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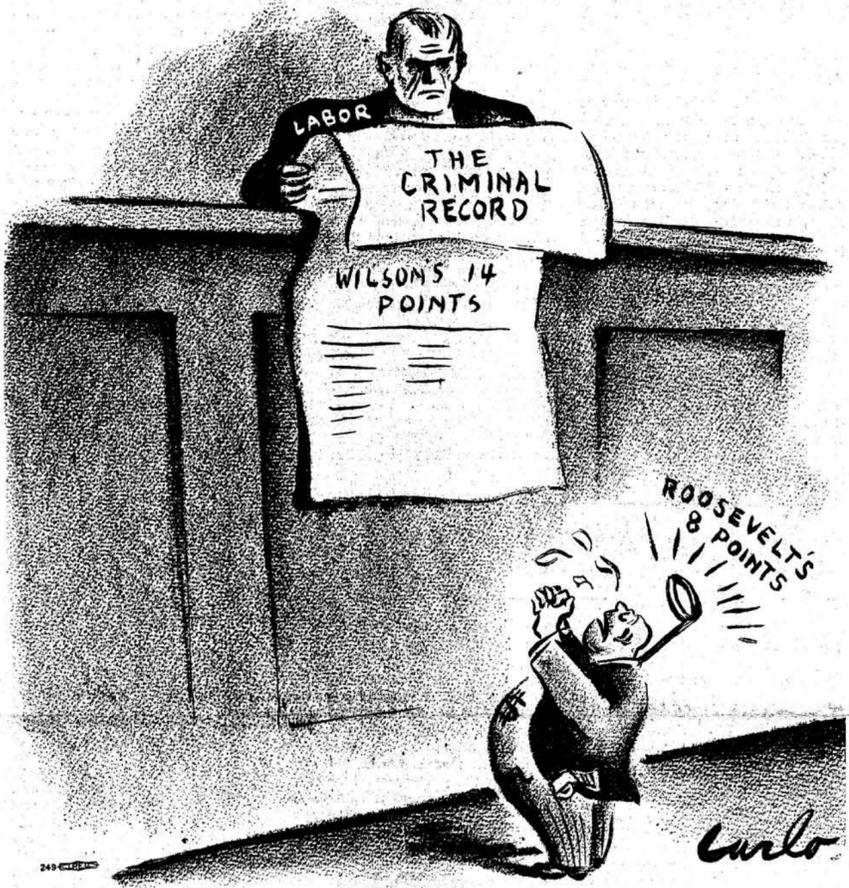
SEPTEMBER 1, 1941

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

THREE CENTS

JIM-CROW-POINT "NUMBER 9" IN F. D. R. PROGRAM

"Honest, Judge, This Time We're on the Level"



THE WORLD AT WAR

Churchill-Stalin Celebrate Second Anniversary of War By Jointly Invading Iran

By MAX STERLING

The second anniversary of the war is celebrated by the joint Anglo-Russian invasion of Iran. This is the 25th country that has been engulfed by the war. The invasion took place shortly after Churchill had finished with another one of his memorable speeches in which he denounced the Nazi aggressor and despoiler of nations large and small.

The Nazis in turn have characterized the invasion as an unjustified "treacherous attack on a small nation." "Never in the history of mankind," say the Nazis without blinking an eye, "has there been a case of such unlawful and imperialistic aggression. The nations of the world will now realize the worth of Anglo-American declarations and assertions." And, they continue without even a blush, "When the Russians say the invasion is not directed against the Iranian people, it is exactly the same excuse they made when they took over the Baltic states and invaded Finland. Britain's guilt in handing over another country to bolshevism is indisputable."

When Churchill charges Hitler with aggression, and vice versa, both are telling the truth. However, Churchill is as far from handing over territories to bolshevism as Hitler was when he divided Poland and Rumania with Russia. There is hardly a trace of bolshevism in Russia. The cooperative invasion of Iran is dictated by military necessity. The British are safeguarding their Middle Eastern front against the Nazi push through the south of Russia. They are blocking the Nazi road to oil and India. On the other hand, the Russians are helping the British to safeguard their imperialist position in the Middle East so that England and America may maintain a supply route to her, while establishing a common Anglo-Russian, and possibly American, front in the Transcaucasus.

It is this logic of Britain and Rus-

sia's military and strategical position with respect to the Axis that dictated the present aggression. In war aggression is like misfortune: it is with one today, and with another tomorrow. This regardless of pretext. The Nazis may have had 3,000 of their agents in Iran, as the British and Russians charge, but their expulsion would not have been sufficient. Iran, like Syria and Iraq, had to be in British hands. War, like nature, abhors a vacuum. If the British had not taken Iran, the Germans would.

Iran-Soviet Treaty

The Russians justify their occupation of Iran under Article 6 of the

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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!

NAACP Finds White MP's at Fort Bragg Use "45" Authority

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.—Completing his investigation of the shooting of Private Allen Turman and a white military policeman near Fort Bragg, Curtis Todd of the NAACP legal staff reported that it is not definitely established who fired the first shot—"but the fact remains that the white military police had the guns."

Reports of the fighting and subsequent shooting vary in detail, but most are agreed that the trouble started among the soldiers on the segregated bus. White military police were called to quell the disorder. The white MP's proceeded to beat the Negroes with clubs. Turman grabbed a gun, fired, killing Sergeant Elwyn L. Hargrave and wounding several others and was in turn shot and killed by Sergeant Russell Owen.

Todd reported that Major DeHaven Hinkson of the medical corps of the 76th (Negro) Regiment was of the opinion that the MP entered the bus shooting and that Turman was shot while he was on the floor by someone on the outside of the bus, or by someone above him.

The NAACP attorney reported "there is a definite racial element in this affair."

Commenting on his findings, Mr. Todd said: "The young, inexperienced white military police are bubbling over with '45' authority, just waiting for an opportunity to use it. Every Negro, it appears, is subject for abuse on the slightest provocation."

"There are no provisions at the post for recreation for Negroes in which women may participate."

He also said that he learned from one of the interviewees for a hostess job at Fort Bragg that the women were "without exception called by their first names by Captain Dennis H. Holliday, morale officer, and that this information shows the attitude of some of the officers toward Negroes."

Workers of France Defy The Terror--- Harass Nazis

The events of the past few days make it more than clear that, 14 months after the Nazi conquest of France, the conquerors have far from won the battle with the French masses.

On August 20, the German and French police made 6,000 arrests in Paris—or rather in only one district of Paris. This lightning raid to end "subversive activities" came after a series of popular demonstrations against Petain's unequivocal capitulation to Hitler on August 12.

Simultaneously with these arrests, severe sanctions were taken against French railway workers, and the police offered a million-franc reward for information leading to the arrest of workers guilty of sabotage.

It is significant that the 6,000 arrests were made in the 11th Arrondissement of Paris. This is a working class district famous for its revolutionary history since the days of the Paris Commune.

Add Fuel to Hatred

To this, as well as other working class districts, have been returning the 500,000 of the 1,500,000 French worker-soldiers imprisoned in the slave camps of Nazi Germany. When on August 12 Petain officially buckled the Nazi harness on the shrunken body of the French people, he expressed high hope that the released prisoners would support his betrayal. He said: "Their spirit, strengthened by camp life, matured by long reflection, will become the best cement of the national revolution."

In these disgustingly false words, Petain was indulging in wishful thinking. The gaunt, sullen, angry men, photographed in the newsreels as they returned home, simply added the fuel of their pent-up hatred to the fires of discontent burning in the hearts of the working people. The outbreak of mass demonstrations and sabotage resulted.

The French and German police swooped down on the 11th Arrondissement like scavengers and did a thorough "clean-up" job. All approaches to the district were blocked off so that nobody could get away. The subway stations were closed. House-to-house searches were conducted. Identification papers were scrutinized for non-Aryan taints. The arrested were herded into buses and transported to concentration camps.

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The Facts on Iran

IRAN: A small, poor and backward country with a population of about 15,000,000 people. Most of them are primitive farmers or wandering nomads with small herds of cattle. All of them are poverty-stricken. A large part of Iran is desert land.

Who wants Iran? (1) The Germans and Axis powers. (2) The British and Russians.

Why? Iran lies on the land road to India and astride the trade routes of the Indian Ocean. It also borders the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea. (2) Iran has rich old fields (black gold), undeveloped mineral deposits (copper, lead, iron, gold and silver). (3) Iran forms a direct connection with Russia and the old fields of the Caucasian regions.

Who will fight for Iran? The Nazi imperialists on one side, against the British imperialists and their Russian allies on the other. The puppet Iranian government doesn't count in this fight. Who gets there first with the most troops will win. Odds are strongly in favor of a joint carving up of Iran by the British and Russians.

The war in Iran is part of the world imperialist war for colonies, markets, raw materials and trade. Our support goes to the oppressed people of Iran, victimized by both imperialist war camps.

2,000 Sign Ballot Petitions For Shachtman in First Week Of Party's Mayoralty Drive

Two thousand petition signatures have already been collected in the first seven days of the drive to put Max Shachtman, anti-war candidate of the Workers Party, on the ballot for Mayor.

As this is written, groups of petition workers have been on the streets every day in the week, including Saturday and Sunday. Utilizing last week's special campaign issue of LABOR ACTION and an attractive four-page leaflet on the election, large areas of Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx have been covered. Harlem is still leading in the response of its people to the slogan: "Help Put an Anti-War Candidate on the Ballot!"

Last Sunday, a dozen members of the Young People's Socialist League (Youth Section of the Workers Party) assembled at the Yankee Stadium before the exhibition game by Satchel Paige, famous Negro pitcher. They came back with over 200 signatures before the game started.

And here's a notice to all and sundry:

Put a circle on your calendar around the date, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7. That's the week-end after Labor Day.

