# National CIO Pledges Bond Fund for Indicted Unionists

# **Workers Party Calls Upon All Labor to**

LABOR ACTION **Defend 544 and SWP** The national CIO this week came aggressively to the aid of the in-JULY 28, 1941 ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

dicted unionists of Minneapolis. After a telephone conference with the national CIO officials, Frank Barnhart, regional director of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, to which Local 544 is affiliated, announced that "the national CIO has already set in motion the necessary machinery to insure that adequate bonds will be forthcoming to gain the speedy release of the persecuted unionists."

Coming after a deluge of greetings to the embattled unionists from CIO locals all over the country, the CIO pledge came as a fighting answer to one of the slimiest deals ever pulled out of a politician's hat.

#### WORKERS PARTY OFFERS SWP FULL COOPERATION .

So far as LABOR ACTION knows at this time, none of the unionists and Socialist Workers Party leaders who were last week indicted by a federal grand jury sitting in St. Paul have yet been arrested. Bail has been set at \$5,000 per person, or a total of \$145,000. The FBI is evidently not pressing the hunt on the assurance that each of the men will turn up as bail is raised. It is possible that the defense will move to separate the cases of the unionists, all of whom derry being members of the SWP, from those who admit being members of the SWP. In addition to the CIO, the American Civil Liberties Union has protested the indictments.

The Workers Party has extended its unreserved solidarity to Local 544 and to the SWP. On July 1, even before the indictments had been issued, the Political Committee of the Workers Party, offered the SWP, in a letter to its Political Committee, complete cooperation and support. In its letter, the WP wrote: "Our committee has discussed the situation produced by the raid on the headquarters of the SWP in Minneapolis. . . . It goes without saying that the WP is in complete and unreserved solidarity with the SWP in this situation. We request you to arrange to inform us of any proposals and suggestions you may have whereby our party may offer its assistance." As we go to press, we have not yet received an answer, but hope we will in the interests of waging the broadest and most effective action.

#### TOBIN JOLTED BY RANK AND FILE MORALE

With the CIO on record, Local 544 has behind it the most militant section of organized union labor-a section which understands what lies behind the indictment of the 29 unionists and leaders of the SWP. On June 28, before indictments were handed down by the august federal jury, Frank Barnhart warned that "UNABLE TO BEND THE WORKERS TO HIS WILL BY THE OTHER VICIOUS TACTICS WHICH HE HAS EM-PLOYED, DAN TOBIN HAS PERSUADED ROOSEVELT TO CARRY OUT THIS ACTION IN PAYMENT OF HIS POLITICAL DEBT TO TOBIN FOR PAST SERVICES RENDERED."

That's the long and the short of it. Tobin tried to crack the militant leadership of No. 544, tried to make the union fit in with the anti-union jingo schemes of the government. Local 544 turned its back on Tobin's bureaucratic AFL machine, determined on continuing its exemplary union fight guided by a single consideration: the interests of the Northwest teamsters, and labor in general. The GIO welcomed Local 544, a local with a brilliant record of militant action and democratic leadership, into its

Tobin then tried to loose a whole Pandora's box of persecutions. Thugs were imported into Minneapolis to intimidate union members. Suit was filed in court to tie up the union's funds. Through it all, the teamster rank and file stuck by the union that had won them magnificent gains, and the leadership that led them in struggle. The CIO News, for example, this week reports:

"In spite of pressure by the press, by the employers, by a hostile Administration, both state and national, by hundreds of slugging 'organizers' imported by the AFL, the morale of the men is very high. ... The truck drivers understand, as few workers do, that they are subject to direct and quick pressure not only on the job locally, but in their homes, streets and alleys where their work takes them and on the broad highways and foreign terminals and other distant points. They have confidence because they feel that justice for the truck drivers and all of the workers who depend upon them, such as the building trades, can be obtained in making this magnificent fight."

Local 544 has suggested an NLRB election in which the members could choose AFL or CIO. Tobins knows he would be licked by a membership vote, and has consequently done all he can to block an election.

#### ANY OLD PORT IN A STORM ...

Faced with this high morale and with solid ranks, Tobin got Roosevelt to pay off his political debt by what was supposed to be a crushing blow, but which may, if labor sticks together, prove a boomerang. The FBI was persuaded to stage a spectacular raid on headquarters of the SWP in the Twin Cities. Evidence collected in this raid included such "subversive" items as a picture of Leon Trotsky (!) and books and pamphlets which can be publicly bought. On the basis of this "damaging" evidence and instructed by the Department of Justice, the grand jury handed down indictments against 29 people, including Local 544's leaders and national (Continued on page 3)

THREE CENTS

# DRAFT EXTENSION HERALDS STAGE OF "SHOOTING WAR"



### **Roosevelt's Demand Stems** From HIS Class Interests, **But We Oppose It from OURS**

Senate and Administration are rushing the draft extension law.

Rushing the law because the Administration expects total and full-fledged "shooting war" before the first year of draftee service is up.

That is why Roosevelt is courting the opposition of mass opinion, where yesterday he tried to allay it with hypocritical hokus-

Roosevelt's pledge that the men would be kept in service only a year was never anything more than a piece of calculated decep-

Even a boss politician has to quit pretending when the facts become plainer than words.

basis.

And the main FACT is this:

Roosevelt has entered the war

-he has said as much himself

-and the time is now coming

when he means to go the whole

And, let us admit it: you

can not wage war with a "tem-

porary" army. You can not

send troops to Iceland or Dakar

or the Cape Verde Islands or

northern Ireland on a part time

BOSS POINT OF VIEW it's per-

cal and legitimate from the

BOSS point of view. It isn't

from OURS. Why? BECAUSE

WE WANT NO PART OF THE

BOSSES' WAR, NOR DO THE

GREAT MASS OF PEOPLE

WHOSE OPINIONS COUNT

FOR NOTHING IN THE MAD

SCHEMES OF THE WAR GOV-

fectly logical—and legitimate.

Yes, from Mr. Roosevelt's

But that's the rub! It's logi-

of LABOR ACTION will appear next week in time for the Buffalo convention of the United Automobile Workers-CIO. Those who remember the special CIO convention issue, as well as other special issues of LABOR ACTION, will not want to miss them. Articles will discuss the problems confronting the auto workers and their union. Don't fail to get your copy. Order now for the UAW

### A Special **UAW** Issue

# Company Hires Professional Thugs To Hurl Against Bendix Picket Line

BENDIX, N. J.-Professional thugs were used last week against striking workers at the Bendix plant of Air Associates. The Bergen Evening Record of July 17 admitted that F. Leroy Hill, president of the company, was using strike-breakers "of the fighting, not the working, type."

When it became known that the Bendix strikers were up against professional thugs, workers from the Brewster plants in Newark and Long Island joined the picket line to help

their fellow union. The pickets succeeded in driving the thugs back, so that the plant was completely shut down. In an attempt to break the line, police threw tear gas and shot their guns into the air, BUT THE LINE HELD FIRM.

Bendix was struck on July 11 when the company refused to reinstate nine

through pretext that the plant was short on aluminum. Since then, Air Associates, which manufactures plane parts, has been almost completely shut down

No deliveries have been made to the struck plant because truckmen refuse to cross the picket line. The few scabs in the plant were even deprived of their ice cream when the "Good Humor" man refused to cross

The week before the strike was called the union had won an NLRB election, after a very brief organization drive by the UAW.

The rapidity with which the union was able to organize the plant is easily explained by the wage scale at Air Associates-40 cents an hour for skilled help. The union is asking for a 75 cent minimum

Ford-Douglas type of boss. The very thought of a union makes him foam at the mouth. Not only did he try to establish a company union after the UAW came in, but he has since stalled in negotiations, refused to meet the OPM (the Knudsen OPM!) and, to top it all, he has asked Governor Edison to shoot the pickets off the road. The governor was forced to issue a public rebuke to Hill.

Yes, Hill is the Girdler-Ford-Dougles type. But Ford and Girdler have had to bend before the militancy of their workers. Douglas is being squeezed hard by the union. The same kind of action that toppled King Ford and "I'd Rather Move to Canada" Girdler can crack the antiunion collarbone of Air Associates. Appeals to the government by the union will be effective in exact pro-

the picket line.

The workers, most of them very young and in the union for the first time, are getting a bellyful of the "defense" program. They are beginning to understand what it means to them. One picket said: "If they won't pay us, let them run their own machines. The least we can get out of this is a decent salary."

#### THAT'S THE KIND OF SPIRIT THAT WINS STRIKE VICTORIES.

The strike has now been certified to the National Mediation Board, which, for the first time, has not asked the strikers to go back to work during negotiations!

A conference is being held in Washington this week and from all indications the strikers will win

And that goes for the draftees too. They do not want to fight the bosses' war. They do not want to serve in the bosses' army. They didn't want it when they were first drafted. They don't want it now when their

ERNMENT!

So widespread is this opposition that even the jingo press has been compelled to admit it in news accounts. In one southern camp, slips of paper were dropped from a moving army truck protesting the prolongation of service. These slips said it was untrue that National Guardsmen are willing to continue in service, that the brass hats did not speak for the men.

term of service is going to be

Letters sent to Congressmen from Fort Dix had the brass hat totalitarians in an apoplectic lather. Pronouncements went out that it was against the Articles of War for soldiers to speak up in their own interests. Threats were made of dire punishment. But even there the brass hats had to back down. Punishment would only have ignited a flame of protest in the

THE SAME HAS HAPPENED IN MANY CAMPS. The draftees hate army life. Articles of War or no Articles of War, (Continued on page 4 in edit. col.)

