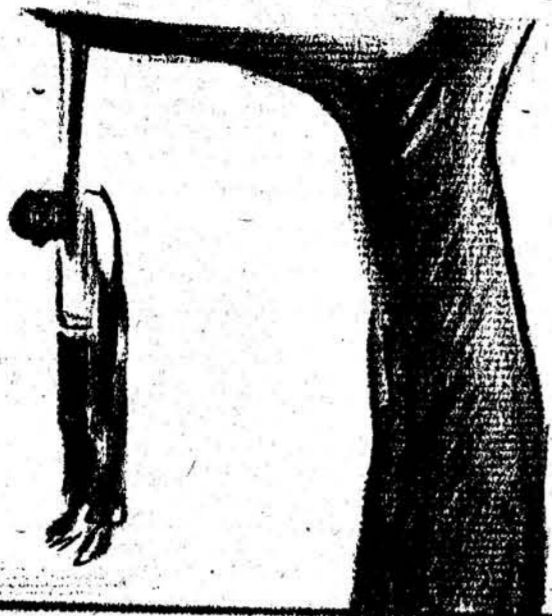


"I Am an American"



LYNCHING



DISCRIMINATION

SLUMS

THE WORLD AT WAR

Vichy States Its Position As Axis Puppet--British Fear Moslem Aspirations

By MAX STERLING

Whatever illusions the statesmen of the "democracies" had about Marshal Petain were completely shattered by his two-minute broadcast to the French people in which he declared that "for you, the French people, it is simply a question of following me without reservation along the path of honor and national interest."

With this bluster about honor, Petain was telling the French people to accept the alliance already worked out between Vichy and the German conqueror. The speech was followed by Nazi airplanes landing in Syria. Roosevelt and Churchill at once accused the heads of the French state of betraying their pledge to give no aid to Germany--enemy of their ex-ally, Britain. In fact, they declared, Petain himself had said that such a course was incompatible with the honor of France.

VICHY "COOPERATES"

As we have seen, Petain is capable of avowing honor in the pursuit of quite contradictory courses. Among capitalist statesmen, the word honor has long since had little more than rhetorical meaning, and behind it

use more than one double-cross has been hatched.

Roosevelt may indeed feel disappointed in Petain, and in the failure of his emissary, Admiral Leahy, to win Vichy over to the side of non-cooperation with Germany. Not that every effort wasn't made—including quite categorical statements about where the United States stands in the war. Every means was used to convince France that only a British and American victory could restore it to its former power, and that in the long run this victory was inevitable. But the men of Vichy remain unconvinced and they keep repeating "Germany will win the war and we must find our place in the new German order."

In their hope to win France away from the Nazis, the rulers of the rich British and American nations that can still afford a rapidly diminishing "democracy," overlook one essential feature about decrepit French capitalism which goes a long way toward explaining both the capitulation to Germany and the subsequent "collaboration" with it. This special feature about France, which goes even beyond the undoubted desire of the French capitalists to restore their former imperial power, is their ABSOLUTE NEED FOR A TOTALITARIAN CHECK UPON THE FRENCH MASSES. That is why,

(Continued on page 4)

Survey Shows People Do Not Want War

A series of polls of public opinion conducted during the past few weeks by the Akron Beacon Journal neatly prick the huge propaganda bubble being blown by the war-mad Roosevelt Administration and its big business backers, made more profit-hungry by the tremendous profits already gathered in the war boom.

The survey of Akron public opinion showed:

That 68 PER CENT were opposed to the lowering of the draft age.

That 85 PER CENT were opposed to the conveying of war materials.

That 90 PER CENT were for a referendum on war.

The conclusion is plain: (1) Big Business wants war and (2) the mass of the people want peace.

As the country approaches the day when it will be thrown into the war against the overwhelming desires of the working people, our slogan becomes all the more vital: LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!

Jingoes Hold Stage at Food Convention

Sole Progressive Note Is Defense Of Strike Weapon

The Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance of the AFL, recently celebrated its 50th anniversary with its first international convention in two years. Delegates at the convention, held at Cincinnati on April 18-23, represented locals with a membership of 190,000 out of a total membership of 230,000. This represents by far the greatest strength the organization has ever achieved—but this gain in the size of the union was accompanied by a whole series of reactionary decisions reached at the convention.

The majority of the convention delegates took part in an orgy of jingoism. Famous labor "statesmen" like Dan Tobin were brought in to whip up an anti-"ism" and pro-war hysteria among the delegates. After an 11-hour debate, the delegates adopted an addition to the international by-laws barring all supporters of communism, nazism, fascism or any other "subversive" doctrine from holding office in the union. With this by-law under their belt, the right wing leaders of the International will no doubt attempt to purge several New York locals of their Stalinist leadership.

(Continued on page 3)

AFL-CIO Ranks Stand Solid Against Shipyard "Yellow-Dog" Contract

Bureaucrats Tried to Put Over "Master Contract" by Back-Door Scheming and by Preventing Democratic Vote

By J. W.

SAN FRANCISCO—Every lousy trick in the books has been employed to try to break the strike of over 2,000 AFL and CIO machinists in the shipyards here, but the ranks are holding solid.

And 18,000 other unionists working in the yards have respected the picket lines, refusing to walk by them, in a remarkable demonstration of solidarity and defiance of orders from big shot AFL leaders.

The latest trick against the strikers was a threat of Acting Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal to use sailors and marines to bust the picket lines.

At a mass meeting, a union leader reminded the strikers that the coal miners had been threatened the same way and had stuck to their guns and won.

John L. Lewis told them to call the army and see how much coal they could dig with bayonets. It is

even harder to drive rivets with a bayonet.

The strikers know that no one can take their jobs. There just aren't skilled men around. Labor is finding its own power here. And that is why other techniques than old-fashioned picket line busting are being used.

Ma Perkins, Secretary of Labor, denounced the strike, hoping to frighten the workers. It was a puff of hot wind in a hurricane.

The AFL Metal Trades Council in the Bay area, of which the machinists are members, denounced the strike, but they haven't got jurisdiction over the strikers and were told so in plain language.

John P. Frey, president of the AFL Metal Trades Department, even got the Los Angeles Metal Trades Council to pass a resolution against the strikers.

But all this was more than counteracted by the immediate support given by other AFL unions and the

LABOR ACTION

MAY 26, 1941

Organ of the Workers Party of the United States

THREE CENTS

ROOSEVELT PLANS UNDECLARED WAR!

We Demand

Economic, Social, Political Equality for Negro People!

AN EDITORIAL

Will Order Convoys at Behest of Wall Street

The lynching of A. C. Williams, a 22 year old youth, by a Florida mob calls attention again to the constant terror and insecurity under which Negroes live in the United States. There are those who say that this lynching is especially to be deplored because "there have been so few lynchings during the past few years." This attitude is nonsense and has no meaning whatsoever except in a purely quantitative sense. The important point that must be emphasized is that Negroes are always in a state of being lynched—North, South, East and West. They live under constant threat, intimidation, disfranchisement, segregation, insult and Jim-Crow; which expresses itself from time to time in overt acts of lynching.

There is no basic difference between the North and the South on this question. There is no important difference between the federal government and the state governments of Mississippi or Florida. The basic procedure in both is Jim-Crow. Whether it be the federal government, northern or southern state governments, northern or southern industry, the Negro is subjected to the vilest forms of proscription, insult and Jim-Crow as a matter of national policy.

A Disgraceful Exhibition

Furthermore—as we are witnessing today—there is no inclination to change this national policy in times such as the present, when the country pretends to be fighting for the preservation of democracy and the rights of all the people.

Not only is there demonstrated no inclination to change, but we are treated to a most disgraceful, insulting and hypocritical exhibition on the part of certain whites who claim that they are for the right of Negroes to get a "square deal" in the "defense" industries. We behold a group of white people signing a petition urging that Negroes be given such places in the "defense" set-up as they are qualified to hold. Some of them are John Stewart Bryan, publisher of the Richmond, Va., News-Leader and president of the College of William and Mary; Harry Woodburn Chase, Chancellor of New York University; Howard Coonley, chairman of the National Association of Manufacturers; Marshall Field, Chicago merchant; Charles Seymour, president of Yale University; Matthew Woll of the AFL; the Cleveland Plain Dealer and the New York Times.

These people, and others like them, tell their fellow employers that they should give Negroes jobs and not discriminate against them in the "defense" industries. But what jobs do these scoundrels give to Negroes in their own enterprises? Negroes get the same jobs and the same treatment in the aircraft companies and the machine industries that they get in the enterprises run by the gentlemen who signed the above mentioned petition.

What does Marshall Field mean by calling on Curtis-Wright or the Bendix Company to give Negroes jobs? His own business employs no Negroes and uses every ruse to keep Negroes from entering the store to make purchases.