It's the BALLOT DANCE (no relation to the BALLET), to mark the midpoint in the petition campaign. It begins about 9 p.m., after a city-wide mobilization the same day for election work. The place is: YORKVILLE LABOR TEMPLE, East 84th Street, between 2nd and 3rd Avenues.

Besides the orchestra and refreshments—liquid, solid and gaseous, we invite you to play the new game called "Putting Shachtman on the Ballot." It's amazing!

And then there'll be the UNIQUE RAFFLE, in which the new biography of Rosa Luxemburg and Paul Frolich will be raffled off at the dance. A raffle ticket will be given for every ten signatures brought in that day.

Or you can just come and have a good time.

Army's Morale Worries Brass Hats

Morale Is Lower Than Low, but the Boss Army Staff Can't Do Anything to Raise It

By JACK WILSON

By one lousy vote in Congress, the boys in the army camps were sold down the river for another 18 months.

And while the politicians in Washington feel that now the world can be made safe for Wall Street's investments, the facts are just the opposite.

For the United States Army is in an admittedly profound crisis that cannot be solved, even by a shooting war. That will merely postpone its solution temporarily.

Two-thirds of the army lacks morale. Time magazine reports. Newsweek, another weekly magazine, devotes a special article to the same problem.

The United States Army lacks what the French Army lacked: MORALE.

The problem had become so grave, even before the passage of the draft extension bill, that it had drawn the attention and discussion of the most astute capitalist apologists and defenders.

Several Incidents

Here are some of the "incidents" which brought this crisis to light.

The 44th Division, consisting of draftees mainly from New York and New Jersey, was reported as "unre-

liable" by its officers following riots and protests over the possibility of draft extension.

Newsreels of President Roosevelt and General George Marshall, Army chief of staff, were booed by Mid-Western draftees stationed in Mississippi. This was repeated in many camps, reflecting the bitterness of the soldiers against the Roosevelt regime.

Desertions are increasing, although the army refuses to give out full figures. The guardhouses are full, as revealed by the Fort Knox, Ky., shooting and killing scrape.

There are bitter protests in the letters sent back home to the folks and friends.

Above all, there is the tidal wave of protest that swept over the army camps while Congress was debating the draft extension.

Newsweek puts it in drill sergeant's language: "But when large numbers of soldiers violate regulations by writing their complaints to Congress, the army knows it has on its hands a major morale problem."

"Such widespread flouting of regulations is intolerable to the army."

Time magazine describes what happened in army camps when news was broadcast that the Senate had passed the bill to extend the draft

and was sending it to the House. "Around thousands of radios in thousands of tents from coast to coast angry soldiers growled: 'Those obscene obscenities in Washington. Obscenity the whole obscenity lot of them!'"

Time reports that "in one National Guard division, once reputed for its high morale, soldiers carried out a special of 'V' campaign. They chanted 'Ohio' on latrine walls and artillery pieces." 'Ohio' means: 'Over the Hill in October.'

Why No Morale

Some apologists attribute the lack of morale to the lack of good food, equipment, capable officers and sheer boredom. Obviously these are contributing factors. But Trotsky's Red Army in Russia never had good food, nor good equipment. And it took a long time to build up an officers' corps of any ability. Yet its morale was invincible.

Nor is morale the kind of problem that the U.S. Army's morale chief, Brig. Gen. James A. Ulio, thinks it is:

"I'll tell you what morale is. It is when a soldier thinks his army is the best in the world, his regiment the best in the army, his company the best in the regiment, his squad the best in the company, and that he

Army, Navy Brass-Hats Stand Pat On Jim-Crow

The Jim-Crow policy of the Roosevelt government and the bosses is coming to the season of full bloom in the United States. The real attitude of the Roosevelt New Deal government—of Knox, Stimson, the Army general staff and the Navy high command—toward the Negro, and especially toward the Negro soldier, is being carried into practice by their subordinates in the camps. This is the practical meaning of the persecution, the clubbing, mobbing and murdering of Negro soldiers in southern military camps.

When, on the civilian front, the owners of the war industries refuse to hire Negroes, they are applying the Jim-Crow theories of Roosevelt, Stimson, Knox and the whole brigade of government officials, federal, state and city. When city officials, the "best families" and real-estate interests object to "defense" housing for Negroes in what these people call "white" neighborhoods, they are only carrying out the Jim-Crow line laid down by the Roosevelt government.

The Roosevelt imperialist war government and its imperialist bosses, who own the country, sow the wind of Jim-Crow; and the little captains, military police, little mayors and every small town flatfoot make the whirlwind of race hatred, oppression, mob violence and lynching. Those mainly responsible are the Roosevelt government and the bosses. This is where the responsibility must be placed. Negroes should not make any mistake about this. This is no case merely of whites against Negroes. It is that, but

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himself is the best damn soldier-man in the outfit."

Wouldn't life be wonderful for the reactionary brass hat clique if this wishful thinking were true? If the whole problem could be reduced to football team spirit and psychology?

The fact that the army chieftains approach the solution of the problem in this way indicates why the problem will never be solved in a capitalist army.

For high morale in any army consists essentially in that the soldiers feel and believe they are making sacrifices, including their lives, for something worthwhile.

Given this spirit, displayed above all in the Red Army of the Lenin-Trotsky regime in Russia, questions of food, material, officers, etc., reduce themselves to proper proportion.

You've got to have a very good answer to the soldiers' perennial question: "What the hell are we preparing for? Or what the hell are we fighting for?"

Nothing to Offer

It took Hitler ten years to build up an elite among the youth, to feed them with careful propaganda, capitalize on all the glaring stupidities of the so-called "democracies." Com-

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With Liberty And Justice For All . . .

By TED LYONS

It's a helluva world! Especially if you're in the Army! The guy who said, "THERE AIN'T NO JUSTICE!" wasn't exactly a wow with the King's English, but he most certainly was talking the language of the thousands of men in America's conscript Army.

There's an old depression-days gag that defines fully the type of "justice" the bosses hand out. "You steal a loaf of bread and you go to prison. You steal a railroad and you go to Congress" . . . that is, if you aren't already in Congress.

Well, the Army's got this one beat by a country mile! "Justice" in the Army can be defined in this manner: "You spit on the floor and you go to prison. You kill a man and you go completely free!" You don't believe it? Just pull up a chair and listen . . . but be careful you don't spit on the floor!

HOMICIDE IS "JUSTIFIABLE"

A short while ago there was a terrific row over the shooting that occurred when a busload of Negro draftees were returning from a nearby town to Fort Bragg. Ned Turman, a Negro draftee, was shot and killed by Sergeant Russell Owens, a white MP. Turman was killed because he dared to speak up against the useless and unmerciful beating of a Negro buddy who, being drunk, created a disturbance. Turman fought a heroic battle. A battle of self-defense. He was set on and attacked by two white MPs for speaking "out of turn" and in the course of the battle he was shot dead after he himself had shot one of the MPs.

This affair was certainly not begun by Turman nor was he the cause of it. He fought in self-defense, as any other man would do, and his killing was a plain and simple case of MURDER!

Yet the man who killed him, Sergeant Russell Owens, has been completely exonerated! Not only has Owens been acquitted—but ACCORDING TO THE MILITARY COURT THAT TRIED HIM, HE HAS BEEN TOLD THAT HE WAS COMPLETELY JUSTIFIED IN HIS ACTIONS!

This isn't all. The Fort Bragg generalissimoes have deliberately encouraged their officers and MPs to continue with this type of action, promising them full protection by the "law."

BUT EXPECTORATION IS CRIMINAL

Now for the "spitting episode": Private John Habinak, a 26 year old draftee of 169 West 97th Street, New York City, has been dishonorably discharged from the Army and sentenced to serve three years at hard labor (reduced, after a public outcry, from ten years). WHY?

Habinak was a member of Battery D, First Battalion, First Training Regiment of the Field Artillery Training Corps. He was inducted June 23. His landlady said he was a quiet boy, a meek, mild fellow who never drank and was very neat. What happened to him in the U.S. Army? The Army that makes a "self-respecting citizen" out of the draftee youth. What did a quiet fellow like Habinak do to get a 10-year stretch? Why, he spit on the floor! IT'S AS SIMPLE AS THAT!

The court martial convicted Habinak on five charges of insubordination:

(1) He refused a lawful command from First Lieut. Leo J. Kraus to clean his mess kit on July 4 and "willfully" disobeyed the order.

(2) On July 4 he received a lawful command from First Lieut. Kraus to stand at attention. He "willfully" disobeyed. (Col. Elliott disapproved of this finding and there was no conviction.)

(3) He received orders from Lieut. Col. Lowell F. Bowers to pick up pieces of broken concrete and move them off the roadway in the vicinity of the regimental guardhouse. He "willfully" disobeyed.

(4) He received an order from First Lieut. Kraus to clean up the floor around and under his bed. He "willfully" disobeyed.

(5) On July 4 "he did wrongfully expectorate on the floor of the mess hall" of his battery.

(6) He received a lawful order from Sergeant George P. Lester of Battery D "to wipe up the saliva" he expectorated and he "willfully" disobeyed.

And who do you think meted out this "justice" to Habinak? Why, it was none other than Colonel Charles E. Elliott, commander of Fort Bragg. Colonel Elliott is the same missionary of "justice" who gave Owens a free whitewashing and pat on the back when he shot and killed Turman!

THE VIRTUES OF "DEMOCRACY"

Was Habinak tried by a jury of his peers? Was Habinak given a square, democratic deal? NO! Private Habinak spit on the floor and refused to clean up around the camp grounds and in and around his bed. Private Habinak didn't kill a man or two, and he didn't steal a railroad or hold up a few banks. IN THE EYES OF THE U.S. ARMY HE DID WORSE! HE DEFIED AN OFFICER! SO IT'S TEN LONG YEARS FOR HABINAK, "THE TERRIBLE SPIT TERROR"—AND A PAT ON THE BACK FOR OWENS, THE "AVENGING ANGEL" OF ARMY DISCIPLINE!

