JULY 21 1941

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

THREE CENTS

Close Ranks Against Roosevelt's Stab at Labor:

DEFEND THE 29 INDICTED MILITANTS!

How to Break Strikes--Roosevelt Fashion



At Camp Edwards, Mass., as soldiers were instructed in beating, gassing and shooting strikers. In the maneuver 300 fully armed soldiers (wearing steel helmets) attacked 100 "strikers" (wearing cloth hats), armed with clubs and branches. Outnumbered, the "strikers" were captured and herded into a prison pen, some of them badly

less highly improbable.

Stalin be to him then?

CHICANERY AND DECEIT

him stand Great Britain and Amer-

ica. It is also doubtful that Hitler

would risk pursuing the Red Army

beyond the Urals in the event that

Stalin should refuse to put himself

under Hitler's thumb. Conversely,

should Hitler succeed in destroying

the Red Army, of what use could

It is interesting to note that it is

only in the so-called "democratic"

camp that there are any qualms

about regarding Russia as an ally in

the fullest sense of the word. This

anxiety is understandable since these

gentlemen are pretending that theirs

is a war against "totalitarian slavery"

and for "democracy." They must

also continue to lie about communism

by which there is no better way than

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THE WORLD AT WAR

British and Soviet Sign Full Fledged Military Pact As Battle of Russia Rages

By MAX STERLING

The second stage of the Battle of Russia is on. With the conclusion of the first stage, all of Russian occupied Poland and the Baltic states passed over into Hitler's hands. The Nazi military machine has reorganized its forces and is pounding at the Stalin line which extends all the way from one end of western Russia to the other. Behind this line the Red Army, after stiff resistance to the initial shock of the Nazi blow, is massed to stop, if possible, the German smashes toward Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev.

As the second stage of the war is fraught with the most far-reaching possibilities, the British and the Russians have quickly concluded a full fledged military alliance. This has followed Churchill's immediate call for aid to Russia. The pact has only two points, but these two points are of the utmost importance and they still all doubt that may exist that Britain and Russia are only loosely

TERMS OF THE ALLIANCE

By the first point in which "the two governments mutually undertake to render each other assistance and support of all kinds in the present war against Hitlerite Germany," the possibility of a long war between Russia and Germany is not overlooked. If the Russians should mess up Hitler's invasion time table badly, then British and American aid to Russia may indeed be decisive. This will be so even if Hitler should be successful in his conquest of western Russia. The German general staff is not only out to conquer European Russia; more important to them is that the entire Russian army should be destroyed in the process. If they fail in this, the war will only have advanced toward the East. On the Asiatic battleground Hitler will find once more the Russian, British and

The second point of the pact in which Britain and Russia "undertake that during this war they will neither negotiate nor conclude an armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement" is closely tied up with the conception outlined above. Great Britain and America want above all to maintain a land front against the Nazis. This front may be pushed back beyond the Urals but exist it must. In this case it is not Stalin who has to fear a peace between Germany and the Anglo - American bloc. Right now there exists no basis for such a peace. Rather it is the British who are afraid that Stalin may make a deal with Hitler once Hitler has rendered

the Red Army powerless and taken what he wants of western Russia. Naturally such a deal, while not excluded as a possibility, is neverthe-It is highly improbable because if the Red Army should still be more or less intact in the event of its retreat beyond the Urals, it would be foolish for Stalin to accept the loss of the richest part of Russia when behind

ers felt the most.

Let's have more of this. This is

A Federal Grand Jury, sitting in St. Paul, Minn., on Tuesday handed up indictments against 29 persons charged with seditious conspiracy and advising overthrow of the government of the United States. It is alleged in the indictments that the 29 persons are members of the Socialist Workers Party. Bail was set at \$5,000 each.

Those indicted are: James P. Cannon, Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, Farrell Dobbs, Carl Skogland, Vincent Dunne, Miles Dunne, Grant Dunne, Grace Carlson, Emil Hanson, Alfred Russell, Oscar Coover, Harry Deboer, Jake Cooper, Carlos Hudson, Max Geldman, Edward Palmquist, Rose Seller, Oscar Schoenfield, George Frosig, Dorothy Schultz, Kelly Postal, Clarence Hamel, Carl Kuehn, Roy Orgon, Ray Rainbolt, Harold Swanson, Walter Hagstrom and Nion Wagner.

The indictment of the 29 followed an FBI raid on the Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. This raid was staged by the gov-The Vicious May Bill Has

ernment after Minneapolis Local 544 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters had left the AFL and joined the CIO.

Dan Tobin, president of the IBT, had demanded that the officers of Local 544 stand trial on charges made by him that they were members of the Socialist Workers Party and that they were "reds." In an article in the official IBT magazine Tobin declared that the provision in the IBT constitution barring communists from membership applied also to the Socialist Work-

When the leadership of 544 refused to bow to Tobin's demands he began to make plans for taking over the union according to the provisions of Article VI, Section 6 of the international constitution. This section provides that "if the general president has or receives information which leads him to believe that any of the officers of a local union are dishonest or incompetent, or that the organization is not being conducted for the benefit of the trade, he may appoint a trustee to take charge and control of the affairs of the local union." Despite the well-known fact that none of these offenses could be levelled at the leadership of 544, Tobin was ready to move in and disrupt the local.

The leadership of 544, sensing Tobin's plans, and in order to protect the local and preserve its unity, accepted a charter from the United Construction Workers, affiliated with the CIO. This aroused Tobin's ire. One of the most militant and democratic union locals in the United States had escaped his clutches, treasury and all. Tobin went to Roosevelt and complained. Roosevelt issued a statement saying that there should be no union raiding.

This wasn't all that Tobin did. Like Frey calling in the Navy to break the Bay Area shipyards strike, and Green asking the FBI to help clean the racketeers from the AFL, Tobin called on the FBI to help him smash Local 544 that had left his international and gone to the CIO. But Tobin didn't stop here: a large local of well-paid drivers like 544 has some money in the union treasury. True, this money belongs to the members of 544, but this is a small matter to Tobin. He has just joined the Fight for Freedom Committee, but this doesn't mean that he will fight for freedom in the IBT. Tobin went into the capitalist courts against the workers of Local 544 and asked that the union funds be tied up. This means that Tobin is claiming this money for his own international. The Northwest Organizer says: "Tobin has no more legal or moral right to a single dollar of Local 544-CIO than had the finks. Tobin never donated a thin dime to our union in all its struggles with the bosses. The only thing Tobin ever did was to take \$130,000 in per capita from Local 544 and join the bosses in attacking us."

The only thing Tobin is legally entitled to is the AFL charter. and his per capita tax up to the time Local 544 voted in regular membership meeting to withdraw from the AFL and join the CIO. And Tobin has his charter and his per capita."

The great \$30,000 a year labor leader wasn't finished yet. The union paper announces that "for four weeks Tobin's imported hoodlums have been roaming the streets of Minneapolis. They have sought to win by force what they can never achieve by their 'union' principles and practices. Their cowardly gangster campaign has been a failure. True, they have ganged up on some

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Columbus Negroes **Break Theatre**

COLUMBUS, Ohio - The Vanguard refuse Negroes admission to all thea

The Vanguard League started to had a twofold value, however, because the Club Lincoln is owned by and was thus striking directly at the

Race Barrier

League, a group of Columbus Negroes fighting for Negro rights, has finally gained its objectve. The Vanguard League has won the right for any Negro to see a show in a downtown theatre. They have brought the powerful motion picture theatre operators to terms. Up to now it has been the practice in Columbus to tres except those in the Negro dis-

picket the Club Lincoln, a night club employing a Negro floor show, but refusing admission to Negroes wishing to view the show. The picketing the owner of a large chain of motion picture theatres in Columbus powerful theatre owners themselves.

Test cases were brought to court by Negroes trying to buy tickets in downtown theatres and then haling the managers into court for refusing to sell them tickets. It was mainly the picketing, however, that did the trick. That's what the theatre own-

the way to advance the Negro people. Mass action on the picket line. Out in the open. None of this behind the scenes negotiating. ... That's the bosses' game and they will always beat you at it.

LOOKING A "GIFT HORSE" IN THE MOUTH

Hillman, is now working on.

of the world."

The Workers Party wants to point out some of the dangerous aspects of the "victory" that labor has won in defeating this vicious bill. THE OVERWHELMING VOTE AGAINST THE BILL IS A PEACE OFFERING TO A MILITANT AND AROUSED LABOR MOVEMENT. The Republican and Democrat congressmen who voted against the bill believe that labor has learned its lesson and that the workers are now ready to cooperate with the bosses and the boss government in support of the imperialist war. They think that the action of Roosevelt in using the army to break the North American strike has cowed labor and that now the workers are ready to be good boys, after their spanking with Army bayonets.

Been Beaten--But Do Not

Be Misled by the "Victory'

AN EDITORIAL -

The alertness and the militancy of labor have defeated the vicious

May Bill for the time being. We say for the time being because this

bill or something like it will be presented again unless labor agrees to

be nice, quiet and docile. That is, unless labor consents to unlimited

profits for the war industries and a stabilization of wages over a period

of two years, according to the plan that the Roosevelt stool-pigeon,

been on file for several years. The War Department generals and the

Navy admirals have been waiting for the chance to slip the main anti-

labor provisions of this totalitarian bill through Congress. They, along

with May and others, thought their chance had come with the pro-

posed amendment to the draft act reducing the age of draftees to 28

Under the provisions of the bill, workers would have been sent to

jail for five years and fined \$5,000 for picketing "defense" plants. It

would have sapped the Wagner Act of all its power and legalized

Roosevelt's use of troops to break strikes. The bill was defeated by an

almost solid attack from Republicans and Democrats. Only the draft

amendment on age remained. May took the pious and hypocritical

position that "this bill is the greatest protection to labor in the history

The May Bill was pulled out of the old "M Day" plan that has

Also, Congress is proceeding from the stupid notion that the strikes were artificially whipped up by the Stalinists. In their fools' and scoundrels' paradise, these congressmen believe that the strikes are over, now that the Stalinists are again ready to wave the flag as star spangled patriots. These idiots on Capitol Hill cover up completely the real cause of the strikes: low wages and boss attempts at union busting, contrasted with huge profits in the war industries. They try to make us forget that these profits are increasing and that the wages of the workers are still miserably low.

