anywhere a statement from the President that should read something like this: "In view of the fact that my own Department of Agriculture has predicted a rise in the cost of living for 1941, I will immediately propose legislation providing for increases in wages in private industry, on WPA and all government enterprises, as well as increases in home relief allowances. This will be necessary to maintain existing standards of living, which I have promised to maintain."

"Are you laughing? Indeed it is very funny. No boss politician ever acted like that and none ever will. Certainly not Mr. Roosevelt, who allowed thousands of workers to be thrown off WPA while appropriating billions for imperialist war preparations.

Anyway we have it on excellent authority that he won't. The President's wife knows something about the President. She goes about making speeches on what great sacrifices we all have to make. For the worker that means he is expected to accept a lower standard of living and like it. Mrs. Roosevelt will make sacrifices by collecting huge fees for her speeches, while the big industrialists pile up war profits, but we working women will have to carry home LESS FOOD in our shopping bags. UNLESS—

We refuse to be bamboozled by the "national defense" hysteria—manufactured so that the bosses may not be bothered by workers' demands during the period of war profits—and FIGHT to protect and improve our conditions.

I was listening on the radio when the fate of millions of young men was decided by pulling bits of paper out of a fish bowl. The fish bowl symbolized the whole procedure. These young men are the "poor fish" conscripted into a military machine to make the American bosses the most powerful in the world.

The fish bowl also symbolized an important incident that the radio registered. When the first number was drawn—158—there came through the air a sound like a gasp, yell and groan combined. It came from Mrs. Bell, whose twenty-one year old son holds number 158. It sounded like the cry of a wounded animal.

Mrs. Bell's spontaneous reaction was immediately hushed up. She was called to the microphone and made a fuss over. Her hand was shaken by this and that big muck-a-muck. The whole situation was twisted to look as if Mrs. Bell was just about the luckiest woman in America because her son is among the first conscripts. And one smart aleck wished that her son would "enjoy" the year's training—as if he were going on a pleasure trip instead of taking the first step into the jaws of useless death.

That's how it's done, mothers of the working class. Amid bombast and ballyhoo the true feelings of grieving mothers are submerged, so that the money-bags can take the young men to die in a cause that is not theirs.

These days it is fashionable to be sympathetic to the Chinese. High society, ever on the scent for something novel to keep it from being bored with its life of unearned luxury, went original and held what it called the "Bowl of Rice" Ball at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York. This gave the Park Avenue ladies a chance to get rigged out and strut about in oriental costumes especially made for the occasion at great cost. Incidentally the bloated rich parted with a little loose change for "those poor Chinese."

The class represented at this ball, showing off in oriental dress and throwing chicken feed to "those poor Chinese", has a greedy hand in the bloody Chinese war. It has pocketed plenty of profits from American sales of huge quantities of scrap-iron to the Japanese bosses, who made guns and bombs with which to kill "those poor Chinese."

Nor has the President's prohibition of the export of scrap metal to Japan changed the situation. True the export of SCRAP is restricted, but the export of NEW metal goes merrily on. So the Japanese gun-makers have wisely increased their orders for new metal, and the American steel barons have equally wisely accepted the profitable orders. This comes from no less an authority than the secretary of the Institute of Scrap Iron and Steel, Inc.

"Those poor Chinese" are shot down with guns made out of American metal—sold for the profit of American bosses to the Japanese imperialists—the American profit-grabbers then give a little charity to "those poor Chinese" at gaudy balls—where Park Avenue ladies cavort in expensive gowns—all, you understand, for the benefit of "those poor Chinese". This is the insane asylum that the bosses have made out of the world we live in.

It is up to the women who do not attend fancy balls at the Waldorf-Astoria, to help the Chinese masses—as well as themselves—by putting up a fight against a boss-ridden world.

Very Illuminating (?)—

In the column conducted in the Northwest Organizer by Mickey Dunne, we read the following illuminating comments on why most workers voted for Roosevelt in the election:

"The Roosevelt regime, despite all its faults and failings, regardless of all criticism, just or unjust, levied against it, did give to the American workers social reforms never achieved before.

"Nothing said or done against the New Deal could wash out of the minds of the workers the tangible gains made. Unemployment insurance, old age pensions, wage and hour laws, the Wagner Act, were the factors that tipped the scales in favor of Roosevelt.

"Unfortunately for them, the banker, the big shot, and the newspaper publisher could not read what was in the hearts and minds of the American workers. . . .

"A nationwide labor party is now the order of the day. This campaign has demonstrated that the workers of the United States can stand up under the greatest barrage of capitalist propaganda the country has yet seen. That they can act determinedly and untidily for what they conceive to be their best interests. That social gains can be made by united political action." (Northwest Organizer, Nov. 7, 1940. Our emphasis.)

Is it possible that the only reason why the Socialist Appeal has not reported the above, or commented on it, is because its valuable space is too greatly occupied with the struggle against the "petty-bourgeois opposition"? Or can the reason be, more simply, the embarrassment of the editors?

Bob Garver Dr. J. Ruby

Death has taken a veteran of the American revolutionary movement. Comrade Robert Garver died a week ago of a heart attack. Many people will remember this worker revolutionist who became active in the C.P. of Chicago more than seventeen years ago. As one of the original group expelled from the C.P., he was a charter member of the Communist League of America, the first "Trotskyist" organization in this country, participating actively in its formative period. In recent years, working very hard to support his family and suffering ill health, he was not an active member of the organization. But at no time did he

We have just received the sad news of the death of comrade Dr. Jonas Ruby, of Chicago. Our movement is deeply saddened by the loss of this fine sympathizer who has been a staunch supporter of the 4th Internationalists for more than eight years. Dr. Ruby was not passively interested in the proletarian movement. Even more than the kindly aid he extended to comrades, he is remembered for the organized work he engaged in to support the press and other activities of the "Trotskyists". We have lost a good comrade.

lose his interest or faith in the movement. He remained a revolutionist to the end.

ANNOUNCING . . .

