

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

# LABOR ACTION

We Say—  
Conscript War Industries  
Under Workers' Control!

NOVEMBER 24, 1941

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

ONE CENT

## COAL MINERS FIGHT LABOR'S BATTLE!

### CIO Convention Votes Full Support of Mine Strike

**THIS WEEK**  
**A One-Cent**  
**Labor Action!**

**Contribute to \$5,000**  
**Party-Building Fund!**

With this issue, LABOR ACTION becomes a one-cent paper!  
This puts into effect one of the decisions made by the recent national convention of the Workers Party in its Program of Action and Expansion.

With the lowering of the sales price (and the subscription price to 60 cents a year), we are IMMEDIATELY DOUBLING the circulation of LABOR ACTION. Our goal for the next three months is to double the NEW circulation, that is, to QUADRUPLE the original circulation.

But the success of this project, and all the other projects outlined in the Program of Expansion, depends upon the support given by our readers, our members, our sympathizers.

A reserve fund of \$5,000 will do it!

Five thousand dollars is a tiny, an insignificant sum when compared to the millions the jingo forces in this country spend on promoting THEIR propaganda. With our devotion and energy we can make that \$5,000 equal many times the figure in promoting OUR own socialist anti-war organization and program!

**HELP US PUT OVER OUR PROGRAM OF EXPANSION!**

**Contribute to the \$5,000 Party Building Fund! Contribute generously!**

### First Thousand Is Hardest! (But It Has Already Come In)

The first thousand dollars—even better than a thousand—has already been sent into the National Office of the Workers Party in the campaign to raise a \$5,000 Party Building Fund!

A friend in Nevada—a state not on our quota list when first published last week—has come through with a contribution of \$15. Akron, at one clip, is already close to completing its quota, which gives every indication that the Rubber City will go 'way over the top when the final results are checked.

Worcester, Mass., is close to the half-way mark, which is a good sign for its honorable intentions with regard to its quota, if we know Worcester.

Our YPSL comrades have come through with an additional \$57.20, which is to be added to the \$300 already contributed—not a bad example to follow.

Washington, Chicago and Los Angeles are beginning to inch up on their quotas, with the National Office modestly trailing behind (but with every intention to catch up with and outstrip them all). New York is swinging the bat back and forth ominously and when it lets go it expects to wallop it over the fence—yes, over the fence. Other branches are yet maintaining a promising silence—we assume the silence is promising of lump sums to come and big ones.

We shall continue each week, as below, to print the standing of all the branches—their quotas, their contributions to date, and the percentage of the quota raised.

Branch	Quota	Raised	Percentage
YPSL	000.00	357.20	
Akron	100.00	74.00	70
Worcester	50.00	20.80	41.6
St. Louis	150.00	41.25	25.5
Los Angeles	300.00	68.00	22.6
Washington	200.00	40.00	20
Cleveland	50.00	10.00	20
New York	3,000.00	377.29	12.5
Chicago	275.00	31.00	11.2
National Office	500.00	127.00	25.4
Nevada	000.00	15.00	
Buffalo	300.00	00.00	0
Philadelphia	200.00	00.00	0
San Francisco	150.00	00.00	0
Columbus	100.00	00.00	0
Lynn	75.00	00.00	0
Boston	50.00	00.00	0
Youngstown	30.00	00.00	0
Detroit	20.00	00.00	0
Totals	5,550.00	1,057.54	19

**But Jingoists**  
**Make Effort**  
**To Weaken**  
**Resolution**

By DAVID COOLIDGE  
DETROIT—The CIO is holding its fourth national convention with 500 delegates in attendance. After the happenings of the past week one would expect to see a group of delegates tense, militant and giving the impression of a readiness and determination to carry on against the bosses and even against the government in order to guarantee substantial and specific gains for the millions of CIO members.

Everybody knows that the coal diggers in the captive mines are on strike. All the delegates to this convention at least know that this is not just a strike of coal miners; that this strike is really in support, first, of the steel workers and of all the workers who face the possibility of seeing their unions destroyed.

While the convention has taken a correct position formally on the issue of the "union shop" there is not the enthusiasm for supporting the miners that workers have the right to expect. There is not the enthusiasm that the miners have the right to expect.

The reasons for this are not hard to find. In the first place, the convention and the CIO leadership felt constrained to make the record on the matter of the war. The leadership of the CIO and most of the leading CIO internationals were anxious to let the country know where the CIO stands on this question. Consequently the first important matter of business was the resolution in support of Roosevelt's foreign policy. At the Atlantic City con-

Continued on page 2

### The Miners' Reply!



**Let Us All**  
**Get 100%**  
**Behind the**  
**Coal Strike!**

By JACK WILSON  
In the most significant labor struggle since the General Motors sit-down strike victory in 1937 which established the CIO, the mighty United Mine Workers of America under the leadership of John L. Lewis this week won all the early rounds in its titanic battle against Wall Street's open shop drive, even though that master politician, President Roosevelt, openly directed the anti-labor forces.

By a series of brilliant and dramatic moves, John L. Lewis rallied the miners and the entire national CIO against Roosevelt's threats and actions to aid the big steel companies owning the captive mines and thus gave Roosevelt his first major defeat in a year.

When Phillip Murray, president of the CIO, and Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers, resigned from Roosevelt's Mediation Board because it openly revealed itself as a union-busting agency, Roosevelt's plans to hogtie the labor movement into the war machine suffered a serious setback.

This action killed half the joy of the labor-baiters in America when the National Mediation Board denied what it itself admitted was the right of the United Mine Workers—the right to have a union shop covering the 53,000 miners employed in the captive mines of the Big Steel companies.

Threats Fail  
Roosevelt's threats in the guise of "a solemn promise to keep production going," that he would use federal troops to open the mines, was cheering news to the Wall Street capitalists and their many journalist stooges.

All of these people, ranging from Eugene Grace, president of Bethlehem Steel Co., to The Nation and The New Republic, thought that because of these threats and Roosevelt's alleged influence among American workers, the UMWA would have to retreat and capitulate, with Lewis being smashed in the process.

To their utter dismay and confusion, the crisis deliberately created by the Roosevelt Administration and the steel barons saw the resurgence of the CIO as a militant industrial union movement under Lewis' direction.

Instead of isolation, Lewis and the miners have the unqualified support of the entire CIO, even the Sidney Hillman and Stalinist stooges at the CIO convention being forced to pay lip service (at least) and loyalty to the principles of the CIO involved in the coal strike.

Surveys completed by the United (Continued on page 4)

### Strike Shuts Major Captive Mines

Seasoned Strike Veterans in Kentucky and Elsewhere Stand Ready to Aid Captive Coal Strikers

Special to LABOR ACTION

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The seasoned strike veterans of the United Mine Workers of America, easily closed down all major captive mines employing 53,000 men in the dispute with the "Steel Trust" over the union shop issue. Thousands of other miners went on sympathy strikes.

Reports at the UMWA headquarters here indicate that this was accomplished with little difficulty, as most of the 53,000 men stood solidly behind the union, with only a handful of scabs evident in the entire strike.

One trouble spot of the strike appeared to be the Red Lion mine of the notorious H. C. Frick Coke Co.

near Uniontown, Pa., the last stronghold of open shopism, where the company has acquired quite a few scabs.

In Alabama, where the UMWA established itself since 1933 through a series of hard fought and bloody battles, the captive mines shut down immediately. Steel workers in the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co. plants in Birmingham prepared a sympathy strike which was called off only because the miners said they didn't need help yet.

Down in Gary, W. Va., two scabs were wounded in a shooting scuffle as a company union outfit tried to keep open six captive mines now owned by a subsidiary of the U.S.

Steel Corp.

Reports that the famous coal strike veterans of adjoining Harlan County, Ky., were coming to the assistance of the strikers against the scab movement soon curbed the anti-union sentiments, but more trouble was expected.

The coal miners everywhere took the strike in stride, since it was just one of the many historic battles in which they have engaged over a period of years.

Large bodies of state troopers in Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Alabama were rushed to the strike areas, but the miners have had so much experience in dealing with them, and winning strikes, that

the troopers could not seriously affect the situation or dent the morale of the unionists.

So strong is the position of the miners that the anti-labor congressmen who a few days ago were yelling threats of anti-strike legislation, have cooled down considerably, no doubt on the advice of President Roosevelt. It is apparently evident to them that the miners cannot be intimidated by a few threats or even vicious legislation. The right and the strength is on their side. Cooler heads among the labor-hating congressmen are obviously aware of what may happen if their plans were pressed. The miners don't scare easily.

### 5 of 28 Defendants Acquitted in "Sedition" Trial

Judge Joyce, Denying Defense Motion to Acquit All, Delivers Prejudicial and Reactionary Statement Against Defense

Special to LABOR ACTION

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 18—Accompanying his decision with a viciously prejudicial statement against the defendants, Judge M. M. Joyce, presiding over the trial of 28 labor militants, directed a verdict of acquittal for five of the 28 persons accused of a "conspiracy to overthrow the government by violence."

