

ORGANIZED LABOR MUST ACT NOW AGAINST MENACE OF CONSCRIPTION!

Nazis Fear the Consequences of British Collapse

See World Revolution Ahead If Empire Cracks Too Suddenly

For weeks now the world has been holding its breath, waiting for the Nazi invasion of England to begin. From Germany have come blood-curdling threats, "last hour" warnings, aid raids—but no invasion. Even the air raids are more for show than serious efforts to knock out the enemy. British civilians killed in them during the last month total less than 400, which is a good deal fewer than are killed every month in traffic accidents.

Why this delay? There are, of course, good military reasons why the invasion is an extremely difficult job, and this no doubt accounts for some of the delay. But we think there is also another reason, not emphasized in the American press, but traceable between the lines. The papers recently carried an obscure little item to the effect that the Petain government is worried because thousands of demobilized soldiers have not yet given up their guns. The death penalty has been decreed for all Frenchmen who do not surrender their arms to the government by a certain date. There may yet be a second Paris Commune!

THE THIRD CAMP STIRS

We may be sure that Hitler knows this, and that he realizes that his military victory has by no means solved his problems on the continent. He and his advisers have not yet dared to get too deeply involved in England because they fear mass uprisings in their rear, among the workers and peasants of France.

And not only there! When we have spoken of the "Third Camp" of the submerged, voiceless masses of Asia and Europe and Africa, people have sometimes scoffed at our "Utopian visions". Where is this Third Camp, they say, why have we seen no revolutionary uprisings in France, in England, in India? It is true that the forces of the Third Camp are tragically weak today. And, let us boldly confess it, it is true that we ourselves have not in the past sufficiently realized the extent of the demoralization and weakness of the world revolutionary movement today.

But let us not—as so many friends of the workers are doing today—make the much more serious mistake of under-estimating the strength of the Third Camp. For, be assured, the ruling classes make no such mistake. Hitler not only fears "trouble" in his rear, in France, if he invades England. He also fears what may happen if his armies shatter the British Empire too suddenly and too completely.

WHY HITLER CHERISHES THE BRITISH EMPIRE

We quote from a dispatch from Otto D. Tolischus in the N.Y. Times of July 28:

"Herr Hitler's insistence that he does not want to break up the British Empire takes on a certain credibility because the Germans themselves are said to be concerned over the inevitable international chaos, both political and economic, that a fall of the British Empire would entail."

By "chaos", Mr. Tolischus means, of course, revolutions, mass uprisings. So we have Hitler hesitating to demolish the British Empire for fear, once that mighty prison Bastille were destroyed, the millions of African and Asiatic and Near Eastern peoples who are now safely under British lock and key, will blow the lid off the whole imperialist structure. And Hitler is just as anxious as Churchill is to keep that lid firmly on. When it comes to the Third Camp, Hitler agrees with Churchill: "law and order" must at all costs be preserved.

THE REAL WAR HAS NOT YET BEGUN!

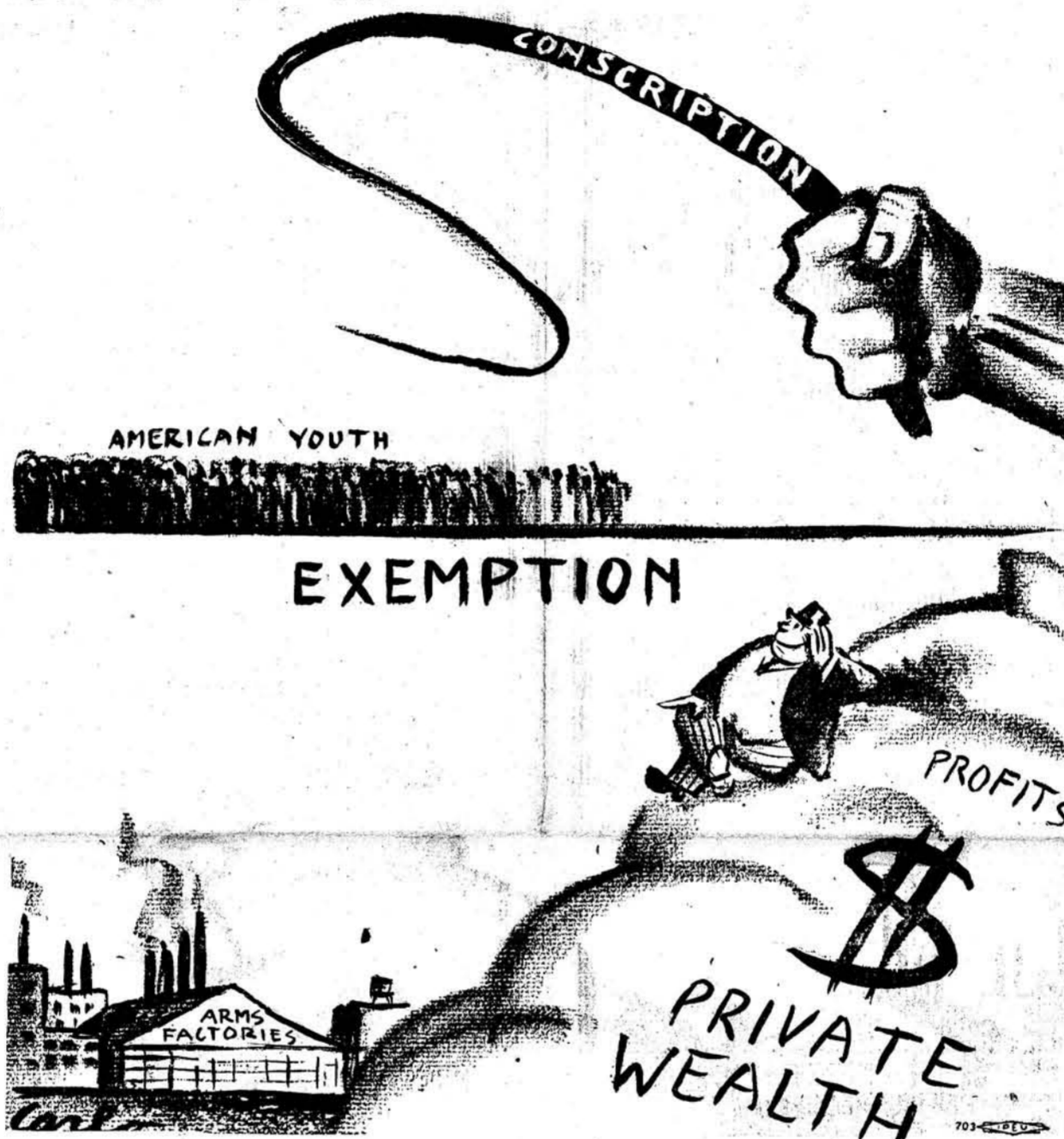
Why did Hitler in the armistice terms specifically provide that the Petain government may maintain armed forces large enough "to maintain internal order"? Why have the Nazis made clear to the French and the Dutch imperialists that, for the time being at least, they are to be left in full possession of their great colonial empires—the second and third largest in the world? For what other possible reason except that Hitler fears the Third Camp both in Europe and the colonies, and so is willing, for the present, to leave the French and Dutch ruling class enough power to suppress any popular uprisings?

This, too, is at the root of the strange affection Hitler is developing for the British Empire.

The war abroad is almost over, but the real war has not yet begun, the war of the masses against their oppressors. The Third Camp is silent, disorganized, leaderless, overawed by the sheer brute power of the Nazi onslaught. This camp can be, as now, suppressed by force. But it still exists, and only a workers' revolution can satisfy its economic and moral needs. We say confidently that Hitler's problems have just begun with his military victory. And we recall the shrewd words Talleyrand spoke to Napoleon:

"You can do everything with bayonets, Sire, except sit on them."

The New Draft Laws



Auto Workers Oppose Draft

Failure of Organization Drive Will Cause Convention Fireworks

By B. J. WIDICK

ST. LOUIS, Mo., July 29—Considerable sentiment against compulsory military training was evident among the delegates here to the CIO workers' convention and a resolution denouncing conscription was given a fair chance of passing later this week. Since John L. Lewis, CIO chieftain came out Sunday against peace-time conscription, and the Michigan state CIO board took a similar stand last

week, there will be a strong coalition of forces for the anti-conscription resolution.

Outside of this, there is little indication that the 600 delegates will take any serious steps against the war plans of Roosevelt.

The ovation greeting Roosevelt's name and the boos for Willkie during a speech by R. J. Thomas, president, indicated the sentiment of the delegates on the Third Term. Although various locals have introduced resolutions calling for a Third Party or a Labor Party, overwhelming endorsement of Roosevelt is expected.

A survey among the best informed labor correspondents in the country at this convention revealed that all expect Lewis to crawl back on the Roosevelt band-wagon in his speech Tuesday before the convention.

Fire-Works Expected

Although the convention is impressive in its enthusiasm and the absence of the overt factionalism that marked previous gatherings, there will be considerable fire-works before the week is over.

Rank and file resentment against the fizzle in the Ford organizing and other membership drives is strong enough to get special mention in the convention report of George Adde, secretary-treasurer, who speaks of the "justifiable demand for increasing organizing activity in the Ford Motor Company, among competitive shops and in the aircraft and farm implement industries." After all the ballyhoo for two years, the union leadership can record no important progress in these key fields. Of course, they will once again promise to do something.