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MAX SHACHTMAN

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The meaning of the imperialist war.
- Dec. 1—WILL THE U.S. GO IN?
The policy of Washington and Wall Street.
- Dec. 8—FASCISM AND ITS BLITZKRIEG:
The Nazi state at war.
- Dec. 15—PATRIOTS AND SOCIAL-PATRIOTS:
Labor and radical tendencies on the war.
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Unionmen! Beware of Roosevelt's Phoney "Friendship"

He 'Gave' To Labor Only What Labor Was Ready To Fight For

The way it worked out in this election was that the workers voted for Roosevelt because they thought he had given them better working conditions and pay through the various labor laws of the New Deal. Well, it is true that many (not all) of the New Deal laws did benefit labor. But the story that Roosevelt "gave" these to labor out of the goodness of his heart and principle is a myth calculated to win votes and to keep labor "appeased."

Roosevelt gave labor what it was ready to take. He did it not to help labor, but to save the system of capitalism from collapsing under the weight of its own rottenness and under the weight of an aroused working class.

Saved Capitalism

Perhaps you remember 1932. Everywhere the working class was striking; conditions were so bad that something had to be done, and labor was in a mood to do it. The capitalist system was tottering; banks were closing, businesses were failing. Hoover proved incapable of saving capitalism. So the capitalists called on Roosevelt.

He enacted his New Deal laws primarily with an eye towards saving the business, not jobs; towards saving bank owners, not small bank depositors. He had to do something to placate the workers. He therefore threw the workers a few crumbs, welcome crumbs it is true, but crumbs which labor was ready to take in any case. You workers in the CIO remember the wonderful wave of working class insurrection which almost overnight set up powerful industrial unions. You, the working class, were organizing, were demonstrating your power in strike after strike. Roosevelt, the bosses' man, had no alternative. He had to give in. He therefore deserves as much credit as the boss who yields to the demands of determined strikers. In other words: he deserves exactly zero credit.

"You Can't Strike"

Once he was firmly in the saddle, once he thought he had the working class under his thumb, he began gradually to whittle away those gains the workers had achieved. No, he didn't do it as crassly as did Hoover. He didn't fix bayonet and hose on a bonus march. But what he did was just as bad. Take one instance: in 1939 workers on WPA projects went out on strike. Roosevelt answered them with the edict that you cannot strike against the government, and sent a number of strikers to jail.

Cannot strike? Is that a "friend of labor" talking? The strike is the most precious right of the working class. Without it, we have no weapon with which to fight in our interests. Without it, our unions mean nothing. Remember this, union men, Roosevelt was the man who issued the no-strike decree.

That was not an isolated instance. In the Little Steel strike, ("a plague on both your houses"), in the recent controversy over government contracts to NLR violators, Roosevelt has acted, as the bosses' man. And that is just what Roosevelt has ever been.

You need only examine the background of the man to understand him truly. Roosevelt is in his own right a landed millionaire. For years, almost until he became President, he was connected with business enterprises, some of them more than a little shady. His name is connected with more than one "unfortunate" business as director, even as president. (In 1921 he became president of the Construction Council to cover up the corruption of the building industry that had been exposed by the Lockwood investigation.)

His Record

Way back in 1910 he was a state senator in New York. He did nothing then to better labor laws, to force enactment of badly needed child labor laws. And that holds true up to the time he was forced by the very nature of the circumstances to adopt the mantle of a "friend of labor."

Take the Social Security Act as an example. He points to that Act as one of his great achievements. But the fact of that matter is this: Roosevelt held it up as long as he could, and he had finally to be driven into allowing its enactment. He refused to support the first act brought in by Wagner. Fifteen months after he came in (that's well over a year), a committee had to call on him to urge action. His comment then was, "The time is not ripe for old age pensions yet." That is a direct quote from Roosevelt—in 1934. In 1935 the bill was finally passed, and in such a form that it had to be revised subsequently: the rates were twice as high as they had to be, high enough to provide billions to pay the ordinary costs of the government. Conclusion: Roosevelt was against the bill, did what he could to stall its enactment and then gave in when he had no choice left.

The same holds true of the Wages and Hours Act. In the first days of his administration, the Black Bill was passed in the senate establishing a thirty-hour week, and it was about to be amended in the House to fix

a minimum wage. The President opposed the bill. And, says John T. Flynn in a book he wrote on Roosevelt, "it is a well known fact that one reason he jumped to the support of the NRA was to defeat the first minimum wage and maximum hour bill that Congress was ready to pass."

Destroyed Food

In his first term, the President allowed industry to establish its own NRA codes. Labor and the consumers usually had nothing to do with the codes. The Steel Code, for example, was drawn up by the American Iron and Steel Institute. Roosevelt appointed as administrator of the NRA, after Donald Richberg had resigned, S. Clay Williams head of the Reynolds Tobacco Company, who came to Washington originally to protect the tobacco companies from such restrictions as the NRA put on them. (Richberg left the NRA to become a lawyer for oil companies, motor companies, etc.) It was during this first administration that Roosevelt, confronted with starving, literally starving, millions, ordered the killing of pigs, the plowing under of cotton, the destruction of wheat fields—so that profits on these might be maintained.

In his second term he pretended to help farmers and home owners by getting the government to take over the mortgages. The money-lenders, the mortgage dealers, were bailed out to the tune of three billion dollars. The farmers and poor home owners remained in debt. About 25,000 homes, presumably helped, were repossessed by 1939. Roosevelt "gave" us WPA. But no sooner had it served its purpose (in his eyes) than he tried to do away with it. Oh no, not all at once. He merely lopped millions off the appropriations, and turned the money over to the war machine instead. Workers were thrown out on their ears, their wages were cut and they could not strike (so he said).

And what's the situation today? Industry is working double time to produce war orders. Profits are piling in faster than the bosses can count them. The unions demanded that no government contracts (which mean huge profits) be given to companies guilty of violating the National Labor Relations Act. A reasonable demand. Attorney General Jackson and "Defense" Commissioner Hillman said at first that no contracts would be given to NLR violators. But they quickly retracted. Contracts have now gone to General Motors, and other labor act violators. The elections were hardly over before Henry Ford, the most notorious of the open shoppers, got a fat and profitable contract.

