

# FRENCH SURRENDER PROVES WORKERS RULE ALONE CAN STOP HITLER MARCH

## Roosevelt Announces U. S. Conscription As Next Step in Many-Sided War Drive

Following closely on the heels of Hitler's conquest of France, President Roosevelt lost no time in pressing his own blitzkrieg against the American people.

Striking out in three directions on the same day, Tuesday, June 18, the Roosevelt Administration, in a manner that left official Washington stunned, proposed: universal military training for all youths over 18; a two-ocean navy costing at least four billion dollars; and the economic regimentation of the Western Hemisphere under Wall Street domination.

Speaking to reporters at a special press conference, Roosevelt announced his plans to "change the life" of young America.

Obviously disturbed at the widespread opposition to his earlier en-

dorsement of universal military conscription, Roosevelt dropped the term "conscription" and used the formula, "government service." His plan calls for the compulsory training of all young persons over 18 regardless of sex; as soldiers, as mechanics in war industries, and conscripted conservationists.

He stated that such a transformation of the lives of young people would get their minds off the "isms" which now dominate their thinking and make them believe they know how to run affairs. The clear purpose of his plan therefore is the development of a military spirit among the youth, and the formation of habits which would make them easy prey for "orders from above."

And while the President spoke in

the White House, Admiral Stark, Chief of Naval Operations, stamped the House Naval Affairs Committee into adopting a bill calling for a seventy percent increase in naval tonnage at a cost of four billion dollars. Admiral Stark declared that this increase will give the United States a two-ocean navy capable of fighting any probable combination of powers. While refusing to comment on the uses to which the increased tonnage will be put, it became clear from Stark's request that the Administration intends to build a super-police force in the Western Hemisphere against rival imperialists, against any attempt by the Latin American peoples to throw over Yankee rule, and for war with Japan in the Pacific.

In line with these aims the most grandiose of Roosevelt's plans is the program for the economic regimentation of the Western Hemisphere, controlled by United States big business.

According to this plan, the United States will organize an Inter-American

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## Erber to Tour Pennsylvania Ohio Cities

The National Office of the Workers Party has arranged a special tour to several cities for Ernest Erber.

Beginning in Philadelphia where he will stay for three days (June 21-23), Erber will then proceed to Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Cleveland, Akron and Chicago.

Arrangements are being made in the several cities for public and branch membership meetings.

The National Office of the Workers Party is exerting every effort to cover cities throughout the country as frequently as possible with National Office speakers in order to spread the revolutionary message against war and for peace through socialism.

The schedule for Erber's tour is as follows:

Philadelphia	— June 21, 22, 23
Pittsburgh	— June 25
Youngstown	— June 26
Cleveland	— June 27
Akron	— June 28
Chicago	— June 29

The French imperialist government capitulated last Sunday night as the ruling class sought the most favorable terms from Hitler for the joint oppression of the French people.

Following the appeal of Marshal Petain, new Premier of France, for an armistice, Hitler and Mussolini met at Munich and agreed on how they will carve up the French empire, conduct the war against Britain, and reorganize Europe under Fascist domination. Petain has appointed envoys to meet with the Axis dictators.

While the terms of peace have not been announced at the time of this writing, it is expected that they will include, at a minimum, the military occupation of France and the smashing of its military might, the return of Alsace Lorraine to Germany, the division of the French colonies among Germany, Italy and Japan, the turning over of Nice and Savoy to

Italy. Hitler will also demand possession of the French fleet, the fourth ranking navy of the world, which, it is rumored, is now largely under British control.

Meanwhile Prime Minister Churchill announced that Britain had not released France from its pledge not to sign a separate peace, and appealed to the French army and navy officers and men to continue the war against Germany. A section of the French ruling class, whose interests are most closely tied to British and United States imperialism, is supporting Churchill's position, including his proposal for union of the two countries.

From London, General Charles de Gaulle, French Under-Secretary of National Defense in the resigned Reynaud government, endorsed Churchill's program and urged the continuation of the war. In the Near East, General Eugene Mittlehauser, French commander-in-chief in that territory, stated that his troops would continue the fight. Large sections of the French air force were also reported heading towards Africa to defend the French colonies there.

In France itself, there is growing discontent among the people who feel that they have been betrayed by those who promised to fight until the end. A censored United Press dispatch from Bordeaux (June 17) reports that a "grave situation" is developing in the emergency capital of France. It states that, "Public wrath over what has befallen the proud nation was evident and the political views and partisanship which the French had forgotten in their common hour of peril rose quickly to the surface."

Thousands of Jews and foreign political refugees from Nazi rule—Poles, Czechs and Austrians—have already been caught by the German troops and are doomed to certain death. Thousands of other refugees are still being kept in concentration camps by the French government, and it is feared they will be turned over to Hitler.

As Hitler won the Battle of France, Stalin marched more Russian troops into Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, took over these countries and appointed puppet governments. The official reason for these actions is the charge that the three Baltic countries were in a military alliance against Russia in violation of their "non-aggression" pact with the Soviet Union.

However, Tass, official Russian press agency, announced

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## Wilson Innocent, Thug Guilty

Special to Labor Action

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—In a decision rendered by Judge Wyner, James Wilson, welfare worker who was assaulted by a city official's thug-employee was found innocent. His assailant, "Wacky" Lauziere, was found guilty despite the battery of expensive machine lawyers who leveled their guns against Wilson. Ralph Hamilton, cemetery superintendent, who ordered the assault when Wilson refused to toady to him, went scot free.

This decision climaxes a city wide campaign carried on by the Wilson Defense Committee.

In the course of its activities, the Wilson Defense Committee made hundreds of friends, received considerable publicity for its efforts, issued thousands of printed leaflets publicizing and informing Cambridge of the plight of its unemployed, and carried on a campaign in defense of Jim Wilson, the like of which Cambridge never saw.

Visits to other families in the vicinity of the Wilson home, by your correspondent, reveals the fact that the people on Welfare feel tremendously strengthened by the partial

### Bulletin—

The Wilson Defense Committee whose efforts were mainly responsible for the dismissal of charges against James Wilson and the conviction of his assailant, is now faced with charges of contempt preferred by District Attorney Bradford. In addition, the District Attorney is cooking up a red scare against the Workers Party because it endorsed and aided the fight of the Wilson Defense Committee for justice in the Wilson Case and an investigation of welfare in Cambridge. The D.A.'s red scare threatens to rival the red hysteria instigated by the attorney who defended "Wacky" Lauziere and which was at that time roundly condemned by the Assistant D.A., Wunderley, for its irrelevancy to the case.

A statement by the Cambridge local of the Workers Party on the 'revelations' of the District Attorney, appears on page 4 of this issue.

victory of the Wilson Committee. As one person on Welfare expressed it:

"With a group like the Wilson Defense Committee ready to get the entire neighborhood behind us, its going to be a lot easier to show Finnegan (Welfare Administrator) that Welfare families are going to better their way of living around here a lot sooner than he and his supporters think."

## "We're Hungry and We'll Fight," Say Striking Cleveland Newsboys

"We're hungry and we'll fight" said a newsboy who is striking against the three big Cleveland newspapers, the Cleveland Press, News and Plain Dealer.

After 13 negotiating meetings between representatives of the publishers and the committee of the Cleveland Newsboys Union, the publishers broke off negotiations without notice over the question of bargaining for the home delivery boys. They wanted to make individual "yellow dog" contracts with the boys, depriving them of social security and unemployment compensation benefits—which would cost the company a few cents.

Seven thousand of the carrier boys, out of a total of ten thousand, according to a union spokesman, are members of the Newsboys Union which is trying to bargain for them and better their conditions. At present, they don't make even one penny on a paper. The Union demands include a minimum of one cent per paper, no age limit, no cutting of routes, bigger routes and "No Sampling—Unless You Are Being Paid for It". The boys who sell their papers through blazing summer heat and blinding winter snows, are asking for a \$5.00 increase over their present \$19.00 minimum.

