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It Is a War for Boss Profits!
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Labor Action Against the War!

LABOR ACTION

We Say—
Conscript War Industries
Under Workers' Control!

NOVEMBER 3, 1941

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

THREE CENTS

FREE SPEECH ON TRIAL IN MINNESOTA!

Conspiracy in Minneapolis!



Special to LABOR ACTION

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 28—The government of the United States made clear this afternoon—through the words of Victor Anderson, U.S. Attorney for the District of Minnesota and prosecuting attorney in the "sedition" trial of 28 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO—that it will attempt to make the revolutionary socialist and anti-war beliefs of the defendants its essential basis of prosecution.

In the words of District Attorney Anderson—"The very purpose of, the plans of, the program and activities of the Socialist Workers Party constitute a violation of the law."

It is now clear—even clearer than before the trial began—that what is at stake in this trial are the fundamental rights of the working class, the right to express a point of view.

The task of the prosecution would be, said Anderson, to establish that the SWP was a revolutionary party, that it planned to appeal to the most downtrodden and "unfortunate" sections of the population, that it would not support the government in the coming war because it considered such a war to be imperialistic, that it "believes that the common laborers and tillers of the land have the right to be the governing class in this country," and that it followed the doctrines of Karl Marx.

The prosecution, Anderson admitted, would not be able to prove the existence of any overt acts as a result or manifestation of his conspiracy, that it "does not consider this necessary to prove its case." So long, he emphasized, as there is a group of people who merely hold these ideas, a conspiracy to overthrow the government exists.

It is clear then that the prosecution has as its task the jailing of a group of revolutionary socialists on the grounds of forming a "conspiracy" without even making an attempt to prove that this "conspiracy" is anything else than a common espousal of a set of social theories. And it is also clear that one of the major purposes of this attempt is to smash the militant union in which some of the accused are leaders—Local 544-CIO.

HELD FORUMS!

Here are some of the charges which Anderson said it would be the task of the prosecution to prove:

That the SWP held regular forums on Sunday afternoons to which it invited outsiders;

That on Thursday nights, however, it held its CLOSED (sinister pause) meetings;

That the main purpose of its election campaign was to spread propaganda;

That it published a weekly paper called *The Militant*;

That its ideas represented those of Lenin and Trotsky;

That these ideas in turn came from . . . Karl Marx;

That the defendants were friends of Leon Trotsky and tried to protect him and that one of the defendants while in Mexico was a guard of the said Leon Trotsky and attended a bull fight;

That there were times when *The Militant* was even published three times a week;

That one of the defendants (Goldman) once wrote that you could no more stop a revolution than you could stop an earthquake;

And that the SWP even organized a youth section known as the Young Peoples Socialist League.

It was this sort of fantastic stuff—either unmitigated drivel or everyday commonplaces—which made up the bulk of Anderson's speech. He was going to prove what anyone who spent ten minutes investigating the

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Jury Chosen

Special to LABOR ACTION

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 28—The jury was completed this morning. As expected, it is composed almost exclusively of small town business men. The only person from Minneapolis on the jury is an official of a bank. There is only one worker on the jury—a farm laborer. There is an editor of a small town newspaper. And one of the alternates to the jury is a woman whose husband is a member of the AFL teamsters' union.

(See page 2.)

Honor Roll Of Minn. Defendants

JAMES P. CANNON (New York)—Thirty years in the labor movement. National secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

GRACE CARLSON (St. Paul)—Minnesota organizer for the Socialist Workers Party.

JAKE COOPER (Minneapolis)—Militant driver, member of Local 544-CIO.

OSCAR COOVER (Minneapolis)—Thirty years a member of organized labor. Minneapolis secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

HARRY DEBOER (Minneapolis)—One of the leaders of the strike committee of 100 in the great 1934 drivers' strikes. Organizer for Local 544-CIO.

FARRELL DOBBS (Minneapolis)—A leader of the strike committee of 100 in 1934. Former secretary-treasurer of Local 544. Former international representative of the IBT. Chief negotiator of the area committee which organized and improved the wages and conditions of over 100,000 over-road drivers. National labor secretary of the SWP.

MILES B. DUNNE (Minneapolis)—Editor of Local 574's first paper. Imprisoned by the National Guard in the 1934 strike. Former secretary-treasurer of the Minneapolis Teamsters joint council. President of Local 544-CIO.

VINCENT E. DUNNE (Minneapolis)—One of the best known and most respected militants of the Middle West. Pioneer organizer of Minneapolis drivers. Strike leader in the May and July-August drivers' strikes in 1934. Led WPA defense committee in WPA strike trial. Led defense of Local 544 against the fink suit. Organizer of Local 544-CIO.

GEORGE FROSIG (Minneapolis)—Has played an active and leading role in the Minneapolis drivers' movement for 20 years. Vice-president of Local 544-CIO.

MAX GELDMAN (Minneapolis)—Active in the leadership of the federal workers' section, unemployment movement. WPA strike trial defendant in 1939; he served eight months in prison for that strike.

ALBERT GOLDMAN (Chicago)—Attorney for Local 574 in the 1934 strikes. Active for years in labor defense work. Attorney for Leon Trotsky. Attorney for SWP.

WALTER HAGSTROM (Minneapolis)—Active for 20 years in the Minneapolis union movement. Representative of 544 to the federal workers section. Organizer for 544.

CLARENCE HAMEL (Minneapolis)—For years a leading steward for Local 544. Organizer for 544.

EMIL HANSEN (Minneapolis)—One of the builders of Local 544. Trustee and organizer for Local 544. (Continued on page 2)

THE WORLD AT WAR

Churchill - Roosevelt - Stalin Count on Long War as Nazi Armies Continue to Advance

By MAX STERLING

Kharkov, the center of the highly industrial eastern Ukraine, is reported to have fallen to the Nazis. Moscow, Rostov and Leningrad are immediately endangered.

A new capital has already been set up at Kuibyshev, about 500 miles east of Moscow, which will become the government center in case the latter falls. The removal of the capital is an indication that Stalin does not intend to negotiate a Vichy peace with Hitler, that he has placed himself completely in the hands of Roosevelt-Churchill.

Stalin realizes that this fight with Hitler can be pursued only to the very end. If his regime survives it will only be because of Roosevelt and Churchill. It may be that even this will not save him, but it is in any case the only chance that he has.

To check the Nazis Stalin has tried "everything" except to release the revolutionary energies of the Russian people. Is that strange? It may be to those who are still under the illusion that Russia is a workers' state and that the Red

Army is still the army of Trotsky. However, anyone who observes the war in Russia without any preconceived prejudices and shibboleths asks himself: "Where indeed are the slightest manifestations of a workers' state at war?"

The bureaucratic rulers have not, under the impact of the war, released their stranglehold over the Russian masses. On the contrary, with every new day the totalitarian screw is turned tighter and tighter. The Russian people are not even permitted to discuss the war. The harshest penalties are decreed for every deviation from the word "Obey!" The rule of the GPU has become even more widespread, if that is possible. Are there still any people who believe that under these circumstances Stalin will permit the free election of committees of the people and the release of these critics of his monstrous regime who might be willing to join enthusiastically in the fight against the German invader?

Stalin and his bureaucracy are absolutely incapable of acting in any other way than as counter-revolutionary Russian nationalists. Roosevelt and Churchill understand this very well. Is it any wonder then that Roosevelt greets Stalin as "dear friend Stalin" and that Beaverbrook and Harriman should laud him to the skies?

Yes, Stalin can be relied upon. He can be relied upon because he can do nothing else except become the tool of Anglo-American imperialism.

The weaker the Russian army becomes under the blows of Hitler, the more will the "democracies" have to prop him up. That is where "socialism in one country" has led Stalin.

Why the Defeats?

Stalin prepared Russia's defense for years. The Germans have been frank enough to acknowledge the tremendous extent of these preparations. They admitted that they underestimated the accumulation both in the quantity and quality of Russian mechanized armaments.

In an effort to retrieve his failing military position, Stalin has shifted the commands of Timoshenko, Voroshilov and Budenny. Timoshenko has been sent to the southern front, where the Nazi advance has been more important than elsewhere, while Voroshilov and Budenny have been told to go out and recruit other armies to replace the ones that they have lost. Despite these last-minute efforts to strengthen his command and to find new scapegoats for the defeats, the entire world knows that Stalin

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What's the Situation? V. R. Dunne Interviewed

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

MINNEAPOLIS—Those readers of LABOR ACTION who have followed closely the valiant struggle of Local 544-CIO for its existence as perhaps the most outstanding militant and progressive union in the country, will be interested to know where it stands today. V. R. Dunne, one of its prime leaders, gave me a brief interview which, while by no means giving a complete or detailed picture, indicates the present state of affairs.

Ray Dunne is, without question, one of the outstanding leaders of the American labor movement. His name, as I have had occasion to find out, is practically a household word in Minneapolis. He is the old guard, reactionary AFL Tobin men and the Stalinists hate and fear him intensely. But they all grudgingly admit his ability. Were it not for his unwavering devotion to the principles of socialism, he would readily be accepted by the official labor leaders as "one of the boys." As it is, he is primarily responsible, through his patient, skillful work and his militant working class policy, for smashing the open shop in Minneapolis, for building the powerful teamster movement in Minneapolis as well as in the adjoining states.