Almost any industry can now pretend to be a war industry, and most of them are. They are therefore free to kick the Labor Acts overboard. The government has given them a go-ahead signal.

There you have Roosevelt, spokesman, and agent for Big Business. Yes, there are times when Big Business kicks about some Roosevelt measure, but they are like children being forced to take an unpleasant dose of castor oil by Mama for their own good. Whatever Mama does, it will not hurt the child—and if the child protests too much Mama will buy it a gift. That's what Roosevelt did when Big Business howled about a possible limitation on profits. He gave it a gift—enacting a law that virtually sets no ceiling on profits.

Roosevelt is a "friend of labor" only to the extent that labor compels his "friendship" by organization and action. Roosevelt is trying to dump all restraints on Big Business. Yesterday, he warned government workers against striking. Tomorrow he may try to forbid all strikes!

The way to stop him is the way of union action. Every labor law favorable to labor must be maintained and enforced. Rather than accept any modification in existing labor laws and conditions, we must fight for better conditions, better laws, better wages.

The Third—

in the series of articles Max Shachtman is writing for LABOR ACTION on Fascism and War will appear in the next issue. This article will concern itself with the renegade radicals, notably people like Sidney Hook. The first two articles provoked much interest and discussion. Be sure to get your copy of LABOR ACTION. You will not want to miss Shachtman's article.

We will also publish another in the series of articles on the History of the U.S. Empire by Albert Gates.

Just A Number

AKRON, Ohio—All workers employed at the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company on the new government defense work are required to wear large pictures of themselves in the form of huge badges. On either side of the badge there is an additional rectangular shaped section in which the worker's number appears in huge numerals. All workers are required to present their number and picture before entering the plant.

The Stalinists and the C. I. O.

The CIO, which began as the most important progressive movement of the American working class in recent history, is now facing the most crucial period of its existence. The war, the question of trade union unity, organization of the unorganized, and independent political action of labor, are some of the issues before the convention. How these questions will be solved depends in a high measure on the strength and influence of the Stalinists at the convention.

The Stalinists invade the labor movement play the same reactionary role as they do in the general political movement of the workers. The history of the CIO is marred by the manner in which the Stalinists invaded the organization, proceeded to occupy important posts in the different unions, and to exert an unhealthy control of the movement. Dominating a number of national unions, the Stalinists proceeded to oust all anti-Stalinists from office and to concentrate all control in their own hands.

Many unions under Stalinist domination are run like crude replicas of communist party organizations, in a bureaucratic and high-handed manner. Some unions in point are: International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (Bridges), United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, Transport Workers Union, International Fur and Leather Workers Union, International Wood Workers of America, American Newspaper Guild, and the United Office and Professional Workers.

THE LINE CHANGES—RESULTS THE SAME

On the question of the war the Stalinists with their organized fractions were able to influence the general position of the CIO. Several years ago, they committed union after union to a support of the policy of collective security, that is, the war of England, France and the Soviet Union against Germany and Italy. Since the Hitler-Stalin pact, they have reversed this stand, and now the unions under their control support the new line resulting from the pact.

When the CIO organized Labor's Non-Partisan League as an instrument fostering independent political action by the workers and laying the foundation for an in-

dependent party of labor, the Stalinists ostensibly give it support while sabotaging it constantly. For example, in the case of Mayor Kelly of Chicago, the Stalinists in control of Labor's Non-Partisan League gave official and active support to the chief of the Democratic machine, whose police slaughtered striking steel workers on Memorial Day, 1937. Of course, that was in the days of the democratic front. Today, however, when the Soviet-German alliance calls for another policy from them the Stalinists have given back-handed support to Lewis' position of support to Wendell Willkie and the Republicans. Every Stalinist union president applauded the Lewis speech, and while not specifically calling for support to the Republican candidate, demanded the defeat of Roosevelt without offering any alternative.

ON COMMITTEES

Lewis is repaying the Stalinists for their support of his election position by giving them a substantial share of all the convention committees. The Stalinists have a strong block on all six committees and since they are supporting Lewis completely (witness their campaign to draft Lewis for the presidency), it gives Lewis an overwhelming majority on each of them.

The Stalinists campaign against U.S. entry into the war at the moment when their leader Molotov clasps the hands of that arch-enemy of labor, Adolph Hitler) springs, not from a genuine opposition to war, but as a measure of support to the Hitler-Stalin pact. (Just Hillman's support of Roosevelt means, in effect, support of the bosses' war.) With such a policy they cannot possibly combat the pro-war elements at the convention. The struggle between them can only become a struggle between the supporters of the Allies and Axis camps.

The future of the CIO, as of the whole labor movement in the United States, is in a measure dependent upon a defeat of the Stalinists and a smashing of their present power. The campaign to organize the unorganized, the struggle against the war, the fight for trade union unity and independent political action of the workers, must go hand in hand with a struggle against the cancer of Stalinism in the labor unions, and a defeat of their present power.

Arming for Boss War by Frank Demby

Who Pays?

"We have just begun to rearm. There must be a higher debt limit and new taxes."

So said Secretary of Treasury, Mr. Morgenthau, two days after Roosevelt was re-elected for a third term. Conservative estimates indicate that the government will spend at least 20 billion dollars during the next year and a half. This is a lot of money, no matter how one looks at it. It amounts to about 30% of the current national income.

We know how Germany is financing the war—by increasing the working day to 12 and 14 hours, speeding up labor, higher taxes that fall most heavily on the masses of the people, by looting the occupied territories through a system of scientific stealing—in two words, by a system of forced labor. A totalitarian regime is well equipped for this method. The institution of an extremely rigid type of capitalist slavery is the fundamental reason why fascism came to power.

The Lesson of England

How is the war financed in England, a democratic capitalist country? Does England, which claims to be fighting a war for democracy, finance the war in the most democratic way possible, by having those most able to pay for the cost of the war (about 36 million dollars daily)? Are the standards of living of the English masses maintained? The answer is very definitely, no! The London Economist's index of British prices on Nov. 5, 1940 was about 42% higher than at the outbreak of the war. In spite of higher taxes, the British capitalist is finding the war very profitable, aside from those whose plants have been destroyed by bombings—and these will probably be reimbursed by the government. Conservative bourgeois sources indicate that the average standard of living of the British worker (aside from those rendered homeless by bombings) has declined about one-third since the outbreak of the war.