## Governor Talmadge Goes on Lynch-Law Rampage AN EDITORIAL

Eugene Talmadge, a jackass of an ignoramus, who is governor of the poll-tax lynch state of Georgia, has succeeded in getting rid of two professors at the state university who were attempting to bring a little light, decency and civilization to this backwoods community. The two teachers, Dr. Walter D. Cocking and Dr. Marvin S. Pittman, were accused of promoting equality between the races. Talmadge had attempted to get the two educators out before but the regents refused. Talmadge then got a new regents board on which he had a majority for his mob views and opinions. The new board promptly did as it was told by the Fuehrer amid the plaudits of a host of savage Talmadge supporters.

The two educators were accused of "insinuating such things as this (racial equality) through our back doors." Dr. Cocker had read Embree's book, "Brown America," and this very mild book is supposed to have derailed him and sent him off on a race equality rampage. One of the Talmadge regents, Peters, frothed at the mouth at the idea that the Embree book had been placed in "our college libraries." Peters said that throughout the book the thought runs, "erase the feelings of superiority of the white man." Peters was shocked that anybody should want Negroes to "use the same schools, ride in the same trains and sit side by side." Then Peters reached the climax. "They want intermarriage, that's what it means." When Peters said this Talmadge yelled: "THEY WON'T DO IT." Despite the fact that Cocking pleaded that he did not believe in racial equality, he could not satisfy Talmadge and the regents. They yelled for his scalp and got it.

We don't think that it is necessary to grow too excited over Talmadge and other Georgia mob leaders. Readers of LABOR ACTION know Talmadge and they know Georgia. Georgia is one of the poll-tax states where they elect congressmen under conditions where even the majority of the whites are disfranchised. Georgia is a state where the mob, the demagogue, the rope and the torch are the law. Georgia is a state where they spend as little money as possible for the education of the people. Georgia is a state of sweatshops, child labor, low wages and ignorant politicians in the pay of the employers. And so, what could one expect from George except just such a show as that put on by the buffoon Talmadge.

There are a few observations that we want to make, however. Talmadge and his stooge board of regents are worried about white supremacy being placed in jeopardy. They are correct; they should worry because the only way that this gang can hope to maintain "superiority" is by the use of force and oppression. They are so enveloped in ignorance, illiteracy and stupidity that they could never prove intellectual superiority in any open and fair contest. Furthermore, what kind of white superiority is it that can be maintained only by keeping people in ignorance? Accord-

ing to Talmadge, if the white Georgians read books that he disagrees with, they will cease to believe in white superiority. The only way that Talmadge can perpetuate white superiority in Georgia is to confine the reading of white Georgians to his speeches.

Talmadge is also afraid of intermarriage. Don't let the white women of Georgia read books that are not "safe," or, according to Talmadge, terrible things might happen. There might be some intermarrying between Negroes and whites. From the appearance of some Georgians, white and black, that we have seen, somebody down there has been reading some of these books for many years. We never saw Talmadge or Peters, and we can't orate on the Anglo-Saxon purity of their blood. However, we are of the opinion that these gentlemen would a little reticent to have an expert genealogist dig too far into their antecedents. We only pass on these few observation for the contemplation of all the Talmadges in the South.

# Pre-Convention Discussion Articles

In preparation for the coming national convention of the Workers Party, the Political Committee of the WP has opened the columns of LABOR AC-TION to discussion articles contributed by party members on the political problems confronting the party. Because of the limited amount of space available, all contributions must be as short as possible in order that we may be able to publish a maximum number of articles. In no case may they be over 1,200 words; in all cases contributors should try to keep their articles below the word maximum allowed.

### What Has Changed?

According to the views of the Political Committee, as published in the June 30 issue of LABOR AC-TION, the only important change that has occurred in the Second World War as a result of Hitler's attack upon Russia is that the Soviet Union has switched its allegiance from one imperialist camp to that of

This is a superficial estimate of the situation, and one which is patently untenable. It is, moreover, a complete reversal of the position taken by the Workers Party, then constituted as the minority faction in the Socialist Workers Party, during eight months of discussion.

The position taken by the members of the Workers Party at that time was clearly that if and when Soviet nationalized property was threatened with annihilation by one or more imperialist powers, we would be for the defense of the Soviet Union.

Our position of revolutionary defeatism in Finland was not predicated upon the fact that the Soviet Union was in alliance with fascist Germany. That was one aspect of the situation, to be sure. It was not the determining aspect. Our position for revolutionary defeatism in Finland was predicated upon the fact that at that time the Red Army was fighting a reactionary war. It was reactionary, we said then, because Stalin was fighting primarily as an agent of German imperialism; because the war was an inter-imperialist war, in which Stalin was allied with one imperialist camp against the other, and not a mixed war; that was a war of bureaucratic expansion; that it was not a war in which the preservation or the destruction of nationalized economy in the Soviet Union was at stake. In the many articles that were written at that time, in the many speeches that were made throughout that period, this last point was emphasized and re-emphasized, frequently to the virtual exclusion of all others. Nationalized economy was not then in jeopardy.

What is the situation in the present phase of the war? Practically every one of the factors which caused us to state that the Russo-Finnish war was reactionary is non-existent, or completely reversed.

It is true that the Soviet Union is now fighting in a loose semi-alliance with one imperialist camp. It is false to say that it is fighting primarily as an agent of any imperialism. It is fighting primarily for its life, and only incidentally, and very incidentally at that, as an ally of Anglo-American imperialism.

It follows that insofar as the Soviet Union is concerned, the present war is no longer a purely imperialist conflict, but is now clearly, for all to see, a mixed war. The Soviet Union plays a dual role, just as China in its war against Japan likewise plays a dual role. In this war the defensive aspect of the war, from the point of view of the Soviet Union, far overshadows the incidental inter-imperialist involvement.

The war is no longer a war of bureaucratic expansion. Stalin is not out to seize new territories. He has lost almost all of those he previously seized. The Red Army is struggling desperately to keep Hitler and capitalism out of the Soviet Union.

Lastly, the principal issue in the present war is the retention or the destruction of nationalized economy in the Soviet Union. Can any one deny this? A victory for Hitler would mean the seizure by imperialismfascist imperialism-of the Ukraine and the Caucasus. It would probably mean the setting up of a Petain,

semi-colonial regime in the rest of Russia. It would mean the complete wiping out of the Soviet Union and what remains there of the conquests of October.

Is this of any moment to the working class of the world? We have always maintained that it was of paramount importance. Were we wrong? Is it now a matter of complete indifference to us whether or not capitalism is re-instituted in one-sixth of the earth's surface? If we were wrong then, it is certainly incumbent upon the Political Committee to admit our error, frankly and publicly. There is no indication in the LABOR ACTION article that we were wrong.

Presumably, then, retention of nationalized economy in the Soviet Union is still of paramount importance to the working class of the world. Unless, of course, conditions have changed. If conditions have changed so radically that we must now completely reverse our previous position, then clearly the party and its sympathizers have a right to know how those conditions have changed. There is not a word of this either in the LABOR ACTION arti-

#### Previous Position

Let there be any doubt as to what our previous position on these various points, we wish to quote from several articles published in The New International, theoretical organ of the Workers Party.

In an article in the March, 1940, issue of The New International-just prior to the split in the Socialist Workers Party-Max Shachtman, in explaining why we termed the actions of the Red Army in Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia reactionary, wrote as follows: "They are reactionary because they are not conducted for the defense of the Soviet Union (i.e., the preservation of nationalized property from imperialist conquest and colonization). . . . They are reactionary because they are not defensive wars (I speak not in the military-technical or diplo-

matic sense, but in the historical-po-

litical sense), but wars of annexa-

tion. . . ." And in the next paragraph: "We said-the minority continues to say it-that if the imperialists assail the Soviet Union with the aim of crushing the last conquest of the October Revolution and reducing Russia to a bunch of colonies, we will support the Soviet Union unconditionally. That would be a progressive war, even under Stalin's command and despite Stalin's command. We would fight for a democratic All-Soviet Congress to take over the helm, but we would not demand it as a pre-

#### What Is Involved

In April, also in The New International, Shachtman again wrote: "In the PRESENT war, the nationalized property of the Soviet Union is not what is primarily involved." One could give dozens of other quotations. all similar. Space prevents this, but it is necessary to include one other brief quotation.

liminary condition for our support."

On March 1, 1940, the minority of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party submitted a resolution on the Second World War and the Soviet Union. This resolution, subscribed to by the entire minority, was a statement of the basic programmatic position of the group which shortly thereafter constituted itself as the Workers Party. Section 5 of that resolution envisages a change in the character of the war and states quite clearly what our position would be in the event of such

a change. That section states: "If the character of the war changes . . . into a war determined by the capitalist imperialist politics of destruction of Soviet state property and the reduction of Russia to a colony . . . our position would change . . . OUR POSITION WOULD BE DICTATED BY THE

INTERESTS OF THE WORLD PRO-LETARIAT WHICH COINCIDE WITH THE STRUGGLE TO DE-FEND SOVIET NATIONALIZED PROPERTY FROM LIQUIDATION BY ANY IMPERIALIST POWER OR POWERS"

Soviet nationalized property is now clearly threatened with liquidation by imperialist Germany and her satellites. It is therefore mandatory upon the Workers Party, unless we repudiate the position previously accepted as the position of the party, to call for the defense of the Soviet Union. The fate of Soviet nationalized property is being decided boldly on the battle field. Can we, as revolutionists, be indifferent to that fate? Three Members of the

Executive Committee, Local Los Angeles.

