

Workers Party Convention Urges Independent Labor Party as the Vital Need Of American Working Class

With delegates assembled from the East, the Mid-West and the Pacific Coast, the second national convention of the Workers Party enthusiastically directed the work of the Party deeper into the proletarian centers of activity in this country.

The delegates came to discuss and to plan. And in the several days of the convention, they did both—not as stereotyped hand-raisers, but as serious militants working out the next tasks of revolutionary activity.

Noting the strides the Party had already made toward its proletarianization, the convention turned the Party toward a redoubled effort to the end that the next convention will see a party, not only overwhelmingly proletarian in composition, but with solid and

thriving bases in the great industrial cities of the United States—Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cleveland.

Impatient with delay and realizing the magnitude of the job that has to be done, the delegates voted to initiate a \$5,000 fund drive with which to effect the intensification of the Party's work. Not a long drawn-out money-raising affair, but a quick, immediate all-out response to get the Party's plans under way—with no more than a few weeks' delay at most.

The convention voted to tolerate no slackers inside the Party, to check carefully the activity of each member and weigh it in the scales of the Party's needs. And, to make it possible for the Party to consolidate its forces so that it can build branches in the cities named and otherwise intensify its work, the convention, with the approval of the Young Peoples Socialist League, decided to fuse the two organizations. With the young, active militants of the YPSL at the disposal of the Party, no time will be lost in reorganizing the Party's activity.

These were the practical conclusions that the convention arrived at after having first heard and discussed the political report which is printed on page 2 of this issue. In the political resolution, the Party set forth the situation of the American workers in the light of the war and main problems of the working class. Readers of LABOR ACTION are advised to read the resolution, especially as it relates to the principal conclusion of the resolution: the impending need of independent political

(Continued on page 4)

Defense Acts To Stay Odell Waller Execution

Desperate efforts to save Odell Waller, 24-year-old Negro sharecropper, from the death sentence upheld last week by the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals were undertaken by the Workers Defense League, which is handling Waller's case.

Governor Price of Virginia was asked to grant a stay of execution for Waller, who was convicted of the fatal shooting of his white landlord, Oscar Davis, in a dispute over crop shares. This was to allow for some time while the defense attorneys prepared to take the battle to the United States Supreme Court.

The legal grounds for over-ruling the conviction is the fact that, despite the constitution, the Virginia courts systematically exclude from juries non-payers of poll taxes, thereby guaranteeing prejudiced juries.

In a press release, the Workers Defense League pointed out, "In 1856 Dred Scott became the symbol for the abolition of slavery. Today another unknown Negro, Odell Waller, like that runaway slave, has in our time become the rallying point for those who would abolish the poll tax and the injustice of the sharecropper system."

MUNICIPAL

Merry-Go-Round

By Susan Green

LaGuardia is being big-hearted three weeks before election.

He is asking the City Council to pass a bill cutting the sales tax to 1 per cent.

To make sure that he will cash in for this "good deed" at the polls, he is pressing the Council to put the cut through by November 1.

But the Democrats are going the Mayor one better. They will introduce a bill to slash the tax down to one-half of 1 per cent or to abolish it altogether.

Thus the flypaper is spread out for catching votes.

LaGuardia sprinkles his with sugar. The Democrats for O'Dwyer cover theirs with honey.

BUT IN EITHER CASE THE WORKING CLASS VOTER WILL BE STUCK.

This last minute "good deed" does not wipe out LaGuardia's anti-working class record.

Neither does the Democrats' "better deed" cancel out the fact that as the majority in the City Council

they did nothing to stop the Mayor.

LaGuardia has squeezed the transit workers to pay the bankers. Not a peep of protest out of the Democrats.

LaGuardia has tried to break up the Transport Workers Union. The Democratic politicians approved by their silence.

LaGuardia has opposed union organization of civil service employees. The Democrats were well pleased.

LaGuardia has done next to nothing REALLY to solve the terrible housing situation of the city. The majority in the City Council didn't lift a finger.

LaGuardia has cut down on much-needed schools, clinics and hospitals. The Democratic councilmen did not interfere.

LaGuardia has kept \$21,000,000 collected by the sales tax from the 139,000 families on relief WHILE THE COST OF LIVING HAS BEEN SKYSCRAPING. The Democrats did not intervene on behalf of the poor families.

THUS THE LABOR RECORD OF THE LaGUARDIA ADMINISTRATION IS PRETTY BLACK.

THAT OF THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY IN THE CITY COUNCIL IS OF THE SAME COLOR.

Now they come out with their rival proposals to cut the sales tax—and want the working class voter to forget the past. LET BY-GONES BE BY-GONES.

Every working man and woman whose shrinking dollar has been still further reduced by the sales tax wants to see it removed.

But no working man or woman wants to see it removed at the expense of the 139,000 families on relief whose subsistence standard of living has already been pushed down further by the enormous increase in the cost of living!

LaGuardia and the Democrats will both cut the sales tax. BUT WILL THEY RAISE MONEY IN ANOTHER WAY FOR THESE NEEDY PEOPLE OF THE WORKING CLASS?

The only other way is to tax the rich!

The Wall Street bankers who are pocketing millions from the watered stocks of the subway lines bought by LaGuardia should be compelled to disgorge some of their ill-gotten gains

(Continued on page 2)

LABOR ACTION

OCTOBER 20, 1941

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

THREE CENTS

WORKINGMEN! BEWARE OF THE STALINIST TRAITORS!

The Daily Scabber!



Carlo

THE WORLD AT WAR

Russia Is Fighting for Time As Nazi Military Machine Pounds at Gates of Moscow

By MAX STERLING

The whole weight of the Nazi military machine is pounding at the gates of Moscow. Hitler's objective is to destroy the main Russian army now defending the Russian capital. He has already dealt severe blows to the northern and southern armies of Voroshilov and Budenny. Destruction of Marshal Timoshenko's army, Hitler believes, will be the knockout blow for Russia.

The immediate period ahead will show whether this fateful aim can be accomplished. The Russian censorship makes it impossible to estimate the reserves in men and equipment that Stalin possesses with which to meet the Nazi onslaught. It is known that the Russians started out with tremendous stocks of mechanized weapons. How much is left of these stocks after four months of this grim war on the

soil of Russia? Hinging on the answer to this question is Russia's ability to continue the struggle.

It has already been established by the Anglo-American commission meeting in Moscow that Russian equipment is adequate only for a war of a few months against the Hitler legions. The all-out aid that was promised to Russia by Beaverbrook and Harriman was undoubtedly based on the expectation that Russia would hold out at least until next spring. Adequate replenishment of Russia's rapidly diminishing supplies is a problem that can not be solved overnight. Given the present state of Allied productivity in war materials and the problem of transport, steady and increasing aid from now until spring are required. What has already been sent and is being sent to Russia cannot possibly decisively affect the tremendous battle that is now raging around Moscow.

What the Russian losses have been since the start of the war can be judged by statements by Hanson Baldwin, military writer for the New York Times, who revealed the admission of Russian officers who came to Washington that their army had lost about 3,000,000 men from the start of the war up to September 1. This more than doubles the losses admitted by official sources from Moscow. To this, of course, must be added a corresponding amount of equipment.

If this is what had happened to the Russian army more than a month and a half ago, the Russian losses to date must approximate 4,500,000 men. In these appalling figures is revealed the extremely critical state of Russian arms. It is this state of affairs which makes it possible to say that Hitler's promise to his troops that the Russian campaign will mark the end

(Continued on page 2)

Communist Party Goes Whole Hog in Pro-War Treachery-- Takes Strikebreaking Role!

The Stalinist Communist Party in the United States has joined hands with the bosses and the Roosevelt government in support of the imperialist war. It has proclaimed itself a strike-breaking agency.

A few months back, when Stalin was allied with the fascist bandit, Hitler, they told the workers that this is an "imperialist war" and that labor should not support the imperialist savages of London and Paris. Today they are pleading with the workers to give full aid to the rapacious British imperialist ruling class.

The Stalinist turncoats and traitors have made peace with Roosevelt and Churchill. Churchill, spokesman for the exploiters of the Indian masses, and the slave-drivers of the African natives,

has suddenly become a great "democrat," a bringer of sweetness and light and a champion of the world working class.

Roosevelt is "our President" now. He is no longer the arch-imperialist; he is the greatest "democrat." To hear the Stalinists now one would never guess that this man Roosevelt of whom they speak in such glowing terms is the same Roosevelt who sent the army with bayonets drawn to break the North American strike.

To hear the bleating of the Stalinists now one is amazed on remembering that this is the party whose leader, Browder, is now in jail, framed up by the very Roosevelt government whose boots the Stalinists are now licking. And more—this is the party that was accused by Roosevelt of "fomenting strikes" and stirring up "peaceful" workers against the war and the government.

Today these Stalinist bureaucrats are saying to Roosevelt: "You and your FBI were correct. If you believed that Browder was impeding preparations for the imperialist war you should have put him in jail, even if you had to frame him to get him there."

Furthermore, they say in effect: "Our President was correct when he accused us of disloyalty in the Vultee, North American and Allis-Chalmers strikes. There was no reason for these strikes, there are other methods of struggle. We agree with our President, and not only with him but with Hillman and Frankenstein. Frankenstein was correct in everything he did at the North American strike."

This is precisely what the Stalinist betrayers of labor are saying today when they call on the workers to give full support to the imperialist war, when they close ranks with the bosses, when they tell the workers not to strike in the "defense" industries, when they call for any old kind of unity between the AFL and CIO, when they praise the unspeakable Hillman, when they honor the bureaucrats of the AFL, even Frey and Tobin.

Let any worker think we exaggerate, let us quote them in their own words and in their official organ, the Daily Worker. This paper carries an editorial of two double columns and ten point type for Friday, October 10. They say:

"... in his letter to the convention of the American Feder-

(Continued on page 4)

Unionism Wins in Harlan, Ky.

