

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Pressure on John L. Lewis to purge the Stalinists came directly from President Roosevelt through Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Hillman was so determined to hold a purge at the convention itself that it created a conflict between himself and Lewis before the convention began.

We have been informed that Hillman was so anxious to begin a "red-baiting" drive that he threatened to take the issue on the floor directly.

Forces Hillman's Hand Besides, Hillman was quite outspoken in his demand that Lewis make peace with Roosevelt, and the CIO convention go on record in full support of Roosevelt.

Lewis became disgusted with his ally, Hillman, and decided to force his hand in advance of the convention. Lewis calmly told the CIO executive council and leading figures at a joint meeting that he was going to resign the chairmanship.

This announcement created consternation among those present at that meeting for it appeared that Lewis was in dead earnest about resigning.

Hillman jumped up and strongly urged Lewis to reconsider his decision. He said he'd rather have Lewis as president even if he thought Lewis was wrong on some policies, especially with respect to Roosevelt, than to have correct policies adopted, and Lewis resign.

It was Hillman's way of saying that he was willing to retreat from a drastic onslaught on the Stalinists at the convention.

Lewis also retreated from his refusal to support the Roosevelt neutrality bill and whatever hesitation he had on purging the Stalinists was removed.

However, he was much smarter in his strategy than Hillman. Hillman wanted a dramatic purge at the convention combined with a stirring rally to line up the CIO openly behind Roosevelt's pro-war policies.

Lewis bided his time until the convention was over. Then he walked into the executive board meeting and said bluntly what everyone knew he had on his mind.

Strong Language

The decision of the convention to have an eight man directing board consisting of the officers and six new vice-presidents was a strong hint to the Stalinists that they were going to be left out in the cold insofar as top leadership was concerned.

But the tough talk of Lewis to the board members was stronger than the Stalinists had expected.

"Every known Communist Party member on the payroll as organizer or other appointed position is to be fired."

"If there is any doubt about an individual, give him the benefit of providing he devotes his full time to building the CIO."

"We're not going to have a red-baiting campaign but we are going to get rid of these people."

These are literally the exact words he used in his talk.

While the CIO top leaders are calculating that the Stalinists will accept this and keep quiet, Harry Bridges, California director of the CIO appeared at the woodworkers convention to help defeat a resolution condemning Nazism, communism, etc.

This furnishes the first real test on the question of the Stalinists in the CIO.

What action will Lewis take after convention delegates protest about the "interference" of Bridges who was not an official delegate but only a guest at the woodworkers' convention? Judging by press reports, the delegates are determined to launch a drive against the Bridges action.

Stormy weather lies ahead in the CIO movement.

All Out for ELECTION RALLY for Max Shachtman (S.W.P. Candidate for Bronx Councilman) at TREMONT and PROSPECT AVE. SAT.-OCT. 28-8 P.M.

A New Anti-War Pamphlet Labor and the Second World War

By J. R. Johnson

(Continued from Page 1)

Irish emigration and hoped that an Irishman would soon be as rare on the banks of the Liffey as a red man on the banks of the Hudson. In the first election after the war of 1914-1918, the Irish people elected, out of a hundred constituencies, seventy-six candidates who stood for Irish independence. British "democracy" recognized this expression of Irish democracy by murder, terror, and destruction. And when in 1921 the Irish had won a partial freedom by revolutionary struggle and sacrifice, British "democracy" forced them to submit to a partition, creating the British colony of Northern Ireland. From 1921 to this day the British-controlled government there has had the power to arrest without warrant and keep in jail without trial. Such is the "democracy" of Great Britain, a tyranny and oppression on which the sun has never set for over two hundred years.