They think that the workers are dumb and don't know anything. They think that we are scared and afraid to have a real strike since

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Congress Throws Burden of War Billions on Labor

By FRANK DEMBY

As the July 1 deadline to begin the new fiscal year approached, the duly elected representatives of the people put on their annually astonishing burst of speed and voted the largest federal budget in the history of the United States. Almost 70 per cent of the 1942 fiscal budget will go for war preparations. What has been happening to the federal budget can readily be seen from the table:

More money will be spent for war preparations from July 1, 1941, to June 30, 1942, than was spent for all purposes during the past fiscal year. The total expenditures for the coming year are expected to exceed the previous record, during 1918-1919, by almost four billion dollars. Moreover, this total will undoubtedly be exceeded as the drive toward entry into a "shooting war" accelerates. requiring the passage of huge deficiency appropriations. From 1940 to 1941, direct appropriations for war increased about 400 per cent. From 1941 to 1942 they will increase at least 250 per cent more.

(Expenditures in millions of dollars) % Budget Normal for War penditures War* Fiscal year 1940 (actual) 1.559 7.439 17.3 8,998 Fiscal year 1941 (actual) 12,710 6,048 6.662 47.6 Fiscal year 1942 (planned)... 22,269 15,500 6,768 69.6 *Expenditures for war (exclusive of debt retirements) include only those directly listed by the Treasury under "National Defense." How-

ever, many hundreds of millions of dollars appropriated for other agen-

cies will directly and indirectly aid in war preparations.

These figures simply mean that the United States has truly entered upon a long period of war economy. Representatives of the government and the boss press have been thundering at us for the past several months what this will mean to the working population of the country -gasless Sundays, reduction in the use of electricity for the home, no more aluminum pots and pans, etc. But it will mean much more than a

The burden of the war economy

few inconveniences in our normal

habits of consumption.

will be thrown onto the backs of those who toil and sweat for a living-that is the real meaning of this war budget. One of the first direct indications of this was the cutting down of the total relief appropriation to \$910,905,000. This means a reduction of more than \$457,000,000 from last year's relief appropriation. Translated into human terms, it means that 700,000 of the 1,700,000 persons now on WPA will have to be dropped immediately.

The New York Times, in its report of this step, says: "In both

Houses, the majority contended that in the coming year defense industries will absorb many of those dropped from the rolls, but at the same time, Congress was told by WPA officials that 5,500,00 Opersons will be unemployed during the next twelve months and that because of the uneven distribution of defense contracts many thousands were bound to suffer because of the relief cuts." (Emphasis mine-F.D.) We can be sure that the government officials are not exaggerating the number of unemployed. Labor sources indicate a much higher figure. Moreover, dislocations in the war economy produced by the shifting of many factories from the production of peacetime consumer goods to war-time producer goods and the inability to procure some necessary raw materials for war production will undoubtedly throw many additional thousands of workers into the ranks of the unemployed.

This, however, is only the beginning of the story of how the developing war economy will mean a catastrophic decline in the living stand-

ards of the masses. 'War costs money. World War I cost the United States, according to the late President Coolidge, \$100,000,000,000. The tremendous, increase in man's capacity for destruction in the intervening quarter of a century means that World War II will cost the United States a much

It is expected that revenues for the 1942 fiscal year will total about \$12,-500,000,000, about five billion dollars more than the past year, but still ten billion dollars short of what is to be spent. The deficit, of course, will be covered by government borrowing. This will raise the national debt by June 30, 1942, to an expected \$57,500,000,000. It probably will be much larger coming close to the present statutory limit of 65 billion dollars on the federal debt. Interest payments on the national debt during the past year amounted to \$1,111,000,000. The overwhelming majority of these payments went to the banks and insurance companies. This year these companies will receive even more.

A rising national debt, particularly one based on a war economy, greatly

increases the danger of inflation. Already Leon Henderson, federal price control administrator, speaks of the price situation as "very serious." He believes that the cost of living is bound to go up and that far-reaching controls will be needed, particularly over wage rates. The cost of living has already gone up almost 5 per cent during the past year, more than nullifying most of the wage increases that some sections of the working class have won through strike action or the threat of strikes An indication of what is in store for the workers is shown by the wholesale commodity index of the U. S Bureau of Labor Statistics, which has risen almost 50 per cent since the outbreak of World War II. Retail prices always follow wholesale prices, as a rule, even though they lag behind somewhat. In other words prices, especially prices of necessities, will continue to rise during the next year-meaning a further and really substantial decline in the standard of living of the American workers and masses.

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Pre-Convention Discussion Articles

In preparation for the coming national convention of the Workers Party, the Political Committee of the WP has opened the columns of LABOR AC-TION to discussion articles contributed by party members on the political problems confronting the party. Because of the limited amount of space available, all contributions must be as short as possible in order that we may be able to publish a maximum number of articles. In no case may they be over 1.200 words; in all cases contributors should try to keep their articles below the word maximum allowed.

Defend the Soviet Union!

By MILTON ALVIN

The attack of Nazi Germany against the Soviet Union brings the war to the stage anticipated by the revolutionary movement for many years. As long ago as 1932 Trotsky wrote that the coming to power of Hitler (he was not yet then in power) would make the danger of imperialist assault against the Soviet Union

For those people who were caught unprepared by the new events, a review of their analyses and conclusions is dictated. It will not do to repeat old and not so old formulas.

What is involved in this war is the attempt of German imperialism to overthrow the last remaining conquests of the October Revolution and to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union. In this struggle, between the degenerated fascist-capitalist society of Hitler and the Soviet Union, we should take our stand completely on the side of the latter. I propose this despite the fact that the Soviet Union is ruled over by a monstrous apparatus of repression which has for years carried on a systematic destruction of those institutions both inside and outside of the Soviet Union which could have been a tremendous factor in its defense today. We must defend the Soviet Union and not the Stalin oligarchy whose continued existence can only guarantee its defeat. We do not withdraw one single word of criticism, nor do we for one moment relax our opposition to the Stalin regime and everything for which it stands.

Ours should be the REVOLUTION-ARY defense of the Soviet Union and has nothing in common with the methods of the Stalinists both inside and outside of the Soviet Union, nor with the Churchills and Roosevelts. with whom Stalin will make pacts and agreements. We conceive of defending the Soviet Union by allying the workers of all lands with the Soviet workers. Practically, this means a continuation and intensification of the struggle against "our own" capitalist rulers regardless of whether or not they are allied with Stalin. The only real allies the Soviet workers can depend upon are the victorious workers of the United States and England. Churchill and Roosevelt, in their own way, will prove to be no better allies of the Soviet Union than Hitler.

The reactionary character of the war waged by all the imperialists, Germany, England, Italy, the United States and Japan, remains the same.

Lynn Unions

Roused by

Rebuff on

They are all fighting to extend their imperialist domination over greater and greater parts of the world. Germany and Italy are not fighting an anti-plutocratic war nor is the Anglo-American alliance fighting a war against fascism. The character of the war conducted by the Soviet Union, however, is different. In order to avoid the war, and if he could have at the same time retained the prestige and position of the bureaucracy, Stalin would have made great concessions to Hitler. But the demands of Hitler, who must now prepare for a long and costly war against the powerful United States, were so great that Stalin was forced to refuse.

Of course, Stalin carries on this war in the same way as any bourgeois faker. There is no appeal to the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, to the successful defense of the Soviet Union against the imperialists after the last war. There is no clarion call to the workers of the world to rise against their imperialist masters and in defense of the Soviet Union. There is not even an appeal to the workers of Germany to overthrow Hitler and join with the Soviet workers. The war that Stalin carries on, apart from successful proletarian uprisings outside the Soviet Union or unless the Soviet workers overthrow the bureaucracy and restore the trade unions, the Soviets and the Revolutionary Red Army, can end only in defeat. It is clear that the only aim of the Stalinist ruling clique in the war is to defend its own privileges and position. But this does not blind us to the fact that all the workers have something to defend in the Soviet Union and this. the economy established by the 1917 Revolution, we should defend in spite of the existence of Stalin.

For those people who now hold that the Soviet Union is not a degenerated workers' state but is ruled by a new social class, I say that from the premises established by their outstanding spokesman, Max Shachtman, they too must now come to the defense of the Soviet Union. Shachtman wrote: "For example, should the character of the present war change from that of a struggle between the capitalist imperialist camps into a struggle of the imperialists to crush the Soviet Union, the interests of the world revolution would demand the defense of the Soviet Union by the international proletariat.

"The aim of imperialism in case, whether it were represented in the war by one or many powers. would be to solve the crisis of world capitalism (and thus prolong the agony of the proletariat) at the cost of reducing the Soviet Union to one or more colonial possessions or spheres of interest."

And further: "Such a transformation of the Soviet Union as triumphant imperialism would undertake of the party. would have a vastly and durable re-

actionary effect upon world social development, give capitalism and reaction a new lease on life, retard enormously the revolutionary movement, and postpone for we don't know how long the introduction of the world socialist society. From this standpoint and under these conditions, the defense of the Soviet Union, even under Stalinism, is both possible and necessary." (New International, December, 1940).

The above is crystal-clear. The attack of Hitler today against the Soviet Union fits perfectly as an example where, from Shachtman's point of view, the character of the war waged by the Soviet Union is progressive and demands the support of the international proletariat. I call upon those who hold Shachtman's position that the Soviet Union is a "bureaucratic-socialist" state to reconsider their position and come to the defense of the Soviet Union.

The party should call upon all workers, here in the United States and everywhere to defend the last remaining conquests of the October Revolution by adopting the following program: Defend the Soviet Union as Lenin and Trotsky defended it! We reiterate our unyielding opposition to, the war carried on by Roosevelt in behalf of America's Sixty Families and their imperialist interests. For a revolutionary war against fascism! For a workers' and farmers' government, the only really possible ally of the Soviet masses! We repudiate and denounce the Stalinists who will "defend" the Soviet Union by giving support to the imperialist allies of Stalin. No faith in the capitalist allies of Stalin!

