

## For a United Front Defense Of the Indicted Militants Of Local 544 and the SWP

AN EDITORIAL

Every working class organization alive to the interests of the labor movement has been quick to see the importance of the indictment of the 29 militants, members of famous Local 544 of the Socialist Workers Party, in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Because they have been in the front lines of the fight for the workers, because they have refused to become part of the war machine of Knudsen, Roosevelt and Hillman, that machine has decided to try to put them out of commission—at least "for the duration." The clever idea of the warmongers and labor reactionaries like Dan Tobin is to get these militants out of the way in order to make it easier to harness and blindfold all other workers during the war.

The defense of the 29 is therefore the job of every worker and every labor organization, regardless of whether or not they agree with the political views of the indicted. For if we let the reactionaries cut these men down today, it will be easier to cut us all down tomorrow.

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party have declared their solidarity with the indicted from the very beginning and have urged all workers to do likewise. The Workers Party weeks ago communicated with the SWP, offering its cooperation in the defense of the 29 in any feasible form that might be decided. After some time the national secretary of the WP has received the following communication from Albert Goldman of the SWP:

"Kindly excuse the delay in replying to your letter of the 1st of July, in which you indicate your complete solidarity with those of our members who have been indicted on seditious conspiracy charges. We appreciate your offer of help.

"You will in the near future receive information about the organization of a defense committee."

Although we have had no further word, this is a welcome letter, which encourages the hope that the necessary step will be taken without further delay to broaden the basis of the defense so that all those seriously interested in arousing the labor movement in behalf of the indicted may have the opportunity of joining their efforts and their resources. It goes without saying that everything is to be gained by such a course, which is in the best tradition of the united front for labor defense, and very little to be gained by a procedure which makes the defense movement narrow and exclusive. The harmful experience of the CP is too instructive, precisely in this field, to be ignored.

The defense committee, whose formation has recently been announced, while undoubtedly representative of the indicted, does not, however, appear to be more inclusive and broadly based. We believe that the expansion of its basis to include all groups pledged to active support of the defense, is urgently indicated. It cannot be delayed too long.

### THE WORLD AT WAR

## Assured of a Place in Post-War World, Stalin Acclaims Roosevelt-Churchill Program

By MAX STERLING

The eight points formulated by Churchill and Roosevelt on the high seas were immediately acclaimed in Moscow as a "united front of peoples standing for freedom and against enslavement and the threat of enslavement by Hitler's fascist armies." Izvestia said it was a declaration of "tremendous international political significance" and Pravda declared that it would meet with the "liveliest satisfaction of the freedom loving nations."

Equal enthusiasm was accorded to Churchill and Roosevelt's proposal for a meeting with the Russians of high British and American representatives. This offer of Anglo-American imperialism to take the road to Moscow was greeted by Stalin, according to Tass, with "cordial gratitude." Tass said that Stalin conveyed his "cordial gratitude" to Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill for their readiness to render aid to the Soviet in its war against Germany and said he was ready to take "every measure in order that this conference be held as soon as possible."

Such unreserved enthusiasm for the war aims of Anglo-American imperialism and willingness to cooperate with and participate in their war plans can be interpreted in no other way than that Russia is a full partner in the Anglo-American imperialist camp of the war.

It is clear that the eight points formulated by Roosevelt and Churchill are the basis for a new Versailles. Unlike Versailles, however, it states frankly that the post-war world will be shaped by England and America. To be sure, the United States will have most to say about that. For, without even being in the "shooting

war," it really dominates its conduct.

The "idealistic" Wilson first expounded his 14 points on January 8, 1918, before a joint session of Congress. There is no doubt that Wilson's promises to a war-weary world for a lasting peace based on universal disarmament, free access to all nations to the world's raw materials, markets and trade, for democracy and the self-determination of all the peoples and for a League of Nations based of equality, were, in their day, effective propaganda for peace. The same cannot be said about the eight points of Churchill and Roosevelt. The latter's promises are much vaguer and through all of them the clear aim is espoused of crushing the "have-not" aspirants for a new redivision of the world, of disarming only them and of rendering them helpless in the post-war world.

At Versailles, Wilson's 14 points, no longer useful with the end of the war, were openly scoffed at and ridiculed by the victorious cynics. Clemenceau, whose hands were still dripping with blood, is reported to have remarked upon Wilson's arrival at the peace conference with his 14 points: "Here comes Mr. Wilson with his 14 points. What a man! Why, even God had only ten."

This was the way in which the 14 points were greeted before Versailles. Now, 22 years after that monstrous experience, which made a mockery out of the "idealistic" propaganda of the Allies, we are to assume that eight points of avowed war aims are to have any effect on the belligerent nations.

The fact is that neither Roosevelt nor Churchill expect anything of the kind. They expected the Nazis to reply as they did: "If you want to disarm us, come and get our arms if you can."

Italy and Japan also expressed themselves according to the truth that there is only one way that capitalist countries can be sure of war. (Continued on page 2)

## Washington Cop Shoots 2 Negroes

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Police brutality, served in true Southern style, ended in the killing of two Negro boys here in the nation's capital last week.

The two boys, Jasper and Edward Cobb, were parking their car behind their home when they were ordered to show their driving license to Patrolman Webber. The policeman reports that they argued with him as to the need for producing a license without cause. The boys were shot dead.

Incensed by the constant abuse of the Negroes by the police, more than 1,500 persons attended the funeral as a protest. This is the sixth case of its kind in the past few months. Following services at the church, more than 150 cars followed the bodies to the Arlington bridge at the edge of town, where a mass meeting was held. Local Negro speakers called for united action to halt police brutality against the Negro residents of Washington.

A "Committee Against Police Brutality" has been organized and plans immediate action.

The policeman was freed by a coroner's jury.

# LABOR ACTION

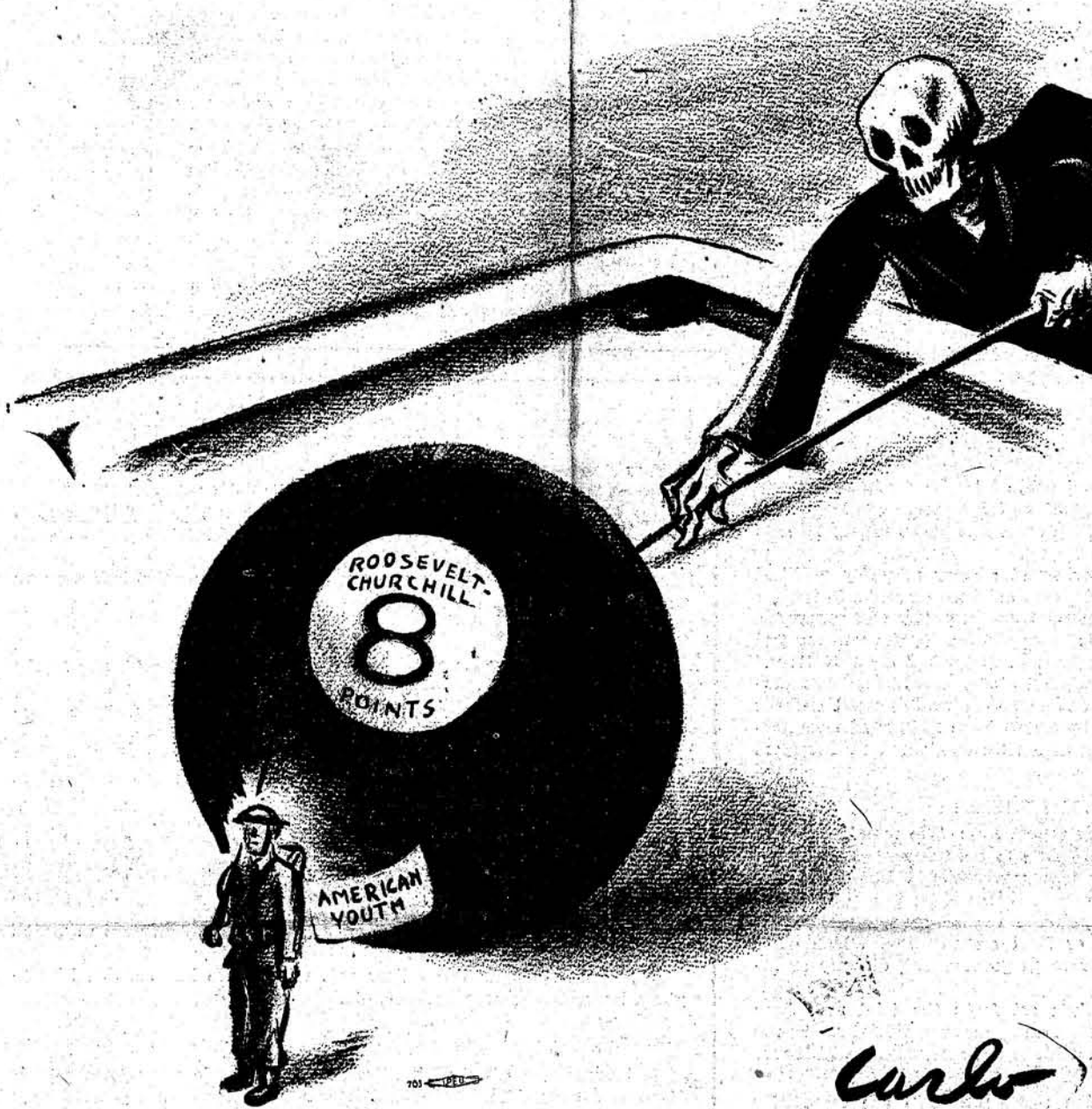
AUGUST 25, 1941

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

THREE CENTS

# ROOSEVELT-CHURCHILL PLOT IMPERIALIST WAR PROGRAM!

## Behind the Eight-Ball!



### A Lesson on "Peace" Points

## 8 Plus 14 Equals 0

By SUSAN GREEN

Not because the two great angels of peace terms were impelled by democratic motives, but for "purely military reasons," Roosevelt and Churchill issued to the people of their two countries eight vacuous points as a substitute for information about the mysterious sea conference.