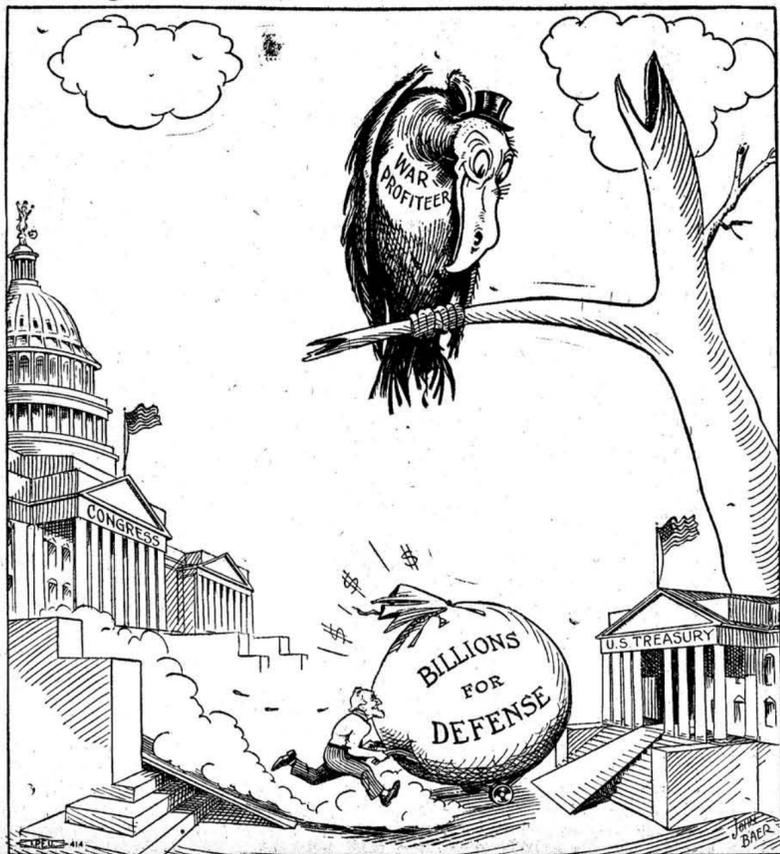
Backed by Unions

The Newsboys' Union, an independent union, is being supported in its strike by the CIO, AFL, the Union Buyers' Club and the Consumers League of Ohio. Sympathetic subscribers are also enlisting in the newsboys' cause by cancelling their subscriptions to the papers.

The strike is holding tight. Not a paper is being sold throughout the city. In the outlying suburbs, only a few are trickling past the picket lines by the use of racketeers. According to Philip Schoenberg, union attorney, the companies are "using provocateurs and engaging in acts of vandalism. The cops are picking up the boys on phoney charges to prevent them from picketing. They have even in some instances prevented them from picketing, in direct violation of their constitutional rights."

The Cleveland Newsboys Union is one of the few organizations of its kind in the country. Their victory will be a spur to newsboy organizations elsewhere.

## Waiting for the Kill



Reprinted through the courtesy of "Labor", organ of the Railroad Workers of America

# These Sharecroppers Meet to Break the Bonds of Slavery

By B. J. WIDICK

POPULAR BLUFFS, Mo.—Standing on the rocky mounds of some ninety acres of land in this southeastern section of Missouri is the fortress and symbol of the Negro and white sharecroppers—"Sharecroppers camp."

It was the gathering place a week ago Sunday of the first annual convention of the CIO sharecroppers union, representing some 5,000 sharecroppers. In its story is the whole history of these people.

Brother West took us around the camp. Its shacks, made of logs or wood and mud plaster, were the homes of the 80 odd families who live there. Counting the children, this meant over 450 people seeking to exist on the "fruits" of this land.

## Not Much—"But Ours"

One glance at the shacks told of the privations endured in winter, the bitter, cold, windy winter of this area. Looking over the potato patches and the brown dry soil, still cluttered with tree stumps, we could see the results of one year's hard toil by a penniless, poverty-stricken and homeless people. "We didn't have nothing to start with, we didn't eat very often, but we built this place."

"It ain't much, but it's ours..." The fierce pride of ownership, of a little freedom could be felt in each word. After the famed siege on the Missouri highways in mid-winter of 1939, the Negro sharecroppers and tenants, driven like beasts from their shelters, forced enough of a hearing on their plight to obtain some aid.

A group of St. Louis liberals, headed by Josephine Johnson, the novelist, raised funds and obtained the 93 acres for them. This gave them the opportunity to carry on a ceaseless struggle against the plantation owners.

The planters tried many tricks to crush the spirit of these people, most of them Negroes, with a scattering of white folks.

The planters tried to claim the spring which furnished drinking water. They spread rumors and sought to create dissent among the sharecroppers. They discriminated against anyone from the camp when it came to jobs. Only if an owner was far behind schedule would he call for a couple of hired hands from the camp. Wages for 12 hours are less than one hour's pay for a rubber-worker. Seventy-five cents for a full day's work is not uncommon.

These starving people, working hard to raise a crop, were denied relief, kept off WPA jobs. Pressure brought some surplus commodities. Slowly but surely, the camp was built, a thousand heart-aches to every foot of ground.

Nearby is a river, fine for fishing, with black bass teeming in its waters. Food for the hungry. But the sharecroppers were denied the right to fish. "Anything to starve us, to drive us off our land," our guide told us. Someone raised a dollar, the hard way, scraping together pennies and nickels. He bought a hunting and fishing license. Perhaps he could bring some food.

He was arrested. The Law kept him in jail eight days and then released him with a warning never to be caught again near the river. Even today, while the planters fish for fun, the sharecroppers are kept away.

(This is not a story of the European war refugees. Everyone knows it. This is the story of American refugees from American "democracy.")

## No Big-Shots Here

While we walked around the camp we could hear the thousand delegates and visitors singing their inspiring song of freedom—rich, deep voices, singing as only the Negroes can sing. It was a song of faith and hope and struggle. Of dauntless courage.

This was not an ordinary CIO convention—in a big hotel with six

dollars a day expenses for each delegate. John L. Lewis wasn't there, nor Phillip Murray nor Sidney Hillman. It was held under an open community hall, its benches crowded and the overflow standing all day in the hot sun with the brown dust sweeping through. Outside of a few white speakers like Martin Lechner of St. Louis, or representatives from the American Youth Congress, the people themselves spoke.

A big section of the delegates from Mississippi county didn't even arrive. The union is strong there. The folks started out in truck loads at day-break to get to the convention. But the Law stopped them at the county line. Refused to allow them to pass. "It's against the law to carry people in trucks on the highway," was the excuse.

At another highway, Thad Snow, a liberal plantation owner, forced the county officers to allow some trucks to pass.

(Stuka dive-bombers didn't block the transportation. It was the Law. In Democratic America.)

## Whitfield Speaks

Chairman and leader of this convention was Rev. Owen Whitfield, the courageous Negro Baptist minister who lost his home, who has been hounded and persecuted and sought at night by vigilantes. His devotion and loyalty to these people is returned by them.

When he reported on the struggle of the past years, his points seconded by loud "Amens" and "That's Right," we felt like crawling in a hole to hide our white skin.

Lately, Whitfield has been influenced somewhat by the Stalinists. He spoke of fighting a war here, not abroad. He quoted the Bible and he told of the need for a modern Moses. But his speech was the essence of revolt against oppression.

He warned against "prejudiced Negroes as well as prejudiced whites." When he told of the Negro boy driven

insane by a beating at the hands of the Law, and the boys mother shouted "That's Right" we were listening to another example in the 200 years history of oppression of the Negro people at the hands of the whites. And this deeply rooted mistrust was not ever going to be erased by speeches or articles. Only by common action.

Perhaps his sharpest comments were reserved for the Ministers of his own race who refused to fight with and for the sharecroppers. He told of writing to the Baptist council asking them to raise \$5 per church in America to aid the sharecroppers.

## Rat-Bite Kills Month-Old Tenement Infant

Chicago's South Side . . . wretched with disease, gaunt with dirty tenements boiling over with humanity, narrow streets loud with the noise of ill-clothed children . . . an odor of despair and sickness pervading all.

This is what greeted LABOR ACTION'S Chicago correspondent as he went to interview Mrs. Luetta Bell, Negro, 3137 Rhodes Avenue.

Mrs. Bell's story was not a pretty one. Her 1½ month old baby Carrie Bell had died June 6 . . . of rat bite fever. The child was bitten as she lay sleeping in her home. Of Mrs. Bell's remaining small children, three, she said two had been bitten by rats during the last month. Mrs. Bell complained to the Board of Health and to the landlord. The Board of Health placed the responsibility on the landlord, she said, and the landlord, after promising to do something about it, was never heard from again.

Mrs. Bell lives in the ramshackle

## LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!

## The Pack Begins to Howl Loudly for War Entry

Unwittingly exposing the lie that continental United States faces military attack, the document states, "If the British Navy is destroyed or taken over, if the French Army is defeated in final action, we shall have to face the job alone. WE SHALL HAVE TO AID SOUTH AMERICA SINGLEHANDED, in the presence of triumphant and hungry aggressors operating across both oceans."

The bankers are highly concerned over "national interests." Beginning in Latin America, these now stretch all the way to the Somme. To fasten their hold upon the western hemisphere with the blood of the American workers, has become their single, unalterable purpose.

The Chamber of Commerce Knows How Its Bread Is Buttered

The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York on May 7 called upon the government to send an armed force to Europe to aid the Allies.