To the Soviet masses we say: War to the death against Hitler! .Down with Stalin, the organizer of defeats! Restore the democratically elected Soviets! Restore the Proletarian Revolutionary International!!

LONG LIVE THE MEMORY OF LENIN AND TROTSKY!!

LONG LIVE THE GLORIOUS TRADITION OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION!!

LONG LIVE THE WORLD SO-CIALIST REVOLUTION!!! July 8, 1941.

Agrees With PC Position

By HENRY JUDD

Two discussion articles, both advocating a defensist position with respect to the Soviet Union, have appeared to date in LABOR AC-TION. That of Jack Wilson is, in its essentials, a repetition of the traditional Trotskyite position and is based on two premises: (a) the character of the present war has changed; (b) defensism is a necessary revolutionary task due to the existence of a nationalized economy in the Soviet Union. As for the article of Comrade Lund, we fail to understand the reason for its publication since it consists SOLELY of assertions and prophesies of doom if the party retains its present position. It completely lacks any argumentation.

Both these articles contain an attack on the fundamental internationalist position of our party; both ignore our revolutionary strategy which is based on the creation of the Third Camp of independent workers' action against the imperialist war.. No comrade can ignore for a moment the seriousness of the situation thus created in the ranks

I shall not repeat the arguments

contained in the statement of our Political Committee or the further explanation given by Comrade Snachtman in his speech to the New York membership. Both can stand on their own merits. What has been done is to re-affirm our basic approach to World War II in the light of a sudden and admittedly unexpected change of events. But this has been no reaffirmation in the bureaucratic style of the Cannon group.

What Is Proved

The article of Comrade Wilson assumes that which it is necessary to prove, namely, that the character of the was HAS changed. The PC has given its explanation of why it believes this is not the case. The burden of proof rests upon those who believe otherwise and would therefore have us become defensists. To quote from Shachtman's December article in The New International is totally irrelevant since the quotation starts by saying "SHOULD" the character of the present war change,

Those who have suddenly become defensists must prove two things: (1) That the war has changed from inter-imperialist to "mixed"-that is, reactionary with respect to the struggle between imperialist camps, but progressive with respect to the Soviet Union's participation. They must explain why, WHY! Because Stalin has changed his war camp? Obviously not, nor do we expect any comrade to suggest that. Because nationalized economy is in danger (which it clearly is)? But this can never be THE decisive factor in determining the character of the war. Was not that the most important lesson to be drawn from our struggle in the ranks of the SWP? Our attitude toward a given war can be determined by looking at it as a whole: by considering the various political and social factors involved and their possible consequences. Nationalized economy, which did not exist, had nothing to do with our defensism in Spain or Ethiopia. Contrary to Lund's veiled implication, we are still defensists in China (although we certainly won't be if the Anglo-American imperialists succeed in subordinating this nationalist war to their world imperialist objectives; nor will the Chinese workers)despite the fact that there is no nationalized economy.

Defensists must prove likewise the following: (2) That the international working class would gain by a victory of the Soviet Union in the present war. The purely negative answer that this would mean the defeat of Hitler does not suffice because then we must be defensists in the "democratic" capitalist nations for the same reason. So far we have read no efforts to prove this point.

What Kind of War?

Soviet Russia and the Stalinist bureaucracy at the moment are conducting an IMPERIALIST WAR. My reasons for this statement can be put under two headings. (1) The ruling bureaucracy is fighting to maintain itself in power so that it may continue its reactionary exploitation of (a) the Russian masses proper, (b) the oppressed nationalities and (c) the countries subjugated as a result of the former alliance with Hitler. Previously we called this STALIN-IST IMPERIALISM. Has this suddenly disappeared? Comrade Lund, one of the first to develop and explain this new phenomena to our movement, should at least know better than to deny this. Churchill clearly implied that Russian victory would mean definite IMPERIALIST advantages to the bureaucracy when

the victorious bandits would sit down to the new Versailles table. I believe this STALINIST IMPERIAL-ISM is the DOMINANT characteristic of Russia's participation in the war today. Wilson speaks of Soviet "defense" in a purely bourgeois sense -Russia is defending itself. So is the glorious British Empire fighting a "defensive" war in a military sense.

(2) Russia's participation is imperialistic in an even more fundamental sense. In four weeks of warfare the country has SUBORDINAT-ED itself to the Anglo-American war camp. The formal military alliance between Russia and the British Empire is (or should be) sufficient evidence. The speeches, actions and war objectives of the bureaucratic leaders are further evidence. "But we support Russia IN SPITE OF the bureaucracy, not because of it," object the defensists. Yes, yes-PROVIDED there are other, more compelling elements that enter into the situation. What are these elements? Again, the burden of proof rests with the defensists. We see no such elements or considerations present, only the dominant elements of Stalinist imperialism and partnership in one of the contending world imperialist war

Revolutionary Potentialities

While rejecting any policy of defensism at present, we must nevertheless recognize the rich revolutionary potentialities inherent in the conflict. The Workers Party is one of the few revolutionary groups left that retains an optimistic view regarding the revolutionary potential. Perhaps the statements that have appeared so far in our press have given too little attention to the possibilities that exist in the Russo-German war. At any rate, that is my opinion,

In the first place, we must recognize the fact that there STILL exist strong elements within the British and American capitalist classes that are decidedly favorable to converting this war into an anti-Soviet crusade. We should not lightly dismiss their existence! In bourgeois politics it is ONLY this fascist-minded group that can come into power if the present ruling section of the bourgeois has to be turned out. Concretely, the VANGUARD expression of this tendency is to be found in-the attitude of vulture Japanese imperialism which appears to be preparing an attack on the Far Eastern regions of Soviet Russia.

Secondly-and in line with our revolutionary perspectives-we must remember that the Russian working class is the most heroic, experienced and class conscious of any in the world. With its vast tradition and knowledge, accompanied by the earthquake that the war has let loose under the clay legs of the Stalin bureaucracy, is there not ample reason to look forward to a revolutionary revival of this working class-including the creation of mass, independent soviets, etc.? I find it hard to believe that the workers of Leningrad and Moscow will abandon or refuse the struggle as, for example, did the workers of Paris last year. It is precisely our position - for the Third Camp and independent workers' action - that allows to no - LOOKS FORWARD TO-such a develop-

And finally. I hope that those who advocate defensism will at least be clearer than our friends of the Cannon group as to what they mean by it specifically; that they will not say (as did Editor Morrow of The Militant) that defensism means "now more than ever must the Stalin bureaucracy be overthrown." Heaven forbid-that's what we defeatists say!

On the Picket Line

With the Labor Unions

By David Coolidge

WHAT THE FIGURES SHOW ON PROFITS AND WAGES

AFL economists have reported something about corporation profits and wages that LABOR ACTION has been pointing out for several months. That is the fact that the war industries and others could pay far higher wages than at present and still retain tremendous sums for top salaries, dividends and interest. In discussing the Mellon aluminum trust (Alcoa), the AFL reports that out of the 1940 profits of \$44,146,000. the Aluminum Co. could have given its 28,000 workers a pay increase of 45 cents an hour and still have paid its stockholders \$16,000,000 or 3 per cent on their investment. This is something for workers to

think about. Just think, each of the Aluminum Corporation workers could get an increase of 45 dents an hour and leave the company stockholders 8 per cent. The company hated like hell to give its workers even a 10 cents an hour bolost. Workers should understand too that the stockholders have no business even with the \$16,000,000. They did absolutely nothing to create this wealth. All of it was taken from the earth by labor as raw material and then made into a usable product by the labor of the workers in the factories. The stockholders and bondholders should be glad that they are permitted to take anything. They should be highly pleased to get 16 million; but they actually took 44 million.

The AFL report also cites the airplane companies. Ten leading aircraft manufacturers which make nine-tenths of the planes could have increased the wage of each worker

\$544 in 1940 and have 8 per cent earnings left. Instead of this, these vultures put that \$544 in their own pockets. Not only this, they tried to peg wages and give no increase at

Roosevelt and the New Deal are doing what they can to keep things rosy for the big bosses: even to sending in the army to stick havenets into workers who strike to get some of

It is funny to see the AFL putting out such a report. They say the corporations can pay more, yet they say at the same time that they will not make a fight to help the workers get it. John Frey called in the Navy to help him break a strike where workers were trying to get some of this money that the AFL says is available for them. You can't get higher wages from the war industries simply by publishing some figures to show how much money they make. It is correct to publish the figures and establish the facts. After this, however, it is necessary to make demands on the corporations. If the demands are not granted the only sensible thing is to strike and throw the biggest possible picket line around the plant. And the picket line should not be delayed waiting for the "Mediation" Board. The grievance of the workers is against the boss; they don't work for the Mediation Board. If this board of business men and simple minded labor leaders wants to help, all right; but they should not be permitted to obstruct and retard the fight for higher wages.

THE STALINISTS AND THE BASIS OF UNION MEMBERSHIP

At the convention of the National Maritime Union in Cleveland, one of the delegates presented a resolution calling for an outside trial board to investigate charges that the union president, Joseph Curran, is a communist. The resolution was rejected with only two dissenting votes.

This resolution should have been rejected. We don't know what were the reasons that the delegates voted against the resolution, but we can give sound reasons against accepting such a proposal. In the first place, a trade union should not reject and expel members for political belief and affiliation. Trade unions must be open on equal terms to all workers irrespective of the political party to which they belong. Not only this, but the unions must disregard race, color, creed, sex and nationality. Membership in the trade unions must not be denied to aliens. The only aliens that the working class must exclude from its organizations are members of the boss class; never workers for the reason that they are not citizens. Workers of every country are members of the working class; that is our basic citizenship. If the boss government wants to set up some national basis of citizenship, that is their business. We, however, must not accept this boss standard as a determining factor for admission to our

Labor must accept into its ranks and organizations Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Communists, Protestants, Jews, Negroes, and all other workers without discrimination. The working class ground for rejection or expulsion is the commission of anti-working class or anti-union acts. This would hold for a Republican or Democrat the same as for a Communist or a Socialist. Anti-union acts are such activity as strike-breaking, scabbing, refusal to pay dues or to function in the union, being a stoolpigeon for the boss or the govern-

The AFL wants to oust communists but it keeps a strike-breaker like Frey in. Amalgamated kicks out communists, but it lets Hillman stay while engaged in stool-pigeon activities for the government and the bosses. The AFL tries to frame the leaders of Teamsters Local 544 but it keeps racketeers like Browne of the Theatrical Union as a vice-president. The machinists and other AFL unions bar Negroes from membership just because they are Negroes. They too will kick out communists if they

The Workers Party has said many times that the workers should not follow the Stalinists nor let them acquire any power at all in the labor movement. We have given reasons.