Judge Joyce denied a motion made by Albert Goldman, defense attorney, and one of the defendants, that all the charges be dismissed.

He also denied a defense motion that the prosecution be compelled to decide whether it is trying the case under the Seditious Conspiracy Act of 1861 or the Smith Omnibus Gag Act of 1941. Denying a defense request that a decision be made on what constitutes clear and present danger (the prosecution admits that

it cannot prove this), Judge Joyce delivered himself of the following remarks:

"When considering the possibility of a revolution led by these defendants, it is well to remember that Hitler once ran around in a greasy overcoat, and was held up to public ridicule. . . . It seems inconsistent that the defendants when confronted with the consequences of their actions, should run to the Constitution for protection—a Constitution they would not amend but destroy."

This from a judge supposedly sitting in a fair and impartial trial where presumably no man is guilty until so proved.

The trial is now at its half-way mark. The prosecution has closed its case. The defense will now take over. However, in the course of

the prosecution's presentation, the defense already has successfully riddled prosecution testimony, proved that it has no basis in fact whatsoever and that the sole purpose of the prosecution is the conviction of 28 militants on no other factual evidence than that they read and circulated the 93-year-old Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx.

Goldman, asking dismissal of the charges when the prosecution rested its flimsy case, charged that the government had not by any means proved its case, that it could prove no time element in the alleged conspiracy to overthrow the government (thus invalidating prosecution on the grounds of the 1861 act which refers to IMMEDIATE overthrow), that the SWP carried on its activities publicly and therefore did not

conspire, that the SWP does not advocate violent overthrow of the government and that the government has not proved any present or clear danger.

Goldman further charged that any conviction would be a denial of the right of free speech and a violation of the constitutional rights guaranteed every individual in the United States. With respect to the alleged attempt to subvert the armed forces, Goldman claimed that "there is no proof of an attempt by the defendants to create insubordination and disloyalty in the army." And further, that while the prosecution charged all the defendants with being members of the SWP, it had produced no proof.

By itself, the acquittal of Walter Hagstrom, Dorothy Schultz, Rose Sei-

ler, George Frosgid and Nick Wagner (who was defended by his own attorney), is virtual proof of the weakness of the prosecution's case.

How serious is the case is amply evidenced by the remarks of the judge. These remarks were in keeping with his earlier decision to allow the introduction of material written BEFORE the Smith Act was passed as evidence on which the men may be sentenced under this very same Smith Act.

As the defense opens its own presentation, it is urgently important that labor rally to the defense of the 23 still on trial. Judge Joyce's decision indicates how reactionary are the motives behind the trial. If the defendants are convicted, it will constitute a precedent for the unconstitutional repression of all labor militants, their liberties and their rights!

# Prosecution Concludes Flimsy Case Against 28

Special to LABOR ACTION  
MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 15—With the presentation of evidence against the 28 militants on trial under federal charges of "sedition" nearly complete, the prosecution has varied from its practice of bringing to the witness chair a procession of stooges employed by Tobin in destroying the powerful General Drivers Local 544. Almost without exception the government has relied on disgruntled and discredited functionaries and members of the old union who are now allied with the Tobin machine against the rank and file teamsters of Minneapolis.

Ostensibly, these witnesses were called by U.S. District Attorney Victor E. Anderson to bolster the government charge that the Socialist Workers Party advocates the "violent overthrow of the government," but they were unanimously vague on the program of the SWP, though many of these claimed former membership and some openly admitted that "it was too deep" for them. But they were only too willing to oblige with testimony when early this year agents of the FBI began calling on them.

### Manny Holstein

Manny (Happy) Holstein occupied most of the Thursday morning session. Holstein, with Bartlett and Tommy Williams among the chief organizers of the reactionary Committee of 100 in the union, claimed to be a former member of the SWP and stated that he paid dues until 1939. During the time he was a member he attended social gatherings of the party and had been approached by Farrell Dobbs concerning the financial needs of the organization. Whenever he went out of town he was given a bundle of Socialist Appeals to distribute.

In addition to this "revolutionary" activity, he attended a few classes at which, he testified, the defendants, V. R. Dunne, Farrell Dobbs, Oscar Coover and Carl Skoglund, lectured on the Russian Revolution. This, plus a few scraps of unverified conversation, such as "going underground," etc., constituted his testimony concerning the political activity of the defendants.

### Forced to Remember

Under cross-examination he remembered further conversations. He unwillingly "recalled" that Dobbs had called him to account concerning his pocketing of money belonging to the union. He also recalled that Miles Dunne and Ray Rainbolt, both defendants, had interfered with his pet racket of charging a \$3.00 loading fee against trucks of the Minneapolis Brewery, a racket that netted him and Tommy Williams from \$18 to \$25 daily. Rainbolt called a meeting of the executive board of the union in order to stop this practice, but Holstein admitted he stayed away. Later he was arrested when he refused the union order to cease halting the brewery trucks.

Holstein also admitted that he tried to run for office in the union last July but that the International, probably because of his unsavory record, ruled him out.

### Mrs. Williams

As Tommy Williams, partner of Holstein in the brewery racket and in the organization of the Committee of 100, died before the trial began, the prosecution called his widow to the stand. Her testimony concerned the activities of her deceased husband. She testified that Williams was a bodyguard for Farrell Dobbs and that he joined the SWP in order to keep his job. She knew that Williams stopped paying his dues to the SWP and sometime later was discharged by the executive board of the union from his post as organizer for 544. Goldman objected to this hearsay evidence as being unreliable and irrelevant, but the judge overruled the objection.

Mrs. Williams also claimed that Emil Hanson, another of the defendants, received his wages of \$50 weekly from the union while serving as Trotsky's bodyguard in Mexico. Later another government witness, Helen Hanifan, the union's bookkeeper since 1936, testified that she had no knowledge of money being paid to Hanson.

### Glenn Smith

Glenn Smith, another of Tobin's "organizers," testified that the defendants, Max Geldman, Ed Palmquist and Oscar Schoenfeld, had spoken to him about joining the Minneapolis WPA strike. Smith, who participated in that strike, said he was told that the party aimed to overthrow capitalism and make everyone equal. He testified that he was told that he was a member of the Union Defense Guard, but could not recall who told him.

Smith, who stands over six feet and admitted that he weighs over 250 pounds, told of beating Jake Cooper, one of the defendants, while "organizing" some of the CIO drivers. Asked why he had a dozen men with him while he

# Interview with Henry Schweinhaut, Prosecuting Attorney, Shows Civil Rights Are Threatened in Minnesota Trial!

### Special to LABOR ACTION

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 8 — Henry Schweinhaut, special assistant to the U.S. Attorney General and special representative of Washington at the "sedition" trial of the 28 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO, told me today in an interview that if the government prosecution is successful the following political precedents would be set:

1) A party such as the Socialist Workers Party might be declared illegal if it continued propagating its present principles.  
2) While the Communist Manifesto could be continued to be used as a scientific treatise, the circulation of it to advocate its doctrines and exhort people to follow its advice might make such people liable to prosecution on the grounds of advocating the overthrow of the U.S. Government.

3) The Workers Party may be liable to the same charges as the SWP.

Henry Schweinhaut is a young, intelligent man, who must once have been something of a liberal. He is very cagey as to what he says but it is clear that he, unlike the local District Attorney, Anderson, knows what the score is. Unfortunately, some of his remarks, as on the WP, were made "off the record" and cannot be quoted.

### On the Legal Aspects of the Case

I began my interview by asking him several questions on the legal aspects of the case.

"What is your opinion on the American Civil Liberties Union claim that in order for a group of people to be proved guilty of the charges indicated in the indictment, that 'clear and present danger' of overthrow of the government must be shown?"

"I think the ACLU is wrong. The prosecution hasn't attempted to show any clear and present danger to the government; it has not attempted to show any overt act to overthrow the government. The majority of the Supreme Court never said that was necessary. As a matter of fact, the question is wide open; the Supreme Court will have to rule on it if there is ever an appeal."

"Is the expression of belief in the desirability of armed overthrow of the U.S. Government illegal? Is the Smith Act, making such expression illegal, constitutional, in your opinion? Do you believe it violates the First Amendment, which guarantees freedom of speech?"

"No, I don't think it violates the

fought with Cooper, he replied that he had heard Cooper was once Trotsky's bodyguard and was afraid of him.

### Sidney Brennan

The federal prosecutors have been attempting to prove that the defendants used union funds to carry out party activity. They have failed miserably. Schweinhaut used particular care in questioning the witness Sidney Brennan, but could get nothing. As a member of the party he paid his dues and was asked to subscribe to the party newspaper. He was asked to contribute 10 per cent of his salary to the party. During a drive to raise funds for the party press Brennan saw Coover with a collection sheet soliciting voluntary contributions.