These so-called peace aims of the "great democrats" were supposed to have the effect of making every mother's son grab a gun, the wheel of a tank, a parachute, or something, and go forth to battle for the beautiful new world to come after Hitler is licked.

To date, the newspapers have not reported any raids at the recruiting offices either here or in England. On the contrary, what has become very apparent is that the masses of both countries have very publicly stuck tongue in cheek. THEY HAVE THEIR DOUBTS.

### THE MEMORY OF YESTERDAY

Consciously or unconsciously, experience does impress itself on the masses. The doubts of today are based on the disillusionments of yesterday. In the memory of the masses reading the eight points of Roosevelt and Churchill linger the fourteen more idealistic points of another "champion of democracy," Woodrow Wilson. They see with their own eyes the calamity into which

Wilson's "ideals" led them.

In many respects the Roosevelt-Churchill claptrap resembles the Wilson formula—although nowhere near as precise or "attractive."

They both describe a world—after the war, of course—which will be blessed with freedom of the seas, with disarmament, with international economic cooperation instead of economic barriers, trade and colonial rivalry. Wilson's post-war paradise led to the greatest blockade of the seas, the most stupendous armaments, the most insurmountable economic barriers, the deadliest trade and colonial rivalry—in all history. And it must be noted—and given full force and effect—that all these "unidealistic" developments took place in a world in which the "barbarous hun" had been conquered and the "great democracies" were ruling the roost. WHY SHOULD ANYONE EXPECT ANYTHING DIFFERENT AFTER THIS WAR?

The reason why Wilson's points ran up to fourteen is that he took up in detail each of the nations involved in the last war: Russia, Belgium, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, the Balkan states, Turkey and Poland. All these countries were to be tucked away permanently—neatly wrapped up in their sovereignties, national rights, equal opportunities, etc.—and live happily ever (Continued on page 2)

## Against Their Eight-Point Program We Offer Our Own: Peace Through Socialism!

Two mountains labored dramatically on the high seas, and brought forth a diseased mouse.

And this monstrosity, concocted out of patent fraud and deliberate generalities, they offer to the war-weary masses of the world as a statement of aims, an inspiration to sacrifice!

How inept, how utterly flat! These eight points of imperialist drive couldn't inspire anyone but a convinced jingo to so much as lift his little finger.

Twenty years after Versailles the first, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill can't even do as well as the unlamented fourteen points of Wilson, which at least had the virtue of some concreteness and pretended idealism.

Wilson at least garbed his program in the finest raiment democratic imperialism could offer. It didn't amount to a damn, but it sounded good to those who couldn't see through the pretensions to the realities.

Read the eight points of the latter-day "democrats"—their programmatic offering to the harassed peoples of the world.

Not a word about democracy! Not a word! For, so bankrupt is the imperialist world today, it dares not even use the fancy catch-words of yesterday.

Note that carefully, you workers who have listened to the jingo propaganda of press and politician. Note it carefully, you workers who have been asked to give up jobs to serve in the army, to bend your backs in super-human toil, to die in battle—in the name of "democracy."

The "democratic" catch-phrases may be handy to suck in reluctant masses at home. But Roosevelt and Churchill had to address their program to the world, to plead for allies, to win their imperialist war. Any ruling class may therefore impose as vicious a totalitarianism on its people as it can get away with—so long as it fights in the Anglo-American front: **Submit to Anglo-American domination, says the program in effect, and we'll uphold the most flagrant tyranny.**

Yes, self-determination of nations, the right of people to choose their own government, to be independent of foreign control, is a vital democratic necessity. In the program of revolutionary socialism it is a basic tenet. But in the mouth of Roosevelt-Churchill, it is its exact opposite. Where in the program, or in any action of the two leaders of "democracy," is there indicated self-determination for the down-trodden millions in India, British Africa, Porto Rico or the Philippines?

That isn't the self-determination Roosevelt-Churchill have in mind. Theirs is a self-determination for tyrants and exploiters, for a Franco, or a Mussolini, or a Batista, granted on one condition—that they yield world power to Anglo-American, and especially American, capitalism.

That's the program, boiled down to its essence! The rest is so much meaningless tripe. Inasmuch as Roosevelt-Churchill have been silent on their war aims up to now, this then must be accepted as their one aim.

We do not doubt that Roosevelt-Churchill discussed the more concrete aspects of their program. They no doubt planned their next war moves—American entry in "shooting war," and so forth. Secrecy, however, is in the very marrow of imperialist diplomacy. Everything is planned behind the backs of the people, who must execute the plans they had no part in deciding at ghastly sacrifice of life and limb.

But without a definite statement from Roosevelt on the concrete significance of the program, one aspect of its immediate (Continued on page 2)

# UAW Convention Demonstrates Power of Industrial Unionism!

Caught Between Power Caucuses, Delegates Nevertheless Exert Independent Will to Defend the Union's Interest As They Understand It

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers Union finished its two weeks of deliberations last Saturday with the installation of the newly elected officers and international executive board members. The election of the two officers, particularly the election of the secretary-treasurer, caused quite a stir in the convention due to the fact that the incumbent, Addes, was opposed for re-election by Richard Leonard, regional director in Michigan. Leonard was the candidate of the Reuther brothers' caucus. Addes was re-elected by a vote of 1,759 to 1,307.

The elections, of course, were to be a decisive test of strength between the Reuther brothers' faction and the Stalinists. It must be said that this statement is not wholly accurate. While it is true that there were two main caucuses in the convention, the Reuther brothers' and the Stalinists', it is more correct to say that each of the main questions over which there was factional division was a test of the strength of the Reuther brothers' faction. This is the reason that the faction was attempting in a most outright manner to gain control of the international; they were irreconcilable and maintained a tight cauc-

cus on almost every important question.

The Stalinists, on the other hand, knew that they were on the spot and were forced into a bargaining position. In order to hold on at all costs in the face of their record, the attacks of the Reuther Brothers and general opposition to them, including that of Thomas, the Stalinists had to be a little cautious.

### MURRAY EVIDENTLY BACKED ADDES

The support of Leonard by the Reuther caucus was a straight out-and-out faction move. Leonard was supported by the most reactionary delegates to the convention as well as by some delegates who were convinced that it was necessary to take the most extreme steps to wipe out the Stalinists. The point that I wish to make is that virtually all the most blatant and hidebound reactionaries flocked to the Reuther banner. The majority of the delegates, however, were convinced that Addes was the best man for the post and they were motivated mainly by this consideration. This outweighed any ideas they may have had about his connection with the Stalinists. Also, they knew that Leonard was a 100 per cent Reuther faction candidate.

There is reason to believe that Addes had the support of Murray. President Thomas announced on Friday

morning that he and Addes had been in consultation with Murray by telephone and requested that the elections which had been set for Friday morning be postponed until the afternoon so that he and Addes could confer further with Murray. Thomas also reported to the convention that Alan Haywood was in Buffalo as the personal representative of Murray. This is in contradiction to a statement in the Social Democratic New Leader that Haywood was there as the personal representative of John L. Lewis. It is interesting in this connection that Thomas voted for Addes. Frankenstein also voted for Addes.

### SEAT ALLIS-CHALMERS DELEGATION

The Allis-Chalmers elections were finally held and the outcome was what many of the delegates and observers expected. All of the original delegation were re-elected. There were 1,488 ballot cast. The Christoffel delegates got from 1,121 for Christoffel to 1,088 for Schemling. The highest vote for a Reuther-Nordstrom delegate was 387.

The new election was held under strict supervision of the committee of seven sent from the convention with a certified public accountant to certify the vote. The committee determined eligibility and selected the chair-

man for the nominating meeting. These were the two questions under dispute when the first committee returned after having done nothing.