Dunne began by telling of the background of the case with which most LABOR ACTION readers are familiar: Tobin's move against No. 544 and his attempt to destroy its democratic rights; the

vote of No. 544 to join the CIO; the importation by the AFL of several hundred Tobin goons, hoppers and rapists in order to intimidate the men; the outrageous decision handed down by Governor Stassen's labor conciliator, Blair, which denied the teamsters the rights to an election and awarded exclusive bargaining rights to Tobin; and finally the government indictments.

"What is the present state of affairs?" I asked.

"I think it is difficult for you, without a first-hand acquaintance, to understand what's going on. There are 5,000 teamsters. The overwhelming majority support us; they voted with us at the meeting where we decided to leave the AFL. Yet due to the fact that Labor Conciliator Blair awarded bargaining rights to Tobin, the men are forced to belong to the AFL union, for the most part, if they want to continue working. We've appealed the case and it comes up for review in Ramsey County on November 29."

"What happens afterward if the legal appeals open to you are denied?"

"That question can't be answered since it is so indefinite. It depends on what happens at the CIO convention, to what degree the various pro-war and anti-militant forces in the CIO can carry the day; it depends on what happens to the movement to unify the CIO and AFL; if

depends on what happens to the war drive." "Are you getting support from the CIO and from the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee?"

"As much as they can give us. You probably know that A. D. Lewis is tied up in a lot of other situations, like the Currier case in Detroit, and a whole series of other fights, and the UCWOC is not as liberally supported as some of the other new unions were. But we are getting national support from them, as well as from numerous individual teamsters in Tobin's union. The Stalinists, who control the local CIO council, are of course fighting us tooth and nail—a beautiful sabotage job on their part—and in the Teamsters Union they've come out for support of Tobin, critical support to be sure."

"What is the work of Local 544-CIO at present?"

"First, appealing the reactionary Blair decision. If we can only get a democratic election among the teamsters, we're on our way. In the meantime, the AFL has the contracts. We're carrying patient organizational and propaganda work through our staff and press, for which we're putting on a special drive."

"In other words, the Blair decision gives the Tobin crowd control of all the union members?"

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What Is Behind Lewis' Dispute with Roosevelt?

John L. Lewis is correct when he tells the President that "there is yet no question of patriotism or national security involved in this dispute." There is no "question of patriotism" now, nor will it be a question of "patriotism" later in this dispute. Lewis tells Roosevelt (if he needed to be told) what the fight is about when he says: "The fight is only between a labor union and a ruthless corporation—the United States Steel Corporation."

The fact is, and Lewis knows this, that the United States Steel Corporation has resumed its vicious role of being the leader among the big corporations in a concerted and deliberate attack on organized labor, particularly on the CIO.

A FIGHT AGAINST BIG BUSINESS

The opposition of the big companies, led by U. S. Steel, is focused on the so-called union shop or maintenance of membership demands of some CIO unions. This was the issue in the recent CIO strike at the Federal Shipbuilding Co. at Kearny, N. J. This shipbuilding company is a subsidiary of U. S. Steel. There the dispute was settled temporarily by the federal government taking over the plant.

"Big Steel" has become the spearhead of a drive

against anything which resembles the closed shop. That is why the steel companies refuse to accept the Appalachian agreement, recently concluded between the coal operators and the UMWA, for their "captive" mines. They look upon these mines as part of the steel industry. The steel companies consider the demands of Lewis for the union shop in the captive mines as a preparation for the same demand to be made by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee when the time comes for the renewal of the steel contract. If Lewis wins his point for the captive mines, this will give Murray an advantage in making the same demands for the steel workers.

Therefore, Lewis is correct; it is a fight between organized labor and private capitalism. It is specifically a struggle between the CIO and the board of directors of the United States Steel Corp., whose dominant figure is that ever sinister figure, J. P. Morgan.

ROOSEVELT INTERESTED ONLY IN THE WAR

Of course, none of this interests Roosevelt. He jabs about "patriotism," "defense of our country" and "the larger question of adequate fuel supply." All this means is that Roosevelt wants coal for the steel mills

and other large industries. He wants industries to have coal because he wants them to generate power for the manufacture of steel for ships, bullets, torpedoes, tanks, guns, planes; all these to be used in the imperialist struggle against Hitler. Roosevelt wants ships to maintain "freedom of the seas"—meaning the freedom for American industry to seek imperialist markets in Asia, Africa and South America under the protection of the United States Navy. It means the freedom to gobble up colonies, to dominate colonial peoples and small nations. Roosevelt and Churchill want to smash Hitler because these two representatives of British and American capitalism want these things for their own capitalists. They want to stop Hitler from getting them for the German capitalists. Therefore Roosevelt and the capitalists must have implements of war, and for the production of these there must be coal.

But, whatever the opinions and plans of Roosevelt-Churchill and the Anglo-American capitalists about the war, the workers must realize that right now their primary relationship is with the boss and not with Roosevelt. They must make demands on the bosses and carry on negotiations with them. When negotiations break down labor knows what to

do; and it is not to capitulate to Roosevelt.

Roosevelt wants guns, tanks and planes. The workers have no need for these implements of warfare now. Right now we need, above all, food, clothing and homes. The fact that Roosevelt is fighting an imperialist war and that he needs the necessary implements does not lessen one bit our need for food, clothing and shelter. War or no war, Hitler or no Hitler, we must have an increasing measure of economic security. We make these small gains through our organized strength and the action of our unions. The miners have been on a thousand picket lines, on bleak hillsides and on numerous highways in the coal fields. They know these things. They have never been scared and probably will not be scared this time by Roosevelt. The steel workers will come next for a showdown with the great steel corporations. What the miners do today will count a great deal toward the success or failure of the steel workers in their negotiations with U. S. Steel.

ON LEWIS VERSUS HILLMAN

We have no way of knowing what Lewis will do. Murray is vice-president of the UMWA as well as chairman of the SWOC. These two unions can wield (Continued on page 3)

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION BRIEF FOR DEFENSE PROVES THAT PROSECUTION HAS NO VALID LEGAL GROUNDS

Civil Rights Are Vital Issue in Minnesota "Sedition" Trial

Special to LABOR ACTION

MINNEAPOLIS — The Minneapolis "sedition" trial was postponed from October 20 to October 27 because the mother of Judge Matthew M. Joyce is ill. In the meantime, the American Civil Liberties Union has filed a brief as a "friend of the court" requesting the dismissal of the charges. This request undoubtedly will be denied.

The brief of the ACLU, however, raises an entire series of interesting and important legal questions. For, while the basic nature of the case is clearly political — an attempt to frame up a group of militant trade unionists and to destroy local 544-CIO — the legal issues involved in the case are of great importance since, if the prosecution succeeds, it will undoubtedly serve as a precedent for future attacks on trade unions and radical parties. As Assistant U.S. Attorney-General Henry A. Schweinhaut boasted:

"We cracked down here (Minneapolis) first. Mr. Biddle has said that this is only a start. So you can expect other actions to follow shortly." (St. Paul Dispatch, June 28.)

The brief presented by the ACLU

is what might be expected from such an organization. It is full of liberal verbiage, pokes fun at the Socialist Workers Party as a "politico-religious sect" and in general understands nothing of the political nature of the case, but it does serve the purpose of clearly raising the legal issues involved.

On the First Count

The defendants are being tried under two counts. One of these is based on Section 6, Title 18, of the U.S. code, charging them with "conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government." This section was first adopted at the time of the Civil War when it was intended as a blow at the Southern Confederate camp. The essence of it is to punish any group of people who organize a conspiracy against "some person who has authority to execute and who is immediately engaged in executing a law of the United States." (Decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals in the case of Bill Hayward during the last war.)

Or, again, as the Supreme Court interpreted the law: "The offense means something more than putting the laws themselves at defiance. There

must be forcible resistance of the authority of the United States while its officers are endeavoring to carry the laws into execution." (Baldwin vs. Franks.)

It is clear from these two judicial quotations, as well as from a reading of the law, that what Section 6 intends to punish is actual, forcible, concrete resistance to law enforcement. That is, for example, trying physically to prevent a policeman from arresting a thief.

But none of the indicted have, in the words of the section, "conspired" to overthrow, put down, or to destroy by force the government of the United States, or to levy war against them, or to oppose by force the authority thereof. . . . None of the defendants has committed ANY OVERT ACT which can in any way be construed.

As the ACLU brief aptly puts it: "The more one reads and considers the sweeping but unimplemented assertions regarding the defendants' purposes, the more astonishing becomes the complete disproportion between the perfectly stupendous plans of which the defendants are

accused (involving no less than the peaceful conquest of the political, economic and military aspects of the country's life . . . as the ostensible vehicle of the prospective revolution) and the obvious limitations of the 23 defendants (who are pictured as having labored for three years or more without having gained in that period a single recruit of sufficient consequence for the government's agents to have uncovered his name and included in the alleged conspiracy). (Notice the striking similarity on this point with the Moscow trials.—I.H.) Can it be seriously argued that the great government of the United States, with its access to the wealth of all its citizens for the maintenance of those agencies on which it relies to sustain its authority, feels itself threatened by a conspiracy so spectacularly ambitious and so completely unrealized?"