Previously, the Chamber had advocated assistance to the Allies, but it had opposed the sending of an expeditionary force. However, the hard-headed, straight-thinking business men who make up the Chamber of Commerce were quick to see that economic aid alone is not enough to serve their purposes. For them to make really big profits, U.S. must enter the war. And the position was amended accordingly.

The Chamber of Commerce is made up entirely of 'them what has'—men like Wm. S. Farish, president of Standard Oil; Dr. John C. Parker, vice president of Consolidated Edison Co.; Henry S. Morgan of Morgan Stanley & Co.; and Nelson A. Rockefeller, president, Rockefeller Center, Inc. These men and their fellow millionaires went the whole hog in supporting every reactionary measure which is now before Congress and added a few of their own.

The resolution which called for America's entry into the war also urged the registration of all aliens (see page 3 for analysis of anti-alien bills), the closest surveillance of all "fifth column" groups, and opposed the La Follette "oppressive labor practices" bill as un-American and a threat to the nation's defense program. (The La Follette bill would prohibit the use of labor spies and would not allow private companies to buy guns and munitions to use against workers).

It serves the economic and political interests of United States imperialism: using them as bargaining material in deals with a Hitlerized Europe under threat of dumping these goods in the ocean if suitable terms are not granted.

This three-fold plan calls for a complete overturn of the present ways of American life, and indicates the totalitarian aims of Roosevelt in his war drive in defense of Wall Street interests. All the more should the workers recognize that "The Main Enemy Is At Home!"

## Roosevelt—

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ican corporation or super-trust controlling all the foreign trade of the Western Hemisphere. According to tentative reports this corporation will have a capital of two billion dollars and control national corporations in Canada and all the Latin American countries. Any countries which refuse to participate will feel the iron heel. It will purchase all commodity surpluses of these countries, and dispose of them in a manner which best

"We'll pay it back double in two years." But they sent no reply.

Whitfield knows the real role of the Negro in American history. He showed how "white history books" distorted it. Washington crossed the Delaware to win American freedom, but no one tells of the 5,000 Negro troops with him, of the 400,000 Negro troops in the first world war. Of the building of America through Negro and white workers.

"You clear the lands, you till the soil, and then they say, big boy move on."

"You fought in the Civil War to break feudal slavery, and now they've

made you economic slaves, no better off."

"You fought in a war for democracy, and then they tore the uniforms off your back and said, 'Get back in your place, Nigger.'"

"Never again," Whitfield concluded. And these people mean business. They have learned that they lived, and sweated and died for nothing in the past. They are willing to die for something now.

Lend to work and live on. To live like men with political rights and security. To educate their children. To break the bonds of slavery, 1940 style.

building with her three small children, a grown daughter and her baby. The entire family, on relief, is crowded into a three-room flat for which they pay \$22.50 a month. All the occupants in the tenement share the one toilet which is on the second floor.

## "Gold Mine"—for Owners

This is the way Mrs. Bell and her children live. And her story, however tragic, is not unique. The whole South Side of Chicago, which houses the majority of Chicago's Negro populations dwells in a like situation.

Crowded into the so-called "black

## France—

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that the measures were taken in complete agreement with Germany in accordance with the Stalin-Hitler pact and a special treaty signed by both powers on June 17—the day of Mussolini's declaration of war.

As stated in the previous issue of LABOR ACTION, Italy's entrance in the war followed a secret understanding of the Axis powers that the Balkans and Turkey would not be attacked by Italy at the present time. The Tass statement though it does not refer specifically to the Balkans, is a confirmation of such an agreement.

Stalin is receiving payment for his "non-belligerent" support of Hitler. Tomorrow he will make further demands on Finland, Rumania, and probably Sweden. His reactionary expansionism at the same time serves to strengthen his military defenses against a possible attack from Hitler when the Fuhrer turns on him. That moment has not yet come. Hitler still has to defeat Britain, and until this is accomplished will probably continue his present relations with Russia.

That is why Turkey, which last week announced that it would declare war on Italy if Russia pledged not to support Germany, is reported to consider its mutual assistance alliance with England and France as dead. It is clear that Stalin notified Turkey that its entrance into the war on the side of the Allies, at this time, would be considered by him a hostile act. Despite the proposals from the British government and American circles, including the Hearst press, that Russia declare war on Germany, Stalin continues his policy of supporting Hitler, sharing in the war booty, and preparing his own alliances in case of an attack by Germany.

After his victory in the Battle of France, Hitler's immediate aim is the crushing of the British Empire. This is no easy task. British imperialism is already getting substantial material support from the United States. If President Roosevelt has his way the next stage of the war will be more openly a war between German Fascism and Anglo-American imperialism.

However, a third force is yet to be heard from which can disrupt all the calculations of the reactionary belligerent government—the third camp of the working class and colonial peoples who bear the entire brunt of the bloody war; and who alone can put an end to the slaughter.

## Religious Sect Feels Brunt of War Hysteria

KENNEBUNK, Me.—War hysteria caused the arrest, on charges of assault with intent to kill, of six members of Jehovah's Witnesses, a religious cult. Two of the accused cultists, Edwin Bobb of West Chester, Pa. and Joseph Leather of Portland, Me. were released last week after posting five thousand dollars bail each. The four are still held in lieu of bail.

The charges brought to a temporary end a reign of terror directed against the Witnesses for over a week. On June 8, a riot was precipitated when two members of the sect refused to salute an American flag. The next day a car occupied by four Kennebunk men stopped near Kingdon Hall, set headquarters. A volley of shots poured from the building into the machine. Two of the occupants were hit, one of them so severely that amputation is thought to be necessary.

Later in the day, a mob of two thousand townspeople sacked and burned the hall. The mob made two visits. On the first they burned out part of the interior. On the second they completed the destruction.

Before each fire, the mob ransacked the building and removed literature, furniture and personal belongings. These were burned in piles in the street.

LITCHFIELD, Ill.—Fifty members of Jehovah's Witnesses were placed under protective arrest when attacked by a mob of townspeople who overturned or destroyed sixteen automobiles after sect members refused to salute an American flag.

Police said they had not decided what would be done with the prisoners. It is considered likely, however, that they would be "deported" over the county line.

## New York Party Organizes Outdoor Rally Against War

By BEN HALL

A minimum of 2,000 workers witnessed the anti-war parade and series of mass meetings organized by the Workers Party in the East Bronx section of New York City on Friday night, June 14. This action, climaxed by a meeting of close to 1,000 people on the corner of Tremont and Prospect Avenues, initiated a one month campaign of intensive anti-war propaganda.

The parade began at the headquarters of the Bronx branch at 1334 Wilkins Avenue and wound its way through the East Bronx, stopping at intervals of ten blocks for brief open air meetings lasting 20 minutes each. At each of these open air meetings there were from 200-400 workers present—drawn by the slogans of the marchers, "Fight Against the Draft", "This is Wall Street's War, Let the Bankers Fight!", "Stop Persecution of Foreign Born Workers".

At none of the meetings was there any trouble from the listeners. When small groups of hecklers interfered, they were effectively squelched by others in the crowd. After each

meeting, knots of people formed to discuss the Workers Party program for stopping Hitler.

At one point, three squad cars of police drew up and emphasized the need for fighting for democracy by tearing down the platform and banners and threatening to arrest all those who protested.

Defying a police order, the lines were reformed, and the parade continued for another block where the police staged another raid. Again the lines re-formed, and the police made a last, and unsuccessful, attempt to keep the marchers from joining the wind-up open air rally which had been going on all evening at Prospect and Tremont Avenues. This rally was as large as the tremendous meetings held in the days of the anti-Coughlin agitation in the same area.

The campaign will continue with a large mass meeting in the Brownsville area on Friday, June 21. Twenty five thousand copies of a special anti-war leaflet have been issued. Indoor and outdoor meetings are being held all over the city by the branches of the Workers Party.

## June New International Out!

The June issue of the New Internationalist is off the press. It is a well-balanced number containing a featured editorial on political trends in the United States. The editorial forecasts the totalitarian development of American politics and the decline of the two-party system in its present form. Intensified political struggles, the editorial points out, is on the order of the day, which in turn will bring about drastic changes in the political face of the United States.

The drive toward control of the entire western hemisphere by the United States is the subject of an article by Albert Gates, entitled, "A New Horizon for American Imperialism". The article traces American efforts to put Europe on economic rations and how this perspective was halted by the triumph of Hitlerism.

Ernest Erber, in his article, "Marxism and National Defense," reviews the campaign of the Roosevelt Administration to prepare for war under the slogan of national defense. Erber discusses the traditional Marxist position on the question of national defense and the development of revolutionary tactics in the struggle against the war.