Whom is Bryan of the Richmond News-Leader and William and Mary trying to fool? What fight has he waged in Virginia for equal rights for Negroes? What kind of jobs do Negroes get on the News-Leader? Are there any Negroes around William and Mary except as cooks, janitors and maids? What would be the fate of Negroes who applied for admission to William and Mary?

And there is Coonley, chairman of the National Association of Manufacturers. What policy does he have in his own business on the employment of Negroes? Would he be willing to go to some of his business friends and fight for a Negro engineer to have an engineer's job, a Negro draftsman to have a draftsman's job or a Negro accountant to work as an accountant?

What about Matthew Woll? He is also shedding tears over the exclusion of Negroes from the "defense" industries. But what about the AFL, of which Mr. Woll is a vice-president? What has Woll done about the situation at Boeing Aircraft in Seattle? The company claims it can't employ Negroes because it has a closed shop contract with the International Association of Machinists (AFL), which in a very cowardly manner excludes Negroes from membership. (By putting in the secret ritual that only white men must be proposed for membership.) Also, we would like to ask Mr. Woll whether or not his own union (the Photo Engravers) admits Negroes to membership or to apprenticeship courses.

Others could go on and on to ask these questions of others who pretend to be so concerned about the rights and the welfare of the Negro people. It isn't necessary. Anyone with the intelligence of a five year old should know the answers.

They Want to Fool Negroes

We know what these people are talking about. The Negroes who joined with them in this petition should know also. Presumably they don't, and we will tell them. The main interest of the signers of this petition is to fool Negroes and get their support for the imperialist war. They want to get this accomplished as easily as possible and with the least inconvenience to themselves. They have heard rumblings among the Negroes. They want to pacify them. They don't want any "trouble." They don't want Negroes to become "radicals." They are afraid to talk about Negro "fifth columnists," or "subversive" Negroes. They know that Negro militant workers and revolutionaries can deliver a blast that will wither these scoundrels and fakers.

(Continued on page 4)

Roosevelt has involved the people of the United States in the world imperialist war!

The war has not been formally declared. Its aims have not been stated. It has not been approved, formally or informally, by the people of the United States.

The next step in war entry will be the use of convoys. Convoys will be an official DECLARATION OF UNDECLARED WAR!

All that will remain will be the sending of American troops to battlefields selected by Roosevelt. That will come when an army of sufficient size is ready and when Roosevelt thinks it safe to chance the resistance of the American people.

Roosevelt made these things unmistakably clear in his statement to a group of Washington correspondents last Friday. Commenting on the position of the Vichy pro-Axis government, Roosevelt informed the world that the United States was "unofficially" in the war. Wall Street's spokesman in the White House referred to "undeclared war" waged by the United States in the past. Every correspondent present knew he was referring to THIS war. Roosevelt gave no secret away. His course has been clearly one of WAR ENTRY—against the wishes and desires of the American people, who continue to oppose the war despite jingo propaganda heaped on their heads from all sides.

Nor was his threat of "undeclared war" surprising. Japan has not yet declared war on China! Millions of American youth may lose their lives in the blood and slaughter of imperialist war, years may elapse before the United States "formally" declares war. War will be "formally" declared only after some pretext, like the Zanzibar sinking, presents itself.

The Red Sea, said Roosevelt, is "neutral" water, and United States vessels would consider it such. Germany, on the other hand, has included the Red Sea in the war zone. The meaning of that is plain.

Roosevelt will keep the Red Sea (a vital lane of connection with the Suez Canal) open for British and American imperialism, come what may. Enough Congress may be debating convoys, we are certain that ROOSEVELT HAS ALREADY ORDERED CONVOYS IN THE RED SEA—if not elsewhere.

As commander-in-chief of the armed forces, Roosevelt can send the Navy anywhere he sees fit. And it is a virtual certainty that part of the Navy is in the Red Sea. Navy officials have admitted that American participation in the "shooting" war will begin on the seas. If the American Navy has not yet been involved in any shooting, it will be very soon after convoys are officially ordered.

But Roosevelt has a greater object in mind than defense of the British positions. He is not concerned with aiding Britain but with aiding American imperialism—which, at this time, shares its interests with the British imperialists. Rockefeller, Lamont, Wall Street have truly big game in mind—nothing less than world domination. And Roosevelt is acting accordingly.

An important statement will soon be forthcoming. In this statement Roosevelt will serve notice on Latin America that, whether it wants it or not, it is henceforth part of the American Empire—and all other hands off! Vice-President Wallace significantly referred to the "greater American citizenship" which includes Latin America as well as the United States. In other words: the Latin American peoples, by the grace of Wall Street, are being inducted into American "citizenship"—and no back talk, please!

Before this paper is off the press, Roosevelt may already have taken the island of Martinique, as well as other French possessions. For the people of Martinique, of Dakar, etc., that means the substitution of one

(Continued on page 2)



# With the Labor Unions On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

## THE KIND OF UNION WORKERS WANT

The three-to-one vote of the workers at the Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Co. and other victories of the CIO, demonstrate that the workers want to be represented by a union that will FIGHT for them. The workers want unions, but they want unions that do something more than just collect dues, initiation fees and pay death benefits. The workers want something while they are living: HIGHER WAGES, SHORTER HOURS and far better working conditions.

## HOW TO GET SOMETHING FROM FORD

Before LABOR ACTION appears again, the NLRB election will have been held at Ford's. We expect the CIO to defeat the whole combination of Ford, Harry Bennett, the company union and the AFL. Ford's man Friday, Harry Bennett, has announced that the CIO will win the election and that the company will bargain with the CIO until "hell freezes over."

## COUDERT AND THE STALINIST WAR POSITION

A man by the name of Coudert, who is chairman of a legislative committee investigating "subversive" influences in New York City's schools, says that the "red peril" is greater than the "fascist peril." "The communist is the confidence man of totalitarianism," says Coudert, "while the Nazi is the holdup man."

We are not quite certain what Coudert means by "communist." Presumably he is talking about the Stalinists. At an rate there is something wrong in this picture. If Coudert is correct, then the United States is preparing for war against the wrong people. But even taking Coudert's position, that "reds" are a danger, it is evident that the bosses are not in agreement with him. Coudert can't get John D. Rockefeller to agree that Stalin is a greater danger to him than Hitler. John D. knows that it is Hitler that is preparing to grab his 90,000 square miles of oil lands in Iraq. That's why he is ready for shooting war against Germany. He doesn't want the German capitalist to grab the wealth through exploitation of the workers of Iraq. John D. wants to do the exploiting and robbing himself so that he can add to the fortune his old man piled up robbing the workers in the U. S.

There is something else too about Coudert. He and his kind prefer fascism to any social order that would strip the bosses of their power and profits. As between socialism and fascism these people will always choose fascism. If the workers fail to learn this, they will have a sad experience before this war is over. Furthermore, Coudert and the boss class don't need to worry themselves over the Stalinists "overthrowing the government by force and violence." All that the Stalinists are concerned

# NAM War Council Tells Big Business The TRUTH About the War's Meaning

By ELLEN MacGUIRE

LOS ANGELES, May 12—When they're among themselves, capitalists are the frankest people in the world. Last week at the swank Baltimore Hotel in Los Angeles, there was much frank talk from the National Association of Manufacturers. Without mincing words they stated what this war means:

For business—profits, profits, and more profits.  
For the people—"blood, sweat, and tears."  
Draping their war council in the fancy title of "defense clinic," the nation's biggest business tycoons got together to exchange notes on running their war. "War is no longer a matter of conjecture," said Walter D. Fuller, president of the NAM and of the Curtis Publishing Co. "It is a matter of time."  
"We, as a nation of peaceful people, may as well face the realistic truth that we are engaged in the greatest INDUSTRIAL (my emphasis) conflict in history."

Then, with the over-bearing arrogance that business is displaying more and more these days, Fuller went on to say, "We need some of Winston Churchill's blood, sweat, and tears' frankness to open the eyes of the American people."  
"Once we thought we could have guns and butter, too," said A. J. Browning, adviser to the director of purchases for OPM. It is perfectly clear now that butter has long been voted down by guns.

Browning warned that in the 11 months since the "national defense" program has been under way, less than five billion dollars have been spent. By next summer nearly half of the total national income of 75 billions will be drained into war production, he assured the gleeful profiteers.  
These business men have nothing to worry about—escalator clauses in defense contracts, low excess profits taxes and higher and higher prices will keep them happy.  
At the same time, the working class can also be assured that the NAM will see to it that it will be cheated out of none of the "blood and sweat and tears" that are capitalism's legacy to workers all over the world in this year of Our Lord, 1941.

Chester M. Colby, chairman of the board of General Foods, Inc., said: "Naturally, the cost of living is bound to continue to rise as a result of the defense measures and the greater consumption of food products in those branches of the government which have greatly increased their personnel—the army, navy and air forces."  
"However, the people of the United States must become reconciled to higher costs. But," he consoled, "they can be thankful that they will not have to look forward to limitations on certain foodstuffs like sugar and meat, such as we experienced in the last war."