The only overt act which the indictment charges on this count of "conspiracy to overthrow the government" is the organization of Union Defense Guards by 544. In actuality, the Defense Guard was organized to meet the threat which the fascist Silver Shirt movement

represented in 1938; it never had more than 200 members; its members were never armed; its activities were entirely public and it intended to overthrow the government, one would think the government would have done something about it three years ago when it existed and not now, when it is disbanded.

At one time, it is true, some members of the Union Defense Guard engaged in practice with two .22-caliber single shot target rifles, two .22 caliber single shot target pistols. Now, in the first place, there are hundreds of unions which have rifle clubs and, in the second place, can anyone seriously believe that the Union Defense Guard was aiming to overthrow the U.S. government with two old pistols and two old rifles? Is American capitalism THAT weak?

Second No Better

So we see that the prosecution cannot prove the existence of any conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government and any actual physical overt action in that direction for the simple reason that in this case there was none. The prosecution has merely repeated the language of an indictment used against some Puerto Rican nationalists in 1927 in the hope that it could get by. In reality, the first count doesn't hold water. Let us see what the second count is.

The second count under which the defendants are indicted is that of violating the Smith "Omnibus Gag" Act which is the greatest blow at freedom ever written into the American law books. It makes punishable any attempts to print matter teaching the necessity or "propriety" of overthrowing the government by force or violence, to organize any society which teaches such doctrine, to distribute materials which counsel in subordination or disloyalty by any member of the U.S. armed forces, etc.

The following considerations must be understood in relation to the second count of the indictment which accuses the defendants of violating the Smith Act:

1) The defendants are guilty of none of the charges. They have conspired no one to overthrow the government, nor have they told any soldier not to obey his officer, nor have they been particularly loquacious about the "propriety" of overthrowing the U.S. government.

2) The act under which they are indicted is unconstitutional. It violates the first amendment to the Constitution, which says: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble. . . ."

Prohibition of "advocacy, advising, teaching, publicly displaying, counseling" of any doctrine is unconstitutional. If the Smith Act is constitutional, then it is clear that the Declaration of Independence is illegal, since it advocates the right of armed revolution.

3) An important precedent to this case is that of Angelo Herndon, communist leader, who, in 1937, was convicted on the grounds that his advocacy of the doctrine of self-determination for the Southern Negroes could only be achieved by force. The U.S. Supreme Court REVERSED this ruling on the ground that it violated the right of free speech.

As the ACLU brief says: "When it is remembered that the court of the state involved, as well as four members of the U.S. Supreme Court, were ready to throw a man into prison for distributing this . . . it becomes clear that we must be extraordinarily careful to avoid injustice when our social and economic prejudices are involved. . . ."

4) The Smith Act, if declared constitutional, practically wipes out free speech in still another manner. Says the ACLU brief: "No person who had determined enemies could dare, with such a law, to say or publish anything of a controversial nature, for fear of the effect it might be alleged to have had upon some member of the military. It does not even appear to be necessary to show that the words were in fact seditious, so long as there is testimony that they induced some soldier or sailor away from his duty. Surely such vague, ineluctable standards, based entirely on the subjective reactions and opinions of third persons, are no fit definition of a crime. . . ."

It is clear, then, that this second count is, as the first one, without any basis in fact; the defendants are not guilty of any of the charges; the laws in question do not apply to the defendants; and the basis for the second count, the Smith Act, is unconstitutional. The legal grounds for this prosecution are as flimsy as the political motives are reactionary.

Jury Selected in Minnesota Witch Hunt Against Labor

Special to LABOR ACTION

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., October 27—The historic "sedition" trial of 28 members of Local 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party opened today with the jury almost chosen. A total of 28 prospective jurors have been called and questioned by Judge Matthew M. Joyce, and of these about 10 have been dismissed.

As today's session ended, the defense attorneys, headed by Albert Goldman, who is himself a defendant, were preparing challenges against some of those called but it was considered likely that the jury would be completed tomorrow.

The dilemma of the defense attorneys is obvious. They are entitled to only 10 challenges (the prosecution has 6) and they could with equal justice and good sense challenge all who have so far been called up. The prospective jurors are, without exception, of two general groups: 1) small town business men and farmers and 2) Minneapolis business men. Not one of the 28 called so far is a worker or trade unionist; not one of them has ever been a trade unionist.

To list the occupations of some of these at random: 2 bank vice-presidents, several small town store owners, a few farmers, an editor of a small town newspaper, the wife of another small town newspaper owner, the owner of a wholesale grocery business, a secretary of a local Selective Service Board, owner of a small town machine shop, a purchasing agent of a farm implement company, etc.

Judge Questions Jurors

Contrary to the usual court procedure, which allows attorneys to question prospective jurors, Judge Joyce himself has been questioning them.

Free Speech On Trial--

(Continued from page 1)

SWP could easily find out.

Sinister Aspects

But there were some sinister and slanderous aspects to his speech as well. The SWP, he roared, was desirous of America losing the war to the opposing side; the SWP terrorized unions; Local 544 was used to raise funds for the SWP ("and it had a red flag in its headquarters"); the SWP wanted to disrupt the national defense effort; the SWP wanted to cause dissension in the ranks of the army; the SWP was in favor of sabotage; and the SWP was loyal only to the flag of Red Russia.

And then—how significant this is!—he seemed to lose himself for a moment and charged the party with being in favor of having the workers constantly increase their wages, never to be satisfied with the wages they already have!

As if to admit the weakness of his case and his inability to produce any facts, Anderson declared that a conspiracy can be established by other than direct evidence. It can be established by circumstantial evidence. So it is to be by circumstantial evidence that the government will try to send 28 men to prison—for believing in socialism!

Goldman Speaks

In his opening speech—which is almost finished as this dispatch is written—Defense Attorney Goldman tore the flimsy fabric of the government's presentation to shreds.

He time after time declared: "Yes, we admit: we are revolutionists, we are socialists, we are against this war, we believe it is imperialistic. Do you want to send us to jail because you disagree with those ideas?"

Goldman insisted that a conspiracy involved an overt act, that the right to hold certain ideas in common could not be denied without violating the Constitution.

What kind of conspiracy is this, Goldman inquired, when the defendants have spent the major portion of their lives trying to convince people of the correctness of their ideas ("and, I fear, so few have listened") and have begged people to read their newspapers?

"We have never tried to hide our Declaration of Principles. We have tried to publicize it. And now, years after its adoption, we are brought to trial because of some phrases in it!" "Yes, we shall admit holding forums, classes and even mass meetings. But is that something for which we are to be sent to jail?"

"Let the jury decide whether we have the right to hold these ideas—if that be a criminal conspiracy, we plead guilty."

Refutes D.A.

Goldman then proceeded patiently to explain and refute the malicious charges of the D.A. about sabotage, etc. He announced that he would

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Here are some of the questions he has asked:

Are you or have you ever been a member of the SWP? Of the Socialist Party or the Workers Party?

Have you ever been a member of a trade union or had any connection or conflict with a trade union?

Do you believe in the principles of the Selective Service Act?

Do you believe in communism? Are you acquainted with the writings of Lenin or Trotsky? Do you know anything about the reputed form of government existing in Russia?

Do you believe in the principles of free speech as outlined in the First Amendment to the Constitution?

Even on the basis of these vague, general questions, it is clear how the minds of the prospective jurors function. None admit any acquaintance with the principles of communism . . . although all say they are opposed to them. A goodly number have hesitated or answered weakly on the question of their attitude toward trade unions. The most blatant case so far was that of a wholesale grocer, who admitted having served as a deputy sheriff against Local 544 in the 1934 drivers' strike, who had once been a non-union truck driver in South Dakota, who admitted antipathy towards communism and therefore, he said, toward the defendants.

Judge Joyce did not see fit to disqualify this man, Robert Nash, despite these obviously prejudiced answers . . . until Nash blurted out that he had "doubt if I can serve as a fair and unprejudiced juror."

Only one prospective juror has so far admitted any acquaintance with the principles of communism or the "reputed form of government in Russia" and that was an executive vice-president of a Minneapolis bank!

Defense Questions

Defense Attorney Goldman submitted a long list of questions which he wanted the judge to ask. (The DA was satisfied with the judge's questions, naturally enough.) Some of Goldman's questions, which the judge did ask, are:

Have you ever been involved in any strikes, or have any close friends or relations of yours?

Have you any opinion as to the merits of the controversy between the AFL and CIO?

If the evidence shows that the defendants helped to disaffiliate Local 544 from the AFL and lead it to the CIO, would that prejudice you in any way?

Have you had any experiences with the truck drivers' union?

Would the fact that some of the defendants may oppose U.S. entry into war prejudice you in any way?

Would the fact that some of the defendants may believe in the principles of socialism prejudice you in any way?