The June issue begins a new series

by Dwight Macdonald, "Reading from Left to Right". The first article discusses a contribution by a reader on the subject of whether it makes any difference to the working masses as to who wins the war.

## Oakland Branch Has Tilt with Local Hooligans

OAKLAND, Calif.—Last Thursday night the Oakland Branch tried to hold one of three open air meetings, organized by the Workers Party, in the Bay Area. Three young wise guys, in uniform, after being encouraged by a "law and order" motorcycle cop, sought to disrupt the meeting which was being addressed by Harry Milton and Max Sterling. The hooligans were joined by others not yet in uniform, and by their disruptive actions enabled the speakers to point out to the audience what kind of a democracy it is the war mongers ask us to fight for. Aroused, the workers present indicated their attitude toward the disrupters in such a manner as to cow them completely.

At this point, however, the heroes of "democracy" withdrew, and from a safe distance began premature grenade practice by throwing eggs at the speakers stand. This was the signal for the cop on the beat. What the "patriots" couldn't do, the cop did; he disbanded the meeting in the name of "law and order."

The indignant workers were told that the W.P. would be back again next week. They indicated much sympathy for the position of the Third Camp—the camp of anti-war labor action. About 50 pieces of W.P. literature was sold.

The Berkeley YPSLs have also been successful in their sale of literature on their Red Sundays in the Oakland Negro area. The Oakland Workers Party has opened up a fine headquarters at 530½ 16th Street at which lectures are given every Friday night.

## Cablegram sent by Walter Hines Page, American Ambassador to Great Britain, to President Wilson, March 5, 1917. A month later we were in the War.

"England cannot continue her present large purchases in the United States without shipments of gold to pay for them and she cannot maintain large shipments of gold . . . The almost immediate danger therefore is that Franco-American exchange will be so disturbed that orders by all the allied governments will be reduced to the lowest minimum, and there will be almost a cessation of trans-Atlantic trade. This will, of course, cause a panic in the United States. . . ."

"If we should go to war with Germany, ALL THE MONEY WOULD BE KEPT IN OUR COUNTRY, TRADE WOULD BE CONTINUED AND ENLARGED UNTIL THE WAR ENDS, AND AFTER THE WAR EUROPE WOULD CONTINUE TO BUY FOOD AND WOULD BUY FROM US ALSO AN ENORMOUS SUPPLY OF THINGS TO RE-EQUIP HER PEACE INDUSTRIES. WE SHOULD THUS REAP THE PROFIT OF AN UNINTERRUPTED, PERHAPS AN ENLARGING TRADE OVER A NUMBER OF YEARS AND WE SHOULD HOLD THEIR SECURITIES IN PAYMENT."

"I think the pressure of this approaching crisis has gone beyond the ability of the Morgan financial agency for the British and French governments. The need is becoming too great and too urgent for any private agency to meet, for every agency has to encounter the jealousy of rivals and of sections."

"PERHAPS OUR GOING TO WAR IS THE ONLY WAY IN WHICH OUR PRESENT PRE-EMINENT TRADE POSITION CAN BE MAINTAINED AND A PANIC AVERTED."

## Knitgoods Workers May Take to Picket Line

A General strike of all knitgoods workers is imminent.

Should peaceful negotiations between the Union and the employers fail, thousands of workers in the garment district will take to the picket line.

This is the decision of the Shop Chairmen's conference held at Unity House, Forest Park, Pennsylvania, last weekend.

Support to the Knitgoods Workers Union, has come from David Dubin-

sky, International President of the I.L.G.W.U. and Charles Zimmerman, Manager of the Dressmakers Union.

Louis Nelson, Manager of the Knitgoods Workers Union, in a report to the Shop Chairmen's Conference, declared, "The Union will continue its demand that responsibility for working conditions be placed upon the jobbers in the industry. They who profit most must be made to shoulder their share of the responsibility." Asserting that the stubborn

refusal of the employers to reach an agreement would smash all the gains of unionism in this industry, Nelson continued, "The Union will not permit the conditions and hours won over years of hard struggle to be whittled away by the employers."

Zimmerman pointed out that at the national convention of the I.L.G. held in New York two weeks ago, full organizational, moral and financial support had been given to the Knitgoods Workers.

## "We Are Joining the Workers Party" Say Two CPers

That honest militants can get no answers from the Communist Party to the profound problems raised by the war is revealed by the resignations of two prominent Pennsylvania workers, James P. Connally and Paul Roth.

Declaring that the Stalin regime is a bureaucratic dictatorship and that the American Communist Party is a tool of Stalin's foreign policy. Roth's statement adds, "The Communist Party and the Comintern are not the party that will bring socialism

to the United States and throughout the world. Honest militants who want to fight for socialism must break with the Communist Party."

Stating that he had applied for membership in the Workers Party, Roth continues, "I have studied its program and history and I find it a party that has weathered all the storms of reaction, a party that is carrying on the fighting program of Leninism—against all imperialist governments."

Connally, prominent in the East-

ern Pennsylvania district of the Young Communist League, states in his letter of resignation, "I joined the Young Communist League because I thought it was a revolutionary organization—it is not. I joined the Young Communist League because I thought it was fighting for socialism in America—it is not. Therefore I hope you will understand the position I take in this matter. I do not write to disrupt. I write to inform. I also wish to state that my conscience does not permit me to stay out of the revolutionary movement. I shall soon join the Workers Party, an organization that fulfills the task of the real Bolshevik Party—the task upon which you and I agree."

## Roosevelt—

(Continued from page 1)

ican corporation or super-trust controlling all the foreign trade of the Western Hemisphere. According to tentative reports this corporation will have a capital of two billion dollars and control national corporations in Canada and all the Latin American countries. Any countries which refuse to participate will feel the iron heel. It will purchase all commodity surpluses of these countries, and dispose of them in a manner which best

## INFORMAL HOUSE

KERHONKSON, N. Y.

7 miles from Ellenville

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Where You Do as You Please

## To See or Not To See by Susan Green

### A Real War But A Phoney Film

#### WOMEN IN WAR

So this girl Pamela, whose father is a general and a Don Juan—for which reason her mother (Elsie Janis) divorced him and went to be a matron in a war hospital—is a problem child and kills a man. She pushes him right through a staircase banister, which before then looked very substantial. Presumably she got the strength to do this because the man meant no good by her. The trial is going against her because the dead man was a lieutenant or something, when her worried mother connives to get the girl enlisted as a nurse. As between the two uniforms, the jury favors the nurse's. So Pam goes to war. And what a pretty war it is!

There are air raids but only so that the heroine and the hero can meet in an underground shelter. There is the gay cafe life which everyone knows is the important part of every war. In fact so gay is this war that if you go into a shoe repair shop, you will pass the time not in one of those funny little booths, but dancing in your stockings with the hero. The Germans won't get you as you cross the English Channel in a transport ship, and when you get into an honest-to-god bombardment it will be from your own guns so that someone can run out and tell them to please stop. An obvious advantage of a war is that if there's another girl in the case, she will be the one and only casualty so that the hero will be yours. Finally, if you are a problem child, war will make a woman of you, you bet.

### "Mr. Goebels" Steps In

Ed Kuykendall, president of the Motion Picture Theatre Owners of America, went into conference last week with War Department officials and major film executives. Immediately afterwards nine thousand film houses throughout the country were asked not to delete any part of newsreels on national defense and so on. The individual theatre has heretofore been free to edit a newsreel as might best suit its program schedule. The big propaganda tanks are in line for action.

### Love and The Cost of Living

#### SATURDAY'S CHILDREN

If you married men want to know how you were snared into the trap, this film will reveal to you the secret maneuvers to which you fell victim. And you women who are still hoping, can get the absolute low-down on how the snaring is done.

However, the war of the sexes is not the main theme. It is a story of love flying out of the window when poverty enters at the door. First the young wife loses

her job. Then the husband gets a cut in wages. They resent their sordid existence and let it out on each other. The situation is saved by an understanding father-in-law.

The comic and the humorous are so much in evidence that this serious theme becomes merely very good entertainment, backed by a touching story. Hollywood does not produce a "Grapes of Wrath" every day.

John Garfield steps out in a new role. Usually he is the cynic. Here he does a good job as an ambitious, inventive chap.

### Drama Ends in Let-Down

#### REBECCA (from story by DuMaurier)

The struggle of a human being against adverse circumstances should be dramatic and important. This film misses the mark, and this reviewer does not think it deserves the great praise it has received.

A poor, naive girl becomes the second wife of an unhappy wealthy widower and the victim of his past. The huge estate and corps of servants overwhelm her. The continued domination of the first wife, the dead Rebecca, unnerves her. She is tortured by a crazy housekeeper who resents her coming. The poor thing begins to doubt her husband's love, believing he married her merely to forget the wonderful Rebecca. She struggles to assert herself, but fails. Her liberation comes when she learns that her husband actually hated Rebecca and was instrumental in causing her death.