The union shop came to bloody Harlan County, Ky., after a 20 year struggle, it was announced by United Mine Workers officials this week.

A pact covering 12,000 coal miners was signed by the United Mine Workers and the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association which included the provision of a union shop.

William Turnblazer, president of District 19, UMWA, announced the agreement after a week of negotiations. He expressed the hope that peace would reign in bloody Harlan now.

Harlan County was the scene of major battles between unionists and the company thugs for many years. National Guard troops also tried their hand at breaking the union movement. Scores of unionists were killed in the course of the struggles. But unionism finally won!

Newsdealers Ask Public Support In Boycott Against Big Dailies

Eight major New York daily newspapers have been kept off an increasing number of newsstands since last week. The papers affected are the Times, Mirror, News, Herald Tribune, Journal-American, Sun, Post and World-Telegram.

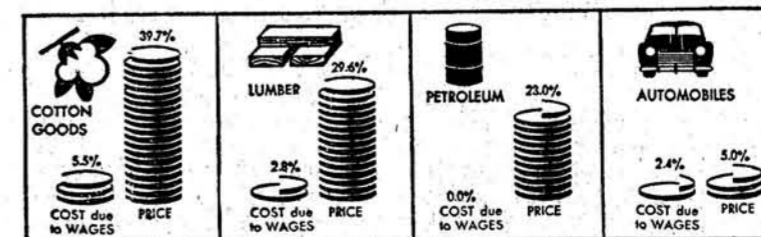
Last week newsstand dealers all over Manhattan refused to handle the World-Telegram as a test case against vicious conditions imposed on them by the publishers. The other publishers, except PM, retaliated by withholding their papers from the stands.

The principal grievance of the dealers is that they are forced to handle a dictated amount of papers and that they lose 85 cents on every hundred unsold papers. Inasmuch as the public demands the late editions, the early editions pile up during the course of the day and the dealer is stuck with them. If the paper comes late and he no longer needs the regular order, he has to take it anyhow.

In addition, the dealers have to pay a delivery charge. Making very little profit, as it is, few save the biggest dealers can afford the loss on returns and the delivery charge. Some make as little as \$11 a week for a 15-17 hour day. What particularly hurt the dealers, according to their union president, Masiello (Newsdealers Federal Labor Union, Local 22,371, AFL) was the forced "overloading"—making the dealers buy more copies than they can use.

The boycott is now spreading through the Bronx and northern Brooklyn. Union officials are in conference with the Mayor, but so far there is no end in sight. Several of the papers are hiring boys to hawk their papers on the streets. The newsdealers are picketing and appealing to the public in leaflets against the "unfair trade practice." They have called upon all New Yorkers not to buy the eight papers named until they settle with the union.

Facts Speak for Themselves!



While prices rose 13 1/2 per cent this year, wage increases added only 2 per cent to manufacturing costs, AFL economists report in the October issue of Labor's Monthly Review. Piles of coins in this chart show the big gap between price increases and wage rises for typical commodities.

Main Political Resolution Adopted at Second National Convention of Workers Party

The Third Year of the World War and the Tasks of the Workers Party

The Second World War is about to enter its third year. It has already lasted half as long as the First World War, yet, in spite of the lightning speed at which it was launched and, within brief periods carried on (blitzkrieg), no decisive victory is in sight for either of the belligerent camps, not even for the thus far successful Axis. Reviewing the past two years of the war, the following conclusions are clearly evident:

a) The blitzkrieg technique introduced into the war by Germany as a fundamental change from the method of warfare pursued between 1914-1918, calculated to avert a long drawn-out conflict and to achieve an early and conclusive victory, has thus far at least failed of its principal objective. The tempo of blitzkrieg cannot be sustained for long periods of time. After each hectic offensive drive, an interval must be allowed for the re-accumulation and re-grouping of human and material forces for the intensive campaign that must follow. These forces are not inexhaustible; rather, the reservoirs of them tend to diminish in availability and in effectiveness. Moreover, the intervals between drives have tended to become longer, in the degree that Germany is compelled to face enemies of greater military-material resources than those she had to fight at the beginning of the war and in the degree that these enemies organize their resources and institutions after the Hitlerite pattern, including an intenser totalitarian control over economic and political life of the country.

b) The very depth of the crisis of German capitalism which brought fascism to power is what dictates to the leadership of the Axis the tremendous scope of its aims and ambitions in the present war and the desperateness of its determination to realize them lest it perish altogether. That is why small morsels could not appease it; that is why a peace now, even were that possible, could only mark a brief truce before the war was resumed on an even more violent scale. However, it is precisely the vastness and insatiability of German imperialist pretensions and the intransigence with which it must fight to satisfy them, that engenders no less desperate a determination on the part of its imperialist rivals in the war (as well as, up to a certain point, the fear of its allies and quasi-allies) to resist its expansion to the bitter end and to crush it to earth even more brutally than at the end of the First World War.

Although it does not appear likely at present, it is nevertheless

not excluded that, as was the case in France, the fortunes of war may bring the ruling class of England to capitulate to Hitler and to establish a British Vichy. But, again as in France, this would only hasten the inevitable decomposition of the Empire, without bringing about real peace. The Britain, Petains and Darlans would then most probably become Hitler's auxiliaries in the war against American imperialism and the remnants of the British Empire allied with it. In a word, it is not so much that world imperialism does not want peace as that it cannot have it! That is why Hitler now appeals in vain to be allowed to play the role for which his present adversaries in the war groomed him before and after he came to power in 1933, i.e., the role of subjugator of the Soviet Union and dispenser of the acquired booty among the big imperialist powers of the globe. That is why his offer to stop the war with Anglo-American imperialism and confine himself to carving up the Soviet Union among all the big powers of the earth have fallen upon deaf ears, so far as the decisive sections of the Anglo-American bourgeoisie are concerned.

c) The prospects of the development of the war are thus indicated. As pointed out in the political resolution of the last Plenum of the Workers Party, there is no important sign of the war being brought to an early conclusion with a strong victory for either imperialist side and the consolidation of reaction that would likely ensue. On the contrary, all signs point to the prolongation of the war, and even to its further degeneration into a terribly exhausting war of attrition. The fronts of the war do not decrease in number, but they do increase. Already, four-fifths of the population of the world is at war. The "islands of peace" of yesterday are the arenas of war of today or of tomorrow. One after another every country of the globe is being sucked into the bloody maelstrom. Yesterday Yugoslavia and Greece, today Russia, tomorrow the United States and all the other remaining "non-belligerents." Even subdued France will not be able to escape renewed belligerence any more than Japan will be able to confine her military activities to the "private war" in China. All over the world the people will have to pay with rivers of blood, with misery and devastation, for the crimes of the traditional leadership of the labor movement, the Second and Third Internationals, which had it in their power years ago to destroy the poisonous monster of world imperialism, along with its offspring, war.

means of chains, daggers, concentration camps, by suppressing murderously the working class and all democratic institutions. At the same time, however, it subordinates the selfish interests of capitalist individuals or groups to the general interests of capitalist expansion, thus overcoming with bureaucratic brutality the difficulties presented by conflicting capitalist interests and ambitions. By a bureaucratic, super-concentration of power it submits all wills to the will of the political representatives of monopoly capitalism which is, after all, the only effective way modern war can be carried on by a degenerated capitalist world.

Basically, the comparative slowness of the American war mobilization thus far, and therefore the delay in America's direct entry into the war, is traceable to the inability of the American bourgeoisie to establish totalitarian, fascist controls. This inability is in turn due to other factors which have contributed up to now to the slowing down of the tempo of totalitarianizing the United States: the unwillingness of sections of the bourgeoisie to submit to such controls; the absence of the same economic and political compulsions to which German imperialism was subject, or their absence in the same degree; the conflict in the ranks of the bourgeoisie over imperialist policy ("appeasement," that is, leaving Europe for the time being to Germany and concentrating American expansion in Latin America and the Orient, versus the predominant policy of integral world expansion); the need of maintaining to some degree the ideological fiction of a "war for democracy"; and, above all, the existence of a powerful, vigorous, growing, undemoralized and unbeaten labor movement. But, against all these factors operates the insistent need of carrying the war to a successful conclusion for American imperialism, and this can be accomplished only by molding the "American war" so that it takes on more and more of the characteristics of the "Hitler war"—that is, of fascism. As pointed out in our previous resolution, the slowing down of the pace at which totalitarian controls are being instituted in the country has not done away with the basic tendency which is at work; it is precisely because the pace has thus far been slow that it may have to give way suddenly to a more frenzied pace.

To a certain extent, this is already happening. The increasing magnitude of the task of defeating German imperialism (the U.S. has already become the "arsenal and larder" not only of England but of more than half the world!) dictates a speeding up of the tempo of totalitarianism. After years of contemptuously ridiculing

the Goering war-cry, American capitalism is compelling the people here, too, to substitute guns for butter. Germany's collecting of pots and pans has already been imitated; tomorrow the iron fences will go the same way. The cost of living mounts steadily. The control of prices "except for wages" is being shifted over, under the pressure of the bourgeoisie and its war needs, to the control of prices including the "control of wages." During all this time profits not only remain intact but reach new highs; moreover, the war profits, like the war production contracts, tend to become the monopolized benefits of a handful of super-trusts, with the small capitalists and middle classes more and more excluded from the trough of the war economy.

The production of consumer goods is systematically reduced for the benefit of the production of means of destruction. Even where the war boom has increased the nominal purchasing power of the masses, or sections of them, the government intervenes, as in Germany, to cut down or prohibit the purchase of consumer goods (restrictions on installment buying, etc.) and to enforce compulsory "savings," that is, to reduce effectively the standard of living of the masses by turning over part of their earnings to meet the astronomical war budgets of the government.