This does not mean that members of the Communist Party should be barred or expelled from the unions. It only means that they should not be permitted to acquire influence or power in unions. When Stalinists are rejected or expelled from the unions it should be for the same reasons that Republican or Democrat workers are rejected or expelled: for anti-union actions. If this procedure is followed, many of the top leaders, particularly of the AFL, would be expelled.

The top leaders of the unions are not against the Stalinists because the Stalinists are anti-union in the sense that we have defined anti-union. They are not against the Stalinists because this outfit violates all the principles of trade union democracy, because it attempts to drag the unions from pillar to post every time the chief bureaucaft, Stalin, orders a change in line; because they are ready to kill the militancy of labor whenever this step fits in with the interests of the gang of murderers in the Kremlin. These are the reasons the Workers Party is against the Stalinists. That is why we tell the workers not to vote for Stalinists for uni officers, nor allow them to have any prestige whatsoever in the labor movement. This does not mean, however, that Stalinist party members should be barred from union membership, nor that they should not have the right to run for office. All we say is that the workers should not vote for them for office. As individual workers in industry, however, they have the same right as every worker to union membership. Expulsions should follow only after a democratic trial of the individual member of members for overt acts against the union and the working class, not for political affiliation.

Another reason that the resolution should have been rejected is the provision for an OUTSIDE TRIAL BOARD. Trial boards for union affairs should be INSIDE trial boards. that is, INSIDE THE LABOR MOVE-MENT. This trial board was to be composed of one member each from the Daily Worker, Federated Press, Communist Party, CIO, Civil Liberties Union, Associated Press, United Press, AFL, Department of Justice and American Legion. Quite a board, we say. Some formal validity might be given to having labor organizations, parties and papers, but none whatever for the capitalist press associations, the Department of Justice and the anti-labor, strike-breaking American Iegion.

This resolution was an excellent example of how the bosses and the government try to worm their way into labor organizations by inducing some worker to act for them.

IF UNION BUREAUCRATS GOT A WAGE CUT . . .

The NMU convention also decided not to increase the wages of the three leading union officers. At present Curran gets \$100 a week and the secretary and treasurer \$75 each. This was a correct decision. No trade union official, local, national or international, should be paid more than \$100 a week. This goes for the big shots at the top: Green, Murray, Tobin, Lewis and the rest of them. Most trade union top salaries are far too high and are a disgrace to the labor movement. If the trade unions have money enough to pay these fabulous salaries, such as Tobin's \$30,000 a year with his "rest periods" and foreign travel racket, they can use this money to reduce initiation fees and dues and for the accumulation of strike funds and benefits. Also, it might not be a bad thing to

use more of this money for educational work in the unions.

It would be a real stunt for the unions to reduce the big salaries real drastically. Then we would discover just how loyal some of the labor big shots are to the labor movement and just how self-sacrificing they are. We are of the opinion that if some of them were forced to live on an income somewhere near that of the highest paid workers they would scamper out of the labor movement and go over to business. Some of them, like the strike-breaker Frey, the racketeer Browne and others might join the boss spy agen-· cies and strike-breaking outfits. That's really where they belong.

NO GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WITHOUT A UNION CONTRACT!

FROM OUR WEST COAST CORRESPONDENT

Stalinists Get Busy on Jingo Job

By BILL HALE

LYNN, Mass.-Labor in this city is thoroughly aroused at the action of the Lynn City Council last Tuesday in scuttling the proposal for a housing authority that might lead to a lowcost housing project.

Rent Gouging

Leaders of the CIO General Electric union, Local 201 of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, immediately issued a statement denouncing the politicians. Their statement charged that the city council, by its action, has placed its stamp of approval on rent gouging. The union has also called upon the federal government to step in over the head of the local politicians with a housing authority.

The actions of the GE union were of the CIO North Shore Council. The council also passed a resolution hail-Labor as an organization to unite the trade union movement of Lynn.

Consider Labor Slate

The council, after a very educational discussion, urged all Lynn CIO union delegates to the new Chamber, which also includes the various AFL unions, to suggest to the joint group the possibilities of "independent political action by organized labor" in the municipal elections this

Sentiment is widespread among union men here for a labor slate in the city councilmanic elections in particular. The actions of the city.

(Continued on page 3)

By JOHN BORDEN LOS ANGELES, July 13-The Stalinist-controlled

CIO Industrial Union Council reeked with the new pro-war line of the Communist Party last week. The few statements of honest union militants came like rare breaths of clean air.

To that group of industrial union representatives who at their last meeting condemned imperialist war, who in recent months led the North American and Vultee strikes, and who have altogether done more fighting for the labor movement than most other groups in the country, the Stalinist stooges had the gall to present motions like the following:

1. The standard resolution which the Communists have introduced in all unions telling the workers in effect that with Hitler's march on Russia, America and England have lost their imperialist aim in this war, and urging aid to Britain and Russia.

2. To help whip up the war spirit at home, a endorsed by Friday night's meeting resolution was accepted in support of the phony aluminum collection campaign organized by Warmonger Fiorello La Guardia and run in this town ing the formation of the Chamber of by Mayor Bowron, whose police department played its inglorious part in trying to smash the North American strike.

> No single word of criticism was offered on this scheme to make workingmen pay up for the failure of the monopolistic Aluminum Corporation of America to satisfy the war needs of the American capitalist class as a whole.

> 3. Along this same line of propaganda, a Catholic churchman was brought in to make an appeal for donations to the USO, the jingo morale outfit which the war-makers refuse to pay for out of their own bulging pockets.

ENDORSE WILLKIE JINGO MEETING

4. The crowning insult came in the form of a telegram, read to the council and spoken for by a lesser bureaucrat, urging the affiliates of the council to support a meeting on "defense unity" at

which the main speaker will be that great friend sheriff's deputies. The only ones crossing the pickof labor-Wendell Willkie!

It was obvious from the reaction to the telegram that no honest unionist would support it, so it was passed along to the various locals "for individual consideration."

The first resolution-on aid to Britain and Russia-was also tabled until next week, when Stalinist Hatchetman "Slim" Connelly will be back in town with his hands on the reins.

ONE GOOD POINT-BACK LOCAL 544

The meeting was not, however, without its good points. There are still many honest union men in the council and it is these who are going to determine things at a showdown. They can see through the shameful Stalinist flip-flops, and still carry on the fight for better working conditions and better living conditions.

A reflection of this was the motion presented by one of the auto locals urging support to the Teamsters Local 544, CIO, in Minneapolis, which recently left the decrepit AFL and is involved in bitter struggle with AFL bureaucrat Dan Tobin, the FBI and the U.S. Attorney General, all of whom are trying to smash one of the most militant unions in the country.

The council unanimously voted support, with the Stalinists apparently afraid to voice any criticism, although their political brethren in Minneapolis have not hesitated to pitch right in with the FBI and smear the "Trotskyist leadership."

TRONA STRIKE STILL GOING STRONG

Also hanging tough, in spite of gangsters and the gunmen legalized by the sheriff of San Bernadino County, are the strikers at the American Potash & Chemical Co. in Trona.

The company has tried about every known formula for breaking a strike and has even experimented with a few new ones of its own. Finally, in desperation, it opened the plant with the help of hired thugs and a swarm of quickly sworn in

et line were office workers, known finks and management workers. The strikers calmly moved into the fourth month of their strike confident that the company would crack or be cracked in the near MICKEY MOUSE SNUBS WILLIE BIOFF

One other item of business that came before the

council held promise for better labor organization in this area. The council voted to put Walt Disney films on its unfair list and thus threw its support behind the AFL-affiliated Screen Cartoon Guild. which is striking against the producer of Mickey Mouse movies.

The Cartoon Guild has its hands full, but it is waging a fight which may yet prove a huge victory for all Hollywood labor. It seems that Disney, who has always expressed open contempt for all unions, has found that it is better to make a deal with a union faker than give in to a militant rank and file. So when the Cartoon Guild had just about won all its demands, Disney called in Willie Bioff, nationally infamous as the slimiest thing that ever stuck greasy fingers into any union

Disney made a deal with Wicked Willie-but the Cartoon Guild turned it down. They wanted a contract all right, but they wanted to have their own say in the matter. Thereupon, Willie forced all members of the IATSE, which he controls, to break their own sympathetic strike with the car-

Everything was going fine for Willie Bioff, until the machinists, independent of Bioff, refused to break the Disney strike. They threatened to strike Technicolor, where all Disney film is processed, and Technicolor then refused to handle Disney film. That leaves Disney out in the cold again, side by side with Willie Bioff, while the Screen Cartoon Guild, its ranks still solid, has a chance to win a strike and at the same time rid Hollywood labor of Bioff, ex-panderer.

Labor News and Notes from Britain

The following material is taken from the British New Leader, organ of the British Independent Labor

AFTER THE WAR-MORE WAR! "If I have not disappeared off the stage at the end of this war, I have made up my mind that the military side must be on the same terms as the Navy and the Air Force. We must never allow the people of this country to be endangered as they were."-Ernest Bevin.

CIVIL LIBERTIES CONFERENCE

Delegates (992) representing 640 organizations with a membership of 1,000,000 attended a conference on the freedom of the press held by the National Council for Civil Liberties and the National Union of Journalists in London. Trade unions, Labor Party cooperatives, shop stewards, ILP branches, Stalinists, etc., were represented. Various resolutions demanding repeal of reactionary legislation adopted by the Churchill government were adopted.

ILP HEADQUARTERS

The central headquarters of the Independent Labor Party in London was destroyed during a bombing attack early in June.

GLASGOW

The Glasgow Trades Council and the Glasgow ILP Federation are demanding "hutment" settlements at coast and rural resorts for bombed refugees. The government has refused to organize refugee settlements so far.