French "Democracy" No Better Than British

The history of one modern imperialism is the history of them all. Second only to British "democracy," and that only for lack of opportunity, is French "democracy." Today forty millions of Negroes, Algerians, Tunisians, and Moors in Africa suffer for the power and profits of French "democracy." Between 1911 and 1926 the population in French equatorial Africa declined by six million. The people of French Indo-China are in a state of continuous revolt. At the last elections, Ta-thu-Thau and Tran-van-Trach, the revolutionary candidates of the Fourth International, were elected to the legislative council, one of them from the prison in which French "democracy" held him, a convincing testimony of the people's hatred for their rulers. Such is the political repression that local Indo-Chinese editors were jailed for reprinting articles appearing in the paper of Leon Blum, the head of the Popular Front government in Paris. In the same way, Ramsay MacDonald, when Socialist Prime Minister of Great Britain, banned copies of his own book on socialism from circulation in India.

War for Profit, Not for "Democracy"

These are the "democracies." In the six years that the Nazis have ruled Germany, they did not have the opportunity to commit a fraction of the aggression, the tyranny, the destruction of human liberty and democratic rights, that France and Britain have perpetrated since their last war for "democracy."

Democracy has nothing to do with this war. Does anyone in his senses believe that if Britain were a fascist state tomorrow it would fight less desperately for the profits of its Empire? When Chamberlain was being attacked for "appeasing" the fascist governments, he said in the House of Commons that he finds it difficult to become enthusiastic over forms of government. Today Chamberlain, as for years past, is trying to win over his ally, Mussolini, the very founder of fascist barbarism. No, fascist or "democratic," the imperialists are fighting because only by fighting can they prevent their immediate extinction. They have no alternative, and the first thing to understand

about these worldwide collisions is the nature of capitalist economy, which drives the imperialists unceasingly to war.

The Nature of Capitalist Economy

To understand one great imperialist country is to understand all. And Great Britain, the classic example of capitalist development and imperialist expansion, offers the finest example for tracing the undeviating road of capitalist profits to imperialist war.

Up to 1851 Britain was the workshop of the world, exploiting the British market and its great colony of India, "the brightest jewel in the British crown"—and the blackest page in British history. British industry was at its zenith. The wealth of the British ruling class came primarily from industrial production, and in 1851 25% of the British population was engaged in the basic industries. Investments abroad were less than three billion dollars. Fifty years afterwards the portion of the population in basic industries was 15% instead of 25%. But investments abroad, three billion dollars in 1862, were fifty billions in 1901. This, in our period, is the curse of capitalist production from which it cannot escape: mounting investments abroad and a declining economy at home.

Between 1778, the beginning of the industrial revolution, and 1851, the characteristic capitalist owned and managed his factory and competed freely with his fellows. But as capitalism expands and profits accumulate, there is an inevitable tendency to combination of the larger firms and elimination of the smaller. Any American city can give a dozen examples of this during the last twenty years. The bigger the combine, the greater the amount of capital needed to finance its gigantic operations. Thus arises the financial capitalist, who has little or no connection with the management of industry or the application of capital to production.

The Effects of Finance-Capital

The wealth of the country is controlled by a few thousand people whose only labor is to clip coupons and draw returns from investment. The old type of capitalist sold goods at home and abroad. The modern finance-capitalist exports capital, first to rising imperialisms like America, as Britain did in the years before and after the Civil War, and then to more backward countries, where capital is scarce and labor, land, and raw materials are cheap. Thus in his constant search for more profitable fields of investment, he creates industries abroad whose production competes with and undermines the industries at home. These industries, thus challenged, have to seek more and better markets for their goods and new sources of raw materials.

Against the competition it had itself helped to create, British industry could not hold its own. While the investments were mounting from three to fifty billions, the number of workers in the textile industry declined from 94 to 74 per 1000 of the population. Once well started, this process moves at breakneck speed. Between 1901 and 1914 British investments abroad jumped from fifty to one hundred billion dollars, while textile workers declined from 74 to 62 per 1000. The British working class was stirred

into vigorous life by the need of self defence. In the twenty-five years between 1889 and 1914, at the very time when finance-capitalists were accumulating greater wealth than ever before, such were the working conditions and fluctuations of wages in British industry that the British workers doubled the size of their trade unions and, beginning in 1900, created a labor party that had nearly 150 members in Parliament before fifteen years had passed.