When the delegates had been seated everyone thought that the Allis-Chalmers affair was ended but the Stalinists would not have it so. One of their wild men got the floor and made a motion that the convention send an apology to the "Allis-Chalmers workers" for having refused to seat the delegates. This almost threw the convention into turmoil again. Christoffel finally came to his senses and in a short speech declared that the Allis-Chalmers incident should be closed. He asked that the motion be withdrawn. It was finally expunged from the record.

### SETTLE NORTH AMERICAN DISPUTE

The North American affair was also finally concluded. This came up under a report of the grievance committee. This was quite a complicated affair. First the convention was called on to decide what to do about Michener and then to decide what to do about placing the region under an administrator. The majority report recommended that Michener be "severely censured" and barred from holding either elective or appointive office (Continued on page 2)



# UAW Convention Re-elects Addes as Secretary-Treasurer

## Though They Pass a Resolution Barring "Communists, Nazis and Fascists" from Holding Office, the Delegates Refuse to Indulge in Red-Baiting

As Leader of  
The Red Army



LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from page 1)

in the International Union or any subordinate body for the period of one year." One minority report recommended that Michener be expelled from the union, that all international representatives in the North American affair who defied the officers of the international and the CIO be prohibited from holding office for five years, to place an administrator over the region but to attempt to

### 8 Plus 14--

(Continued from page 1)

after. The result was a delayed action bomb planted in the middle of Europe, which exploded in the face of the world in 1939.

#### THE ROAD TO WARS IS PAVED

Roosevelt and Churchill do not go into all this detail. They economize on points, but not on generalities, about England and America not seeking aggrandizement, about "freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned," about restoring "the sovereign rights and self-government" to those who have been forcibly deprived of them. It is with just such high-sounding words that the everlasting road to imperialist wars has always been paved.

Let us also note, in passing, that the "great democracies" formulating thus their good intentions, did not mention such places as India, for instance, or Porto Rico, where people have been forcibly deprived of their "sovereign rights" and all that--nor did Roosevelt and Churchill even have their own oppressed colonies remotely in mind.

Two major points made by Wilson are entirely omitted from the latest edition of capitalist peace points. Remember the one about "open covenants" openly arrived at--about diplomacy proceeding "always frankly and in the public view"? During the last war the notion got around that if there had not been secret diplomacy, the war could not have taken place. Wilson was going to remedy all that and have the international robber bands always lay all their cards on the table. But Wilson's remedy, the cards, the table and everything but the robber bands, were completely lost in the imperialist shuffle of the last score of years.

#### ONE EMPTY SHELL FOR ANOTHER

So short has become the life-line of treaties and laws that it doesn't matter how they are made. Nobody takes them seriously. Not only in international politics are treaties made today and torn up tomorrow, but in national politics too. It is, for example, quite moral to replace a law conscripting young men for one year by one extending the time to two and one half years--after the conscripts are in the camps, of course.

It was very wise indeed of Roosevelt and Churchill to leave out all references to diplomacy, national or international, secret or open. Why stir up a stink?

The other important point made by Wilson and omitted by Roosevelt and Churchill pertained to "a general association of nations," which later took form in the infamous League of Nations, deceased. That deformity was in its prime the instrument through which the conquerors of the last war imposed their will on the lesser nations. Yet it was the empty shell of international democratic procedure, so to speak.

Today Roosevelt and Churchill do not want even the empty shell of international democratic procedure. Just as Hitler disposes of Parliament as senile and feeble, so do the "great democrats" dispose of all international Parliaments. They know that American and British imperialism will control the earth if they win the war. And they deliberately exclude any reference to world democracy, sanctifying in advance any regime, however horrible, provided it "plays ball."

A point that Wilson did not make which Roosevelt and Churchill found it necessary to include is: "Securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security." Wilson did not have to make this promise on January 8, 1918, when he came out with his famous fourteen points, because the masses were then not yet fully aware of the fact that they were getting nowhere out of the war.

But twenty years of crises and depressions, of unemployment and starvation, of humiliation and suffering, of being on relief and being migratory workers, have made the masses fully aware that they got nothing out of the last bloody business.

So Roosevelt and Churchill feel compelled to pat the masses on the head and say: "No, now, don't you worry your poor heads. We'll give you improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security. So there!"

But economists are already reporting that in America alone there will be twenty million--YES, TWENTY MILLION--unemployed after the war. Other economists are scratching their heads over the post-war plans for public building projects to take up all these unemployed. There will have to be an awful lot of them to give jobs to the unemployed. Such vast projects will cost oodles of money. The governments will be so deep in the red because of the war that they will have had enough budget headaches without all these fancy plans.

Visualize, if you can, the labor standards, economic adjustment and social security the workers will enjoy under post-war capitalism.

That tongue in the cheek of the doubting masses is absolutely correct.

But they have more to do than that. ROLL UP YOUR SLEEVES, WORKING PEOPLE, FOR THE JOB YOU HAVE TO DO.

You have to get rid of the robber gangs of all nations, with their Hitlers, Roosevelts, Churchills, Mussolinis, Stalins and others.

PEACE AND SOCIAL SECURITY CAN BE BORNE ONLY IN A SOCIALIST WORLD!

### No Government Contract Without a Union Contract!

LABOR ACTION  
114 W. 14th Street  
New York City

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

get the black-listed rank and file union members reinstated.

The second minority report, presented by Delegate Schuller, recommended that the position taken on the strike by Murray, Thomas and Frankenstein be upheld, that efforts be made to have the eight black-listed workers reinstated, that the cases of the international representatives who were fired be taken up by the board on their individual merits, that no administrator be appointed, that Michener be barred only from the right to be elected to the international board.

The Schuller recommendations were carried by the convention. This was the resolution that was the soundest of the three and in which an attempt was made to settle the matter by keeping the interest of the union in mind. The signers of the majority resolution were out to get Michener and had no concern for the concrete situation that developed the North American affair. The other minority resolution was a vicious faction affair that was out for blood and was determined to have it even though the entire union was disrupted. In the course of the discussion, Mortimer took the floor and made a long speech. He severely attacked Frankenstein and defended his own course, but admitted that Michener had made some mistakes.

#### DISCUSSION ON "RED" ISSUE

One other highlight of the convention was the discussion and vote on resolutions dealing with the so-called "red" issue. These resolutions were proposals to amend the constitution to bar members and followers of "subversive" organizations from holding office in the UAW. There were three proposals: the majority coming from the Reuther brothers faction, the Stalinist minority proposal and the super-minority proposal submitted by Delegate Kitzman of Local 180.

The Reuther brothers faction amendment was as follows: "No member or supporter of any organization whose loyalty to a foreign government or who supports organizations which approve of totalitarian forms of government, shall be eligible to hold elective or appointive office in the International Union or any subdivision thereof. The regular trial procedure provided for in this constitution shall be observed in this regard."

The Stalinist minority amendment read: "No member of any local union located in the United States of America shall be eligible to hold any elective or appointive position in the International Union or any local union of this International Union if he is proved to be a member of the following:

(a) A member and subject to the discipline of any political organization such as the Communist, Fascist or Nazi organizations which owes allegiance to any foreign government.

(b) A member or agent of any minority political party such as the Socialist Party which seeks to impose upon the UAW-CIO a trade union policy and principles separate and apart, or in opposition to, the policies and principles of the Congress of Industrial Organizations."

The Stalinist amendment also provided that no member should be barred from holding office until charges have been preferred by a member of his local organization and found guilty in a trial conducted by his local organization.

#### KITZMAN RESOLUTION PASSES

The super-minority report said: "No member of any local union shall be eligible to hold any elective or appointive position in this International Union or any union in this International Union if he is a member or subservient to any political organization, such as the Communist, Fascist, or Nazi organization, which owes its allegiance to any foreign government, directly or indirectly."

The amendment then set forth the trial procedure which is essentially the same as that provided for in the minority amendment. This is the amendment which was passed.

It is clear that the three proposals are essentially alike in excluding from office those who are members of organizations having allegiance to a foreign government. It should also be clear that the real intent of the amendment was to get at the Stalinists. Nobody was very conscious of the present of organized groups of Fascists and Nazis. The fact that these elements work in an entirely different manner from the Stalinists, and the further fact that such groups or individuals are difficult to spot, due to the manner in which they function, led the delegates to take this factor rather lightly. This was not really what they were hitting at despite the fact that they are opposed to these groups and individuals.

Also, they did not seem to realize that there are reactionaries in the international who for all practical purposes are similar to "Fascists and Nazis" in that they hold similar viewpoints in relation to union democracy and militancy. The inclusion of "Fascists and Nazis" was really a formality and had no real and concrete meaning. For instance, there are groups in the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists in the international which are as reactionary as Henry Ford himself. There are members of the Black Legion and the Ku Klux Klan. These members are virtually "Fascists and Nazis," but the amendment does not reach them.