FIREWATCHING

labor demands for firewatchers include the following:

- rade union wages.
- Adequate rest periods. 3) Proper equipment, including
- 4) Full compensation in the event of injury or death.

APPRENTICE STRIKES The Scottish apprentice strike has

spread elsewhere. There was one in Belfast and at a Metro Vickers factory in Lancashire. Between 800 and 1,000 apprentices came out.

MINERS' FEDERATION

The Miners' Federation executive committee is pressing for a minimum weekly wage of \$16.00. Government circles, however, are trying to fix a \$12.60 per week minimum!

BOSS RELIEF

The finance bill adopted by the government provides for a return of 20 per cent of the excess profits tax after the war. Special concessions are also to be given to metal and oil mining companies.

OLD SCHOOL TIES

The last list of 319 appointments to the Home Guard includes peers, baronets, knights and brigadier generals. Only 19 persons without titles

May Bill - -

(Continued from page 1)

Strikebreaker Roosevelt sent the Army in with fixed bayonets. They point out how few strikes there are now since the Army prepared itself for stopping Hitler's tanks by acting against unarmed workingmen in the United States.

Since they think we are momentarily whipped, these "friends of labor" feel that it is best to let sleeping dogs lie. May and his gang think we are whipped too and wanted to slip his bill through before we recover from the brave action of Roosevelt's Army at North American. But the "friends of labor" have more sense. Their heads are not all bone and gristle. They know that we are not defeated and that we will strike again for a greater part of the tremendous wealth we create.

These "champions of labor" talked about the passage of the bill as the "collapse of the world's mightiest citadel of freedom-free America." Conservative, silk-stocking Republican Baldwin, from New York, opined that it would be dangerous to suspend the principles of the Wagner Act "just when their recognition is most essential." Thomason, from poll-tax Texas, where they murder Negroes in court and go free, prayerfully ejaculated that "this is no time for hysteria but for unity and patriotism."

THE PICKET LINE BRINGS RESULTS

Labor should not be misled by this "victory." The wolf has not really changed into a lamb. Many of these conservative congressmen who are anti-labor to the core, voted against the May Bill because they thought it the best policy now. They were afraid, as some of them said, that labor would not take too kindly to the bill. Also, they felt that if labor can be tricked into cooperation, this would be better than rubbing our bristles the wrong way. We might fight back.

Something else, however, entered into this vote. That is the opposition of big business to plant seizures by Roosevelt. This had far more to do with the vote of these "champions of labor" than anything else. It's all right to break strikes with the Army, but the bosses don't want their plants interfered with. Congressmen know their master's voice to identify it with what exists in when they hear it.

It is said that Roosevelt was against the May Bill. So what? we ask. Roosevelt is Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. He has issued an "unlimited emergency" proclamation. What need has he for more laws. He sent the troops to North American and he will repeat it as Commander in Chief. He said this in so many words in the order restoring the "seized" North American plant to its owners.

The workers need but one fact to guide them. That is the fact that wages are still low, hours too long and millions of workers outside the trade unions. Combined with this is the further and important fact that the bosses are set for the biggest profits in the history of capitalism. The vote of the "champions of labor" against the May Bill hasn't changed one damn thing. The workers are learning what produces a little change. Not the good will of labor's "friends" in Congress, but the mass picket line at the factory gate.

Singapore and British Malaya Armored Cars and Tanks Used Against Strikers

By HENRY JUDD

An American sailor recently returned from a trip to Singapore and Penang, British ports of the Federated Malay States, has given us the following picture of this imperialist colony - important as a source of rubber and tin deposits.

Within the past year the Singapore base has been greatly reinforced and its defenses have been extended. The island bristles with guns, air fields, planes, armored equipment, etc. Singapore city is filled with troops brought from England (mainly officers and arrogant RAF pilots), Australians, New Zealanders and Indians. There is much hostility between the English and Anzac soldiers because the latter resent the fact that they bore the brunt of the defeats in Greece and Crete-with the English being the first to scram out.

Far more important has been the extended and bitter rubber strike

conducted by the native workers of Malaya. This strike assumed violent proportions and rapidly became a general strike of all rubber plantation workers during the month of

In the rubber districts of Singapore and the state of Johore there labor tens of thousands of workers -mainly Tamils brought over from South India and Ceylon. There are also many Malayan workers. Organized into a militant union, they struck for higher wages and shorter hours than the 11 per day they labor. They organized themselves into picket bands that roamed the plantations, driving off would-be strike-breakers (blacklegs). They fiercely battled the local, constabulary, who soon found themselves overwhelmed by

the strength of the workers. Then armored cars and tanks (we thought they were there to be used against the Japanese aggressors!)

Trade union and left wing labor

backs. Similarly the British imperialists will do anything for their subject peoples except grant them self-determination. The reason for this is obvious. They know that once the colonial peoples enjoyed real unfettered political democracy, sooner or later the economic stranglehold of European vested interests would be broken. And the British capitalist classes, especially those with colonial investments, are determined not to give up their "right" to exploit the native peoples.

The rich will do anything for the poor except get off their

THE TRAGEDY OF INDIA

This is the basic reason why Britain has resisted and will continue to resist every effort on the part of the Indian people for political liberty and human freedom, even while appealing to them to help fight for democracy! "Democracy," said Thucydides, "cannot govern an empire . . . empire is despotism."

The tragedy of India is being repeated in the West Indies. Like typical Bourbons, our imperialist masters seem to learn nothing and to forget nothing. Despite the unmistakable temper of the West Indian masses, urging for a fundamental change in their economic and political conditions, the Colonfal Office is trying to palm them off with a makeshift constitution.

While seemingly democratic, the so-called reforms just granted to Trinidad and Jamaica reserve all essential powers in the hands of the governors. The old discredited Crown Colony system is dressed up to look progressive, but the Colonial Office has not succeeded in hoodwinking the West Indians.

"We see neither progress nor reform in this much-publicized blessing," writes The People of Trinidad. Giving judgment, it

"Indeed, we find ourselves in this dilemma as regards the new Constitution: we are wondering whether we over-estimate the subtlety of the Colonial Office or whether they under-estimate ours. There is a good strong American word by which all such acts are explained-bluff! It is particularly apt in this instance. . . . More care in the selection of its nominated members-and, presto, the trick is done. It is simple arithmetic: three officials plus six nominated make nine, the people elect nine from those of their number who earn more than \$160 per month. With the chances of unity greater among the nominated and official members, the result is a foregone conclusion! The governor will hardly need to use his new power of veto."

Trinfdad is ruled by a governor, assisted by a council of 25 members, the majority of whom are government officials and individuals nominated to the council by the governor. These latter represent various industrial, commercial and agricultural interests. Seven elected members are returned to the council every four years on a limited franchise. These individuals are usually native born-white as well as colored.

At the time of the last election there were 30,911 registered voters out of a population of 456,006—that is, 6.5 per cent. Economic reasons account for this small percentage. A native must earn 62 pounds 10 shillings per annum before being registered as a voter. The average income of an agricultural worker is hardly more than 40 to 45 pounds per annum, and the laboring class consists chiefly of this type of worker. Consequently, the vast majority of the population, who stand most in need of economic and social relief, are deprived of any part in choosing those who govern them.

MP'S MUST OWN PROPERTY

This is not the only handicap, however. Prospective members must own real estate to the value of 2,000 pounds or derive 200 pounds per annum therefrom; or have resided in the electoral district for one year or own therein real estate of 5,000 pounds in value or giving income of 400 pounds per annum. The result is that even the lower middle classes, who might be able to qualify as voters, have not the possibility of being represented by one of their own class, much less the workers and

There is nothing in the new Constitution which will remedy this undemocratic practice, as it makes no immediate provision for abolishing property qualifications. The most that has been proposed is that the governor should appoint a committee to examine the possibilities of widening the franchise, but even this will not take place until after a trial period lasting until

In actual membership of the legislative council, there is to be a reduction from 26. Nine will be officials and nine elected. In short, the people's representatives are to be increased by two! This constitutes the only real change. To counter-balance the

The British government has made a great song about the new "democratic constitutions" to be granted to Trinidad and Jamaica. In this article the truth is told by a socialist leader of the Negro workers.

-By George Padmore-

equalization, the governor will have a casting vote, and, in the final resort, can exercise powers of veto.

WORKERS NOT REPRESENTED

Whither the West Indies?

The arrangement for Jamaica proposes the introduction of universal adult suffrage, in which the property qualification would be abolished and an enlarged legislative council, to comprise approximately double the present number of elected members, with nominated members, and three, instead of five, exofficio members, the total number to be not less than 40.

Admittedly the introduction of adult suffrage will be a progressive step on the road to political democracy, but why negate its benefits by retaining the high property and income qualifications for candidates to the council? For, while allowing the workers and peasants to vote, it will preclude them from returning representatives from their own class.

The common people will not be satisfied with these halfway reforms. Candidature based on income and property qualifications must be entirely abolished. A small deposit should be sufficient to guard against irresponsible candidates.

The ex-officio members will be reduced from five to three, but the governor will continue to nominate ten members. In this way, "all important sections and interests would receive adequate representation," says the Secretary of State for Colo-

Who and what are these interests? The sugar planters and banana combines, the shipping and trading companies, which dominate the Chamber of Commerce; the industrialists and big

Although the people's representatives will be in the majority, the imperialists and their native capitalist allies need not be afraid that the elected members will adopt socialistic legislation. As the Times has reminded us:

"The governor, who has always possessed certain emergency powers, especially in finance, is now given the right to override his legislative council should that be required by the interests of public order, public faith or good government." Only after the war will the changes come into operation, adds the Times.

The whole business of the Constitution was conducted in traditional Whitehall manner. When they were ready, the governors of the islands were called to London for consultation and the accomplished facts put before Parliament and the people of the islands. The same "take it or leave it" attitude was adopted over the leasing of bases to America. And when the matter was raised in the House of Commons, that Canadian "cracker," Beveriey Baxter, had the impertinence to declare:

"At such a moment we are not going to say to the Americans, Wait a minute, the Parliament of Great Britain wants to talk about terms and color ban and nigger problems' . . ."