The frantic attempts by this and other means to prevent inflation may, at most, postpone inflation, but in the end will lead to an inflation of monstrously onerous proportions. If such an inflation is to be prevented at all by the bourgeoisie, it can be done only if a permanent war economy is established or if a fascist regime in this country imposes its "regulated economy." In either case the masses would suffer unthinkably under a violent reduction of living standards equal in its effects to those of a "classic" inflation. New taxes go lightly on the big bourgeoisie and bear down more heavily on the working people and on small business and the middle classes, which are being systematically ruined, furthermore, by the centralization of the war economy in the hands of the big monopolists. To top it all, in the spheres of government there is an acceleration of the tendency to shift the legislative powers from the traditional representative institutions (houses of Congress) to government by decree and by accomplished fact. The process of "submitting the wills of all to the will of one" in the war is being carried through in the United States in the worst bourgeois tradition, that is, in a reactionary, bureaucratic manner, to the advantage of the big monopolist handful and at the expense of the economic and political position of the masses.

THE PROMISE OF REVOLUTIONARY INSURGENCE

These conclusions are of great importance in appraising the international perspectives of the social revolution. The notion that wherever Hitler sets foot the very possibility of popular movements, much less revolutions, is automatically wiped out, has nothing in common with our thinking but is typical of the political mythology of the democratic intelligentsia and the turncoats from radicalism who turn to stone at the mere picture of a Panzer division. The fact is that nowhere has Hitlerism been able to establish a regime in the countries it has conquered which has even the outward solidity of the regime in Germany. None of the Quisling or semi-Quisling governments set up by Germany enjoys the slightest mass popularity and even such "old" and "established" regimes as Mussolini's have had to be given military and police support at home by Hitler. In other words, all the indications available to us show that Germany has been and will continue to be unable to consolidate its victories in the conquered territories on even a remotely peaceful and "normal" basis, but rather that it will have to keep maintaining a rigid, intolerably burdensome and exhaustive police regime wherever it raises its flag.

The growing restlessness and even guerrilla warfare in the occupied countries, particularly in Poland, Serbia, Norway and France, contain the promise of mass popular and even revolutionary movements in the visible future, and no matter how bloodily Hitlerism may seek to suppress them in their initial stages or in their first open attempts, it is out of these irrepresible movements that will arise the forces that will sound the death-knell of all the imperialist war-mongers and oppressors.

Considering the circumstances in which these movements are arising and developing, it would be a fatal mistake on the part of the revolutionary internationalists to ignore them or fail to influence them. These movements are so deeply rooted in the conditions and thoughts of the masses, almost all of whom detest their foreign oppressor and some of whom are even shedding or have already shed the prevailing illusions about their pretended "liberators" in the camp of Anglo-American imperialism, that is, the "liberators" who continue to exploit and oppress the colonial peoples of the world as they have done for decades. It is inevitable, particularly in light of the state of the labor movement today, that these elementary popular movements of discontent and rebellion should take petty bourgeois and patriotic forms in the first stages of their development. It is not surprising that the imperious exigencies of war should even impel Anglo-American imperialism

to encourage and even initiate such movements (as by the "V" campaign); or that these movements should tend at the outset to come largely under the influence of imperialism. But because of the very nature and the inherent possibilities of these heroic and popular movements, this is only added reason why the Marxists in every country must not only pay the most detailed attention to their progress but seek, if possible, in the very midst of them, to influence them and direct them along proletarian and internationalist lines, to free them from the reactionary grip of the imperialists who seek to dominate them, and to link them with the labor and revolutionary movements in the countries where the latter are still able to operate more freely. Above all must we realize the role of Stalinism in attempting to lead these movements away from revolutionary struggle toward reaction.

This task, which is inseparably connected with the victory of the Third Camp in the war—the victory of the workers, peasants and colonial peoples—cannot be accomplished by a disingenuous or doctrinaire ignoring of these movements because of the primitive political state in which they are now to be found. Neither can it be accomplished by abandoning the independent class line of the revolutionary proletariat and uniting with the impotent and perfidious bourgeois democrats in exile who pretend to be the chosen representatives of the suffering peoples and who aim to keep the conspiratorial movements within imperialist, pro-war channels. Quite the contrary. It is only by keeping intact our independent class program and organization, the Workers Party and the Fourth International; it is only by relentlessly exposing and combating Stalinist treachery, the Beneses, de Gaulles, Sikorskys and their ilk that we can hope to influence these movements and help guide them to a struggle for true freedom and peace.

At the same time and especially with an eye toward the future, we must intensify our propaganda against the war aims of the democratic imperialists. They have already announced (Roosevelt and Churchill in the "Charter of the Atlantic") that they intend to establish their "peace" by means of a European and world police regime, aimed not only at keeping their imperialist rivals under heel, but at suppressing the inevitable popular democratic and revolutionary movements that are sure to arise with arms in hand at the end of the war, if not before it ends. The masses must thus prepare to resist, under their own flag, not only the super-Brest-Litovsk "peace" of Axis imperialism, but the super-Versailles "peace" of Allied imperialism.

II-A LIFE AND DEATH STRUGGLE FOR THE IMPERIALISMS

The war, meanwhile, is taking increasingly the form of a life and death struggle between the titans of German and American imperialism, in which the allies of each, no matter how strong, no matter how much they strive for an independent position in the alliance, are more and more compelled to play the role of auxiliary or satellite of their respective leaders. Italy is already less than a second rate element in the configuration of the Axis. The fortunes of Japanese imperialism are increasingly dependent upon the fortunes and military strategy of Berlin. As the war grows literally and truly into a world war, even China is threatened by submergence beneath the conflict of the big powers, and by becoming an integral part of the Anglo-American camp, having her democratic war of independence converted into a subordinate sector of the imperialist war.

What holds for the overwhelmingly dominant position of Berlin among the Axis powers, holds for the dictatorial position of Washington in the rival camp. Among the latter, the continuation of resistance to Axis expansion for even a single day is now entirely dependent upon the decisions of American imperialism. This is substantially true even for Russia. Immediately upon being drawn into the war with Germany, the Stalinist bureaucracy, having lost any allies among the international working class, concluded a full-fledged military and political alliance with British imperialism, and in effect also with American imperialism. Although desirous of keeping as much independence as possible in the alliance (like Italy in the other camp, but to a much greater degree and on a larger scale), the Stalinist regime is obliged in the course of the war to come under the dominance of Washington-London, not only in the form of dependence upon great volumes of war material and even of direct military intervention and collaboration (in the Far East, in the Near East—Iran—and in the North) but politically and in the elaboration of a joint military strategy calculated to eliminate all distinctions between the Stalinist army and the armies, of democratic imperialism. It is more evident every day of the war that where the shibboleth of "defense of the Soviet Union" is not equivalent to direct and conscious support of Anglo-American imperialism, it has the same objective effect.

The British Empire too is gradually passing under the tutelage of American imperialism, and the desperate position of England confronted by her immediate enemy prevents her from doing much more than slow down somewhat the inexorable process of disintegration at the hands of her overwhelming ally. The agitation of the American "isolationists" against the United States "fighting England's battle" is at once demagogical and preposterous. Amer-

ican imperialism is doing no such thing and has no desire or intention of doing so. It is entering the war primarily in order to prevent German-Japanese imperialism from becoming its successful world rival, but at the same time it aims to reduce England to a very much subordinated power in world economic and political life. Weaning Canada from London and to New York and Washington is reaching the culmination of a process that has been going on for years. When the American press reports that Sydney, Hong Kong and even Bombay "are looking more to Washington than to London for their defense," it is only describing the systematic replacement of Britain's imperial power by America's. The North and Central Atlantic footholds of British imperialism have been turned over to the United States, not without some muted opposition from the former. Even in Latin America, domination of which is one of the richest prizes of the war, the increasingly successful joint campaign of Anglo-American imperialism to drive out German, Japanese and Italian imperialism, is being accompanied by a drive to substitute North American control wherever Britain, too, has established its economic and political influence. Indeed, London is reduced to appealing to the mercies of the merciless American bourgeoisie which is working to replace England altogether in Latin America, with the really baseless argument that "the American government understands that it is not in the interests of the war effort to deprive England of her economic power." However, the remorseless crowding out of England by the United States is going on steadily, and in spite of mutual efforts to conceal it, breaks out from time to time in public "scandals." The fraudulence of all claims that this is a war for democracy, the reality of the thoroughly imperialist character of the war, could hardly be given more cynical emphasis than this sordid conflict between the noble "allies."

If the United States has thus been able to establish its decisive and dominant position in the war without directly entering it, it is not difficult to imagine the position it will occupy or seek to occupy when it is able to throw the full weight of its industrial, financial and human resources into direct war participation. However, before this point can be reached, American imperialism has a multitude of complicated problems to solve which are of tremendous importance also to the working class movement. These problems belong to the order, first, of effective mobilization of the American industrial machine for war, and secondly, what is related to but not identical with it, the mobilization of popular morale, both inside and outside the army. In neither field, especially not in the second, has the Roosevelt regime recorded any sensational successes.

In any war it is then obliged to conduct it could generate tremendous enthusiasm and morale, for it would not be fighting for imperialist aims, a fact so easy to demonstrate that it could not fail to undermine the armed forces of the reactionary enemy. What centralization of energies and powers such a regime would find it necessary to establish would be based upon and interlinked with the widest democracy for the toiling people, and would in no way be tainted by the autocratic and reactionary characteristics of fascism. On the other hand, fascism mobilizes its war machinery by

LABOR MUST FIGHT ON BEHALF OF THE SOLDIERS

However, the mighty labor movement, its remaining democratic rights, and the almost universal opposition among the people to entering the war, all these are a bone in the throat which cannot be plucked out by decrees alone. Neither the eloquence of Roosevelt nor the sinister activities of his labor lieutenants has succeeded in crushing the popular resistance to the war or in making labor the docile captive of the war machine. It cannot be denied, to be sure, that the imperialist war propaganda and the spirit of class collaborationism is spreading wider and deeper into the ranks of the labor movement, particularly since there exists no strong center of conscious proletarian opposition to the war. Yet, it has failed to curb the organizing power of the labor movement or even its militancy. The pressure of the government, the servility of the labor bureaucracy, and now the frenzied chauvinistic turn of the Stalinists, who are collaborating with the pro-war and anti-labor machine—all these notwithstanding, the economic conditions engendered by the war preparations continue to produce militant strikes (no longer "communist instigated") and to swell the ranks, and therefore the power, of the unions, especially of the CIO unions. It is these organizations and their struggles that today constitute the only possible basis of resistance to the drive toward war and totalitarianism. The defense of the organized labor movement and its rights is therefore the key to the struggle against the imperialist war and social and political reaction. The establishment of this fundamental truth underscores, in passing, the criminal stupidity of the Norman Thomas alliance with the fascist, semi-fascist and reactionary "isolationist" forces whose "opposition" to war is connected with a thousand threads to a real opposition to the organized labor movement and to any form of democracy.