But workers who have to bear the brunt of this "high-minded" realism shouldn't have to think twice to interpret pap such as this. Here is a plainly stated forecast which workers who have been fooled into equating the "democratic war" with the war of "blood, sweat and tears" should take to heart. And here too is a lesson to be learned about Roosevelt who shouts for "sacrifices from labor" as he ladles out war profits to the economic royalists he "maligned" yesterday.

# We Demand: A Capital Levy on Wealth To Pay for ALL War Appropriations!

# Boss Association Tries to Spike Wage Increase at North American

Special to Labor Action

LOS ANGELES, May 12—Professional pay-triots have been doing their bit for national "defense" in Los Angeles. Negotiations between the UAW and North American Aircraft Co. were proceeding with a minimum of trouble when the Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce saw fit to butt in and demand that the 75 cent minimum be lowered.  
President Jouett of the ACC reasoned that the union's demand was extravagant because it was "higher" than the highest CIO minimum ever obtained." Richard Frankenstein, UAW national aviation director, reminded him that the recently signed contract at Briggs calls for a minimum starting rate of 70 cents.  
Bumptious Jouett was blasted by the union for his intervention. "This interference by the Chamber of Commerce into peaceful negotiations between a duly elected collective bargaining representative and a cooperative management is entirely uncalled for," the union statement said.  
The excuse for the Chamber's pious intervention is that the union is taking advantage of "national defense" in making its "extravagant" demands. This old "taking advantage of the emergency" wail, coming from men who have leeches fortunes from the public by just such tactics, is always ironical; but coming from this particular bunch at this particular time, it is more than ironical. It is downright disgusting.

The production of planes for "national defense" was more than two months late in starting because the same sacrificing group of manufacturers was in Washington dickering to make sure that ordinarily swollen profits would be doubled and tripled.  
Aircraft manufacturers refused point-blank to operate unless the Vinson-Trammell Act was repealed. As a result of this pay-triote lobbying, North American made \$7,000,000 profit last year. And it is common knowledge that profits are increasing—along with taxes on the working class.

Now the Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce is afraid that North American will set a dangerous precedent by yielding peacefully to union demands for a wage scale that will, in reality, only balance off skyrocketing taxes and living costs.

# Roosevelt--

(Continued from page 1)

hated imperialism for another. Thus does Roosevelt proceed from one war step to the next.  
Before he takes the final step of sending American troops, the American people must DECLARE their opposition to imperialism war, DECLARED or UNDECLARED.  
THEY MUST DEMAND THAT ROOSEVELT STATE HIS WAR AIMS—AND THAT THEY HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO VOTE ON THOSE AIMS.

Every jingo statement issued by the White House, or one of its lackeys, must be answered with a mass protest.

Every jingo speech spoken in the United States must be countered by the mightier voice of the people.

We must not give up our fight against the war and for the right to vote against the war—not now, before the "shooting" begins, not later, when American youth is shedding its blood in a war not its own.

By every means at our disposal—and especially through our unions—we must apply our pressure to the politicians who are gambling with our lives and our liberties for the imperialist stakes of world conquest.

We must DECLARE our ANTI-WAR position: You, Mr. Profiteer, fooled us in 1914-1918. You are trying to fool us again. We want no part of your war!

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!

For Fun in the Sun  
Boatride up the Hudson  
Play at Bear Mountain  
Decoration Day, Friday, May 30  
Ahoy Mates!  
Ride Aboard the S.S. "State of Delaware"  
Leaves Pier 1, Battery, at 9:30 A.M.  
Round Trip Fare: \$1.25  
GET YOUR TICKET NOW!  
For Reservations write to Local New York, Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street, or Call CHelsea 2-9681

# PRESS ACTION

## 25¢ SPECIAL SUB DRIVE

With this issue we are initiating a new LABOR ACTION subscription drive. In order to introduce LABOR ACTION to new readers, we have established a special introductory sub offer—a three-month subscription (13 issues) for only 25 cents.  
A tentative quota has been set of a minimum of 200 new subscriptions in the next two months... certainly an extremely modest figure, and one that we should easily fill, and perhaps better. Please note that this special 25 cent subscription is not good for members of our organization or former subscribers. It is only for NEW readers, those who have never subscribed before; it is intended purely as an INTRODUCTION to LABOR ACTION.

These 25 cent special subscriptions will not only help LABOR ACTION financially, but will serve as a basis for obtaining regular subscriptions later on. And they are very easy to get. Already Lynn, within a few days, has obtained two with very little effort, and expects to get many more. Thirty-four 25 cent subs have been obtained in New York City prior to the initiation of this special drive nationally.

These subscriptions should be vigorously pushed at every branch activity: house-to-house canvassing, contact work, at forums, socials, street meetings, etc. Circularize our contact list; run socials for funds to enable the branch to pay for subs for those contacts who can't afford to pay for their own. LABOR ACTION will carry a special 25 cent sub blank in each issue, in case you are caught short without a blank. These blanks have been mailed to all branches.

A letter was sent during the week to each branch suggesting a tentative quota for subs. As soon as we receive approval or changes on these quotas, they will be published regularly in the paper, together with a report on how many subs have been obtained.

So let's get together and really push conscientiously on this drive. Let's really build a circulation for LABOR ACTION. Let's get hundreds of new readers and new subscribers. It can be done! It must be done! All we've got to do is do it.

## FINANCIAL NOTES

Chicago South Side branch has paid off its LABOR ACTION bill, and expects to make payments regularly in the future. We can only call the attention of all delinquent branches to this shining example, and emphasize the fact that regular payments are better than headache powders.

## DISTRIBUTION DOPE

Columbus, Ohio, had a successful LABOR ACTION distribution in a Negro district last week. Fifteen papers were sold, ten left with a promise of payment the following week, and ten were given away free. One regular customer promised to get a subscription. They write that they expect to increase their bundle soon.

Lynn writes that during the past two weeks LABOR ACTION has been distributed at a Leather Workers' Union meeting, and they plan a sale there this week. Also, they have selected two neighborhoods, one a Negro and the other a white working class neighborhood, for house-to-house canvassing with LABOR ACTION.

Other branches please note!

# Conscript the War Industries Under Workers' Control!

# Union Protest Forces Reversal Of Draft Ruling Against Striker

Special to Labor Action

HARTFORD, Conn., May 15.—Donald Gustave Olson was working on war orders for the Hanson-Whitney Co. machine tool manufacturers. When his draft number was reached for classification, Olson was placed on the occupational deferment list as "necessary for national defense." That was in January. But on April 16 he went on strike together with other workers in his plant. He was promptly informed on April 25 that his deferment had been rescinded. In place of that classification, he received notice on May 7 that his category was now class 1-A. The warning was clear: either shut up and be a good lackey of the boss, or else you'll be drafted now (and quickly sent to the firing line in case of war?)

But such action was not taken lying down. Immediately upon hearing the news, Donald Zinn, business agent of the UERMWA local (CIO), telegraphed President Roosevelt, asking for the removal of the West Hartford draft board which had taken this action and charging that strikers' thus faced cancellation of their occupational deferments unless they returned to work on the company's terms.

This labor demand has just received recognition in an order by the state director of the draft, after report by a special inquiry board, replacing Olson on the deferred list. The board's report "admitted" the local draft board and stated that its action was "improper and unjustifiable under all of the conditions and circumstances." It was "recommended" that the West Hartford group "refrain from any act which would result in a reclassification of any registrant whose employment is temporarily interrupted for any cause involving controversy between employer and employee."

## Threat Not Ended

We cannot help but wonder what is meant by the statement that the action was "improper... under all of the conditions and circumstances." Perhaps it means that it is not yet time to try such stunts. After all, the American labor movement is far from being crushed. In fact, it is growing rapidly right now and it might be expected to take drastic action against this threat of slavery for the American worker under compulsion of either submitting to the boss or else being shipped off to the army.

That the threat has not been ended, however, is evidenced by somewhat similar action taken by a Cambridge, Mass., draft board which warned that strikers would be classified for rapid induction into the armed forces. The legislative agent of the AFL in Massachusetts has already protested this action and is preparing a campaign against this policy which is so dangerous to a free labor movement.

# Ohio Conference Discusses Work

CLEVELAND—An active workers' conference of the Workers Party was held in Cleveland on May 11.

Representatives were present from Buffalo, Youngstown, Cleveland and Akron, with reports presented on party progress in Columbus, Detroit and Pittsburgh.

Heartening reports were given on the party's activities in this industrial heart of America.

Reports and discussion took place on all aspects of the party's work, both in reference to mass work itself and to the internal work of the branches.

Discussion was particularly fruitful in the trade union field. Reports showed that our party is becoming increasingly proletarian in composition.