The attitude of the whole leadership is one of caution and conservatism. Pointing to certain important gains: (1) rebuilding of the union to 294,428 dues paying members, (2) victory of the CIO over the Martin-AFL clique, (3) stabilization of the union—the officers' reports fail to mention that the previous failures were due to their own mistakes and

weak-kneed attitude. Outside of some small and feeble voices wanting a clearer and more progressive stand on organization drives, the delegates, by and large, will go along with the present administration and its conservative program.

Neglected Hours Demand

One embarrassing problem which can not be escaped, however, will be the policy of the 30 hour week with a 40 hour pay which was adopted at the last convention but not carried out in the General Motors negotiations, to mention the outstanding failure.

Behind the scenes of this convention are two powerful tendencies (Continued on page 3)

John L. Lewis Hits Measure Now in Congress as Boss Threat to Labor's Freedom

John L. Lewis has declared himself against the conscription bill now pending in Congress.

Writing to Rep. Andrew May, chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, and to Senator Morris Shepard, chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, Lewis labeled the Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Bill "a very definite departure from the basic principles of the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence." He further warned that "BASIC CIVIL LIBERTIES, INCLUDING FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF PRESS AND FREEDOM OF INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE AND ENTERPRISE WOULD BE SERIOUSLY THREATENED."

In a week marked mainly by the progress of military dictatorship, and climaxed by the President's request of Congress for enabling legislation to call the National Guard and the ROTC into active service, Lewis' statement comes as an encouraging demonstration of labor's resistance.

Scrap Iron Strikers Get Teamster Aid

Company Hemmed in On All Sides by Labor Solidarity

Special to Labor Action

NEWARK, N.J., July 29—With the assurance of the teamsters' union that its members will not cart any more shipments of acetylene gas to the company's plants, the strike of 35 colored workers against the Reichman-Hoffman Scrap Iron Co. moved into its tenth militant week today. Without acetylene gas the metal cannot be cut down for shipment. Thus, the solidarity of organized labor is gradually fastening a noose around the company's neck which can be removed only by a settlement favorable to the strikers. As previously reported, the longshoremen's union has already refused to load scows in the Passaic River.

John Collasandro, business agent of the Local 1120, Waste Materials Union, AFL, which is leading the strike against slaughter-house conditions, told LABOR ACTION's correspondent that ten of the original strikers have been placed by the union in a scrap iron plant in Harlem. He also informed this correspondent that the union has filed suit against the company for \$20,000 in back wages due the strikers for overtime work under the Wages and Hours Act. However, it is expected that this suit will take a long time to settle because of the large number of cases on the local board's calendar.

Reject "Offers"

Twice the company has tried to reach a settlement, but its terms were so inadequate that they were rejected. One such company offer was to negotiate on the union's demands if Claude Turnage, shop steward and (Continued on page 2)

It now remains for Lewis, who claims to have the bulk of the CIO unions behind him, to concretize his views by actively interfering in the Congressional debate with the threat of organizing labor's ACTIVE opposition. The spectre of several million workers ready to back up their opposition to the conscription bill with ACTION should frighten the Congressmen out of their reactionary wits. It should be enough to make Wall Street think twice before compelling its Congressional lackeys to act.

More than all the threatened filibusters by the so-called isolationists in Congress, against the Burke Bill, (Continued on page 2)

One Solution

Appearing before the Senate Military Affairs Committee, pacifist Frederick J. Libby declared that the bill (conscription) "would fill our jails and prisons not only with young men but with their pastors and with church leaders."

Retorted war veteran Senator Sherman Minton of Indiana: "Then we'll build more prisons."
—Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen in "Washington Merry Go Round."

will the threat of a single mass demonstration by the CIO's ranks stop the Congressmen dead in their tracks.

Talk Won't Do!

Senator Wheeler has threatened such a filibuster with some of his isolationist cronies. Even if it goes through with it, little is to be expected from this crowd. Wheeler yelled himself hoarse against Roosevelt's policies . . . until the Democratic convention. Then, when he had an opportunity to prove his sincerity by blasting the Roosevelt (and Willkie) policy, he knuckled under and served instead as camouflage for the pro-war administration. Knowing that Roosevelt could not run on an avowed policy of war intervention, Wheeler did Roosevelt the service of writing an "anti-war" fraud, obvious as such to any one old enough to read, into the platform.

He is not likely to act much differently now. He may tie things up for a while, but when the pay-off comes he will find some way of crawling out—perhaps a teeny-weeny amendment, perhaps the discovery of "new circumstances which alter the face of things." These boss politicians are all the same.

But Lewis has much to answer to the workers in this very same respect. Very often he has spoken loud, and then proceeded to do . . . exactly nothing. Only the other day he pretended to be challenging the boss parties with a labor party. However, instead of going out, and organizing labor's independent force in a party of its own, he monkeyed around with Hoover, then with Townsend, then with certain of the Democrats and now he seems to be stringing along, reluctantly, with Roosevelt—and thus discredited the very idea of an independent labor party.

This time, he has, however, given indications that he means what he says. Behind him he undoubtedly (Continued on page 2)

THE WORLD AT WAR

British Attempt Blockade Control of All European Ports

The long-expected Nazi attempt to invade Britain appears imminent following last Monday's largest air battle over England. Hundreds of German dive bombers and fighting planes raided the city of Dover, while other bombings took place in Wales and North-eastern England. According to British sources, twenty German planes were downed in the battle over Dover, and little damage was inflicted on the city.

German-trained Italian troops and parachute soldiers were reported joining Germans massed at bases along the English Coast; and Spanish troops were said to be ready for an attack on Gibraltar when the Nazi blow at England is struck.

Earlier in the week Germany closed the coastal zone opposite Britain, and suspended railroad traffic between occupied and unoccupied France, and between Germany and Switzerland. The strategically important Maginot Line opposite the Swiss border was also sealed by the Germans.

Meanwhile Britain increased her bombings of key points in Northern and Western Germany—oil depots, docks and goods freight yards; air-dromes in German-occupied Netherlands, Belgium and Northern France; and oil tanks at Cherbourg, France. Last Tuesday Britain extended its blockade to all Europe, thus notifying importers and exporters in the United States, Latin America and Asia that their trade with Europe will have to be carried on in accord with British rules or risk being seized as contraband by the Royal Navy. French Africa colonies, Algeria, Tunisia and French Morocco are included in the blockade zone. No trade will be permitted with Germany or Italy or territory occupied by these powers, which with the exception of Russia includes virtually the entire of continental Europe.

The constant German air raids on British cities and shipping threatens (Continued on page 2)

With the Labor Unions— On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

WHAT PRICE "INDEPENDENCE"?

Some time back the Independent Brotherhood of Consolidated Edison Employees, an independent union of workers in New York's vast gas and electric system, won an NLRB election over the CIO. Previously thousands of these workers had withdrawn from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, forcing this union to get out of the plants of the company. The independent union won the right of sole representative of the 31,299 production and white-collar employees of Con-Edison. In the elections, the CIO received a total of around 10,000 votes. The independent got around 15,000 votes. The CIO's Amalgamated Utility Workers contested the election claiming unfair procedure. The NLRB however, handed down a unanimous decision declaring the election O.K.

Now the independent is having trouble with the company. They say that a "serious gulf" exists between it and the company. The lawyer for the "union" says that they will not be "pushed around" by the company.

The real point in the dispute is the fact that the company does not now—and has no intention of doing so in the future—look upon the "independent" as a real independent union. Oscar Fogg, Con-Edison vice-chairman, says that the union included in its program many items that "would have the effect of a complete abdication by the responsible management." Fogg rejected the union's plea for a closed shop, for the establishment of a joint board to pass on promotions and other personnel questions. Fogg also said that the company would not enter into any agreement that did not provide assurance against strikes and stoppages during the life of the contract. In other words, the company told the workers that it would not recognize them if they attempted to act like a real union.

The "union" replied that their proposals were "just and fair," that other employers in basic industries and public utilities had accepted "the stabilizing influence" of the closed shop. The "union" is very much surprised and hurt that the company has remained silent on their request for \$5,000,000 for equalizing wage scales.

If it were not for the fact that this is a matter of supreme importance for the 30,000 workers of Con-Edison and for millions of other workers in the U.S. we would be inclined to smile at the simple-mindedness of these workers. To be sure, other employers have accepted the "stabilizing influence of the closed shop." The mine owners for instance. But the miners have a real union, not a phony. Furthermore, the miners fought like hell, in strike after strike over a period of fifty years to get their closed shop. They didn't get a closed shop in some one or several mines, breaking away from the international and setting up a so-called independent union. Neither did they get it by agreeing in advance that they would not strike.

We have the hunch that these workers were taken in. Taken in by a group of shysters who played on their dislike of the warfare between the AFL and CIO and the Stalinist influence in the CIO Amalgamated Utility Workers. They jumped out of real unions and into what is really a company union swamp. The only way out for them in the long run is back to the AFL or CIO.

THE BEST CHISELLER IS A PATRIOT!