These questions, as can readily be seen, are of a considerably more concrete nature and tend to pin the prospective juror down much more than Judge Joyce's general ones. And those jurors who were questioned after Goldman submitted these, showed considerable hesitation, many of them openly equivocating on some questions.

A very large number of questions which Goldman requested the judge to ask—the request was made in chambers—were ruled out by the judge. These were questions which would inquire into the prospective jurors' opinions on specific aspects of their attitude toward socialist doctrines. These ruled-out questions included such matters as: 1) attitude toward union defense guards, 2) what are the rights of a union in defending itself? 3) should radical or revolutionary parties be allowed legality? 4) attitude toward the so-called military policy of the SWP, 5) attitude toward SWP doctrine of the workers taking over industry, etc. Also included were more specific attempts to find out the attitude of the prospective jurors toward the activities of Local 544. But Judge Joyce said: No.

The problem of the defense attorneys is no easy one. They are only entitled to 10 challenges and probably could throw them in any direction with equal wisdom. There is also the danger that the substituted juror may turn out to be even more prejudiced than the challenged one. Thus they succeeded in having Judge Joyce dismiss one juror who is employed as a secretary of a Selective Service Board, only to have him replaced by a bank vice-president.

OUR CORRESPONDENT INTERVIEWS QUIGLEY

A Tobin Stooze Spills the Beans

Special to LABOR ACTION

MINNEAPOLIS—There was clearly no point to interviewing one of the experienced, hard-bitten Tobin stooges who are now running what the AFL calls its "544" local. Those people, I know, would not say anything except some general platitudes; they were just smart enough not to talk too much.

So I took a chance and went around to see Martin Quigley, who is the editor of Tobin's slander sheet, The Minnesota Teamster. I had been tipped off that Quigley was not a professional Tobin goon but merely a newspaper man hired to put out their paper. He was worth seeing. The following is a condensed record of our conversation:

Q. Why did Tobin begin his moves against the Dunne brothers?

A. Nobody doubts that the Dunne gang is one of the most competent group of union men around. It was just this socialist work that they were carrying on. If they'd been reasonable and quit that Socialist Party everything would have been OK—except that I wouldn't have this job.

Q. Whom did the workers support, Dunne or Tobin?

A. Well, there's no denying that at the meeting where the local voted to join the CIO, there was a large attendance. But the way it was arranged, the men sat on three floors and only on the floor where

the speakers were could the men hear what was being said. (I afterward found out that this was untrue.)

Q. But the majority voted to go CIO?

A. Yes, but we got them back. At the time of the State Labor Board hearings as to who should get bargaining rights, we had signed up membership books for 4,700 out of the 5,000 in the trade.

Q. Is it true that you used violence to intimidate the workers?

A. Well, our organizers were instructed to carry baseball bats in their cars in order to protect themselves.

Q. From whom?

A. From whoever might attack them.

Q. How did an AFL organizer try to convince a truck driver to quit the CIO and join the AFL?

A. By persuasion. He tries to show that the Dunnes hadn't done so much for the teamsters after all; that a lot of this talk about "militancy" was the bunk.

Q. Did AFL organizers say that if the men didn't join the AFL they'd lose their jobs?

A. Sure; that not intimidation, that's a fact.

Q. So do you really believe that most of the teamsters support the AFL and want to belong to it?

A. We've got them signed up.

Q. Then why don't you want to hold an election?

A. It would be a lot of trouble and we don't recognize the Dunnes as a legitimate union and they don't have the right to ask for an election because the AFL has always had the teamsters up here. Besides this demand for an election is a trick; we'd win if there were an election, but we don't want to bother.

Q. Let's get back to your organizational methods. Is it true that AFL organizers forced the men to wear AFL buttons?

A. Naw; I told you we only used persuasion.

Q. What about the fight between the CIO driver Cooper and your organizer, Smith?

A. That was a personal fight.

(I then listed another half dozen cases of AFL "organizers" using violence against CIO workers, all of which, I was informed, were merely "personal disputes." It seems, according to the Tobin version, that a whole series of personal feuds broke out in Minneapolis at just about the time of the union struggle.)

Q. What is the comparative strength of the two unions today?

A. Dunne has hardly more than a dozen supporters.

Q. Then why do you object to an election?

A. I told you before.

Q. What's your average attendance at union meetings?

A. Seven hundred.

Q. Isn't it a fact that at the meeting where the vote was taken to join the CIO, there were several thousand members and that at the meetings which 544-CIO called afterward there were over 1,500?

A. Sure, but that was because the boys were curious to hear what these reds had to say.

(I afterward found out that Tobin's gang had never had more than 150 men to a meeting.)

Q. Now what about these various incidents concerning AFL organizers—the case of the nurse-raping in Hotel Nicollet, the case of the beating up of Alderman Pratt by AFL organizers, the case of the two Tobin organizers arrested with marijuana in their possession, the case of the two Tobin organizers who nearly killed a farmer near Hill City, the case—

A. You don't have to list them; I know. Pretty regrettable, Tobin told the boys to calm down. But they're all personal incidents for which the union takes no responsibility.

Q. Well OK, there's no more use talking about it. Tell me, what's the attitude of 544-AFL toward these indictments?

A. We've kept our hands off.

Q. But I see that in the Minnesota Teamster, you've been attacking them on the grounds of the indictment.

A. Sure, we've made use of the fact that the Dunnes were being indicted as reds as an argument against them.

Q. But I thought you were keeping your hands off?

A. Well, but it's a fact that they've been indicted by the U.S. government, isn't it?

Q. Then why can't Dunne use the fact that you've got rapists on your organizational staff against you?

A. That's personal.

Q. All right. Tell me, do you personally think they're guilty?

A. Well (he picked up a copy of the Industrial Organizer, paper of 544-CIO) if all they've got on them is this, then it looks pretty weak. But (hastily) I don't know.

Q. But you've still used it as an argument against the Dunnes?

A. (Annoyed) It's a U.S. government indictment, isn't it? All I know is that some of our AFL boys are going to be witnesses.

Q. Government witnesses?

A. Naturally. You don't think they'd testify for the Dunnes, do you?

Q. No, I guess not. What has the AFL union done for the truckers?

A. Got them contracts.

Q. They've had those since 1934.

A. Got them a raise of 6 cents.

(Every trade unionist knows that at the present time a raise of 6 cents is the equivalent of a wage cut.)

Q. Is it true that you fellows put compulsory arbitration clauses into your contracts?

A. Some, but not on wages.

Q. But on everything else, though. What do the men think of it?

A. (After some hesitation) They're against it, most of them; but some like it. (Brightly) I'll tell you why it happened. You see the fellow who signed these contracts, Joe Casey, was an organizer on the West Coast, where employer-employee relations are very good and it's the usual thing out there. So he put it into these contracts.

Q. But if the men were opposed—

A. You see, it was a hurry job. . . .

Q. I see. What else has the union done?

A. It's organized men the Dunnes never wanted to touch.

Q. Give me some example.

(Quigley went through his files for about 5 minutes and finally picked up a copy of the Minnesota Teamster.)

A. Here, in the Nagel store, where the Dunnes refused to bother with them and where we signed them up. These Dunnes weren't as militant as they talked.

(Afterward I found out that this was the story: the Nagel store employed 2 or 3 men on retail deliveries. The drivers were organized by the Dunnes and their salaries practically doubled. What the Tobin goons did was to sign up the shipping clerk, whom the Dunnes didn't touch because he didn't fall into their jurisdiction. That was the only case of organizational work that Quigley could cite.)

Q. What do you think of the Dunnes?

A. Smart. Pretty rough, too. Did more to smash the open shop in this town than anybody else.

Q. But you said that they weren't as militant as they talked. It was quite a job to smash the open shop here, wasn't it?

A. Yes, but their tactics were bad. If there's anything else you want to know, get in touch with me.

Q. O.K. Thanks.

LABOR ACTION

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Join Workers Party

A FL Upholds Its Jim-Crow Policies

AN EDITORIAL

It is the constant claim of Bill Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, that the AFL is the real "House of Labor" in the United States. Furthermore, Green contends that the AFL is really the only bona fide trade union federation and that therefore all the workers should join it and not the CIO.

Green also insists that the CIO come back to the AFL. It so happens that there are thousands of Negroes in the CIO: automobile workers, miners, agricultural workers, steel workers, chemical workers, etc. Negro workers also beginning to enter the aircraft plants and many are employed in the shipyards. Furthermore, Negro mechanics are being organized along with white mechanics in the CIO United Construction Workers.

Negroes Not Wanted in the AFL

Despite Green's claims about the character of the AFL and despite the fact that there are thousands of Negroes in the CIO, the AFL leadership and many of its internationals continue a policy of Jim-Crow and exclusion of Negroes. But worse than this, if that is possible, the AFL leadership never misses an opportunity to insult Negro workers in the crudest manner. They grasp every occasion that arises for Negro-baiting and to tell Negroes that they are not wanted in the AFL.