#### TYPICAL STALINIST TRICKERY

The worst and most criminal role in this situation was played by the Stalinists. This was to be expected, of course. Their amendment was the traditional Stalinist trickery, skulduggery and treachery. They were the best "democrats," the true and simple trade unionists. Their main attack, made by Lindahl, was not against barring members for their political beliefs; they were against both the majority and super-minority amendments because the Socialist Party was not included and named. Lindahl made a long speech in which he read extracts from the Socialist Party program dealing with the manner in which socialists should function in the unions through their Socialist Leagues. The delegates could not take this seriously because they knew that the SP is perfectly harmless and that its revolutionary fervor is only a literary exercise and a topic for windjamming at party conventions. The delegates knew that the SP members in the unions function as they please and do not submit to party discipline.

Furthermore, any delegate with any intelligence and experience could see that the Reuther brothers faction was not an SP caucus, but only an odd collection of a few SP members, middleheaded liberals and the most blatant and stinking reactionaries in the convention. The Reuther brothers faction was really a personal "power caucus" led by union politicians who only wanted to assume control of the international, some of them for personal aggrandizement and prestige. Functioning as a disciplined SP group was farthest from their thoughts.

The delegates voted for the super-minority amendment because they believed that it was this amendment which really aimed at protecting the international. They knew that the Reuther majority amendment was a factional amendment. They knew that the Stalinist amendment was purely a maneuver. They wanted to tie the Stalinists and the only way they knew was to vote for the super-minority amendment. They voted for this amendment after they were told by Thomas that he favored the majority amendment.

The point that must be made is that there was no force, no group at the convention that could give correct political leadership and guidance to the delegates. There was no group or individual among the delegates who took the floor on this and other questions to discuss the many political issues that came before the convention. The progressive and militant delegates did the best they could alone. There was no one to educate them, present proposals and fight for their adoption. There was no difficulty about this because the convention was democratic and any delegate could take the floor and say what he wanted on the various questions that arose.

The convention was really in the control of the delegates. As I remarked last week, on every issue that they understood, they voted what they believed to be in the best interests of the international, no matter what position the leadership took. President Thomas remarked once that most of the proposals he had made had been voted down.

A majority of the delegates were in somewhat of a fog on the major political questions that came before

the convention. This is not surprising, since workers do not and can not get correct political education from their trade union leaders, the Stalinists or from the careerist and opportunist stuff dished out by such people as the Reuthers and Frankensteins. This was clear in the resolution passed on the war. This resolution, which embodied the Thomas position, said that the international supported the "defense program" but was opposed to the participation of the United States in "foreign wars." Any delegate with a correct political program and the necessary ability could have taken the floor on this resolution and explained the true character of imperialist war to the delegates.

#### HOW THE LEADERS ACTED

The worst individual role in the convention was played by Frankenstein. He displayed himself as the worst type of trade union job seeker and opportunist. He was ready to make any deal that would give him place, publicity and prestige. On the whole, he was a dud and no one seemed to have any respect for him despite the formal whitewashing which he received in connection with his strikebreaking role in the North American strike.

The Reuthers were a couple of Hillmanite hypocritical and pious red-baiting union politicians who were anxious to tie the convention to the imperialist war moves of Roosevelt. The Stalinists we have already discussed enough. They and their reactionary antics are well known.

It must be said that the convention, on the whole, was an excellent demonstration of the power of the industrial union movement. Here were serious, intelligent and militant workers who wanted to see a job done. They want and will insist on a democratic union. They want the aircraft factories organized. They want higher wages and without longer hours. They are not warmongers. They can be directed toward the liberation of the working class if some political movement arises that will honestly educate, inspire, lead and conduct them through the internal and external entanglements of capitalist society and imperialist warmongering.

### Fly-Specks on the Eight Points

#### A Few Anglo-American Inconsistencies:

Point 1: "Seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other."

(a) Since the war began Britain has lost no territory of its Empire, BUT has militarily occupied EGYPT, IRAQ, ETHIOPIA, ERITREA, ICELAND, SYRIA, FRENCH SOMALILAND.

(b) America--not yet in a "shooting" war--has occupied half a dozen naval bases, GREENLAND, ICELAND.

Point 2: "No territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned."

(a) When and where and how were the people in the above mentioned countries consulted?

(b) When were the peoples of the British Empire and America's colonies ever consulted about any changes affecting them? NEVER.

Point 3: "Respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live . . . self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

(a) Let's begin with the British Empire--by restoring India, Malaya, Ceylon, West Indies, Burma, etc., etc., to the self-government of which they were "forcibly deprived."

(b) And Roosevelt can follow suit with Porto Rico, Cuba, Philippines, Hawaiian Islands, Iceland, etc.

But every war effort of the British and American governments is directed toward PREVENTING the Axis rival imperialist powers from getting to these raw materials.

Point 5: "Securing for all improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security."

(a) England can make an excellent beginning with her unemployed, depressed areas, notorious class and caste distinctions in all aspects of social life.

(b) FDR has a wide field to start on--our 6,000,000 unemployed, underfed and ill-housed one-third of the nation, oppressed Negroes, sharecroppers, unorganized workers, child labor, etc., etc.

## Stalin Acclaims Eight Point Program - -

(Continued from page 1)

materials and markets and that is by possessing the territories that contain them. On these countries the eight points can have no other effect than to urge them to even greater resistance in the light of the fate that awaits them should they be defeated.

Aside from the puerile attempt to fool their own peoples, Churchill and Roosevelt's eight points are an agreement as to the relations and the aims of their own camp in the war.

Stalin is a party to this agreement. Let it be feared that the nature of the Soviet regime bars her inclusion in the Anglo-American comity of nation, point three of the eight points makes it clear that England and America "will respect the right of all peoples to choose their own form of government." Churchill and Roosevelt will certainly not be fussy if a dictatorial rule is or has been foisted upon them. That goes not only for Stalin but for fascism--providing it is of the kind that does not challenge Anglo-American supremacy. Imperialist hypocrisy is always obliged to pretend that "the people choose."

Indeed Russia, which accepts and is a part of the Anglo-American imperialist setup, can be put to much the same use as the old Russia of the Czars. The conference in Moscow will occupy itself with such a strategy. In their joint message for this conference, Churchill and Roosevelt significantly say: "We must now turn our minds to the consideration of a more long-term policy, since there is still a long and hard path to be traveled before there can be won that complete victory without which our efforts and sacrifices would be wasted."

The conference in Moscow there-

fore will not be confined to what is immediately happening in the Russo-German war. Even if before winter the Ukraine and western Russia are conquered, this will have no decisive effect on the long-term plans that London and Washington have with respect to Russia. The joint warnings that Russia and Great Britain have given to Iran and the joint assurances given to Turkey show that they are planning the closest cooperation in the future Middle Eastern theater of the war. The Moscow conference will certainly also outline Russia's cooperation in the future Far Eastern theater of the war. This is especially important to the United States. In the division of labor that England and America have agreed to, the Far East is increasingly coming under the protective eye of the latter.

Churchill and Roosevelt have emphasized to Stalin that he will receive the maximum aid from them. Ships full of war materials are arriving in Russia. The British have just extended \$40,000,000 in credit to her. Aid to Russia will increase enormously as time passes. Even if it be only in Transcaucasia and Siberia the fronts against Germany and Japan must be maintained. That is how London and Washington view the situation.

#### AFTERMATH IN CHINA

Politically, with regard to the world today and the post-war world, Russia and the "democratic" capitalists have come to an understanding. The Chinese "Communists," for example, who take their orders from Moscow, have made a bid for unity with the bourgeois Kuomintang, especially in the post-war reconstruction period, on the following basis:

1. That of the total number of candidates, in a given election, only one-

### Roosevelt-Churchill--

(Continued from page 1)

meaning is amply clear: Roosevelt-Churchill have fashioned a gigantic eight-ball, behind which American youth will join the other warring youths of the world in far-flung battle to decide the spoils of contending imperialisms.

But there is nothing in this new and more terrible Versailles that Roosevelt-Churchill wish to create that is worth the life of a single man.

After the First World War and the First Versailles came the greater horror of the Second World War. After the Second World War and a Second Versailles will come new wars, new horrors. Fascism and war--they will continue. So too will exploitation, crises, unemployment, mass misery--growing deeper and more deadly with each passing year.

No, there is nothing to fight for on either side of the imperialist front. Certainly not on the front of Hitler's undisguised capitalist brutality. Nor on the front of not-so-democratic Allies. Both perpetuate the system of wars and war. Both trample, each in its own way and after its own fashion, on the liberties and needs of the toiling millions.

But there IS something to fight for, there IS a way to achieve everlasting peace and security:

A world which we ourselves, the workers of the world, will shape with our own hands--

A world where no man lives off the sweat of another. A world in which no people must labor in colonial servitude. Against Roosevelt-Churchill's program we offer our own:

Against both imperialist war camps! For the third camp of world labor and the colonial peoples!

For peace through socialism! For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the World Socialist Federation!

third will be Communist Party members and the remaining two-thirds will be members of other parties and non-partisans.

2. If members of the Communist Party are elected heads of government bodies, the party will guarantee that two-thirds of the officers of any such body would not be Communists.