In both England and Germany, the masses are bearing the burden of World War II, thus destroying a lot of the fake pretenses given for the war. Must we expect the same sort of thing in this country? The opinion of London financial circles is very interesting, in view of the experience the British have had with this problem.

"It is felt," says a dispatch to the New York Times, dated Nov. 10, "that the New Deal policies will be pushed into the background by more urgent requirements of rearmament and even larger United States backing for the British war effort. It is remarked by commentators in the financial press that the urgency of the production drive entails on Mr. Roosevelt the necessity of treating big business more gently than hitherto."

Workers Will Pay

Comment on this is really superfluous. The British capitalists need not fear for their American brethren. Roosevelt does not need their advice. He has already taken the necessary steps to make sure that the American workers pay for the cost of rearmament. When the "defense" program was first projected earlier this year, Roosevelt indicated very clearly how he was going to handle the problem of paying for the cost of the program by broadening the

base of the income tax, so that those in the lower income brackets, who have hitherto been exempt, will now pay an income tax. The rates have been stepped up so that the workers and lower middle classes will pay proportionately much more than previously. Special "national defense" taxes were levied on amusements, movies, gasoline, liquor and tobacco, which, of course, fall most heavily on the masses. Government employees will pay both a state and federal income tax.

Now that the election is over, the program is unfolded in all its reactionary splendor. Most of the money, it seems, is to be raised by increasing the national debt limit to \$60,000,000 (it is now 45 billions). This, as Wall Street correctly interpreted, is a measure with inflationary tendencies. "I have no fear of inflation now that President Roosevelt is back," says the eminent Secretary of Treasury, but just why Roosevelt should be any better able to prevent rising prices than Churchill, he does not indicate. Without the introduction of rigid totalitarian controls, rising prices, which mean a lower standard of living for the masses, are inevitable.

The Tax Swindle

It is also indicated that a small portion of the money will be raised by new taxes. I have already indicated in a previous article, that the excess profits tax is a swindle and will raise very little. What new taxes are meant? The only one indicated is a proposal to tax government bonds, which are now tax exempt. This explains why the banks and big corporations have been getting rid of their government bonds during the past few months. Some money will undoubtedly be raised by this method, but we can expect that it will be chiefly through another Liberty Loan campaign, which means that the lower middle classes and higher-paid workers will bear the brunt of the patriotic salesmanship pressure. Other taxes, since present measures are obviously inadequate to cover the cost of the program, will most likely be forthcoming. Our experiences to date, however, indicate that it is "we, the little people," who will pay for them.

Since the squeeze on the government's finances will become tighter and tighter, no matter how much the normal revenue from taxation is increased due to a higher national income, we can expect also that very shortly Roosevelt will begin to listen to Senator Byrd and others who propose that "we should at once economize on non-essential peacetime spending." By "non-essential" spending, these people, of course, mean WPA, slum-clearance and the like. As long as Roosevelt refuses to make those who can afford to, pay for the "defense" program, it's a cinch that the workers and broad masses will bear the brunt of the rearmament program. And why, indeed, should it be any different here than in England or Germany?

Who Profits?

"The profits of twenty-eight steel companies for the first nine months of 1940 were \$169,919,408, compared with \$54,606,254 in the same period in 1939, despite the fact that tax appropriations for the current year were virtually double those in the comparable period. The increase amounts to 211% for the nine months."

The above quotation, from an article in the financial section of the New York Times on Nov. 10, gives the answer to our question. It merely gives actual figures for a general-observed situation. Business is booming. Production levels will probably exceed 1929 levels for 1940. Profits will be very close to 1929 profits.

It is estimated that profits for all industry will reach the total of 10 billion dollars in 1940. (Why not just take all of this—if rearming is what the bosses want! America has definitely entered upon an armaments boom, which will be much, much greater during 1941 than even during 1940. The only difference between the present boom and the 1929 boom, aside from the fact that an armaments boom is never very sound or lasting, is that most of the big profits are made by even fewer of the big corporations. In the case of the steel profits cited above, for example, 12 steel leaders made net profits of \$157,341,000 during the first nine months of 1940. The other 16 steel companies made only 12½ millions—enough to keep the wolf away from the door, but chicken feed compared to the money made by U.S. Steel, Bethlehem, Republic, Weir's National Steel, and the other big steel corporations.

Prosperity For Rich

The same story is true in auto, rubber, oil and the other mass production industries. Prosperity has arrived for America's 60 families and their friends. Chemical, aviation, shipbuilding and munitions factories are working 24 hours a day. Orders are piled up for a year and two years in advance. And most of this increase in production is being accomplished with relatively little increase in the number of workers hired. The investments in plant equipment are so large that most of these industries will pay hardly and excess profits tax. Anti-trust laws and prosecutions against big business monopolies are being suspended in the interests of "national defense."

Labor's Opportunity

Here it would seem, lies the big opportunity for America's trade unions, especially the CIO which has most of the unions in the mass production industries, to demand substantial wage increases. Industry cannot justifiably raise the argument that it cannot "afford" higher wages and better working conditions. The figures show otherwise. Moreover, in spite of the organization drives of the CIO, these industries are still largely unorganized. Those that are organized, however, are making just as big profits as those that are unorganized. Just compare U.S. Steel, which is organized, with Bethlehem and Little Steel which are unorganized. Or, General Motors with Ford. Or, the independent oil companies with Standard Oil.

This is labor's big opportunity. Failure to take advantage of it, how-

"We Are On Our Way"—to War

On November 7, exactly two days after the election—or on the second day of the third "New Deal," four announcements were made from the Nation's Capital:

(1) All Latin American countries have agreed to grant naval and military bases to the United States upon request.

(2) An Anglo-American-Australian agreement regarding control of the South Pacific areas is heavily rumored. Use of Singapore and other Pacific bases is included in these reports.