### "To the Red Dawn"

This general ignorance of the program of the SWP by the government witnesses who claim to have been members is most embarrassing to the prosecution. For the most part, Schweinhaut and Anderson most carefully lead their witnesses along, sometimes practically putting the words into their mouths in order to get the "correct" response. This often leads to ludicrous situations, such as Holstein's assertion that a party slogan was "To the Red Dawn." Schweinhaut rather lamely corrected his witness and suggested it might have been a toast.

Testimony as to the "violent overthrow of the government" still is exclusively restricted to private conversations with various persons among the defendants. For this the government is relying heavily on the published matter, including the Communist Manifesto, that has been introduced. During the morning session on Friday, the federal attorneys read more excerpts from publications of the SWP.

The prosecution has presented some 30 witnesses, who have contradicted themselves and each other in their testimony concerning the revolutionary activity of the SWP and have shown consistency only in their interest in disposing of the defendants as leaders of a rival union.

First Amendment and I think that Congress has the right to punish for advocacy of armed overthrow." Schweinhaut hesitated. "But that's my personal opinion. The Smith Act may violate the First Amendment. This case will probably test that. The Department of Justice, though, has no position on that question."

(So the prosecution is being made on the basis of a law whose constitutionality is held in doubt by the Department of Justice!—Ed.)

"Do you believe this is a civil liberties case?"

"It can't be denied that civil liberties are involved. The issue of free speech is involved—not the way the defense claims. Successful prosecution wouldn't abolish free speech; it would merely limit it."

(Significant admission! It would merely limit it . . . to those whose politics contemnedly remain within the framework of the capitalist state.—Ed.)

"Is there any causal connection between the inter-union conflict and the trial, or are they merely coincidental?"

"Funny thing, you know. We've been smeared on this thing tremendously. And I KNOW that there isn't any connection. I had files on the SWP—especially those in Minneapolis—as early as the summer of

1940. It wasn't until the end of 1940 that the Committee of 99 was formed. Before that we had all the documents but that wasn't enough. We couldn't get anyone to talk. It was only after the Committee of 99 was formed that we got them to talk. But, the case was projected before the union split."

(That the FBI was investigating the leaders of 544 before the actual joining of the CIO is probably true. But even Schweinhaut's weasel words give the show away. It is clear from what he says that the government could get no testimony until the Committee of 99 turned stoolpigeon. He would have it appear as if the FBI persuaded the Committee of 99 to testify. In reality, when the union conflict became hot, they were both anxious for each other: the government wanting the stoolpigeons to perfect the frame-up which would help friend Tobin along; the Committee of 99 wanting the frame-up as a means of getting its enemies out of the way. The people who formed the Committee of 99, had not been, many of them, SWP members for quite some time before that; yet, according to Mr. Schweinhaut, they didn't want to testify? Why? Because they had nothing to say. It was only AFTER they launched a desperate union struggle against the 544 leadership

contradiction. They know the meaning of the mine strike and what is involved for all of labor. At the same time they must support Roosevelt who is today devising plans for breaking the strike with the army.

When the vote was taken on the resolution, Van Bittner announced that it was carried "unanxiously." He knew it wasn't and every delegate and spectator knew that it was not. All of the construction workers refrained from voting and the majority of the miners.

### Stalinist Skulduggery

The discussion on this resolution in support of the war took place the day after the convention had passed a resolution in support of the mine strike and the action of Lewis and the UMWA. That resolution was unequivocal and called for full support. Murray in his speech blamed the strike on the employers and the "Mediation" Board.

Murray told the convention that he had said to the "Mediation" Board that if the mine owners would accept the union shop Lewis was prepared to offer the government a continuous and uninterrupted flow of bituminous coal until March 31, 1943, and that there would be no disturbances in the continuity of mining during that period. He said that the vote of the AFL members of the Board was "arch treachery and definite treason."

In the face of Murray's condemnation of the "Mediation" Board, the attitude of the employers and the present mine strike, Mike Quill, of the Transport Workers Union and a constant supporter of the Communist Party's political line, took the floor to offer an amendment. The resolution in support of the miners was too strong for Quill's patriotic stomach. After telling the delegates that these were "perilous times," Quill read his amendment which said: the "convention to go on record as sending the vice-presidents of the CIO to Washington to place themselves at the disposal of the President of the United States and the President of the United Mine Workers, to speak officially for this convention, to do everything in their power to bring this strike to a successful conclusion and to get the mines working, so that the national defense program can go ahead."

In reply to Quill, Murray said: "I prefer immediate action on this resolution. Otherwise the public might get the crazy notion that there is division here on this proposition." Murray said also that if further aid was requested by Lewis and the UMWA policy committee, they would

### Offered to Take Care of Skogland

Special to LABOR ACTION  
MINNEAPOLIS—Under the severe cross-examination of defense counsel, prosecution witnesses now on the Tobin payroll have admitted that the FBI and Tobin worked together in trying to oust the militant leadership of Local 544.

Defense Attorney Goldman drew the most damaging admission from Henry Harris, government witness and member of the "Committee of 99." Harris testified that FBI Agent Thomas Perrin sent Harris to offer Karl Skogland a promise of citizenship papers if Skogland "would break with the Dumes and join the Committee of 99." Perrin "thought Karl Skogland might come in with us in the Committee of 99 if we made such an offer and I made Skogland such an offer." (Quoted from the official court record.)

Harris also testified that Perrin was admitted into an "organization meeting of the Committee of 100" (originally the name of the Committee of 99), at the Nicollet Hotel. He admitted Perrin on the instructions of the late Tom Williams, organizer of the committee. Inasmuch as Williams died last March, Harris' testimony was an admission that the FBI helped launch the Committee of 99, although during March, when the committee was already working with the FBI, it pretended to be a "loyal opposition" inside the union.

### Hillman-Lewis Rift

One could perceive that the rift

### On Our Vote

We had hoped this week to present our readers with a detailed analysis of the vote polled by our candidate, Max Shachtman, in the New York mayoralty election. However, we have been notified by the election board that the final figures on votes cast by assembly and election districts will not be available for about 10 days. As soon as they are, we shall publish them with an analysis of their meaning. Shachtman received a total of 2,311 votes.

that they determined to provide the "testimony" for the frame-up in order to obtain their objective. —Ed.)

### Admits Flimsiness of Testimony

"Isn't the government case considerably weakened by the fact that all of its witnesses show animosity toward the defendants? And also by virtue of the fantastic stuff uttered by some of the witnesses, like the testimony about guns in churches?"

"Yes of course. But these people are the only ones in a position to know. About these guns in churches—I think Jake Cooper really said that. Not that he meant it. But he was boasting of the party's strength and doing so to a person (Witness Novack) who is only of 6th grade education. Cooper probably thought he'd impress or scare them."

(If Jake Cooper wanted to "scare" a moron—(later to be a government witness)—that is evidence of a conspiracy to . . . overthrow the government!)

"Do you believe that the mere existence of a party such as the Socialist Workers Party, with its present principles, is illegal and liable to the same essential charges as in this trial?"

Here Schweinhaut hesitated for a long while. "I wouldn't say. I don't know." After a few minutes: "Probably not."

"But suppose it continued propagating the same principles?" I insisted.

"Well, in that case, it would probably follow that the party as such was violating the law."

(This gives the show away. Does anyone doubt the real government purpose now?—Ed.)

"Now, about the Communist Manifesto. You stated in court that it advocated the overthrow of the government and that circulating it proved the defendants advocated that. Do you therefore infer that any group which circulates the Communist Manifesto is violating the law and liable to prosecution?"

"It depends on the context. To publish the Manifesto by itself is no crime. But to use it for the purpose of revolutionary exhortation, to tell people to follow its suggestions falls, I think, within the province of the present indictment and hence liable to prosecution."

(Clear enough! You can sell and read the Manifesto. But if you say you agree with it, if you tell other people to adhere to its principles, then—says Schweinhaut—you are liable to prosecution.—Ed.)

I then asked Schweinhaut about his statement that this trial is merely the first in a series. He said he had been misquoted. I asked him why the Communist Party had not

been chosen as an object of government attention. His answers were off the record, but indicated that it might have something to do with the present international situation.

### Says Defendants May Get 10 Years

"What is your opinion of the passage in the SWP Declaration of Principles which states that the party will not attempt to seize power till it has a majority of the people behind it?"

"To some degree it is bluff. Even if they have a majority and use it against the 'minority'—who will that minority be but the state apparatus?"

"How severe a sentence can the defendants get if declared guilty?"

"Ten years at most. But they won't get anything near that."

The words of Schweinhaut are so clear that it is unnecessary to draw the conclusions from his interview. The civil rights of the working class, the right to be a Marxist, the right to be a revolutionary socialist, the right to tell people that they should follow the ideas of the Communist Manifesto—these rights are threatened in this trial as never before.

A LITTLE FOOTNOTE: While I was in Schweinhaut's office, one of the prospective government witnesses came in. Schweinhaut asked him: "Do you get that job, Joe?" "Yes," answered Joe.

# CIO Convention Votes Support of Coal Strike --

(Continued from page 1)

vention last November no definitive position about the war and the Administration's foreign policy was taken. The organization made up for this today.