The Conflict of Imperialisms

But that very half century, 1851-1901, saw the emergence of new imperialisms. Japan was drawn into the circle of modern nations by Commodore Perry in 1854. Tsarist Russia made half a step forward by her semi-emancipation of the serfs in 1861. By the destruction of the slave-power in 1865 America became a nation fully organized for capitalist development. Bismarck united the scattered States of Germany in the war of 1870 against France. Italy completed her struggle for national unity in 1870.

Except America, which still had the vast territories of the West to exploit, every imperialist nation began a mad scramble for territory all over the globe, in the perpetual quest for new markets, sources of raw materials, and fields for investment. In twenty short years, 1880-1900, the vast continent of Africa was divided. Britain had long since established herself in China. She seized Burma. France seized Indo-China. Germany seized Kiaochow and Wei-hai-wei. She seized Samoa and half of New Guinea; Great Britain seized the other half. Britain and France almost fought over the control of the head waters of the Nile, but France decided that it would be better to play second fiddle to Britain in return for an alliance against Germany. Japan and Russia, both raiding China, fought it out in the Russo-Japanese war.

The German Challenge to British Imperialism

Germany, centrally situated in the heart of Europe became the most dangerous rival of Great Britain and with the most highly developed industrial technique in the world. Cheap German goods challenged Britain's in every corner of the globe. Germany planned a railway from Berlin to Bagdad along which fast trains would carry German goods into England's precious Eastern markets. German capitalists clamored for more colonies and larger "spheres of influence," and more ominous than their words was the clang of the shipyards building the German fleet. But long before 1914 all available territory had been seized. Germany could acquire new colonies only by taking them from other empires, particularly those of Britain and France.

All this time the imperialists were fighting each other by tariffs, quotas, trade agreements, boycotts, and other "peaceful" means. But they knew that this was a preparation for a more sanguinary battle. Both sides multiplied armaments, consolidated alliances and prepared the people for the coming struggle by incessant nationalistic propaganda.

(To be continued)

EARL BROWDER ARRESTED ON FLIMSY CHARGE

Stalinists Reap Results of Allegiance to Roosevelt

(Continued from Page 1) ment, the Stalinists are to be persecuted. They are being persecuted only in part because they are supporters of the Hitler-Stalin camp. Even more important, they are being persecuted by the Roosevelt government in order to provide a precedent against the genuine revolutionary voices which are being raised against American participation in the war.

The universal hatred of the masses against Stalin's alliance with Hitler makes the Stalinists particularly vulnerable, and that is why the Roosevelt government proceeds first against them. They serve Roosevelt, however, merely as a starting point against all militant workers.

Browder himself, like Thorez in France, etc., is reaping what he sowed. He and the other Stalinist bureaucrats did their utmost to whitewash the Roosevelt War Deal. Until this week, one could not find a word of criticism of Roosevelt or Attorney General Murphy, who is directly responsible for the present persecution. As much as the Stalinists could, they tied the working class to Roosevelt's overlordship. They are builders of the prisons in which they are now to be incarcerated.

1939 Bound Volumes of SOCIALIST APPEAL now ready!

52 issues of this year neatly bound together. Have a first-hand survey of the historic events of this year right at your elbow.

(\$2.00—including postage)

ORDER NOW FROM:

Socialist Appeal 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE New York City, N. Y.

SEE SPLENDID FRENCH FILM, "End of a Day." Theatre party, Oct. 23 thru 27. Tickets: Downtown Labor Center, 51 E. 7 St., or National Office (Caldwell), 65c.

Subscribe to the SOCIALIST APPEAL

Boss Court Convicts 3 in Second Mpls. Frame-Up Trial

NO WORKERS ON JURIES TRYING W.P.A. STRIKERS: THIRD TRIAL SCHEDULED TO BEGIN END OF OCT.