(3) The National Defense Board and the Priorities Board, in session, agree to give the go-ahead signal to Britain's request for 12,000 planes and bombers to be supplied ahead of other orders.

(4) Treasury Secretary Morgenthau announces plans to have Congress borrow 12 to 15 billion MORE by July, 1942, all money to be used by war industries. "We have just begun to rearm", smiling Henry declares.

"We are on our way", vocalizes the buttery voice of the Third Term President. Full speed ahead, come hell or high-water, over the abyss into the Second World War!

At The AFL Convention

The AFL is meeting in New Orleans simultaneously with the meeting of the CIO in Atlantic City. Both conventions are meeting soon after a national election in which the workers of both labor organizations voted overwhelmingly for the reelection of Roosevelt, which support was in effect approval of the war policies of the government.

We should like to see the war become the main issue in the AFL convention just as we should like to see this question the main issue for consideration at the CIO convention. Not only do we want this to be the main question for the AFL and CIO conventions but we should like to see the delegates vote against any support to Roosevelt and his plans for entry into the Second World Imperialist War.

War Is Main Issue

The war is the chief issue before the working class and every delegate to the AFL convention should recognize it as such. No amount of blarney from AFL leaders about "all aid to England short of war" can destroy the fact that there is an imperialist war in progress and that the United States is preparing to enter. To come out in opposition to the war is the greatest service that the AFL convention can render the working class.

Basis Of Unity

Another problem is the matter of the relationship between the AFL and the CIO. AFL members must understand that while unification of the two organizations is desirable, such unification must be initiated and controlled by the workers of the two organizations, and not by the government and the ruling class. The workers must unite in such a way that unity will strengthen the working class in its struggle against the boss. The government and the ruling class are only interested in unification for the purpose of solidly uniting labor behind the war program.

The workers of the AFL must realize that from the standpoint of the class struggle the most important workers today are those in the mass production industries. This means that in the mass production industries the industrial union form of organization must be preserved and extended. In order to strengthen the entire working class craft workers included, full support must be given to industrial union organization in the mass production industries. Unification on any other program would be fatal in the long run for all workers, those in the AFL included.

A Letter to URW Delegates

By BLAKE LEAR

Just as whip-sockets were installed on early automobiles though the necessity for them had disappeared, so do out-of-date ideas too often persist in the face of entirely new situations.

Events which comprised an epoch in former times today are condensed into the span of a few months. Never has this been more true than in the year since the last CIO convention.

Today the central fact casting its shadow over the labor movement is the continually expanding world war. The American labor movement has to be viewed in the light of the preparations of the capitalist class for driving the American working class into the international slaughter.

New times—new perspectives. Unless the American labor movement realizes that American capitalism in its cruel decline will pull the American working class to the ground as European capitalism did to "its" workers, there is a bitter road ahead.

What confronts the American working class can be clearly seen, if in miniature, in the problems presented to the United Rubber Workers of America.

Deadlock Breaking

The comparative deadlock of the recent past, with the rubber companies having a slight edge, if anything, has been breaking. Beginning with the General Tire and Rubber Company, where a prolonged strike came to an inconclusive end recently, the rubber barons have, as it were, sent patrols into the labor

lines—an attack on the six-hour day at Goodyear, a toughening up at Goodrich, which has the most militant union in the International, and goon squad attacks on international organizers in Memphis.

The next few months will see the rubber barons advancing on the union gains behind a barrage of cries of "Unity!" and "National Defense!" Already, gas mask departments and aircraft parts fabricating divisions have been established on a straight scab basis. Workers here, mostly women and youth, work under highly controlled conditions—no women workers, for instance, being admitted to the gas mask departments without a huge identifying button containing their picture.

To combat these attacks, the rubber workers must expose the hypocrisy of the Wall Street magnates who cry for sacrifices while their profits are reaching fantastic heights. Not an inch must be given to the crowding of the rubber barons. The South must be organized. Armaments divisions must be organized. A road must be found to the women workers and the youth.

The rubber workers must see Roosevelt as he is: a cunning warlord of the master class, ready to plunge the working class into misery and death because he has tried all the tricks in the bag and because the only way out for him and his masters in the panicked directors' rooms is international war for world markets.

It's about time, too, that the rubber workers take stock of "honest" Sherman Dalrymple, and realize that

(Continued on page 4)

THE PHILADELPHIA WORKERS FORUM PRESENTS
Sherman Stanley
Speaking on
INSIDE ASIA
Sunday, November 17, 1940
8:30 P.M.
715 Pine Street

Editorials

Independent Labor Action Is the Road to Freedom!

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.

drives but we must go ahead and be prepared to make all manner of sacrifices in time, effort and money.

Wages Are Far Too Low Now

3. Your convention should concern itself also with the problem of wages, hours and working conditions. Wages are far too low. There are between nine and ten million unemployed workers. Hours of work should be reduced to put all the unemployed to work. It is possible today to have a maximum 30 hour week and minimum pay of \$30 weekly throughout the war industries. This is proved by the huge profits that corporations have been reporting all this year. These profits will increase. If the workers are not organized and determined to press these demands the employers will hog these profits. They will use the profits for increasing their own big salaries and for dividends to the rich.

Organize The War Industries

4. For organization of the war industries and raising the standard of living of the workers, militant, fighting unions will be required. If the unions adopt a pacifist or compromising attitude they will be lost and defeated. If the unions permit themselves to be beguiled by "national defense" propaganda they will find themselves at the mercy of the bosses. It will be necessary to keep the heat on the union leadership especially those union leaders who take posts in the government. This applies to men like Hillman and the others who become a part of the government. These men don't represent labor in the government, they represent the ruling class.

You have learned from long experience in the labor movement that you have to fight the bosses to get any concessions from them. As soon as we cease to be vigilant the bosses will take back every concession we have forced from them. Next to the war and related to it is this question of fighting for improvement in our standard of living. You know that the chief weapon of the workers is the strike; stopping production, cutting down the bosses' profits. This is the only language he understands. The bosses, the government and the labor leaders in the government will do everything in their power to keep the workers from striking, except grant our demands. You should see to it that your leaders make no agreements that take away your right to strike.