And Life and PM are worried about the draftees' low morale. They're worried silly because the conscript army just doesn't understand why in hell it should fight in a war or be kept in the bosses' Army.

PM deprecates the fact that the Army is trying to indoctrinate the conscripts with anti-labor sentiments by giving them training in strike-breaking. PM gets absolutely black and blue in the face when it reports about the 15-page mimeographed document distributed to each soldier in the Second Army, signed by Major R. A. Griffin and purporting to promote "a realistic approach to the maneuver problems of the Second Army." This document completely justifies fascism, Hitler's Germany in particular, and knocks so much hell out of the "democracies" that Goebbels wouldn't have to change a comma in rewriting it!

PM wants the Army to teach the draftees the virtues of democracy over those of fascism. Then, PM explains, the draftees will be eager to be killed in a war.

IT'S UP TO US . . .

But the draftees have a different idea about all this. They are learning what "democracy" really means in action, and not in empty, high sounding phrases. The draftees are keenly aware that this is a phony war being fought by both sides for reasons with which they have nothing in common. This explains the resentment over the continuation of the draft, the bitter feeling against the Roosevelt war government, the large number of desertions and AWOL's, the refusal to give robot-like obedience to the fascist-minded officers.

Roosevelt and Churchill plot behind the backs of the American people to send OUR DRAFTTEES anywhere they see fit to fight in THEIR WAR for the continuation and expansion of THEIR PROFITS! That's okay! That has the approval of the Army and the government and their apologists like PM. But this isn't okay for us!

IT'S A HELLUVA WORLD! AND THERE AIN'T NO JUSTICE! BUT IT'S UP TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND OUR DRAFTTEES TO SEE THAT WE GET SOME DAMNED QUICK—OR KNOW THE REASON WHY!

A Letter to a Comrade

On Some Aspects of the Russian Question

By Max Shachtman

We publish herewith another excerpt from a letter on revolutionary policy in the present stage of the war, with special reference to the Soviet Union. The author puts forward the position of the Workers Party, although in dealing with the question of the class character of the Soviet Union he presents a separate point of view which, with others, is now under a pre-convention discussion in the party—Ed.

That alone is what I meant by the paragraph in my New International article of a few months ago, which has been so unwarrantedly quoted by some of the defencist comrades. Were the character of the war to change as indicated, then you could easily see that the arguments about the Stalinist alliance with imperialism referred to in the preceding point would not and could not apply. From the point of view of the Soviet Union, even under Stalin, the OBJECTIVE consequences of the war could not and would not be the same as they are now. Revolutionary defencism in such circumstances would not in any way involve support of imperialism or subordinate the interests of the workers in one country to the interests of the international proletariat. Under such circumstances the greater likelihood is, in fact it is almost a certainty, that mobilization of the working class of any country for revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union would be and could only be directed against the bourgeoisie of that working class. I don't think that should be hard to understand. Yet contrast such a situation with the obvious facts of the present situation. To anyone for whom "defense of the Soviet Union" is not a collection of religious words, but a concrete problem of revolutionary politics, the difference, as the French say, leaps to the eyes.

4. What about the workers in the Soviet Union? What about the defense of nationalized property? Nationalized property is not an abstraction any more than democracy is an abstraction. Nationalized property under the regime of Soviet democracy, that was a revolutionary workers' state. The nationalized property with the regime of the anti-Soviet autocracy, whether you call it a degenerated workers' state or bureaucratic collectivism, is certainly not equivalent to a revolutionary workers' state. On the basis of this very same nationalized property, in fact during the very period when this property was consolidated and expanded enormously at the expense of bourgeois property, the proletarian and revolutionary movements in Russia were all but completely destroyed and the international proletarian movement frightfully undermined.

As you know, I consider nationalized property in the Soviet Union a historically superior form of property than any form of private property in history. But I do not attribute to it what Marx would call a supra-historical significance any more, for example, than I would attribute such a significance to democracy. Is it worth defending? That depends on concrete circumstances and not upon an evaluation of nationalized property in and of itself. It is dangerous to argue by analogy because people can easily demonstrate that analogous situations are not identical situations. Yet to argue by analogy is often illuminating. In the Spanish civil war there were elements of imperialist war and we pointed them out. But, we said, the war is DECISIVELY between bourgeois democracy and fascism; and given the fact that the proletariat was not ready to take power in its own name, we supported bourgeois democracy as against fascism—critically, to be sure. In the same manner, in a social war between world capitalism and the Soviet Union, I would be a revolutionary, i.e., a critical defencist in Russia, because I do not want to see world imperialism get a new lease on life by reducing the non-capitalist Soviet Union to a capitalist colony.

WHAT DO WE TELL THE WORKERS?

Isn't the nationalized property at stake in the present war too? Of course it is. But isn't the working class movement in the United States, its rights and institutions, and in England too, also at stake in the present war? That is, if Hitler conquers the United States, would not that mean that in addition to the crushing of American imperialism, the working class movement and the more or less democratic basis upon which it can exist and progress, would also be destroyed? Of course it would. Yet, we are not defencists in the United States because, however important the role this element plays, it does not alter the decisively imperialist and reactionary character of the war. But at the same time, even in the United States, we do not take a completely negative position. Without becoming defencists, or even flirting with defencism, we fight right in the midst of the imperialist war itself for the interests and rights of the working class. We fight to defend that which is worth defending.

In the present situation in Russia, I would apply much the same policy. Would I tell the Russian workers not to fight the war? That advice is meaningless or stupid. I could not and do not tell them that in the United States. Do I tell them in Russia not to obey their officers? Of course not. I am not an anarchist. In Russia and anywhere else the workers and especially the soldiers will obey their superiors until they have accumulated the organized power . . . not to obey if they so desire. In the Soviet Union now what would I fight for? You understand, of course, that "fighting for" anything in the Soviet Union today is, so far as our movement is concerned, a work of "patient enlightenment," as Lenin used to put it. I would say to the workers, organize and mobilize your strength to re-establish the Soviets, in the cities, in the army and on the land; to re-establish your trade unions; to take power again; to drive out the bureaucrats. Demand even now the diminution and eventual abolition of all bureaucratic privileges. Demand the release of all the revolutionary opponents of Stalin who were imprisoned. Demand the right of self-determination for the Ukraine. (I notice that the Cannonites have dropped this slogan out of the program of action for Russia.) And so on.

WHAT ABOUT THE PEACE SLOGAN?

Would I raise the slogan of peace? One of our defencist comrades demanded that I answer why I do not raise the slogan now, whereas I did raise it during the Finnish invasion. The problem is a very simple one. The peace slogan is not in and of itself a revolutionary or a defeatist slogan, even in a reactionary war. Not at all. The peace slogan should be raised by us under any situation ONLY when it means the revolutionary mobilization of the working class against the reactionary regime. Lenin was against the slogan up to 1917, because in that period it was a purely pacifist slogan. After the revolution, the situation was such that the slogan was revolutionary. But an even better example: We do not even raise the slogan of peace in the United States or England today. Why not? Because we are for the war? Of course not. But because the demand for peace, the slogan for peace, would under the concrete circumstances in England today play right into the hands of Hitler and the British ultra-reactionaries and would not mobilize the masses for revolutionary struggle. In the United States also, the peace slogan would not mobilize the masses for revolutionary struggle and would play right into the hands, not only of Hitler, but, more important, of the pacifist boneheads, the America-Firsters and all the other reactionary appeaser elements.

At a later stage the peace slogan may very well have revolutionary significance. But not now. So in Russia today. In the case of the Finnish invasion, the slogan of

peace would have been a good slogan, not only for its revolutionary effects upon the Finnish proletariat, but because it would have been directed against the reactionary regime in alliance with Hitler. Right now, assuming you want to look reality in the face, such a slogan would only play into the hands of those elements of the bureaucracy who undoubtedly aspire to a complete surrender and capitulation to Hitler. And I am not for that.

But I would like to raise this question, especially to the defencist comrades. The Stalinist alliance with Anglo-American imperialism is reactionary through and through, is it not? It means support of world imperialism, political and military, does it not? In my agitation and educational work among the Russian masses I would raise the slogan: break the reactionary imperialist alliance with London and Washington. The Cannonites, I am pretty sure, would not countenance this slogan, which is eminently correct. Would our defencists? I would like to hear from them on this score.

ON THE QUESTION OF DEFEATISM

Finally, it is necessary to have a little more clarity on the question of defeatism. You remember in the SWP dispute, the gifted Marxist, Cannon, explained to us that the Leninist theory of defeatism means that you PREFER the victory of the enemy to the victory of your own government. That is, you PREFER the defeat of your country by the enemy country, to the defeat of the enemy country by your country. Of course, Lenin never had such an idea, but trifles like that never bothered Cannon in his theoretical flights. I personally think that so much confusion has been introduced in the concept of defeatism that I doubt if we would be losing too much if we dropped the word out of our vocabulary. However, be that as it may, let me try to specify what I mean by the content of this conception in the present situation.

I am NOT for throwing open the front, so that Hitler can march in. Not at all. For that matter, in a considerably different situation, and for somewhat different reasons, I am not for throwing open the front in England either. By defeatism in Russia, if I may still use that word, I aim at the defeat of the Stalinist counter-revolution by the Soviet working class. Right now, to talk realistically of revolutionary action which endangers the front is phrase-mongering, playing with formulae, and nothing more. If ever a situation called for "patient explanation," it is the present situation in Russia. To the extent that anything can be done in Russia I would seek to direct the efforts of the internationalists at reconstituting the independence and the integrity of the proletariat. Then one of two things. This would either facilitate the development of a favorable revolutionary situation, or else would be facilitated by the de-

After the War, What?