This position of the AFL is always made definitely clear at AFL national conventions. The same is no less true at the conventions of the internationals. The four railroad brotherhoods, which are not members of the AFL, carry on in the same manner. They will not even permit Negroes to come within arm's length of their very aristocratic outfit.

Randolph Got Nowhere at Convention

The latest episode in the AFL campaign of insult to Negro workers was the reaction of the recent AFL convention to the demand of A. Philip Randolph, of the Pullman Porters, that a committee be set up to investigate the Jim-Crow policy of AFL internationals. Randolph got just as far as he did at the New Orleans convention last year: that is, NOWHERE.

Randolph and his associate, Webster, were the only Negro delegates at the convention. Randolph followed Mark Ethridge, who is chairman of the President's committee against Jim-Crow in industry. Green is also a member of this committee. Ethridge accused many AFL unions of flagrant Jim-Crow practices. Before the speech of Ethridge the convention had given noisy and boisterous support to a resolution calling for a shooting war against Hitler for the preservation of "democracy."

Randolph spoke after Ethridge and called the names of AFL unions that exclude Negroes. He told about the Boeing Aircraft Co. in Seattle, where Negroes might get employment if they could join the machinists' union which has a closed shop contract with the company but excludes Negroes from membership. Brown, president of the machinists, was present but remained silent. Randolph told the convention about the Ku Klux Klan controlled AFL shipyard union in Tampa and the AFL building trades official in Milan, Tenn., who said that "I don't recognize any Negro as a union man."

Told Only a Small Part of Truth

The delegates knew that Randolph was telling only a small part of the whole truth. Green was very sad and the delegates were embarrassed. But not such stalwarts as Strikebreaker Frey and the big hulk of stupidity and bureaucracy, Bill Hutcheson of the carpenters. Frey declared that "if there is anyone in the United States to whom the colored race owes most it is to the American Federation of Labor. Instead of hearing one word of appreciation, all we listened to is indictment. I intend to say nothing relative to his personal charges directed against me."

Then Hutcheson followed for the top leadership. He claimed great friendship for Negro workers and felt that Randolph was meddling too much in the affairs of the internationals. "In our union," said Hutcheson, "we don't care whether you're an Irishman, a Jew or a nigger." This from a man who is president of one of the biggest AFL internationals and a member of the leading council of the Federation.

Of course, Randolph's motion was voted down, just as it had been the year before. The convention returned to its struggle for "democracy" in Poland and Greece and to its attacks on the CIO, where Negroes have the democratic right of membership, seniority, employment and election to office.

Considering the fact of numerous gangster elements in the AFL, and that some of these were present at the convention, it is a relief to know that Randolph was not slugged while he was in Seattle, as was Dubinsky at the New Orleans convention last year.

Los Angeles . . Anniversary Meeting

"The Lessons of the October Revolution"

SPEAKER

JACK WILSON

Organizer, Workers Party

Friday, November 7th Embassy Auditorium

9th and Grand Streets

8:00 P. M.

Lewis - Roosevelt Dispute - -

(Continued from page 1)
mighty influence in deciding the fate of the workers in the mass production war industries and the workers in agriculture. These leaders can't fight the corporations and Roosevelt on behalf of the millions of workers they represent if at the same time they play around with the brute fact that the war is an imperialist war and not a war of "democracy against fascism." How is Murray to lead a real fight against U. S. Steel when the contract expires if he at the same time supports the war and contends that his industrial council proposal is for the purpose of speeding "national defense"? That is, the "Murray Plan" is not aimed at giving more power to the workers but really in effect to smooth the way for greater profits for the capitalists.

Lewis is a mortal enemy of Hillman and of course Hillman should have millions of enemies in the labor movement. But what really differentiates Lewis from Hillman? There are important and far-reaching differences, of course, but do they really differ on the war? Hillman is for the war with both feet while Lewis is an isolationist with both feet. Lewis however has come out against the imperialist war as Hillman has come out in full support. If Lewis is to have any genuine influence, and influence that will be of real benefit to labor, he will have to say something more important and fundamental than he has said yet on the question of labor and the imperialist war. And this question is not unrelated to what will be the course of Lewis in the present dispute with Roosevelt and the steel companies.

Workingmen of New York! Cast A Labor Vote Against Boss War!

Where We Stand!

WE ARE AGAINST:

1. Both imperialist alliances in this war—the Nazi-Fascist Axis on the one hand, and the alliance of Washington and Wall Street, the British Empire and Stalin on the other.

2. The secret diplomacy and piece-meal steps by which the Roosevelt government has made us a partner to this war without the consent of the people.

3. Government strike-breaking by Roosevelt and La Guardia and persecution of militant trade unionists, as well as of all aliens.

4. The plan to make the people pay for this bosses' war by direct and indirect taxes on the workers, while the government permits and encourages enormous war profits and a sky-rocketing cost of living.

5. All discrimination against Negroes, especially in the war industries and in the Army and Navy. Every manifestation of Jim-Crowism, anti-Semitism and every Hitler-like discrimination against minorities.

WE ARE FOR:

1. The only force in this war-torn world that can bring about a truly democratic peace of liberty and security for the common people—the struggle of the working class against their own bosses. End the war by a socialist victory—a socialist workers' world!

2. A national referendum on participation in the war, directly or indirectly. Let the people decide!

3. The defense of labor's rights, all democratic liberties, above all the right to organize and to strike.

4. Make the rich pay for their war! Conscript the war industries under workers' control! Place a capital levy on accumulated wealth! Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3 per cent who own 90 per cent of the wealth!

5. Full social, economic and political equality for Negroes! Jobs for Negroes in the war industries! Open every branch and rank of the armed forces without race discrimination!

World at War - -

(Continued from page 1)

himself is the chief criminal for the headless Russian army. Voroshilov, Budenny and Timoshenko are Stalin's own products, and it was he who put them in their leading positions over the corpses of Tukhachevsky, Gamarik and 40,000 of Russia's ablest officers.

However, despite the enormity of this crime, it would be a mistake to believe that this is primarily responsible for the Russian defeats. What is even more important and absolutely primary is, the lack of a revolutionary conduct of the war. On the purely military plane, even with the best leadership, the Russians would probably have been bested by the Germans. The German war machine is the product of the most advanced industrial country on the European continent and in the hands of military men who have learned how best to utilize this advantage. Compared to Germany, despite her industrialization, Russia is an agricultural country, and her military potential corresponds to this relationship.

Russia's chief defense against attack was a political one. The German army and the German rear are capable of disintegration by those who can raise the banner of socialism instead of Versailles. Nothing has played more into the hands of Hitler than the German people's hatred of Versailles and their determination to resist a new Versailles. That is exactly what Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin have in store for Germany. Does this not solve the mystery of German morale?

Allied Aid

It is not in the interest of the U.S. and Britain that Russia be eliminated from the war. This is what some dull people fail to understand. Russia, they say, is not being aided adequately by her allies because, while they do not wish to see Hitler win the war they also do not wish to see Russia victorious, for "Russia is a workers' state."

By occupying themselves with this deluded premise, these people predicted that the German attack on Russia would result in a negotiated peace between Hitler and the "democracies" and that the war would then and there become transformed into a joint capitalist attack upon Russia. At the moment we will not

embarrass these people too much on this point except to show that Roosevelt and Churchill did not at all base themselves on this thesis.

For the same reason that they allied themselves with Russia, Roosevelt and Churchill do not want to see her eliminated from the war. Why should they even be opposed to a Russian victory? A Russian victory can only mean the victory of Anglo-American imperialism and a victorious Stalin would certainly cooperate. However, even if we assume that they do not want a Russian victory, only the blind can fail to see that that is not at all the question today.

Russia's military position is such that all the aid that can be gotten to her will not in any event result in her victory over the German armies. The most that the fullest aid can do for her is to save her armies from annihilation and help to hold the Germans in check. It can not be denied that certainly Churchill and Roosevelt are in favor of this.

With Kharkov captured, Rostov besieged, the Caucasus endangered, and the Middle East next, the British can hardly be so stupid as not to take all the possible steps in their power, among which is all out aid to Russia and an invasion of the continent if that is possible.

If Britain and America do not help as much as some demand, it is because they cannot, and it must not be forgotten that, to the extent that they cannot, they are weakening their own positions in the war. The fact remains that the Allies do not yet have the forces and the means to challenge the Germans in any head-on collision. The truth is that in the Middle and the Near East, where the British position is strongest and the Axis weakest, Britain has as yet been unable to mobilize sufficient forces for a successful offensive against the Axis in Libya. An army that has such an inferiority in forces can hardly be expected to invade the continent.

For the "democracies" and also for Russia, the perspective in the war must necessarily be a long one. The decision not to invade the continent and court possible disaster is in line with such a perspective. For some time yet Germany will go from one victorious battle to another. The Allies will try to make these battles as costly as possible and to delay them in point of time. During that time they will be preparing the preponderance of their own weapons. They hope then to win the last battle and with that, of course, the war.