The above two points mean that the Chinese Stalinists will relinquish in the future their present political and administrative control of the areas under their domination.

The political and social program of the Communist Party is correspondingly to be altered on the following basis: The Communist Party promises to "develop extensive industrial production and commerce, encourage establishment of private enterprises, protect private properties, welcome investment from outsiders, promote freedom of trade and develop handicraft industries and cooperatives."

With respect to agriculture, the

Communist Party promises to adhere to its old program only as regards absentee land ownership, which they oppose. Otherwise the party has promised to protect "in sections where distribution of land has been made, the property rights of farmers who have received shares, and in sections where no distribution has been performed, the property rights of landlords, on condition of reasonable lowering of land rents and readjustments of relations between farmers and landlords."

Thus, in China as in Spain, during the civil war, Stalin's puppets are putting forward a typically capitalist program which allows for imperialist penetration. Since Spain a great deal of water was flowed under the bridge. This time the imperialists are going along with Stalin. Why not? The road that is being traveled is of their making. The future will show that on this road international Stalinism has only begun its apprenticeship to world imperialism.

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### LABOR ACTION

Official Organ of the Workers Party

Published weekly by the

Labor Action Publishing Company

Vol. 5, No. 39 August 25, 1941

114 WEST 14TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. (3rd Floor)

Editor: JOSEPH CARTER

Managing Editor: EMANUEL GARRETT

Business Manager: JOHN BILLINGS

Subscription Rate: \$1.50 per year

\$1.00 for six months

(\$2.00 per year or \$1.50 for six months for Canada and Foreign)

Re-entered as second class matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.



ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF TROTSKY'S DEATH

# The Organizer of Victory and the Organizer of Defeat

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Some fifteen years ago, Karl Radek called the man who directed the work of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and became the first leader of its Red Army, Leon Trotsky, the "organizer of the revolution," the "organizer of the victory." A few years later, Trotsky described his arch-opponent, Stalin, as the "great organizer of defeat."

One year ago, Trotsky was murdered in lonely exile and when he died those who acknowledged him as their leader numbered only a few thousand men and women throughout the entire world. His assassin in the Kremlin seemed at the height of his power, with more authority concentrated in his hands than anyone in history had ever known, unchallenged at home and abroad simultaneously by the two big aggregations of powers contending for the mastery of the world.

That was a year ago. Yet, as the shadows of history lengthen, they will throw into higher relief a permanent judgment of the two men. Trotsky will be recorded as the great organizer of victory and Stalin as the great organizer of defeat.

People with limited horizons, who boastfully call themselves "practical," find it difficult to understand this contrast in the roles of Trotsky, on the one hand, and Stalin, or other contemporary political figures, on the other. They judge by the fleeting and deceptive successes of a single day or a month. A clever ruse makes a bigger impression on them than a hard-fought battle, and victory or defeat in a battle means more than victory or defeat in a long, drawn-out war.

## HIS GREATNESS AS A REVOLUTIONIST

Trotsky's greatness as a revolutionist, as a reorganizer of society, lay in his patience. He liked to point out the multitude of examples of impatience leading to wild adventures in politics or to short-sighted opportunism; and of both leading to dreadful calamities. He could never be persuaded to abandon the fundamental principles which were his life's work in order to achieve even a temporary victory, for he knew that victories bought at that price soon turned bitter and ate away the fiber of the victor himself. That is how he was able to regard Stalin, with all his "successes," as the organizer of defeat, and to consider himself, with true historical impersonality, or more accurately, to consider his political philosophy as the organizer of victory.

More than one example from the record of his struggle illustrates his method and his viewpoint. Surely everyone has heard the armchair strategists who like to point out the "errors" and "shortcomings" in Trotsky's fight against Stalinist degeneration. That there was more than one, goes without saying, and like every serious political person there is no doubt that Trotsky, too, would have done many things differently if he had had the chance to renege his life. But, oddly enough, the arrows of the dilettante and philistine critics usually hit wide of the mark and are almost always aimed at those spots in Trotsky's armor where he is invulnerable.

How many times have we heard, for instance, that in 1923, when Trotsky was still at the head of the Red Army, "he should have taken a couple of regiments into the Kremlin and cleaned out the Stalinist gang at one blow?" "Oh, they are very clever, these people, very clever!" Trotsky used to tell me, his eyebrows lifting sardonically with his voice. "All they lack is the capacity to think—that is all. The Opposition was fighting for revolutionary policy and workers' democracy, for the self-activity of the masses, in order effectively to combat the threat of Thermidorian degeneration and Bonapartist dictatorship. And how would these gentlemen have accomplished this? How would they have prevented the victory of Bonapartism? By organizing, behind the backs of the party and the masses, a Bonapartist military conspiracy and coup! Then, instead of a gradual process leading to Stalinist Bonapartism, we would have had an instantaneous Trotskyist Bonapartism. Yes, they are very clever people!"

## REACTION REINFORCES BUREAUCRACY

He particularly enjoyed his elaborately sarcastic ridiculing of similar criticisms of the course of the Trotskyist Opposition made by journalistic observers of uniform superficiality. They would repeat time and again that Trotsky blundered fatally by confining his fight against the bureaucratic hierarchy to the ranks of the Bolshevik Party instead of appealing to the wide masses of the population, "where his name was still magic." Others pretend to see in Trotsky's policy an illustration of Bolshevism's "anti-democratic disdain for the masses."

"They do not understand anything at all," Trotsky would say. "The struggle started when the whole country was being swept by moods of reaction. With these reactionary moods, the reactionary bureaucracy grew and its boldness and disloyalty increased. The only force capable of resisting these moods among the masses, and transforming them, was the Bolshevik Party, the revolutionary vanguard, with all its deficiencies and deformities. For the Opposition to appeal to the masses then would have meant to mobilize the increasingly conservative masses against the still revolutionary vanguard. The Opposition could not do that without betraying and destroying itself on the spot. The bureaucracy could make such an appeal; in fact, it had to make such an appeal. You know that it threw open the party in its spurious 'Lenin levy' to a tremendous influx of hundreds of thousands of raw, untrained people, who con-



Lenin and Trotsky

stituted thereafter the big voting bloc of the bureaucracy. The party was diluted and finally disintegrated by the Bonapartists by precisely this method. Only when the party was finally dissolved and replaced by a repressive bureaucratic apparatus did the Opposition have to turn to the advanced elements among the masses for the re-formation of a party, a revolutionary vanguard against the pseudo-party, that is, against the Stalinist apparatus. Naturally, our critics do not understand this development. In general, they understand nothing."

## OPTIMISM BASED ON REALISM

Trotsky's patience of course had nothing in common with passivity or timidity. It was based on that unquenchable optimism that struck everyone who came in contact with his writings or his person. His optimism, in turn, was based on the boldest, most perspicacious and realistic analyses of the course of development of history known since the days of Karl Marx.

Of all the revolutionists in Europe, Russia included, at the turn of the century, he alone foresaw and predicted with perfectly amazing accuracy the SOCIALIST course of the coming revolution against Czarism. Indifferent to all the charges of "utopianism" by the "practical" and "realistic" people, he worked out the dynamics of the future Russian revolution a dozen years before it actually took place. He showed why there was no class in semi-feudal, autocratic Russia that could lead and carry out a revolution except the proletariat. That, no matter under what conditions the revolution began, the working class could not, once launched on its struggle, actually impose upon itself such self-restraint as would keep the revolution within the limits of capitalist democracy. That, in the very course of carrying on the democratic revolution, it would find itself compelled, in alliance with the peasant masses, to make such encroachments upon the institutions of capitalist property as would direct it inexorably toward proletarian, socialist rule. The revolu-



With Nathalia, Wife and Comrade

tion, unless suppressed by counter-revolution, would have to proceed uninterruptedly; it would be a revolution in permanence.

It is instructive to read all the old socialist polemics against Trotsky before 1917. All the "practical" and "realistic" opponents of Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution read now as if they lived in the clouds. Even Lenin failed to grasp fully the clairvoyant forcefulness of Trotsky's analysis, although on some of the concrete aspects of the development of the revolution he displayed a keener insight into what was ahead than did Trotsky himself. Trotsky waited, patient but unceasingly active, throughout the years of bitter reaction that followed the 1905 uprising in Russia; waited patiently through the bleak years of the World War; waited—perhaps less patiently this time!—through the brief months of the democratic utopian, Kerensky; only to be vindicated to the hilt by the triumphant Bolshevik revolution of 1917-1918.

## HIS THEORIES VINDICATED

The vindication of the theory of the permanent revolution, Trotsky's unique and magnificent contribution to the arsenal of Marxism, was not, unfortunately, confined to the victory of 1917. If he was vindicated once by success, he was also vindicated once by defeat.

The victorious revolution in Russia, he wrote in 1915, and even earlier, will not succeed in maintaining itself if it remains in isolation, if it is not followed by socialist revolutions in the more advanced countries of Europe. This aspect of the theory of the permanent revolution was inseparable, in Trotsky's mind, from the one set forth above.