While the fascist and "isolationist" demagogues have made no appreciable progress among the workers, especially the organized workers, despite the latter's opposition to the war, they are acquiring an increasing following among the armed forces, where opposition to conscription, to the lengthening of the service term and to entry into the war is widespread and deep seated. It is in reality this opposition to which the democratic publicists refer when they speak deplorably about the "poor morale" of the army. It is an alarming fact, but one which cannot be disputed, that in

the race between the militantly proletarian forces and the fascist or potentially fascist forces in the ranks of the army, the latter are now far in the lead. The reactionary elements in the officers corps, that is, 99 per cent of its personnel, are not behindhand in stimulating, promoting and encouraging the fascist or pro-fascist currents, either in the form of training exercises for the soldiers in dispersing "strike mobs" and of agitation against the "exorbitant wage demands of the unions," or of not too subtle agitation in favor of the totalitarian "ideal."

The failure of the labor movement to demand its elementary rights with regard to the armed forces—rights which at the same time imply the defense of the rights of the armed forces—can only have tragic consequences both for the rank and file soldier and the labor movement itself, and that in the not distant future. The elementary rights of the labor movement include the right to defend itself and its principles from misrepresentation and defamation among those the professional democrats like to call "our citizen soldiers"; the right to be fraternally associated with the young workers in uniform, so that the military forces are not kept separate and in isolation from the people, and therefore in antagonism to them. This implies, as said, defense of the rights of the soldiers—their right to free speech, free press, free assembly, the right to organize the right to collective presentation of grievances and demands, the right to petition the government and intervene in questions of national politics (a right now reserved automatically only for the officers' corps or its upper stratum) and the right to a decent standard of living.

The war-mongers call for "every citizen a soldier!" The labor movement must demand in turn: "Every soldier a citizen!" Unless the labor movement is aroused to demand and fight intransigently for the soldiers' rights, that is, for "Citizen's rights for every soldier," that is, for full democratic rights for the soldiers, the bulk of the army is sure to fall victim to fascist demagogues and to become one of the principal weapons in the destruction of the labor movement itself. Given even the present policy of the labor movement (that is, general support of the government) it can and must launch this elementary struggle on behalf of the soldiers. However, such a struggle could reach its maximum effectiveness only if the labor movement declared its complete independence of the capitalist government and its policies, including its war policy.

III-WE MUST DEFEND OUR RIGHTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

The Roosevelt Administration and its labor lieutenants, Hillman, Tobin, Green, Reuther and Company, are engaged in a concerted drive to harness the labor movement and the working class as a whole to the imperialist war machine. The official leadership of the AFL and the CIO are re-enacting the crime of Gompers and the social patriots in the last war and of their similars in Europe in this war. With the enforced shift of the Kremlin from the Axis camp to the camp of democratic imperialism, the American Stalinists, ever faithful lackeys of the reactionary Russian bureaucracy, have come to the aid of American imperialism by dropping their pseudo-opposition to the war in favor of a thoroughly chauvinistic pro-war activity. Over night they have become the most active, best organized agency for dragging the labor movement into the service of American imperialism in the interests of their real masters, the Kremlin autocrats. Now, more than ever before, the struggle against Stalinism in the labor movement becomes for every class-conscious worker an urgent, a foremost and an elementary duty, inseparable from the struggle against the war and against capitalism itself. The Party rejects completely any alliance with reactionary and red-baiting elements directed at bureaucratic disqualification of the Stalinists in the unions, or in parliamentary elections, solely for their political views. But the Party urges the unity of all honest, militant and progressive workers in the task of eliminating the influence and control of the Stalinists in the unions and in all other labor organizations. This task is not less important than that of breaking the stranglehold of the old-line union bureaucracy.

The future of the Stalinists in the labor movement is linked completely with the fate of the bureaucracy which rules the Soviet Union. Should the Soviet Union be defeated by Hitler, the disintegration of the CP in this country would be precipitated. Part of its ranks and leadership would retire completely from political activity. A small part would probably try to maintain the old organization in expectation of a restoration to power of Stalin and his gang. Another section would undoubtedly seek purely social-reformist bases for continued existence in the labor movement, abjuring even formal acknowledgment of communism—many if not most of the Stalinist trade union officialdom would make this choice, i.e., reconciliation with bourgeois society. Still another section, composed of sincere militants, after a period of re-evaluation of Stalinism, will move to the position of revolutionary Marxism. It is toward this section that our Party must look for many of its comrades of tomorrow—and this regardless of the military situation in Russia or of the tempo of disintegration of the CP. It is precisely in order to facilitate the development to Marxism of the best elements in the ranks of the CP, however, that it is now necessary to intensify the revolutionary attack on Stalinism in the labor movement.

If American labor allows itself to be seduced or browbeaten or coerced into captivity to the war machine, to abandon its interests for the sake of prosecuting the imperialist war, to give up its rights so that the war may have the right of way, it is doomed to paralysis for the whole next period. It will be powerless to defend itself from the multitude of attacks upon it which are in preparation; it will be powerless to draw to the support of itself and its principles the tremendous reservoir of strength represented by the armed

forces, which will be left at the mercy of reaction; it will be forced to bear the dreadful and backbreaking burden of the war in all its social and economic consequences.

The struggle against the war is therefore the struggle to preserve the independence and the rights of the working class and its organization is therefore the struggle against the war. Neither aspect of what is basically the struggle against the bankrupt capitalist social order itself can be effectively conducted from outside the labor movement by observers who are no matter how benevolent. The first task of the vanguard revolutionists, therefore—into the unions, into the struggles of the workers!—which our Party has already moved so far in accomplishing, must be accomplished at top speed to the last man and woman. It cannot be accomplished otherwise than by every member of the Party who is in a position to do so, removing every obstacle in the way of finding his or her place immediately in industry, particularly in the basic, mass-production industries of the country. Further delay in this matter is absolutely impermissible.

Taking our place in industry and in the labor movement is not, however, an end in itself. The principal task of the Marxist in the shops and in the unions is to enhance the political class-consciousness of the masses for the purpose of developing as speedily as possible the political organization of the masses that will put them in a position to claim their rightful place in society. The present situation in the United States is of such an unusual nature as to demand more than ever, on our part, an intensification of POLITICAL activity.

(Concluded in next issue with section on Labor Party and Proletarianization of Party.)

LABOR ACTION

114 W. 14th Street

New York City

Dear Friends:

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Defense of Russia in the World War Equals Defense of "Democratic" Camp

By HENRY JUDD
LONDON, Oct. 2 (AP)—"The Conservative Party today approved unanimously a vote of confidence in the government based on the Prime Minister's decision to welcome the Russian nation as an ally in the struggle against aggressive barbarism and to fortify its resistance by every possible means." (New York Post, October 2.)

According to the same dispatch Sir Cuthbert Headlam, maker of the motion, said: "We should realize that the Russians are fighting in a most heroic manner for their country, for the defense of Holy Russia, and not in defense of Marxian doctrines. We should be very foolish if we did not realize that at present our interests and those of Russia are identical."

In his latest speech—in the section devoted to aid to Russia—Churchill said: "Sacrifices of the most serious kind and the most extreme efforts will have to be made by the British people and enormous new installations or conversions from existing plants will have to be set up in the United States."

(Churchill and Roosevelt) "look upon the Soviet Union, not as an ordinary imperialist ally, but as a WORKERS' STATE, and they would not dream

of doing for that workers' state what they would do for the Czarist Empire" (their emphasis)—The Militant, September 27.)

When Hitler launched his murderous assault upon Soviet Russia a bare three months back, the Workers' Party, while denouncing the criminal assault of German imperialism, took the stand that it was not in the interests of the world working class to defend the Soviet Union. We declared that this new stage in the war was not only a continuation of the same, world-wide imperialist war between two rival camps up to that time, but also that the Stalin regime would become a subordinate (junior) and integral partner in one of the imperialist war camps—the so-called democratic camp.

OUR PREDICTIONS ARE VERIFIED

Three months have verified our predictions and, more important, verified the correctness of our warning that support (critical or otherwise) would lead to patriotic support of "democratic" imperialism.

Let us cite the more important facts relating to Russian participation as an imperialist ally in this war:

(1) The propaganda and appeals for aid of the Russian government have been EXACTLY the same as those employed by any capitalist regime under attack. Not a single mention of socialism, independent revolutionary action, etc., has sullied the record of Stalin's government. Even the die-hard defensors of the Socialist Workers Party (Cannon group) who alone of all the labor movement "claimed" that Stalin was employing, through necessity, revolutionary slogans—even they have dropped this astounding "claim" and retreated to a more becoming silence.

(2) The world diplomacy of the Stalin regime—agreements with Polish and Czech governments in exile, signing of the Churchill-Roosevelt eight-point program, relations with Iran, Turkey, etc.—has been determined and organized from London and Washington. It has helped only to advance the interests of Anglo-American diplomacy.

(3) The carving up of Iran by joint action of the Stalin government and British imperialism engaged in a common act of criminal aggression against a colonial people. The SOLE result of this action was only to give greater military strength to the defense bulwark Britain is attempting to organize around India.