Work among the Negroes, it was found, is proceeding well in all branches, but possibilities in this field have barely been touched.

Following the reports and discussion, all of which proceeded from the recent plenum's program of action as a basis, suggestions in the form of motions were drawn up and forwarded to the national office.

Among the motions passed were those suggesting: the drawing up of a basic pamphlet showing our position on the Negro question; the writing of an ABC of Marxism for the internal and external educational work of the party; the publishing of a penny pamphlet directed to the women, basing itself on the rise in the cost of living; short tours through the Midwest, especially of Negro comrades and others who could stay over a few days at each branch for organizational purposes; and a motion suggesting the simplification of the articles directed to the Negroes.  
The value of such conferences at judicious intervals being so apparent at this conference, provisions were made for the calling of similar ones in the future.

# Labor Action Bookshelf

By Dwight Macdonald

WAR BY REVOLUTION, By Francis Williams. Viking. 158 pages. \$1.50.

Everybody talks about revolution these days. Hitler talks about it, Bevin refers to it often, Petain uses the term almost daily and over here the liberal weeklies—like their colleague in London, the New Statesman and Nation—are constantly slinging the word around. The Man from Mars might think world revolution was at hand.

This kind of "revolution," however, is strictly an export commodity. The idea is that if you can get the other side in the war to take your "revolutionary" talk seriously, it will be easier to win. This is the real basis of this little book by Francis Williams, a British Labor Party brain-truster who left the editorial staff of the party's paper, the Daily Herald, to go into politics. According to the publisher's blurb, he is "considered to be one of the coming men" in England today. His book, published in England several months ago and now reissued over here, is said to have created quite a stir in Labor Party and Liberal circles in London.

Mr. Williams' thesis is that if this war "is fought as a national war for the victory of Britain and the established interests of Britain, it will in the end be lost. If it is fought as a war of democratic revolution in Europe it can be won." He goes on to demonstrate in convincing detail that the conservative old order in England will never be able to meet the political drive and demagoguery of the Nazis and that there is slight military possibility of the Anglo-American alliance making headway against Hitler on the Continent by military means. He sees the only hope in the fostering of revolutionary movements in the occupied countries. Furthermore, he argues that the former European ruling classes cannot be depended on to lead these revolutions, since the Nazis can easily immobilize them (and are doing so) either by making small concessions to them as the price for political "cooperation" or by simply removing them from the posts of power. Hence it must be to the working class of Europe that any revolutionary appeals must be addressed. And in order to appeal to them, he continues, it is not enough to say that England is fighting for "freedom" or to promise them a restoration of the old world of pre-1939, since this was a world which meant poverty and insecurity for most of them.

## AN ADMIRABLE WAR PROGRAM

So far, so good. Most readers of this paper would agree with these points. And when the author comes to set down what he calls a "rough draft" of the war aims he urges the Churchill government to proclaim, we find such excellent sentiments as these:

"The British people... pledge themselves in the war to fight for the establishment of a free Europe which shall give to all men and women within its territories security from poverty and avoidable distress."

"They affirm that all men and women have an equal right to share in the products of the wealth produced by their joint efforts... and that the satisfaction of these claims must be the first consideration of all governments, taking precedence over all such interests, profits and privileges as have been common to unequalitarian societies in the past..."

"As an earnest of their intentions and of their determination to set aside all imperialist privileges the people of Britain further announce their readiness to assist worthily in the establishment of a free and independent government of India answerable only to the people of India... They undertake, further, to renounce all imperial claims in their colonial possessions..."

## —WHICH IS WORTH THE PAPER IT IS PRINTED ON

These are big and bold words. Needless to say, no such aims have been proclaimed. So what does Mr. Williams suggest should be done so as to persuade or force the present Churchill government to raise the banner of revolution—or if, as seems highly probable, this government refuses to do any such thing, to replace that government with one that will carry out his program? Mr. Williams gives us at great length his program for revolution OUTSIDE ENGLAND. But what about the revolution INSIDE ENGLAND which will be necessary before the other program can be carried out? Or doesn't he think such a revolution will be necessary?

Apparently not, for in the whole book there is no hint—beyond the most general kind of exhortations—of what political measures must be taken in England itself. The book seems to be simply and purely an appeal to the good sense and humanity of the politicians now in control of the British government. Already it is clear that the appeal—as might have been predicted—has had no effect. The Churchill government has become steadily more right-wing in its composition, the Labor Party politicians who entered it last spring have been steadily reduced to the impotent and servile status of a Ramsay MacDonald (with the single exception of Bevin) and there have not been the slightest signs that Churchill is interested in freeing India, stating any war aims, or promoting any working class revolutions on the Continent.

Mr. Williams' fine words have borne no fruit because he is asking of his liberal friends an impossibility—to wage a revolutionary war against Hitler by means of a government made up of Tories and right-wing labor politicians (with the balance of power shifting steadily, as it always does in such cases, toward the Tories). I have no doubt he is sincere in his advocacy of working class democratic revolution, but he wrote his book on the wrong subject. What he should have discussed is how to bring about a revolution in England FIRST, as a preliminary to the revolutionary war he advocates.

# Los Angeles Puts in Busy Week on Shachtman Tour

LOS ANGELES—Max Shachtman's tour was a brilliant success here. Over 125 people attended the major public meeting held last Tuesday night. There were 110 paid admissions by actual count, besides 15 or more unemployed admitted free. The audience listened attentively for over three hours of the lecture and question answering, showing a great interest in Shachtman's revolutionary message. A total of \$35 was taken in the collection and gate receipts.

A debate with Prof. John Hallowell of the University of California at Los Angeles was held Wednesday night and became, in the opinion of most of the 75 students who attended, a massacre. Hallowell tried to defend Roosevelt's war policies against our views.

Friday afternoon Shachtman spoke on the campus and Friday night he was speaker at the Young Men's Advancement League, a Negro organization. On Sunday night he spoke to a small meeting in San Pedro.

Besides all that public activity, Shachtman spoke at a membership meeting Thursday night on the Russian question, and Saturday afternoon a lengthy session was held on party problems.

The strenuous week was concluded with a social on Saturday night.

## Schedule of Shachtman National Tour

Kansas City	Tuesday, May 27
St. Louis	Thursday to Sunday, May 29 to June 1
Streator	Monday, June 2
Chicago	Tuesday-Wednesday, June 3-4
Louisville	Friday, June 6
Cincinnati	Saturday, June 7
Columbus	Sunday, June 8
Akron	Monday, June 9
Youngstown	Tuesday, June 10
Pittsburgh	Wednesday-Thursday, June 11-12
Washington	Friday, June 13
Baltimore	Saturday, June 14
Philadelphia	Sunday, June 15
Reading	Monday, June 16
Mt. Carmel	Tuesday, June 17
Newark	Wednesday, June 18
Massachusetts (Boston, Lynn, Worcester, Fitchburg)	Friday to Monday, June 20-23

NO GOVERNMENT CONTRACT  
WITHOUT A UNION CONTRACT!



# Social Gains Are on Way Out - - IF Labor Permits

By SUSAN GREEN

The two campaign promises of political Big-Boss Roosevelt that got him most votes were (1) to keep the country out of the war, and (2) to preserve the social gains that his administration falsely claims to be responsible for, but which actually were forced from him by labor's strength.

The first promise has gone the primrose path to the everlasting bonfire travelled by the great majority of campaign promises. It is about to drag in its wake a bewildered, uninformed, unwilling people into the world conflagration started by the pyromaniac imperialists of the warring countries—IF LABOR PERMITS.

The second promise is fast going the same way. IF LABOR PERMITS, maximum hours and minimum wages, unemployment insurance, laws protecting women and children in industry, government jobs for the unemployed, relief for the destitute—these will all go up in the smoke of that everlasting bonfire of campaign promises, mingled with the denser, darker and more deadly smoke of the war.

## HIT FORTY-HOUR WEEK

Sidney Hillman, now identified with labor only by the mask he still wears, is willing to sap the working class of its vital energy for the sake of producing the means of murder that the boss-imperialists require, and trots out the four-shift 160-hour week plan. But the bosses—as revealed by the New York Times, seconded by boss sheets all over the country—are not satisfied with Hillman's plan. THEY WANT THE FORTY-HOUR WEEK ABOLISHED. Said the Times editorially on May 9:

"From no one in the Administration, unfortunately, has there yet come any candid and realistic consideration of the problem of the working week in defense economy and the relation to it of our present wage-hour law. Obviously the law deliberately discourages a working week of more than forty hours by its penalty of a 50 per cent wage increase for any hours above that. IT WOULD CERTAINLY SEEM REASONABLE TO AMEND THE LAW FOR THE PERIOD OF THE EMERGENCY SO THAT THIS HEAVY OVERTIME PENALTY DOES NOT BEGIN UNTIL AFTER A WORKING WEEK OF FORTY-EIGHT HOURS."