(Continued from Page 1)

But I never spoke to a soul at the beaches, though I visited them the next day. . . Boy, I am a victim of circumstances."

Trial Lights to Date

The story of the first two trials is the story of hand-picked juries made up of wealthy farmers and small business men; of District Attorney Anderson parading a long file of flacks, scabs and WPA officials who told all sorts of lies about the defendants; of Judge Joyce who in his charge to the jury defined "conspiracy" in such a way that no union worker in America would be found innocent; and of the boss press and the city and state officials who cooperated with Roosevelt and Murphy to smear the Minneapolis unemployed, and aid in the frame-up.

Defense Committee Accepts Challenge

The AFL-WPA Defense Committee in Minneapolis has accepted the challenge of the federal government and has announced it will appeal the cases of all defendants to the circuit court of appeals and to the highest court in the land, if necessary.

Encouraged by news from the executive council of the American Federation of Labor that it had passed a resolution protesting against the Minneapolis per-

secution, the Defense Committee is working with the AFL-WPA Defense Committee of St. Paul and officials of the State Federation of Labor to circulate all unions in Minnesota, appealing for financial and moral support to the defense.

The WPA Defense Committee, headed by George Murk of the Musicians Union, has called attention to the extreme danger which the "conspiracy" charge constitutes for organized labor everywhere. As defined by Judge Joyce and District Attorney Anderson, to be a conspirator in the eyes of the government, a worker doesn't have to actually conspire; he doesn't have to know of the existence of the other conspirators; he doesn't have to achieve any results to be a conspirator; he doesn't have to act with anyone else to be a conspirator; he doesn't have to aid in the conception of the conspiracy.

To the government, any man or woman seems to be a conspirator who didn't like the wage-cutting and job-destroying provisions of the Roosevelt-Woodrum bill. The AFL-WPA Defense Committee, determined to prevent the government from establishing such a dangerous precedent, has accepted the burden of appealing the verdict in the first two trials. The Defense Committee appeals to unions everywhere to donate

generously to the defense fund, to mail checks and protest resolutions to Clair Johnson, secretary-treasurer, Minneapolis AFL-WPA Defense Committee, 18 North 8th Street, Minneapolis.

Some Angles to the Trials

The class nature of the persecution of the Minneapolis unemployed in the present trials is indicated by several circumstances:

- 1. On October 2, the federal government moved for a dismissal of conspiracy charges against 52 coal companies and operators of Harlan County where bloody terror against the miners has reigned for years. The federal government doesn't move to dismiss the conspiracy charges against the Minneapolis workers, though, it presses the charges ever more harshly.
2. Not a single worker has been selected on either of the first two juries. All jurors have been either businessmen or well-off farmers. Despite the fact that defense witnesses were able to shatter testimony of the flacks, the district attorney has been able to play on the class prejudices and superstitions of the jurors to portray defendants as dangerous enemies of the state, and to secure convictions.
3. In his charges to the juries, Judge Joyce so defines "conspiracy" as to practically order the jury to convict the defendants.
4. Both in the bail asked and in the penalty defined in the new relief law, poor unemployed workers who never exploited anyone in their lives are confronted with stiffer terms than placed against real honest-to-God crooks. For instance, the notorious Judge Manton, 10th ranking judge in the United States, was recently found guilty of selling justice

over his bench like so many rotten vegetables. Manton accepted over one million dollars in bribes from his wealthy "clients." Yet bail for Manton was set at only \$10,000, the same figure originally asked by the government in the case of \$60.50-a-month WPA workers. Manton is a dirty crook; the WPA workers are guilty only of striking against the oppressive provisions of the relief law.

Manton only faces a sentence of two years in prison and a fine of \$10,000.

The defendants in the WPA trials face exactly the same sentence as Manton—two years and \$10,000.

5. It so happened that at the same time the first Minneapolis WPA trial was on, a 47-year-old banker named Joseph Person was being tried in this city for his admitted murder of his aged mother. Person, the protégé of the wealthy Carpenter family, beat his old mother to death with a kitchen chair.