General Wavell now plans to send a force into the Russian Caucasus. There, side by side with the Red Army of the "workers' state" it will defend the Baku oil fields. Why? Because for Hitler to gain those oil fields will be a heavy blow to the war strategy and plans of the British—that is the reason. Or perhaps we shall be told by the Cannon group that the reason is because Russia is a "workers' state"!

(4) As Russia is forced back by the superior power of the Nazi armies it loses, one after the other, its important bases and fields of operation. Its naval bases in the Baltic and Black Sea are almost all gone, the Ukraine is lost, the centers of heavy industry are either already lost or in the process of being lost. This only forces the Stalin regime to lean more heavily upon American and British support. It cannot conduct an independent war in terms of military strength—as for conducting a revolutionary working class war against Hitler—only the Cannon group has endowed them with that power or desire! No, the events of three months have proved that Russia conducts its war (on the military, political and propaganda plane) ONLY, SOLELY as British and American imperialism wish it to.

CANNONITE IDEAS TESTED TOO

The Russo-German war has likewise tested the political ideas and conceptions of the Socialist Workers Party (Cannon group). Sad and pathetic indeed has been the result—from the standpoint of their analyses, predictions and political proposals.

Felix Morrow, editor of The Militant, is the author of the fantastic statement quoted above to the effect that Churchill and Roosevelt REALLY don't want to aid Russia because, you see, unlike the members of the Workers Party, THEY know that Russia is a workers' state! What monstrous nonsense! It is to EVERY INTEREST of the American and British capitalist class to keep Russia in the war—that is, to aid Russia to the best of their

capabilities. THEIR main enemy is rival Hitler-German imperialism, not the collapsing "workers' state." If Hitler succeeds in destroying Russia he emerges infinitely strengthened and ready to assault the British in Africa and AT HOME. He has declared this to be his objective in his recent speech.

Have not the leading spokesmen of Anglo-American imperialism OPENLY proclaimed that the urgent need to supply Russia is made doubly so by their fear that if this is not done—AND IN A HURRY—Stalin may capitulate to Hitler? They mean this, and how!

The fact that Russia has not received sufficient aid (although it is by no means small, including planes, tanks, fliers, Lease-Lend loans, etc.) is due—not to unwillingness—but to lack of supplies and especially to transportation difficulties.

England failed to help Poland when the war began. Not an ounce of material went there. Because Poland was a "workers' state," Comrade Morrow? Were Norway, Holland and Belgium also "workers' states," and France and Greece "semi-workers' states," Comrade Morrow? We must request that you stop kidding us—something more serious is needed.

The Cannon group has endorsed the joint invasion of Iran (as pointed out in a previous article). Undoubtedly, they will give their blessing to any joint action undertaken by Stalin and General Wavell to defend the Caucasus.

Furthermore, in his September 27 article, Morrow has advanced further (and not so timidly this time) toward more coherent, logical implications of his defensist position. Wishing to prove his thesis that the English imperialists do not REALLY want to help Russia (are sabotaging this help) Morrow points to the fact that the British refuse to open up a new front although, so he insists, they COULD. "Under infinitely less favorable conditions the British landed an expeditionary force in Greece. Why, then, couldn't they land an expeditionary force now which will, at the very least, draw off a considerable section of the Nazi forces from the eastern front and thus ease the situation of the hard-pressed Red Army?"

Because, says Morrow, Russia is a workers' state. But this refusal to open up a western front—if for the moment we grant what Morrow says to be true—means that English Tory circles REALLY want Russia licked in the war; not merely that they don't want to help Russia. And if your statement is to have any serious meaning, and if you want to prevent Russia's defeat (defend the Soviet Union), isn't it your duty to demand in England and America that this new front be opened up against the sabotage of the Tories and capitalists? Don't you wish to set the workers of England and America into motion against their rulers who betray aid to Russia?

But Morrow shrinks from this logical and intelligible consequence of his defensist position. He says, "It is not the task of revolutionists to 'demand' that the imperialists open a western front." But if everything you say is true (which we deny) WHY NOT? What more effective, elementary, simple way to arouse the workers of England and America (who want to help Russia, you say) against their rulers (who don't want to help Russia, you say)? When Tory England clamped an embargo against Loyalist Spain we demanded that it be lifted. Well, according to you, Tory England has an embargo against "workers' Russia. Why not demand that that be lifted also?"

FOR AN INTERNATIONALIST POLICY

In this world war between two rival imperialist camps, Stalinist Russia has reached such a stage of internal decline and degeneration that it falls victim to one or the other of the warring camps. It cannot conduct an independent war as did the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky, but must become—has become—the stooge-power of one of the two reactionary camps.

The same hold true for working class groups and political parties that demand of the workers that they "defend the Soviet Union." The fantastic analyses of the Socialist Workers Party, their equally amazing claims for the Stalin regime, the openly patriotic conclusions which they hint at and then shy away from—all these illustrate what happens to the "defensists."

Holding to its historic line of opposing all governments that participate in the Second World War the Workers Party retains its policy of INTERNATIONALISM.

What Railroad Men Get, And What They Want...

By MIKE STEVENS

A month ago, 95 per cent of the 1,200,000 organized railroad workers voted to strike. Roosevelt then appointed a five-man fact finding emergency board which is now sitting in Chicago at hearings listening to the unions' demands for a wage increase and to the owners' refusals.

A strike vote by the railroad workers is not taken seriously by the leaders of the railroad unions, the bosses, the government or the press. The New York Times reported the strike vote, in this major industry, on page 14. The vote is looked upon as mere routine and bargaining argument, in the involved machinery of the reactionary Railway Labor Disputes Act. The reason for this attitude is that the semi-compulsory Railway Act makes it almost impossible to strike in less than four months after negotiations begin, and because the railroad workers are divided into 19 of the most bureaucratically controlled craft unions.

But this is one strike vote of the railroad workers that IS different, and Roosevelt's fact finders had better take the facts into serious consideration. For unless the railroad workers receive their demands, there will be strikes. And if the union officials do not sanction these strikes new independent and CIO unions will enter the railroad field. In subsequent issues of LABOR ACTION we will trace these developments as they are manifesting themselves in each union throughout the country.

In order to appreciate fully the role of the railroad owners, the government and the union leaders it is somewhat necessary to go into detail on these questions as well as the demands of the workers for higher wages and the railroads' ability to pay them.

RAILWAY LABOR ACT PROCEDURE

Negotiations between the railroad companies and the representatives of the railroad unions be-

gan on July 24 and ended August 6, with both sides refusing each others' demands. The National Mediation Board was called in by the owners and after three weeks admitted failure to settle anything. The workers voted to strike and FDR appointed his fact finding committee, which will report its findings and recommendations on November 1. After that, another 30 days must pass before a strike can be called.

RAILROAD WORKERS' DEMANDS

The 350,000 members of the "Big Five" Operating Brotherhoods (firemen, switchmen, conductors, engineers, locomotive engineers, trainmen) are demanding a flat 30 per cent wage increase, with a minimum increase of \$1.80 per day.

The 14 AFL non-operating unions (shop crafts) representing 870,000 workers, are demanding a 30 to 34 cents an hour increase with an hourly minimum of 70 cents, and paid vacations.

OWNERS' DEMANDS

Fantastic changes and sweeping revisions of the working rules which would put the railroad workers back to where they were a quarter of a century ago. The western railroads and some of the southeastern roads have proposed a 10 per cent REDUCTION in the present wage rates.

RAILROAD WORKERS WAGES:

The MYTH that railroad workers are paid high wages, work steady and under highly favorable conditions, has been so successfully spread around the country by the owners that many workers in other industries really believe it.

Two years ago, another Roosevelt fact finding commission, in its report brought out that 50 per cent of the railroad workers receive \$1,000 a year or less. Forty per cent get up to \$1,800, and only 10 per cent ever hit the \$2,400 a year mark.

(Continued on page 4)

Tenant Action Puts Crimp In Evictions

Special to Labor Action

PHILADELPHIA.—As LABOR ACTION has previously reported, the tenants on Lambert Street are organizing. They are quite sure that \$14 a month is enough to pay for houses assessed by the city at only \$700 (fair rent: \$7.00); quite enough for houses without heat or heaters, with unpaved cellars, homes that have stood unrepaired, unpapered and unpainted for five long years, houses where the roofs leak and even the walls are beginning to buckle.

When Henry Laver started out last November, almost a year ago, to raise the rents on his Lambert Street shacks from \$14 to \$18 a month, he anticipated some trouble, but nothing like what he got. People to whom \$4.00 a month more rent means exactly \$4.00 a month less food are not very likely to pay without a struggle, and a stiff one.

As soon as signs of organization and resistance became evident, Laver set about to try to frighten the fighting spirit out of his tenants. One whole family was summarily evicted because they refused to sign a new lease calling for the higher rent and another household escaped the same fate very narrowly.

Evictions Halted

But, although the threat of eviction scared a few people into paying the excess rent, organization went on. Laver found that even this sort of intimidation could not force \$4.00 out of people who just didn't have it. For a short time, his efforts ceased.

But only for a short time. A month or so later, almost simultaneously, two of the leading militants on the block received notices to vacate their homes within 15 days—or else. Not being, however, quite the ignorant, untrained Negroes their landlord took them for, they didn't just get out. They both had leases requiring 30 days' notice, and they both had their rent paid up to date.

One woman brought her case up before the Philadelphia Fair Rent Commission. After the hearing there Laver was warned that no further evictions on Lambert Street for the purpose of raising rents would be tolerated. And so, for the time being, at least until he gets out from under the watchful eye of the Fair Rent Commission, the landlord can't evict anyone.

Tris Another Trick

But the mind of a landlord is truly a wonderful thing, when it comes to methods of robbing and intimidating his tenants. The other family, whose case was not brought up directly before the committee, immediately received a levy on all her household possessions for \$14 back rent WHICH SHE DID NOT OWE! She was given five days to pay before her things would be taken. She has neither paid nor were her things taken—a clear proof that Laver knew when he sent out the notice that she owed him nothing and was doing it, again, only in the hope of scaring her out of her activity in organizing the tenants on the block.