We can afford to ignore this Tory mountebank. It is significant, however, that neither the Speaker nor Mr. Attlee, Lord Privy Seal, rebuked Baxter for the use of such an offensive term as "nigger" in reference to colored British subjects. Parliament is fast degenerating into a Reichstag.

Those who are unfamiliar with the prerogatives of colonial governors will find it difficult to realize their complete power. They report to one man, and one man alone—the Secretary of State for the Colonies-to whom they owe their appoinments. In his person a crown colony governor symbolizes a sort of trinity. As a representative of the King, constitutionally he "can do no wrong." As head of the Executive, he is Prime Minister: and thirdly, when presiding over the Legislature, he is Speaker. It obviously takes a very bold man to criticize such a threefold

CROWN COLONY DICTATORSHIP

How is the business of crown colony government actually conducted? 'The governor has a cabinet or executive council (called in Jamaica the Privy Council), made up of members selected by him. Usually they are the heads of the most important civil and military departments, augmented by one or two native Quislings-colored men who have demonstrated their loyalty to the imperialists over a long period by opposing all progressive measures which might prove to be in the interests of the common people.

'Any labor leader or exponent of progressive thought was at the mercy of the governor, whose judgment could not be challenged and who might constitute himself prosecutor, judge and jailer," declared Mr. David Adams, MP, addressing a recent conference of the National Council of Civil Liberties in London. in reference to colonial disabilities.

The executive controls all financial matters and is the body which formulates all legislation later proposed before the Legislative Council for approval or disapproval. The powers of this executive council, however, are purely consultative, as the governor is under no obligation to accept the advice of the mem-

Significantly enough, the new recommendations do not greatly affect the composition or powers of the executive. Such trifling changes as are to be made are in the Legislative Council. The two additional members to the Trinidad Legislative Council and the fourteen to the Jamaican Council can change executive policy in no essential detail.

This constitutes the essential feature of crown colony administration. Even in Ceylon, where the Donoughmore Constitution -that Labor Party gift to the Ceylonese natives-allows wider representation and to all intents and purposes affords greater opportunities for the promulgation of progressive measures, the governor has the final word. Despite the fact that the Ceylonese ministers have administrative responsibility and are permitted to propose and decide legislation, even financial, the governor can over-ride, at his own discretion, any measure adopted by a majority of the State Council.

When British imperialists offer a constitution to the colonial peoples it is like Greeks bearing gifts-something to beware of, They are trying to bamboozle the West Indies, just as the East Indies, but they will succeed no better in one way than in the

It is quite certain that West Indian public opinion will not be satisfied with the proposed niggardly reforms. The insignificant constitutional gestures made to the native peoples of Trinidad and Jamaica completely ignore the solid political claims of the colonies, while leaving out entirely the other Caribbean countries, British Guiana and British Honduras.

It is scandalous that some three million people should be ruled by about a dozen separate governors and legislatures. Each colony is at present obliged to struggle to maintain its own medical and health services, education and agricultural department, police and judiciary, and other essential functions of modern government. The governors alone together receive more than 30,000 pounds sterling per annum in salaries and allowances! Is it to be wondered at that these colonies are so poor!

WHY NOT FEDERATION?

Today every progressive individual realizes the advantages of the political federation of national and geographical units as the best way of promoting the economic and social well-being of the people. So much so that even non-socialists favor a Federated Europe. Nevertheless, the Colonial Office continues to ignore the popular demand for West Indian Federation.

Whatever might be the ultimate future of the West Indies as a whole," declares Lord Moyne, "we could not look to any uniform system of government in the component parts."

West Indians have more in common than the peoples of Europe. They belong in the main to the same ethnic stock-Africans. They speak the same language, profess the same Christian religion and have assimilated the same cultural outlook. In fact, they have more in common among themselves than have, say, the English and the Welsh, or the English and the Scotch, to say nothing of the Irish!

Colonial peoples are getting very sick of this sort of thing. They are tired of being ruled over and bossed by foreigners, and reject the British imperialist theory of the "white man's burden" as much as they repudiate the arrogant "master race"

As President Roosevelt recently reminded the world that there never has been, is not now and never will be any race (including the British-G.P.) fit to serve as masters over their fellow men. (How about Jim-Crow rule in the U. S., Mr. President?-Ed.) We believe that any nationality, no matter how small ,has the inherent right to its own nationhood.

This, too, is our claim. We demand full self-determination, not as an end in itself-for we are not narrowly nationalistbut as the historic prerequisite for the free and voluntary cooperation between all nations and peoples and races.

The World at War

(Continued from page 1)

Russia. Since Churchill, at any rate, knows what the real state of affairs is, he has no hesitation in coming forward with a real alliance with Russia. Naturally he still peddles the lie about communism in Russia. He is very careful, when offering an alliance to Russia, to say that his alliance is not with communism, against which he remains unalterably opposed, but rather with the Russian fight against Hitler.

Since the alliance with Russia is real, as Churchill points out, it is amusing to note with what embarrassment the officials of the British Broadcasting Company viewed the suggestion that the "Internationale" be played alongside the other national anthems of Britain's allies. It must be noted that the embarrassment resulted not at all because the "Internationale" is the Russian national anthem. What frightened the British bourgeois officials is that the "Internationale" also happens to be the song of proletarian revolt. The everresourceful British rulers finally solved the problem by playing a song of the Russian Red Army.

Symbolically, the British reaction to this incident expressed the real nature of the war and the alliance

were brought in from Singapore and other British imperialist army centers. Armed clashes took place. Before it was all over, two police had been killed, a dozen workers likewise and several hundred wounded. Many were arrested and the workers surrounded the jails in an effort to free them. At last word the strike was still on and the results are as yet unknown.

This is an up-to-date illustration of "democratic" imperialism in action against the enslaved colonial workers. This is why troops are sent

between Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt. So far as the Russians are concerned, not a hint has been given that this war is on their part a war for socialism. From Stalin down the bureaucrats exhort the Russian masses to fight only for the Russian fatherland. Whatever inspiration from the past they receive from the bureaucrats comes not from the rich past of the revolution and the civil war but rather from the reactionary past of Russian czarist history. As the Russian church within Russia and abroad has also come forward to bless Russian arms, the present fight seems hardly different from Russia's fight in the last World War for "Holy Mother Russia."

LITVINOFF ON THE WAR

For their part the Russian bureaucrats are certainly not so squeamish about their new alliance with British and American imperialism. They don't even take the trouble, as Churchill has with communism, to disassociate themselves from the ideology of capitalism. Far from it. Litvinoff, for example, who returned to the land of the living and was given a new frock coat, was put before the microphone where, in English, he said:

"The Soviet Union and Great Britain are fighting for the integrity and independence of their states and against the extermination of their peoples, and at the same time their common victory will bring the emancipation of their peoples from the

> Conscript the War Industries Under Workers' Control!

heels of Hitler, and this victory will bring new foundations for the organization of a better life in conformity with the desire of each of the liberated countries.'

Thus the whole imperialist war is dressed up to appear as a war of liberation, and the imperialists are given a clean bill of health. Could greater betraval of the peoples who hunger and are slaughtered in the imperialist war be conceived? Is this the lie for which the Russian masses are fighting? Is this what the workers exploited and starved by the British and American capitalists are fighting for? And the millions of colonial slaves of British and American imperialism, shall they too fight for this falsehood? Is this the way to inspire the German and Italian workers to throw off the chains of Hitler and Mussolini in order only to have them exchanged for the shackles of a new Versailles treaty of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin?

Litvinoff's words expose the true character of the Russian-British alliance, which is reactionary through and through. Is it any wonder that Churchill comes forward at once to embrace Stalin? The arch-enemy of labor, Churchill, knows his Stalin. He can depend upon him to hand over the working class bound and fettered to the nefarious aims of his imperialist masters

Los Angeles

Worcester

Akron

Buffalo

Kansas City

Chicago Central

(Continued from page 2)

council on the housing question have had a good effect in one sense. They have shown labor that it cannot trust capitalist politicians, whether they be Republicans or Democrats.

Everyone in Lynn knows that there is a shortage of decent housing facilities. War boom expansion at the GE plants has brought thousands of new people into Lynn, intensifying the shortage. And everyone knows what the unscrupulous landlords, bankers and real estate operators are doing. These greedy people are busy profiteering, cutting as big a hole as they can into the workers' pocketbooks. Naturally they are against any decent housing project.

The Workers Party in Lynn has led the way in pointing out that the workers cannot trust the bankers' stooges in the council. It is the capitalists who own the two old parties, here as everywhere. Both Democrats and Republicans are their servants. So it is only natural for those politicians to listen to their masters' voices. "He who pays the piper calls

Labor must organize to protect its political interests just as much as it needs unions to protect its interests in the shops. The WP therefore has urged and supported labor's move toward independent political action in its series of leaflet "Messages" being distributed locally.

QUOTAS MORE THAN 100 PER CENT FILLED:

Branch	Quota	Subs	obtain	ned
Boston	5		6	
Lynn	. 5		11	
St. Louis	10		44	
Syracuse	No quota	set	5	
Columbus	3		6	
UOTAS PARTIALLY FILLED:	, .			
Pronch	Queta	Sub	c Ohtai	han

PRESS

25¢ SUB DRIVE

The national campaign to obtain 200 special 25 cent subscriptions to LABOR ACTION by July 15 has been extended by one month in order to enable several branches, which for various reasons have not been able to get to work on this drive, to fill given in an adjoining column.

The standing of the campaign is given below:

NEW YORK CITY

The drive for its quota of 75 subscriptions was delayed until this week. However, work is beginning on the campaign, which is expected to be completed within three weeks.

BRANCHES NOT HEARD FROM

What has happened to San Francisco, Chicago South Side, Streator, Baltimore, Buffalo, Rochester, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Washington?

There are still five weeks to go to complete this drive. Let's go over the top with MORE than 200 new 25 cent subscriptions. Already obtained are 91 subscriptions toward the outof-town quota of 125 subs. (However, note that 40 of these were sent in by St. Louis.) New York promises its 75 subs withis three weeks. Let's have the subs come rolling in during the next few weeks to make the drive a 100 per cent success!