For Greater Union Democracy

5. Your convention is the best possible place to begin putting the demand to your leaders for greater democracy in the CIO and its affiliated unions. Without internal democracy and control of the CIO and affiliated unions by the membership, there isn't much chance for the development of a strong organization that can win against the bosses.

As an illustration, we cite the steel workers organization. These workers in the most strategic industry do not yet have an international after four years of existence. They are controlled from the top by a small committee that has all the power. This top committee negotiates and signs contracts without the vote and consent of the workers involved.

There are other non-democratic practices that should be corrected. For instance the CIO convention itself is not a democratically selected body. It is not representative of the membership of the organization. There is too much of a tendency for the convention of the CIO and its affiliates to be packed with appointed organizers who are not controlled by the workers in the plants but who represent the top leadership. The membership really has very little to say about how the organization should be run. This should be changed and the present convention is the proper place to begin.

Internal democracy gives workers an opportunity to participate in the life of the union. It makes them feel that it is their union, develops union consciousness and morale. The union in all phases of its activity becomes an educational medium for the workers. This strengthens the unions and increases their effectiveness against the bosses. You should emphasize this point not only in your convention, but constantly throughout your union activity.

Labor Needs Its Own Party

6. We believe it necessary to raise another important point that should have a place in your convention. That is the question of establishing the organizational and political independence of the unions and the working class. The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION had a great deal to say on this point before the election. Our position was that the workers should support neither Roosevelt nor Willkie. That is they should not support any ruling class candidate. We advocated that the unions break from the two old boss parties and lead the workers to independent political action. We said the working class should have its own political party.

We believe that this question is no less important today than it was prior to the election. It is an important question for your convention. There has been a demand that John L. Lewis resign as president because he supported Willkie. There will be a conflict between the Lewis and Hillman forces in the convention. There may be another group involved and of course the Stalinists will be there to spread their poison and make confusion in general.

You should not permit yourselves to become confused in this conflict. The issue is clear and simple. All of your leaders supported either Roosevelt or Willkie; the candidates of the two boss parties. This means that all of your leaders are supporters of the war. Not one of your leaders told you to break from the capitalist parties and become politically independent. This applies to Lewis, Hillman, Murray, Thomas, Dalrymple, Robinson and others just as it is true of Green, Tobin, Woll and others in the AFL.

Beware Of False Issues

The main thing for you to watch for in your convention will be the tendency to becloud the

main questions that we have raised above by a fight among your leaders, (including the Stalinists) for the right to harness the workers to the Roosevelt or some other war chariot. This is really all the conflict between Hillman and Lewis means. Hillman has sold himself to the ruling class and the Roosevelt war government. The Stalinists will fight Hillman and support Lewis.

It will be wise for you to keep clear of the Stalinists. Their fight against Hillman will not be in the interests of the CIO and the labor movement. They will only be maneuvering to maintain their place and influence in the CIO. They think that this can be done best by supporting Lewis. The only road for you and all the ranks of the CIO is opposition to all the war mongers and all the war camps. What is paramount for you is the workers program that we have been discussing with you. This program is the most important issue before your convention. This is true, irrespective of what course Lewis, Hillman and the Stalinists take.

Your job is to begin now, fighting for the complete organizational and political independence of the CIO and the working class. The workers must have their own independent working class political party; free from all connection with the two boss parties of capitalism.

Fight Disruption

7. Don't permit anything to happen in your convention that will destroy the organizational unity of the CIO. Fight against every tendency toward disruption no matter from which direction it comes. In this matter as in others the Stalinists will bear close watching. They are initiators of a "draft Lewis" movement. Even though you may be for the re-election of Lewis you should not be caught in the Stalinist trap.

Don't permit yourselves to become involved in the political maneuvering and horse trading that will be going on among some of the top leaders. You have a program to fight for. Demand that the convention adopt your program and carry it into action. That's the only way that the convention can serve the interests of all the workers.

For Union Unity

8. The unification of the CIO and the AFL will arise in both conventions. No one with a grain of sanity can be against unity in the labor movement. Everyone understands that a united labor movement can be more effective against the bosses than a labor movement divided into several sections as at present. Furthermore the unification of the trade unions should take place under control of the unions themselves and at their initiative. You should not permit the government and the employers or any labor leaders acting for the government to force unification of the AFL and CIO.

The CIO, your organization, is a great historic movement of workers in the mass production industries that had been neglected by the AFL, which is based on the craft unions. You know the advantages of the industrial union form of organization over against having the workers split into a multitude of unions based on craft. This is an important factor to keep in mind in any union negotiations.

The Workers Party advocates the unification of all sections of the organized labor movement: the CIO, AFL and the railroad brotherhoods. But there is one demand that should be included above all others: THE INDUSTRIAL UNION FORM OF ORGANIZATION SHOULD PREVAIL IN ALL MASS PRODUCTION INDUSTRIES. There should be no retreat from this position. This includes STEEL, RUBBER, AUTOMOBILES, AIRCRAFT, COAL and METAL MINING, CEMENT, SHIPPING and AGRICULTURAL. To recede from this position means to weaken the fight of the workers in the mass production industries and to lessen the advantages that come from unification.

Finally we want to say a word about the excellent organization you have formed and what it has meant to the workers of the United States. You have organized millions of workers into industrial unions. These were the workers in the huge mass production industries that had no union organization. Many of them had never been in a union before. You have conducted militant mass strikes resulting in definite improvement in wages and working conditions. You have made an excellent beginning, but only a beginning. We believe that your leaders have made many mistakes. We have mentioned the absence of internal democracy and how this weakens the CIO. Organization of the unorganized has gone forward as rapidly as was possible under the conditions. There has been too much of a tendency on the part of your leaders to substitute negotiations and settlements at the top for active democratic participation of the membership.

These mistakes can be corrected, but only by you, the real foundation of the union. They will only be corrected if you insist on being heard and having your decisions carried out by the leadership. The mistakes of the past will only be corrected if you insist on building the strongest possible industrial movement in this country, controlled completely by a militant, alert intelligent and loyal membership.