By FRANK DEMBY

One of the most significant of recent developments is the publication by the National Resources Planning Board of a pamphlet entitled "After Defense, What?" Its contents are summarized in the New York Times of August 13.

The board, in outlining its post-war economic program, based itself on the assumption that World War II will end in 1944, at which time it estimated that the U.S. will be using 23,000,000 workers in war industries, plus 3,500,000 men in the armed services. As an indication of what is in store for us for the next three years, the report is very interesting. Its real value lies, however, in two extremely important things:

First, there is the recognition on the part of a semi-official government agency that we must plan NOW to prepare for the "colossal undertaking" of transferring these millions of men to peacetime activities, if complete economic breakdown and utter chaos are to be avoided.

Second, and most important, is the complete inadequacy of the program proposed by the National Resources Planning Board to accomplish this aim. It reveals, as clearly as anything can, the bankruptcy of capitalism.

It does not require much imagination to picture what will happen if the usual post-war depression is allowed to develop. Whether it be in 1944 or later, the questions asked by the board are of fundamental importance and are in the mind of every thinking person today: "What happens to the demobilized workers and veterans and their families? Will they be without work? Will they stop producing? Will the national income drop fifteen billion dollars or so as soon as the pent-up demands are met? Will the succeeding drop in consumption throw others out of work and reduce national production and income another ten to twenty billion dollars?"

"If so," says the board, "we shall be back again in the valley of the depression and a terrific new strain will be thrown on our whole system of political, social and economic life. The American people will never stand for this. Sooner or later they will step in and refuse to let matters 'work themselves out.'"

In plain English, then, these learned intellectuals are telling the bosses: "If you don't want a revolution after the war, you've got to take steps to prevent it now; continuing your usual policy of doing nothing will prove fatal."

Let me put the matter another way. The era of free, competitive capitalism is over. It is not merely dying. It is dead. It cannot be resurrected, no matter how many pious declarations Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill issue. The National Resources Planning Board—let credit be given where credit is due—at least recognizes this incontestable fact. But the real problem is HOW TO PLAN for maintaining maximum production, full employment and rising standards of living in peacetime.

Here the capitalist statesmen and economists, when they don't show annoyance at the posing of such far-off problems (peace aims), are hopelessly confused and bewildered. And no wonder! They sense only too well the terrible longing of the masses for peace, security and freedom. But all they can offer the people under an outworn capitalist system is the peace of the graveyard, the security of regimentation and the freedom of the concentration camp. The difficulty lies in the fact that the only type of planning possible under capitalism is the fascist type, which inevitably means more wars and widespread misery and starvation.

How to plan the abolition of poverty in the midst of plenty—that is the question. The National Resources Planning Board would have government, business, workers and farmers cooperate now in the establishment of a planned transition to peacetime activity. Among their suggested plans are: a dismissal allowance for all demobilized men; gradual liquidation of government contracts, priorities and price controls; public works projects, particularly transportation and housing; research to develop new industrial products; plans to expand the service industries—more medical care, education and entertainment; new forms of social security and work relief; new financial plans for covering the costs of these

development of such a situation; more accurately, the one would influence the other. After such an independent proletariat became strong enough to have an influence on the front and on the military operations, then, given the continued existence of the Stalin regime, you would have the beginning of the dual power in Russia. In that case, without yet becoming a defencist, while continuing to denounce Stalin's reactionary war and reactionary war aims, I would try to appeal to the soldiers as Lenin did in 1917, not to engage in futile mutinies or riots or in any sporadic actions, to hold the front, so that the Germans do not break through and crush the proletarian elements of the dual power, and to speed the day when the Russian proletariat can crush the Stalinist elements or the dual power and change the war into a revolutionary war against imperialism.

COUNTERACTING MOODS OF DESPERATION

I know that among certain comrades in the party, a tiny minority, I hope, there is what you might call a reactionary mood about the famous "Russian question." In their fury at Stalin and Stalinism and the Stalinists, some comrades are seeking some magic formula which will "rid them of the Russian problem"—and of Stalinism. I am firmly in favor of resisting and counteracting such moods of desperation, because that is all they are. It is even reported to me that one comrade said that he is a "defeatist" in Russia, because, you see, if Russia is defeated, we won't have the problem of Stalinism in the unions any more! I cannot, of course, vouch for the accuracy of this remark. But I hardly need say that I have nothing in common with such a point of view. I can understand such a point of view only as a result of a reaction provoked by the hideousness of Stalinism and perhaps to a lesser degree by some extremist statements by defencists.

It is necessary to be on guard against such extreme reactions, because even the best comrades, once they start on that road, will sure as fate go to hell. I appeal, rather, for the calmest and most objective judgment of the problem. I don't for a moment contend that it is a simple one. For the Stalinists, of course, it is simple. They don't even have to think. Anything Stalin does automatically merits support. For the Cannonites, too, it is pretty simple. Any war that the "nationalized property" fights against capitalism, they defend.

The present Soviet state, said Trotsky, is a terrible monstrosity. It was never thought of or conceived by Marx or Engels or Lenin or Trotsky himself. It is unprecedented and unique and full of startling surprises and innovations. I consider it the height of stupidity to believe that every single problem connected with it can be answered by a simple formula. For my part I am ready to leave that travesty on Marxian politics to the Cannonites.

projects; and lease-lend aid for the peoples of Europe until they can get on their feet.

Let us grant that all of these are worthwhile aims. Can they be achieved under capitalism? Not in any genuine manner, such as will guarantee full employment and a rising standard of living. Why haven't we had genuine slum-clearance and low-cost housing projects prior to the war? Why, in spite of all the New Deal reforms, does one-third of the nation remain ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clothed? As soon as the government tries to respond to the pressure exerted by masses of discontented people by instituting a few reforms, what happens? Big business, through its control of all the avenues of propaganda, turns loose its high-paid publicists, who unleash clever campaigns to show that such reforms are too costly and will bankrupt the government, or that they are illegal and unconstitutional, or that they undermine the system of free, private enterprise.

If the government sells electricity at cost, which can easily be done, as demonstrated by the TVA, this is government competition with private business. Private business must operate at a profit. To get its profits it must sell things at two or three times the rates charged by government-owned enterprise. Further, monopolies have arisen in every industry for the simple reason that, through monopolies, production can be restricted, prices can be raised, wages can be lowered—and thus profits can be maintained at a high level.

Unfortunately for the National Resources Planning Board, the problem begins where they end. The wheels of industry will not turn, under capitalism, unless the manufacturers, bankers and landlords can get their profits. Is there any reason why manufacturers who refused to manufacture war materials under the "defense" program until their profits were guaranteed by the government, should suddenly start to manufacture the necessities of life once the war is over—unless they can likewise get their profits? Countless inventions have long been suppressed by big corporations because releasing them would interfere with their profits on existing investments. Why should they now develop new industries on a large scale so as to give employment to everyone?

There was a time when the capitalists, in their pursuit of profits, did bring about a general improvement in living conditions—although millions still lived in poverty. But, as the saying goes, "Them days are gone forever." Profits can be maintained today only by having the masses suffer a steadily declining standard of living. This soon makes all reforms a luxury and an expense that the capitalists cannot afford. Once the monopoly capitalists are confronted with such a situation, they finance the fascist gangsters to power. The recent history of Europe leave no doubt on this score.

But even if a schoolchild could propose more concrete and realistic plans than those of the National Resources Planning Board, this does not mean that the workers must give up all hope of a decent life. The Brookings Institute, a very conservative institution, long ago estimated that the U.S., with its abundant resources and technical skills, can give everyone the equivalent of a \$5,000 a year income.

The trade unions must take up the problem and the suggestions of the National Resources Planning Board. They must establish their own planning boards. They must bombard Washington with concrete, realistic plans for producing enough food, clothing, shelter and other things for everyone. They must educate the country so that the masses understand how the good things of life can be distributed to everybody. And if profits have to be sacrificed (AS THEY MUST) in order to achieve a decent, rational and democratic existence—well, then let profits be sacrificed. Why should the selfish interests and privileges of a mere handful of people condemn the overwhelming majority of the population to perpetual hunger and misery?

And we are confident that once the workers start thinking about these problems—which are immediate and practical problems—they will find that only a workers' government, democratically organized and controlled, producing for the use and needs of the population, can solve the manifold problems that confront us today.

They Have, Without Exception, Miscalculated

By WILLIAM BURKE

The second anniversary of the outbreak of the war is here. A gloomy date—for never have the power of reaction and of imperialism seemed so strong, never have the forces of the international working class, of progress, of revolution, seemed so weak as in these two years of world butchery.

No wonder that many are despairing. Many are becoming converted to the belief that "after all, only Hitler, Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt represent real forces," that in this case "you cannot remain neutral," and that if you want to pursue a "realistic policy" you have to "defend the smaller evil as against the greater."

A realistic policy, indeed! Up to the war "realistic policy" meant, in Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, a "realistic" subordination to the demands of the Polish, the Rumanian and the Czech bourgeoisie and its state. But the World War, in the course of a few weeks, swept away each of these powers.

Up to 1940 "realistic policy" in France meant subordination to the powerful imperialism of France. And this powerful nation broke down completely in less than six weeks!

If there is any lesson to be drawn from the war as it has developed up to now, it is this: that most powerful imperialist powers are much weaker, more decayed, than any of us imagined. A dozen states, among them Poland, more or less of a big power, and France, one of the really big powers, have shown themselves to be giants with feet of clay. A third big power, Italy, was saved from a similar fate only through direct last-minute help from Germany.

Perhaps someone will object that these are all second-rate powers. The truly great empires—Germany, England, Russia, America—have remained intact. It is among these giants that the fate of the world will be decided.