It is not for nothing that the spokesmen for the bosses make such criticisms and suggestions. They indicate that tremendous pressure is being put on Congress—through the many avenues open

to the bosses for controlling Congress—to abolish the forty-hour week.

This, obviously, is a simultaneous ATTACK UPON THE WAGES OF THE WORKERS. "Longer hours for less pay" is the slogan of the bosses. And out of the thinner pay envelopes the workers are expected to meet the cost of living which in some sections of the country has already risen by 25 per cent.

Still fancier schemes are being cooked up that will beat to the ground the standard of living of the working people—IF LABOR PERMITS. The question of paying for their war is topmost in the minds of the boss-imperialists. They want to eat their cake and have it. They want to win against the Hitler imperialist camp the cream of the world markets and at the same time to keep the bulk of the profits made in the production of tanks, bombers and battle-ships. The income tax that will take in the poorest of the poor, and slice off a big chunk of every worker's pay, is not the only scheme for this purpose. Nor is the plan to sell war stamps and bonds—fast becoming almost compulsory—the only way to reach into the sagging pockets of the workers.

## A VISITOR FROM ABROAD

There came to this country the other day Maynard Keynes, bourgeois professor and economist, representative of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, to teach the American bosses and politicians the methods their British counterparts use to pick clean the pockets of the working people of that unhappy country. He informs the willing students of how to squeeze the workers, that there is still another arrangement they use in "democratic" Britain. This is called "deferred pay." Piled on top of the staggering taxes—in England collected by the bosses from the workers' pay—and piled on top of all the other burdens borne by labor, a certain additional percentage of each person's salary or income is also withheld by the employer. This is not called a tax, mind you, but "deferred pay"—because the British government promises to return this money to its owners—after the war. Such promises, you must understand, go to the same bonfire that consumes campaign promises. "Deferred pay" is in store for the American workers also—IF LABOR PERMITS.

Professor Keynes bluntly states that "deferred pay" lowers the standard of living of the people. With less money, they can buy less of the necessities of life. But the well-fed professor justifies this on the basis that "deferred pay" is the solution for war infla-

tion. This clever economist cold-bloodedly explains that if people don't have money with which to buy the necessities of life, the lack of demand will keep the prices down! He fails to state, however, that the British bosses hope to make the wartime coolie standard of living the standard for the post-war period also—IF LABOR PERMITS.

Longer hours, less pay, mounting cost of living, unbearable taxes, forced purchasing of war stamps and bonds, "deferred pay"—these are the blows about to fall upon the social gains that the "Friend of the workers" in the White House promised to preserve. And in an attempt to make labor defenseless against the coming blows, the Vinson anti-strike law looms on the horizon in Congress. And the state legislatures are busy putting legal shackles on labor's limbs, as well as preparing military guards, armed in the modern way, to use against workers who fight for their rights.

"IT IS AMAZING," the smart British professor assures the American exploiters, "WHAT REGULATION PEOPLE WILL TAKE IN WARTIME." That, working men and women, is another way of telling the bosses here that the sooner they declare war, the sooner can these major blows fall upon you—IF YOU PERMIT.

## OTHER GAINS IN JEOPARDY

Just as the gains in wages and hours stand in jeopardy, so do all the other measures affecting the welfare of the workers.

Unemployment insurance, one of the brightest plumes the Roosevelt Administration has pilfered for its cap, has received a wallop. In the Empire State of the Union, on April 25th, Governor Lehman signed the Burney Bill. Very quietly the event was buried on the inside pages of the papers. The Burney Bill states that workers who "quit their jobs" will be barred from unemployment insurance benefits. Thus the sword of intimidation has been placed over the heads of striking workers who heretofore have received unemployment benefits, such as they were.

In Connecticut, night work for women has now become legal in spite of a law prohibiting the employment of women after 10 p.m. The governor simply invoked another law giving him the right to suspend this protection for women DURING AN EMERGENCY. There are thousands of such "emergency" laws throughout the country gradually being enforced against the "social gains" labor has made. In Germany, too, all social security for the workers was suspended "during the emergency."

Destitute people, who subsist now on relief payments, are in

danger of having even this crust of bread taken out of their mouths. Representative Doughton, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, wants the state and local government to "take back" the cost of relief "to ease the federal tax burden." The state of California, always slow to grant "social gains" and quick to remove them, has already referred the matter of relief back to the counties—where it was before destitute people got any relief at all. While private charities—subsidized by the rich to save their guilty consciences—feared the deserted poor will again be left at their door, are protesting that they have no money either because of "inroads" of increased taxation or war relief appeals.

Lastly, let us hear Representative Tabor from New York. He waxed so enthusiastic the other day over cutting "non-defense" expenditures that he proposed to slash the WPA federal budget allowance from \$995,000,000 to \$195,000,000—a small deduction of \$800,000,000. According to Philip Murray, president of the CIO, the budget allowance of \$995,000,000 for the coming year will at best provide jobs for only 1,000,000 jobless people. Mr. Murray estimates that, even after the war jobs are handed out, there will still be 7,000,000 unemployed during the coming year. SO WHERE ARE THE SOCIAL GAINS FOR THE JOBLESS?

Unemployment insurance, protection for women and children, home relief, WPA—along with the Wage-Hour Act—are on the to-be-fired list of the bosses and their politicians, and will be fired IF LABOR PERMITS.

## THE FIGHT ON OUR HANDS

The workers have a fight on their hands—and IT IS NOT THE INTERNATIONAL IMPERIALIST WAR NOW RAGING.

THEY MUST OPPOSE THE WAR. It is being used as an excuse to enslave the workers and beat down their standard of living.

They must fight THEIR OWN WAR—the class war against the bosses.

They must set up a hue and cry against every infringement of workers' protection in industry, and stand ready not only to defend but TO EXTEND their hard-won gains.

They must demand government jobs for the jobless with union pay and hours—and adequate government relief for those who cannot work.

These are some of the tasks for the workers. LABOR MUST LOOK AFTER ITSELF! Neither political Big-Boss Roosevelt nor anyone else will do it for the workers.

# The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . . .

## DRAFTEES COMPLAIN ABOUT CAMP FOOD

A reader of LABOR ACTION has turned over to us a letter he recently received from a friend in one of the military training camps, describing some of the conditions that exist. LABOR ACTION is anxious

to work with the conscripts and with the labor unions to defend and win decent conditions for your workers who have been forced into the army. To this end, the Workers Party has advanced a series of slogans calling for higher wages and workers' rights for the draftees. To this end, too, we

welcome letters and information on conditions in the camps.

Dear —:

I have been out at Camp — for several weeks now. The first three days were the toughest when I was trying to readjust myself to this totally new way of living. I have just been informed by my lieutenant that I will be transferred to — in a couple of days.

In the time that I have been here I have learned many things. First, that the "professional" regular army non-coms (corporals, sergeants, etc.) are the most vulgar, foul-mouthed and sadistically minded bunch of men on the face of the earth. They seem to take the greatest pleasure in treating the men under their command as though they were animals!

I have spoken with men here from all walks of life: lawyers, truck drivers, shipping clerks, lathe hands, teachers, etc. All of them resent very much the manner in which they are treated. The other day one of the men—a truck driver, no less—lay down on his cot after the day's training and cried like a baby! The non-com officer tried to hold him up to ridicule before the rest of the men in his tent, but they all confided to me that they felt like doing the same thing!

The fellow who invented the expression "mess hall" surely knew what he was talking about! The "slops" they serve us isn't fit for a dog! In the morning we usually get a pretty good breakfast so that we'll be able to go through the morning drill, which is plenty tough. It is the other two meals (lunch and dinner) that we cannot stand. Our trays are usually returned half filled. Usually to take one look at it is enough for me! The matter of food is really our main grievance.

I forgot to mention the fact that when we complain about the food these non-com officers usually answer us as follows: "Listen, you —, youotta be glad we give you this good damn — food at all. Eat it and like it!" Nice boys, eh what?

Most of the boys out here hate the whole business and wish they could have gotten out of it in some way or other. They feel that we're being taken for a sleigh-ride by England! When a rumor spread around that the one-year period would be extended indefinitely for the duration of the emergency, they were all set to raise hell. All of them want to get their one-year training over with and then go back to normal life.

## INDIANS TAKE DRAFT CASE TO COURT

Dear Editor:

Some time ago I wrote you in regard to the decision of the Indians to test the legality of the Selective Service Act as applied to Indians. They chose the case of Warren Eldreth Green, 21 year old Onondaga Indian inducted into military service last week, to test the case. Judge F. H. Bryant, presiding in United States District Court, today denied a writ of habeas corpus for determination of the status of Indians. In handing down the decision, he remarked:

"The question is one that undoubtedly has to be passed on in some form by a higher court. I do not feel, as District Judge, that I should, under the circumstances, hold the Act of Congress of 1924 unconstitutional. Neither do I think I should hold the Selective Service Act unconstitutional."