### Back FDR on War

The resolution pledges complete support of Roosevelt's foreign policy. It calls for all out aid to Great Britain, the USSR and China. It calls for complete cooperation with Great Britain and the other nations fighting Hitler. The resolution "commends President Roosevelt for his forthright foreign policy and the joint action of the President and Congress in the recent amendments to the neutrality law." The membership of the CIO is urged to "a greater effort in our national defense program, to formulate policies, call conferences and consult with members of our national administration, our employers and other local groups toward the end that by a mighty joint and united effort we shall have done our part to destroy Nazism and preserve for the future benefit of America our present free and democratic way of life."

The resolution says that "American workers cannot and will not tolerate any appeasement . . . Efforts of any such as Lindbergh to disunite the American people on such un-American issues as anti-Semitism must be ferreted out and exposed as Hitler's fifth column. The American people demand that all aides of Hitler in this country, be they our home-grown Quislings or the representatives of his puppet states, such as Vichy, France, must not be permitted to cause dissension."

The debate on the resolution was on the whole very low grade and a waste of time. There were men there who were not in favor of the resolution. There were others who spoke in favor but who knew that this resolution didn't square with what is taking place in the coal fields, with what happened on the National Defense Mediation Board and with their protestations that they will not relinquish the struggle to hold and increase labor's gains.

There were some, like Krzycki, who were speaking for Hillman and therefore for Roosevelt. They were not talking for the CIO and particularly not for the miners. Krzycki's speech got a big place in the papers. Sandor Jance, of the United Textile Workers, went the whole hog and proclaimed that "to every delegate here it's more important that the emergency be met than that 2,500 workers get the closed shop." Van Bittner, who was presiding, ruled Jance out of order on the ground that the resolution supporting the coal strike was passed the day before.

One could perceive that the rift

### On Our Vote

We had hoped this week to present our readers with a detailed analysis of the vote polled by our candidate, Max Shachtman, in the New York mayoralty election. However, we have been notified by the election board that the final figures on votes cast by assembly and election districts will not be available for about 10 days. As soon as they are, we shall publish them with an analysis of their meaning. Shachtman received a total of 2,311 votes.

between the Hillman men and Lewis was breaking through the convention formalities and niceties. There were Hillmanites present willing and ready to bludgeon Lewis and condemn the miners, but they didn't have the courage. Dalrymple, a miner delegate from Oregon, said that "they're trying to say John L. Lewis is a traitor. There's not a better American in the country today. Just because they're fighting over in Europe is no justification for our giving up our rights over here. The industries are responsible for the coal strike, and the press is blasting Lewis simply because he is carrying out the mandate of the mine workers."

Another miner took the floor to say that the miners will win and defeat the steel companies which own the captive mines. He said that this attack on the miners is an entering wedge to destroy the unions and "I thank God that they picked the miners to begin with."

One got the impression listening to the supporters of the resolution that here were labor leaders who were mainly interested in purging themselves of any taint of "un-Americanism," who were trying to prove to Roosevelt that they were good boys and he need have no fear. They were bringing the CIO into the fold. But their speeches didn't carry conviction, they were hollow. They seemed like men who had concluded that there was nothing to be done and they might as well go along.

### Some Dissenters

The only open dissenters were the construction workers, and most of the miners. A. D. Lewis (brother of John L.) and his construction worker delegates just sat they neither spoke, voted nor applauded.

As I said before, there were delegates there who would have liked to pitch into the miners, but little fellows like Walter Reuther and others know that the miners don't scare easily. Also, these Hillmanites now that they are in a serious

contradiction. They know the meaning of the mine strike and what is involved for all of labor. At the same time they must support Roosevelt who is today devising plans for breaking the strike with the army.

When the vote was taken on the resolution, Van Bittner announced that it was carried "unanxiously." He knew it wasn't and every delegate and spectator knew that it was not. All of the construction workers refrained from voting and the majority of the miners.

### Stalinist Skulduggery

The discussion on this resolution in support of the war took place the day after the convention had passed a resolution in support of the mine strike and the action of Lewis and the UMWA. That resolution was unequivocal and called for full support. Murray in his speech blamed the strike on the employers and the "Mediation" Board.

Murray told the convention that he had said to the "Mediation" Board that if the mine owners would accept the union shop Lewis was prepared to offer the government a continuous and uninterrupted flow of bituminous coal until March 31, 1943, and that there would be no disturbances in the continuity of mining during that period. He said that the vote of the AFL members of the Board was "arch treachery and definite treason."

In the face of Murray's condemnation of the "Mediation" Board, the attitude of the employers and the present mine strike, Mike Quill, of the Transport Workers Union and a constant supporter of the Communist Party's political line, took the floor to offer an amendment. The resolution in support of the miners was too strong for Quill's patriotic stomach. After telling the delegates that these were "perilous times," Quill read his amendment which said: the "convention to go on record as sending the vice-presidents of the CIO to Washington to place themselves at the disposal of the President of the United States and the President of the United Mine Workers, to speak officially for this convention, to do everything in their power to bring this strike to a successful conclusion and to get the mines working, so that the national defense program can go ahead."

In reply to Quill, Murray said: "I prefer immediate action on this resolution. Otherwise the public might get the crazy notion that there is division here on this proposition." Murray said also that if further aid was requested by Lewis and the UMWA policy committee, they would

ment, management and labor are responsible for the lag in production." And why is labor responsible, according to Merrill? Because labor in the United States has been apathetic to what is taking place in Europe. That is, labor has not been calling for an AEF.

This convention, of course, is not what can be called a rank and file convention. All of the big shots of the CIO are delegates and they run things. All the old wheel horses are here to keep things in order and see to it that nothing unseemly takes place. There are many important matters on the agenda to come and these will be reported on more fully in the next number of LABOR ACTION.

# UAW Progresses In Goodyear Aircraft Drive

By JACK BUTLER

AKRON, Nov. 16—An important development for the future of the local labor movement is marked by the continuing successes of the United Auto Workers Aircraft Division in organizing the newly build Goodyear Aircraft Corp. plants.

By a four to one majority the young and inexperienced aircraft workers voted for the UAW-CIO union in the NLRB election several weeks ago.

Already the union has gone forward into negotiations with the management for a signed contract embodying demands for: the union shop, minimum wages of 85 cents an hour on semi-skilled jobs and 75 cents for unskilled jobs and for trainees, a definite promotion schedule, strict seniority rights, vacations with pay, etc. Every indication points to these boys obtaining one of the best contracts in the industry.

For the Akron labor movement, the entrance of these new elements on the scene should provide a much needed stimulus and example of militancy. The growing conservatism and kowtowing of the official leadership of the United Rubber Workers International, under the guidance of Hillmanites like Grillo, Burns and Dalrymple, has seeped far down into the ranks of the Rubber Workers Union. The prospect of an additional 10,000 workers from aircraft joining in the common struggle with their fresh approach and vigorous demands warms the heart of every veteran militant in the city who longs for a return of the "good old days" of 1936-38.

# December 12 Set For Waller Execution --- WDL Asks Stay

December 12 has been set as the date for the execution of Odell Waller, 24 year old Negro sharecropper condemned to die for the self-defense shooting of his white landlord, by J. T. Clement, judge of the Circuit Court of Pittsylvania County, Va.

The Workers Defense League, which assumed responsibility for the case in November, 1940, has twice been successful in achieving a stay of execution for Waller, who was first sentenced to die on December 27, 1940. The League is again asking that a stay of execution be granted in order that the defense may have time to file a petition for habeas corpus based on sworn evidence that non-payers of poll tax are systematically excluded from grand and petit juries in Pittsylvania County, where Waller was tried. Waller was thus deprived of a jury of his peers, the League contends.

Should the Virginia courts refuse, on a writ of habeas corpus, to set aside Waller's conviction, Counsel John F. Finerty and Thomas H. Stone will immediately ask review by the U.S. Supreme Court, thus bringing the whole poll tax issue before the nation's highest court.

# 1c Labor Action

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## Of Special Interest To Women

By Susan Green

Society dames and club women are running around like a lot of headless chickens simply outdoing themselves and each other in their willingness to "sacrifice."

Wrapped in expensive furs and adorned in hats of original design, upper class women sign pledges not to waste this, that and the other thing, while—not too obviously of course—they show off their finery and smiles to good advantage when the cameras click.

Women who never have to deny themselves a single whim enter contests for making meals out of so-called half-empty larders which any working class housewife would consider a veritable bonanza of food.

All this is hypocritical and disgusting, and has no rhyme. But it certainly has reason—and plenty. Watch and see.

Read what a Washington business service writes its clients:

"The government has no hope of preventing a general rise in prices. . . . People must plan ahead for a constantly rising price level. At least 25 per cent average wholesale prices sometime in 1942. At least 50 per cent higher average level sometime in 1943. These prospects are admitted privately by ALL authorities here, and some estimates are even higher. We understate rather than overstate."