The Record of Each

Let us now examine, on the occasion of the second anniversary of the outbreak of the war, the situation of each of these powers and let us see how the policy of their ruling classes has stood the test in the light of recent experiences.

England did not want war, Chamberlain's appeasement policy was no accident; it mirrored the objective situation of the English bourgeoisie. The ruling circles of this old world empire, shaking with contradictions, certainly must have thought as follows: If we lose the war, the empire collapses; if we win it, then there is the danger of revolution on the continent, which will also spread to Asia, to Africa and perhaps even to England and then we are lost again. Should, however, the unbelievable miracle occur, should we win and there be no European revolution, then it will be the Americans and not we who will pocket the profit and we will only be Uncle Sam's tolerated junior partner. In each of these three cases our world hegemony will be lost.

From this analysis, correct from their point of view, flowed Chamberlain's concept—anything, only don't begin the war. Rather, direct Hitler toward the East even at the price of large concessions. Save our own forces for future activity against the continental big powers when they will be weakened by mutual warfare.

This policy collapsed completely. Instead of doing the English lords the favor of marching into Russia, leaving at his rear the French army and the English fleet, Hitler made a temporary agreement with Stalin, attacked the Western powers, destroyed all of England's allies and forced the English to fight this time with their own forces. Only American aid could save the British world empire from destruction. Unless America enters the war, England cannot win. But when America enters, then Washington and not London will be the headquarters of the Allies and the real center of the British Empire. In every case, English policy has led to catastrophic miscalculations.

Now let us take Germany. Hitler also wished to avoid the war. But in contrast to his opponents he had courage—the courage of despair. Up to 1939 his policy consisted of bluffing on the basis of a threatened World War. He relied on the other to back down at the last minute—and this trick worked excellently as late as Munich. But if he was forced to wage war, then he would do so only on ONE front, protected by the cautious neutrality of his FUTURE victims. Anything, only not war on two fronts—this was the first commandment of Hitler's strategy.

And today Germany is nonetheless forced to wage war on two fronts—precisely what Hitler wanted most to avoid. German imperialism also has made grave miscalculations.

But the real clever guy in all this world butchery seemed to be Stalin. First of all, his politics of "collective security" and "peoples fronts" did their share of warmongering among the peoples of the "democratic" countries. Then the Russo-Ger-

(Continued on page 4)

Labor News and Notes from the Anti-War Third Camp

BELGIUM: When the wages of miners in Belgium were cut by 20 cents a day strikes broke out throughout the industry. The Nazis tried to drive the workers back and placed whole districts under military law. The miners were ordered back to work under military orders. This resulted in an extension of the strike—with demands for the doubling of food rations and a 25 per cent wage increase. Metal workers, road workers and textile workers joined in with a total of 125,000 involved. The Belgian press has been forbidden to mention the strike, which still continues.

POLAND: Desperate strikes have taken place in Poland against starvation wages. The cost of living figures show an increase of 4½ times since the war. These strikes have been temporarily crushed by the armed forces of the Gestapo.

SCOTLAND: The annual conference of the Scottish Iron, Steel and Kindred Workers held at Glasgow adopted a resolution condemning the "Essential Work Order" of Ernest Bevin. The delegates complained bitterly of the curtailment of their freedom and of fines imposed because of "absenteeism, lateness," etc.

BRITISH WEST INDIES: W. A. Domingo, president of the West Indies National Council, has been arrested and jailed without trial. George Hall, Under-Secretary for the Colonies and a member of the British Labor Party (as usual), defended the arrest in Parliament on the grounds that Domingo is a nationalist.

INDIA: Martial law prevails in Bombay because of bitter strike clashes between the English authorities and the Bombay textile workers. Latest estimates place the number of jailed members of the Indian Nationalist Congress at 50,000. The viceroy admits to only 15,000. Meanwhile Gandhi's limited campaign of civil disobedience continues.

ENGLAND:
(1) The government's latest "White Paper" has advised bosses and wage arbitration courts to turn down applications for increased wages. Even the long slumbering Trade Union General Council has, according to the British New Leader, protested this.

(2) Sixteen hundred girl hosiery workers struck during August at the Klinger Manufacturing Company's Edmonton plant on the question of payment for national holidays.

(3) In South Wales, Stalinist leader Arthur Horner—member of the Miners' executive—advised workers to cut down their holidays and work Sunday nights (all for dear old Joe of the Kremlin). A ballot vote rejected this "recommendation." Communist Party members who are shop stewards have stopped all militant demands and are soft-peddling the stewards' movement itself by cancelling and sabotaging meetings and actions.

ENGLISH STALINISTS: "The Bristol meeting was preceded by community singing. The Red Flag and The International were sandwiched between such pieces as Annie Laurie, Land of My Fathers, England Arise and Abide with Me. On the platform the Red Flag and the Union Jack hung side by side." (British New Leader.)

"Let's Get Together," Says Colored Sharecropper of Southeast Missouri

Why can't we Negroes be looked upon as citizens of the United States at all times?

We are only counted in the cotton fields and in the woods clearing land and breaking roots. We are alright with the Bosses so long as we plow his mule from sun up till sun down for that hot dollar and 25 cents. As long as we do what we are called good niggers.

We don't ever be called men or looked upon as men until there is about to be a bloody war. I oftentimes think about the worlds war, what good promises we got, we was promised everything good, but after the war was over what did we get? Well I can tell anybody just what we got we got plenty hell.

They did not think that they would need the old nigger to help any more. Its allwright to bet if you get what you win.

So it is about fighting, it allwright to fight we don't mind fighting if we get what we fight for. If we fight for money we want money, and not honey. If we fight for freedom we want freedom and not slavery, and if we fight for bread we want bread and not lead. And if we fight for bell we want bell and not so much Hell as we have been getting.

Then we will feel more like we are citizens. The big bosses tells us negroes that we should fight to save or defend our country. Well thats true, but where is our country? This is the bosses country, if this was our country we could demand some things, besides A mule and plow and A cross cut saw.

So the way we see it the big bosses should fight to save his country. The working class both white and black is only a target for the big bosses to shoot at with his pencil.

And we are getting doggone tired of that pencil stuff, if you no you dont owe him but \$20, if he takes that pencil and figure it up and say you owe him \$70, you better not dispute his word, if you do he is ready to get A club or pistol or blackjack and cut your head. The working man in Southeast Missouri both black and white have the same chance that A blind mice would have in A closed room with 10 hungry suckling mama cats. Its hell any way he go.

Now working class both black and white lets get together and demand our rights, it can be done and must be done.

A. L. A.

New Madrid, Mo. New Madrid County.

We Demand: A Capital Levy on Wealth To Pay for ALL War Appropriations!

SHARECROPPERS WANT FREEDOM

Dear Editor:

We sharecroppers in southeast Missouri number around 6,000. We are being cut out from share-crops to day hands each year more and more. So its got to the place now that a sharecropper is hard to find in southeast Missouri. We are mostly day hands working from 10 to 16 hours per day at the rates of \$1.00 and \$1.25 per day.

Listen my friends New Madrid County Missouri is the worst county in the United States. These so-called big bosses here in this county think that we working class of people both

white and black must do what they say do and when they say do and exactly like they want it done regardless to what it may be.

And we have some Negroes here in this county that will skin a flea for his hide and taller and go to hell for his cracklings to please old boss. He will tell old boss everything he hear, and everything he see and everything the other fellow do both good and bad, well that is what I would call A stoopigeon. The whole world would be better off without such.

We want freedom, and to get freedom we must organize and to organize we will have to go, so my friends we are on our way, and we hope we

Randolph Reports for the President - - But He Doesn't Report the FACTS!

By HENRY PELHAM

On August 5, one month and ten days after the March on Washington was called off, the White-Randolph-Crosswaith combine thought the mass resentment had died down. They therefore had the audacity to hold a "monster mass meeting" at Salem Methodist Church at 129th Street and Seventh Avenue in Harlem for the purpose of explaining away the greatest sell-out of Negroes since Reconstruction.

Randolph as chairman led off with a report that the march had "never been called off but merely postponed." He also revealed that there was opposition within the Administration, led by Knudsen of the OPM, against the issuance of the executive order.

After a half hour conference in the executive office, the President requested the delegation, together with Administration officials, to retire to a Cabinet room, where the conference lasted another hour and 45 minutes. When discussion became heated, Mayor La Guardia of New York informed the President that if the order was not issued he could look for someone else to head the Civilian Defense Advisory Committee. Shortly afterward the order was drafted by "The Little Flower" and signed by FDR.

Therefore, said Randolph, the demands of the Negroes had been met and there was no need to march on Washington, but the committee is to remain intact for future "action."

Randolph castigated his critics (who are legion), praised La Guardia and did a bit of subtle campaigning for the Mayor, who has again tossed his sombrero into the mayoralty ring.

Among other speakers were: Bessie Bearden, who headed the button campaign. She made a short, stereotyped speech, comparing the executive order with the Emancipation Proclamation.

Lester Granger, secretary of the Urban League, who also flayed the critics of the committee, tried to make a saint of Randolph.

Walter White, who spoke for about 15 minutes. With the exception of building La Guardia up for four more years as Mayor, he said practically nothing.

Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the board of directors of the National Negro YMCA, paid high tribute to Philip Randolph. (I remember when Randolph was one of America's foremost Negro militants and when this same Tobias would not think of sitting on the same platform with him, much less speaking—but you see "Randy" is now Kosher and respectable.)

And "The Little Flower" Too

Then came Frank Crosswaith, carrying the ball to the goal line. He addressed the audience as friends and fellow-sufferers, "the march has not been abandoned—merely suspended." He then went into his usual flamboyance. Looking up to the ceiling, he saw black hands stretching from South America, the West Indies, through North America to clasp black hands in Africa, all because FDR had issued Speculative Order No. 8802.