At this point one expects the new Mrs. de Winter to take up her job as mistress of the manor and make a go of it. However, the story ends with the crazed housekeeper setting fire to the place, leaving the young wife nothing to do but to stand and watch the fire. It all works up to nothing.

Lawrence Olivier as de Winter gives a rather wooden performance. Joan Fontaine's acting is monotonous though she does succeed in evoking sympathy for the tortured young wife.

### Recruiting

Newsreels of recruiting show lines of flat-chested, round-shouldered youths. This puts into visual form the damning facts presented in the papers, namely, that 64% of the applicants have so far been rejected, and that the huge number rejected for physical reasons is connected with "the high number of applicants attempting to join the army because of long unemployment." If you add to the above the further fact that the recruiting quotas have not been met, you will have in a nut-shell the whole story of who joins up and why, and you will understand why conscription is already the order of the day.

... The democracies are in their present sad plight largely through stupidity . . . Many (Americans) are not willing to do anything.

Now, the first thing that this democracy must do in the present situation is to face very frankly the truth that democracy, the best form of government yet devised by human beings, is not adapted to modern warfare. We must be ready to give up our hard won privileges; we must voluntarily subject ourselves to unpleasant discipline; we must voluntarily enslave ourselves—if you wish for clear, harsh terms. . . .

—Letter from Prof. Frank J. J. Davies, Peekskill Military Academy in N.Y. Post, June 14, 1940.

Whenever these democrats talk in "clear, harsh terms," their line is always the same: We must institute Hitlerism to fight Hitler.

#### NOTHING LOST

In a letter from American Field Service in France addressed "to the Yale Men of New York," a plea is made to the Yale patriotism as well as the American patriotism of its recipients. Yale ambulance drivers and Yale funds apparently did their bit in the last war for democracy, and Yalermen are urged not to stint in this one. Added as a postscript, whether as an afterthought or for emphasis we leave our readers to judge, is this item:

Under United States Treasury Ruling, sums subscribed to the American Field Service in France are deductible for Income Tax purposes.

Trek to Washington by manufacturers and suppliers to sell stuff has already started. Most don't get far with Army, Navy or new board, because things aren't organized. Advise delay until plans are perfected.

—Kiplinger Washington Letter, June 1, 1940. ("Circulated Privately to Business Men")

O.K., but don't forget to let us know when.

The lesson of the last war is that you get neither democracy, nor liberty, nor peace out of a world war however noble the ends for which it is fought.

—Lord Lothian, British Ambassador to the U.S. London Times, August 25, 1937.

"The U.S. M-Day plan is perfect, so perfect that the actual Nazi program of complete national mobilization was based on it, after a six-month study in 1934." —Time, June 10, 1940.

# The 'Democrats' Act: (2) Against Liberty

This is the second of a series of articles in which LABOR ACTION is giving its readers a factual review of the progress of the Roosevelt administration toward a fascist state. The first of the series, printed last week, dealt with moves specifically directed against aliens. This article covers the broader attack on the democratic rights of all citizens.

#### By WILLIAM PETERSEN

When Franco's General Mola was asked how many troops he had available for his attack on Madrid, he replied, "Four columns outside, and a fifth column in the city." The phrase was seized upon by the Stalinists, who with their usual treachery were diverting the Spanish revolution into a fight for bourgeois "democracy," and attached to every group fighting for socialism. It was circulated by them far and wide—one more slanderous phrase in their anti-Trotskyist arsenal. Today, like so much of the Stalinist handiwork, it has been taken up by the bosses and is being used as a weapon against the whole of the working class, the Stalinists included.

The pile of hysterical writing stirred up under the phrase "fifth column" is mountainous. If an attempt were made to list every act, every resolution, by every two-by-four veterans' group or other gang of patriotic hoodlums, every speech by every warmongering Congressman, not this whole paper—not the whole of a Sunday edition of the New York Times—would suffice. But even though it is impossible to do more than skim the surface, it is important to remember the scope of the activity following in the wake of the President's war-mongering.

#### HACKING AWAY AT THE "FOUR FREEDOMS"

Last November, President Roosevelt gave a talk in which he stressed the importance of maintaining four freedoms during the war crisis: 1) freedom of religion, 2) freedom of information, 3) freedom to make a living, 4) freedom from fear of aggression. These are "the four F's" the four freedoms the President said it was important to maintain. They make a convenient division of the subject: how the President has been looting off American freedom.

1) Freedom of religion: There is little danger that freedom of religion will suffer much in America—because the pastors are tumbling over themselves in calling for the Christian murder of Germans. And as long as they continue to plug for the war they will be sure of their democratic right to do so. But how vicious the attack is going to be on those who take Jesus' maxims at all seriously is indicated by the widespread persecution of Judge Rutherford's group, Jehovah's Witnesses. The details of a Supreme Court decision (written by that one-time liberal, Felix Frankfurter), forcing two members of the sect to salute the flag were given in the last issue of LABOR ACTION. Other moves against it are described elsewhere in this issue.

Down in Waxahachie, Texas, early this month, ninety members of another religious sect were jailed for attempting to distribute pacifist literature. Several were beaten up.

YOU CAN'T SAY IT ON THE RADIO!

2) Freedom of information: Perhaps the most important medium of information today is the radio. By the licensing control of the Federal Communications Commission, the government already has this important means of propaganda where it wants it. But further steps were taken to make absolutely rigid control certain.

In a measure described as "purely precautionary," the FCC placed a ban on amateur radio transmission with foreign stations. Some 55,000 licensed broadcasters are affected. All amateur operators must be American citizens; they must operate in buildings owned by citizens. Heavy penalties are provided for breaking the new ruling, and the amateurs were warned that the government had apparatus all ready to detect illegal stations. An amendment passed a week later eased the prohibition

and the Bible in his head, a master of rhetoric and invective, capable of great emotional appeals and dramatic intensity. In his late years he could hold English crowds spellbound in Hyde Park while he told them that God would save black Ethiopia because Simon the Cyrenian, a black man, helped Jesus on the way to Calvary. As the great poet says, it ain't what you say, it's the way that you say it. Yet this remarkable movement and the remarkable figure who led it remain unstudied by American Marxists.

Every two-cent revolutionary who has talked to Negroes in cafeterias and therefore knows the Negro question, points out Garvey's errors and absurdities and thinks that thereby a contribution has been made to knowledge. More than in all the theses of the Comintern, a basis for the building of a real mass movement among the Negroes lies in a thorough study of this first great eruption of the Negro people.

in case of "bona fide communications emergency." So much for the small amateur stations.

As a result of a nationwide speech by Browder on June 1, Senator Wheeler introduced a bill giving station owners the right to censor political candidates and others. Because of the licensing system, this would give the government absolute, if indirect, control over the air. Said Wheeler in support of his bill:

"The present law was drafted so as to preserve the right of free speech in the United States and to see to it that each candidate for public office had a right to express his views, whether we agreed with them or not. I think that the law probably should be changed because of the fact that it perhaps goes too far in this respect."

Cincinnati station WCKY, a unit of the Columbia system, did not wait for the bill to be passed. It cut Browder's speech off the air and their patrons heard instead "a program of patriotic music." The Providence station of the Columbia circuit, WPRO, has banned all news broadcasts in foreign languages.

#### OR WRITE ABOUT IT EITHER!

The coming restriction of literature, the second important fold of information, under Archibald MacLeish is described elsewhere in this issue of LABOR ACTION. A sign of the tendency is the debate at the annual convention of the American Library Association last month. Here Gilbert Bettman, one-time Attorney-General of Ohio, argued that libraries should restrict the use of subversive publications. "Tops in fifth-column armament," said he, "is propaganda by the written word . . . The spearhead of these subversive publications is pointed right at the portals of our American libraries. And the question is asked—shall entrance be restricted or unrestricted . . . I answer—restricted."

Meanwhile WPA is again being chopped. Lieut. Col. Brehon B. Somerville, New York WPA director, announced that 2000 more in his district would get their pink slips, beginning on Flag Day. The relief bill just passed by the House, provides for less than two million persons.

Also a part of this bill is an amend-

### The Washington Politicians Say:

# Soak the Poor! Feed the Rich!

#### By ROBERT HALLAM

A few weeks ago England imposed a tax of 100 per cent on all excess war profits. The government, which had already put labor into a no-strike strait-jacket and established fixed wages, was then able to say:

"See! The capitalists are sacrificing. Labor has to sacrifice too!"

100 per cent tax on profits! Sounds good!