The American Pulpwood Association has pleaded "not guilty" to the indictment charging them with a conspiracy to violate the law requiring a minimum of 25 cents an hour for forest workers. This \$300,000,000 industry was caught chiseling 9 cents an hour on the 25 cent starvation minimum. We said when we commented on this indictment before, that while the Association was discovered paying some workers as low as 19 cents an hour, we would bet an arm that if the truth came out it would be revealed that they were paying some lower than that. Now the truth is out. This gang of big chisellers, all loud mouth patriots, pay some workers as little as ten cents an hour; \$4.20 for a 42 hour week. Now let them wave the flag, now let the eagle scream.

The pious and God-fearing native Americans who run the lumber industry have agreed to give the lumber workers \$315,000 in back wages that they stole from them through violations of the wages and hours act. Col. Fleming, the administrator, said his bureau uncovered about 800 violations. Two companies in Minnesota were fined \$10,000 and ordered to pay \$30,000 in back wages to 700 employees. This is an average of nearly \$43 for each employee; a month's rent on a month's food.

These two chisellers had children as young as 8 years working in their lumber camps and "others as young as 12 . . . felled trees, loaded lumber and did other dangerous work." Whole families worked and the family average for the summer was about \$9.66 a week. OF COURSE THESE WORKERS HAVE NO UNION.

There are so many chisellers and cockroaches being unearthed these days that it is difficult to keep up with them. We will have to ask the editor for space to advertise them in. We want to point out to workers however that this word "chiseler" attained quite some prominence a few years ago in connection with the hungry unemployed who sought to supplement their starvation relief with a little part time work. These hungry men and women of course were not good citizens. Many of them were sent to jail. Workers should remember this and not be anxious to grab on to another invention of the ruling class: "fifth columnist."

SOME MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

The notorious Burns Detective Agency; scab-herders, union busters and labor spies will keep its New York State license. The Workers Defense League sought to have it annulled on the ground that the agency was guilty of acts "inimical to labor." The state Director of Licenses ruled that the license could not be revoked because the acts complained of were committed before the law making them illegal was passed. While this is probably good law, the Burns Agency remains what it has always been.

The appeal division of the New York Supreme Court has ruled that a union has the legal right through contracts to insist on employers buying their accessories from organized shops. Some accessory manufacturers sought an injunction forbidding such contracts. This means, we suppose, that a dress or suit manufacturer can be forced to buy his buttons from a union button factory; an aircraft union could demand that certain gadgets come from unionized plants.

The federal government has filed an income tax lien of \$241,088 against Michael Carozzo, leader of the Chicago Common Laborers Union. This is in addition to \$500,000 that Carozzo has paid the government for income taxes in recent years. Carozzo is also under indictment charged with violating the anti-trust laws by excluding ready-mixed concrete from Chicago.

Now what we want to ask is, how come? How can the head of any union, any workers organization, pay \$500,000 in income taxes. Where will the other \$241,088 come from? Who are the big shots who helped Carozzo pile up a fortune posing as a legitimate labor leader? The workers in this union have a big delousing job on their hands.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union in Utah has won a two year contract with increase in pay and a week's vacation with pay. The union did not get a closed shop but becomes "the exclusive representative of all the employees . . . who come under the jurisdiction of the union for the purpose of collective bargaining."

The wage scale rises and falls with the price of copper, unless copper is under 9 cents a pound. \$4.70 is minimum for underground and \$4.20 for smelter workers. The rate increases to \$7.15 for machine miners if the price of copper reaches 18 1/4 cents a pound.

Workers have to be careful about wage agreements of this kind. The New York Times "Range of Prices for 1940" gives copper a high of 12 1/2 and a low of 10 1/4. July 27 was ten and three fourths. We do not know just what is meant by the "price of copper"; that is we do not know how the price is fixed and by whom. At any rate this is the wage scale for the miners, the smelter workers get 50 cents a shift less.

The wage scale agreed on gives machine miners \$5.70 a day when the price of copper is 10 to 11.49 cents a pound. If however the price drops to 9.99 cents the miner only gets \$5.45 a day, a reduction in wages of 25 cents a day or \$5.00 for 20 days.

The trouble with such wage scales is that they have no relationship to the cost of living nor is the price of the company's product the sole determinant of profit. Cost of living will not fall will the fall in the price of copper. Also, increase in profits is not directly proportional to increase in sales. This was recently demonstrated in the case of General Electric for the first half of this year. Net sales increased 31% over the same period last year, but earnings increased 59%. Earnings were 13.6% of sales while last year they were 11.1% of sales.

Workers must base their wage demands on their needs, on the profits and on the amount of wealth they are producing. They should not be modest about their needs, their standard of living. They should insist on living as well as the boss; they produce the wealth, not the boss.

These are simple things that every last worker can understand. They don't have to know anything about the price of copper and other such things. Workers are concerned with the price of rent, food and clothing. They and their union leaders must not get sucked in by the bosses' "experts", with high falutin' talk about prices, profit and loss, taxes and depreciation. Let the boss argue these points with the government "experts".

Akron Pickets Protest Conscription Bill

Say Action Is More Important Than Phoney "Dignity"

Special to Labor Action

AKRON, July 25—Declaring that "there was nothing very dignified or polite about the Boston Tea Party," thirty mothers and young men, members of the Akron Council for Peace Action, took to the hot streets yesterday to protest the pending bill for Military conscription.

The action was taken against the announced intention of local Congressmen, Dow Harter, to support the bill.

While hundreds of passers-by stopped to watch the picket line in downtown Akron, members of the Peace Council sought vainly to interview Congressman Harter. The Congressman, however, chose to evade all contact with the members of the Council.

In an interview given to the Akron Beacon Journal, a member of the delegation which failed to see Harter declared, "This is not the first time Mr. Harter has refused to grant a hearing to persons he is supposed to represent, who are opposed to war. Apparently, however, he has

plenty of time to run errands for industrial concerns seeking war contracts, and time to listen to war mongers and those who seek to destroy every vestige of our liberty."

The placards borne by the marching pickets, who paraded in front of the Second National Building, where Congressman Harter maintains offices, declared, "Mr. Harter, We Want Democracy, Not Military Dictatorship"; "Pattern For War: 1. Abandon Neutrality, 2. Repeal Embargo, 3. Conscript Men, Mr. Harter Votes For All Three"; "Conscription, The Death of Liberty."

The stand of the Peace Council against Conscription as summarized by a leader of the organization and published in the Beacon Journal, says in part:

1. It destroys the liberties of the American people by providing a fine up to \$10,000 and imprisonment for all those who oppose the bill after its enactment.

2. It makes inevitable the economic collapse of the United States by destroying the purchasing power of

hundreds of thousands of families.

3. It hastens our entry into war.

4. It denies the right of a jury trial, even the right of trial in a civil court, to alleged violators, and substitutes a farcical hearing before a military tribunal endowed with dictatorial powers, and from whose decisions there is no appeal except to other military tribunals.

Another member of the Peace Council, a mother, interviewed by the Beacon Journal, declared, "Some people think this is not a very dignified nor a very polite thing to do. Well, there was nothing very dignified or polite about the Boston Tea Party either. And we are demonstrating to preserve the identical liberties the men of Boston demonstrated to obtain when they dumped that shipment of tea in the harbor in 1775."

"Sometimes," continued this mother, "it is necessary to sacrifice a little dignity to arouse the American people from their lethargy and induce them to make their desires known in Washington."

SUP Opposes Compensation Plan for Seamen

Plan Would Reduce Amount Given to Men in Case of Injury

WASHINGTON—Over the vigorous protest of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the Senate Commerce Committee last week ended its hearings on the bill to substitute a workmen's compensation act for the aged right of the marine workers to sue the company for injuries.

There was a sharp conflict of opinion at the hearing on the merits and intentions of the proposed act. Those in favor of the bill, which included the ship owners, argued that the bill would end "ambulance chasing" and the collection of high legal fees from the seamen. Harry Lundeborg of the SUP asked that decision on the bill be postponed by the committee until he had studied the con-

tention of the Maritime Commission that the act would give the seamen larger awards than the present system of legal settlements through court action. This was refused and Chairman Overton ordered the hearings ended.

The SUP successfully fought the attempts of the ship owners in 1922 and in 1939 to put seamen under compensation. Under present maritime law, seamen are entitled to "maintenance and cure." This means that if a seaman gets sick or is injured while in the service of the shipping company he is entitled to hospitalization, maintenance while outside the hospital as long as the disability lasts at not less than \$2.00 per day, and may file a claim for

damages. This may include maintenance and cure, wages lost, payment for suffering and permanent disability.

The union asks, "what can a seaman gain by a compensation act that he has not now? Nothing. He'll stand to lose a lot." The union then points out that under the present compensation laws a worker can recover a maximum of \$7,500 for total disability. Under the present system the seaman can go before the court and jury and have damages fixed on the basis of the extent of injury. "Records will show" says the union "in cases where seamen were totally disabled they have received amounts three and four times as much as is stipulated by the Compensation Law."

Sidelights on UAW Meet

R. J. Thomas, union president, surprised the convention when he warned them against all politicians. "Watch them. They want mainly to perpetuate themselves in office." A swell anti-Roosevelt crack, but Thomas didn't mean it that way. Truth will out, however.

Thumbnail history of a Stalinist politician in the auto union: Wyndham Mortimer, once vice-president of the union, and biggest front man for the CP, used to get much publicity as union leader. Now we discover his name on the California Aircraft organizer, below two other names, listed merely as sub-regional director.