David Sarnoff, president of the Radio Corporation of America, and one of the members of the Fair Employment Practices Committee in OPM, was sent to pinch hit for Ethridge, the chairman and other big business member of the same committee. Sarnoff frankly stated this assignment was all new to him but he would do his best to help "widen the base of democracy here at home, since disunity does not tend to promote national defense." He also said that "WHEN and IF the executive order was translated into action it would mean the beginning of the full brotherhood of man." The Negroes fought for the order, but other minority groups should thank them, because they too, would benefit by it.

The "absentee Mayor" of New York, Fiorello H. La Guardia, came in late, escorted by a troop of Negro "Boy Sprouts."

Randolph saw the audience had become restless from the natural heat and the steam from the platform (both were terrific). At this juncture he made a plea for money to take care of a \$230 deficit the committee had incurred. (Inasmuch

as he sent 10-word telegrams to committees in all key cities and all other services were gratis, I fail to see what was done with this dough.)

Well, "Randy," after milking the nickels and dimes and a few quarters from the impoverished audience (who had already purchased about \$1,500 worth of buttons for the march in Greater New York City alone), introduced America's No. 3 politician (Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is No. 2), who spent about half an hour telling jokes at the expense of Randolph and White. Of course he also launched a bit of oratorical tripe, characterizing the "Speculative" order as one of the greatest documents in history, and the man who signed it as the greatest champion of liberty and democracy in modern history. When he concluded Randolph came forward to ask the audience to stand and perhaps sing some sort of anthem. But the audience pulled a fast one on him—they rushed for all the exits . . . and fresh air.

BUT . . .

Now let us make an analysis of what has been said by the Negro and white misleaders and what has actually been done since the issuance of Speculative Order No. 8802.

Bob Weaver, Negro stooge in the OPM, has issued releases purporting to show that the following plants have hired Negroes in all capacities since the issuance of the order: Bendix Aviation, Philadelphia; Brewster Aircraft, Long Island City and Hatboro, Pa.; Douglas Aircraft, Los Angeles; Allison Motors, Indianapolis (section of General Motors); Winchester Arms, New Haven, Conn.

But this is an excerpt from a press release issued weekly from the NAACP Press Service under date of August 1:

"Contrary to the rosy-hued picture painted by Dr. Robert C. Weaver, chief of Negro Employment and Training Branch of Labor Division of OPM, complaints and reports reveal that Brewster Aircraft has not ceased its discriminatory employment policy."

A Negro sheet metal worker with nine years of experience was sent out by the New York State Employment Service on July 23. He was interviewed and told there were no openings for sheet metal workers. While waiting, however, he saw a south European sheet metal worker, who had only second citizenship papers, and had quite a bit of difficulty reading the blueprint. He was told to report to work the next morning as a sheet metal worker.

Another Negro worker, with 400 hours training in special aircraft riveting at Saunders Training School, Yonkers, N. Y., where the instructors are all Brewster employees, was also told there are no openings for riveters. He learned later from his instructors that several white graduates from the same school had been hired after he was turned down. He made a second attempt last week and was again turned down.

Another Negro worker with both training and experience has a certificate from Manhattan High School where he specialized in airplane and engine mechanics and was employed two years at La Guardia Field as a junior aircraft assistant. He applied twice at Brewster, the last time July 30. Each time he was turned down, but he knows several white graduates of the same school who are at present working at Brewster.

The Anaconda Wire & Steel Co. of Hastings, N. Y., sent an order into the New York State Employment Service for laborers with the following qualifications: "Single men, 20-40 and married men, 25-40 years of age, strong, weight 150 lbs. or over. No Italians, Germans or Negroes need apply."

The executive order seems to be something of a boomerang in the face of Walter White and the NAACP. From other sources we learn that the NLRB has received a protest from the NAACP on behalf of 500 Negro workers of the Philadelphia Transit Co. objecting to their being represented before the National Labor Relations Board by the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen on the basis that their policy restricting membership to whites only disqualifies the BRT

to act as a bargaining agent for Negro railway workers.

Winchester Arms, one of the most notorious non-union plants in the U.S., has been ballyhooed as being fair to Negro workers. A Negro worker in that plant reports that Negroes constitute about 12 per cent of the workers; when a Negro applies for a job he is given the most menial job regardless of skill. One Negro has to pull a truck with one ton of lead that heretofore was pulled and pushed by two white workers. The white workers say "a mule would balk at this task, but Negroes who have suffered from long unemployment and miss-meal-cramps just fight to grab one of these man-killing trucks. For this they are paid 55 cents per hour and overtime does not begin until 40 hours have been worked. There is no lunch period but a sandwich can be bolted down during the 15 minute rest period the humane boss gives the men. They work in three shifts. There is the usual housing shortage found in all industrial areas. Many workers crawl into parked cars and snatch a bit of sleep after their daily ordeal.

The New York Daily News, which sells for two cents in New York City and three cents elsewhere, sells for four cents in New Haven's Negro area.

To date the post of secretary of the FEP committee, composed of two white big business boys, one Negro pie-card artist, and one Negro pen-ult politician and two white pie-card artists, has not as yet been filled. Since it is the only office on the committee that will pay a salary, the Negro press has submitted the names of several Negroes to the President for consideration, but it seems that he has a political debt to pay to Lawrence Cramer, former superintendent of the Insular Almshouse (ex-governor of the Virgin Islands). If he is appointed (and he has been—Ed.), a Negro assistant with as much power as Victor Emanuel has, will also be appointed for appeasement purposes only.

War Department officials have been charged with making use of legal technicalities to carry on a deliberate campaign of aiding industrialists in their policy of keeping Negroes out of skilled jobs in war industries while giving lip service to Executive Order No. 8802. It is

World at War - -

(Continued from page 1)

Soviet-Iranian treaty of 1921. According to this article, Russia has the right to send troops into Iran in the interests of self-defense if Iran fails to cope with action or threatened action by another power endangering Russia. This clause was invoked by Russia on the ground that Germany was preparing such an action against her. It is interesting to note that this clause was written when Russia was really bolshevistic and was intended to apply to Great Britain.

The 1921 treaty with Iran has a very interesting history. The background for this treaty are the years 1919-1921 when the interventionist Churchill used Iran as a springboard for attacks on the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky. In those years Iran was the base for the British and Indian troops which operated against the Bolsheviks in Turkestan and Baku. At that time British control of Iran enabled the Denikin flotilla to operate freely in the Caspian under the supreme command of the British admiral, Norris. The Bolsheviks had to defeat Denikin and drive the British out of northern Iran before Iran could establish herself as an independent state freed from British control. When Lenin made the 1921 treaty with Iran which included Article 6, there was only one country—Great Britain—that the Soviet government ever expected to apply it against.

Things are altogether different now. Churchill and Stalin are cheek by jowl in Iran. It must be said to Churchill's credit that he hasn't changed. He is just as opposed to bolshevism as he ever was. Only Stalin has changed. How much can

be seen from the following incredible sample of "propaganda" sent from the Moscow radio in the Slovak, Dutch, Rumanian and Bulgarian languages:

"The Moscow radio called upon 'all God-loving inhabitants of the occupied countries' to rise in defense of their religious freedom. It charged the German regime was 'menacing the very existence of Christianity' and seeking the overthrow of 'Christ, the King' to install the 'myth of the 20th century of Alfred Rosenberg,' leading Nazi philosopher. Quoting copiously from Dr. Rosenberg's book, 'The Myth of the 20th Century,' which it denounced as 'diabolic,' the broadcast attacked 'those Godless heathens' and charged them with 'attempts through psychological bribery to encourage Christian youth to follow in the footsteps of their dissolute and disillusioned parents down the path to perdition.'"

Stalin's neo-religiosity must have endeared itself to so pious a hypocrite as Winston Churchill, who himself never fails to strike the religious note in his speeches. Churchill likes nothing better than to take off on a flight of religious rhetoric and thus cloak his imperialist designs in the raiment of Christian nobility. For example, commenting on his Atlantic talks with Roosevelt: "We sang," said Churchill, "Onward Christian Soldiers, and indeed I felt that this was no vain presumption but that we had a right to feel we were serving a cause for the sake of which the trumpet has sounded from on high." Stalin has obviously learned something from his new partner.

So you see democracy, in its bankrupt, diabolic manner, marching onward and down. "Consistency, thou art a precious jewel."

The NAACP also has received reports from Camp Upton of white army officers giving white recruits who are being transferred to Southern camps pep talks on conduct, in this manner: "Don't associate with 'niggers,' don't drink with them or shake hands. If you fraternize with 'niggers' and run counter to the law, you and not the 'niggers' will be the ones to get arrested."

A mass meeting sponsored by one of the steel locals under a militant Negro leadership has been called for the very near future. The steel local has called for an all-out organizational fight to aid the Negroes in this fight for their democratic rights. The workers of this local are preparing to throw picket lines around the businessmen's funeral parlor meeting house, and the Buffalo Memorial Stadium. Workers of the steel local are discussing the question of running their own candidates on a militant independent labor program in the election for local civic positions.

The businessmen are going to have one helluva fight on their hands. The Buffalo workers mean business—and not the type of business the bosses like. The militant stand of these workers for better housing conditions means that the bosses' plans are going to wind up right where they began: in the funeral parlor!

Buffalo Workers Turn to Fight For Better, Cheaper Housing

Special to Labor Action

BUFFALO—Having won the right to organize their industry, the workers of the Bethlehem Steel Company are now fighting on another important front: better and cheaper housing for Buffalo's workers. Particular attention is being given the miserable slum area of the Fifth Ward to get them better housing and to keep the rents down to within the average wage level.