This dodge, however, is a well-known piece of fakery which was exposed long ago. In 1935, the Senate Nye Committee to investigate the munitions industry reported that it could not take the profit out of war.

Even the present English tax has turned out to be not-as-advertised. The New York Times for May 27 reported: "Now it is becoming clear, that first impressions of what the government's complete control means to industry erred on the side of pessimism. For one thing it appears that after all not every business will be subjected to the 100 per cent excess profits tax although this differentiation already has given rise to criticism on the ground that as the country is willing to sacrifice everything to achieve victory all businesses should be treated alike."

At this end of the Washington-London axis, the new tax measure proposed in Congress does not even pretend to make the rich pay for their war. Instead it openly shifts the burden toward the lower income brackets. The new "defense tax" proposes to make every single man who earns as low as \$800 a year, which is \$16 a week, pay an income tax. Married men will start paying from \$2000 a year up.

The United States itself had a 80 per cent excess war profits tax for a time during the First World War. The Nye Committee's conclusions were based partly on this experience. Excess Over What?

In the first place, this is not a tax on war profits but on EXCESS war

profits. That is, the profits made before war starts are taken as "normal", anything above that is taxed away. That's the theory, anyway.

Even at face value, therefore, the only thing the capitalists are asked to "sacrifice" is—not their profits, which are guaranteed—but their right to coin monstrously swollen dividends from the war. Profit at a prosperity level at least is assured, rather than prohibited. To balance this patriotic act, the workers are asked to stand for wage-cuts, lengthened hours and speed-up.

The real fraud, however, is in the idea that even the EXCESS profits are really taxed away, just because of the law and the government propagandists say it is.

The first loophole is that even before the war starts the big corporations have already begun to make their swollen war profits. In America, for example, all the war industries, especially aircraft and steel, have already boosted their earnings figures by 50 to 150 per cent and more. Yet it is this skyrocketed figure which will later be taken as the "normal" profit. Any excess-profit tax which may come will be collected only on amounts over and above this inflated figure. Of course, the same thing happened in England.

To take one example, between 1914 and 1916 U.S. Steel had already hatched its net earnings from 52 to 316 million dollars. "Excess" was counted from this latter figure on.

#### Juggling the Books

Secondly, this tax is utterly unenforceable in practice, as long as the actual business and books are in the hands of the private owners.

How can the government find out how much excess profits have been made? By examining the books. But any lawyer who is worth his \$50,000 a year would need both hands and all his toes to count the different methods of juggling the books to conceal excess profits.

He takes the corporation figures on depreciation, reserves, depletion allowances, obsolescence, raw materials, exhaustion, inventory replacement, etc.—mixes well, and serves it up to the government accountants. Can they unravel it? Yes, at a cost to the government about equal to the tax to be collected. It took twenty-two government accountants five years to check the war-time income tax returns of the U.S. Steel Corporation alone. By that time the war was a bad memory and the government was willing to forget and forgive. Otherwise it might have had to go through long-drawn-out and expensive litigation just to meet its accounting expenses.

Outside of this kind of jugglery, many large corporations used another angle in 1917. They reported that the price of the raw materials which they bought had risen 100 or 200 per cent. This cut down their profits. Of course, it happened that they themselves were the owners of the companies producing the raw materials. They raised prices to

themselves and eliminated the "danger" of having excess profits.

In the last analysis, as long as the private bosses control the war industries, their war profits cannot be effectively checked. Roosevelt's appeals to their patriotism will be answered in the same way that Judge Gary answered such appeals in the last profit-making orgy:

"The manufacturers must have reasonable profits in order to do their duty."

Judge Gary's idea of "reasonable profits" was a rise of about 300 per cent in the net earnings of his corporation, U.S. Steel, from 1914 to 1917. His successor as president of that corporation, E. R. Stettinius, has lately been made the War Board head of production—undoubtedly because of his reasonableness.

What Can Be Done?

The first thing the workers have to do is demand that the corporation books of the war materials makers be opened for public inspection by workers' committees at any time.

Then, as a step towards "equalizing" war-time sacrifices they must demand a rising scale of wages to meet the increasing cost of living and high prices. To begin with, THIRTY-THIRTY: \$30 minimum wage, 30 hours maximum working week.

The third is to demand that the government take over all the war industries—steel, coal, chemicals, railroads, etc., all the industries whose stocks rise as men are slaughtered on the battlefields. And that these industries be run under the real democracy of WORKERS' CONTROL.

The fourth: relieve the top Sixty Families of their coupon-clipping burden, by taking away the piled-up wealth by which they rule the nation. When these ruling plutocrats are expropriated, they won't be able to rake profits from workers' blood.

And if in addition to cutting in on the bosses' war profits, we want to make sure that war will not be fought for dividends but for real democracy, not for dollars but for workers' ideals, we have to say:

TAKE THE PROFIT OUT OF THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM...

Fight to turn the government over to the workers and farmers of the United States. Only such a workers' government can be trusted to fight for the interests of the people!

Sharecroppers Get Penny Pamphlet

POPULAR BLUFFS, Mo.—Delegates and visitors to the sharecroppers convention here last week end warmly received the distribution of 200 copies of the anti-war pamphlet, "My Friends—a freside chat on war" by members of the St. Louis branch of the W.P. Many promised to pass on the pamphlet to their neighbors after reading it.

## Marcus Garvey

by J. R. JOHNSON

Articles in every newspaper and editorials on Garvey have borne witness to the great impression which this extraordinary man made on American life in less than ten years stay in this country. The revolutionary movement is woefully obtuse to the immense significance of his career. Thereby it shows itself still dominated by the powerful prejudice which belittles or ignores all action and achievements by Negroes.

Garvey landed in America some time during the war and agitated for his organization, the U.N.I.A., the Universal Negro Improvement Association. He had a fantastic program of Back to Africa, fantastic, because Britain, France and Germany would not fight wars for Africa and then hand it over to Garvey. It is doubtful whether he believed it himself. It is possible that when he began he took the idea seriously, but before long he must have become convinced of its impracticality. But Garvey's ideas are not important.

#### THE NEGROES RESPOND

The first thing to note is that he burst into prominence in the post-war period, when revolution was raging in Europe and the workers were on the move everywhere. The Negro masses felt the stir of the period, and it was that which made

Garvey. The next great movement of the American workingclass was the pro-Roosevelt movement in 1936. It swung hundreds of thousands of Negro votes from the Republican to the Democratic Party. The third great movement of the American workers was the CIO. It swept hundreds of thousands of Negroes into unions for the first time. In every great step forward of the American masses since the war, the Negroes have played their part. Yet their biggest response was to Garvey.

Why? Garvey was a reactionary. He used fierce words but he was opposed to the labor movement and counseled subservience to bosses. One reason for his success was that his movement was strictly a class movement. He appealed to the black Negroes against the Mulattoes. Thus at one stroke he excluded the Negro middleclass which is very largely of mixed blood. He deliberately aimed at the poorest, most down-trodden, most humiliated Negroes. The millions who followed him, the devotion and the money they contributed, show where we can find the deepest strength of the workingclass movement, the coiled springs of power which lie there waiting for the party which can unloose them.

Garvey, however, was a race-fanatic. His appeal was to black

against white. He wanted purity of race. A great part of his propaganda was based on the past achievements of blacks, their present misery, their future greatness. With that disregard of facts which characterizes the born demagogue, he proclaimed that there were 400 million Negroes in the world, when there are certainly not half as many. What does all this remind of us? Who but Adolf Hitler?

The similarity between the two movements does not end there. The Negroes were too few in America for Garvey to give them excitement by means of baiting whites as Hitler baited the Jews. But his program had a similar nebulosity to the Nazi program. Was this the reason that long before Hitler, he anticipated the Nazi leader in his emphasis on uniforms, parades, military guards, in short, the dramatic and the spectacular? Stupid people saw in all this merely the antics of backward Negroes. Recent events should give them an opportunity to revise their judgments. Everything that Hitler was to do afterwards in the way of psychological appeal Garvey was doing in 1921. His array of baronets, etc., with himself as Emperor of Africa was a hangover from his early life in the West Indies.

In one important respect, the Gar-

# Editorials

## OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

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

## Banned in Canada

As we were going to press, we received a communication from the Canadian Commissioner of Customs that as of June 15, LABOR ACTION may no longer enter the country, or be "circulated or distributed" there under Regulation 39A of the Defense of Canada Regulations. Thus His Majesty's Dominion of Canada formalizes a situation that has existed for many months. Very few of our publications have managed to get by the censors for a long time; and to be caught with a copy of LABOR ACTION, not to speak of distributing it, has been an invitation to arrest or worse.