WORKERS PARTY



MAX SHACHTMAN

Record of the Two Slates In District 4, U. E. Elections

District Four of the United Radio, Electrical and Machine Workers is getting ready for the election of officers for the coming year. There are two slates: one headed by the incumbent president, James McLeish, the other by Cliff Haley of Local 1227. Haley is supported by the activities of the dissolved inter-local Progressive group, namely, Ben Lipschitz, Frank Craig and Boulton. What program do these two slates put forward and what do the leaders stand for? What is their record?

On May 18, 1941, the Daily Worker printed a quarter page article on Brother McLeish, president of District Four. In this article he was praised as a "responsible, hard-working, incorruptible and self-sacrificing labor leader."

Perhaps it is true, as the Daily Worker says, that McLeish "has no affiliation with any political party." We do not understand why any such claim should have to be made since it is the right of every citizen to belong to any political party he sees fit to join. This is any worker's right and his place in the shop or the union cannot be judged on such basis as this. LABOR ACTION has always opposed and will continue to oppose workers being penalized in the shop or union because of their political affiliation or belief. So this is not the point and so far as we can see there was no reason for the matter of McLeish's political affiliation being raised.

The fact is, however, that since assuming leadership of District Four McLeish has made all the political somersaults that have been made by the Stalinist Communist Party. This is where workers will begin to look him over and appraise his leadership of the district.

When the Stalinists were for "Collective Security," many locals under the influence of this group participated in "Collective Security" activities and meetings. When Stalin made a deal with Hitler these leaders changed their line and called on the locals to be against the war and for peace. When Hitler attacked Russia, McLeish and the other party-liners made another flip-flop and came out full blast in support of Roosevelt, Churchill and the war.

Last week they called a pro-war rally at Madison Square Park. Leaflets were issued for this rally calling on England to open a "Western Front" supported by the United States. They have now completed their trip around the circle: first they were for a collective war of the "democracies" against Hitler. Then, when Stalin became friendly with Hitler, they were against the United States going into the war. They had the "American Peace Mobilization." Then when Hitler attacked Russia they turned again and were for the United States going into the war. They changed the "American Peace Mobilization" against the war to the "American Peoples Mobilization" FOR the war. The workers in the UE were asked to follow all these twistings and turnings, whether or not this "line" had anything to do with what was taking place in the shops and the industry.

Their program for the union today, therefore, is not based on the

On Trial--

(Continued from page 2)

quote from a pamphlet which he himself wrote declaring that his party would not flout the will of the majority; that his party was not in favor of the defeat of the U.S. in a war by its imperialist opponent, just as it did not favor participation.

"The District Attorney says that we attempt to teach the soldiers to disobey their officers. That is not true. We say, however, that as this imperialist war, with its brutality and slaughter, continues, the soldiers of all countries will themselves shout out: Peace, Peace. There must be an end to the war. That is our belief, that is our program. If you consider the holding of these views a criminal conspiracy, we plead guilty."

"It is a political movement that is on trial," said Goldman before his speech was interrupted for an adjournment.

Yes, it is a political movement and more that is on trial. It is the right of the working class to believe in socialism, to organize its parties freely that is on trial. The First Amendment to the Constitution of the U.S. is on trial. Whatever remains in this country of civil liberties or workers' rights is on trial.

The prosecution has chosen to make the issue squarely one of belief. The defendants have met them on that ground. And that is where the trial stands today.

needs of the workers in the shops and the industry but on what is taking place on the Eastern Front between Stalin and Hitler. This group today follows the Communist Party and the Daily Worker in condemning all strikes in the "defense" industries and simply wants the workers to bow down, forget their just grievances and get out production. They are taking the same position as the bosses.

Haley-Lipschitz-Craig Group

The Haley-Lipschitz-Craig slate has no disagreement with the Stalinists on the war. They are for support of Great Britain and they follow the bosses in their reasons for being for aid to Russia. They may differ with the Stalinist no-strike policy but this would be difficult to discover in anything that this group does. They are certainly not campaigning on that basis.

The Haley group has never tried to win the rank and file UE members but has confined itself to organizing the top leadership. The membership has been kept pretty much in the dark. In fact the membership has not been informed as to what the real program of either of the groups is. It will be very difficult for the membership to choose one group over the other.

Attack LABOR ACTION

LABOR ACTION discusses the program and activities of the UE along with its news and discussion of the interests of the workers in other unions and shops. Certain of the leadership have not reacted favorably to some of the criticism that LABOR ACTION has made of the things that go on. LABOR ACTION will continue to expose any undemocratic procedure in the unions and any lack of militancy on the part of any union leadership. Especially will we expose the twists and turns of the Stalinists in the unions who today are trying to wipe out the militancy of the workers in their justified struggle for higher wages and better working conditions.

The workers at E. W. Bliss were treated to an exhibition of Stalinist tactics when an open air meeting called in front of the plant by Local 475 was turned into a forum for attacks on LABOR ACTION. At this meeting Organizer Mitchell shouted against LABOR ACTION because it opposes the slaughter of workers in a war for profits and colonies. He forgot to mention that only four months ago, before Russia was attacked by Germany, he also called this a war for profits.

But a more important reason for the attack is that the Bliss workers have been reading in LABOR ACTION about the 20 cents an hour raise demanded by the Ford Instrument workers in their contract and have asked the organizers of Local 475 why THEIR local started negotiations with the request for only a ten cent raise. The Ford workers won an average increase of 15 cents. If Mitchell's full demands are granted by the E. W. Bliss Co. the workers in his local cannot get more than a 10 cent raise.

Quick Changes

Local 475, composed of some of the largest machine shops in the city, is dominated by President Fay and Organizers Mitchell and Stonkas. Although the local is comprised of almost 3,500 members, most of them have been staying away from local meetings because these meetings are dominated by fewer than a hundred vociferous Communist Party followers.

There is the leadership of Local

1225, led by Business Agent Sidney Mason which reacts to the changes in Russian foreign policy as quickly or more quickly than the Stock Market. Local 1225's executive board has been known to change its policy within a period of two weeks from an ATTACK against SUPPORT OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

If among the last, the majority of Local 1207's executive board is certainly not the least pro-Stalinist. It voted to participate in the Madison Square Park pro-war meeting despite the fact that local leaders complain time and again that they find it difficult to get the support of the membership for these actions.

Then, of course, there is the Radio Local 430, where, in a vote on the slates for district officers, Brother Katz, business manager, refused to permit a vote on the nominees individually, thus forcing the membership to approve of either one or the other of the two organized factions, in electing delegates to the district.

A union leadership should be composed of union militants who in their everyday work in the shop take part in struggles for better working conditions and wages. They should be workers who consider the welfare of their brothers more important than the interests of Stalin or the American war-mongers.

Honor Roll--

(Continued from page 1)

CARLOS HUDSON (Minneapolis)—Labor writer and speaker. Managing editor of the Industrial Organizer.

CARL KUHN (Minneapolis)—Active for 10 years on behalf of unemployed. Secretary, federal workers section, Local 544-CIO.

FELIX MORROW (New York)—Editor, The Militant and The Fourth International, publications of the SWP. Author of "The Civil War in Spain."

ROY ORGON (Minneapolis)—A leader of the federal workers' section of Local 544-CIO.

EDWARD PALMQUIST (Minneapolis)—Chairman, federal workers' section, Local 55. A WPA strike trial defendant in 1939, he served eight months in prison for that strike.

KELLY POSTAL (Minneapolis)—Leading member of strike committee of 100 in 1934. Secretary-treasurer of Local 544.

RAY RAINBOLT (Minneapolis)—Leading member of strike committee of 100 in 1934. Former head of Cab Drivers Union, Ice Drivers Union. Recording secretary, Local 544.

ALFRED RUSSELL (Minneapolis)—Former organizer, Teamsters Local 554, Omaha. Active in organizing the over-road drivers. Served prison term for aiding the Strutwear strikers.

OSCAR SCHOENFELD (New York)—WPA strike trial defendant in Minneapolis, 1939.

DOROTHY SCHULTZ (St. Paul)—Twin City secretary, Workers Defense League.

ROSE SEILER (Minneapolis)—Former business agent, Minneapolis Office Workers Union. Active in federal workers' section, Local 544.

CARL SKOGLUND (Minneapolis)—Thirty years in the labor movement. Pioneer organizer of Local 574. Former president of Local 544. Organizer for 544.

HAROLD SWANSON (Minneapolis)—Active in federal workers' section, in union movement.

NICK WAGNER (Minneapolis)—Organizer for Local 544.

HARLEM ELECTION RALLY

Say "NO" to Jim-Crow!