But perhaps he would have known better than to have such foolish hopes if he had spent a little more time on Lambert Street itself listening to the discussions of his tenants or if he read the newspaper they are now putting out. Perhaps he would not be so confident if he remembered what happened to another Henry, who lives in Detroit, when he tried to put one over on his workers, white AND colored, and they organized to fight him.

The people on Lambert Street are nowhere near giving up. Every week the little newspaper they are putting out rallies more and more of them around the banner of decent homes and decent living conditions. They talk to each other and to their neighbors in the streets. They go to their meetings, and plan for the best way to beat evictions and terrorist landlord tactics. And above all, they continue to organize. They know they have to fight together, or not at all, and that is exactly what they are doing—FIGHTING TOGETHER FOR THE THINGS THAT BELONG TO THEM.

These people are determined to fight, and fight hard, rather than allow themselves to be robbed by a thieving landlord or boss. They are organized to win, and it is the duty of every Negro, every tenant, and EVERY WORKER, to stand solidly behind them—TO WIN!

Municipal--

(Continued from page 1)

IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE FAMILIES ON RELIEF.

THE WAR PROFITS OF THE BOSSES SHOULD BE TAXED TO IMPROVE THE LIVING LEVEL OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

To cut the sales tax without providing a tax against the rich for the benefit of the poor is a sham and a delusion.

BUT LA GUARDIA WILL NOT TOUCH THE PROFITS OF THE BANKERS.

AND THE DEMOCRATS WILL NOT TAX THE RICH EITHER.

They will reduce the sales tax to make a good impression on the voters

International Resolution

The following resolution was unanimously carried at the second national convention of the Workers Party:

The Workers Party, assembled at its second national convention, sends its warmest fraternal and revolutionary greetings to all sections and groups of the Fourth International throughout the world now engaged in struggle against the World Imperialist War.

To our comrades of the South American nations (Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, etc.) who have continued the struggle against further encroachments by Yankee imperialism we send our greetings and pledge of support; to those comrades in the Asiatic colonial world (China, Malaya, Ceylon, India, etc.) who now prepare for approaching struggles against American imperialism which, in this war, seeks nothing less than world mastery, we likewise send our pledge of solidarity. The Workers Party, today and tomorrow, remains the open opponent of Wall Street imperialism, exposing its sinister imperial aims before the American working class.

Above all, we wish to extend our solidarity to those comrades of the Fourth International who stand in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle—the comrades of the occupied territories of Europe. Plundered and executed by the Nazi imperialist gangsters, the peoples of Europe, heralding the approaching European socialist revolution, have risen in elemental revolt. The sections of the Fourth International in Europe have taken their place as fighting participants in this movement, side by side with the people. It is necessary for these sections, if they are to provide a rallying ground for revolutionary proletarian leadership in these movements, to retain their absolute political independence from the bourgeois and "democratic" imperialist leadership of these movements. To the tormented peoples of Europe the Fourth International holds out the slogan and aspiration—not of a De Gaulle-monarchist France, a Benes Czechoslovakia, a British or American occupied Germany—but the United Socialist States of Europe organized by the common revolutionary efforts of the European working class.

Forced by the reactionary laws of American capitalism to break all its international ties and to disassociate itself organizationally from the Fourth International, the Workers Party nevertheless takes this opportunity to reaffirm its belief in and support to those fundamental Marxist revolutionary principles that constitute the program and tradition of the Fourth International.

The Workers Party does not wish to conceal or underestimate the serious differences it has with many sections of the Fourth International—particularly on the question of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union in the present war. Its program—clearly formulated for all to read and study—constitutes a political tendency and current within the genuine stream of the Fourth International movement. We urge upon all sections and groups a study and discussion of the various resolutions adopted at our convention. Remaining firmly attached to the principles of Marxist internationalism, the Workers Party is confident that it will find itself side by side with the world sections of the Fourth International in the combat for the World Revolution.

Sharecroppers Will Walk Miles To Get a Copy of LABOR ACTION

LABOR ACTION interviewed two Negro sharecroppers who attended the convention of the Workers Party. They say that the class-conscious sharecroppers who read LABOR ACTION gobbled it up and love it. It is mental food they don't get tired of.

If for some reason their copy is delayed, they will walk miles to find out why.

"We jus' likes the whole paper," is what they say. But if you press them to specify the different things that appeal to them in LABOR ACTION, they will tell you.

They like the attention LABOR ACTION gives to their own conditions and problems. Johnson's column on the Negro question stands very high with them.

The lead articles which have been exposing how the wily Roosevelt got behind the back of the unwilling working class and pushed it into

imperialist war, these sharecroppers of southeast Missouri thought "jus' fine."

They believe in the 17 points of "Our Program Against the War" and discuss this program among themselves.

They like the "union stuff" and the way LABOR ACTION hammers away at the need for black and white workers to join together in unions.

They are stirred by the "revolutionary part of it." They want socialism. LABOR ACTION is their link with the movement of the workers for permanent freedom from boss rule.

Whatever goes on in the Workers Party is of great interest to these fellow workers.

They say they would like to send in their votes for Max Shachtman for Mayor of New York City.

On the basis of working class solidarity, their votes should be counted.

World at War --

(Continued from page 1)
of German fighting in the year 1941 is no empty boast and is not impossible of realization.

After winning the Battle of Kiev, Hitler may win the Battle of Moscow. Whether the Battle of Moscow will depend on what remains of Stalin's armies after the present fighting is over. If very little is left of the Russian armies the supply routes that are being prepared now via Archangel, Iran and possibly even Vladivostok will have very little meaning, since there will be no armies to equip when these supplies become available.

The hope, therefore, of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin is that the Russian armies escape total destruction and that they weather the winter months. Even though it be behind the Urals, the Russian army must first exist as an organized force if in 1943 and later it hopes, together with England and America, to wrest the war from Hitler's hands.

Hitler's aim is to destroy the Russian armies. Only then can he abolish the Russian front, which is ever receding, and impose upon Russia the Tilsit peace that he has in mind. It is inconceivable that even the treacherous Stalin can accept such a peace so long as he has anything to fight with. Despite the stupidities that emanate from various sources that Stalin is being

sabotaged by his English and American allies, he at any rate knows better.

He knows that their fate too is being decided in Russia. Hitler has made this amply clear. "After Russia," he told his troops in a secret message, "comes England, our deadly enemy." England and America will therefore do everything in their power to prevent the erasure of the Russian front. Without them he cannot fight and with them he will fight if he can.

What is in Stalin's mind is expressed by Lozovsky, Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs, who assailed rumors of a truce with Germany by saying:

"We are confident of success because it is impossible to destroy the USSR, Britain and the United States. The Germans are dizzy with temporary successes. No single battle can finish this war. We are not pessimistic and have no doubt as to the ultimate outcome."

Despite the boastful tone of this statement, the long term hope of Stalin is clearly indicated. If at all possible, he will fight on. He will consider peace with Hitler only if he thinks that everything is lost despite all that England and America are prepared to do for him.

If everything is not lost Hitler will learn how vast are the spaces of Russia. In these spaces Churchill will sooner or later join forces with Stalin. If the report of the landing of a British Expeditionary Force in Archangel is true, it signifies only the beginning of a new stage in the war. After that America too will find it necessary to send an AEF.

Space there certainly is. The decisive factor is time. Will Stalin succeed in snatching time from Hitler? This is what is being decided in the fire of the battle now taking place before Moscow, the heart of Russia.

Of Special Interest To Women

By Susan Green

This column has been urging working class housewives to organize militantly to fight the ever-rising cost of living.

What should be the functions of such organizations?

(1) They should cooperate in every way with the union movement and help union workers gain their demands for higher wages to meet the towering prices.

(2) They should use their power as consumers to organize demonstrations and boycotts against profiteering companies which increase prices on the pretext of higher wages.

(3) They should act to force the government to take REAL measures against the war profiteers.

In a word, the organizations of housewives must be PART AND PARCEL OF THE ORGANIZED LABOR MOVEMENT—adding their strength to it. This warning is occasioned by the formation of "Organized Housewives" in the city of Syracuse, N. Y. There are indications that this new organization is built on the very false notion that high wages are responsible for the high cost of living.

As the newspapers reported it, the Syracuse housewives "were aroused" by the strike of drivers and dairy plant workers for higher wages. They opposed the workers' demands because they feared higher milk prices would result.

It is only too true that higher milk prices would result, BUT MERELY BECAUSE THE BLOATED MILK COMPANY WOULD USE A LEGITIMATE WAGE INCREASE AS A PRETEXT TO PROFIT.

It is not true that high wages are the cause of high prices. Housewives must get rid of this dangerous notion.

A government survey for the year from August, 1940, to August, 1941, shows that price increases DEFINITELY ARE NOT DUE TO WAGE INCREASES.

For instance:
Cotton goods have gone up 39.7 per cent, WHILE WAGES ROSE ONLY 5.5 PER CENT.
Lumber costs mounted by 29.6 per cent, BUT WAGES WENT UP A MEKRE 2.8 PER CENT.

Petroleum prices increased by 23 per cent, WHEREAS WAGES DID NOT GO UP AT ALL.

These are only a few illustrations which, however, MAKE IT VERY OBVIOUS WHAT THE BOSSES ARE DOING.

Organized working class housewives must direct their fight against the real enemies—THE PROFITING BOSSES AND THE GOVERNMENT WHICH ALLOWS THEM TO FLOURISH.

Otherwise they will become the pawns of the anti-labor and fascist forces in the country. Otherwise, they will allow their organizations to become a boomerang—INJURING THEMSELVES AND HELPING THE WAR PROFITEERS.

Lieut. Gen. Delos C. Emmons, head of the air force combat command, has made the significant announcement that the army air corps will soon call for 25,000 women volunteers for enlistment in the regular army in connection with an air-raid warning system.