Regard also the plans for taking 15 per cent right out of every worker's pay envelope before he even gets it. Think of the whisperings to extend the income tax to even lower brackets and to increase the rate. Add to the above the prospects of more and more young men now contributing to the support of their families, being taken into the army.

Oh, yes! Sacrifices will be made in this inter-imperialist war for world domination—BUT NOT BY THE SOCIETY DAMES AND CLUB WOMEN. War profits will take care of them in more than the style to which they are accustomed.

The reason why the rich now play so hard at the game of "sacrifice" is that they want to fill the eyes and ears of the poor so full of the idea of sacrifice, that working class housewives will take as NATURAL all the burdens that the warlords will unload upon them! BUT WILL THEY!

Mothers who have been keeping their fingers crossed and thumping their lucky stars that their boys were born later rather than sooner because they are still too young to be drafted, have a new flock of worries descending upon them.

Word comes from the makers of our destinies in Washington that the draft age will be reduced to 18 "when the time is ripe." General Hershey, head of the military draft machinery, is doing spade work in Congress—where the wishes of the war gods are expected to become law.

Also, women who have been relying upon Roosevelt's promise that American boys will not be sent Over There should know that the above-mentioned Washington business service advises its clients:

"AEF NEXT YEAR. It is an open secret in military circles here that there are plans for an AEF . . . and it's thought they will be used."

Roosevelt's promises are political quicksand for naive people to be caught in.

On the recent trip of Viscount and Viscountess Halifax through the midwestern industrial section of this country, they were served—not in edible form—tomatoes and eggs by mothers and wives of men in the army camps.

These notables were also picketed by women carrying placards with slogans such as "Drive the British from Washington Again," "Give Us Back Our White House," "Wake Up, Paul Reveré—the British Are Here." And one bore the truism, "Halifax believes in freedom of the Seize"—as do also the untitled rulers of America.

Newspapers reported that these Britishers of the upper crust took all this in their aristocratic stride, only commenting that in their country they have no tomatoes and eggs to throw away.

These members of Britain's ruling class who are making the British people fight for the preservation of their ill-famed empire, have amply earned the hatred of the working people not only of Britain, but of America and of the entire world. BUT DRIVING THE BRITISH FROM WASHINGTON STILL LEAVES THERE THE SERVANTS OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

Not in response to British pressure and propaganda and not for the altruistic purpose of saving the British Empire have the American people been railroaded into the bloody morass. THE MASTERS OF AMERICA HAVE THEIR OWN IMPERIALIST INTERESTS THAT WE SERVE WITH OUR FLESH AND BLOOD.

Furthermore, militant women determined to keep their men from destruction, must not make the mistake of supporting the Lindbergh pro-Nazi forces. The Nazis certainly are not more scrupulous about human life than the other war-makers. IF THEY TALK DIFFERENTLY, IT IS ONLY WINDOW DRESSING.

The sacredness of human life can be established FOR ALL TIME only by the workers of each country getting rid of their own imperialist robbers.

ONLY THEN CAN THERE BE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD AND PEACE.

In pursuit of "national unity"—an evasive and unattainable will-o'-the-wisp because of the opposing class interests of the masses and the bosses—radio team Pearson and Allen have offered a novel, if minor, contribution.

Why, they ask, should the bottle of champagne be broken on the nose of a new battleship by the wife or daughter of a captain of industry or government? This, they suggested, should be done by the wife or daughter of a workman who helped build the vessel.

This idea is considered a good one by the chasers after "national unity." At least one shipbuilding company has already adopted the Pearson and Allen suggestion.

So hereafter naval and other craft may be launched and good liquor served to the unappreciative fishes not by ladies in mink and orchids, but by women who may have to stop payments on the furniture to get a decent cloth coat for the occasion.

However, the old procedure was infinitely more honest. THE MINK AND ORCHIDS SYMBOLIZED THAT BATTLESHIPS ARE BUILT FOR THE PROFIT AND WAR NEEDS OF THE RULING CLASS.

## LABOR ACTION INTERVIEWS A REFUGEE

# An Eyewitness View of France Today

By HENRY JUDD

Armed with a special assignment from the editor of LABOR ACTION, your reporter has traveled to Washington, the nation's capitol. His task was to interview a young Austrian girl, a refugee resident of France for many years. X—, living obscurely in one of the poorer boarding-house districts of Washington, had lately arrived from prolonged stays in both occupied and unoccupied France and was familiar with conditions in both territories.

LABOR ACTION is happy to publish this eyewitness account of France under the combined terror of Nazi Germany and its inspired regime at Vichy.

**Question:** What sections of France were you in touch with and able to observe?

**Answer:** Until September I was in Marseille. I received much information from friends in Paris and occupied France. Before arriving at Marseille, as an Austrian refugee, I had been confined to various concentration camps scattered all over the country, until late last year. I saw the collapse and fall of France during the earlier stages of the war and was constantly on the move since that time.

**Question:** Did you have much opportunity to observe the population of France and the effect of various events upon the people?

**Answer:** Yes. I had many opportunities to watch and speak to workers, middle class people, soldiers, officials, etc.

### FOOD SITUATION GETTING WORSE

**Question:** When you left France in September how did matters stand with regard to problems of food, unemployment, shelter, etc.?

**Answer:** Although things are not yet nearly as bad as they are in Spain (where the whole population is bordering on starvation), nevertheless there is a constant deterioration.

The food situation is getting worse and worse. It is the most constant—almost the only—subject of conversation in the buses, subways, streets, etc. Since June of this year rations have been steadily cut; ration tickets are not honored at all, or less in value than the ticket calls for.

For example, a restaurant in Marseille for dock workers, sailors and longshoremen (typical of the poorer class restaurants) serves a cheap grade of meat ONCE A WEEK ONLY. Its daily menu, never varying, consists of tomatoes, cucumbers and coffee (that is, 33 per cent coffee plus a balance of ground acorns!). There is no milk available.

Bread is still available and obtainable through ration cards. An enormous number of counterfeit cards are printed and sold freely on the secret Black Market at scandalous prices. So many of these tickets have been printed that the government has no choice but to accept them! While France is not yet undergoing mass starvation, nevertheless it will be a terrible winter with the specter of starvation always present.

So far as housing is concerned, there is no real problem here. Rents have been fixed and there is no shortage of rooms. However, the heating problem is extremely severe. Little or no coal for heating purposes is available and most of the available wood supply was used up last winter! It will be a cold winter with much suffering for the masses of people.

It is important to understand that the Black Market is very important and useful to those who have money. While official prices have gone up only 30 per cent since the war, prices on the Black Market are three and four times those of the official market! This means that only wealthy bourgeois and middle class people can obtain stocks that are secretly sold.

In Vichy-Pétain territory there is little unemployment as we understand the word. This is because that region is the agricultural heart of France—the region of the small peasant farms.

However, it is otherwise in Paris and the northern industrial territories where textile manufacture and mining were the main industries. Last year 60 to 70 per cent of the workers were unemployed. The Nazis realized this state of affairs could not continue and took measures to set the mines and factories in motion once more. They abandoned their first efforts to move the machinery and plants out

of industrial France and into Germany. Their original intention of stripping France of its industry and reducing the country to an agricultural territory has failed completely—another indication of Nazi inability to organize a "new order" European economy!

New unemployment in capitalist-industrial France has been reduced to about 25 per cent of the workers. The big factories in Paris, Lille, etc., are working and producing trucks, munitions and airplane parts for the Nazis. French bosses still run them and get good profits, but the Germans generally supervise production.

**Question:** Is there any basis for the claims of pro-British and De Gaulle sentiment among the French people?

**Answer:** It is necessary to distinguish the attitude of various classes and sections of the population. The middle classes are about 80 per cent pro-British and De Gaulle, but not in any active sense. They only "sympathize." De Gaulle's organization exists mainly among the intellectuals and ranges through all political tendencies. In its ranks there are former Socialist Party leaders, Catholic Youth members, officers of the old army, various bourgeois patriots.

It is not well organized nor active in an illegal manner. I never saw any illegal DeGaulle paper or leaflet!

As for the workers, they sympathize with Britain in a vague sense—that is, anyone who strikes back at the Nazis gets their approval—but they are not active in Britain's cause. THERE IS LITTLE DEGAULLE INFLUENCE AMONG THE WORKING CLASS OF FRANCE.

### PETAİN FAILS TO GET MASS SUPPORT

**Question:** What do you have to say about the Pétain government? Has it achieved any stability, any support?

**Answer:** A growing section of the French capitalist class has come to hold the opinion that, under the present circumstances, it is best for them to work with, to "collaborate" with the Germans. This has given the Pétain regime some signs of stability as the "normal" government of French capitalism and what remains of the French Empire.

But the Pétain régime has no mass support. It stands today because of German support. That is all. It has no stable base, but is only supported by the police and army officers of the old regime.

Every effort to organize some mass support has failed. Pétain created a veterans' organization which was to become the sole political party of the state. But soldiers join it so that they can get pensions, benefits, etc. Likewise, the attempt to create a "Labor Front" on the Nazi model has failed. The genuine trade unions of the workers still exist and carry on, while this decrepit regime doesn't have the strength to drive the workers into the "Labor Front."