### Russia's Role In the War

By SUSAN GREEN

holds the view that because Hitler had to get the swag in Russia before continuing with Britain, the character of the war has changed. It's still the same bloody imperialist war. It it not necessary to stress this point as hard as the comrades who hold the PC position do.

Rather the question is: In this Imperialist World War, what is our position toward the USSR attacked by one of the imperialists and fighting for its life?

We cannot answer this question by uttering, through tightened lips and from rigid minds: "Imperialist war We could not characterize the Russian-Finnish episode by the simple expedient: "Nationalized economy-QED."

We then applied the test of whether Stalin was fighting a progressive or a reactionary war in Finland. Our opposition to the Stalin invasion was based on our principled opposition to invasion, conquest and annexation of territory as reactionary. We also considered the spread of the domination of the Stalin bureaucracy over more peoples and the extension of bureaucratized, nationalized economy, as against the revolutionary interests of the working class. The character of the Russian state did not determine whether the attack on Finland was to be supported by the working class or not. We were merely concerned-to repeat-with whether the war was progressive or reactionary-the yardstick being the revolutionary interests of the workers of the world

By that yardstick-which has two sides to it: the direct furthering of the world revolution and by weakening imperialism the indirect furthering of world revolution—we must now gauge the fight of the USSR against Hitler's attack. But first I want to show how we apply this same yardstick to Chiang Kai-shek in the war against Japan.

#### The Case of China

ssive war. About Chiang w have no illusions. He is not fighting for the liberation of the viciously suppressed and exploited workers and peasants of China. The butcher of the masses at the height of the Chinese revolution would sooner capitulate to Japan than let power go to the workers and peasants. Today, not threatened by internal revolution but as a matter of fact forced by the militancy of the Chinese people, he and his gang put up a fight against Japanese imperialism.

We know that the criminal Chiang Kai-shek is just as reactionary now as before. This is especially true because the next item on the historic agenda for China is not a pure and simple nationalistic struggle, but the workers' and peasants' revolution long overdue. There is no doubt that as between the revolution and Japanese imperialism, Chiang will have no hesitancy in choosing. Yet we consider that the murderer of the Chinese revolution is waging a progressive war.

Our ground is that by curbing the appetite of Japanese imperialism, whose existence depends on gobbling up the Asiatic colonial and semi-colonial countries, Chiang Kai-shek measures up on one side of our yard-

In connection with the Chino-Japanese war, it may also be claimed that China, by engaging Japan in a fierce struggle, is aiding British-American imperialism. Furthermore, China receives a measure of military

asistance—material and personnel—from the Allies. The struggle in China is also part of the world-wide war whose predominant nature is imperialist. But these reasons have not yet compelled us to withhold our military support of the war Chiang Kai-shek is waging against Japanese imperialism.

Suppose, by some fantastic twist, it had been expedient for Japan first to make a fluky treaty of nonaggression with China in order to get China's assistance in an assault on Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies, etc. Just suppose. And then later Japan had turned on China, as Hitler did on Russia. That sequence of events would not have changed our estimate of the war China would be waging against Japan, even though China at first would have been actually helping Japanese imperialism - as Russia was at first helping German imperialism.

#### Progressive Aspects

With the example of China before us, let us take up the German-Russian war now raging.

It doesn't solve anything to bring out the whole bag of Stalinist crimes. Yes, Stalin is fighting to retain his I don't think anybody in the party, power and pelf. Yes, the bureaucracy is fighting to retain its enslavement of the Russian masses and its exploitative hold on the national economy. True. True also that only by the revolutionary overthrow of Stalin can the Russian masses resume their march toward socialism.

But it is also true that the USSR is not a field of international imperialist exploitation-only a field for exploitation by its own bureaucracy. And it is likewise true that a German victory will transform the USSR into a new pasture for the immediate feeding of the German war machine and for the ultimate division among the ultimate victors in the World War. In other words, the defeat of Stalin at the hands of Hitler can only mean more of vitamin B1 in the diet of world imperialism.

Therefore, measured by the same side of the yardstick that we use for China, the reactionary, counterrevolutionary Stalin today wages a progressive war-even as does his first cousin, Chiang Kai-shek.

Just how much actual help Stalin will get from London-Washington remains to be seen. Kiplinger's letter of June 28 has this passage: "Will the U.S. aid Russia? On the record, yes. By gestures, yes. By backing up British aid to Russia, yes. But actually, effectively, NO. The physical means for rendering much material aid really do not exist." (Kiplinger's emphasis.) Of course, England's aid to countries invaded by Hitler has heretofore been rather flimsy. England will "aid" Russia only when and if it will aid England to do so. In a words, there is a good chance that Russia will be fighting alone.

Of course, whether or not Stalin gets more than lip service from the Allies, the fact remains that, willynilly, by the mere act of engaging Hitler in a major war, Stalin is aiding the Allies. But so is Chiang Kai-

#### By What Criterion?

Even to a greater extent than a We consider that he is waging a Japanese victory in China will a German victory in Russia strengthen world imperialism. Whereas China before the war was already a feeding ground for the imperialists of all countries, the USSR will only become one if Stalin loses to Hitler. (And by Stalin I mean to include anybody who may succeed him. but be fighting the same kind of war he is fighting.)

> I have purposely kept out of this article a consideration of the nature of the Russian state, of the revolutionary importance-if any-of USSR nationalized economy, of the remnants-if any-of the October revolution. These are all very important questions. But I believe that if we were right in our approach to the Russo-Finnish war and to the Chino-Japanese war, our position on the Russo-German war need not depend on our answers to the above questions. I also omit the beclouded question of a mixed war as unnecessary to my line of argument.

> In conclusion, there was a time, now passed, when we admitted that the Stalin bureaucracy, reactionary as it was, was yet performing a progressive role in Russian industry. Today we perhaps have to admit that this same despicable bureaucracy is performing a progressive role in the imperialist war-by fighting to keep the USSR from becoming the happy hunting ground for imperialism. Within the limits of time and circumstances, a reactionary regime may be performing a progressive

### A Reply to Shachtman

By JACK WILSON

Comrade Shachtman and the Political Committee changed erroneously the Workers Party line on the Russian question, thereby committing a tragic blunder in disorienting the party and the workers precisely at the time and under the circumstances when our party's position should and could have been clear, correct and effective in mobilizing the struggle against world imperial-

Changes in party line are important when they either advance the struggle of the workers to a higher plane by new ideas, or bring a false orientation which derails the work-

The Workers Party foresaw the possibility of a change in the World War of such an important character that the workers of the world would have to shift their strategy, to accomplish their main aim: destruction of world imperialism.

The failure of the Political Committee to apply the strategy worked out by us in the past, since it is the correct strategy, constitutes the terrible mistake those comrades made.

#### When Will It Change?

The whole present discussion of the Russian question becomes crystal clear, as do the points made above, by re-reading the Workers Party resolution printed in the March 1940 issue of The New International.

When would the character of this present World War change? Assume a dual form, so to speak?

"However, if the character of the war changes from one of inter-imperialist conflict, in which the Red Army acts as a pawn of one imperialist power and as an instrument of bureaucratic expansion, into a war determined by the capitalist imperialist politics of destruction of the Soviet state power and the reduction of Russia to a colony-that is, determined by the world antagonism of capitalist imperialism and Soviet nationalized economy - our position would change correspondingly to the change in the character of the war."

The character of the war changes . when the destruction of Soviet state power and the reduction of Russia to a colony is directly involved. Then our party becomes defensist, so the resolution says.

Shachtman grants, to use his term, what is obvious to everyone who has read any newspaper or heard any radio report in the last two weeks: the destruction of Russia is directly and primarily involved.

#### What Kind of Defense?

Our party was committed in advance to defensism under the circumstance of Soviet Russia fighting primarily for its self-existence. The circumstance is present, clear and obvious to everyone.

But Shachtman now adds some words about the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy. "Won't it still play a reactionary role?" the comrades ask, and isn't this decisive?

"In such a war, the Stalinist bureaucracy, despite the fact that it continues to defend, in its own way, its power and revenue, would be conducting a progressive war," the Workers Party resolution correctly pointed out.

In essence, I can place Shachtman's warning about the role of Stalin and the bureaucracy only in the category of those ultra-left critics of the Marxist movement who objected to our support of China's struggle for independence because Chiang Kaishek was the "butcher" of the Chinese revolution.

The resolution continues, "The revolutionary working class would in this case adopt the position of the defense of the Soviet Union."

Why? Even though nationalized property is involved, some comrades have asked.

"Our position would be dictated by the interests of the world proletariat which COINCIDE with the struggle to defend Soviet nationalized property from liquidation by ANY IM-

PERIALIST POWER or powers." Now Shachtman insists, if I understand his argument as printed in LABOR ACTION, that he can be for defense only if all imperialist powers are against Soviet Russia, thereby missing the whole point, which is that what matters is that Soviet nationalized property be saved from liquidation, and not whether one or three powers try the liquidating.

How would we conduct the defense of the Soviet Union? This to

answer the comrades who say you'll be identified with the Stalinists in the eyes of the workers by being for defense, as though by itself that were a decisive argument.

"The defense of the Soviet Union would be conducted by us independently, without for a moment abandoning the political struggle against the counter - revolutionary bureaucracv.

Re-read the entire Workers Party resolution on the Russian question. The comrades will see again what I point out here. Our party has a position on defensism in a mixed war such as exists today, that is down on black and white.

#### China and Russia

Let us hope that no comrade now proposes to revise the Marxian concept of mixed wars and our strategy as related thereto. It is succinctly stated in "War and the Fourth International," another must on one's reading list these days.