The Act of Congress of 1924—June 2—which gave citizenship to Indians born within territorial limits of the United States is attacked by the Indians as an invasion of their rights; that the induction of an Indian is a violation of treaty obligations between the U. S. and Indian tribes within New York state extending back to the treaty of 1784. They are afraid their sovereignty will be abolished. There were members of the various reservations in court, as this test case would affect them all.

Wilfred E. Hoffman, counsel to Green, announced he would carry the issue to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Jim Little.

May 15, 1941.

## IDEAS APPEAR TO BE DANGEROUS THINGS

Dear Editor:

A bulletin put out by the Department of Commerce in March of this year indirectly shows what a tinderbox the Far East is and what pains the great "democratic" British Empire takes to maintain its slippery hold on the millions of natives in that area.

In discussing movie censorship in British Malaya, the bulletin states that "rejected films included scenes connected with . . . political subjects, those demonstrating crime, those which might wound the susceptibilities of foreign people, those showing excessive gunplay and those which might arouse social unrest and discontent."

Elsewhere the bulletin states: "Films which might reflect on the prestige of the white race are rejected. . . . Officials assume that certain scenes might lead themselves to imitation or might cause social unrest or discontent among Asiatic audiences."

Idea, it appears, are dangerous things. You just can't leave them lying around for anybody to fool with, especially the terribly exploit-

ed natives of the Malayan rubber plantations. After all, they have been denied the benefits of an English education and often reason in a curiously direct way.

But it's going to take more than movie censorship and harsh British repression to keep the natives down. They're going to have their say one of these days.

B. L.

## Food Meet--

(Continued from page 1)

About the only progressive note struck in the entire convention was the attitude toward legislation restricting the right to strike. The international leadership warned that opposition would be maintained to any invasion of the right to strike under the guise of promoting "national defense." The cooling off period proposed in the Vinson Bill was likewise opposed.

## Undemocratic Decisions

The leaders of the International rode roughshod over a proposal that International vice-presidents be elected by the districts which they supervise. Under the present system of convention-wide voting for each vice-president, the International officials are able to shove down the throats of recalcitrant districts any vice-president they want. The practical result of this was seen when balloting for vice-presidents took place. For the district including New York, Miguel Garriga was re-elected vice-president by a 5-to-1 vote of the entire convention, although in his own district, the majority of the votes were cast for his Stalinist opponent, Mike Obermeier. The unprincipled character of BOTH candidates was demonstrated by the fact that throughout the bitter political fights in the International, Garriga and Obermeier remained officers of the same local, the New York Hotel and Club Local Six! In this local, they are JOINTLY responsible for three-year contracts, open shop hiring, sink wage scales, and in general the worst conditions in the whole New York culinary industry. When it comes to selling out the membership, the right wing and the Stalinists have no disagreements!

One of the decisions of the convention most boasted about in the May issue of the International journal was the decision to raise the salaries of International officials. The president's was raised from \$8,000 a year to \$20,000, plus, of course, "expenses." Raises voted by the convention for 13 individuals totalled \$80,000 yearly. At the same time, demands by various locals and local joint boards for money for organization work were whittled down to inadequate amounts or ignored altogether. This was the final result to the locals of an increase in per capita, voted three years ago, that enabled the International to build up a treasury of \$1,500,000!

## Ignore Rank and File

The needs and interests of the rank and file were not heeded at this culinary convention—but in the New York locals rumblings are to be heard that bode ill for the Garriga machine. In Waiters and Waitresses Local 1, the United Opposition, which has fought the Stalinist-right wing administration for four years, succeeded in last week's local election in ousting the right wing leaders, putting oppositionists into the offices of president and secretary-treasurer and electing two business agents. The Stalinists, kicked in the face by their former right wing allies, were unable even to set up a complete ticket. Their commissar in the local, Gentili, was re-elected organizer in a three-cornered race, defeating the Opposition's candidate by only three votes out of 2,350 cast! The successful bucking of both the Stalinist and Garriga machines in Local 1 will give heart to the independent and progressive groups in other New York locals.

## Coast Shipyard Strike--

(Continued from page 1)

Before the meeting Tuesday, the newspapers helped whip up a huge scare that the picket lines would be smashed Wednesday morning if the men didn't accept the Olson sugar-coated poison pill.

What they all forgot in this situation, however, is that their actions, and the role of the government officials did more to convince the workers that the war isn't one for democracy, but rather for the rich man's profits, than all the soap-box speeches in San Francisco since the First World War.

There'll be no "national unity" here. The class lines have been too sharp and plain.

Labor, in opening its eyes up to what the war is really about, has already won a major victory in this strike. It can win a couple of more before this thing is over, Olson to the contrary notwithstanding.

The strike was called against a sell-out "yellow-dog" contract imposed on the unions through the unwanted, unasked-for agency of John P. Frey and the government's shipbuilding stabilization committee. Among the many objectionable features of the contract, the one that sticks out like a phony penny is the provision of time and a half for overtime. In two strikes in 1936, totaling three and a half months, the unions won double time for overtime, which has remained since that time. This, in effect, means less wages for the workers at a time when the cost of living is rising and the bosses are figuring profits in terms of astronomy.

Other features of the contract in which the workers figure to lose from their present agreement are related to the "no strike" clause. The terms of the new contract, signed for two years, call for "discussions" in regard to pay raises, with "no strike, no lockout." This means the bosses can keep on discussing while all the men can do is take in the hot air. The AFL bureaucrats, who hate strikes like poison, are, of course, in favor of this clause. But the men are wise to the short change they are being handed.

## How Arrived At

It is interesting to know how this so-called Pacific Coast master contract was arrived at. It developed from the shipbuilding stabilization conference, called by the shipbuilding stabilization committee. This committee, in turn, was established by the National Defense Advisory Commission—Sidney Hillman, superintendent.

Mr. Hillman, with the able assistance of Frey, dreamed up most of the contract in Washington, D. C., before even coming to the coast. Details were worked out in San Francisco and other Pacific Coast ports in conferences held from February 3 to

April 3. On the committee were such labor-conscious persons as its chair-engineering consultant attached to the man, Morris L. Cooke, industrial em-National Defense Advisory Commission; Gregory Harrison, representing the Pacific Coast shipyards; Admiral Emory S. Land of the U. S. Maritime Commission, and others. So-called labor "leaders" sitting in on the conferences did not represent the Pacific Coast unions; no representatives were elected to go from any union, and no union asked any of them to negotiate anything. The labor members present were "invited" to attend by the conference committee itself and, significantly enough, no CIO member was given an invitation. The CIO took no part in the discussions and had no voice in the decisions reached. This was strictly an AFL bureaucratic clam-bake, with no "outside" influence wanted.

## Prevent Real Vote

After the committee had made the master contract to its own liking, it started the ball rolling to put it down the throats of the rank and file—no easy job, but with a little twisting here and there it was done. The first step was to prevent a true referendum vote of the membership. This little trick was accomplished by giving each international union in a port six votes; so that if, as was the case with the San Francisco area, there were three locals of a union, each would get two votes. Machinists Local 68, with a membership of 1,300, for example, got two votes and voted NO; Local 1330, with a membership of about 400, got two votes, and voted NO; Oakland Local 284, with no men at all in the shipyards with a membership of less than 250, got two votes and voted YES. So it was that the democratic process was defeated and a minority, with the pressure of officials upon them, overrode the desires of the majority and drove in the reactionary "master contract."

## HERE'S THE LOWDOWN!

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### THERMIDOR AND ANTI-SEMITISM

By Leon Trotsky

Featured in the May NEW INTERNATIONAL

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# 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 in the 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.

## More on Hess

Writing in last week's LABOR ACTION, we said that The Great Hess Mystery might prove to be something altogether different than at first seemed to be the case. All sorts of contradictory reports were being published. It was impossible to establish the facts with any degree of certainty.

The week that has since passed has added exactly nothing toward explaining the fantastic story—except for indications that Hess is not going to work with the British. In fact, far from clarifying the mystery, the week's dispatches have served only to further obscure the facts. It is therefore still impossible for any one to offer more than a series of conjectures. All those who attempted to give a positive and simple explanation have been proved uniformly wrong.

No one can yet tell how serious a division in the Nazi butcher clique caused the story-book flight and parachute leap. Some sort of division seems to be obvious. How serious, how deep—there is no way of telling. The Nazi propaganda department has changed its tune. At first—under the probable fear that he might give away military secrets—it accused Hess of insanity. Then it lauded him as an over-zealous advocate of "peace" who, against better counsel, sought this extraordinary means of winning influential British circles over to his messianic ideas. (It should be remembered that the Nazi rulers have, since the war began, alternated extreme military aggressiveness with strategic "peace" offers—offers which, under the circumstances, amounted to so much public eye-wash.)