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

Editorials

OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

- 1. Against both imperialist war camps! For the third camp of World Labor and the colonial peoples!
- 2. For the right to strike! For the defense of civil liberties and all workers' rights! Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day plans and war-time dictator-
- 3. Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars minimum pay! Time and a half wages for overtime above 30 hours. For increased wages to meet the rising cost of living.
- 4. Let the people vote on war! For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18 -old enough to fight, old enough to
- 5. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war! A capital levy to cover the costs of imperialist war. No indirect taxes on the people.
- 6. Conscript the war industries under workers' control!
- 7. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the three per cent of the people who own ninety per cent of the wealth!
- 8. No government contract without a union contract!
- Abolish secret diplomacy! Open the
- files of the State Department. 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. Double the wages of the conscripts! Former employers to pay the wage differential and guarantee return of the
- 12. Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America.
- 13. Down with Jim-Crow and anti-Semitism! For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and in the trade unions.
- 14. For Workers' Defense Guards against fascist and vigilante attacks!
- 15. For an Independent Labor Party.
- 16. For a workers' government and a people's army! No confidence in the Roosevelt government.
- 17. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the World Socialist Federa-

FDR and the Law

Roosevelt's concern for the law is truly

Having sent an expeditionary force to the European war zone (Iceland) in violation of the law, he gallantly offers to withdraw his request for a legalized AEF if Congress will hop to it and extend the service time of the draftees.

indignant about Roosevelt violating a law. After all, the bosses make and change the laws to fit their own needs. From the point of view of HIS class, Roosevelt is perfectly justified in doing all that he considers necessary to benefit his class. And that's where our beef comes in. What helps the boss class won't, as a rule, help the working class, OUR class. And that's exactly the situation on the AEF proposal and the draft extension.

We want labor to blast the AEF proposition—not because it violates a law that Congress hasn't changed yet; rather because it is part of the bosses' war which we oppose and do not want. Roosevelt may get his law passed later; but even if he doesn't, he'll do exactly what he believes necessary to further the interest of his class. Legally, or illegally, the actions remain equally offensive to us; in both cases they mean the sacrifice of our lives, our limbs, our labor in a cause not our own.

So it is with the draft extension proposal. Roosevelt knows that if he wants an army that will serve the bosses efficiently, one year's service is inadequate. He expects "shooting war" before the year (or maybe, the month) is out. He doesn't want to demobilize any part of the army just when the shooting is going to start. From HIS point of view, his demand is logical. And he'll carry his point even if Congress does not legislate the demand. There's that convenient little emergency decree under which he can do pretty near anything he wants to. Besides, everybody with the sense of a beetle knew the year limit on service was so much eye-wash.

Here again we're not concerned with the law. Nor with broken promises. Boss promises to labor are meant to be broken—if the bosses can get away with it. We're concerned with the FACT - the fact that American youth, against its class will, is being forced to serve in the bosses' army, so that it may, by the sacrifice of its freedom and its life, fight the bosses' war. How close that war is in all its gory and horrible "shooting" is manifestly clear in the great anxiety of brass-hat and politician to keep the draftees in service.

Upon this CLASS basis we call upon labor, acting through its unions, to condemn and oppose both measures, and by doing that to condemn and oppose every stage of the bosses' war.

Mayflower Story

Picture to yourselves the following car-

The Mayflower is about to land its cargo of men and women who fled Europe. On Plymouth Rock stands an Indian warrior with hand raised in stop signal. "If any of you have relatives in the old country—says the Indian (in Indian of course) —we can't take the chance of letting you in. You'll have to turn around and go back."

Well, that's just about the size of the new State Department regulation concerning refugees fleeing from Naziism. (See last week's LABOR ACTION.) Applicants for United States visas, or those who already have them, will not be allowed to enter the country if they have relatives in Hitler controlled territory. Inasmuch as nearly everyone has a relative of some kind, the order bars all but the influential (and rich) refugees.

The theory behind the State Department action is that the Nazis will be able to put pressure on the refugees through their relatives. The assumption behind that is that every anti-fascist will act in the image of the careerists in the State Department. That refugee dowagers whose anti-fascism is not as deep as their love of comfort, may turn coat, is undeniable. But the regulation is a libel against those working class antifascists who stood firm in the face of terror-and this type of refugee is the only one really affected, because the wealthy and socialite "democrats" from abroad will find a way of getting in.

This country was founded by immigrants and built by successive generations of immigrants fleeing European intolerance. Barring the victims of Hitler terror is a vilely reactionary piece of political totalitarianism. OUR loyalties, that is the loyalties of the working class, are world-wide. Loyalty to our class and to the anti-fascists of the world, makes it necessary that we

AN OPEN DOOR FOR REFUGEES!

A Message to Now, we are not going to get morally Finnish Workers

Below we publish a translation of a leaflet distributed by the Workers Party to the Finnish workers in the Fitchburg, Mass., area.

American Finnish Working People:

For Peace and Freedom for the Finnish People! We see now what the Finnish capitalists have been hoping for: war between Germany and Soviet Russia. And those Finnish capitalists and generals who yesterday spoke so much about "Finnish Freedom" today call the Nazi hordes into

As in 1918, those "patriots" unite with, and prefer, foreign tyranny to Finnish freedom. Why? Because the capitalists have only one fatherland their purse. They know that the German rulers

The Finnish working people want no tyranny -neither Hitler's nor Stalin's-nor that of the Finnish bourgeoisie. The Finnish working people know Stalin, the murderer and despoiler of the real Russian Revolution.

The Stalinist "Communist" leaders have no concern over the needs of the working people of the world. They have but one goal: to aid the interests of the Stalin bureaucracy. Thus it is that the Stalinists in America and every other country change their "principles" as easily as any opportunist bourgeois politician.

The Finnish working people have not forgotten 1918. We do not forget what "The Butcher" Mannerheim did together with his German allies. The thousands of working class comrades that they murdered will always be in our memory.

In the RussoFinnish war of 1939 the revolutionary socialists (Workers Party) said that the road to Finnish freedom and independence is through freedom from our own bourgeoisie, not through supporting it, and then we could fight the assaults of Stalin and Hitler. THE MAIN ENEMY IS OUR OWN BOURGEOISIE.

The enemy is capitalism. Mannerheim, Ryti, Walenius & Co. do not fight for Finnish independence. They fight to maintain their profits and riches. The way to Finnish freedom leads through the overthrow of our own capitalists, to the establishment of a free, socialist Finland.

Now it is clear that in Finland, as throughout the world, the bourgeoisie fought only for its wealth. For them there IS NO principled war. Yesterday Finland was an outpost of the "democratic" countries. Today it is fascism's outpost. The young Finnish workers had to fight at the front for both "ideologies."

But the bourgeoisie is the bourgeoisie. It has but one ideology, but one goal-the maintenance and extension of its riches. And for the workers there is but one road: the road to freedom. Capitalism is the enemy; capitalism must be over-

Capitalism creates war and fascism. Against capitalism and its offspring! For a free, workers' Finland! For the Socialist United States of Europe! For the Socialist United States of the World! Fitchburg District Workers Party of the U.S.

Billions for Boss War Will Come Out of Labor's Pocket

(Continued from page 1)

Nor is this the whole story of what the war budget means. The increased revenues will be covered only in small part by increased yields from existing taxes. The House Ways and Means Committee has not yet reported out the new tax bill. When it does I shall analyze it in detail. In the meantime, advance reports indicate that close to a billion dollars will be raised through new excise taxes, which will be passed on to the consumer in the form of higher prices. Practically all of these will bear most heavily on the workers and those in the low income brackets. In addition, the bulk of the increased revenue from income taxes will come from the middle classes. The most damning indictment of the proposed ew revenue bill, however, is the fact that it proposes a mere 10 per cent increase in the rates for the excess profits tax. This is a drop in the bucket and still leaves the excess profits tax as a pure swindle.

The opposition of the Workers Party to the war budget flows from our opposition to the imperialist war toward which Roosevelt is heading us. All sections of the working class

29 Indicted

(Continued from page 1)

union men and beaten them. True, they have torn off CIO but-

tons and forced our members to submit to Tobin's dishonorable

button. But they haven't changed the union principles or convic-

Roosevelt and the FBI to come to his aid. "His ace in the hole"

says the Northwest Organizer, "lies in the political support he has

received from Roosevelt, the Department of Justice and the FBI. Roosevelt

is simply paying off a political debt to Tobin for the support this cynical and

This is the situation and the astounding story of betrayal and sell-out by

a top labor leader and of government persecution of union militants. Roose-

velt talked about union "raiding" when there was no raiding and he knows

this. A local union with a glorious record of achievement for its members,

a democratic union with a highly competent and honest leadership faced a

criminal and vicious anti-union attack from its own international president.

What was 544 to do? Allow Tobin to cut the local to pieces? No. 544 was

trained on the picket line. It had faced tougher foes than Tobin and foes

with more gray matter than this Roosevelt-boss lackey. The local joined the

CIO, a legitimate working class organization. Wasn't this their constitutional

and legal right? Wasn't this their working class duty? Couldn't they move

from one organization to another if the membership so willed? There isn't

on the Socialist Workers Party was not an attack on the union. This is a lie.

It is an attack on Local 544; the most harmful attack that can be made against

a labor organization. The indictments are an attempt to remove from the

local the most precious thing that labor can have: an honest, democratic,

intelligent, competent, loyal and militant leadership. All the clap-trap of

Biddle and the yammering of Tobin about "sedition," "conspiracy" and "over-

throwing the government" is just so much filth thrown around to help hide

the truth. All that 544 sought was to escape from the Tobin dictatorship and

to "overthrow" the attacks made against it by the Minneapolis bosses. Be-

cause its methods were militant, because it was led by men of the highest

proletarian integrity, because it had won victories in conflict with the bosses;

and above all because its leaders refused to pay homage to the god of impe-

rialist war, Tobin and Roosevelt seek to wreck the local by removing the

leadership from the scene. This is the meaning of these indictments and they

the largest peacetime roundup in the nation for seditious conspiracy. Of

course we don't fall for this "peacetime" bunkum. We'll leave that choice

piece of hokus-pokus to the Justice Department. We know that Roosevelt is

set to drive the workers of this country into the bloodiest imperialist slaugh-

the rule of the boss class lasts. The workers get a short respite from the capi-

talist lash only so long as they are docile; only when they cringe and are

servile before the capitalist masters. They have a "peacetime" only when they

are cowards, when the are willing to see the food which they produce go to

gorge the fatted rich, while the "shrunken bellies" of labor mount to 52 mil-

lions. We of the working class have a "peacetime" if we are willing to live in

shacks and hovels while the plutocrats revel in the houses we have built. We

are "responsible" trade unionists so long as we are satisfied with rags and

shoddy while the bosses and the Tobins deck themselves in the comfortable

garments that we have made. This is the imperialist "peacetime" for labor

the workers struggle against the bosses to reduce the number of "shrunken

bellies." Today this determination clashes with the war plans of Roosevelt

and the boss class. They must whip labor to its knees before they can drag

us into their war. They get help from inside the ranks of labor. The Tobins,

safe with their \$30,000 salaries, embrace the stinking corpse of capitalism and

sell themselves soul and body to the enemies of labor. Those real leaders of

and all those indicted in the Minneapolis attack. Roosevelt isn't through yet.