Since Shachtman points out that he is for the defense of China today against Japan as a representative of world imperialism, it is clear he doesn't use the argument I've heard elsewhere that since Germany, England, America, etc., predominate on the world scene and they fight an imperialist war, therefore all related wars or struggles are secondary and don't deserve support.

Just as Stalin's military victory over Hitler would aid Britain, so would China's successes against Japan weaken it in fighting American imperialism. But what is decisive in each case is that world imperialism gets a blow. Its unceasing attempts to find new markets to exploit, thereby prolonging its existence, are smashed down.

The revolutionary possibilities from Hitler's defeat, or for that matter, Japan's defeat in the Far East, as we at least always agreed on the Chinese question, make imperative the material support of the Soviet Union today, and also China.

If at a later stage in the war, Stalin's armies go down to disastrous defeat, and he becomes a puppet of Anglo - American imperialism with the decisive sections of the Soviet Union in Hitler's hands, then the character of the war once again would change. Just as American influence over China can become so decisive that China functions solely as a puppet of American imperialism in its struggle against Japanese imperialism.

When that disastrous turn of the war takes place—and it is possible in both Soviet Russia's role and China's role-then the revolutionary movement will work out another strategy for defeating world imperialism.

But for each day, the labor thereof.

### Conscript the War Industries Under Workers' Control!

### **Leather Workers** Stage Sit-Down Against Speed-up

Special to Labor Action ,

PEABODY, Mass.-Two weeks ago the A. C. Lawrence Tanning Co., a subsidiary of Swift & Co., gave the workers a 21/2 per cent increase in wages. The increase was an attempt to stop the newly established Local 33 of the Leather Workers Union (CIO) from getting a foothold. No sooner had the workers been

given these peanuts when the company started to speed up the workers. On the seasoning machines in Building V3 the company attempted to force the men to do 20 sides more per hour. The men refused to work and sat by their machines. After all the pleadings of the company executives proved futile, the company union president was called in and he suggested that the men go back to work and he would arbitrate the case. The workers told him to beat it; if they wanted someone to represent them they would call in the CIO representative. Eventually the company capitulat-

ed and agreed that the workers would not have to do the additional twenty an hour.

### Lynn Shoe **Workers Win** Wage Raise

LYNN, Mass.-When the nationally known militants in the shoe industry of this city were told by their national office that it would not tolerate "breaking" of agreements with the employers, the workers told the national office where to get off, did not "break" the agreements and yet forced the bosses to grant them an increase.

A few weeks ago, Lynn Local of the United Shoe Workers of America (CIO) asked the District Council to re-open the wage sections of all agreements with the manufacturers. The cost of living was rising and the manufacturers were receiving more money for their shoes. The council decided to take the matter to arbitration.

The shoe workers have lost too much at the arbitration table and have no use for such boards.

The Lynn Local declared a holiday this week and called a mass meeting to decide what action it would take to obtain wage increases. Frank Mc-Graw, national president, came to Lynn, spoke at the meeting and told the workers that he would not tolerate their going on strike while an agreement was in force and that they had no right to call a mass meeting in the day time, when they should be working. The workers called him everything from a bosses' stooge to a gutless bureaucrat, and decided to get a 10 per cent increase in wages.

Under the union agreement with the manufacturers, workers retain their seniority in the shop while they are out organizing or on other official union work. Lynn Local therefore decided that the ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP should become an organizing committee and devote its FULL TIME to organizing the few unorganized shops in the city. No one was to return to work, mass meetings were to be held every morning until the "organizational work" was completed.

When the shoe workers of Lynn decide they want a raise and plan to fight for it, every one, including the bosses, knows they're not kidding.

At the time of this writing only one small shop has not granted the 10 per cent increase. But it will fall in line in a couple of days.

### These N.Y. Stands **Sell Labor Action**

LOWER MANHATTAN

K & K Store-Monroe and Market Strs., SW. Salkind's-339 E. 10th St. Essex & Delancey-NE. 14th St.

6th Ave.-SE. University Pl.—SE. Broadway-SE. 4th Ave-SW. 4th Ave.-NE. 4th Ave.—SE (2nd Stand) 3rd Ave.-SW. Opposite Jefferson Theater. 2nd Ave.—SE.

Bookstore-7 E. 15th St. Bookstore-184 2nd Ave. Bookstore-27 University Pl. 8th St. & 6th Ave.-NE. 75 Greenwich Ave. near 11th St. 42nd St. & 6th Ave.-SW. 42nd St. & 6th Ave.-SE. 42nd St. opposite Stearns. 42nd St. & 5th Ave.—SW (2nd Stand) 23rd St. & 4th Ave.-SW. 23rd St. & Broadway-SE.

#### BROWNSVILLE

Utica Ave. & Eastern Pkway.-SW. Strauss St. & Pitkin Ave.-NE. Rockaway Ave. & Pitkin Ave.-NW. Rockaway Ave. & Livonia Ave.-SE. Sutter Ave. & Van Sinderen-NE. Bdwv. bet. 103rd & 104th-W 110th & Bdway.-NE. 114th & Bdway-SW.

### BRONX

160th & Prospect—subway stand opp. Brighton Cafeteria. Simpson St.—subway stand. 174th St. & Boston Rd.—candy store. Freeman St. & So. Blvd.-NW. Allerton Ave. & White Plains Rd.-167th St. & Jerome Ave.-SE.

170th St. & Jerome Ave.-SE. Burnside Ave. & Jerome Ave-SE. Burnside Ave. & Jerome Ave.-SW. Eisenbergs-Bdwy. near 63rd St. 66th St. & Bdwy.—SE. Watkins St. & Pitkin Ave.—NE. UPPER WEST SIDE

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#### The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor WANTS TO RECEIVE ers Party. I think socialism would ganized. We get tired being mislast sheet of paper so I have to close. the price of \$1.25 a day. Sometime MORE LABOR ACTIONS

Dear Editor: We like to read. Please send LAsharecroppers.

#### BOR ACTION. We are the people that went out on the roadside in 1939.

We workers are united. We stick to-

#### Bernie, Mo. "SOCIALISM A FINE THING FOR SHARECROPPERS"

gether.

I love your paper and want you to send me more facts about the Work- Missouri. We need more locals or-

be a fine thing for the sharecroppers. I am a union man and was in the 1939 roadside demonstration of the

Lilbourne, Mo.

#### SHARECROPPER SAYS L.A. "IS SOME GOOD PAPER"

We need a living wage. We can't live on \$1.00 and \$1.25 a day. We are going to try to command more pay. We need more action in Southeast

used by the bosses. We are tired, we are tired, we are tired. We need freedom in southeast Missouri. Those LABOR ACTION papers are fine. We would not take anything for those papers. It sure is some good paper. They make us more anxious to do something. It lets us know what our brothers and sisters are doing in the North and East. We feel like marching. Every one of us is in favor of those papers.

We received the clothes. Our needy

proud the people were. This is my

I was a member of the highway demonstration which took place in Missouri January 10, 1939. We have had a hard way to go since this happened. We made this move to better our condition. We may not get where we are trying to get but we members send many thanks. I wish will die trying. I am a man with a you could have been here to see how family of 11 and sometime there

would be only one of us at work, at

HIGHWAY DEMONSTRATOR

STILL 100 PER CENT UNION

Charleston, Mo.

Dear Editor:

the rain would close the job down, sometime the man would lay me off, sometime there would be no jobs, sometime the job would get hard, yet I had to go. Why? Because my wife and children had to eat and

But I am still a 100 per cent union man. Sometime the way looks awful dark but I mean to fight till death for my rights. And if I go down for a good cause let me go. And I hope some day if I don't my children and my children's children will enjoy what I am fighting for today. If you have any pamphlets or

wear like others.

bills that you think will help the union, please send them to me and I will be too glad to hand them out. My wife joins me in these few re-New Madrid, Mo.

Wages and Workers' Rights for Conscripts!

We Demand: Higher

NO GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WITHOUT A UNION CONTRACT!

### With the Labor Unions-

### On the Picket Line By David Coolidae

#### THE NEW JINGO LINE OF THE STALINISTS

have made a new political discovery. They have discovered that when the Stalinist bureaucracy jumps from one imperialist camp in the present war into the other, the war loses its imperialist character. They ignore the Stalin-Hitler pact and seem to think that everyone else has forgotten how that perfidious covenant with hell was the signal for Hitler to invade Poland and initiate the Second World Imperialist War. The Stalinists, to be sure, announced that the pact would prove the greatest "bulwark of peace" in the world.

We don't label this pact perfidious and reactionary because Hitler, the fascist, was one of the signatories. Fascism is nothing more than degenerate capitalism stripped of all its democratic pretensions and functioning with the knout and the club in the interests of finance-capitalism. If in similar circumstances, Stalin had signed a similar pact with Great Britain or the United States, it would have been just as perfidious and just as reactionary. That is, the Stalin-Hitler pact was not reactionary because it was signed with a fascist nation. Fascist Germany is at the same time a capitalist and imperialist nation, just as are England and the United States.

This pact was reactionary because in relation to the interests of the world working class, it was "conceived in sin and born in iniquity." From a working class viewpoint this pact would have been no less iniquitous had it been a covenant between Stalin and Churchill or Roosevelt.

After this pact, these political acrobats and contortionists were against England and against the United States entering the war. They were for peace. Not in Estonia, Finland and Germany, of course, but in England and the United States.