The lean and hungry look which marked the delegates and leaders of previous auto conventions has been somewhat supplanted by one of complacency. There was no talk during the first day's sessions of the problems of the unemployed.

A large number of delegates, especially from Toledo and Cleveland, Ohio, are the same fellows who founded the union in 1936. In those days, they used to boo the mention of Roosevelt's name. Refused to pass a resolution endorsing Roosevelt, until the CIO threatened withdrawal of \$250,000 organizing fund. Then it passed without comment.

While the Stalinists have a good sized bloc of delegates they don't have the assurance of the old days. On the defensive all the time, and lacking the arrogance and impudence of ignorance which made them so easy to spot in the past.

The auto workers will again take a stand for labor unity, and reports from Washington indicate that, behind-the-scenes, AFL and CIO unions are cooperating more closely than ever despite little incidents like the public fight between Julius Empack, secretary-treasurer of the CIO electrical workers union, and Dan Tracy, ex-czar of the AFL electrical workers union, over Tracy's appointment as an assistant secretary of labor.

One seasoned labor reporter from Washington told of various conferences between CIO and AFL unions which would have been impossible to conceive of three months ago. He predicts unity before the November election. Of course, Roosevelt is more anxious than ever before for such a move. He wants to be re-elected.

Out of 160 elections held by the National Labor Relations Board in the automotive industry the CIO won in plants employing 227,417 while the AFL won in plants employing 8,803, President R. J. Thomas reported.

The delegates listened to "God Save the King" played, according to the chairman, to honor the Canadian delegates (a few of whom were not allowed to attend the convention because of war-time restrictions). Of the outlawing of strikes in Canada,

Auto Workers - -

(Continued from page 1)

struggling to obtain control and the adoption of their policies, despite efforts to hide the fight.

In one camp stands Sidney Hillman, member of Roosevelt's War Industries Board, and advisor to the auto workers union, with Walter Reuther, executive board member, as his main spokesman within the auto union. In one sentence their policies can be summed up as "a blank check for Roosevelt." Complete hogtying of the once militant union to the war machine is their objective. Their supporters are taking jobs on various advisory committees of the federal government.

String-Along

In the second camp stands John L. Lewis, coming here personally to keep the auto workers under his domination as against Hillman, etc. Richard Frankenstein, international

John L. Lewis in a thunderously applauded speech at the auto workers convention warned the delegates that conscription would "rob us of our liberties."

board member, is top dog in this faction within the union, and the Stalinists complete the triumvirate.

This tendency too is for "national defense" but at a bigger price. It's called the "tough" tendency by some delegates. They want more concessions, observation of the Walsh-Healy Act, higher pay, etc. They aren't so hot for a Roosevelt Third term, but for various reasons are stringing along.

There are other delegates, unaffiliated to either tendency, who feel that a more outspoken and direct attack on capitalism and war are necessary to save the union movement and to make real gains, but

the seizure of Pat Sullivan, seaman's union president, for merely presenting demands to employers, the chairman either didn't know or conveniently forgot.

Endorsement of Roosevelt for a Third Term by the auto union international executive board just before the Democratic party convention was interpreted, among other things, as a Hillman-Phillip Murray move against John L. Lewis.

Main job of the autoworkers union leaders in helping Roosevelt seems to be to go after Willie with a first-class campaign against what his utilities did against the CIO in Michigan. That half of the truth will be told. But no mention of the Minneapolis WPA frame-ups will get an inch in the auto workers papers. Mr. Roosevelt pulled that one.

Local 212 had an excellent greeting to the convention. It read: "Job NO. 1. Organize the balance of the industry to establish a 30 hour week with a 40 hour pay."

Labor, Unorganized and Organized, Must Act NOW Against Conscription Menace

(Continued from page 1)

has the great rank and file of the union movement. As reported elsewhere in this issue, the overwhelming sentiment at the auto workers convention is against military conscription. Other unionists no doubt feel the same way.

Popular sentiment for military service cannot be as strong as the surveys would seem to establish. New York's Governor Lehman, who last week organized his police on a war mobilization basis, appealed to Senator Thomas for the immediate adoption of compulsory conscription because voluntary enlistment was progressing "too slowly." The papers report a sharp rise in marriages among young people who hope thereby to beat conscription.

Everything that can be done towards putting the nation on war-footing, and towards preparing the American frame of mind for universal conscription, is being done. Such is the President's message on the National Guard. This message, unintentionally, blasts a hole right through the pretense that these forces are needed to "defend" this nation's shores. Roosevelt stated flatly that these are intended to get service in the Western Hemisphere—which, in addition to the United States, includes nations further from the U.S. in travelling time than Europe or Japan.

Meaningless Concessions

Simultaneously, moves are afoot to meet the popular opposition to the Burke bill by modifying it. Senator Byrnes, worried about the "hysteria" (read opposition) that greeted the Burke bill proposed that the upper age limit for military service be reduced from 45 to 31. That concession is worth just about as much as others already made—like raising the pay from \$5 a month to \$21! They don't amount to a damn but make the bill more "palatable" (to whom?).

Byrnes is a practical man. It is

impossible for the United States to train within the space of a year, or even two years, all the males between 21 and 45. That would be over 20,000,000 men, and the U.S. does not have, and cannot have, the training facilities for that many men. The millions between 21 and 31 constitute the strongest and choicest lot of sacrifices. It therefore deprives the army of almost nothing to exempt those over 31—for the time being. As soon as the going gets tough these can always be called into service by additional legislation.

None of these concessions, or all of them put together, are worth the paper they are written on. As sugar-coating they are so thin that the bitter pill's goopy framework stands out clearly. Labor must be careful not to be sucked into the bosses' scheme by any of these fakes that substitute a provision slightly less scandalous for an outrageous original.

Herein John L. Lewis has a task cut to the measure of the CIO's strength. How brief the time left is indicated by the multitude of moves to put conscription over fast.

Given a lead, labor will spring into action; labor will tell the Bill Greens and Sidney Hillmans where to get off; labor will rally around a real fight against conscription. Lewis is in a position to organize such a fight—if he means what he says.

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!

Blockade—

(Continued from page 1)

Great Britain's food supply, more than half of which is imported. If the Nazis do not attempt an early invasion of the British Isles, as Italian sources declare, the war will be a struggle between Britain's blockade of Europe, and Germany's blockade of Britain.

ON THE BALKAN FRONT

In Berlin and Rome last week meetings were held with Rumanian, Bulgarian, Slovakian and Hungarian government leaders to settle their differences in the Balkans and take their places in the "Fascist-controlled 'New Europe'." While Moscow was not directly represented at these meetings, similar conversations have been and are taking place between Russian and German representatives in both capitals on the same matters.

According to the Rome dispatch of Herbert L. Mathews to the New York Times (July 30):

"Russia would receive a sop in the form of the sub-Carpathian Ukraine which Hungary seized from Czechoslovakia. In return Hungary would get the eastern half of Slovakia and a strip in Western Transylvania. Bulgaria would take the western half of Slovakia. At best that would be one step in the great reshuffle planned for Southeastern Europe."

Polish circles in London allege that negotiations between Russia and Germany are under way for an agreement whereby the German-controlled "Government General" region of Poland (which includes Warsaw), the buffer between German and Soviet held territories, would go to Russia. Germany, according to this report, would retain Southern Galicia, preventing a common Russian-Slovakian frontier; and serving as a German corridor to the rich oil fields of Rumania. Whatever the accuracy of the details of these deals may be, it is clear that Hitler and Stalin are continuing their mutual consultations on what Hitler in his last speech called "their respective spheres of influence."

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Where You Do as You Please

To See or Not To See

by Susan Green

Sidetracked

"THEY RIDE BY NIGHT"

Wisecracks, sexy and otherwise, falling thick and fast, the story starts off at a fast pace and creates an interesting situation. Two brothers, George Raft and Humphrey Bogart, are trying might and main to become independent haulers of produce. They get a break which enables them to pay off the installments on their truck. But luck doesn't stay with them. One night Bogart falls asleep at the wheel. The truck plunges off the road, is completely wrecked, and Bogart loses an arm. So there they are. No truck, no money, three arms between them instead of four, and one-armed Bogart bitter and discouraged.

So far, pretty good. There is plenty of excitement, drivers falling asleep at the wheel, trucks crashing to destruction. The rough camaraderie of the road runs generously through the story. The problems of the drivers who want to be "their own bosses" instead of working for the owner of a fleet of trucks, provides social interest.

But for some mysterious reason the script writer decided to ditch all this and to start off somewhere else. Enters the beautiful conniving wife (Ira Lupino) of a boss truckman. She loves George Raft, but she scorns her. Follows a murder, a trial, and nemesis creeping up on Ida in the form of madness.

Thus the film gives us the wreck of a good story, along with the wrecked trucks—all for the same price.

For the Good of Their Souls

"GIRLS OF THE ROAD"

In the deep depression years of 1931-1932 we were reading about the vagrant girls who had left or been driven out of poverty-stricken homes. They were found sleeping in railway stations and riding the subways all night because they had nowhere to go. They were bumming their way on freight cars and thumbing their way on the highways. They congregated in hide-outs where they led a jungle existence until the local sheriff jaded them. Released from one jug, they soon got herded into another. "Girls of the Road" are these girls.