Army service for women is not going to be a bed of roses. In fact, Emmons warns that volunteers will have to be able to "STAND THE GAAFF OF WORKING UP TO TEN HOURS A DAY UNDER WAR CONDITIONS."

In return the women will get an "attractive uniform" and A BUCK PRIVATE'S PAY. Whether that means the \$21 coolie wage of the drafted soldiers or even less than that because they are "mere women," is not stated.

Thus the unadorned facts are that the United States Army is about to acquire—through capitalizing on the misdirected patriotism of 25,000 women—that great number of SHAMEFULLY UNDERPAID ARMY WORKERS.

In New York City, and perhaps in other parts of the country, the mothers of drafted soldiers are organizing to get better pay for their sons.

Through Parent-Teacher Associations or through newly-formed committees—as in Harlem, where the Permanent Committee for Welfare of Negro Soldiers has been organized—women are preparing to campaign for their boys.

These mothers complain that not only have they been deprived of whatever financial help their sons were able to contribute when in civilian work, but they are now compelled to send money to their sons.

It is impossible for young men to live on \$21 or \$30 a month—even in the army. They must get money from home for all kinds of necessary expenses as well as for fare to make occasional visits to their folks.

(Continued on page 4)

British Imperialists Treat the Negro Masses Like Nazis Treat the Jews

In our last issue we reprinted an article from the British New Leader, organ of the Independent Labor Party, on "How Far Is the British Empire a Dictatorship?" In this issue we continue the picture of the British Empire with another article reprinted from the same paper, and written by George Padmore, internationally known Negro socialist.

Germany and her Axis partners, Italy and Japan, are trying to impose their imperialistic aims upon the peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa with tanks and dive bombers. They engage the attention of the British people to the exclusion of the equally sinister plans of territorial expansion within their own empire.

Imperialistic urges and fascist proclivities are not confined, however, to Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese militarists. Not so dramatically manifested, they are, nevertheless, equally rampant among British crypto-fascists in southern Africa. By paying lip-service to humanitarian ideals of democracy and self-determination, Field Marshal Smuts is able to mask the real aims of the ruling oligarchy. The mine-owners and big agrarians are interested only in "the war for democracy" in so far as it will enable them to advance their own imperialist schemes.

About this, let us have no illusions. Even before the war the South African industrialists, with the indorsement of General Hertzog and the ex-Minister of Defense, Oswald Pirow, who is now openly supporting Hitler's "New Order," were demanding territorial expansion. Having acquired Southwest Africa as their first colony, they were clamoring for the annexation of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland—the last native territories in southern Africa under British imperial protection. Their "Lebensraum" now includes Abyssinia!

SOUTH AFRICA'S CLAIMS

"This is a matter over which the Union is very closely concerned," writes the Johannesburg Forum. "Not only have our soldiers earned the right of a big say in the future of Abyssinia, but political and strategic considerations on the African continent demand that the Union government should be consulted at every stage. . . ."

"Both the Union and Rhodesia are entitled to have their just say in the post-war reconstruction of this continent and they certainly do not mean to be overlooked when a settlement has to be made in Abyssinia."

This is certainly an ambitious demand! But if South Africa is going to base her territorial claims on the fact that a few thousand white men from the Union took part in the Abyssinian campaign against the Italians, then what about the colored troops that fought in East Africa? Surely the Indians, Nigerians, Gold Coasters, Kenyans, Nyasalanders, Somalis, Free French Senegalese, etc., have as much right to claim part of the loot as these megalomaniac South African treebooters—what a preposterous line of argument!

Women - -

(Continued from page 3)
MORE POWER TO THESE WOMEN IN THEIR FIGHT FOR THEIR BOYS WHOM THE GOVERNMENT IS EXPLOITING—while permitting the capitalists to fatten on war contracts.

However, there is one point these embattled women must not miss.

WHY SHOULD NOT THEIR BOYS THEMSELVES HAVE THE RIGHT TO DEMAND MORE PAY?

Why should they be lesser citizens, poor relations, so to speak?

Workers outside the army have the right to demand increases in wages and improved conditions. WORKERS IN THE ARMY SHOULD HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

It is very easy for us to fall victim to the tricks of our masters.

I am thinking of the way in which this colossal war is being reported in the capitalist press.

You hear of tanks, planes, guns. It is all a matter of so and so many mechanized divisions, of so many miles traversed, of this river crossed, of that city taken. All cut and dried and ordinary.

Of the millions—yes millions—of squirming, shrieking, shattered human beings who are uselessly annihilated, we hear very little. YET THIS IS WHAT THE PRESENT WAR MEANS TO US.

This kind of one-sided reporting has a purpose. If the actualities of the war were daily put before our eyes from the human angle, the horror of it would make us rise up in rebellion.

Working women must not fall for this trick. They should bear well in mind what the war means to human beings.

When they read about the stupendous battles being fought, they should think of them in terms of people piled high in ditches, on roads, in bombed houses—in terms of mangled, mutilated bodies in the million-mass.

They should remember also that this greatest of all crimes against humanity has been committed alike by the imperialist rulers of all the warring countries—AND CAN BE STOPPED BY THE WORKING CLASSES OF THESE COUNTRIES.

But what about the people most concerned in deciding their own future—the Abyssinians? It will be interesting to know how the South Africans and Rhodesians intend to satisfy their territorial ambitions in the light of the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration that "they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

In South Africa and Rhodesia, the blacks have as much voice in their governments as the Jews in that of the Third Reich. And the Abyssinians certainly have no desire to enjoy the blessings of the Union's "native policy." Never were so many oppressed so much by so few as in South Africa and Rhodesia.

SOUTH RHODESIA'S CLAIMS

Addressing a party rally of the United Congress (the Rhodesian Tories) in Salisbury on August 5, Sir Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister, demanded more "living space" for the 60,000 white settlers. This is to be satisfied not only at the expense of the natives of southern Rhodesia, but of the neighboring colonies of northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The Prime Minister (who was knighted a few months ago) expressed the hope that the Churchill government will allow him to annex these territories before the end of the war. "They were not prepared to be put off regarding the question of amalgamation," he added, "because the question might be a difficult one in the House of Commons and might even cost votes outside. They had no say in the election of the House of Commons and were therefore not interested in their reactions to Rhodesian affairs. However, they saw no reason why the more enlightened people who migrated and built up the commonwealth should be dictated to by the insularity of those who stayed at home." (Times, August 6.)

I shall leave it to others to answer Sir Godfrey's slurs on the "insularity of those who had stayed at home." Here I want to explain for the benefit of these same despised Britons, especially those associated with the socialist and trade union movements, the reasons why the Africans have the same lathing for Huggins and the "native policy" as Jews have for Hitler and his national socialism.

Professor J. B. S. Haldane once asserted that he would rather be a Jew in Berlin than a Kaffir in South Africa. I can well believe him. It is no exaggeration to say that Hitler and his Gestapo sadists are merely applying, with the usual Germanic efficiency, in Poland and other conquered countries, colonial practices borrowed lock, stock and barrel from the British in southern Africa.

The only difference is: Hitler's victims are white, Smuts and Huggins are black. Perhaps that accounts for the reasons why the British press denounces the Nazis—and rightly so—but remains silent (with few exceptions) about the sufferings of the blacks in southern Africa.

Well! let's lift the veil of censorship and have a look at British colonial administration in this part of the empire.

AN ECONOMIC PROBLEM

Apart from the Union, southern Rhodesia is the only "self-governing" territory on the African continent. This country, which is more than three times the size of England, is exploited by 60,000 settlers of predominantly Anglo-Saxon stock. The reason I emphasize this point at the outset is because it is the practice of apologists for British imperialism to assert that the fascist conditions under which the native races in southern Africa live are due entirely to the predominant Boer or Dutch elements in the Union. Nonsense! Even some British socialist intellectuals, who should certainly know better, peddle this kind of twaddle. Consequently, it must be exposed.

As I have always maintained, the problems of imperialism may be complicated by racial and religious factors, but they remain fundamentally economic and can be solved only by abolishing capitalism, the social system which nurtures and exploits racial and religious differences in the interest of those who live by rent, profit and interest.

To blame the Boers alone is not only stupid, but dishonest. Are they responsible for the "native policy" in Kenya? And the color bar practices in other parts of the Empire and even in Great Britain?

The Boers have absolutely nothing to do with the government of Southern Rhodesia, which is entirely under Englishmen. Moreover, all legislation affecting Africans enacted by the Rhodesian Parliament must first receive the endorsement of the Secretary of State for Dominions before it becomes law.

No! A predition to misgovern colored races is not the peculiar monopoly of any imperialist nation—British, American, French, German, Japanese, Italian, Dutch, Belgian or Portuguese. All use the same methods—in different degrees and intensity whenever it suits them to do so, in order to maintain their domination over subject peoples.

The Negroes themselves are no exception. I have always considered it my special duty to expose and denounce the misuse of the black governing classes in Haiti, Liberia and Abyssinia, while at the same time defending these semi-colonial countries against imperialist aggression.

A true socialist must be an internationalist and as such be prepared to denounce the imperialistic doings of his "own" ruling class, for only then will he be entitled to criticize the misdeeds of other nations.

Unfortunately, the vast majority of British socialists give so little attention to colonial affairs that "foreigners" are inclined to consider them hypocrites when they protest against the behavior of the fascist dictators. Honestly, how can we, for example, denounce Japanese imperialism in China and Indo-China and at the same time justify, and even defend, British imperialism in India and Dutch imperialism in the East Indies?

No! We must be honest to ourselves. If imperialism is bad for a yellow power to practice, then it must be equally bad for white ones. A socialist must be an anti-imperialist and an anti-imperialist to be consistent must be a socialist. Otherwise our enemies are right in branding us arch-hypocrites.