As for Pétain personally, he has more prestige among the masses than his government! People feel sorry for this senile old fool who is some sort of a symbolic figure of the France that was.

**Question:** What can you say about the recent acts of terrorism and assassinations? What is their effect upon the masses?

**Answer:** These acts are the work either of individuals responsible to no one but themselves, or else provoked by the Stalinists. Since the Russo-German war began there has been a good deal of factory and industrial sabotage, particularly in the railroad system. There are slow-ups, destruction of machinery, etc.

Workers naturally express sympathy with the terrorists and indignation at the criminal executions by the Nazis, but they go no further than that. The French Fourth Internationalists do not consider these actions as being of real value to the anti-Nazi struggle.

**Question:** Is there any relation or fraternization between the French workers and the German occupation troops?

**Answer:** First of all, we must note that there are less German soldiers in the occupied territory than before. No figures are known, but a tremendous number have been withdrawn and sent to the Russian and eastern fronts. My latest information from Paris was that few soldiers could be seen in the streets of that city.

In the streets, restaurants and other public places there is no contact between the Germans and the French. Only when they work together in the same factory is there any fraternity or relationship. There, German soldier, foreman, guards, etc., mingle with the French industrial workers.

The attitude of the German soldiers is a contradictory and confused one. On the one hand, they are weary of the war, have had enough of it, want only to go home, etc. Then they say they cannot afford to lose the war because a new "Versailles" would be a disaster and catastrophe for their country. It is this fear that keeps them in line for their Nazi rulers. This is what must be broken down if the German workers and soldiers are to be won over for revolutionary action.

**Question:** What signs are there of independent workers' action, trade union activity, etc.?

**Answer:** The union situation differs greatly from union to union. Many unions are openly collaborating with the Germans, but these have no membership. Only appointed bureaucrats and hirelings "collaborate." Many unions retain a membership almost as large as during the pre-war days. The railway unions are particularly strong. As I remarked before, neither Vichy nor the Nazis have been able to replace the old trade unions.

The most important workers' action—by far—was a spontaneous strike of from 40,000 to 50,000 coal miners in the North of France, around Lille. This has been the only really important workers' action since the fall of France. It lasted for three weeks and the major demand of the workers was for better food.

There have been no independent political demonstrations of the workers as yet.

### WHAT HAS BECOME OF THE PARTIES

**Question:** What of the various political parties and groups? What has become of them?

**Answer:** Here, the most profound changes have taken place. All the old parliamentary and bourgeois parties (Radical-Socialists, Republicans, Neo-Socialists, etc.) have gone completely out of business—in both parts of France.

The SFIO (Social Democrats headed by Leon Blum) has had various splits. Some leaders went over to the Nazis and became collaborationists; some are supporters of Pétain; some are with DeGaulle and Britain. As a party, the SFIO doesn't exist and is only a

sad memory of a bygone day. It has no hearing among the masses.

The PSOP (former left-wing of the SFIO) has likewise gone out of business and ceased to exist.

The French Fourth Internationalists and Trotskyists are active in Paris and other principal centers of the country. No details can be given about their work since it might be used by their enemies.

The Communist Party (Stalinists), it must be recognized, is by far the strongest and most influential political movement among the workers. This is unfortunate for the French revolution, but true. It has had a large growth in activity and influence, particularly since the Russo-German war, when it came back to life with a vengeance.

It has a well organized controlling center, plenty of money. Its slogans are naturally the same as those of the Stalinists in America—defend the Soviet Union; against Pétain; for Britain and the "democracies," etc. It is especially strong in Paris, where it has many workers and young people in its ranks. It publishes its old paper, L'Humanité, in printed and mimeographed form; possesses district and factory papers and has even organized pro-Soviet demonstrations openly attended by many thousands of workers in the streets of Paris.

Its policy—no longer pro-German since the turn in the war—is to do anything and everything that will militarily help the bureaucrats of Russia retain power. Thus, it favors sabotage in transportation and railways and factories. The Russo-German war provided an excellent situation for them and they are taking every advantage of it.

### WORKERS ARE BEGINNING TO STIR

**Conclusion:** In my opinion, the most important thing that has happened in France was the strike of the coal miners in the northern areas. This was the first real demonstration of the only solution to the terrible crisis in France—INDEPENDENT action on the part of the workers; ACTION NOT DICTATED BY THE MILITARY NEEDS OF LONDON OR MOSCOW, BUT BY THE DESIRE OF THE FRENCH WORKERS TO FREE THEMSELVES FROM THE NAZI HEEL.

The demoralization and apathy that hung over France and its working class for almost a year after the defeat have now definitely lifted and begun to disappear. New political movements are beginning; the workers as an independent force are starting in once more to think about their problems and possible solutions to them. I assure you that the Fourth Internationalists are participating as actively as their strength permits in these new movements and new trends. France is recovering steadily but surely from the blows it has received. The French proletariat has touched bottom and is on the way up again!

## The Isolationists And Lindbergh

Special to LABOR ACTION

MINNEAPOLIS—When you hit the Northwest you become aware of the considerable local strength of the LaFollette movement. In a number of small towns in Wisconsin and Minnesota in which I stopped, and in Minneapolis itself, I found quite a few people friendly to the LaFollette isolationist platform. Especially so among the farmers.

One farmer gave me a copy of LaFollette's paper, The Progressive, which reads like most liberal isolationist papers. I do not here want to comment on its attitude toward war, but rather on something just as important; its attitude toward Lindbergh's anti-Semitic speech.

### WHITEWASHES LINDBERGH

Oswald Garrison Villard, the famous liberal, writes a regular column in The Progressive. In the issue of October 4, he writes on Lindy. In view of an editorial statement on the same subject, it is clear that his opinion is officially that of the LaFollette movement.

His column on Lindy is nothing more nor less than a complete whitewash of Lindy's anti-Semitism. He says of Lindy's speech: "I do not see evidence in this of a desire to inject the racial issue." Coming from a man like Villard, this is positively mystifying. He cannot see evidence of anti-Semitism in Lindy's charges that the Jews are war-makers, that their influence in this country is too large, and that it should be reduced! Why, that is the exact way in which Hitler began his anti-Semitism, and Villard has written reams to prove it!

Villard believes that Lindy made only "one bad (sic) slip"—when he said: "The greatest danger to this country lies in their (the Jews's—I.H.) large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio and our government."

Instead of noting this for the subtle anti-Semitic trip which it so clearly is, Villard says: "In my judgment the danger is not to this country because Jews have come to occupy the conspicuous positions that they do in the lines that he (Lindy—I.H.) listed, but to themselves."

Villard, repeating Lindy's repetition of the old anti-Semitic canards about how the Jews control the most important industries in the country, differs with Lindbergh only as to the degree of danger which this "Jewish threat" represents to the country! He accepts every one of Lindy's rotten premises but declares that "I think it was a mistake for Lindbergh to have said what he did, however great the truth in it. . . ."

### PLAYING WITH FIRE

You rub your eyes when you read this sort of stuff from a man like Villard, don't you? Of course, he is not an anti-Semite, the way Lindbergh undoubtedly is. But his partnership with the reactionary America First outfit, and the semi-fascist, anti-Semitic gang which controls it and of which Lindbergh is the spokesman, leads a man like Villard to some strange rationalizations.

The liberals on the America First Committee—Villard, John T. Flynn, Norman Thomas—are playing around with fire when they bashfully justify or attempt to deny Lindy's anti-Semitism. They are trading their "liberalism" for a moldy mess of pottage, just as those liberals who support Roosevelt's war policy and condone his domestic deeds are doing.

## "It Could Happen to Any Negro"

By A. Martin

"The newspapers are unfair. They don't know the boys. They don't know what they're talking about. They shouldn't call them bums and hoodlums, because they're not." Frank Allen, father of Clement Allen, one of the Negro youths being held for homicide, spoke with a rugged straightforwardness.

Mr. Allen hadn't wanted any of his family to grow up without education the way he did. "I've worked since I was six," he said, "and here I am, earning only \$18 a week. Even on that, I want to keep Clem in school. But he sees his mother going out to work every day and he can't stand it. He feels that he has to quit school and get a job, so he can help us out."

Clem's father was born on a farm in South Carolina. "Five dollars a day looked like pretty good pay to me in those days," he said, "and every young fellow is ready

Since last week, when the New York newspapers filled columns with hypocritical frenzy about the "crime" wave in Harlem, they have toned down a bit. It might have been the coal strike that forced this "crime" wave off the front and editorial pages, or it might have been that the newspapers and city politicians realized that they had bitten off more than they were able to chew.

The facts on the "crime" wave much too plain. However indignant the papers might get about the alleged "crime" wave, the REAL crime committed daily in Harlem and every place where Negroes live was so glaringly obvious as not to be obscured. The REAL criminals are the politicians, the landlords, the industrialists—in short, the whole boss set-up which deliberately cultivates discrimination and prejudice—who proscribe Negroes, deny them decent jobs, compel them to live in rat-infested and disease-ridden slums, punished every day of their lives in a million ways for having been born black.