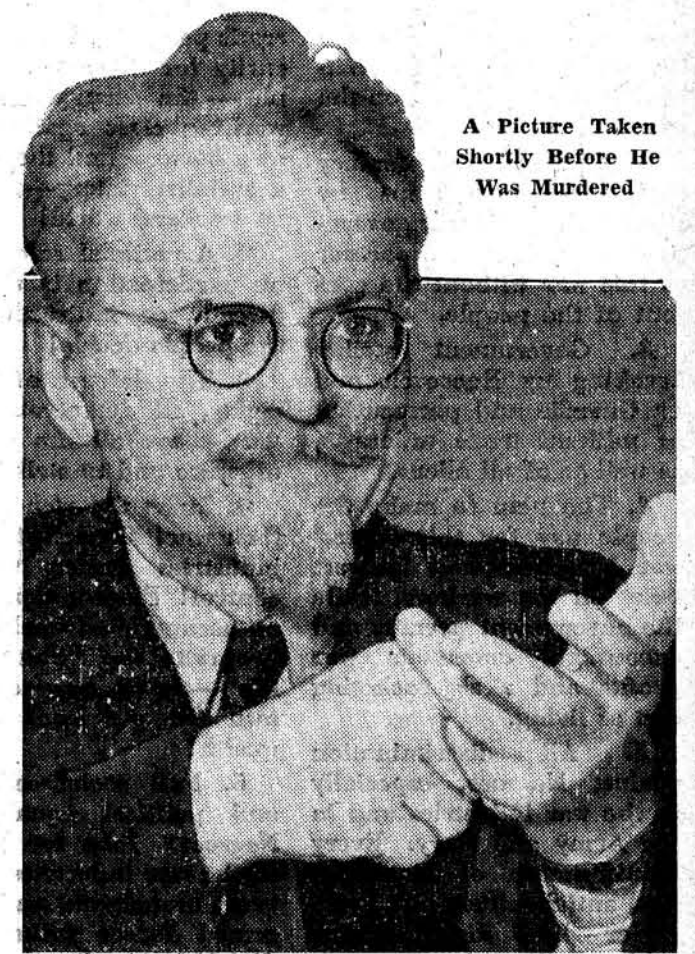
Taking direct issue with this view, Stalin developed the theory of "socialism in one country," that is, the theory that Russia could establish a socialist society regardless of what happened to the rest of the world.

It is not so much between these two men that the violent conflict developed, as between these two fundamental conceptions. One was the realistic theory of revolutionary working class internationalism. The other, the utopian theory of a reactionary, nationalistic bureaucracy. Stalin succeeded in destroying the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International, in crushing the revolution in a dozen countries all over the globe, in wiping out the Soviets and democracy in the Soviet Union, in slaughtering, imprisoning and enslaving the people of the country, and in plunging an axe into the brain of Trotsky. His theory "won." Only, he did not "build socialism in one country," for what he has established in the Soviet Union is not even a recognizable caricature of socialism or the rule of the working class. And, we are convinced, when history has had its last word it will have shown that the Stalinist bureaucracy did not succeed in solidifying even its own rule "in one country." The great organizer of defeat, so admired by philistines and muttonheads for his "practicalness" and his precarious triumphs, will end in the successful organization of the thoroughgoing defeat of himself and his murderous clique.

## HIS VIEW ON THE RUSSIAN SITUATION

To his last day, Trotsky had only the serenest convictions about the eventual outcome of the struggle between the proletariat and the Stalinist bureaucracy, as he had about the outcome of the struggle between the world proletariat and world imperialism. His concern revolved only around the dilemma: will this perfidious bureaucracy be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat, which would thereby give a new and decisive impetus to the victory of international socialism, or will it succumb, together with the Soviet Union as a whole, to the blow of imperialist reaction, which would thereby set the inevitable proletarian revolution back for years and perhaps decades?

This concern disturbed him when the Second World War broke out even more than he had been disturbed in 1932 and 1933, when he feared that his clarion voice summoning the German proletariat to a united front of struggle against Hitlerism would not be heeded. Not because, as some stupid people think, he was a "Russian patriot," or because his attachment to the Soviet Union was "personal" and "sentimental," but precisely because he remained to his dying hour what he had always been throughout his conscious life, an incorruptible soldier of the international socialist revolution.



A Picture Taken Shortly Before He Was Murdered

Only from the standpoint of the interests of THAT revolution did he continue to hold steadfastly to the slogan of "unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack." Because the war had taken forms none of us had anticipated, and Russia's role in the war was reactionary, we, who had learned our Marxism from Trotsky and his forebears, found it impossible to follow him in this course. Trotsky was uncompromising on matters he regarded as of principled importance, and there ensued between us a sharp polemic, that field in which among so many others he was a master. The breach that formed between us was widened unnecessarily by the vulgarizations of his supporters in this country and by their bureaucratic procedure, and it was not bridged while he lived.

## NOT WITH MUMMERY . . .

Even so, we bow our flag at the still fresh grave of our greatest teacher, the most stalwart proletarian revolutionist of our time. Even so, despite our differences, we remain what we were, Trotskyists, partisans of the program and principles of revolutionary Marxist internationalism, of the permanent revolution, of the Fourth International.

Trotsky was revolted by the hideous mummery of the Stalinists who embalmed the corpse of Lenin only the more easily to betray his principles and traduce his memory, as Lenin before him had been infuriated at the canonization of Marx by the social democrats who betrayed Marxism. Nothing could be more remote from the life and teachings and deeds of Trotsky than to convert him into a religious image to be borne at the head of processions or worshipped in a niche. The generation of revolutionists to whom we belong have titanic tasks before them. They can be fulfilled only by assimilating into the blood stream the fundamental principles of Marxism which Trotsky defended so brilliantly and so brilliantly enriched, by infusing the working class movement with the spirit of hatred for all oppression, of militancy, of single-minded devotion, of boundless conviction in the triumph of socialism which animated Leon Trotsky throughout his life.

# The Army's Morale? There Ain't No Such Animal!

By TED LYONS

The army's morale is flatter than a draftee's pocketbook a week after payday. In fact if it sank any lower it'd hit China. This is all unofficial, of course. The army big shots still insist that everything's fine and that the boys are rarin' to go. There is no doubt that the conscripts are rarin' to go . . . home.

There is a killing at Fort Bragg plus a heavy barrage of police brutality upon the Fort's soldiers—white and colored. There is a riot at Fort Dix. There is a prisoner killed in a guardhouse riot at Fort Knox. There are reports of suicides and attempted suicides seeping in from army camps throughout the country. There are numerous attempts—successful and unsuccessful—to desert. AWOL is as common as KP duty among the conscripts—and much more popular. Yet the old geezers who run this army, cranks like General "Yoo Hoo" Lear, persist in saying that the army morale is up to par and that the conscript camps are as peaceful as a Sunday in Philadelphia.

## "DANGEROUSLY LOW MORALE"

But unofficial pro-war and pro-conscription sources have been forced to admit that the army is in a "dangerously low morale." These rabid pro-war fakers, led by the New York sheet, PM, and the national weekly, Life, have admitted that our draftees are feelin' mighty low. Unlike the pot-belly crowd that runs the army, Life and PM want to admit that the army's morale is really bad . . . they want to see the draftees granted a few concessions . . . and then they think the boys will get gay and downright hilarious over the prospect of being killed in some war they don't want.

Life and PM have sent their photographers and crack writers down to the army camps to bring back real factual material which conclusively proves that the draftees are damned sick and tired of the whole rignarole of army life . . . that they are almost to a man opposed to entry in the war . . . that they are bitter and keenly aware of the fact that they have been duped into remain-

ing in the hateful army for the "duration" . . . and that they have no faith or confidence in either the army leaders or the Roosevelt government. And yet Life and PM cross their fingers and put a prayer behind their every hope that the conscripts' morale will be heightened by getting them a raise in pay or a pool-table in their recreation hall. They may not know it—but they're whistling a very sad tune in the dark.

## WHAT DRAFTEES SAY

LABOR ACTION hasn't got the dough to send a special correspondent down to one of the army camps to get the draftees' story—but there are plenty of draftees on leave in New York City. Two of these draftees were standing on 14th Street ruefully "admiring" an army recruiting poster when they saw us petitioning for the Shachtman election campaign. What they had to say is typical of the frame of mind of the draftees all over the country.

Both of these soldier-conscripts were young fellows about 22 or 23 years of age. They asked us what we were doing. We explained that we were attempting to place an anti-war candidate on the ballot in the coming mayoralty elections.

"Anti-war, huh?" one of them said. "You're not Communists, are you?"

"Hell, no!" we said, and then went on to explain what the Workers Party was and how we differed from the Stalinists, pointing out that now that Stalin has lined up with the "democracies" the Communist Party members have turned into rabid pro-war patriots.

The boys listened . . . and agreed. They had no love for anybody who spoke even ever so mildly for war . . . and they didn't care who heard their viewpoint. In fact they reported that all the boys in their camp felt the same way.