But, alas, in the film they are not girls at all but merely types that move about like marionettes. And the treatment they get at the hands of the script writer is as routine and unimaginative as the grub they ate in the town jails. Furthermore they have thrust upon them a governor's daughter who believes in their souls and wants to save them. (Lady bountiful is played by that perennial pollyanna, Ann Dvorak). And, to add insult to injury, the governor's daughter gets them a "home" where they can become "rehabilitated", instead of the jobs they really need.

One Lesson of the World War

Only REAL Socialism Can Beat Hitler's "Black Socialism"

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

For some time now I have felt that those of us who write in LABOR ACTION have tended to dwell too much on the negative aspects of the war that is now ending. We have proved quite conclusively, I think, that both sides are fighting for ends which have nothing to do with the interests of the masses on either side, for ends, in fact, which directly conflict with those interests. We have exposed the hypocrisy of the democracies' war aims and have shown how the New Deal has been trying to get this country into war to protect the imperialist interests of Wall Street and the Sixty Families.

This is all true, and important. But more and more, as Hitler's victory becomes more complete, people brush such arguments aside with: "Isn't Roosevelt's regime at least better for the masses than Hitler's? And so why not support Roosevelt as the lesser evil?" There are many things that can be said in reply to this—and I think we must say them more than we have been. They all boil down to the fact that capitalist democracy will not be able to put up any more effective fight against Hitlerism over here than it did in the continent of Europe. Hence, the choice for the American bourgeoisie is: fascism or defeat; and the choice for the American working class is, by the same token, socialism or defeat.

This week I want to sketch out merely one aspect of the matter: the superior economic efficiency of fascism over democratic capitalism when it comes to organizing a national economy for a war effort. This efficiency I believe is based on a temporary and forced suppression of the class struggle, partly by ruthless and brutal smashing of all working class organizations but also partly by an over-riding of private capitalist property interests in the interests of national production. It is this second aspect of fascism—its exploitation, in however horribly perverted a way, of certain features of the planned, collectivized economy of socialism—that I want to discuss here.

WHY HITLER WON

The German army crossed the border of Holland on May 10. Five weeks later, Holland and Belgium were completely occupied, the Maginot Line was shattered, the French Army was in full retreat, and France was suing for peace. Today France is a fascist state and practically an ally of Germany, and England faces the most serious threat of invasion since the Norman Conquest nine hundred years ago.

What lesson can we draw from this amazing military victory, without a parallel in world history for scope and speed? The most obvious fact is that all the defeated nations had the same kind of governmental and economic systems, and that this system, which we may call "democratic capitalism", is the same kind of system we have in the United States today.

For the reason that Nazi Germany is winning the war is that it is a more efficient way of organizing national production than democratic capitalism. And it is more efficient because it has adopted, economically at least, something which resembles—in a perverted, incomplete way—that planned, collectivized economy which is a feature of socialism.

There is one point that must be made absolutely clear, and that is that, whereas socialism is a method of organizing national production for normal peacetime ends—and hence means a great rise in mass living standards—fascism, on the contrary, is nothing more and nothing less than a war economy, whose only aim is the organization of the economy for waging war. It should also be emphasized that Hitler's fascism represents not a revolutionary break with capitalism, but on the contrary is simply the ultimate extension of the very same tendencies towards state control which we have seen since the war in the capitalist democracies. These tendencies, of course, have been carried to an unprecedented extreme under fascism.

Some writers, in fact, have called fascism by the term: "black socialism". What do they mean? Simply that fascism is socialism turned inside out, a "socialism" whose aim is war and destruction, a "socialism" which has been perverted by big business to the enslavement of the masses—in a word, a "socialism" which bears about the same resemblance to the real thing as the "democracy" Roosevelt and Willkie talk about so much these days bears to the democracy of Jefferson and Tom Paine.

Hitlerism has only one thing in common with socialism, but that is what has made his system so powerful

In spite of these handicaps and the additional one that the film comes about a decade too late, the plight of the girls still stands out as something very real.

Enough is Enough

"ALL THIS AND HEAVEN, TOO"

(From Rachel Field's novel)

To sit for two hours and twenty minutes watching Bette Davis being noble and Charles Boyer being self-pityingly sad, adds up to having had about one hour and ten minutes too much. Movement from one situation to another is required of a good film. Here you get scene after scene of the same situation: the governess being wonderful to the children; they loving her; the duke and the governess yearning for each other; the duchess crazed with jealousy. The result is stuffy and depressing.

The sameness of the scenes also prevents Bette Davis from giving full range to her powers. When the opportunity to give comes her way, she does give, but there is not enough of it.

Though the story dates back to the pre-revolutionary period of 1846 in France, the producers have made practically no use at all of this historical background. So that we get nothing more than a hot-house triangular tragedy, about which this reviewer did not get very excited.

The Staff of Life

"THE BAKER'S WIFE"

(A French film with English subtitles).

If it's acting of the first order that you want, Raimu supplies it in the role of the fleshy middle-aged baker whose good-looking young wife has deserted him for a muscular young gypsy. In a comic role and a comic situation, Raimu must tread carefully on this side of the ridiculous, for his wayward wife is very dear to the baker and her desertion no joke to him. Raimu succeeds. He makes you laugh at the baker and feel sorry for him at the same time.

The baker's wife becomes the concern of the whole village. For the unhappy man has let the fire go out in his oven. The village has become breadless. He promises to bake such bread as they have never eaten before, if they will only find and bring back his wife. The wife-hunt is on, and a delightful funny thing it is.

The hostility between priest and scholar, the family feuds of generations, neighborly fights over poverty, all become grist to the mill producing droll situations and witty dialogue.

Decidedly a "don't miss" film.

The Pan-American Conferees Bow to Hemisphere Control by White House

By ALBERT GATES

What happened in the private meetings between the United States and Argentina, the main stumbling block at the Pan-American conference to the Washington plan of political, economic and military unity of the Western Hemisphere, may not be known for a long time, but the conference has formally, at least, proved to be a triumph for the State Department.

The American delegation arrived in Cuba with a definite plan for preventing seizure of European colonies in Latin America by the Axis powers. The question of the colonies was linked to the economic problems of the American continents, it had therefore to be solved first. The capitalist press therefore treated this question as the major one at the conference.

Not the Main Problem

In reality, however, this question was secondary. The bait for an agreement on the colonies lay in the tremendous wealth of the United States and its willingness to use it in solving the economic problems of the Latin-American countries. President Roosevelt gave a practical demonstration of this fact when in the midst of the conference he asked for \$500,000,000 for the Export-Import Bank to finance trade between the Americas and thereby relieve the glutted warehouses of the Latin American nations.

The decision arrived at is a simple one. The American nations will not recognize the transfer of any colony in this hemisphere to any new European power. In this way, the twenty-one American nations have partially subscribed to the Monroe Doctrine as it is conceived by the Roosevelt administration. The conference declared that they "would consider any transfer or attempt to transfer sovereignty . . . as contrary to American sentiments, principles and rights of American states to maintain their security and political independence." No mention is made of the right to self-determination by the existing colonies, nor of the return of these same colonies to the nations which formerly owned them.

The acquiescence of Argentina caused considerable surprise in view of its previous opposition to taking a definitive position on the colonies. Argentina argued against "innovations" and "actions taken before the fact". But following Melo's conference with Hull, Argentina gave its assent to the conference action when it was agreed to use the term "administration of the colonies" in place of "trusteeship" or the establishment of "mandates". There is no reason to doubt but that the United States made sufficient economic guarantees to Argentina to win its cooperation.

Gets Free Hand

The conference adopted two decisions on the matter of the colonies. One is a convention, which must be ratified by the countries present; the other is the Act of Havana which grants to any country acting alone or in concert with others, the right to take such steps as are required for its own defense or the "defense of the continent". By this Act the United States could, for example, act without first getting approval from the countries ratifying the decisions of the conference. But then all the countries recognize that the United States is the only nation which can carry into effect the conference decisions. The nations present were prepared to hand over the military and financial problems involved in the "administration of the colonies" to the United States.

Economic cooperation has at once the most important and the most difficult problem to solve. While the major objections of the leading South American nations to Hull's proposals for economic unity flowed from the fact that their economies were more closely linked to Europe than the United States, the war

which closed the European markets temporarily altered the situation. Huge surpluses of goods have piled up, especially in Brazil and Argentina. These two countries are quite willing to establish economic cooperation with the United States if it means that through the Export-Import Bank and American finance, their acute economic problems will be modified. The same holds true for the other nations.

The resolution adopted by the conference is general and vague. Hull described it as establishing the necessity "to create and set into operation machinery of action". Many things are implied in "economic cooperation," but the details have been referred to the Inter-American Economic and Financial Advisory Committee. The economic problem will hereafter become the decisive one with the United States seeking com-

plete domination over the western world against any nation seeking to establish an economic foothold in the hemisphere.

Danger for Labor

The most dangerous decision of the conference so far as the labor and political organizations of the working class are concerned is the decision to fight "fifth column" movements. Under the resolution adopted, the twenty-one nations are to aid each other in the defense and maintenance of the existing governments, to supply information to each other, to jointly struggle against any and all "subversive" movements. Under the guise of combatting German, Italian and Japanese propaganda, any opposition to the existing governments will be labeled "fifth column" and "subversive." In this way, the

resolution becomes a means of perpetuating in power the present governments.