The Workers Party is doing what it can to bring the REAL situation, the REAL crimes, to the attention of the New York working class. In a leaflet distributed widely in Harlem last week, the Workers Party put the "crime wave" issue at the doorstep of Mayor LaGuardia. Under an eight-column headline, the Amsterdam News, weekly Harlem newspaper, in its Saturday, November 15, issue reported in full the WP leaflet (addressed to the Mayor as an open letter).

Harlem, said the leaflet, does not need more cops. Harlem needs decent housing and jobs: "Get rid of the slums, Mr. Mayor! That will stop crime! . . . Give us good schools, Mr. Mayor! That will stop crime! . . . End Jim-Crow in industry, Mr. Mayor! That will stop crime!"

The Harlem Branch of the Workers Party (headquarters at 321 West 125th Street, Room 4) is pressing this campaign. In collaboration with LABOR ACTION, it intends to interview the victims of the LaGuardia-Valentine "clean-up" drive. In this issue we present an interview with Frank Allen, father of one of the Negro boys accused of stabbing a white boy. Our reporter found Mr. Allen living in a typical Harlem slum tenement (nevertheless better than a good many others in Harlem), a three-room railroad flat inhabited by six people.

to reach for the moon. So I came up North and made my \$5.00 a day, and sometimes more, driving a truck most of the time. That was from 1921 till the depression in 1930. Even with 18 years of driving experience, it's hard for a colored fellow to get work nowadays. So I drive a hack, and work from 4:30 in the morning till 7:00 at night for my \$18 a week. Haven't had a good job since 1930. We visit my folks down on the farm once in a while, and it looks pretty good to me now."

Frank Allen believes that his boy is innocent. "Clem and his friends were walking along Fifth Avenue on Sunday, November 2, when they saw two white boys coming up on the other side of the street. One of my son's friends crossed the street to talk to them. Suddenly one of them smacked him in the face. The boy drew a knife and the white boys ran. One of them got away, but the other was cut off from escape by an oncoming taxi and got stabbed in the belly. My son and his other friend got frightened when they saw this and ran away. Tuesday night at 1:00 a.m. the detectives came and took them away."

At this point Miss Allen, sister of the father, spoke up. "Clem was a good boy. All his teachers will testify to that. He was always so fond of his mother and worried so much about her. He never got into trouble—and all of a sudden it seems as if all the crimes in Harlem are being laid at his door."

Clem is now on trial. In the words of Mr. Allen, "We must do something. We haven't much time." Let us organize to fight for the boy's freedom, for his right to a try at life.

The scene that took place in Harlem that Sunday, November 2, finds its replica in every slum area in the United States. The fights, the racial and national antagonisms which are bred in the system of race prejudice and discrimination resulted this time in the death of a young boy. Who is to blame? Is it the young men who are forced to live according to the law of the survival of the fittest as soon as they are old enough to walk, or is it society, which has deprived their families of the chance to provide decently for them?

## No Government Contract Without a Union Contract!

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Friday, Nov. 21: "THE AFL AND THE NEGRO WORKERS"

Speaker: ALBERT GATES

Friday, Dec. 5: "THE NATIONAL NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS"

Auspices: Workers Party Harlem Branch

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ADMISSION FREE

# Editorials

## OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

1. Against both imperialist war camps! For the third camp of World War and the colonial peoples!
2. For the right to strike! For the defense of civil liberties and all workers' rights! Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day plans and war-time dictatorship.
3. Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars minimum pay! Time and a half wages for overtime above 30 hours. For increased wages to meet the rising cost of living.
4. Let the people vote on war! For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18—old enough to fight, old enough to vote!
5. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war! A capital levy to cover the costs of imperialist war. No indirect taxes on the people.
6. Conscript the war industries under workers' control!
7. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the three per cent of the people who own ninety per cent of the wealth!
8. No government contract without a union contract!
9. Abolish secret diplomacy! Open the files of the State Department.
10. Full workers' rights for conscripts—the right to organize and to bargain collectively with the officers, the right of free speech, press and assembly.
11. \$60 a month minimum for conscripts. Former employers to pay the wage differential and guarantee return of the job.
12. Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America.
13. Down with Jim-Crow and anti-Semitism! For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and in the trade unions.
14. For Workers' Defense Guards against fascist and vigilante attacks!
15. For an Independent Labor Party.
16. For a workers' government and a people's army! No confidence in the Roosevelt government.
17. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the World Socialist Federation.

## What Public?

Who and what is this "public" we read about? Every time the boss press wants to smear a strike or other labor action, they retreat to the same old whining refuge: "The public is against this."

They are doing it now in connection with the coal strike. The New York Times and all the other journals of big business know just what the "public" wants, and this mythical "public," which they presume to represent, evidently doesn't want a strike in coal.

What in the name of human intelligence is this "public" anyway? Is it the rich? the poor?—worker or boss? Are the 400,000 members of the United Mine Workers who are behind the strike action part of this general and unanimous "public"? Obviously not! Or the many more members of the CIO who are backing the mine workers in their demands—are they part of this public which opposes the coal strike? Or those millions of the industrial working population which ALREADY have a union or closed shop—are they too part of this aroused "public"? Poppycock!

The so-called public is composed of bankers and bakers, of manufacturers and machinists, of big farmers and little farmers, of landlords and landless. They don't and can't think alike.

Oh, yes, the "public" as a whole is undoubtedly against earthquakes and plagues—the kind for which nature is responsible. But when it comes to man-made plagues, such as war and low wages, the profiteer and the laborer, the landlord and the sharecropper are immeasurable miles apart. And that goes for coal operators and coal miners!

This "public" which the Times finds so vigorously opposed to the miners is that tiny fraction of the total population (public) which lives off the toil of others—the exploiters, the persecutors, the financiers and the coupon-clippers. And we don't

care a hang what the "public opinion" of this group is on strikes.

That "public" whose opinion is of importance to us is the great mass of people who slave for others in order that they may eat—the exploited, the persecuted, the factory worker and the farm hand. These are the men and women whose "public" approval we need, and can get. These are the men and women who must be taught to ignore and reject the hypocritical appeals to the "public" weal.

## "Nice" Trick

So strong has been the sentiment against sending American boys to fertilize the war-torn fields of Europe that Washington does not dare openly speak about an American Expeditionary Force.

However, from various sources comes information that plans for an AEF are well under way. Promise anything-to-get-what you-want Roosevelt is not reported to be conscience-stricken about it, either.

It is known that the War Department is "asking" National Guardsmen and draftees TO RE-ENLIST AS ARMY REGULARS. Why? SO THAT THEY CAN BE SENT OVERSEAS.

Under the present law it is forbidden to send draftees and guardsmen outside the Western Hemisphere or United States territorial possessions. In order to get the draft extension law passed against the great popular protest, it was necessary to make this concession to the people.

Now the Western Hemisphere and United States territorial possessions cover a lot of space—BUT NOT THE BATTLE FRONTS.

In order to send the draftees into the thick of the fight, it is necessary to amend the draft law. But this will again bring out tremendous mass opposition—the very last thing the war-making Administration wants right now.

So—very quietly—draftees and guardsmen are being "asked" to VOLUNTEER AS CANNON FODDER by re-enlisting as regular army men.

Nice trick, FDR.

## Repeating a Lie!

By the year 1941 every school child in America had learned one thing about the World War I, fought from 1914-1918.

It was not fought to make the world safe for democracy. In America, the rich got richer and the poor got poorer. Or, more exactly, the Du Ponts, Mellons, Morgans and Rockefeller got "theirs," while the soldier boys got it in the neck.

The Senate Investigation Committee headed by Gerald Nye has revealed all the sordid details of the vast and fabulous profits made by the munition makers.

J. P. Morgan and his Wall Street gang took charge of the financing of the war and everyone knows—you'll find it in many books—the tragic story of how they then dragged this country into the war to make their profits and investments safe.

Yet in 1941, and on Armistice Day to boot, one Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States, said, without so much as cracking a smile: "We know that is was, in literal truth, to make the world safe for democracy, that we took up arms in 1917."

And some people think Hitler is the only slicker in the business.

## LABOR ACTION

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# Hold That Picket Line! -- Miners Fight Labor's Battle

(Continued from page 1)

Press and the New York newspaper PM show that the preponderant majority of the miners involved and the entire UMWA are solidly behind Lewis in this struggle to obtain the union shop in the captive mines.

The reactionaries didn't think a strike was possible. But it was called. It was inconceivable that the whole CIO would back Lewis and the UMWA instead of Roosevelt on this issue. But it happened.

Roosevelt has maintained a discreet and ignoble silence the last few days, instead of immediately denouncing the strike, as he threatened, and calling out the federal troops to break it. For Roosevelt

has been dazed, at least momentarily, by the events. He is losing his hold over the labor movement, indispensable to his war plans.