They bellowed and organized all over the place with their American Peace Mobilization and other phony outfits. LABOR ACTION pointed out long ago and warned that the Sta-

The Stalinists in the United States linists might soon be waving the flag and yelling for the defense of England and the United States. We said that just as they were rushing into the trade unions with their bogus peace line today, tomorrow workers should not be surprised to see them calling for all-out aid to "imperialist

> Well, it's happened, as every worker knows who is not deaf or blind. The war isn't completely non-imperialist of course, because Germany is involved and the Stalinists are certain now that Germany is an imperialist nation bent on the domination of the world and the total destruction of "democracy." England and the United States are "democracies" again fighting against fascism. Therefore all out aid to England and the United States. Yesterday England was imperialist; today it's a "democracy." Yesterday, Roosevelt was preparing to plow our youth under; today he and Churchill are leading a holy crusade to give every boy a chance to become President or Prime Minister.

> This all happened, say the Stalinist magicians, because Germany attacked the Soviet Union. To be sure, the Stalin gangsters have destroyed all the Soviets, the trade unions and the revolutionary workers' party; but this makes no difference: it's a "socialist" state anyhow, these gangsters of the Kremlin maintain. Furthermore, it makes no difference, they say, that the Stalin clique embarked on a grabbing expedition in Poland and the Baltic countries. Workers are not supposed to be interested in the fact that the Stalin gang participates in the imperialist war; first on one side and then on the other. The workers are expected to believe that when the Stalinists change camps the nature of the war changes. If Stalin makes a pact with Hitler, that is a move for peace. If Stalin makes a pact with Churchill, that makes England's war a struggle for democracy and against fas-

#### HOW THEY CARRY IT INTO THE UAW

Just as they carried the old People's Front line into the trade unions, the Stalinists are preparing now to flood the labor movement with the new line. Workers who were told yesterday that the Lend-Lease Bill was an evil accompaniment of Roosevelt imperialism, are told today that it is OK and one of the strongest bulwarks of democracy and civilization. Workers who were told that they should oppose the war are now advised to support it.

The first concrete application of the new line in a trade union will come at the time of the convention of the United Automobile Workers, the first week of August. The Stalinists had been preparing a fight Thomas of the President UAW. They wanted to oust him at ried on campaigns of slander and lies the coming convention. They intended to advance their fake anti-war line. They would have made long and fervid speeches on British imperialism and colonial oppression.

But now none of this will happen. According to an article in the Daily Worker of Monday, July 14, written by Roy Hudson: "We (that is, the CP) do not hesitate to state that in our opinion the best interests of the UAWA, the unity of the UAWA, can best be served through the rallying of the membership around its present leaders, President Thomas and Secretary-Treasurer Addes.

That is, since the war is now a war for democracy, and since Thomas

has all along been a supporter of the war, the Stalinists will now support him for re-election. The planned struggle to displace Thomas has gone with the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Furthermore, Hudson says that the Communist Party as an organization never did, does not now, and never will attempt to dominate a

This is an astounding claim. Many militant unionists will be able to refute this out of their own experience. Wherever the Stalinists have had any appreciable influence in a union their procedure has been of the most bureaucratic and undemocratic nalinist political line. They have caragainst all unionists, even the most loyal and militant, who opposed the Stalinist bureaucrats.

In numerous instances they have not hesitated at intimidation and terror. They have dumped workers from jobs where they had job control, in cases where these workers were opponents of the Stalinist political line. They have refused to defend militant unionists who were being persecuted in the capitalist courts if these unions were in opposition to any of the twistings of Kremlin politics. The Stalinists always seek to dominate a trade unionin the most vicious and non-working class manner.

#### DO NOT VOTE STALINISTS INTO OFFICE!

These are some of the reasons why the Workers Party advises workers not to permit Stalinists to attain leadership and control in the unions. These are some of the reasons why Stalinists should not be voted for when they run for office in the un-

The fact that the Stalinists announce their support of Thomas for re-election should be taken with a grain of salt. Thomas may or may not deserve re-election, but such questions should be decided on their merits in relation to his past as a leader of the international. The Stalinists don't decide questions in this. manner. They were prepared to wage a fight against Thomas not because he may not have been a good international president of the UAW, but because he was in disagreement with the political line of the Stalinists. Thomas could have been the worst possible trade union bureaucrat and still get the unstinted support of the Stalinists if he had been one of their stooges.

They will support Thomas, even with all his opposition to them, because they are afraid not to. They

are ready now to crawl into their holes and be nice boys, at least in the open. This leads us to repeat that their announcements on the UAW convention should be taken with a grain of salt. They are a filthy and slimy outfit and very adept at the stab in the back tactic. They will come into the UAW convention with the best sounding resolutions. Out in the open, on the floor of the convention, they will be as meek as lambs. They will support even the most reactionary proposals of the leadership, even those that should be voted down. But under cover, in the dark, so to speak, they will scheme against those militants who disagree with their line and attempt to smear them.

They planned to achieve domination of the UAW at the coming convention. They really haven't given up this idea; they only plan now to come up another street and with changed banners. They will attempt to secure places on the general executive board of the international. They will be willing to bargain and make the most reactionary concessions in order to squeeze a few of their stooges onto the GEB.

If You Are Not Already a Subscriber to Labor Action, Lose No Time in Availing Yourself of the Special Introductory Offer--25¢ for 3 Months!

# What Is This War All About?

By SUSAN GREEN

There are no two ways about it now. WE ARE IN! Peace-loving President Roosevelt, who got his third term on

the false promise to keep America out of the war, has stealthily followed in the footsteps of that other peace-loving president who got his second term on a similar broken pledge.

The First World War was also being fought for "great ideals." But when it was all over and the little white crosses stood in mass in France and the hospitals were jammed with the remnants of human beings, Mr. Wilson dropped the filmsy veils of morality in which he had wrapped himself. In a famous postwar speech he matter-of-factly declared: "Is there a man or a woman-let me say, is there a child-who does not know that the seeds of war in the modern world are INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL RIVALRY!"

IN EFFECT, MR. WILSON WAS CALLING THE WORKING PEOPLE BIG DOPES FOR HAVING BELIEVED THE IDEAL-ISTIC AND MORALISTIC TRIPE THAT SURROUNDED THE LAST WAR.

Certainly today there is no reason why every man, woman and child of the working class, whose war-inflicted tortures are just beginning, should not know what's what about this war. They do not have to wait for a post-war "revelation" from Mr. Roosevelt who-when the present inferno is extinguished and the world and its peoples have been reduced to ashes and skeletons-may smilingly, and as if in passing, also state that "the seeds of war in the modern world are industrial and commercial rivalry." Didn't you know? My! My!

BUT WHY WAIT TO BE CALLED BIG DOPES A SECOND

For a score of years tons of literature have been turned out telling the inside story of the last imperialist war. Not only so-

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

press-crammed from cover to cover with articles of the

Russo-German war, including in it an estimate of the

domestic repercussions as well as its relation to the

ican labor movement, defining trends within it, and ana-

The new issue of The New International is now off the

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The discussion of the Russian question is continued

Albert Gates reviews James Burnham's "Managerial

Revolution." In this first section of a lengthy review

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cusses the nature of capitalism and fascism in the light

Also in the book review section, Frank Demby dis-

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World Imperialist War.

lyzing its present position.

of the problems raised by the war.

fore and after the revolution.

cialists and liberals, but conservative economists and even generals, have contributed to the mountain of proof that economic power was at stake in the last war-not democracy against barbarism

Not only does the unforgettable lesson of the last war stare the working class in the face. But daily comes proof that the Second World War is not one whit more justified from their point of view than the first. Out of the bag made of fine "moral issues," the black cat of economic warfare jumps out so that everyone with eyes may see it.

A whole issue of LABOR ACTION could be filled with proof that this is a war for economic domination of the world between the imperialists of the Axis on the one hand and the imperialists of the Allies on the other. But only a little of this proof can here be given.

For instance, when John Cudahy, ex-ambassador to Belgium, interviewed Hitler, a major part of the interview was around the question of markets, colonies, trade—the matters nearest the hearts and the pockets of American and German imperialists alike. German competition in the markets of South America and American exclusion from those of Southeastern Europe were discussed between Hitler and the emissary of American imperialism. The use of gold in international commerce was another subject they talked about.

Thus, while the blood of German soldiers was flowing for "a pure nordic race" and the blood of British soldiers was flowing for "a pure democracy," the head of German imperialism and a representative of American imperialism talked in the language international horse dealers.

When the German blitz was thundering over the Balkans, the American stock market was hanging onto the ledge, about to take a downward plunge. Wall Street was wringing its hands and cracking its knuckles-but not over the calamity that totalitarianism was spreading over Europe. WALL STREET WAS FRANTIC OVER THE LOSS OF THE WHOLE EUROPEAN MARKET IF HITLER DOMINATES THE CONTINENT!

Wall Street had such a bad case of funk that Bernard M. Baruch, formerly on the idealist Wilson's War Industries Board, and now war consultant for the moralist Roosevelt, gave a special interview to the Wall Street Journal in which he patted the financiers on the back and told them to take it easy. "There is no reason why we can't undersell them (the Germans) in important mass-production products provided we maintain a low price structure," he said. He went straight to the point: MAR-

Not a word did he utter about saving democracy. WALL STREET KNOWS THE FACTS OF WAR!

Ernest Hemingway, well-informed, world-travelled and noted writer, reporting from far-off Rangoon, bluntly stated that "we must distinguish between the pretexts for the war we are arming for out here and the basic causes. He continued: "If we fight Japan, the pretext for fighting will be that Japan has attacked the Philippines, or the Dutch East Indies, or British Malaya. But the real reason for fighting Japan will be that if she moves south in the Pacific she will be attacking the control of the world supply of rubber."

Mr. Wilson's words are very obviously as true today as they were twenty years ago. The only difference is that in 1941 the industrial and commercial rivalry is immeasurably more intense and therefore the war has encompassed the whole globe.