The site for the new housing project was to be Buffalo's South Side, which is in the center of the steel industry's community. But a hitch developed in these plans when the South Side business men called a meeting of their cohorts. There was a gathering of the clan down in one of the funeral parlors, where the business "heads" sought ways and means to bury the housing project.

The businessmen, being smart f---heads, thought they'd be able to put one over on the Buffalo workers by issuing a statement saying "It was unjust to force the Negro to live in a white man's residential section."

Of course the Negro workers were not consulted about their opinion as to whether or not they would suffer "undue hardship" if they were "forced" to live in a white neighborhood. The fatheads on the businessmen's committee think that they can get the workers of Buffalo to believe that the Negro worker enjoys being segregated and forced to live in the most filth-infested neighborhood in the city. They think so—but the Negro and white workers think different. They aren't lamebrains.

Bethlehem's steel workers and the local Negro population aren't taking any of the businessmen's hot air seriously. They're going to give these boys a run for their money.

A mass meeting sponsored by one of the steel locals under a militant Negro leadership has been called for the very near future. The steel local has called for an all-out organizational fight to aid the Negroes in this fight for their democratic rights. The workers of this local are preparing to throw picket lines around the businessmen's funeral parlor meeting house, and the Buffalo Memorial Stadium. Workers of the steel local are discussing the question of running their own candidates on a militant independent labor program in the election for local civic positions.

The businessmen are going to have one helluva fight on their hands. The Buffalo workers mean business—and not the type of business the bosses like. The militant stand of these workers for better housing conditions means that the bosses' plans are going to wind up right where they began: in the funeral parlor!

Buffalo Bosses Justify Jim-Crow By More Jim-Crow

By VAL HART

Special to Labor Action

BUFFALO—Jim Crow at its worst is being practiced in Buffalo. A 200 unit Negro defense housing project was supposed to be erected on Okell Street here. Buffalo Negroes have the most miserable housing conditions, in a city where even the homes of white workers are almost uninhabitable. They thought, for a while, that the housing project would give some of them decent living quarters. But there was a slight error. The federal housing officials made some kind of a mistake.

Although space is available on Okell Street and although it was decided by the officials that this was the right spot for a housing project, some righteous residents of the Okell Street section have started a loud and furious protest against "ruining this residential section, that took so long to build." They cry that the value of the property will decrease if the Negroes move in. They have made so much noise that a special delegation was called in to investigate the matter and find out whether a Negro housing project was such a good idea, after all.

The Buffalo Evening News reported the following: "Delegates doubt Buffalo is in need of Negro housing . . . Federal Works Administration officials have received word from the Buffalo firms that NO ADDITIONAL NEGRO WORKERS ARE TO BE EMPLOYED IN BUFFALO and that if any Negro housing should be built it should be of the slum-clearance variety in the Willert Park section. If it is finally determined that Negro defense housing should be constructed in this area, federal officials said, it should be located in Lackawanna, AND NOT IN BUFFALO."

Buffalo firms refuse to hire any more Negroes, therefore there is no need for a Negro housing project! The only excuse they can offer for Jim Crow is—more Jim Crow! But what are the Negroes going to do about it? Next week they are holding a mass demonstration against this vicious practice of race prejudice. They intend to have their say in the matter for they are sick and tired of living in old, worm-eaten shacks.

W. A.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

SHARECROPPERS WANT FREEDOM

Dear Editor:

We sharecroppers in southeast Missouri number around 6,000. We are being cut out from share-crops to day hands each year more and more. So its got to the place now that a sharecropper is hard to find in southeast Missouri. We are mostly day hands working from 10 to 16 hours per day at the rates of \$1.00 and \$1.25 per day.

Listen my friends New Madrid County Missouri is the worst county in the United States. These so-called big bosses here in this county think that we working class of people both

white and black must do what they say do and when they say do and exactly like they want it done regardless to what it may be.

And we have some Negroes here in this county that will skin a flea for his hide and taller and go to hell for his cracklings to please old boss. He will tell old boss everything he hear, and everything he see and everything the other fellow do both good and bad, well that is what I would call A stoopigeon. The whole world would be better off without such.

We want freedom, and to get freedom we must organize and to organize we will have to go, so my friends we are on our way, and we hope we

will have the backing of all Unions to help us through this struggle. We will not be like Walter White and Randolph sell the people for A little old ice cream job.

We workers here have watched the big cigar smokers for A long time we have even tried them they dont want us to ask for land or A new house, and either no high pay, no relief no nothing but A doggone mule and plow.

If we ask some of these guys here well I might could spare you 6 or 8 for A sharecrop, he will say like this acres but you will have to sign your parity over to me, and you cant have no corn no hogs no chickens.

Well I might ask him will he fix that old house that it want leak, he will tell me quick hell no if you cant use it like it is I will get some one else, that house is ok it might leak A little bit but that want hurt you. And listen John remember you must sign that parity over to me.

(John) Well Mr. — if that parity belongs to me I want it.

(Boss) Well I expect you had better hunt you another place.

And listen dear readers if any of these Negroes around here speak up for himself old boss will say you must be one of them dam highway niggers.

And the majority of our so called

preachers is the cause of it all, they are teaching us starvingsim instead of livingism. old boss will tell him that he dont have to work as long as he carry his word, not gods word but old bosses word. And believe me he is on his job, we also have some school teachers thats riding in the same boat, as long as he teaches old bosses stuff he can keep A school.

Well I will say to hell with that preacher and that Teacher, there is no place for such man or woman but (HELL) and I think he should be on his way as well as she.

There is no work for the people to do, still they must pay that \$1.50 each month for light bill, and they

must try to buy foodstuff for their families, and some big shot told them last week if they did not not have that \$1.50 by the first of September they had to move, and I told them lets all move back to Highway 61 where we was in 1939, lets all move out not one not two but the whole dam crew.

Now my dear friends in my last remarks I want to say this fight is for every working man in southeast Missouri, both black and white.

We want Land for the Landless and homes for the homeless. And we will get it if every working man black and white get together.

W. A.

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

The Government "Seizes" Another War Plant

The strike of Local 16 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers at Kearney, N. J., has been "settled" by the order of President Roosevelt instructing the Secretary of the Navy to "seize" the plant of the Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. This company is a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corp. Both the company and the striking union had invited the government to take over the plant. This is the second time within a period of three months that the government has stepped into a labor dispute between organized workers and their employer as "arbitrator."

The difference is that this time there is no bayonet charge against unarmed workers, as at North American Aviation. In that strike, the local (UAW) was charged with "Communist" leadership and violating agreements with the National Mediation Board. The troops were sent in, it is said, because the workers refused to accept the "services" of the "Mediation" Board, return to work and abide by the decision of the board.

Several Differences

In the Kearny strike the union accepted the decisions of the "Mediation" Board but the company refused. The union demanded a "maintenance of membership" clause in the contract. The "Mediation" Board agreed that this was a reasonable demand and so recommended. The company rejected the recommendation and the strike was deadlocked. Then the union asked the government to take over the plant. The company made a similar request and eventually the Navy Department moved in.

There is a significant difference between this case and that of North American. The Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock Co., subsidiary of U. S. Steel, has not been charged with "holding up defense production." The company president, L. H. Korndorff, has not been charged with lack of "patriotism." The capitalist press, which raised holy fury when the workers at North American refused to accept or abide by decisions of the "Mediation" Board, has not a word of condemnation now for Federal Shipbuilding

and Korndorff, who have done precisely what the North American local did.

The Army drove the North American workers off the streets and back into the plant with bayonets. Korndorff is permitted to make a pious and hypocritical gesture of "patriotism" and turn the plant over to the government. No troops or marines go to the plant to teach Korndorff and Federal Shipbuilding a lesson in "patriotism." Only one aging brass hat of an office admiral marches into the plant and takes over.

Not Very Smart

The officers of the union thought perhaps that they were playing a smart trick on the company when they asked the government to take over the plant. The government had struck at the workers at North American, now let Roosevelt take the same steps against Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock Corp. Perhaps also these officers of the union were getting a little jittery because of the militancy of the workers in Local 16. These workers were holding out. They were demanding that the company submit to their demands. They were going to enforce these demands on the picket line. That was exactly what the workers at North American did. The union officers were fearful that Roosevelt would send the army again and bayonet the workers off the picket line. This would mean a struggle against the government.

The officers of the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers are "loyal" supporters of the Second World Imperialist War and this fact determined their course of action in this strike situation. Because they are supporters of the war, the leadership of the IUMSW, like all other supporters of the imperialist war, must subordinate everything to the demands, not of the workers, but to the pressure of the imperialist war-makers.

The union leadership called off the strike without any agreement with the government as to whether or not the demands of the workers would be met. When asked whether or not the government would require "maintenance of membership," Roosevelt replied that that would depend on who runs the plant. What does this mean? It is generally understood that the government is running the plant. Then why could not that question have been decided before the return to work? Especially since it was a recommendation of Roosevelt's "Mediation" Board.

There are only three possibilities for running the plant: the government, the company, or the union. Does Roosevelt plan to have the company operate the plant for the government? Does he have in mind direct government ownership and management by the Navy Department? Or is he considering what the Workers Party demands: CONSCRIPTION BY THE GOVERNMENT AND CONTROL BY THE WORKERS?

Hardly a "Delight"

John Green, president of the union, says that he is "delighted" with the situation. The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION don't think the situation is so delightful. The workers in this shipbuilding plant were on strike for several weeks. They are back at work under the direction of a navy admiral and not a single demand they made has been satisfied. They may get what they were asking but how do they know? How does their president, John Green, know? Is he privy to the mind of Roosevelt and the Navy Department? The fact is that these workers up to now have gained exactly nothing. They have gained nothing from the company and nothing from the government.