## DON'T WANT WAR

"Why, any son of a b— who'd open his yap about being for

a war would get a bayonet shoved through him. The guys in our camp don't want any more army and they don't want any war."

"What do you fellows think of this latest draft extension?" "Boy, how do you think we feel?" said one of the soldiers. "Look at me. I've been in almost eleven months and now these big bastards come out and tell us we're in for another stretch. We know damn well that they ain't gonna let us out for a helluva long time."

"You said it," the other draftee joined in. "They're keepin' us in till they get ready to ship us off to get killed somewhere. They've got us locked up like as we were a bunch o' convicts. Like a concentration camp. For cripes sakes, we aren't allowed to do anything. They wouldn't like us talkin' to guys like you and we sure as hell can't sign your petition even though we'd like to."

"Do the rest of the fellows in the camp feel the same way?"

"And how! Why, the whole bunch of us go to sleep every night cursing Roosevelt, Ickes, Marshall and the whole pile of those guys who're responsible for all this. Everyone in the camp is disgusted with the whole set-up."

## WILL VOTE WITH FEET

We continued our conversation. We heard that a lot of the draftees weren't going to take the draft extension lying down. They were going to vote on it with their feet. The draftees are desperate and they're willing to take the risk of a severe court martial in the hope that they can escape the dreaded camp life. The two draftees had a lot to say of the conniving officers and the division in living conditions.

"Well, we wish you fellows luck in your campaign," they both said, and started off down the street.

"Wish you guys luck, too," we yelled and waved our hand in a parting gesture.

"Thanks! We'll need it!" they yelled back and then continued walking.

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

## DISAPPROVE OF LONG ARTICLES IN L.A.

Dear Editor:

At considerable sacrifice to the entire membership of the Workers Party, our weekly publication, LABOR ACTION, is being circulated in shops, offices, factories and mines as well as among agricultural workers. If the figures periodically submitted by the National Office are correct, 90 per cent of the circulation of our paper is among non-party members. It is our understanding that LABOR

ACTION is primarily a propaganda paper, published with the objective of gaining understanding of the cause of socialism among the working class of America.

If we are correct about the function of LABOR ACTION, then we wish to protest against the inclusion of long theoretical articles, such as were printed in the issue of July, 5 in the columns of our propaganda paper. More often than not, it takes months of effort to get our shop-mates and fellow workers in our places of employment to become reg-

ular readers of our weekly. We stand a good chance to lose these new readers if their minds are burdened with articles based on a complete understanding of Marxism, Trotsky's and Lenin's writings, and Stalin's betrayals. The printing of theoretical articles in our weekly would be excusable if we had no other means of bringing them to the attention of party members. But we have The New International, expressly being published for such purposes, and we also have recourse to the mimeographed bulletin.

A worker coming home from eight hours at the endless belt is not in the frame of mind to become deeply absorbed in a fine analysis of the Russian question. He wants short, snappy items on trade union activities, strikes, victories and defeats and perhaps working class stories in which he can identify himself and his family. Such items, and stories, cleverly written, contain lessons for the working class that can be applied in their daily lives, in their trade union behavior and in their understanding of the final objective of the

Workers Party—the taking of power.

We readily admit that the July 5 issue of LABOR ACTION is the first serious deviation from the type of paper we understand LABOR ACTION to be. But the theoretical articles in that issue invite other similar articles, which will wear our readers away from us. Those among our new readers who indicate a readiness for deeper search into revolutionary thought can be (and will be) if the branches are alive to their job) introduced to The New International and other theoretical reading.

This criticism is meant in the most comradely spirit and subject to correction if we are misinformed as to the mission LABOR ACTION was intended to perform.

J. T. H. M. S. C.  
J. E. B. H. D. B.

(We were unable, through lack of space, to answer this letter. We shall, if space permits, discuss this next week.—Ed.)

## Question and Counter-Question

"Will you (Roosevelt) restore their colonies to the peoples of Europe who have the rightful title to them?"

A Nazi leader posed this question in commenting on the Churchill-Roosevelt meeting.

But the colonial people pose a different question directed at BOTH the war camps: What makes either of you think that you have any "rightful title" to us?



## Where We Stand!

### WE ARE AGAINST:

1. Both imperialist alliances in this war—the Nazi-Fascist Axis on the one hand, and the alliance of Washington and Wall Street, the British Empire and Stalin on the other.
2. The secret diplomacy and piece-meal steps by which the Roosevelt government has made us a partner to this war without the consent of the people.
3. Government strike-breaking by Roosevelt and La Guardia and persecution of militant trade-unionists, as well as of all aliens.
4. The plan to make the people pay for this bosses' war by direct and indirect taxes on the workers, while the government permits and encourages enormous war profits and a sky-rocketing cost of living.
5. All discrimination against Negroes, especially in the war industries and in the Army and Navy. Every manifestation of Jim-Crowism, anti-Semitism and every Hitler-like discrimination against minorities.

### WE ARE FOR:

1. The only force in this war-torn world that can bring about a truly democratic peace of liberty and security for the common people—the struggle of the working class against their own bosses. End the war by a socialist victory—a socialist workers' world!
2. A national referendum on participation in the war, directly or indirectly. Let the people decide!
3. The defense of labor's rights, all democratic liberties, above all the right to organize and to strike.
4. Make the rich pay for their war! Conscript the war industries under workers' control! Place a capital levy on accumulated wealth! Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3 per cent who own 90 per cent of the wealth!
5. Full social, economic and political equality for Negroes! Jobs for Negroes in the war industries! Open every branch and rank of the armed forces without race discrimination!

## A Stink in the Garden Of the "Little Flower"

By SUSAN GREEN

The New York City mayoralty campaign is getting into its stride. As it swings along, the chorus of pots calling the kettles black becomes ever louder.

Thus Councilman Joseph E. Kinsley, democrat from the Bronx, accuses fusionist candidate La Guardia of having misused relief funds.

It was brought out before a special committee of the City Council that salaries in the Welfare Department, which should have been paid out of regular city funds, were taken out of the emergency relief funds.

It was also revealed that one Edmond B. Butler, some sort of special counsel, got "his" out of the money collected by the 2 per cent sales tax.

Mrs. Ethel Epstein, who serves as the Mayor's labor secretary, was likewise remunerated for her exertions out of the money which should have gone to the poor people on relief.

Naturally the Mayor got up on his hind legs and "denied."

He claimed that the City Council knew all along about these expenditures—so why do they protest now? And he produced a memorandum by the Corporation Counsel—the guy who knows all about twisting the laws—in which it was stated that everything the Mayor did is jake and strictly in accordance with state and city laws.

By whatever process of crooked politics the Little Flower may try to spread sweet perfume all around, the stink about relief funds still smells to high heaven.

There is excellent authority for the above statement.

Welfare Commissioner Hodson, who knows all about relief, recently issued a statement that the total salary expenditures of his department in 1940 were \$13,923,389. ALL OF THIS SHOULD HAVE BEEN PAID OUT OF REGULAR CITY FUNDS. However, only \$2,011,565 came from regular city funds. The other \$11,911,824—THE GREATEST PART OF IT—came out of the relief tax fund.

THIS MONEY SHOULD HAVE GONE TOWARD THE SUPPORT OF THE UNEMPLOYED OF THE CITY FOR WHICH PURPOSE EVERY PURCHASER OF MERCHANDISE WAS PAYING THE TWO PER CENT TAX.

Earlier this year City Controller McGoldrick, who knows all about city finances, reported that actually much more than \$11,911,824 was withheld from relief purposes. He said there was a "surplus" of \$21,600,000 of relief funds. Instead of this large sum going to the support of poor people, it all was spent for regular city purposes, including the reduction of the city debt.

The stink is so bad you can hardly breathe.

Mr. Hodson has also informed the public that in all \$65,000,000 went to the relief clients of the city last year in one form or another. If you put this figure alongside of Mr. McGoldrick's "surplus" of \$21,600,000, you see that RELIEF CLIENTS WERE ENTITLED TO 33-1/3% MORE THAN THEY GOT.

La Guardia's campaigners will shout about how efficient the Mayor

is and how he "kept down the taxes." They will not even whisper that HE DID IT BY TAKING \$21,600,000 OUT OF THE MOUTHS OF THE POOR.

There are two groups of people who will not fall for this swindle.

One group consists of the people with small purchasing power, who are paying the 2 per cent city tax on commodities UNDER THE ILLUSION THAT THE MONEY IS GOING TO THE UNEMPLOYED.

The other group is made up of the miserable people who rely upon city relief for the wherewithal to live. TO THESE UNFORTUNATES THE IDEA OF A "SURPLUS" OF RELIEF FUNDS IS A GRIM JOKE.

When these relief clients make claims for clothing to meet the needs of changing weather, they are told that "no money has been appropriated" for clothing.

When they request replacement of worn out mattresses, beds and other essential furniture, they hear the same refrain: "No money has been appropriated."

They wait months and months for urgent dental and medical care because "no money has been appropriated."