This is the chief concern of the Workers Party with your convention and the CIO. We want to see the mass production industries organized with fighting, mass, democratically operated industrial unions. We want to see these unions opposing the war. We want to see your organization break from the ruling class political parties. We want to see you go forward to independent working class political action under the banner of the working class, an independent party of the working class.

Because we are workers like you, suffering from the same oppression and exploitation, we want to participate with you in all the struggles and battles of the days to come. These are the reasons, the only reasons why we are so intensely interested in your convention and your organization. And along the road we have suggested, we of the Workers Party and you of the union movement can struggle together for Peace, Security and Freedom.

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Thus the union leaders were divided; but both factions supported candidates of the bosses. This is a fact which the workers will learn in the next period through bitter experiences.

No Difference

As Raymond Clapper, a pro-Willkie, Scripps-Howard columnist, wrote the other day:

"In political debate, differences over details are magnified in an attempt to make you think that the fate of the nation is involved. But to most of us there would be little difference if we had Roosevelt or Willkie in the White House . . .

"Roosevelt accepts the capitalist system which Willkie has tried to make us believe was his special property. Between the two men is a difference in emphasis on some points. That is about all it amounts to."

In his radio address last Monday, Willkie proclaimed that the Republican Party would be the "loyal opposition" to the Administration. Commenting on the bitter character of the campaign he stated:

"But we Americans know that the bitterness is a distortion, not a true reflection, of what is in our hearts. I can truthfully say that there is no bitterness in mine. I hope there is none in yours."

Willkie's confession that the tone he assumed in the campaign in order to get votes was only "put on" is revealing. On the other hand, the bitterness expressed by the workers in their hostile receptions to Willkie in the large cities came from their hearts. They showed their hatred of big business and its reactionary anti-labor schemes. They displayed a healthy feeling that there is a conflict between the interests of the monopolists and those of the working class.

FDR—The Bosses' Man

However, in voting for Roosevelt they nonetheless elected a representative of big business. The President differs from Willkie in some "details" as to how best to defend and extend the system of capitalist imperialism under which the mass of people have to toil and die so that a few plutocrats can live in luxury and splendor.

That is why Willkie can call for a "loyal opposition" in the name of "national unity." That is why the five point program which he formulated is, except for "details" already part of Roosevelt's plans. In substance, they call for "adjustments" of government expenditures for social service, of taxes and of restrictions on big business so as to permit greater monopolist investments and profits.

Roosevelt already began to put this program into effect months ago when he supported:

Increased taxes on lower income brackets.

Repeal of the Vinson-Trammell Act establishing maximum profits of 7%

A Letter—

(Continued from page 3)

honesty is meaningless without intelligence and devotion to the working-class. The plain fact is that Sherman Dalrymple is playing the decoy, luring workers into quietly accepting conscription and the war through serving on the labor advisory committee of the national defense board. Suspicious also should the workers be of the sleek Tommy Burns of the international executive board, and Frank Grillo, whose crowning intellectual achievement was to come out for Martin L. Davney in the Ohio gubernatorial campaign, after even the capitalists had dumped the corrupt Kent tree surgeon who sent the national guard in to break the Little Steel strike.

Every progressive worker must oppose the growing tendency to exclude "communists" from the locals. In the end this is a weapon against all militants. Stalinists can best be fought by exposing their policies. Further, every worker should oppose all splitters in the CIO, whether they be of the Lewis, Hillman, or CP stripe, to the end that unity of the CIO is preserved.

In short, rubber workers, as all workers, must fight to preserve every democratic right threatened in the so-called "war against fascism". Let us not allow the establishment of a virtual dictatorship at home while presumably combating a fascist dictatorship abroad. We didn't fight on the picket lines of the country to end at that.

and 8% in airplane and shipbuilding government contracts.

Exemption from taxation, for a period of five years, of investments for expansion of munitions plants.

Dropping of anti-trust prosecutions against monopolies whose practices were held by the Department of Justice as violations of the law. (While using these laws against unions!)

Granting government contracts to violators of National Labor Relations Act.

These are only a beginning. Now that Roosevelt has been elected for another four years, and does not have to weigh his actions with an eye to what the workers will do on election day, he will seek to proceed on this road with more rapid strides.

In his Armistice Day speech, the President defended the policy of U.S. entry into the first World War—a conflict which even Woodrow Wilson, in 1920, called a "commercial war"—as a contribution to the defense of "democracy"; and underscored that the present war is only

a continuation of the war of 1914-1918. The interventionist implication is quite clear.

Under the cloak of "national unity" and "national defense" the workers will be asked to make sacrifices, not to ask for wage increases to meet the rising cost of living; not to demand time and a half for overtime, as the law requires, but to accept straight time pay; not to insist on closed shop agreements when the bosses are producing munitions and refuse to sign contracts with the union; not to go on strike to enforce their demands.

The workers must be on guard if our labor standards and democratic rights are not to be destroyed, and if we are not to be dragged into the war. Through our unions we must fight every inch of the way against reactionary attacks and for our needs. Along this militant road, experience will prove the necessity of a break with Roosevelt and all capitalist politicians, the necessity of independent labor political action.

Leon Trotsky on Control of the Army

L'Humanite (official organ of the French Stalinist party) writes that the French government will find itself 'under the control of the French workers.' But that is only a hollow phrase of miserable demagogues. Where and when has an oppressed proletariat 'controlled' the foreign policy of the bourgeoisie and the activities of its army? How can it achieve this when the entire power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie? In order to lead the army, it is necessary to overthrow the bourgeoisie and seize power. There is no other road. But the new policy of the Communist International implies the renunciation of this only road.

When a working class party proclaims that in the event of war it is prepared to 'control' (i.e., to support) its national militarism and not to overthrow it, it transforms itself by this very thing into the domestic beast of capital. There is not the slightest ground for fearing such a party: it is not a revolutionary tiger but a trained donkey. It may be kept in starvation, flogged, spat upon—it will nevertheless carry the cargo of patriotism. Perhaps only from time to time it will piteously bray: 'For God's sake, disarm the Fascist leagues.' In reply to its braying it will receive an additional blow of the whip. And deservedly so!