It is still a great possibility that Hess differed with the Nazi command on the direction of the war—demanding its prosecution eastward, toward Russia, rather than toward British territory. If that is so, his trip may have been an attempt to ascertain British reaction. There are even those who advance the view that his flight was undertaken with the knowledge and approval of Hitler. This seems to us highly improbable. There are so many less spectacular, and less dangerous, ways of establishing contact. Besides, Hitler has left no room for doubt that he intends to prosecute the war against his major enemies, Britain and the United States—especially since he has cemented his "friendship" with Stalin.

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 \_\_\_\_\_

We are more concerned with the reactions in the boss press, and in British circles, to the Hess flight, than with efforts to unravel the mystery. One thing is no mystery to us—whatever his actions, Hess is a dyed-in-the-wool fascist, as much a murderous enemy of the working class as Hitler. But, note well—you who are inclined to accept the lie of British "idealism" and "democracy"—that when first he landed, the press, basing itself on reports issued by Churchill, hailed Hess as a "sane" and "idealistic" and "religious" man, come to "save humanity." At that time, the Churchill government fully believed that Hess, after a falling-out with his fellow gangsters, had come to their side of the gang war. When, after a few days, it appeared that Hess was not "talking," British officials renounced any sympathy for him. Bevin waited several days before letting the world know, so great is his animosity to Hess, that he would under no circumstances see the murderer.

The American press editorially followed the same course of duplicity. This brigand who fell from the skies was over-night liberally daubed with as much whitewash as could be found. He had only to begin "talking," and he would have been elevated to the highest pinnacles of "heroism" and "idealistic honesty." As the days passed, as no reporter was allowed to see him, and as the Churchill and Hitler governments—for one reason or another—changed their attitudes, the commentators and the correspondents, who had filled the papers with the most dishonest and idiotic columns, pulled in their horns. Out of their own mouths they revealed the fraud that is their propaganda for a war... "in defense of the democratic ideology."

We have not heard the last about the Hess case. Many new surprises may still be coming. He may yet, like Metaxas, become the champion of "democracy." Heed well, then, this lesson in imperialist "morality." For a worker there is only one position on Hess, one interpretation: whichever the side he is on, he is our mortal enemy. We will either destroy the system for which he (and Churchill) stands, the system of boss tyranny—or he will destroy all that is vital to us.

## Americans, Too!

One of the most pathetic, tragic, and, at the same time, stupid, songs we have ever heard was broadcast the other day on a Harlem camp-fund radio program. Two young Negro composers presented a new song they had written as their contribution to "I Am an American" week: "We Are Americans, Too."

The song could have been written as a magnificent piece of irony and PROTEST: twelve million Negroes compelled to argue that they are Americans—TOO! Unfortunately, the song, in its elaboration of the Negro's willingness to die for American democracy (!), was intended seriously.

Think of it: we are Americans—TOO! That "too" bespeaks all the misery and hell to which the Negro is daily subjected. Lynched, barred from jobs, Jim-Crowed, discriminated against in every conceivable way—twelve million Americans denied the right to live like decent human beings in "democratic" America.

The fools who wrote the song bragged that the Negro had ever been the first to give his life to maintain the American way of life—the way of Jim-Crow and of lynch-law. The fools who wrote the song bragged that the Negro is a "loyal American" ready at a moment's notice to shoulder arms. Loyal to what? The high-rent slums in which he is forced to live? The constant persecution of race discrimination? The imperialist war which will perpetuate Jim-Crow rule?

Fortunately, the song writers spoke only for themselves and for the Negro upper crust. The great mass of Negro people know the meaning of that little word "too." They know the meaning of American "democracy." They are overwhelmingly opposed to the war. They have demanded an end to Jim-Crow in the army. They are fighting for jobs by aggressive, militant action.

The fight of the Negro must be to eliminate that debasing and shameful "foo." When that "too" need no longer be added, the Negro may truly hold his head high in America. But that will be an America free of social, political or economic inequality—an America of socialist freedom—an America built in united and self-confident action—an America governed by Negro and white workers—an America in which the ousted lynchers and oppressors will have to bleat "We Are Americans—Too!"

## Max Eastman Dives Into Jingo Waters

# So Perish All Traitors!

By J. R. JOHNSON

Max Eastman has finished his long fight against Marxism by ending up in the imperialist war camp. Is he finished? Time will tell. These gentlemen don't know that fascism is waiting for all those who reject socialism.

What is interesting about Eastman is the tripe that he puts forward as "arguments" for this new "policy." He sounds like a professor of ethics,

an evangelist who once studied elementary logic or a Buchmanite. Listen: he divides the warring nations into two groups. The fascists are the criminals and their chief crime is totalitarianism, which leads to "anti-intellectualism. Anti-intellectualism "becomes a public policy." It becomes a religion, destroys science, liberty, art, truth, beauty—everything that is valuable in human life.

It purges enemies, it is soaked in blood.

The anti-intellectualism of totalitarianism does all these things. SO IT DOES. But WHY does it do these things? What force drives Germany and Italy? Eastman, the intellectual, the proud scientist, has not got one single word to say on this in three full columns of the New York Times (May 6). He is as devoid of analysis as is Walter Winchell.

In reality, this intellectual is just on the same level as the lowest propagandists of fascism. They say "the democracies and the intellectuals commit crimes against blood and race." Eastman shouts back: "These anti-intellectuals commit crimes against truth and liberty."

But the imperialist democracies, it seems, are the guardians of intellectualism. Is it their defense of intellectualism that caused the war of 1914-1918? Or was it that both intellectuals and anti-intellectuals were grabbing for colonies in Africa, and industrial areas in Europe and elsewhere? Was it the conflict of intellectuals and anti-intellectuals that caused the economic crisis of 1929 and the German catastrophe which put Hitler into power? What sends Roosevelt and American capitalism into a life and death battle with Japan for the Chinese market? What is Britain doing in China? Fighting Japan to prevent the totalitarianism of anti-intellectualism? Is that why Weygand guards the French colonial empire?

The democratic imperialisms had the whole world (except Russia) to do what they wanted with it in 1919. What did they do? What do they propose to do with it now if they win it?

### Neither Asks Nor Answers

Eastman could have answered these questions once. Now he doesn't ask them! He produces instead this scientific explanation of modern society: "The totalitarian mania is easily spread... because it appeals, beneath the whole fabric of learned attitudes and modes of behavior which constitute civilization, to those blind instincts of the tribal savage which survive in all of us."

God above us! This is Max Eastman's contribution to the analysis of society.

We are all tigers below. I have no hesitation in saying that on a Sunday morning, in the hundreds of thousands of churches in this country, I doubt if you could get 20 per cent of the preachers who would sink so low.

### A Familiar Case

No. Eastman is a familiar case. He has faith in the proletariat for his belief in socialism was not rooted in the conviction of the economic bankruptcy of capitalism. He does not believe in the permanent revolution. The end of socialism in Russia becomes the end of intelligence in Eastman. Like the intellectual who has lost one social basis, the proletariat, he spins round and round and, as a crisis approaches, frantically seeks another. There is only one other—the bourgeoisie. And the supreme comedy of this particular case is that this intellectual, defending intellectualism, has to drop all the achievements of the human intellect for centuries and go back to the most primitive conceptions of the ills of human society—the savage in all of us, or, as Christianity has it, the doctrine of original sin. The conscious enemy of the Marxist religion becomes the unconscious protagonist of religion. So perish (intellectually) all traitors!

## World at War - -

(Continued from page 1)

failing to develop a mass fascist movement within France, there were many, situated in the highest places of French society, who welcomed a victory by Hitler. For the sake of this totalitarian state, brought to them by Hitler, the present rulers of France will go a long way in their "collaboration" with the Nazis.

Indeed it is no accident that Petain, Darlan and Weygand are the present chiefs of the French nation. Their fascist tendencies are a matter of long record. One has but to recall that they were the moving spirits in the Cagoulard conspiracy, long before the war, to overthrow the Third Republic and to put an end to the militant spirit of the French working class.

If the negotiations between Hitler and Petain over the "cooperation" demanded by the former for his war plans were of a protracted character, it is nevertheless a fact that when those plans were ready for execution that "cooperation" was forthcoming. Some time ago the British openly accused the Vichy government of aiding the transit of Nazi forces to Libya, and now there is no question about the use of French mandated Syria as a Nazi base to war against the British in Iraq and in the entire Near and Middle East.

### NATIONAL QUESTION

The social and national question intervenes in this area, too, with devastating effect on the efforts of British imperialism, exposing its predatory character to the very marrow. The war has accelerated the national movements on the part of the Arab and Moslem peoples. Naturally the Germans, who have no interests in the Near and Middle East, but who hope to have, are fishing most vigorously in these troubled waters. That is why their agents, like Dr. Fritz Grobba, can assume the role of a T. E. Lawrence and can promise and even work up the Moslems to struggle for national "independence." The British, on the other hand, having already established their power in this sphere of the world, are obliged to keep their "Lawrences," like Harry St. John Philby, incarcerated in an English jail.