There are many thousands of workers who did learn the costly lesson of the last war. Many worker-soldiers swore they would never go to fight an imperialist war again. They vowed that if guns were put into their hands, they would know which way to shoot-AND IT WOULD NOT BE AT FELLOW WORK-ERS OF OTHER LANDS!

But today—while opposed to entry into the war and resentful of Roosevelt's dictatorial methods-many workers are a bit confused about the issues. The war propaganda is so clever!

Because the German imperialists have instituted a dictatorship more efficient and cruel than anything heretofore known, their British and American rivals have raised the false moral issue: Democracy against Hitlerism-freedom against totali-

At the same time, while wearing the false front of moral righteousness, the "democrats" themselves are-bit by bit and on cushioned feet-instituting their own war dictatorships and totalitarian regimes BECAUSE WITHOUT SUCH REGIMES THIS SUPER-COLOSSAL WAR CANNOT BE FOUGHT.

This is a matter of methods-not issues. The working people will be the victims of both the war and the totalitarian methods used to fight it.

But the issues of this war remain the same as the issues of all imperialist wars: The protection and extension of markets -the grabbing of colonies for raw materials and for the investment of the profits fleeced from labor-the re-division of the world by the competing imperialists!

TO FIGHT FOR THESE ISSUES IS AGAINST THE INTER-ESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WORLD!

TO THEM, SALVATION LIES IN A WORLD OF SOCIAL-IST STATES, PRODUCING FOR HUMAN USE AND PEACE-FULLY EXCHANGING THEIR PRODUCTS ACCORDING TO HUMAN NEEDS.

### One Veteran's Story

(As Told to JIMMIE LITTLE)

My people came to this country when I was five years old. They came here from Italy to work in the mines. They were anxious to become citizens and as fast as possible did so.

I was seventeen at the outbreak of the war with Germany in 1917. I volunteered because it seemed a fine thing to fight for democracy. I was very lucky in that I was only slightly injured during the entire war and that near the end. I did not receive my discharge from the hospital and the army until in December, 1918. When I asked permission to go to Italy to visit some relatives it was cheerfully given me and I was told, since I had been a good soldier, to take as long as I pleased.

Imagine my surprise when I returned to Paris to find it was not such a simple matter. While in Italy I had met a girl who became my wife. I left her to come back home and earn money to bring her over here also. In Paris I was told at the American consulate that since I was not born in the United States I could not reenter unless I further proved my loyalty by joining the American Legion Post No. 1 which was then just established in Paris. It cost me 320 francs to join and each year I had to send back 120 francs for dues to Paris until June, 1926, when I was told it would be cheaper to transfer to a post in ... pay my dues there. I don't get much work during these years and the little money I get goes to take care of my wife and small child and buy off the American Legion. So I could never get enough money together to bring her over or to save any

In 1935 I was out of work, couldn't get a job at all. I went to the Legion Post to see them as somebody told me they helped veterans too. I was given a meal ticket and a place to sleep for a week and gruffly told not to come around again as "this is no hangout for bums." Me, I never pay dues no more.

I was in the CCC a couple years and last year I get a job in a big factory. They had one of the freight elevators which you raise and lower by pulling ropes. Something went wrong and it broke my wrist. They were very nice about it, though. I have had two operations on it and now I can use my fingers even though I can't bend my wrist. I have been getting \$7.00 a week since I was hurt but they are going to stop that now. They say I can still get in the CCC even with only one good arm. My boss says he can't use me any more. Oh yes, my wife and baby are still in Italy. My getting hurt

didn't affect them any though because the postoffice hasn't let me send them any money for a long time now. Maybe after the war is over they can come over to see me. But, say, what are they fighting for this time?

# ture. They have framed good union militants who disagreed with the Sta-

(Continued from page 1)

officials of the SWP, all of them charged with being members of the SWP and with conspiring to overthrow the government "by force."

The government also charges that "members planned to, and did, organize labor defense guards which operated in military units in which they were taught the use of firearms and that they planned and did obtain explosives and ammunitions to carry out planned revolution." This week's Industrial Organizer—the new name of Local 544's paper, the best trade union paper in the country-challenges the ridiculousness of this charge by quoting the findings of Judge Paul S. Carroll in the first 544 fink suit:

'On or about September, 1938, a so-called 'defense guard' was organized. This consisted of certain members of the union being organized into various divisions headed by captains. According to the union's position, these so-called 'defense guards' were organized to meet the threat of Silver Shirt leaders and other anti-labor gangsters and to defend armed raids against union halls. It was not shown that these men were ever armed or did other than general policing at their picnics and things of that sort. Upon the record presented to this court, the so-called 'defense guard' is not shown to have amounted to anything of a serious nature."

Thus, the charge didn't work the last time it was tried . . . but any old port in a storm.

#### EVEN JINGO RED-BAITERS SEE THE FLIMSINESS

So utterly flimsy are the charges that even the rabidly red-baiting New Leader and the hysterically jingo New York Post were forced, each in its own slimy way, to deplore the indictments. The New Leader, hewing true to form, complained that the government's red-baiting was turned in the wrong direction, that the government ought to go after the Communist Party. Filled as it was with typical New Leader trash, the editorial asked Roosevelt for an explanation. So, too, the New York Post, which protested that the SWP was too insignificant to bother about and that the government had best lay off. (It also mocked the precarious financial position of The Militant, official organ of the SWP, without referring to its own periodic excursions to the brink of bankruptcy-saved each time from a permanent "morgue" by some good "angel.")

The New Leader and the Post (but especially the former) would like nothing better than to put revolutionary socialists such as the SWPers are -the Stalinists most certainly not-behind bars. But this particular attempt was far too rotten and too raw even for their reactionary stomachs.

#### LABOR MUST DEFEND LOCAL 544 AND THE SWP

That these two jingo outfits have indicated their displeasure means considerably less than nothing; it is merely significant. What is infinitely more significant, however, is the organized resistance of labor through the CIO. The defense of the union militants is in any case assured by the CIO stand. But it is not enough to come to the aid of the unionists. LABOR MUST DEFEND THE SWP AS WELL. Its case is the case of labor. As it happens, the government is striking at the SWP primarily as a way of

"Poked Fun at British Flag. Harvard Professor's Wife Loses Divorce Suit."-Boston Post.

One more proof for the New Leader crowd that you can't get freedom and justice unless you are patriotic.

ward."-La Hora, Argentine CP daily, June 27, 1941. "World Imperialism Uses Hitler to Attack the USSR."-La Hora, Argen-

tine CP daily, June 29, 1941.

"Hitler's Heroic Army Moves On-

Our apologies to the Communist Party of Argentina. We have often insisted that the American section was the most nimble of Joe's border patrols. Our error.

"Believe it or not, our news organ is now printed by an establishment employing 14 factory employees who are divided into seven different unions."-UER&MWA, Local 201 (CIO).

Not so loud, some of the workers in the same craft may be working on later models of the same machine. If an AFL bureaucraft hears about it you may have 14 unions.

PERSECUTED MEN!

### MISCELLANEOUS Labor Shuns Pro-War Rally Manhattan Center Filled by Willkie Boosters NEW YORK CITY - The majority

of those who gathered Thursday at Manhattan Center, in what was widely advertised and heralded by the warmongers as a pro-war "unity rally" of the AFL and CIO-with Wall Street's defeated presidential candidate as chairman - were not trade unionists or their sympathizers. When labor-betrayer Sidney Hillman -in an effort to show he is still on the side of labor-referred to the new agreement between the CIO and

There isn't a labor audience anywhere in the United States that is not willing to get callouses on its hands applauding every mention of the triumph of the CIO over Ford, Bethlehem and the other bourbons of American industry. When an audience does not applaud the mention of the CIO victory over these die-hard profit fleecers, that audience is not a labor audience.

Ford, the applause was very thin

and scattered.

getting at the union. That makes labor's interests in the case particularly

clear. But even were the government prosecuting the SWP leaders for any

other cause, it would still be part of a general campaign to crack the inde-

pendence of labor, to subjugate it under the totalitarian heel of war rule.

Whatever the cause of the attack, it is always the duty of every working

man and woman to rally behind persecuted members and parties of their

and calls upon all labor to rally to the defense of the indicted militants.

Local 544 made Minneapolis a union town. WE CAN HELP LOCAL 544

KEEP IT THAT WAY BY TURNING OUT IN ALL-OUT AID FOR THE

Again the Workers Party extends its warmest solidarity to the accused

The mere fact that Manhattan Center, which seats only some 5,000, was procured by the "Labor Division" of the New York Committee to Defend America and Fight for Freedom, Inc., for this so-called national unity rally, and not Madison Square Garden, which seats 22,000, also means something. The warmongering labor fakers who have gone over to the side of the American imperialists, realize only too

well that labor is not ready to be "rallied" into the whirlpool of bloody imperialist war. As was only recently demonstrated when the Transport Workers Union organized a mass meeting in support of its demand for collective bargaining for the subway workers, a LABOR turnout in New York City can easily cram the Garden and overflow by the thousands onto the neighboring streets. But all the pro-war "ralliers" could hope for was a peanut audience of 5.000.

Furthermore, in order to get even this small number, many entertainment inducements were offered. Starting with a block party and folk dancing in costume, the audience was beguiled with singing by opera star Gladys Swarthout, a speech by screen star Burgess Meredith, a Negro quartet, a comedian and others. When labor rallies in its own cause it does not have to be lured by highpressure entertainment of this kind.