Neither Roosevelt nor the journalists nor the liberals understand the CIO fully. When Murray or Kennedy or the average CIO unionist expresses 100 support of Roosevelt's policies, it does not mean, as these people think, that therefore the CIO will give up the principles upon which it stands and must maintain to keep itself going. The workers have an altogether different idea of what they think Roosevelt's policies are and what Roosevelt knows they are.

How strongly the CIO feels about the union shop issue involved pri-

marily in the coal strike is indicated by the fact that even the officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, Sidney Hillman's own machine, had to repudiate his policies and vote for the resolution supporting Lewis! And the strike-breaking Stalinists, too, went along, despite a miserable attempt of Michael Quill, Transport Workers president and big shot Stalinist at the CIO convention, to stick a needle into the UMWA by offering the suggestion that the six CIO vice-presidents go to Washington to assist in negotiating the settlement of the coal strike.

This insult to the miners did not go unnoticed. It proposed to send half-baked bureaucrats and incompetents like Dalrymple of the Rubber Workers, a couple of Stalinist stooges, etc., to assist the hard and tough and experienced men around Lewis in the negotiations.

### Victory Necessary

Victory for the CIO is as necessary for its future existence as was the General Motors strike success for its establishment as an industrial union movement.

If the miners can force Wall Street to recognize the union shop in the captive mines owned by the big steel corporations, then the CIO can go forward to achieve an aim long held by Phillip Murray and his associates, as chairman of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, namely, to get a closed shop in the steel industry.

That is why the present strike in coal directly involves the entire CIO and is not, as some reactionary writers say, an issue between Lewis and Roosevelt, etc. The settlement of this strike will be the precedent for all contracts in the basic industries between the CIO and the various mouthpieces that Wall Street employs to direct its huge industrial empire.

In his bristling blood and thunder speech Monday to the policy committee of the UMWA, John L. Lewis indicated that he understood what was involved.

Lewis scornfully pointed out the role of the labor-baiting southern congressmen and senators whose speeches against the CIO are printed in all the newspapers as "expressions of public opinion," when actually they are based only on the industrial bosses' and plantation owners' ideas, who send them to Congress only by disenfranchising 12,000,000 Negro voters in the South.

Besides serving to reveal what a puppet of Wall Street Congress is, the coal strike exposed the fraudulent claim of the apologists of American capitalism that there is "national unity" between the workers and the bosses. Much of the bitterness against John L. Lewis in Washington is caused by the fact that he is, at present, the instrument through which the basic conflict in American society expresses itself.

The coal strike emphasizes once again the fact that American labor has not yet been tied down to the war machine, NOT BY A LONG SHOT!

Burma Road, China's vital line of supplies. Thus the spokesman of the Chinese Army made public Chinese intelligence reports that between 130 and 140 Japanese warships were massed at Hainan Island across the Gulf of Tongkin from Indo-China and that 100 ships were troop transports. Japan is also reported to have moved 60,000 or more troops into northern Indo-China and that thousands more are arriving daily.

To meet this threat, T. T. Tsing, Chinese government spokesman, declared that the United States, Britain, China and the Netherlands have reached an agreement on measures to be taken to meet the attack on the Burma Road. However, the spokesman declined to say that these measures would be of a military nature. Indeed, that is what Japan is counting on. The thrust against the Burma Road will be made on the assumption that it will not bring her into a military conflict with the Allied concentration in the Far East.

If, while Kuruus talks in Washington, Japan prepares to act, it is also no less true of the "democracies." They too are rushing reinforcements, ships and airplanes to all their vantage points in the Far East. Singapore, bristling with arms, has already been offered as a base to the American Pacific Fleet. Canadian troops have recently arrived to reinforce the British Crown Colony of Hong-kong.

This intensive clearing of the decks for action on the part of both sides is the background of Kuruus's "peace" mission in Washington. It shows that this mission, devoid of any basis for peace, can result at best in an interlude agreeable to both parties, whose imperialistic interests are too far apart to be bridged. During this interlude, both sides will watch anxiously the titanic struggle in Russia. Japan watches it for her "opportunity." The Allies watch it for the breathing space that they hope it will give them. That is the meaning of Kuruus's stall in Washington.

# Railroad Labor Gets A Trimming

By MIKE STEVENS

The recommendations of Roosevelt's Fact Finding Board, granting the railroad workers a 7 1/2 per cent bonus, has been turned down by the leaders of the "Big Five" Operating Brotherhoods, and by the 14 AFL (shop crafts) non-operating unions. On the other hand, however, the owners of the railroads immediately accepted the fact finders' recommendations. But, in order to hide their delight and surprise (for in their most optimistic moments they never expected the board to decide against the workers so completely), they announced that they would pay the wage increase in the interest of national unity, although they felt it "a burden greater than they should be asked to assume at this time."

The union leaders are on the spot. They expected the Fact Finding Board to be impressed by the tremendous railroad profits, the wages that the workers in the mass industries have won, and the rising cost of living. ABOVE ALL, they expected that Roosevelt and the Board would make sure that they would receive big wage increases in order to set a convincing precedent to the other workers of America that strikes are unnecessary for it is possible to receive union conditions and wage increases through government boards. On September 9, the head of the railway clerks, George Harrison, visited President Roosevelt and assured him that "... the unions stand ready to accept the award of the Fact Finding Board. You can depend on the railroad unions to cooperate 100 per cent with you, Mr. President."

Yes, the union leaders are on the spot and they are looking to Roosevelt to help them out. They don't want a strike and have done nothing to prepare for one. But they are talking very militantly and the report of the "Big Five" leaders to FDR tells why: "... General dissatisfaction on the part of the membership to a degree never equaled in the memory of senior chairmen who have been in the service twenty to thirty years." That is the reason why the union leaders turned down the recommendations of the Fact Finding Board—they did not dare accept it. But behind the backs of the membership they have already approached Roosevelt and are pleading with him to develop some kind of a "peace formula" by which they can save face and still not strike.

### FACT FINDERS' CRUMBS

The railroad workers are sore. They demanded a wage increase which would take care of a small part of the rising cost of living—the railroads are making millions and the fact finders gave them a temporary "bonus."

The members of the "Big Five" had asked for a flat 30 per cent wage increase with a minimum increase of \$1.80 per day; the fact finders offer them a 7 1/2 per cent increase.

The 14 shop crafts (AFL) demanded 30 to 34 cents an hour increase; the fact finders ask them to take nine cents an hour. The shop crafts want 70 cents an hour minimum; they are told to accept 40 and 45 cents hourly minimums.

To add insult to injury, the Fact Finding Board recommends that these wage increases be temporary and that they terminate on December 31, 1942, unless the bosses wish to continue them.

The question of the owners' proposed changes in the working rules, which would destroy all of the present rules and put the workers at the mercy of the owners, was sidestepped by the board. "It is the board's opinion that the rules dispute is one which lends itself to settlement by negotiation, mediation, arbitrations, or hearings before a special emergency board. It is not one which should be settled by a test of economic force."

### RAIL PROFITS MOUNT

The Class 1 railroads have reported that for the first nine months of this year their "net income" (the part left after paying all expenses plus bond interest) was \$358,582,763. A 512 per cent increase over their net income in the same period a year ago.

Roosevelt's Fact Finding Board, after offering the workers a tiny fraction of their wage demands, became frightened as to the effect of these increases on the railroads and therefore suggested that the railroads should increase their rates in order not to lose money.

### HOW MANY MILLIONS DO YOU HAVE TO MAKE TO GET INTO THE POORHOUSE?

# Budd Shows 400% Profit for Quarter

PHILADELPHIA—The quarterly report of the Budd Co. shows very clearly why Mr. Budd is anxious to keep the CIO away from his door. The Wall Street Journal of Tuesday, October 21, published the report of the Budd Co. for the quarter of June 1st to September 30th.

In this period of four months Mr. Budd showed a net profit of \$447,361. Compare this with the corresponding period last year, when he only made \$99,001, and you can see why Mr. Budd feels the prospect of war very cheerfully.

Most of this profit is being made on war contracts. The company made its millionth aerial bomb only last week. Every dollar of that tremendous profit is being made on the potential murder of hundreds of men, women and children. Those million aerial bombs will drop swiftly from the sky and create havoc and destruction everywhere.

In spite of these tremendous profits the Budd Co. is fighting the union tooth and nail. He has resorted to every trick in the boss handbook to forestall UAW-CIO from organizing the plant. But the tide is running against him. He sees the handwriting on the wall. The men who are the lowest paid in the entire auto industry are pouring into the union by the hundreds and one of these fine mornings Mr. Budd is going to have to sit down and sign a contract calling for \$1.00 an hour minimum.

Not only should the Budd men demand a dollar an hour minimum but they should strive to get a contract with a sliding scale of wages. Every time prices go up wages should go up. Otherwise the Budd men will be cheated.

# MAX SHACHTMAN, National Secretary of the Workers Party

WILL SPEAK ON **Twenty-four Years After October!**

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