HEAR

MAX SHACHTMAN
Workers Party Candidate for Mayor

AND

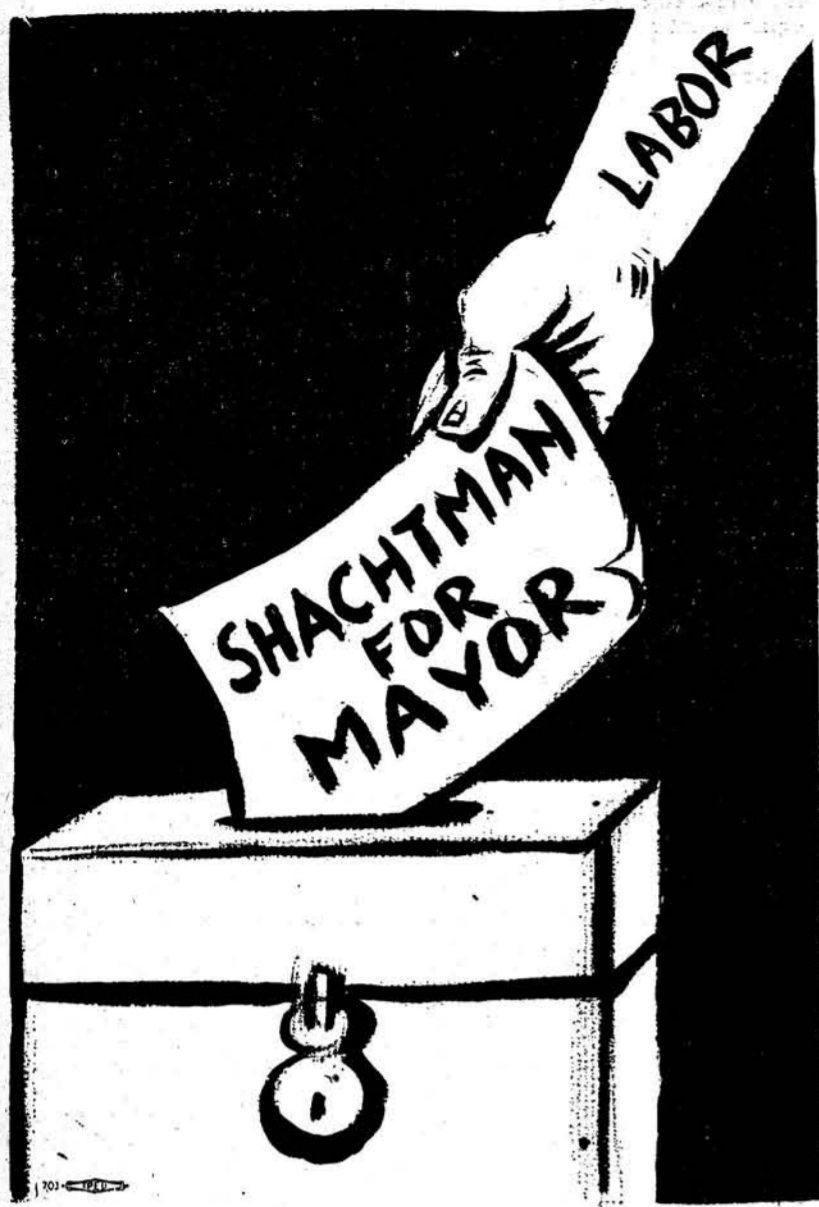
DAVID COOLIDGE
National Labor Secretary, Workers Party

SUNDAY, NOV. 2nd, 8:00 P.M.

AT

WORKERS PARTY, HARLEM BRANCH
321 W. 125th ST., ROOM 4 (near St. Nicholas Ave.)

Vote Against War!



MUNICIPAL Merry-Go-Round

By Susan Green

When Israel Amter, Communist Party candidate for City Council, almost bursts a blood vessel and the microphone denouncing Tammany Hall Candidate O'Dwyer as receiving the active support of "every reactionary and pro-Hitler force in the city," it's time to dial another station.

Similarly does the program get boring when this same political acrobat melts into sweetness and almost kisses the microphone in his enthusiastic love for LaGuardia.

No doubt O'Dwyer wouldn't mind getting some of the "reactionary and pro-Hitler" votes. Neither would LaGuardia be overcome by moral revulsion if some of the "reactionary and pro-Hitler" forces should get a brain-storm and cast their votes for him.

But just as in the presidential election both Roosevelt and Willkie saw eye to eye on the matter of ramming the imperialist war down the throats of the people, so do Tammany Hall Candidate O'Dwyer and Wall Street Candidate LaGuardia have the identical view on the momentous question of the war.

The Workers Party can say this to the working people of the city because IT IS NOT INTERESTED IN GETTING EITHER CRAFTY POLITICIAN ELECTED.

BUT NOT SO THE COMMUNIST PARTY. That dishonest flip-flopping outfit has instructions from the Kremlin to get behind LaGuardia because as a pro-war politician he has certain advantages over O'Dwyer—one of them being that LaGuardia is an insider of the pro-war Roosevelt gang.

You are supposed to forget that before Hitler's unkind attack on his loyal partner in the Kremlin, Amter and the other Stalin stooges did not regard the Hitler forces as devils, but as inseparable boon companions.

On the contrary, in those days the Roosevelt-LaGuardia gang was poison to the party-liners.

But Stalin cracked his whip—AND THE AMTER CROWD JUMPED. Whatever uncomplimentary things one can say about Stalin's American agents—and there are plenty—one has to admit that for political agility they are rivaled only by that daring young man on the flying trapeze.

O'Dwyer accuses LaGuardia of spending \$1,000,000 on his campaign—which is not unlikely. LaGuardia retorts to the effect that O'Dwyer is a liar.

LaGuardia shouts that O'Dwyer is bringing in "racial issues." So O'Dwyer retorts to the effect that LaGuardia is a liar.

President Roosevelt comes into the fight as a self-appointed referee and declares LaGuardia the champ.

Whereupon Governor Lehman—a good member of the Democratic Party, of which the President is also a good member—steps into the ring, counts LaGuardia out, declares O'Dwyer the champ—and in effect calls his political chief a liar.

LaGuardia challenges O'Dwyer to clean out the bosses from his political machine. O'Dwyer counters by calling LaGuardia the worst boss New York City has ever had.

Neither candidate bothers to prove his accusations and counter-accusations. Each one hopes that by appealing to ignorance and prejudice he will win the fight for votes.

THIS CRAZY, DISHONEST MESS HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS.

Thus daily the intelligence of the working people of the city is being insulted EQUALLY BY BOTH O'DWYER AND LaGUARDIA.

At this moment the most important issue before the workers of this city and of every other city—an issue growing out of the greater issue of the imperialist war for world power—is the THREAT TO THEIR RIGHT TO STRIKE.

In no uncertain words President Roosevelt in his Navy Day speech indicated what he has in mind. His audience of army and navy moguls applauded the anti-strike portion of his speech as they did no other part.

In Congress the anti-labor contingent is again up in arms. Radio commentators try to whip up anti-strike sentiment.

Those in the know in Washington predict that in a few weeks the crack-down will come.

WITHOUT THE RIGHT TO STRIKE, LABOR WILL BE TIED HAND AND FOOT TO THE WAR CHARIOT OF THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS.

The workers will have no means of combatting profiteer prices, increasing taxes, forced loans to the warlords, and the other hardships of war.

Without the right to strike, LABOR WILL BE REDUCED TO INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY NO DIFFERENT FROM THAT IMPOSED ON EUROPEAN WORKERS.

But to LaGuardia and O'Dwyer THIS IS NO CAMPAIGN ISSUE. To the disreputable horse-trading American Labor Party, THIS IS NO CAMPAIGN ISSUE.

To the dishonest somersaulting Communist Party, THIS IS NO CAMPAIGN ISSUE.

* They are all out for the same thing—TOTAL WAR.

They are all behind the President's war program—and labor's rights be damned—FOR THE DURATION.

If labor had its own independent class party, the war, the right to strike, the high cost of living, would be among the vital issues behind which the workers could rally.

SUCH AN INDEPENDENT CLASS PARTY IS LABOR'S CRYING NEED. This shameless municipal campaign proves it to the hilt.

MAX SHACHTMAN, WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR, champions labor's cause in this respect as in all others.

LABOR ACTION

SHACHTMAN CAMPAIGN PAGE

A VOTE FOR SHACHTMAN IS A VOTE AGAINST WAR!

New York is electing a Mayor this coming week. What's it all about?

Maybe you think it's just another city election. Maybe you think it's a fight between an honest guy named Fiorello and a bunch of crooks named Tammany.

Well, you'd be right about the bunch of crooks. Everybody knows Tammany and its beloved tin boxes—and how they milked one-half of the working men of their pennies to buy the votes of the other half. The last two times he was elected, LaGuardia rode into office on the wave of feeling against this kind of raw corruption.

But in the year 1941—
The main issue isn't honesty versus corruption. LaGuardia can't keep the people of New York playing Cops and Robbers for three terms.

The Real Issue

—is the WAR.
That's the question before the mind and heart of every working man and woman in the country, and in New York too.

LaGuardia isn't making many campaign promises this year. He's been too busy making speeches to stir up war hysteria against the "Boches." He's making use of the workers' fierce and justified hatred of bloody fascism to wangle them behind a Wall Street Expeditionary Force to Europe, Africa and points east.

In his campaign to become Jingo No. 1 and Chief Bloody Shirt Waver, Fiorello has gotten this far: he's made it perfectly clear that he's the leader of the War-Mongers' Party in New York City.

That's the issue he's running on, really. You're—

Voting on the War

—in this mayoralty election. Why else did Roosevelt break tradition and party lines to come out in support of LaGuardia, a Republican, running against a Democrat?