The WPA defendants were found guilty. The jury found Person—not guilty. The boss courts have decided it is a greater crime to strike against the government than it is to beat your own mother to death.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

HOW ABOUT A LITTLE Haunt this SATURDAY NIGHT, Oct. 28, at the Upper West Side Branch, 916-9th Ave., near 59th St.? Admission 33c.

GIRL TO SHARE unfurnished apartment, southern exposure, private entrance to room, \$15 a month, 28 E. Second St., cor. 2nd Ave. Write Socialist Appeal, c/o Stanley.

MAJOR STRUGGLES AHEAD IN INDIA AS BRITISH RULERS REJECT DEMAND FOR FREEDOM

(Continued from Page 1)

is made of a distant "Dominion Status" to be reached by gradual constitutional stages (lasting a few centuries?).

Even in the last war the British made more concrete promises for independence upon completion of the war. This time there was not even a promise upon which the reactionary Gandhi could hang his hat or loin cloth. The conservative Premier of Madras is quoted as referring to the statement as "deeply disappointing. . ."

But it was only a "disappointment" to those who expected something from the British, or aimed at deceiving the workers and peasants into expecting something. The British imperialists give nothing, absolutely nothing—they have long been in the habit of taking.

No Concessions (3) What plans can be made for future co-operation in the war? Here the Viceroy gets down to brass tacks and proposes a "united front" of all Indian classes in support of the "common cause." That is, Indian manpower to die on the battlefields of Europe and Asia to assure a continuous flow of gold for the British money-baggers.

Lilithgow, while openly hinting at the necessity for "Indian unity," has not as yet swung widely with his imperialist police club. But knowing the bloody his-

tory of British rule in India for 150 years we can expect full enforcement of the military dictatorship if the Congress leaders do not come to heel shortly.

The tottering British Empire is in such a state of affairs that it cannot even offer a crumb to its loyal servant, Gandhi, and his followers! British imperialism has nothing for its colonies but increased exploitation, conscription into mass armies and brutal police rule.

For the vast masses of British and Native India, Ceylon, Hongkong, Afghanistan, Tibet, Iran, Iraq, Palestine—the story is the same. They will supply their manpower, food products, raw materials, mineral wealth—all to be bombed, sunk and destroyed by Britain's rival imperialists. The wealth of mighty peoples is to be squandered in a futile attempt to keep alive a dying ruling class and its exploiting system.

The moment it became clear that the endless negotiations had been useless; the moment it became apparent that the British had revealed themselves all over again to be nothing but slave masters—then a storm of protest broke over India.

This bitter hostility was directed not only against the British, but against its would-be supporters and agents—the conservative Congress leaders with Gandhi and Nehru at their head.

These spokesmen for the native, Indian capitalist class have led "Popular Front" ministries in the 8 provinces for 2 1/2 years now. In that time they have conducted themselves as administrators of the British rule, bringing upon themselves the deep hatred of India's workers and peasants.

Masses Want to Fight

If they act now it is only because (1) the British spit in their faces before the entire world; (2) they were forced to act due to the explosive power created by the population of India who want to fight now for their freedom. These traitors act only under the sharpest compulsion of the workers and peasants, and then only in a limited way.

The leading Working Committee of the Congress in its resolution instructing the ministries to resign made it clear that it wants no mass struggle for freedom at this time (or ever). It is attempting to wring a few parliamentary concessions of a minor nature from the British. Negotiations failed; now they'll try threats. And so, their resolution warns against mass satyagraha (civil disobedience) and political strikes.

But the resolution of the 375,000,000 Indian slaves reads entirely different! There is a resolution of determined struggle for freedom and independence. Despite the will of the handful of Indian bosses and landlords, the present action indicates the beginning of a revolutionary struggle, for India's freedom. It will not be hard to buy off the conservative Congress leaders—but the workers and peasants can never be bought off. The first potentially revolutionary crisis of the war is at hand. Of that there can be no doubt.