While the press speaks of the "twenty-one republics," it is a fact that in most countries the severest dictatorships exist. Democracy is the exception rather than the rule.

The coming conference of jurists and police experts which is to study the question, will undoubtedly devise ways and means of suppressing the organizations of the working class. A new catalogue of crimes is to be set up and they will have an extremely wide range.

Undoubtedly, the United States won a tremendous diplomatic and political victory at Havana. But it is only a beginning. Henceforth, Washington will move more quickly to achieve its main aims.

South of the Border: Chile

Chile is a ribbon-like strip of territory between the Andes and the Pacific, the third most important nation in Spanish America, outranked only by Argentina and Brazil. Geographically it dominates the South Pacific coast; economically it exists by mining, chiefly nitrates, which are exported to enrich the agriculture of half the world. Politically it is governed by a Popular Front government; actually it is ruled by a rich and powerful landowning aristocracy of a handful of families, backed by capital from abroad. Socially it is composed of several millions of working people ground down by abject poverty and hopeless backwardness in which millions before them lived, toiled and died.

It boasts the largest and most articulate Socialist Party south of the Panama Canal—tall on talk, short on action, always bound to embarrassing allies and always "betrayed." Its Communist Party is the most active and powerful in Latin America after Mexico's. Its Nazi party, under various titles, is one of the strongest in the Western Hemisphere. It has the largest Germanic population in South America. The origins of German influence go back to the middle of the last century and have deep roots. In its southern part German is nearly as common as Spanish, and a large number of its leading families bear German names. It is a country in which, in the estimation of one observer, \$100,000 a month is being spent today by Germany on propaganda. It is also a country in which hundreds of millions of dollars of United States capital are invested in nitrates and copper, calling for a close watch by Washington, whose representative in Santiago is the former ambassador to Spain, Claude G. Bowers. In short, it is a country which is a veritable test tube of Latin American politics in that the conflict of rival imperialisms and the unfolding of class pressures and tensions can be watched like the action and inter-action of so many gasses.

NEITHER POPULAR NOR A FRONT

What is Chile's Popular Front? What is its political composition? What social forces does it represent? What are its policies?

To begin with, the very words Popular Front represent more the use of a catch phrase than a social reality. Nominally the parties composing the Front are the Radical Party, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. In other words, the Front is supposed to represent a bloc of the middle class with the workers and peasants opposed to the big bourgeoisie and imperialism. But the middle class in Chile, as in most Latin American countries, barely exists as a political entity. There is a comprador class and a government employe white-collar group, but the small native entrepreneur is still too

weak to show any unity of class action. What does exist, however, is a liberal and "socialist" tradition brought to Chile by the Germans who settled there in the fifties, and not yet dead despite Nazi propaganda—the kind of thing that in our country makes Milwaukee a "socialist" town.

Apart from this tempering influence—clearly by no means unimportant in politically arid Latin America—the Popular Front in Chile is dominantly the vehicle of the Radical Party. And the Radical Party includes some of Chile's richest men, whose only interest in the Popular Front lies in the fact that their financial interests happen to clash with those of other rich men. Thus, two months after the Popular Front's formation a year and a half ago the Radical Party took over. At no time has it even attempted a social program. Its progression has been steadily to the extreme right. President Pedro Aguirre Cerda only recently asked his Congress privately if it could see its way clear to outlaw strikes and pass other labor restrictions. Typical of the Radical Party is Cristobal Saenz, who was actually a member of the Popular Front cabinet. Saenz is one of the world's ten biggest wheat growers.

The opposition is typified by Gustavo Ross, defeated by Cerda for the Presidency in 1938. Ross is Chile's wealthiest citizen, whose chief interests are in banking, railroads and power plants in which his money and foreign capital are intermingled. The political stupidity of the support given by the Socialist Party of Chile to men like Cerda and Saenz, while opposing Ross, can be seen readily if we were to imagine Norman Thomas deliberately supporting the Rockefeller oligarchy against the House of Morgan.

THE DEAD HAND OF STALINISM IN LATIN AMERICA

This is not to say that the Popular Front was ever without potentialities in Chile. At one point it almost loomed as the beacon light for all of Latin America's wretched workers and peasants who took it at face value. But the light was quickly extinguished by a combination of Stalinist trickery, Socialist ineptitude, Nazi intrigue and a hopelessly entangled economic situation which has expressed itself in a race to create sufficient domestic industry to replace a vanished European market—an idea in Chile which somehow never seems to take account of the low purchasing power of the Chilean masses.

From the very start, the Socialists

under Marmaduke Grove decided to work in close cooperation with the Communists, who, in turn, sang of the progressiveness of Cerda. In the intricacies of parliamentary councils the Communists became the bridge between Cerda and the Socialists. Then when the Socialists, alarmed by the rapid right turn taken by Cerda, threatened independent action or even caustic criticism, the Stalinists were there to remind them of the dangers of breaking "national unity." By the time the Socialists woke up, they were hopelessly smeared and discredited. For the moves to the right were made while they had acted as protective left coloring. In the end they emerged as the apologists for both Cerda and the Stalinists.

As for the Stalinists, their work was not with the masses anyway. They have a back door leading to the Presidential palace. They work from "on top." Their goal? Like every Stalinist move in the New World that depends on Soviet foreign policy and not on the desires or needs of the oppressed mestizo and Indian masses of Spanish America.

Chile is fast becoming cleared for direct action between the trade interests of Germany and the United States. Germany has a trade and racial base, augmented by a really formidable propaganda machine. The United States has capital, power, geographical considerations—a real stake, not only in Chile but in all of Latin America. The Soviet Union? Nothing but its native affiliate of the Comintern.

It is not intended to over-estimate the importance of Stalinism in Latin America. Yet this much is clear: the Revolution of October still has a strong hold on the imagination of Latin American masses. It is this, plus complete ruthlessness in putting aside every consideration of principle, which places native Stalinist parties in a position to play off both ends against the middle—the old trick of nurturing illusion by talking left, while heading off independent revolutionary action.

The Chilean Stalinist party is used for bargaining purposes, for "horse-trading," for nuisance value—over the backs of the workers and peasants it pretends to represent. If Cerda makes a deal with the United States, or with Hitler, or if he will try to maintain his country on the dead center of a knife-edge—the Stalinists of Chile are in a position to get his ear, to influence a move to benefit the Soviet Union, which yesterday wanted one kind of balance between world powers and today is interested in another.

Stop Hitler? Simple—Just Dam Up the Gulf Stream

Believe It or Not—This is Latest Brainstorm of General Hugh Johnson

Maybe it's the heat, maybe it's just natural desperation over the hopeless job of figuring out how to fight Hitler's streamlined barbarism with the rotten and inefficient democratic-capitalist system. Whatever the reason, the fact is that General Hugh Johnson, in his Scripps-Howard column for July 27, seriously proposes that the Army look into the possibility of diverting the Gulf Stream from Europe as a way of annoying Hitler.

"The Gulf Stream," points out the General, "goes through a narrow passage between the Bahamas and Florida. Could any kind of engineering works there divert its flow?" The effect of such a diversion on Europe would be, of course, catastrophic: its climate would come to resemble that of Labrador, and most of the continent would become practically uninhabitable. "Since he hesitates at no method of destruction, however devastating," concludes Johnson, "why should we?"

Thus our U.S. Army would come to be a sort of super-janitor for the continent of Europe. If that rowdy Nazi family makes too much noise, the Army just turns off the hot water for a while!

Although General Johnson claims the dubious honor of being the inventor of this latest Stop-Hitler scheme, it was actually first proposed publicly three weeks before the General's column, in a letter written by one William R. Snyder of Woodside, N.Y., and printed in Life of July 8. Nor is Johnson even the second recruit to the idea, for two weeks later, Life printed a letter from Alfred Andriola, of Rutherford, N.J., creator of the Charlie Chan comic strip, who announced he was going to use the idea in the strip (which is where it belongs). He enclosed a picture of Charlie saying, "Diverting Gulf Stream may be key to defense of democracy! Incredible! Even flying machines was fantastic dream in days of ancestors!"

Maybe Charlie is right, at that. Damming up the Gulf Stream is about as workable as the plans being made by the boss politicians for "defending" America against Hitlerism.

What could be a clearer sign of the hysteria now gripping American capitalism in the face of the threat from its German rival, than that schemes like this are beginning to be taken seriously?

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LET'S HAVE THE REAL THING!

No, it's not socialism, not even economically. But it makes use of the sort of planned centralized, collective economy which a workers' socialist government would put into effect. And if Hitler can do what he has done with this mere shadow of a real collective economy, then why wouldn't the real thing be overwhelmingly superior to our present form of chaotic "democratic" capitalism—and, what is more, to Hitlerism as well?

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.

have a willing collaborator in the White House.

In the interlocking relations of Wall Street finance the House of Morgan acts largely as focus. But even without Morgan the ties that bind Roosevelt and Willkie lead in one way or another to Wall Street. A considerable part of the Street has put its faith in Willkie, one of its own "boys." Still, there is more than one Bernard Baruch or Herbert Lehman—men of no mean importance in Wall Street—behind Roosevelt.