The fact is that Willkie followers were predominant in the audience. No matter what he said or how he said it, the audience went wild. It was a Willkie rally-not a labor rally

Labor in New York City was voting against entering the war with its feet-by not going to this pro-war rally arranged to serve the interests of the enemies of labor.

### News from the Third Camp

The Welsh Miners Federation has instructed its executive to start negotiations for a new wage agreement on the termination of the present agreement in September.

The Welsh miners are demanding an increase of about \$5.00 a week, establishment of a national board for the control of the industry and the closed shop.

Fifty thousand French miners in the Douai and Lens areas have struck as a protest against the refusal of the Nazis to increase wages.

The strike is spreading to other industries. In Unoccupied France, miners at St. Etienne have decided

We Demand: A Capital Levy on Wealth To Pay for ALL War Appropriations! to slow down production as a protest.

## Editorials

#### **OUR PROGRAM AGAINST** THE WAR

- 1. Against both imperialist war camps! For the third camp of World Labor 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 dictator-
- 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
- 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
- 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 Federa-

### Jim-Crow Is Still **National Policy**

Four weeks after the calling off of the Negro March on Washington and the issuance of a so-called anti-discrimination order by Roosevelt, the exclusion of Negro workers from the war industries is still na-

It will be remembered that A. Philip Randolph and Walter White won a great victory in the White House that, according to them, made the Washington march unnecessary. Roosevelt issued an order and henceforth Negroes would be employed in the "defense" industries. Well, nothing of the kind has happened. True, one or two companies have employed a few Negroes, but the old Jim-Crow policy is still rampant. We knew that at the time the march was called off; we knew that employers were not going to be unduly disturbed by a mild presidential "order."

#### Jobs Disappear When Negroes Apply

Reports from all over the country demonstrate that they are not disturbed. The big employers with billions in war orders from the federal government go their way telling Negroes that "'We don't employ Negroes." One company is reported to have sent out contracts to a school to be given to high ranking students. Students to whom these contracts were given were told that they had jobs. One was given to a young Negro student. When he showed up at the plant he was told very bluntly that Negroes would not be employed. A Negro was certified to the Boston Navy Yard and was told that the job was ready for him. When he reported and they saw that he was a Negro, the job disappeared and has not been heard of since.

This is the usual story. Negroes are still applying for jobs and being refused. Jim-Crow still reigns, not only in industry but in the federal government. At a certain camp a white private asked his captain if he should salute Negro officers. The officer replied that he always tried to get out of it if he could, and that he only saluted Negro officers if there was no way out.

Perhaps just ordinary Negroes are thinking a great deal today about why the March on Washington was called off. They have seen four weeks go by and no improvement in the conditions that the march was called to correct. We can tell them right now that if they expect any improvement without mass militant action they will be sadly disappointed. When Roosevelt, Mrs. Roosevelt, Knox and the rest insisted

on having the march called off, they knew exactly what they were doing. They were making it possible for the big employers not to be embarrassed by having to give jobs to Negroes. Also, they were protecting themselves from exposure for their Jim-Crow practices in the federal government.

We hope that some day Negro workers will learn that the only way they can get redress for their grievances is by organized mass pressure. We hope too that they will learn not to place their trust and confidence in Negro leaders who are so tied up with the Jim-Crow government and Jim-Crow white business men that it is impossible for these Negro leaders to be anything more than lackeys.

Should Negroes decide on another March on Washington-AND THEY SHOULDwe hope that they will select Negroes to lead them who are ready and willing to make sacrifices, who are not afraid to lose a meal or two, and who will not cringe before any man, even the President of the United States. The disorganizers of the March on Washington were not men of this type.

### **Draft Extension--**

(Continued from page 1)

draftees are manifesting their disgust and opposition in a thousand different ways. Many threaten to "go over the hill" when JAPANESE DILEMMA the year is up. IN FACT MANY ARE DOING THAT RIGHT ALONG.

Ordinarily, a skillful politician, such as Roosevelt is, would go easy in the face of this sentiment. He would try a more palatable scheme which might take longer, be more devious, but would eventually accomplish his end anyway. Remember how he spoke against sending men overseas until he was actually ready to send them over-

"Shooting war" is much too close to allow for the usual smiling hypocrisy. Roosevelt has already declared an "unlimited emergency." Evidently that is no longer adequate. He now wants CONGRESS to LEGISLATE a state of emergency.

We're against it. Not because it is a breach of promise. (All the promises that the bosses ever gave labor are equal in weight to a scrap of paper.) We're against it because it is part of the bosses' war.

Under an emergency Roosevelt will be able to go farther than he already has in cracking strikes—AND HE'S GONE FAR EONUGH. Under an emergency the last steps toward TOTAL (shooting) involvealthough the absence of a congressional decree will hardly deter him. THE NAVY IS RIGHT NOW PREPARING FOR AC-TION-IT MAY ALREADY HAVE EN-GAGED IN ACTION.

Under a draft extension, the conscripts will be compelled to stay in the service of the bosses' army. They will be the first detachments, to lose their lives so that Wall Street can rule the world.

The people of this country haven't got a blessed thing to gain out of boss war. Not democracy — that fancy phrase which means exactly nothing in the mouth of an imperialist politician. Not security - witness the thousands being thrown off WPA; think of the future when the war boom is ended and unemployment once again stalks the country in numbers never seen before. Not health or happiness-rather broken lives and untold misery.

Yes, the profiteers, THEY have a lot to gain. They have a world to gain-or that part of it which they do not already own.

WE, TOO, HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN. But not in the bosses' army, nor in the bosses' war. Our world will be built by the international solidarity of the working peoples against the tyrants and war breeders -a world of international brotherhood, founded on human needs and not on hu-

We are not isolationists. We are internationalists in the truest working class sense. Our loyalties include every member of our class, be he Chinese, Indian, or Slav. They do not include a single member of the

We are therefore against the boss war. We are against any part of that war and any part of its preparation!

AGAINST AN EMERGENCY DECREE! AGAINST THE DRAFT EXTENSION!

For Labor Action— Join the Workers Party THE WORLD AT WAR \_\_\_\_\_

### Reorganization of Nippon Cabinet Presages Japanese War Move Against Russia

By MAX STERLING

One of the by-products of the Russo German war is the fall of the Matsuoka-Konoye cabinet in Japan. This cabinet was replaced by another which Prince Konoye continues to head, but which is minus Matsuoka and four other ministers. Three of these represented the now defunct political parties supposedly tinged with parliamentary liberalism. The new cabinet is smaller, since only three additions were made to take care of the five dropped. Aside from the dropping of Matsuoka and the politicians, the cabinet remains substantially the same as before. With its concentration of generals and admirals, however, the military clique is, if anything, stronger in the new

The fall of Matsuoka and the new program adopted by the recent Imperial Conference have held the attention of the world. What will be the new course of Tokyo? This is what everybody is wondering about. In Washington the opinion seems to be that Japan will free itself more from the Axis and will follow a more "independent" course. They expect that Japan will adopt a more conciliatory attitude toward the "democracies." In London a much more gloomy view is held. There they say that the composition of the new Japanese cabinet presages some new war-like action.

Whatever one may say of these contradictory opinions in the camp of the "democracies," the fall of Matsuoka was, in any case, inevitable. As the negotiator of the pacts with both Hitler and Stalin his position, with the outbreak of the German-Russian war, was, to say the least, anomalous. It was not only a question of losing face, which in itself is intolerable for a Japanese. What is more important is the dilemma; what shall be the orientation of Tokyo -toward Moscow or toward Berlin?

From the point of view of Japan's aims in the Far East there can, of course, be only one answer. Since Russia is today and, one can say, for the "duration," in the camp of the "democracies," any orientation toward Moscow means also a coming to terms with Great Britain and the United States. It is precisely here that no basis for collaboration exists. One can truthfully say that the interests of Japan and especially the United States in the Far East are mutually exclusive, that they are indeed worlds apart. America will concede nothing to Japan in either China or the South Pacific, nor can Japan renounce her ten year long attempts to establish her "co-prosperity sphere" in the Far East.

The fact is that only a Hitler victory over the "democracies" will give ambitions in the Pacific. Distasteful as an all-powerful Germany may be, the Japanese statesmen bank on their remoteness from Europe to carve out their own empire in the Far East. They hope that the break-up of the British Empire and the defeat of American imperialism will keep Hitler preoccupied for a long time organizing his new order in Europe, the Near East and Africa. For themselves they expect to garner the Pacific fruits of this breakup. This they think can be accomplished the more so as a victorious Germany will for some years lack the seapower that will make her a menace to Japan in the Far East.

From these considerations it can be seen that Tokyo must continue to tie 'its fate to the war machine of Hitler. Consequently the reports of Japanese troop and naval movements which are keeping everybody guessing must be interpreted as moves directed against Russia and her "democratic" allies. Since there are reports that Japan is one day moving south and the next day Japan is moving north, different opinions exist in regard to whether it is Singapore or Siberia that will be attacked by the

#### HER OBJECTIVES

In reality these moves south and north are not at all contradictory. We doubt very much that Japan intends at the present time to attack Singapore. At the moment Hitler is not busy with Great Britain and the United States. The forces of these

two countries can be employed to the maximum in the Pacific. Even if Hitler wanted Japan to take on Great Britain and the United States now the Japanese would be shrewd enough to decline politely. They know better than to court disaster by striking at what would be for them an inopportune moment.

Right now it is Russia that is the easiest mark for Japan. Naturally, even here the Japanese will in all probability wait until they can mobilize a force superior to that which the Russians have deployed on the Siberian frontiers. As Japanese man power is at a premium right now, this opportunity may come only with a collapse of the Red Army. If Hitler should accomplish this then Japan and Germany will take Russia as Germany and Russia took Poland. In the meantime we may assume that the Japanese moves to the north are in anticipation of this eventuality.