—Leon Trotsky, An OPEN LETTER TO THE FRENCH WORKERS, June 10, 1935.

THE WORLD AT WAR

Molotov - Hitler Discussions Presage New Phase of War -- Hint at Pact "Compensation"

By MAX STERLING

For the first time in his rather lengthy career, lengthy at any rate for Stalinist officials, the Premier of the USSR and its Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Vyacheslav M. Molotov, has gone to Berlin to visit the Fuehrer. In his rather large entourage were included such dignitaries as Ivan Tevoysan, Peoples Commissar for the Iron and Steel Industries, V.G. Dekanozoff, Deputy Commissar for Foreign Trade, as well as representatives from the Commissariats of Aviation, Mining, Commerce, Industry and Internal Affairs.

This in itself should indicate the importance of this visit. Nothing less than Russia's place in the new Axis "order" in Europe, the Near East and the Far East is on the agenda in Berlin. Representatives from Italy, Japan, France, Roumania and other Axis vassals are in Berlin in order to give the discussions on the new "order" an all inclusive character.

Hitler's discussions with Molotov take place at a moment when Hitler is poised for his drive through the Balkans to the oil fields of the Near East. Italy's failures in Greece emphasize the importance of Russian support in his strategy. First, it is necessary to get Russian support for the new Axis order in the Balkans. Second, Hitler must make certain of the complete disassociation of Russia from Turkey. He hopes by this to assure the capitulation of Turkey and to isolate Great Britain in the coming campaign in the Mediterranean, Africa and the Near East. The third objective is to speed a Russian agreement with Japan.

The latter objective appears to be well on its way. While the Communist Party of the United States blusters about a united front of the United States, China, and Russia, a reception given by the Japanese Ambassador to Moscow, General Tatekawa, is honored by the presence of

such military and naval luminaries as Marshal Timoshenko, Commissar of Defense, Marshal Budenny, Vice Commissar of Defense, General Meretskoff, Chief of Staff of the Red Army, Admiral Kuznetsov, Commissar of the Navy and Andrey Vishinsky, Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs. Already, Russian aid to China has trickled down to a minimum. The Communist Party of China directs itself against Anglo-American imperialism, and the Russian and Japanese press have assumed the friendliest tone toward each other.

For the Japanese, a pact with Russia would mean the liberation of their much needed armies on the Japanese-Russian borders in the Far East for possible action in the south. The Japanese have already withdrawn their forces from the Kwangsi Province and from Ichang in the North. At the same time, the Japanese garrisons in the Hainan Island, Formosa, and in Indo China have been strengthened. This will bolster the striking power of the Japanese against Hong Kong, Singapore, etc.

For such aid that Molotov will give to his Axis and Japanese "friends" there will no doubt be adequate "compensations." Japan is expected to recognize as Russia's sphere in the Far East, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Tibet and the areas now occupied by the Chinese Communists. In addition to this, the Japanese are expected to cede to Russia her present fishing, oil, and mining concessions on the Far Eastern Soviet Coast. Aside from this, large Russian forces will be liberated from the Far East and transferred to the West where they will be needed just in case at some future date there may be a falling out among "friends."

Hitler's "compensations" to Molotov are expected to include a revision of the southern frontier of Bessarabia which will give Russia control over the northern part of the Danube Delta, an outlet to the Indian Ocean by giving Russia a free hand in Iran and Afghanistan and a Russian representative on an International Commission to control the Dardanelles which will be set up should the fortunes of war in the Mediterranean area favor the Axis campaign.

Molotov's visit to Hitler is only a continuation of the line begun with the Stalin-Hitler pact. This line has dragged Russia into the Axis orbit in Europe and now beyond that into the Near East and the Far East. Today Hitler and the Mikado proclaim Russia's place in their new world "order." What they will have to say about Russia's place in the new world "order" of tomorrow is another thing.

We Address The CIO Members:

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In all probability there will be a conflict in your convention revolving around the war issue. Mr. Sidney Hillman of the National Defense Advisory Commission has made it clear that he is for the whole war preparations of the ruling class and the Roosevelt government. Hillman today is not representing the workers but the bosses. On the other hand there is the Stalinist Communist Party which claims to be against the war. This is a lie. The Stalinists are against the United States going into the war to aid England. This for the reason that the Stalinists are in a block with Hitler and Mussolini. If the U.S. would make a block with Russia, the Stalinists would be yelling just as loudly for this country to get into the war as they were during the days of their collective security program and the Peoples Front. The Stalinist policy is determined by the direction in which Stalin jumps.

There will be two war camps in your convention: one led by Hillman and the other led by the Stalinists. You must not be fooled by either of them. Both are reactionary, both lead to destruction and death. You must not run from Hillman to the Stalinists because they sound progressive. They are not. In your disgust with the Stalinists you must not run into the Hillman camp. This would be only jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

The main task for every militant worker, every progressive member of the CIO is to lead a determined struggle against the war and all those who support the war. If the workers do not fight against this war and against every working class leader who supports the war we will be sold down the river just as we were in the last war. The greatest service which your convention can render the workers is to go on record in the most unmistakable terms against the war.

Organizing The Unorganized

2. In the face of the war preparations of the ruling class and the government it is necessary for your convention to give especial attention to the problem of organizing the unorganized workers. This is imperative and urgent. Every worker should be brought into a trade union, every industry should be organized. This is especially true of the war industries. Every steel plant should be organized by the SWOC. Organization in the airplane industry should be attacked with vigor and determination. Every section of the oil and chemical industries should be completely organized. The maritime industry and all land transport workers should be solidly organized. Agricultural workers should not be neglected, as they are important too.

Special attention should be given to the Negro and women workers, and the youth in the war industries. Negro workers are especially important as they have been partially neglected to the detriment of the labor movement in past periods.

The beginning of protection for the working class against the attacks of the bosses is complete organization. The ruling class will do everything in its power to defeat us in our organization

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NATHAN GOULD, Organizer, Local New York

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