### BRITISH DILEMMA

The British fear of the Arab peoples is further illustrated by its conduct with respect to Syria. Of all the colonies in the Near East, the rule of the French in Syria is probably the most hateful. The French have held onto this mandate with the utmost tenacity and never kept their promise to relinquish even formal control of their mandate. Ever since 1920, when the French established their rule there, in connivance with the British, this land has ever been drenched with blood by successive Arab attempts at freedom. After the French capitulation to Germany, new outbreaks occurred and, significantly enough, it was the Germans who en-

couraged the demonstrators while the British stood idly by. More than that, during the very recent demonstrations for food and freedom, demonstrations that were forcibly put down by French machine guns, the De Gaulle allies of Britain made common cause with the Vichy butchers.

It is, therefore, not difficult to understand why the Moslem peoples have no desire to side with the British in the ever-widening fight against Germany and her new ally, France. If anything, the clever "Lawrencian" role of Germany is more apt to deceive the Arabs, and the British may find themselves increasingly confronted with Arab opposition fomented by the Germans.

The dilemma that British imperialism is in is perhaps best shown by the situation in Palestine. British rule there was advanced by mutually exclusive promises to both the Jews and the Arabs, setting the one against the other. The resulting division and antagonism between the Jews and the Arabs, which the Jewish leaders abetted by their reliance on British imperialism in place of unity with the Arabs, now threatens them with the dire prospect of being driven from Palestine altogether.

While the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem is attempting to arouse the Arabs in a "holy war" against the British and the Jews, the leaders of the latter persist in their fatal policy of tying their fate to that of British imperialism. They believe that their salvation lies on the British side of the imperialist war. Though the British have accepted Jewish enlistments in the British army, they have up to now turned a deaf ear to the demand to arm and organize 40,000 Jews into an army of their own. For the British organization of such an army is a risky business. In the first place, this will still further antagonize the Arabs and secondly it sets up too strong a national force, which, in the British scheme of things, simply cannot be.

The dilemma of Churchill and his gang interests is not a bit. The tragedy of the entire picture is the dilemma in which the subject nationalities find themselves as a result of their disunity, and as victimized pawns of their leaders who have seen fit to tie them to the contending imperialist war chariots. The solution of the colonial problem lies not with one or the other camps of the war, but rather in that great third camp of the millions of toilers in the fight against the war and for world socialism.

We Demand: Higher  
Wages and Workers'  
Rights for Conscripts!

## Equality for the Negro - -

(Continued from page 1)

Yet Negroes will get jobs in the "defense" industries. They will get Jim-Crow jobs. There will be more of them, but they will be Jim-Crow jobs. That is what the signers of the petition are talking about.

We demand that Negroes get any and all jobs for which they are qualified. Furthermore, we demand that they have the same opportunity at the training schools and apprentice courses that white workers have. We hope that Negroes will join with us in enforcing this demand.

The WORKERS PARTY therefore demands more than just jobs for Negroes. We demand ECONOMIC EQUALITY. And not only economic equality but also POLITICAL and SOCIAL EQUALITY. We urge Negroes to join the WORKERS PARTY and fight with us for these ends: nothing less. We urge the white workers, particularly the workers of the CIO, to take up this fight for the Negro workers. Don't leave this task to the bosses and the shysters in industry, the government and the colleges. This is a fight for the workers. A heavy responsibility rests on the white workers in this matter. They are in position to deliver the heaviest blows to win equality for the Negro workers.

Lynching is only the most violent form of segregation, disfranchisement and Jim-Crow. It has

its roots in the national policy of Jim-Crow. It is Jim-Crow carried on by forcible means. Lynching is Jim-Crow in full bloom. The chief motive for Jim-Crow is to keep the workers, white and black, separated. It is an instrument used by the ruling class to retard the unity and solidarity of the working class. The bosses know that peace among the workers, white and black, is the first step leading to the overthrow of boss class rule.

They throw the apple of discord and dissension into the ranks of the workers and teach the white workers that the Negroes are inferior: they must be shunned, they must be taught to stay in "their place." If they do not, and persist in claiming their rights, then lynching is substituted for peaceful Jim-Crow.

Under capitalism the mob is the final and forcible means used by the ruling class, the bosses, to enforce Jim-Crow and an inferior status on the Negro. The mob and lynching are instruments of the big industrialists, the bankers and their governmental stooges to split the working class and frustrate its unification.

Negro and white workers together must understand this, the white workers especially. It is they who must take the lead in the fight against lynching, in the battle for jobs for Negroes; in the struggle against segregation and disfranchisement; against every form and manifestation of Jim-Crow, everywhere.

## THE NEGRO'S FIGHT

# Judas Pickens Takes the Stump For War Bonds

By J. R. JOHNSON

Defend democracy! Defend democracy! Buy Savings Stamps to defend democracy! Get ready to go into the army in a Jim-Crow battalion to do and die for democracy; get ready to go into the navy and peel potatoes for white sailors (because that's all you are good for)—the better to defend democracy. Our liberties are in danger!

Roosevelt, Marshall Field, Wallace, La Guardia, Willkie, the whole boss press, all are trying to drown the common sense of the worker by shouting these slogans, or whispering them, as need be.

But the Negro is tough. He says, "I want to fight for democracy here. I have heard these tales before. I don't believe them. You are lying to me." The bosses therefore, as the war gets nearer, turn on the heat. The latest bit of heat is Mr. William Pickens.

### PICKENS GETS A NEW JOB

Pickens is a Negro who went to Harvard, or Yale, or Princeton, or all three—it doesn't matter. He is an official of the NAACP and has travelled all over the country, investigating lynchings, raising funds, lecturing, agitating, organizing. He is one of the best known Negro social workers in the country. Pickens knows everybody who is somebody. Everybody who is somebody knows Pickens.

Now Roosevelt wants to sell the war to the Negroes. He wants them to support it. He wants them to take the Jim-Crow scraps he offers them—all for the sake of democracy. He doesn't want them to raise demands. He wants them to buy War Savings Stamps. It takes a thief to catch a thief, so Franklin D. Roosevelt thinks it is best to take Negroes to catch Negroes. He sends for Pickens to come to Washington and gives him a job to sell War Stamps to Negroes (\$6,000 a year, \$120 a week).

Naturally, Pickens takes it. Pickens thinks that this country is not perfect, but it is a democracy because HE can get a job for \$120 a week. He is prepared to die for this democracy, at least to tell other people to die for it. So the Negroes can look out for Pickens coming round and writing and speaking and selling them to war, the imperialist war, for profits and trade and land.

The curious thing is that Pickens supported Willkie in the last election. Many Negro politicians worked hard for Roosevelt. Now they are raising blue hell. They say that one of them should have got that nice fat job, and not a Willkie Negro. But Roosevelt knows that to sell the Negroes this war is a hard job. Pickens is the best man to do this Judas job. So he gives him the \$120 a week to fool the Negroes.

### DO NOT BE FOOLED

The millions of sharecroppers, starving and exploited, the Negro workers struggling to get jobs and into unions, kicked around day in and day out by American capitalism, these are the people Pickens will try to fool for Roosevelt's war. Some of you who read this may one day be at a meeting where Pickens or one of his agents is filling the room with lies about why the Negro should defend Jim-Crow democracy.

Think it over, brother, and see if it wouldn't be worth our while to ask for five minutes in order to explain to the Negroes there exactly why Judas Pickens is doing Roosevelt's dirty work.

## Unionization Sweeps Over Mojave Desert

LOS ANGELES, May 19—World War I saw the mushrooming of "Wobbly" (IWW) organization in the Northwest hinterlands. Out of isolated forests, shut off from the world, came some of the most radical, militant heroes of the American labor movement.

Out on the desolate Mojave desert in California, CIO unions are springing up overnight in much the same way as did the "Wobblies" before them. The three-month-old Trona strike against the British-owned American Chemical and Potash Works has set the whole desert afire.

Union fever is running high up and down the length of the desert. Workers aren't being organized; they are organizing themselves into the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. The reaction to the exploitation suffered at the hands of wealthy absentee mine owners is spontaneous.

In one tiny mining town, 40 men joined at the first meeting. Next day 53 joined. Overnight the place was a union town. Sentiment is particularly strong in those mines owned by Gold Fields, Ltd., the giant British company that owns Trona. The workers here hate being exploited by Americans but they resent being colonial slaves for British imperialists even more.

A story that perhaps better than anything else illustrated the mood out here comes from the town of West End. Here 150 people have already contributed \$1,750 to the Trona strike fund. This was not even a union donation. It was contributed voluntarily and independently by people who want to see Gold Fields, Ltd., broken.

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