Baruch and Morgan worked as a team once before. American entry in the last war was largely dictated by the House of Morgan. Once war was declared Baruch took over and, as a "dollar-a-year" man, coordinated the nation's industry. For Wall Street, for the huge industrialists, this double-play combination worked like a charm. History is repeating itself—with, perhaps, William S. Knudsen substituting for Baruch.

Big Business is governed by only one principle: profits. Better than anyone else it knows that either candidate will serve its interests; better than anyone else it knows that the candidates differ mainly on ways and means of better serving their masters.

But while the political differences between the two candidates are not too vital, there is nevertheless one real difference: patronage. Each of the candidates has a different set of hangers on, anxious to cut a slice of gravy from the public payroll or funds.

And just as it is worth examining the business interests behind the candidates, so is it worth our time to examine the—

Roosevelt and Willkie Bait Hooks to Catch Masses' Vote

F. D. R.'S BAIT

When the Republican party chose Wall Street's darling for its presidential candidate, it required no political wizardry to predict that Roosevelt, the candidate of the other boss party, would capitalize on his opponent's connections and himself sprout wings as the guardian angel of the masses.

At the convention in Chicago, Mrs. Roosevelt put a halo around her husband's head by declaring the Democratic party "a party interested in the well-being and protection of the workers." Immediately, however, the convention gave the lie to this claim by adopting an anti-war plank which is a blatant fraud.

When former Senator James A. Reed of Missouri deserted the Roosevelt camp, the democratic candidate flung out a word which is anathema to workers' ears. He said that the SHOPY will recall a certain SWEAT SHOP matter involving Reed.

Whatever the facts may be regarding the dress shop owned by Mrs. Reed, to which Roosevelt was referring, and they are no doubt accurate, the important point is that Roosevelt mounts a white charger as a crusader against sweat shops.

Roosevelt discovered Reed's sweat shop connections only after the latter was no longer the president's political friend. And if it's sweat shops Mr. Roosevelt is wanting to fight, why pick only on Mrs. Reed's? There is, to give just one instance, plenty of material for his crusade in the factories of the solid south, where Mr. Roosevelt's supporters combat unionization as if it were the worst evil on earth.

Dollars vs. Humanity

As to John W. Hanes and Lewis W. Douglas who went over to Willkie's camp, Roosevelt branded them as gentlemen, "whose slant of mind runs more to dollars than humanity." And that too is, no doubt, accurate.

Again, Mr. Roosevelt discovers the mercenary character of Douglas and Hanes—for whom LABOR ACTION has no use whatsoever—only after they have become his political en-

Hitler is a staunch upholder of the theory that a lie repeated often enough is better than the truth. Both the presidential candidates apparently belong to the same school of thought.

WILLKIE'S BAIT

To get votes from the masses, candidate Willkie will have to make them forget that he is a member of the top capitalist class, borne firmly on Wall Street's political back.

He promptly resigned as president of Commonwealth & Southern Corporation. That little trick has since been followed by a bagful of others. In a speech at Denver the other day, he beat his chest and became the man of the masses: "If you elect me President you will have some one who understands the everyday problems of everyday people. I have lived them and glory in it. My route was the hard route, not the soft route."

At once Willkie reveals that he is a phoney. Where is there a worker who "glories" in being out of work, unable to pay rent, unable to feed and cloth his family? Workers may be queer people, but they actually like good wages and working conditions, modern comfortable homes, healthy well-clothed children, leisure to enjoy themselves, freedom from the fear of war. The guy who glories in "everyday problems" is the one who does not have to live with them.

As president of a huge private utility trust Willkie has consistently opposed all efforts to make electricity cheaper for the farmer. As presidential candidate, fishing for farmers' votes, he must do something about his past record. So he visits western farmers, chats with them and their families, looks over their crops and tells them he will solve all their problems. Incidentally he has his picture taken with a farmer and his family, to be circulated in hundreds of newspapers throughout the country. Thus is born the man of the soil.

Covering His Tracks

It will be disastrous for Willkie to make public the huge contributions that his moneyed supporters will send in. Great pains are being taken to hide all this. Instead, a hullabaloo is being made about the rank-and-file nature of all contributions. Willkie Clubs will solicit no funds for the campaign other than a twenty-five cent membership fee. This marvelous man Willkie is going to conduct a blitzkrieg campaign on chicken feed—we don't think.

So pure is Willkie's campaign going to be that the committee will employ no paid speakers. "We have the kind of cause for which we want people to speak voluntarily", Mr. Willkie is quoted as saying.

And what is this "noble" cause for which Republican politicians will give their all? It is identical with Roosevelt's "noble" cause—namely, to turn the country into a huge machine for waging war. The New York Times said there is no reason for Roosevelt running for a third term because Willkie stands for the same thing as he does. Last week LABOR ACTION featured a letter from the Kiplinger Business Service making it clear that both candidates stand for war.

Willkie thunders against the corrupt political machine of the Democratic party because, among other things, he wants his own corrupt political machine to handle the pickings that inevitably fall to the ruling politicians in a war period. If Willkie makes the White House, his "self-sacrificing" campaigners will get theirs.

Willkie's "self-sacrifice" reeks of the money-bags.

These N. Y. Stands Sell Labor Action

BROWNsville, BROOKLYN
Sutter Ave. and Van Sinderen Ave., N.E.

Watkins St. and Pitkin Ave., N.E. Rockaway Ave. and Pitkin, N.W. Strauss St. and Pitkin Ave., N.E. Utica Ave. and Eastern Parkway, S.W.

(We invite other cities to submit lists of stands that carry LABOR ACTION. In last week's issue we ran a list of other N.Y. stands.)

its power and privilege, abuses and in many cases abolishes, our democratic union rights. All those things that we cherish and prize so highly are handed back to the bosses—when a union's militancy is destroyed, a machine can keep power only by bootlicking the bosses.

We all know and suffer from the deplorable and rotten conditions in the shop. This can be remedied by an honest fighting union. We need a militant union controlled by the workers to save us from starvation and ruin.

We must achieve the 30 hour week piece work and "standards", full and higher wages, the abolition of union democracy, no dues payment by the unemployed, and the right of Amalgamated members to work as men and women, not dogs.

To attain these we must have militant, class action. Hillman can't and won't fight. It's up to us, brothers and sisters.

Fraternally,
Philadelphia J. E.

THE NEGRO'S FIGHT We Must Help Our Brothers In the South

By J. R. JOHNSON

At the Chicago Convention of the Democratic Party history was made. The Democratic Party, for the first time, decided to take notice of the fact that Negroes existed in the United States. The section of the platform which dealt with Negroes ran as follows:

"Our Negro citizens have participated actively in the economic and social advances launched by this Administration, including fair labor standards, social security benefits, health protection, work relief projects, decent housing, aid to education, and the rehabilitation of low-income farm families.

"We have aided more than half a million Negro youths in vocational training education and employment. We shall continue to strive for complete legislative safeguards against discrimination in government service and benefits, and in the national defense forces.

"We pledge to uphold due process and the equal protection of the laws for every citizen, regardless of race, creed and color."

LAUGH TO KEEP FROM GETTING MAD

Now that is quite harmless. When a Democratic or Republican politician stands on his hind legs and says "I pledge myself to uphold equal protection of the laws for every citizen regardless of race . . ." every Negro within earshot laughs loud and long. Naturally Negroes would prefer to do something else beside laugh. The laugh is not pleasant. But it is better to laugh so as to restrain oneself from shying a brick at the babbler. He deserves the brick, of course, but in politics we must organize, agitate, fight in unions and political parties, not shy bricks at any casual servant of American capitalism lying for his daily bread.

But harmless as was this usual piece of political fakery it caused a fight on the Convention floor. A Southern delegate standing directly before the rostrum where Senator Wagner was reading the rubbish, grew so angry on hearing it that he turned to the Negro nearest to him and told him to take his hat off. "Pull off that god damned hat, Nigger. Don't you know that white women are in this hall?" Half the people in the hall were wearing hats. The Southern delegate was wearing one, but a Negro must be kept in his place, and of course it is known in the South, that according to science, a Negro allowed to wear a hat in a white woman's presence always ends by attempting to rape her. The Negro who had been accosted with this courtesy for which the South is so distinguished, behaved in a manner most discourteous. He gave the Southerner one on the jaw and laid him out flat. People standing near rushed the white man away and that was that.

Now why did this Southerner behave in that way? The Democratic Party had promised peace and the Southerner knew that Franklin Roosevelt, his chief, is the greatest war-monger that America has ever had. The Democratic Party had promised to maintain the social gains and Mr. Southerner knew that ever since the national defense racket began, every employer is busy slashing at labor. And the Democratic Party had promised to protect civil liberties but the Government is busy passing bills against aliens, and inciting the lynch spirit against all who oppose its plans.

Yet, when these were read, the Southern delegate did not lose his temper and start insulting people near him. Like a good politician he knew that a platform has two objects, one to fool the people, the other to get their votes. Did the Southerner believe that Franklin Roosevelt, the chief of the Democratic Party, was going to enforce the law on behalf of Negroes? Nonsense. Roosevelt has been President for nearly eight years, and the law is still the same old law, capitalist law for the protection of the rich and for the oppression of the poor. Mr. Southerner knew that the plank in the platform meant nothing. Yet he went hay-wire. Why?