For the same reasons also the Japanese are moving south. There the move is primarily defensive. The purpose is to secure positions from which to keep at bay the naval and aerial forces of Great Britain and the United States should they want to come to the aid of Russia when she is attacked by Japan. If the latter can take over Indo-China and Thailand her defensive position will be greatly augmented. From there also the Japanese hope to check the Chinese, since this is also necessary if the Japanese should be compelled, in the course of the struggle, to find that she must fall back on her reserves of manpower. After the victory over Russia, Indo-China and Thailand can be used as jumping-off places for an attack on Singapore. 'But this of course is something for the future.

It is possible that the attempts to occupy Indo-China and Thailand and the attack on Russia will involve Japan in a war with England and America. That is naturally the risk that Japan takes, and it is for this reason that she is moving cautiously, one step at a time. The new Japanese cabinet attempts to hide its bellicosity as much as possible. They may even try to give the impression of freeing themselves from the Axis and of a new "understanding" with the "democracies." However, this is only calculated to take them by surprise so that she can achieve her aims before they can counter effectively. In the case of the United States, the Japanese may be hoping that with swift action they will achieve their purpose before Roosevelt can effectively mobilize public opinion for a war with Japan.

As a matter of fact it is surprising that Roosevelt has not yet sounded loudly the war gongs in regard to Japanese "menace." However, one can be sure that he will do so with redoubled vigor as soon as he is certain of the Japanese course. Perhaps they really believe in Washington that Japanese imperialism is going to knuckle down to American imperialism. However that may be, the military preparations are certainly not slowing down. The draftees are finding that out. There can hardly be any illusions among them that Congress will not heed Roosevelt's plea to keep them in the army and forget that they ever had a home.

### Just in Case The Cost of Living Rises

Special to Labor Action LYNN, Mass.-Short term contracts between bosses and unions are on the order of the day, considering that the cost of living is rising so rapidly. But the best one we've heard of yet is the agreement recently signed by the United Food Workers Union of Lynn (CIO) and Ansell's Hofbrau. It is only a SIX MONTH agreement and the union may open the agreement any thirty days, as often as it wishes, for wage increases. This new agreement succeeds a previous six month agreement. Under the new agreement the waitresses, second cooks, cellar help and head waitress are to receive a \$3.00 a week increase and the dishwashers, countermen, bortenders, cashiers, grill men and chefs a \$2.00 a week increase.

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STATE

NAME ... ADDRESS. **Navy Discharges** 28 Machinists Who Protested Strikebreaking

Special to Labor Action

SAN FRANCISCO-As an aftermath of the militant Bay Area, machinists' strike, 28 machinists, shipfitters and welders were "dishonorably" discharged from the Navy Shipyard at Mare Island during the week of July 4. Rear Admiral John Greenslade, commandant of the 12th Naval District, famous for his strike-breaking efforts in the seven weeks machinists' strike informed the 28 skilled craftsmen that "You are hereby discharged for cause, with prejudice. Services unsatisfactory."

In a public statement explaining the purge, Greenslade evaded direct charges against the men by stating that none of the 28 were accused of anything at all and that their discharges were purely precautionary measures. In fact, said the Navy, the men had not even committed a misdemeanor and would not be blacklisted in any sense of the word, though they would be barred from other vital defense projects. But the men who have worked at Mare Island ten to twenty years know that such a discharge on their employments records is tantamount to being blacklisted from their industry.

The manner in which the men were purged brought condemnation from Bay Area union leaders. In all cases the men were marched off the job by leadermen (assistant foremen) who probably for the first time in their lives carried large pistols on holster belts as part of their job. In the case of one employee who had been working for the Navy at Mare Island for the past thirteen years and had occupied the same bench for the last ten years, he was sought by his leaderman for three hours. This leaderman, short in stature, was dragging behind him a tremendous pistol which almost reached the dirt. He went around the whole shop asking every one where this worker was at the moment in an obvious effort to intimidate the other workers with the menace of his uniform and his pistol. The men could have been discharged at the end of the shift, but the admiral chose instead an obvious demonstration intended to intimidate and cow the other workers.

The 28 who were discharged had openly protested Admiral Greenslade's threat to break the strike by sending Navy Yard machinists to scab at the private shipyards. Greenslade therefore retaliated with a precautionary discharge of the 28 who were unofficially accused in the newspapers of being subversive.

The 28 were informed that they can appeal to the commandant (John W. Greenslade) for a hearing. The case is being fought by the Mare Island Workers Committee for Reinstatement (United Federal Workers of America. A leaflet has been distributed to their fellow workers at Mare Island asking for support in forcing the Navy to file specific charges, and in getting the 28 rein-

### For Tax-Free Cigarettes For Draftees

-AN EDITORIAL-

#### LABOR ACTION proposes tax-free cigarettes for draftees.

Does that sound like small potatoes to you? Look at it from the point of view of the draftee. On the \$21 a month the men get as a "wage," they now pay anywhere from 15 to 17 cents and up for a pack of cigarettes — depending on the size of the state's taxes. That takes a healthy slice out of a pittance which is sufficiently miserable.

The cost of production of cigarettes is so low that even allowing (just for the sake of argument) for the profit made by the manufacturer and the chain of middlemen, a pack of cigarettes could be sold for about seven cents. Six or seven cents is what sailors pay. Why, then, should draftees be compelled to pay at the full civilian price?

Think of it. Here are a bunch of men who have been forced into the army. They have had to guit jobs, leave their homes and so forth. On top of that, to soak them with taxes so that the rich needn't cough up all that they should — that's more than a scandal.

Let's therefore take up the slogan, spread it around, make

TAX-FREE CIGARETTES FOR THE CONSCRIPTS.

THE NEGRO'S FIGHT-We Must Force

# The Job Issue By Mass Action

By J. R. JOHNSON \_

The farce of Roosevelt's executive order has now gone into Act 2. Everybody is playing his part. First of all, the OPM, the Office of Production Management itself. The Pittsburgh Courier of July 19 reports that rumors are running all over Washington about Sidney Hillman's plan to sabotage the Negro struggle. Hillman wants to load down the committee with "subservient labor leaders, stooges of national insignificance, who will smother investigations and stall on remedial measures, thus perpetuating the OPM's 'do-nothing' policy on defense discrimination." This is the rumor in Washington. We never needed rumors in Washington to know that this is exactly what is going to happen. It has happened for 75 years, since the Proclamation of Emancipation. Why should it stop suddenly because of an executive order?

Now the Pittsburgh Courier gets mad. It says We warn the President and Mr. Hillman that unless a strong, courageous, active committee of nationally prominent and liberal persons in whom American Negroes have confidence is appointed, the high enthusiasm and morale engendered by the President's order will be destroyed." Heaven above us! What nonsense is this! The Courier actually thinks that it is the President's order which engendered high enthusiasm and morale. Exactly the opposite is the truth. The President's order was designed to kill enthusiasm and morale. It came when it did and how it did for one purpose, to break the march on Washington. The independent action of the Negroes would have raised enthusiasm and morale to the highest pitch. Any school teacher will tell you that in train-

ing children the best way is to encourage them to do things and find out things for themselves. The wrong way is to do it for them or tell them everything. Socialism teaches that the working class is fully able to run society today. It needs, however, confidence in itself. This confidence it must gain in action. If the Negroes had carried through the march successfully, Roosevelt and the OPM would have been on the spot before the Negroes, before the world nation and before the whole world. That is why Roosevelt called on Eleanor, La Guardia, Stimson, Knox, Hillman and Knudsen to help him break up the march. He wanted to kill the enthusiasm and morale of the Negroes. He wanted to substitute the old attitude of hanging around and waiting, of long investigations, of committees that talk much and do nothing, of making the Negro people think that the President is their friend, but the committees are slow. He wanted to give the Negroes the good old run-around. And now that Sidney Hillman starts doing exactly what the President intended him to do, the Courier rages about the high enthusiasm which the committee will destroy. Here is an elementary lesson in politics. Roose-

velt wants to keep the Negroes quiet. He mobilizes all the force he has at his command to prevent them from marching. Now who can believe Roosevelt and Hillman will appoint a committee which will fight for Negro rights? Can't the Courier understand this? Roosevelt does not want to start any struggle over the Negroes. For one thing, his chief support is in the South. The South does not want federal interference in its enslavement of the Negro. Roosevelt is the last man to start any serious action on behalf of the masses of Negroes. Even in the North and East Roosevelt's chief aim is to keep the peace between the workers and the capitalists. He wants "order" and high production. You get "order" and high production today in one way only. By making the workers submit to the bosses. That is why Roosevelt broke the strike at North American with federal troops. How can this same Roosevelt be expected to start serious action against the capitalists about employing Negroes? He will take serious action to prevent the Negroes bothering him and the capitalist class. That action he has taken. It is the breaking up of the march, the fraud of the executive order, and now Hillman, Roosevelt's stooge, is preparing this phony committee. We want to restore the enthusiasm and the

morale. But the Courier is looking for them in the wrong place. The place to look is among the Negroes. The way to create it is by independent organization among the Negroes. The slaves did not wait until the Civil War began. For a generation before, they were taking direct action-they were running away, in the big organized movement of the Underground Railroad. Their independent action forced the issue. That is what we must do today. Force the issue by independent organization. The emancipation of the Negroes will be the act of the Negroes themselves, not of executive orders.

LABOR ACTION 114 W. 14th Street **New York City** 

Dear Friends:

I am interested in learning more about the Workers Party and its fight against the bosses' war plans.

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