The union officers have no confidence in the company but what is their basis for confidence in the government of Roosevelt or any other capitalist and imperialist war-making government? Perhaps the officers of the union have some reason for this confidence, but surely the workers do not. The workers can only rely on their own mass strength, their own courage and the might of their picket lines. This is true whether they are dealing with the bosses, such as Korndorff, or the bosses' government, that right now happens to be headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt.

For Labor Action-- Join the Workers Party

Jim-Crow Is Point "No. 9" In the Roosevelt Program

(Continued from page 1)

It is more than that. In another way white workers too are up against the same sort of oppression. The Roosevelt military police beat up Negro soldiers at Fort Bragg, but the Roosevelt army also attacks white workers at North American Aviation Co. with bayonets. Anyone or any group that in any way interferes with the smooth working of the imperialist war

plans of the Roosevelt government and the bosses will feel the lash of the government and its underlings.

Roosevelt first realized that the situation with the Negro and the Negro soldier was a powder keg in connection with the called-off march on Washington. Roosevelt, Stimson and Knox jumped in and, after making the most insulting remarks to the Negro "leaders" of the march, handed them a small lump of sugar and insisted on the demonstration being called off. This Randolph and White obligingly did.

Miscalculated - -

(Continued from page 2)

man pact secured Hitler's rear and gave him the signal for attack. Now he stood on the sidelines—he didn't want to pick anyone's chestnuts out of the fire. On the contrary, others would do it for him. For the time being, the Russian jackal will stay carefully within the shadow of the German tiger. The only booty he will grab will be what the tiger leaves. But the day will come when the big beasts of prey will be so weakened fighting each other that the jackal will be the strongest animal of all and will become ruler of the animal kingdom. In other words, when the peoples of Europe will have shed their blood in the service of one or the other imperialism, then the Red Army will march through Europe, not to free the peoples, but to enslave them under the yoke of Stalinist imperialism.

This calculation also went wrong. Stalin is now forced to pull chestnuts out of the fire at the very moment when the fire is hottest. Whereas in 1939 he could have had his way in laying down the conditions for an eventual alliance with the Western powers, today he stands like a beggar before the gates of Churchill and Roosevelt. White fighting for the Russian bureaucracy, the Russian masses are at the same time shedding their blood to save the British Empire and for a breathing-spell which will make possible America's participation in the fight for world domination. Of course, the Western imperialists have every reason to exult: first Chamberlain and now Stalin has miscalculated in exactly the same way.

And America? It is still too early to draw up a definitive balance. However, there is ONE question in regard to which the American impe-

rialists have evidently already miscalculated. They hoped that OTHERS would fight the "war for democracy," that America would merely supply them with sympathy and grenades, and that one day world domination would automatically fall into the lap of Uncle Sam. And today it is already evident that if he wants to accomplish this goal our worthy Uncle Sam will have to betake himself in person to the scene of battle. And even then success is not guaranteed.

All Miscalculated

So we see that none of these "great men" have been able to keep their promises. Chamberlain could not maintain the "peace of our generation," Hitler was not able to save Germany from the dreaded war on two fronts, Stalin was forced after all to pull the hot chestnuts out of the fire. Nor will Roosevelt be able to hold to his fake "short of war" program. Everywhere things turned out different than the great "realistic" leaders thought.

The bourgeoisie of the various countries entered this war hesitatingly and against their will. They really did not WANT to enter the war—they had to. Their cleverest brains warned them that the war, once begun, would take an entirely different course than could be predicted and would lead to far-reaching consequences.

We cannot today prophecy the tempo at which the forces of the "Third Camp" will be organized and ready to take up the fight—the Third Camp which alone is able to lead mankind out of this bloody blind alley. But one thing becomes clearer with each new turn: this war will be ended by entirely different forces from those that began it.

Defy Nazis - -

(Continued from page 1)

The capitalist press reported that "6,000 Jews" had been arrested, thus playing into the hands of the Nazi partners, Hitler and Petain, who are attempting to give their anti-worker actions the simple, vicious cloak of anti-Semitism. The French workers—"Aryan and non-Aryan"—are hardly fooled by this ruse.

Arrests were also taking place in other sections of the city. A demonstration at the Gare St. Lazare, the railway station in the 8th Arrondissement, was fired upon by the police. Latest reports are that the police are continuing their raids, bringing the arrests up to 20,000 and more.

To terrorize the discontented people, two executions took place on the first day of the mass arrests. The victims were Szmul Tyselman and Henri Gautherot, who took part in a demonstration against the German troops of occupation. They were tried by court-martial and immediately shot. These executions were announced on posters all over Paris.

A third victim of Nazi terror was executed the following day. He was Jose Roig, shot for allegedly recruiting volunteers for General de Gaulle. His fate was also well advertised.

However, these publicized executions did not prevent the assassination of a colonel of the German general staff. This Nazi was stabbed to death in the Paris subway—immediately after the executions.

In retaliation, the Nazis issued a decree declaring that all arrested French will be held as hostages as of August 23. Future "criminal acts" will be punished by shooting a number of hostages "corresponding to

the gravity of the act committed." To check the industrial sabotage in occupied France, the Nazi authorities are resorting to communal fines. However, sabotage continues and the saboteurs are not being turned over to the Nazis.

The rubber-stamp Petain government is busy preparing a series of decrees for unoccupied France to correspond with the Nazi suppressive measures against the growing popular ferment in occupied France.

Stalinists Aid de Gaulle

The Stalinists, of course, are fishing in these troubled waters. Information having been "secretly" sent from Moscow that Hitler is no longer Stalin's pal, the French Stalinists have come to life, reorganizing their ranks and engaging in anti-Hitler propaganda.

Far from agitating for working class seizure of power, they are reported to have formed a front with the de Gaullist movement. Every enlightened worker knows that de Gaulle wants the British to win the war in the futile hope that victorious British imperialism will allow old-time French capitalism once more to fasten itself around the workers' necks.

It is also interesting to note that many socialist leaders are being released from jail on pledges to support the Petain betrayal. Their role will be to use their influence with the working class to help put over the Hitler-Petain deal.

However, the belligerent mood of the workers indicates that this flotsam of working class traitors will not carry much weight.

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 _____

Municipal Merry-Go-Round

By SUSAN GREEN

LaGuardia will have some explaining to do to the organized workers of this city in his campaign for re-election. His fight to destroy the Transport Workers Union is still very fresh in the minds of all workers. And all city employees know his hostile attitude toward their unions.

Organized labor's resentment against LaGuardia was expressed in the action taken by the CIO Industrial Union Council of Greater New York on August 7. Seventy-five delegates, representing 250 local CIO unions, unanimously voted to withhold endorsement of any candidate in the coming mayoral election until the views of each candidate on the rights of organized labor in the municipal service have been fully given.

However, the trouble with this kind of action is that IT DOESN'T BEGIN TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS.

It is surprising that the CIO, which has gone so far in organizing the workers on progressive industrial union lines and in bringing out the true militancy of labor, is still so backward when it comes to politics.

When has any candidate—Fusion, Democrat or Republican—refused to promise the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow IN ORDER TO GET LABOR'S VOTE? Before election, boss politicians promise all things to all men. After election, they serve the interests they represent.

Therefore, for the powerful CIO unions to await "the views of each candidate on the rights of organized labor"—AND TO RELY ON THESE VIEWS—is to throw away their great political power!

Sam Burland, secretary of Local 33, Sanitation Workers Union of the State, County and Municipal Workers of America, CIO, declared that if LaGuardia "persists in his attacks on our union, there won't be five members of the union who are going to give him their vote."

Five labor votes for LaGuardia or for any of the other boss politicians ARE FIVE VOTES TOO MANY!

During the election campaign LaGuardia may easily DESIST from attacking the unions. BUT WHAT ABOUT THE LONG PERIODS BETWEEN ELECTIONS?

The CIO must shed its political naivete. It is too powerful to hang onto the tail of this or that boss politician. It has the strength to create a true political party of labor, RUNNING ITS OWN UNION CANDIDATES FOR OFFICE!

This is the CIO must do!

In the meantime there is a working class candidate for Mayor in this election WHO SHOULD GET THE VOTE OF EVERY WORKER.

He is MAX SHACHTMAN—candidate of the WORKERS PARTY.

Of course, the CIO has connections with the American Labor Party.

The principal occupation of the ALP has been to hustle labor votes for boss politicians. THIS HARDLY MAKES IT A LABOR PARTY.

In this campaign the ALP is running union-busting LaGuardia because he is supposed to have a record for "good government."

The question is: Good government for whom? CERTAINLY NOT FOR THE "LITTLE MAN."

The LaGuardia administration has used the police to break strikes—has kept relief money from the poor—has allowed WPA cuts—has slashed the budget for education—has barely touched the crying need for housing. The City Department of Markets, which is supposed to do something about rising prices, sits with folded hands and watches them go up.

All this does not matter to the ALP!

Neither is it fazed by LaGuardia's opposition to collective bargaining for the tens of thousands of city workers. The ALP is devoting itself to a very low kind of political "collective bargaining."

It will sell out labor's vote—to the extent that it controls that vote—to the top Fusion candidates. But it will run its own candidates for the lesser city jobs—expecting that one good turn deserves another!

The Stalinist "left" wing of the ALP is knocking on the door for readmission into a united front with the "right" wing.

On the say-so of Moscow, LaGuardia is no longer a warmonger but a great champion of democracy and must be re-elected as the pro-war Mayor. The Stalinists are also endorsing other Fusion candidates and have no reasons for not uniting with the right wing this campaign.

While Hitler and Stalin dwell in blissful wedlock, the local Stalinists were planning to run a "peace" Mayor. But they have short memories!

However, Antonini and Rose are not biting. They suspect that the left wing plans to capture control of the party organization and that the "united front for LaGuardia" is only a smoke screen.

Getting down to bedrock, neither right nor left wing of the ALP is much concerned about the class interests of the workers.

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