AFRAID OF EVEN A FALSE PROMISE

First, in all probability, being a Southerner he couldn't keep his temper at hearing even obviously false promises about Negroes. But there is a deeper reason, the same reason which kept all mention of the Negroes out of the platform all these years. The reason is this: In the South the Negroes are made to understand that they are a people apart, hevers of wood and drawers of water. They have no rights.

Now when you make a promise in a platform it means not that you are going to carry it out—God forbid; it means however that you consider the persons to whom you make as citizens, as persons with rights. And such is the situation in the South that the Southern delegate couldn't stand even the idea of such a thing.

There is something to be learnt here. We who have a little more freedom in the North must use it to help our brothers in the South—not by listening to Democratic or Republican promises (who doesn't know by now what those are worth will never know) but by intensifying our own propaganda and agitation addressed directly to the Negroes in the South. In the past the revolutionary movement has scandalously neglected this duty. We must strive to make the Southern Negroes feel that they are free and equal citizens to-day in the revolutionary army, and tomorrow in the socialist society.

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Messrs. Burke and Wadsworth

It looks as though Congress is about to pass the Burke-Wadsworth bill providing for immediate peacetime conscription into the army of every male American between the ages of 18 and 65. President Roosevelt has publicly endorsed peacetime conscription, and his Army Chief of Staff, General Marshall, has urged passage of the Burke-Wadsworth bill—with a few minor amendments.

Who are the authors of this law which is about to fasten the yoke of military conscription on the necks of some forty million of their fellow citizens?

They are both of them reactionary politicians of long standing. Representative James J. Wadsworth of New York is a blueblood who belongs to the extreme right wing of the Republican Party. He is of the breed of Ogden Mills and Andrew Mellon—wealthy, aristocratic, a veteran reactionary.

Senator Burke of Nebraska is a right-wing Democrat who has announced his support of Willkie. He has just been defeated for re-election to the Senate. Perhaps the voters remembered what he said in 1938 about Hitler: "In the things Hitler is actually doing to bring about the well being of the entire German people, I think he is greater than Bismarck." The N.Y. Herald-Tribune of August 30, 1938, headlined its story: "SENATOR BURKE PRAISES HITLER AND NAZI RULE AS HE RETURNS".

Wadsworth and Burke! The perfect pair to put their names to the Conscription Act!

Who Are the Men Behind Roosevelt?

Everybody knows about Willkie's Wall Street connections. Commonwealth and Southern is too gigantic an enterprise to be hidden behind the skirt of a "resignation."

But what about Roosevelt? Are his connections with Wall Street any the less direct?

Not a bit less! The strings directing Willkie and Roosevelt lead, both of them . . . to the House of Morgan. Thomas Lamont, partner in the Morgan firm, is a well-known Willkie man. But Roosevelt men live in, at least, one wing of the House of Morgan. J. P. has not committed himself on the presidential campaign. Nevertheless, it is common knowledge that Morgan is a war-interventionist (as in the last war), that his ties are with England, and that Roosevelt is pursuing just such a policy as would please Morgan.

If Lamont is with Willkie, Roosevelt has in his War Industries Board E. R. Stettinius, head of U.S. Steel. U.S. Steel is a Morgan firm.

Thus, whichever of the candidates wins, the House of Morgan, at least, is sure to

Group of Rascals

who constitute the candidate's organization support. Mr. Roosevelt's friends (Willkie has them too) collapse the shell of "holier-than-thou" pretense.

At the Chicago convention of the Democratic party, the men who put Roosevelt's candidacy over were the machine politicians. Kelly-Nash, Hague, Tammany and the others lined up to a man behind the great crusader for "honest government", "democracy", and "civil rights."

The Kelly-Nash machine has run Chicago in an iron grip of vice and corruption for years. Mayor Kelly was responsible for the Republic steel massacre in 1936 in which twelve strikers lost their lives. Multi-millionaire Kelly built his fortune on the few thousand a year he gets as Mayor; that is to say, he supplemented his meager salary by lucrative contracts for paving and other jobs which invariably went to Kelly-Nash companies. Every racket in the city paid (and still does) its little graft to the Kelly-Nash machine.

Kansas City's Pendergast is now in the jug. Like Kelly-Nash, Pendergast companies got all the city contracts; and every little racketeer shelled out. Somewhere Pendergast slipped up, or maybe the stench just got to be too bad. Pendergast went to jail. But his machine, or what's left of it, was welcomed into Roosevelt's arms.

Paul McNutt, Indiana's contribution, almost got to be vice-president. Roosevelt publicly saluted McNutt as a "good and loyal soldier" for withdrawing in favor of Wallace. McNutt's "two-percent club" is famous nationally. Every state employee kicks back two-percent of his salary to the McNutt machine.

Hague has never for a moment swerved in his loyalty to Roosevelt. Not even when he was riding Norman Thomas and every other critic out of town. Hague, like the others, became a millionaire on a relatively small salary. His name is a by-word, synonymous with anti-labor violence and suppression of civil rights. The Declaration of Independence is still unrecognized in Jersey City. But Roosevelt is—and woe unto the man who dares vote for any candidate but Hague's, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Tammany is in its lean days now. It has not yet recovered from the scandal which drove Dapper Jimmy Walker out of office in New York. Still, it lives in hope of better days to come. In Chicago it was right there pitching for Franklin D.

Kelly-Nash, and their colleagues in corruption, are behind their candidate for what they can get out of it, the same as Wall Street. The unemployed may starve, the youth of America may be driven to death in war—but Wall Street will fatten on its profits, the machine politicians will rake in all they can.

Roosevelt has yet to repudiate the House of Morgan or the corruption of Hague. And how, indeed, can he? They are the real bosses.

Our Readers Take the Floor. . .

FROM A FARMER FRIEND IN CANADA

Dear Friends:

I wish to thank you for sending me the copies of the NEW INTERNATIONAL and LABOR ACTION. Out here it's like a breath of fresh air.

The situation here is pretty bad, especially with respect to the crops. However, we have had some good showers and they are doing better now. They will make a good average around here, if nothing else happens. However, grain seems to be of very little value here now. There is no market for wheat at all except for those who didn't have any more than 5,000 bushels to sell.

I sold a few bushels of barley the other day at 12¢ per bushel and that makes a very poor comparison with the price we farmers have to pay to buy things. We paid \$3.35 for 98 lbs. of flower the same day as we sold the barley.

With fraternal greetings,
British Columbia, July 20. T.

ASKS FOR CONCRETE ACTION AGAINST DRAFT

Editor of Labor Action:

I read your article entitled STOP CONSCRIPTION in the July 22 issue of Labor Action. The article is in almost all of its content very good except insofar as it draws only one conclusion—that of fighting for a workers government—do I disagree with it.

My criticism relates to what has been omitted rather than what has been committed. There are millions of people in this country who are against conscription and would probably agree, if they were to read LABOR ACTION, which unfortunately they don't, with what the article says about conscription. However very few people if any see their way clear to the establishment of a workers government as the only alternative in the struggle against conscription.

Hardly a movement against conscription can be created on this basis. One asks "What is a practical way of beating or trying to beat conscription?" After all opposition to conscription is nothing new nor are the forms created to fight it. If I am not mistaken conscription in England was fought for a long time by thousands who were organized into anti-conscription leagues. Why not such a proposal from you for the American workers. I certainly can see nothing in this that would be contrary to the revolutionary principles espoused by Labor Action.

The only thing that might happen is that a reader would be shown that there was something that he could do immediately in the fight

against conscription and because of that would appreciate the realism of the paper instead of going away from it with the feeling that our paper deals with sectarian abstractions.
Fraternally,
B. L.

Berkeley, Cal., July 27, 1940.

(If we have failed in LABOR ACTION to propose concrete, immediate action against conscription we are justly open to criticism. However, in the editorial referred to (it appeared on the front page of the July 15 issue), we were trying to establish the basic need of this epoch—socialism, a workers' government, which by giving the workers something to fight for would make military conscription unnecessary. Elsewhere, in other articles and editorials, we have proposed concrete action—by those organizations best in a position to undertake such action, and whose action would mean something; namely, the trade unions. The Workers Party is willing to join with any group or groups who are seriously interested in the fight against war and its many manifestations, of which conscription is one. But the trade unions must be the backbone of any serious anti-conscription struggle. They have the organized power to block conscription; their pressure, supplemented by that of all who oppose conscription, can bring results. In our last issue (July 29) we called attention to the speed with which action must be taken, because time is short. We called on our worker-readers to raise the question in their unions and organizations, to get them to act swiftly. We will return to this problem in each issue of LABOR ACTION.—Ed.)

DOESN'T LIKE THE WAY HILLMAN RUNS THE ACW

Editor:

Will you please publish the following as a letter from me to the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America:

Brothers and Sisters: Had any of you hoped that the delegates to the Silver Jubilee Convention would attempt to improve working conditions or to rectify the ills and abuses that beset you constantly? Well, your hopes have been kicked in the pants. The convention was nothing more or less than a joy ride and a picnic for the active administration supporters. Their time was spent mainly in aping the Legionnaires and in disregarding completely the serious and important problems that we know so well.

They did not represent us because they are part of the bureaucracy, the machine that rules the union from the top. They dare not and will not fight for us. The machine to keep