He is out to wreck and break every militant union and every militant organ-

ization of the working class. Only the solidarity of labor can stop him, the

to break the North American strike. Workers should never forget that event.

hail their record of achievement over the years. We pledge these workers

posses and the Tobins. Roosevelt showed his hand when he ordered the army

The Workers Party sends its greetings to its brothers of Local 544. We

We send our working class greetings to the Socialist Workers Party and

express our solidarity with them against the assault of the imperialist war-

25¢ For Three Months

Enclosed find 25 cents for which please send LABOR ACTION

STATE

The whole of labor must close ranks and rally to the defense of Local 544

labor, trade union or political, are hauled off to the capitalist jail.

our support in any way and to any extent that is within our power.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER!

LABOR ACTION

for three months to:

New York City

ADDRESS.

114 West 14th Street

Local 544, other militant unions and the fighting political organizations of

and there can be no other under the reign of capitalism.

There is no peace for the working class and there will be none so long as

ter in the whole history of capitalist barbarity, starvation and misery.

The special assistant attorney-general, one Schweinhaut, said that it was

have no other meaning that any worker should give heed to.

Attorney-General Biddle, like a pious Pharisee, announces that the attack

demoralized labor bureaucrat has given the Democratic Party."

a Hitler Labor Front in the United States yet!

Tobin's last and most vicious anti-union act was a cry for

tions of a single man or woman. They know it. We know it."

should therefore oppose this war them, should increase. In short, budget. The workers, especially the organized workers through their trade unions, must oppose this war budget because it means death and strangulation for them. It means a tremendous decline in their standard of living at the same time that the big capitalists are raking in fantastically high profits. It means a steady undermining of the hard-won rights and civil liberties of the workers as the capitalists try to solve the budgetary crisis by a more and more open drive to institute a rigid totalitarian regime in this country.

We are not in the habit of giving advice to the capitalists on how to run their government. But we have the right and the duty to point out to the workers that there is absolutely no reason why the main burden of the war should be shouldered by the workers and masses. There is no rational reason why people should be unemployed and starving in this country of wonderfully abundant resources and highly developed technical skills. There is no reason why prices should go up, why indirect taxes, which fall most heavily on those who can least afford to pay

there is no reason why the standard of living of the working population should go down while a few build up huge fortunes, except that this is the way the capitalist system functions, particularly in war-time.

Let the capitalists pay for their war! They can afford it! Let the government levy a 100 per cent excess profits tax. Take all the profits out of war. Nationalize the war industries and place them under control of the workers. Place a capital levy on the accumulated fortunes of big business men, wrung from the sweat and blood of the workers, and there can be a steadily rising standard of living and the preservation of democratic rights!

New International Out This Week Will Analyze Nazi-Soviet War

The New International announces another splendid 32-page issue chock full of interesting political and theoretical articles. The magazine will be off the press this week.

A partial list of contents follows: 1) A detailed editorial analysis of the Russo-German war which includes comment on its domestic repercussions as well as its relation to the World Imperialist War.

2. The first section of a lengthy review of "The Managerial Revolution" by James Burnham. Albert Gates, who reviews the book, discusses the nature of fascism and capitalism in relation to the Second World War.

reviewing the past period in the labor movement, defining trends within it, and analyzing its present position. 4) A discussion article on the Russian question by David Grey.

3) An article by David Coolidge

5) The continuation of Franz Mehring's article on Historical Material-

6) A review by Frank Demby of Manya Gordon's book on the Russian workers before and after the czar. The review discusses the economic conditions of the Russian working class.

This plus other material will go to make up an attractive and interesting issue. Don't fail to get your copy! It's only 20 cents a capy. Subscription rates: One year, \$1.50; six months, \$1.00. Write The New International, 114 West 14th Street, New

A Reader Takes the Floor

HE DOESN'T GET THE POINT AT ALL

Dear Editor:

Six months ago the Commies were jumping over Sidney Hillman because he did not get a union agreement when Ford was being given a war contract. The Commies even in Moscow noticed it and devoted their special brand of love for Hillman.

Now, six months later, the CIO is in Ford for good. The Commies wanted the revolution then, at that minute. The point some level headed people make is that if it only takes six months to get what you want without gunplay and bloodshed, then it is a good idea to wait those six months.

The detractors of Hillman then are probably whooping it up for more production for the Soviet Union now. Of course they gave up their minds when they signed the fake name for the first time.

Carl Peterson.

(We don't get it. "Waiting" had nothing to do with the Ford victory. A picket line did. Without it the men would have had to wait many times six months for Sidney Hillman, the bosses' man, to put the squeeze on Ford. That the Stalinists, along with union militants everywhere, jumped on Ford, is no proof that the "jumping" was wrong. It merely means that at that time, and for their own reasons, they approached a legitimate working class point of view. The complaint truly comes NOW when, as a result of the Hitler invasion of Russia, and the change in Stalin's alliance, the Stalinists' are loudly bidding for the jingo contract in the United States, including full approval of Sidney Hillman, if the terms of the contract include that point-as they do in one way or another.-Ed.)

Editor's Note: We ask the indulgence of correspondents if their letters are delayed in publication. Put it down to space limitations-and the need of a larger paper. We urge you to continue writing us-in fact, to write more often.

Negro Protest Runs Too Deep To Be Squashed

THE NEGRO'S FIGHT

By J. R. JOHNSON

Roosevelt is out to break the Negro movement. He has won the first round in the fight. Without Randolph and Walter White he couldn't have won. But the fight isn't over. It is just beginning. The Negro protest against the crimes of American democracy is running too deep and too strong to be squashed by a slick President and two traitors.

For the Workers Party this is a question of the first importance. Our party has therefore been seeking to find out by its own contacts and its own investigation what is the attitude of the Negro people to this recent sell-out and to the whole political situation.

NEGROES WANT SOMETHING DONE

First, Washington. The general attitude is a growing militancy and a feeling that something must be done. The Negro petty-bourgeoisie is of course concerned with its own petty pleasures, and with its old game of aping the government bureaucracy. But the people in the street are responding to events. Two party members were distributing leaflets in a Negro' neighborhood some weeks ago. Cops in a car wished to intimidate them, asked them what they were doing there and tried generally to be tough. Negroes crowded out to see what was going on. They read the leaflets and then shouted at the cops: "Yes, this is right, this is true."

The idea that the war is a war for democracy is treated with profound contempt. The march on Washington they thought was a good idea, but many had not heard of it at all. What did they think of it being called off? There was no hatred of Randolph and Walter White; perhaps they had done what was right. But "we want leaders who wouldn't sell us out; educated, cultured men." This perhaps is the most remarkable characteristic of the reports: "We want leaders."

The Negro people suffer more than most sections of labor from this conviction that political activity of any extended sort is the business of "leaders." of "educated people" who will do the necessary thinking. The average labor leader and many revolutionaires, the latter through corruption or short-sightedness, suffer from the same weakness. The function of the revolutionary party is to lead and to organize, but to lead and to organize awakened masses. Above all, leadership must stimulate the creative capacity and sense of historic initiative in the masses. That was the chief characteristic of Lenin's great Bolshevik

BALTIMORE NEGROES OPPOSE THE WAR

In Baltimore our party is in contact with a type of Negro more "proletarian" than in Washington. One Negro had a very interesting story to tell. He works with a group of Negroes who do laboring work. These Negroes have one opinion about the war. They have no democracy to fight for. They are not opposed to war but they will fight only for two countries, for Ethiopia and for Russia. This is a very high degree of political development and if they are still deceived by the Stalinists, their willingness to fight for Russia is in reality their desire to fight for the revolution. They do not hide their feelings, either. The man who spoke to our comrades said that one day a white man, obviously a stooge for the government, came up to them and asked one what he thought about the war. "I have no democracy to fight for. You have democracy. You fight," was the gruff reply. The stool-pigeon went down the line and all the men told him the same thing. It is not unlikely that reports like this in the hundreds are going into Washington from all over the country. That is why Roosevelt is so determined that there must

These Baltimore Negro laborers had one response to the treachery of Randolph and White. They said that it was a shame to call off the march. Most interesting, however, was the response of some white men on the same job. They, too, thought that the Negroes should march on the government and ask that something be done. The Negro who reported this is an old militant who knows the Stalinists for what they are, but the others have come to their conclusions from the every-day experience of their lives. They are not fooled by Roosevelt or Randolph or Walter White.

A prime danger today is from the Stalinists, for with their revolutionary talk and their wellfinanced organization, they are now busy everywhere "proving" that the war is no longer an imperialist war, and that Britain, Russia and America are fighting for democracy. Instead of getting leadership the workers get misleadership.

MUST PREPARE FOR NEW ACTION

Every Negro must reflect very carefully over the political situation today. We must think and work out ways of action. To break the march Roosevelt called on Eleanor Roosevelt, La Guardia, Stimson, Knox, Knudsen and Sidney Hillman; in other words, he mobilized the most powerful forces in the government today. That shows how much he wanted to break action by the Negroes. To any thinking Negro it is clear that the ruling class considered the march a great danger, a means of helping the Negroes to struggle. If that is so, then it follows that the Negroes themselves must prepare for similar action on a bigger scale, this time, however, under leaders who will not sell out.

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