Because of LaGuardia's "good government"? **NON-SENSE! He did so because LaGuardia belongs to Roosevelt's war-interventionist bloc, like Republican Knox and Republican Stimson.**

The election issue is the war. Why else did the Communist Party withdraw their candidate in favor of LaGuardia, whom last year they were calling a jingo?

Because, as everybody knows, in the meantime the Communist Party too has openly turned jingo, and wants the American people to pull Stalin's chestnuts out of the fire.

Why else did the ALP circularize all its members during the recent primary urging them to vote for LaGuardia on the ground that he was backing Roosevelt's pro-war foreign policy?

Don't be fooled again by the old red herring of Tammany. A vote for LaGuardia is a vote for getting deeper into the world slaughter that's going on. On the other hand, a vote—

For Max Shachtman

—is a labor vote against the war and against United States participation in it.

The Workers Party and its candidate, Max Shachtman, is against this war. The people have nothing to gain from the victory of either side.

A victory for the British Empire, the fat boys of Wall Street and the butcher in the Kremlin will only mean another Versailles peace, followed by world-wide misery for the working class, slavery for the black and white colonials of the world, and a new imperialist race leading up to a Third World War.

It is the working class which fought Hitler for years while the so-called "democratic" leaders financed, encouraged and appeased him. Now, under the plea of "fighting Nazism" they are adopting Hitler's methods of suppressing labor's rights, outlawing the right to strike, substituting guns for butter, and squeezing the workers in order to be able to send them to the front lines to die for Boss Profit.

Read in this issue "Where We Stand." That is what Max Shachtman stands for. It is a working man's program on the war!

But if you swallow the war, you've got to swallow a lot of other things. Here is—

What War Means

The bosses understand three things:

(1) When you're running an imperialist war, you've got to knock labor on the head and keep it quiet.

(2) To run an imperialist war, you've got to squeeze labor all the harder to make them pay for it. (Obviously, you can't squeeze the pocketbooks of the bosses because the idea of the war is to make profit for them.)

(3) To run an imperialist war, you've got to cut down on all the "unnecessary" expenses, like schools, unemployment relief and adequate housing developments. (Yachts, coming-out parties and funds for strike-breaking come under the head of essentials.)

LaGuardia understands these things, even if some workers don't. He's been following it out in New York City.

Labor's Rights

—to organize, strike and bargain collectively have been attacked by LaGuardia right here in New York. After buying the subway system for the round sum of \$340,000,000 (thereby buying also all the water in the subway stocks), LaGuardia set out to "economize" by laying off transit workers and cutting wages. When the transit workers threatened to strike, he issued the Hitler-like edict: "You can't strike against the government."

How is this attitude different from that in Hitlerland, where every strike is a strike against the government?

RIGHT NOW, the city has a lawsuit pending to prevent it from bargaining collectively with its employees. THE CASE HAS BEEN PUT OFF TILL AFTER ELECTION SO THAT YOU MIGHT FORGET IT MEANWHILE.

But remember—IF A PRIVATE COMPANY DID WHAT LaGUARDIA IS DOING, YOU'D CALL IT PLAIN SCABBERY!

Meanwhile the—

Cost of Living

—is the biggest scandal of the war.
The farmers are STILL snowed under with SURPLUS commodities. But the profit-racketeers have screwed up the price of milk, bread, meat (the cheapest meats most) and everything else the worker needs to stay alive while he can.

Roosevelt only looks the other way and denounces STRIKERS because they "want to profit from the war emergency!" And LaGuardia?

The city government CAN STOP the profiteers through its Department of Markets machinery. BUT NOT A FINGER HAS BEEN LIFTED TO DO SO. You'll be paying 20 cents for a quart of milk before Director of Civilian Defense LaGuardia takes time off from his duties of providing air-raid shelters for the embattled citizens of Sagawauk Center.

We propose: AN ANTI-WAR ADMINISTRATION IN CITY HALL which will have no hesitation in cracking down upon the war-mongers' aggression on the living standards of the people. We propose—

A Real Program

—for the workers of New York City. LaGuardia is against these proposals, because he's got to grease the war machine:

(1) Full rights to all workers and city employees to organize, bargain collectively and strike.

(2) City action to keep down prices and crack down on the profiteers.

(3) Adequate relief to the unemployed and elimination of red tape in granting relief. Raise the money by income taxes upon the rich and on the fat corporations and by higher real estate taxes. ABOLISH THE SALES TAX!

(4) A national and city program to replace the slums in five years with low-rent houses fitted to the purses of the present slum-dwellers. Don't build "housing projects" that the slum-dwellers can't afford to move into!

(5) Restoration of the cuts made in the school budget in recent years by LaGuardia.

LaGuardia

—says: Pull in your belt in order to fight Nazism! Sacrifice for the fight against fascism!

We're used to pulling in our belt. Moreover, labor in general and the Workers Party in particular have been fighting Nazism and fascism since its inception. (More on this further down.)

But how about Mr. Fiorello LaGuardia?

Besides the fact that he would find it difficult to pull in his belt, we have proved in previous issues of LABOR ACTION that Mr. Fiorello LaGuardia has discovered his mission to fight fascism very late in life. In fact, he didn't discover it until the war started.

On more than one occasion, while Mayor, Fiorello was guest speaker at Italian fascist celebrations in New York, together with well known Mussolini supporters (like the lately reformed Generoso Pope), to the accompaniment of the Italian fascist hymn and raised-arm salutes! Two such occasions were the fascist Co-

lumbus Day affairs in 1935 and 1937.

In 1939, only a few months before the war, LaGuardia gave the New York Nazis and Coughlinites permission for a provocative parade right into Union Square and the heart of the working class center. It was called off in spite of LaGuardia's OK when the fascists got cold feet after our party called for a gigantic counter-demonstration.

A month before the war broke out, all the fascist groups in New York—Coughlin, the Bund, Generoso Pope, the Silver Shirts and the rest of the scum—got together to hold the first united fascist rally in America, in Madison Square Garden. Every shade of labor and liberal opinion called on His Honor to stop the meeting. His Honor refused. Instead, he drummed up a small army of police to stand off an avalanche of 50,000 workers who came before the Garden in a counter demonstration at the call of our party.

Today this erstwhile guest of Mussolini's myrmidons in the city and protector of Coughlin's "right" to provoke the anti-fascist workers—this political shuttlecock whose pre-mayoralty career alternated between republicanism and a fat salary as a Tammany city attorney—LaGuardia dares to call us and other anti-war workers "fifth columnists" because we refuse to give up to Wall Street what we fought for against Hitler and Mussolini!

To Unionists

—we say: The fight against war and fascism begins right here at home, in your shops and factories, in your own city!

You have nothing to gain from electing another boss politician who tells you not to strike, not to fight, to accept wage cuts and rising prices lying down, while the profits of your boss reach new highs.

Your strength is in your power to unite and stick together. If you don't stick together, you'll all be stuck separately.

That goes in politics too. Vote for a WORKERS' party and a labor candidate! Vote for Max Shachtman!

To the Negroes

—of New York City we say:
How can this be a "war for democracy," when 13,000,000 Negroes in the United States are treated as Grade C human beings—discriminated against, shut out of the war industries, not given a chance to earn a decent living?

How can the Roosevelt government be sincere when the ARMY and NAVY which are supposed to save democracy IN EUROPE, Jim-Crows the Negro soldiers over here, allows them to be beaten with impunity by white Southern officers and bars them from higher ranks and whole branches of the armed forces?

Hitler tramples on millions of white workers in Europe. The British Empire tramples on millions of colored workers in Africa and Asia. Right now they are quarreling over WHO SHOULD DO THE TRAMPLING. We don't choose one against the other.

Right here in this city, in Harlem, it is well known that LaGuardia's administration has given the worst relief run-around and the least funds to the Negro population. It is well known that little or nothing has been done about providing low-rent housing for the worst-housed section of the people, in Harlem.

The workers of Harlem CAN get together and fight for their rights. When they united in the Harlem bus boycott to get jobs for Negro bus drivers, the Workers Party members—black and white—went out to help them on the picket lines.

We don't just get sympathetic about the Negroes on election day. We fight for Negro rights every day in the year!

Vote against Jim-Crow and the bosses' war! Vote for Max Shachtman!

DON'T WASTE A VOTE—

—by casting it for a jingo politician who poses as a "friend of labor" because he wants to feel sure that he has the "labor vote" in his pocket.

A million workers' votes cast for LaGuardia only strengthen that gentleman's belief that he doesn't have to worry about appealing labor.

Five thousand workers' votes cast for the anti-war candidate, Max Shachtman, will be a sign and a portent too big for the boss politicians to ignore.

It will mean that those workers have opened their eyes and are looking about themselves clearly.

It will mean that they are the growing band of those who refuse to limit their choice between better or worse masters and exploiters. It will mean they want no masters and exploiters at all.

A vote for Max Shachtman is a blow struck for freedom and a workers' government right here at home!

**VOTE AGAINST THIS WAR!
VOTE FOR LABOR'S ANTI-WAR CANDIDATE!
VOTE FOR MAX SHACHTMAN!**