Canada has joined Britain's cause in defense of "democratic civilization" against the totalitarian nations. With every passing day, it becomes clearer, however, that in defense of that civilization (war, poverty, and repression) the "democracies" are taking on the shape of the dictatorships. This war is a war for profit and conquest. But the rulers dare not let the truth be known. Hypocrisy, lies, demagoguery—that you may "circulate or distribute." But the truth? Never!

And that is LABOR ACTION'S crime. It speaks the truth. It exposes the war-makers. It tells the workers this fundamental truth—THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY TO STOP HITLER—THE WAY OF INDEPENDENT LABOR ACTION FOR A WORKERS GOVERNMENT—IN CANADA, IN THE UNITED STATES, IN FRANCE, IN GERMANY, IN RUSSIA.

Messrs. Censors: your caution will not avail you. One way or another the revolutionary message will be spread among the Canadian workers. You cannot censor out of existence the lessons of your incompetence, your defeats, your lies. And tomorrow, if not today, the workers of Canada will join with those of all other nations, and "censor" your so-called civilization out of existence.

## A Warning Sign

Senator Pepper of Florida, New Deal Democrat and generally viewed as a White House spokesman, proposed to the Senate on Monday that the President be immediately given full dictatorial powers to "prepare and defend America."

He called for Congressional action to give the President power to suspend all rules, regulations and statutes, power to suspend the debt limit, and power to aid with material or credit whatever nations he chooses. These powers are to continue for the "duration of the emergency." The President is to have power to declare when the emergency is over.

The Pepper proposals found little support. The Big Business interests feel it is still a little too early to go the whole way in doing away with democratic pretenses. They prefer to wait until the people have been completely propagandized for it and prepared by a series of partial steps.

The Wall Street interests backing the Republican Party, particularly Willkie,

prefer to wait until after the elections in the hope that a Republican president will submit even more to their dictation than Roosevelt has been doing.

The fact that a United States Senator can calmly discuss dictatorship even before the war is an indication of the fact that the entire ruling class is completely prepared to Hitlerize the country before going to war. Pepper's slogan—and that of the entire ruling class—is "We'll save American democracy even if we have got to go Fascist to do it."

## Religious Freedom

While you were busy last week watching Hitler's murderous speed, the Supreme Court put over a deadly assault on civil liberties in this country.

In a decision that attracted little attention in the press, the Supreme Court in effect wiped out the Constitutional guarantee of a basic civil right: freedom of religious worship. The Court ruled that members of the religious sect, Jehova's Witnesses, must salute the American flag although it is against the tenets of their faith.

Not even in the last war did Congress or the Courts dare to impinge on religious scruples. But these are different days. Everything is more streamlined; things happen faster; and they strike deeper. With this decision as a start—before war is declared—picture to yourself the restrictions that will be imposed on your liberties once the war breaks.

The first result of the decision was the loosing of mob violence in all sections of the country against religious groups. Last week alone there were ten cases of vigilante action against these people. Thus, the Nine Old Men (some of them called "liberals"), by giving the hooligans the legal stamp of approval, stand unmasked as the Nine Old Organizers of vigilante violence.

Now, we disagree with the philosophy of Jehova's Witnesses. But we stand for their right to worship as they please. So too, we defend this same group when last year bands of Coughlinites invaded and disrupted a meeting of Jehova's Witnesses in Madison Square Garden.

Democratic rights are the first victim of the boss war! While the hypocrites howl about religious suppression everywhere else, they blind their eyes to the progress of repression here. Jehova's Witnesses today; tomorrow, any preacher who opposes the war will not only be made to salute the flag, he will be vilified, persecuted, beaten. And what will be done to workers who, for whatever reason, oppose the war, can well be imagined.

The vigilantes and the Supreme Court are giving cruel proof of that!

Note an interesting irony: Judge Rutherford opposed the last war. He was sentenced to jail as an objector by one, Judge Manton. Judge Manton was recently ousted from the bench and sentenced to jail for corruption unbecoming a judge.

## Sugar-Coating

In an attempt to sugar-coat the bitter pill of conscription which the ruling class is trying to shove down the throat of American youth, Dorothy Thompson, clever apologist for the reactionary New York Herald Tribune, says the following in her column of June 12:

"The idea of universal service in the defense forces of the nation was a product of the French Revolution. Far from being an undemocratic notion, it was born together with the idea of personal freedom, and logically so."

If Miss Thompson is really serious about building the sort of army that defended the French Revolution against the feudal monarchs of Europe and the Girondist government at home, we are all for it. The armies raised by the Paris Commune of 1792 were organized from the bottom up, against the will of the central government and parallel to the regular national army. Not only was every soldier of the army of the "sans culottes" permitted to keep his arms at home, but the rank and file elected their own officers.

Miss Thompson, however, indicates that she does not have such an army in mind when she speaks of the French army of today—an army of conscripts who are forced to defend the French Empire in four continents—as her ideal of a "democratic" army.

## The Librarian of Congress Speaks

# Will the Book Burning Start?

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

Several weeks ago, Archibald MacLeish, recently appointed Librarian of Congress, spoke before the American Association for Adult Education. His speech, which marked a new low in the confusion and cowardice of the war crisis is generating among the liberal intelligentsia, was widely—and favorably—commented on in the press. Its main theme was picked up and elaborated by Roosevelt a short time later in the Charlottesville speech. For MacLeish with his keen nose for what is "in the air", in his speech singles out one of the most delicate problems now confronting the Roosevelt Administration: the notorious lack of enthusiasm of the young people of America either for the war preparations now on foot or for the social system these preparations are designed to defend.

### MISEDUCATING THE YOUNG

MacLeish charges that the young generation in America "seems unable to see that the issue before it . . . is at bottom a moral issue, a spiritual issue—that in dealing with

such issues, words must have meaning, and moral judgments must have validity". However, he finds that "the young generation is distrustful of all words and distrustful of all moral judgments of better and worse." This he rightly sees as a great if not a fatal defect in any national defense plan. No use to build planes and battleships if those who must man them have lost faith in the cause they are fighting for.

And what is responsible for this state of affairs? Is it that the youth see that the last war for democracy was not a success? Is it that they find jobs harder and harder to get, that they see no decent living ahead for them, no useful place in society, no room for them in a capitalism suffocating under its own contradictions? Maybe they don't think much of a society which expects them to get married on ten or twelve bucks a week?

No, none of these considerations seem to have occurred to MacLeish. (Those who continue to think on this vulgar economic plane in times like these are "Fifth Columnists".) He

places the blame squarely on the writers of the last twenty years, who have miseducated the youth by casting doubts on the rightness of the present order of society and, above all, by depicting the last war as not a glorious crusade but as a hideous bloody nightmare without any point or purpose.

In a word, those who are responsible for the present state of "moral disarmament" of American youth are not named Mellon, Hoover, Rockefeller, Ford, Morgan. They are named rather Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, Erich Maria Remarque, Stefan Zweig, Ignazio Silone

MacLeish doesn't have the guts to claim either (a) these anti-war novels are inferior to other leading novels of the age, or (b) that they tell lies about the last war. To say this would be too much—at present, at least—even for the general run of liberal intellectuals, and MacLeish is nothing if not cautious about sticking his neck out in such matters.

On the contrary, MacLeish explicitly states: "These are the honest words of honest men, writers of great skill and integrity and devotion. They say what all of us after the war would have said if we could . . . But they are nevertheless words that have borne bitter and dangerous fruits."

### THE HEMLOCK FOR HEMINGWAY?

Reduced to its logical propositions, MacLeish's speech boils down to: (1) the youth are not enthusiastic about fighting for the present American social system; (2) this is because they have been reading novels which expose the futility of the last war (3) this exposure was justified, the last war was futile, and furthermore these novels are great works of art; (4) nevertheless, it would have been better if they had never been written.

The important point is number 4. The Librarian of Congress, of the four or five most eminent American poets, here serves notice that it is better that the truth not be made public about such things. If the war crisis sharpens at the present rate, it is only a matter of time before MacLeish will be advocating, no doubt with tears in his eyes, conscription to prevent the birth of "dangerous" books and, for those already in existence, death by fire. Socrates was executed for "miseducating the youth of Athens". When will Hemingway and Dos Passos be forced to drink the hemlock?

One of the many evidences of the really extraordinary vision of Franklin D. Roosevelt as an imperialist politician is this appointment of Archibald MacLeish to preside over the Library of Congress. Roosevelt was not alarmed by MacLeish's "left" reputation. He knew a brother opportunist when he saw one, and he knew he could depend on MacLeish.

A friend recently wrote me, complaining of his failure to grasp, at the time it was made, the full significance of MacLeish's appointment: "How Time does expose my dullness! I should have proclaimed when Archie got the job: 'Lo! FDR has picked the Heel who in the fullness of time will burn the books in the name of Culture! Only I suspect he is not a conscious Heel at all; just a clever wordsmith with lively survival instincts and crowd responses.'" On the basis of some acquaintance with MacLeish, I can say this characterization is a just one. MacLeish is the great opportunist of contemporary American letters. This makes his speech more rather than less significant. Weathervanes show which way the mind is flowing.