It requires from a year to two before they can get eyeglasses that have been prescribed for them, because "no money has been appropriated."

These are the needy people who have been swindled by La Guardia and his administration out of what \$21,600,000 could have bought for them. This fraud is still being perpetrated against them—and against those who are paying the relief tax in the belief that their money is going to the needy.

When Councilman Kinsley, democrat, points the accusing finger at fusionist La Guardia, he does not thereby exonerate himself. For four years this sort of swindling has been going on. For at least part of this period Councilman Kinsley, democrat, has been chairman of the Finance Committee of the City Council.

Didn't he know what was going on? If he did, why did he wait for election before speaking up?

And if he didn't know—which is hardly believable—he was asleep at the switch and should go home to bed.

To the average worker a blackened pot is no more attractive than a blackened kettle. The politicians of one boss party are just as crooked as those of another.

WHY THEN SHOULD ANY WORKING MAN VOTE FOR ANY OF THESE GANGS AT ELECTION TIME!

# LABOR ACTION

## SHACHTMAN CAMPAIGN PAGE

# WORKERS! WHEN YOU VOTE, VOTE AGAINST THE WAR!

### WHAT'S THE ISSUE?

You are going to elect a Mayor this November. What's the issue?

Fiorello La Guardia was elected four years ago on the "Cops and Robbers" issue. Tammany was the robber. "Defeat Tammany," cried La Guardia.

Well, the Tammany thieves were kicked out and the "honest man" was in. But where were the plain people of this city? The "honest man" went ahead and

—Put the sales tax over on us . . .

—Broke WPA workers' strikes . . .

—Gave the Nazis and Coughlinites free run of the city for mass meetings and parades (till he discovered lately that fascism was a menace) . . .

—Slashed the school budget to the bone until thousands of children were sitting two on a seat . . .

—Paid the bankers in millions of dollars for a subway system that the city already owned in reality . . .

—Fought the transit workers tooth and nail and denied them their right to strike.

AND NOW?

Now Fiorello La Guardia is running on another issue. He may still howl about Tammany and Tammany's current stooge, O'Dwyer. But—THE REAL ISSUE IS THE WAR!

That is the question before the mind and heart of every working man and woman in New York, as in every home in the country.

For La Guardia comes before the people of New York as one of the country's leading jingoes and war-mad howlers for blood.

La Guardia wants us to get into the war, up to every mother's son. His speeches have brought back the war hysteria of 1917—"Kill the Kaiser! On to Berlin!" He has been spending more time in Washington oiling up the war machine than in City Hall.

Here's his election promise for this year: WAR—THE SHOOTING KIND.

## Fiorello La Guardia, Jingo Missionary, And His Smelly Record on Fascism

Mayor La Guardia has been bursting with a blood vessel recently yelling that this is a "war for democracy" and trying to stir the people up into a war mood.

This is a repeat performance for Fiorello. But enough time has passed since the first performance to prove that he was a liar then. And there are enough facts to doubt his sincerity now.

In 1917 La Guardia left his seat in Congress to enlist as an army aviator. He was later raised to the rank of major for meritorious services in Italy. As a flyer? Not on your life.

In 1917 and 1918, the Italian workers were pretty sick of the slaughter, which they had not wanted to get into anyway. Everybody knew that up to 1915, when Italy had entered the war, it had dickered with both sides and then accepted the best deal offered. The Italian politicians hardly had face enough to chatter about a "war for democracy" in view of that fact. So they imported some good "honest" Americans who could reel off the "democracy" line without turning a hair.

La Guardia was assigned as one of these missionaries. He went from city to city and village to village exhorting the people to quit their foolish anti-war talk and shoulder a gun. (Mussolini was campaigning with the same kind of speeches.)

So after wallowing in the trenches for three years of that "war for democracy" at the behest of Mussolini and the La Guardias, the Italian workers came back to their homes after the war to be greeted by . . . Mussolini's fascism! That was the result of the "war for democracy" for Italy.

But La Guardia—didn't HE come back to America to help preserve democracy?

No doubt, no doubt . . . but the fact is that at no time has Fiorello La Guardia ever uttered a syllable against Mussolini and ITALIAN fascism, in spite of all his tirades against Hitler.

The best that has yet been done to excuse this scandalous fact has been to point out that, after all, La Guardia needed the Italian vote . . . the vote of the Italian fascists in New York.

But not only that. This loud-

### VOTE AGAINST THE WAR!

The Workers Party is against this war. The people have nothing to gain from the victory of either side.

La Guardia, Roosevelt and their war party are trying to sell the war to the people as another "Cops and Robbers" game. This time Hitler and Mussolini are the robbers, and the cops are—Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin!

It is true that Hitler and Mussolini are the hangmen of the European working class. It was Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin who helped them to become such! In reality, this war is a struggle between two gangs of imperialist racketeers: Wall Street and the British Empire (with Stalin as junior partner) versus the Nazi bosses. It is the same kind of slaughter as the last war—a war for profits, not a war for democracy.

The eight-point war program of Churchill and Roosevelt merely promises another Treaty of Versailles. That was the robber peace which gave birth to the Second World War.

The people do not want to see a Third World War—and a Fourth.

There is only one way to end the horror of war, the tyranny of Hitlerism, and the poverty and insecurity of the working class.

It is also the only way by which HITLERISM CAN BE STOPPED, instead of having a victorious England substitute another tyrannous dictator for a defeated Adolf.

On both sides this war is being fought over the backs of the workers. If they rise up and strike a blow for THEMSELVES, nothing can stop them.

For that they must unite behind a working class program and stop lending their support to the boss politicians who sell out their interests.

That is why the Workers Party asks you to—

VOTE FOR THE ANTI-WAR CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR MAX SHACHTMAN

## 750 Signatures Collected on First Day of New York Drive To Put Shachtman on Ballot

The drive to put an anti-war candidate on the ballot for Mayor in New York City got under way last Sunday, August 17, with 750 signatures collected in one day.

The campaign is projected as a six-week drive with the objective of gathering the legal requirement of 7,500 signatures plus several extra thousands to insure success.

### Groups Go Out

A mobilization of party members was called and met early Saturday evening but it was rained out, making street collections impossible. However, the next day a smaller group of party members, working in Harlem and in the downtown area and a group of YPSL members working at Brighton Beach amassed the 750 total in the course of two hours.

Everywhere the petitioners verified the following two facts: that the dominant interest of the people is in the war question (not in whatever "good government" issues La Guardia or O'Dwyer may drag out of the hat before long); and secondly, that the large majority of the people react with sympathy to our request for help in our fight against the war.

### "One of 80 Per Cent"

One of the more successful petition workers found the following opening sentence useful: "Are you one of the 80 per cent of the people who are against war?" Another was closely questioned by a woman who wanted to make sure that the Workers Party was really anti-war before she signed. She did sign. Another young woman said that she had followed the Communist Party's "peace" line and became disgusted when they made a flip-flop recently. She signed the petition and asked to be informed

about future meetings.

Easily the best results were gained in Harlem, where large numbers of Negroes are familiar with our party's activity in the recent bus boycott.

During the coming week the work will be continued through mobilizations by each branch in its own neighborhood. Then Saturday, August 23, will see another city mobilization to include all not out this past Sunday. At the same time the YPSL is planning for work on Sunday, the 24th.

In a few days, a four-page leaflet on the election will be out and ready for distribution. The encouraging start already made lends confidence that enough thousands of signatures will be piled up before the Board of Election's door to make it impossible even for them to keep an anti-war candidate off the ballot.

## You Can Help!

Readers of LABOR ACTION, friends and sympathizers of the Workers Party, every worker who wants to see an anti-war candidate on the ballot for Mayor—

You can help put Max Shachtman, candidate of the Workers Party, on the ballot. Here's how:

- (1) Get a few petition sheets and circulate them among your friends, in your shop or on the street. You can get the petitions from the campaign headquarters at 114 West 14th Street, New York City, by mail or by dropping in.
- (2) Contribute to the Shachtman Campaign Fund! Elections cost money under capitalism. We need your dollar bills!

which rallied 50,000 workers outside the Garden, who were turned back by a small army of Mayor La Guardia's police. That demonstration was led by Max Shachtman, now the Workers Party candidate for Mayor.

Now, when it is a question of hopping the people up for war, La Guardia can't find enough names to throw at "fifth columnists." But the real working-class anti-fascists are against this phony "war for democracy." We intend to stop Hitlerism by a WORKING CLASS victory, not by helping Wall Street become economic master of the world.

The fight against war and fascism begins at home. That's the front on which the Workers Party is fighting in this campaign.

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

## One year ago, Leon Trotsky was struck down by Stalin's Assassins

# Trotsky Memorial Meeting

Hear Max Shachtman

American Editor of Trotsky's Selected Works  
National Secretary of the Workers Party

IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place & E. 15th St., N. Y. C.

Admission

25¢

Wednesday, 8:15 p.m.  
August 27, 1941

Conscript the War Industries Under Workers' Control!