## TOUR SCHEDULE FOR SHACHTMAN

MAY 16—JULY 20, 1940

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

## Our Readers Take the Floor...

### AGREES WITH ANDREWS ON ROLE OF NEGRO

Editor:

John Andrews has the right idea about the place the Negro can occupy in America. Those who are thinking of the colored man as a shoe shiner or porter do not know of the strides the race has made. In terms of personality, ability to work, ability to get along with people, the Negro is often far better equipped than many of the whites, who in many instances assert their alleged superiority with vicious profanity and nit-wit acts.

Many of the commonly held notions that the Negroes are dumb, untrustworthy or lazy are completely wrong. The race has risen far and the white world needs to be told of it.

Yours,  
E. D. P.

Chicago, June 12.

### LIKES MOVIE COLUMN AND KEARNY STORIES

Dear Friend:

I sold a copy of a recent issue of LABOR ACTION to a worker in my shop.

He discussed the issue with me after he had read it. The feature that appealed to him most was "To See or Not To See" by Susan Green. It was the humorous treatment of

the piece on the Star Spangled Banner that got him.

The article on the Kearny strike was very impressive, he said. He agreed to buy the paper every week.

A Metal Worker

New York, June 11.

### THIS WORKER SAYS: CLEAN OUT THE SAFE

Dear Editor:

Workers ought to learn a lesson from the people who hand down the laws whereby we live—

Haile Selassie quit Ethiopia after he cleaned out the safe.  
King Zog quit Albania after he cleaned out the safe.

The Polish Ministry fled to France after they cleaned out the safe.

King Hakon of Norway fled to England after he cleaned out the safe.

Queen Wilhelmina, who loves her people to distraction, fled to London after she cleaned out the safe.

King Leopold made the best deal he could, because his ministry beat him to cleaning out the safe.

The lesson workers ought to learn is that what is in the safe, the workers put there. So common reasoning would tell you that we own what we put in it.

Let's get it—Some way—Some how.

St. Louis Worker

## Statement on "Revelations" of Cambridge District Attorney

THE CAMBRIDGE LOCAL OF THE WORKERS PARTY wishes to answer the red baiting charges that the politically ambitious D.A., Bradford is now peddling in Cambridge by pointing to the fact that the Workers Party has openly supported the aims and actions of the Wilson Defense Committee from the very beginning, a fact which was announced in a statement issued by the Wilson Defense Committee several weeks ago.

The Workers Party supports the Wilson Defense Committee because it works to better the living conditions of those on Welfare and WPA whose standards are among the lowest in New England and a reflection on the entire community.

The Workers Party not only endorses and aids the Wilson Defense Committee, but hundreds of similar committees throughout the country that fight for the benefit of the poor and the jobless. Its members will be found in front—whether in unions, fraternal societies or clubs, always fighting for the rights of the working people.

There is nothing strange in members of the Workers Party working on with committees. Members of all parties including the Democrats and the party to which the District Attorney belongs, the Republican Party, function on committees. However, the Committees that the Republicans and Democrats support are not for the benefit of the people, but for the "60 families".

The anxiety of the District Attorney to belittle and frame the Wilson Defense Committee, an organization that is foremost in the fight for the protection of the democratic rights of the people in Cambridge and the betterment of their living conditions testifies to the fact that he is of the same stripe and hue as Ralph Hamilton and the machine politicians that he so ardently wishes to replace.

The Workers Party will continue to support the Wilson Defense Committee and any other group which works for the benefit of the working people. The District Attorney by his methods will only help rally to the support of the Wilson Defense Committee the aid and endorsement of greater numbers of people.

The Workers Party stands four square behind the Wilson Defense Committee and its many supporters.

## Brazilian Fourth Internationalists Endorse Workers Party Position on the World World

A special session of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Brazilian section of the Fourth International, has adopted an

official resolution on the question of the Second World War and the Soviet Union. Due to the illegal conditions under which the R.S.P. has been valiantly working (the Vargas government is an extremely brutal dictatorship), the discussion took some time.

This resolution endorses the position of the Workers Party on the Soviet Union and the Second World War. In the resolution, which was sent to the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, and a copy of which has just been received by the Workers Party, the R.S.P. resolves:

"a) To give full support to the

position defended by Comrade Lebrun on the I.E.C. of the Fourth International, in accordance with theses he wrote and which were sent to the R.S.P.;

b) To condemn the policy of "unconditional defense of the U.S.S.R., as theoretically false and as dangerous to the interests of the Russian masses and of the socialist revolution in all the other countries of the world as well."

## FOR NEWS OF THE THIRD CAMP—READ LABOR ACTION

## THE NEGRO'S FIGHT—West Indies Need Independence—Not Big Reports

By J. R. JOHNSON

We print this week the second half of an article on the West Indies, by George Padmore. The first half was in last week's Labor Action.

The determination of vested interests to maintain their profits at the expense of labor was destined to have but one result. Disturbances occurred all over the West Indies, and a Royal Commission was sent to investigate the causes which were only too obvious.

In consequence of certain recommendations made by this Commission, the Government, with much trumpeting and self-congratulation, has decided to appropriate a niggardly sum of 1,000,000 pounds (about \$4,000,000) annually for a period of twenty years for the purpose of initiating public health, housing, slum clearance, social welfare and agricultural reforms throughout the West Indies.

The scheme moreover provides for the setting up of a central organization under a comptroller and an inspector-general of agriculture, with a staff of European advisers, specialists and experts, for whose salary about \$400,000 has been voted. More jobs for "empire builders"!

The question of trade unionism is considered among the Commission's recommendations. They advise the recognition of trade unions and peaceful picketing. Strikes, however, are to be discouraged, and to guarantee this, the unions are to come under the supervision of European labor advisers appointed by the Colonial Office.

### THREE CENTS A MAN

Together with this West Indian scheme, the Government has proposed a similar plan embracing the whole Colonial Empire. This is to be financed through the Colonial Development Fund, which is to be increased from 1,000,000 pounds to 5,000,000 pounds for a period of ten years. This works out to a penny and a half (three cents in American money) per native annually.

This fund has in the past been used for building roads, railways, docks, warehouses and other capital undertakings which serve the direct interests of the European settlers, plantation and mining companies. There is no reason to suppose that its increased resources will not be drawn upon for the same purposes. For this is what the imperialists understand as "colonial development."

The constitutional changes urged upon the Commission in memoranda presented by the International African Service Bureau, the League of Colored Peoples, the Trinidad Labor Party, and other West Indian political organizations, have been relentlessly ignored. Why? The Commissioners know as well as we do that as long as the present system of Crown Colony Government exists the common people will have absolutely no voice in shaping public policy and governing revenue so that it is used to promote their economic and social well being.

Under the present system, West Indian legislative and executive councils—the chief organs of government—are completely dominated by European officials, planters, merchants, oil-speculators and coupon clippers.

Take, for instance, the question of land settlement, the most vital issue facing a landless peasantry. The Royal Commission recommends the development of local food-growing schemes and the settlement of people on small homesteads in order to relieve unemployment in the towns.

Commenting upon this recommendation, a previous Royal Commission sent out to the West Indies in 1896-7, observed that "the settlement of the laborer on the land has not, as a rule, been viewed with favor in the past by persons interested in sugar estates. What suited them best was a large supply of laborers entirely dependent upon being able to find work on estates and consequently subject to their control and willing to work for low rates of wages.

This report made forty-three years ago, recommended land for the peasantry. But the natives are still waiting for the promised piece of land on which to grow food. The planters will always succeed in sabotaging such reforms so long as their political power remains unbroken. If the West Indies are ever to advance, the plantocracy must be dislodged from its political seat of power. This can be at least begun in a constitutional fashion, as follows:—(1) Give the West Indian people universal adult suffrage (2) Abolish nominated members to Legislative and Municipal Councils and substitute for them elected representatives. (3) Abolish property qualifications for members to such Councils. (4) Institute a system of popular control over the expenditure of public funds.

In brief, give the people less Crown Colony bureaucracy and more real democracy. The West Indian peoples are entitled to full self-determination. If they are not qualified after three hundred years of British tutelage, then it is time for Britain to get out.

These so-called trustees dare not give an account of their stewardship to the British people. They censor their own report, and like true autocrats take refuge behind the exigencies of war. They dole out niggardly sums of money as a bribe to their victims and try to create the impression that they intend for the future to liquidate "those evil things—bad faith, brute force, oppression and persecution" within their colonial empire.

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