THE CONQUEST OF RHODESIA

The story of the conquest of Rhodesia by Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company at the close of the last century is one of the blackest pages in the dark history of British imperialism. The treachery and deception practiced by Rhodes and his factotums, Rudd, Maguire, Thompson, and the missionary, J. S. Moffat, in their dealings with the Matebeles and their chief, Lo Bengula, if paralleled, have never been surpassed.

After the Matabelen war of 1893, Rhodesia was administered by the South Africa Company till 1923, when it was formally taken over by the imperial government and authority vested in the British settlers—mine owners, farmers and traders.

For ceding its sovereignty the South Africa Company received 3,750,000 pounds sterling compensation and was allowed to retain ownership of 10,195,000 acres of land, including mineral rights. At that time the assets of the company were over 7,000,000 pounds. In addition it holds 1,599,051 one-pound shares in the Rhodesia railways and 700,000 acres of land in Buchananaland. It will also derive half of the revenue derived from the sale of land in Northern Rhodesia until 1965! In 1933 the company sold its rights to the settlers' government for the sum of two million pounds. Although the South Africa Company has relinquished its administration over this imperial legacy of Rhodes, it still remains the most powerful economic and financial power in Rhodesia.

Looks Like Censored Mail for the Draftees

When Pearson and Allen stick to the truth in their column and refrain from outrageous lies such as calling Local 544 of Minneapolis "Communist-dominated," you can frequently find juicy morsels there. For instance, on October 13 they were bragging about Uncle Sam's postal system in relation to the draftee camps. It seems that there are now postoffices manned by SPECIALLY TRAINED HELP right in the camps.

Of course the reason for putting them there is that it will be more convenient for the boys . . . and, incidentally, they can be PROTECTED from subversive propaganda. Then, too, it will be easier to intercept espionage messages leaving the camp. We can readily understand the point about espionage. It would be too bad if Rookie Private Joe Doaks wrote a letter to Hitler (or anybody else) containing a load of military secrets.

And that "subversive propaganda" business—don't be surprised if the fellows in camp begin complaining that they aren't getting your letters, especially if you write to them about how things are going in the union. Protection! From what? Civil rights?

Railroads - -

(Continued from page 3)

The average railroad worker, for each dollar he receives as wages, increased his production from 111 ton-miles in 1920 to 220 ton-miles in the first three months of this year. The railroads are carrying MORE traffic now than they did in 1920, and yet there are exactly ONE-HALF the number of railroad workers today. There are only a little more than one million workers on the railroads today, and many of them part-time. Twenty years ago there were over two million. In the last four years alone, the railroad workers' "efficiency" was increased 43 per cent without any increase in wages.

RAILROAD PROFITS :

The railroad companies have begun an expensive nation-wide propaganda campaign in an attempt to convince everybody that the railroads will lose their shirts if they grant a wage increase. The history of the railroads is one of the blackest pages of American capitalism.

An owner of a railroad has LESS right to call his shirt his own than any other capitalist. And that's going some!

But for the moment, let us remain within the narrow bounds of the problem as presented by the railroad owners. Can the railroads afford a wage increase?

The two ultra-conservative financial sheets, "Outlook for Securities Market" and "Poor's Statistics" predict that the profits on the Class 1 railroad companies will exceed one billion dollars for 1941—150 per cent higher than they were in 1940. The statisticians for the unions say that the profit figure for 1941 mentioned above is \$300,000,000 TOO LOW for what the actual profit will be.

And that is for the year when the war industries are just getting started.

A railroad authority and member of the New York Stock Exchange, Patrick B. McGinnis, gives the whole show away on why the railroads will make tremendous profits: "Last year, 1940, the railroads did practically the same amount of business as they did 10 years before, in 1930, and they did it with half a million less men and with a wage bill down \$600,000,000."

In all industries, expenses do not rise as fast as revenues, so that as business increases a larger and larger part of each revenue dollar is left for profits. This is simple and everybody knows it. But for business to increase only 3 per cent and profits to jump 93 per is almost unbelievable. But this is exactly what happened during the last year on the railroads.

According to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the profits rose from \$48,090,783 in June of last year to \$93,261,372 in June of this year, an increase of 93 per cent, or nearly double. Meanwhile the railroads' revenue increased only 3 per cent, from \$344,952,789 to \$355,022,722.

Although revenues rose less than 11 million, profits went up 45 million. While this may seem fantastic the answer is quite simple. The expenses during this same period went DOWN \$34,100,656. Modern, lengthier, faster trains, longer hauls, and speed-up mean the daily discarding of workers. The railroads are taking in as much money as they did before the last depression and they have only half the workers.

That is the situation. The railroad workers should be presenting a complete, progressive program to relieve, in part, this situation. But their unions are asking only for a few pennies to take care of a small part of the rising cost of living, and the robber barons have refused even that.

(To be continued)

Canada Ousts CIO Leader

CIO Vice-President Reid Robinson, head of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, was ordered deported from Canada at a Canadian immigration hearing in Toronto last week.

Robinson was shanghaied by Canadian immigration authorities while on his way to address a union mass meeting and was thrown into a dungeon. Pressure of the CIO union movement obtained his release until the hearing took place.

This action to prevent the bona fide representative of an international union from attending union affairs in Canada was an open blow at the democratic rights of the CIO.

It was in marked contrast to the actions of U.S. and Canadian immigration authorities who open the way for Premier Heppburn of Ontario to come to the U.S.A. and foment opinion against the CIO.

Convention - -

(Continued from page 1)

proletariat will be able to put to its own use when it once again takes power, is the PREDOMINANT aspect of the war.

In this war, however, where Stalin is merely fighting as an ally in the camp of "democratic" imperialism, the Workers Party condemns a policy of defense of the Soviet Union as objectively serving the interests of British-American imperialism. The Party calls upon labor to fight BOTH imperialist camps through independent labor action against the world imperialist war.

Before the convention concluded, the delegates voted the warmest solidarity and fraternity with the militants who are now facing trial in Minnesota in the Roosevelt-Tobin conspiracy to destroy the militant labor movement of Minneapolis. As the Party has already done in LABOR ACTION, the convention called upon labor everywhere to join in the defense of the men indicted. Their case is fundamentally the case of American labor against the labor-hating jingoes of the administration.

Noting among the chief failures of the Party the absence of a functioning educational department, and functioning branches in the cities named, the convention approved plans for the correction of these failures. It also approved the major political and organizational steps taken by the Party—as in its position against defense of the USSR in this war—in the past year. To weight the Party in the direction of the proletarians who are and must be the basis of all revolutionary activity, the convention decided that all Party committees must be composed in the greatest proportion of factory workers.

Immediately after the convention, and having selected a leadership for the next year in keeping with the plans outlined, the delegates moved swiftly back to their cities so as not to lose a moment in effecting the convention's decision: FORWARD TO A REVOLUTIONARY ANTI-WAR PARTY OF PROLETARIAN MILITANTS! FORWARD TO A MASS PARTY IN THE INDUSTRIAL CENTERS OF THE UNITED STATES!

The half-dozen Nazi agents and Lindberghites who surged into the audience and began shouting down our speaker, Ann Russell, were soon discouraged when members of the audience hotly defended their right to hear the Workers Party program against the war. One bespectacled youth of about 17 demanded that the Nazis be silent and, when the latter tried to infer he was yellow, removed his glasses. The fascists got cold feet. Two other young men would have fought also for our right to be heard had the WP members not made an effort to prevent disorder.

This is not the first time that the Yorkville Nazis have tried to break up our meetings. They know that our anti-war program has nothing at all in common with their pro-fascist, anti-war pretenses. They know our program represents the BEST DEFENSE of the workers' interests and, consequently, the BEST OFFENSE against fascism. They know we stand for workers' defense guards to resist the fascist bands. Our opposition to the war of the imperialists, to the German camp and the "democratic" camp is the only real program against fascism.

This new, unstable, insecure class born out of unusual historical circumstances, exploits the peasant and proletarian masses of Russia and governs with a view to maintaining its own exploiting position. It rests, however, on the economic foundation of nationalized property established by the Russian Revolution. To the extent that it does, the Workers Party will call upon the international working class to defend the USSR in a war between Russia and one or more imperialist powers where the defense of that economy, which the

Beware of the C. P. Traitors - -

(Continued from page 1)

ation of Labor, President Roosevelt rightly declared that 'this is not the time to take chances with the national safety through any stoppage of defense production' because 'every aspect of our national defense hinges on greater industrial production.' In closing, the President pointed out that labor's responsibility is especially great because 'workers in bondage throughout the world look to you as producers of the weapons of freedom to release them from slavery.'

The Stalinists approve this today; they approve exactly what the traitor Hillman has been saying all along. They approve what all the hypocrites of the capitalist press have been saying; they are in solid agreement with Bill Green and Frey and Tobin.

What are these "weapons of free-

m" that the imperialist Roosevelt is talking about? They are the planes, guns and tanks that will be used to consolidate the world imperialist position of the British and American ruling class. They are the weapons that will be used to fasten the shackles of slavery on the colonial people. They are the weapons that will forge stronger the chains that bind the American workers. These are the real "weapons of freedom" that Roosevelt is talking about.

The Stalinists bend lower and lower, for "when the labor movement expresses such a position with regard to strikes (that is, no strikes on "defense industries"—Ed.) and endorses the request of the President, it is by no means abandoning labor's rights. On the contrary, it is strengthening labor's cause; for the decisive issue today is the defeat of Hitler and the defense of the nation."

Can betrayal of labor go further than this! Have such depths of degradation ever been reached before in the American labor movement? Even the Greens, the Wolls, the Tobins and the Freys dare not say to the workers, "give up your right to strike." Even these bureaucrats don't dare say to their membership that the cause of labor will be strengthened by giving up the right to strike.

The Workers Party says to labor: "Of course Hitler must be defeated, fascism must be smashed and stopped everywhere all over the world. But this is not a war for democracy against fascism. It is an imperialist war between two gangs of imperialist bandits. The bosses are fooling you, Roosevelt is misleading you. The main enemy is at home. It is the boss class and the Roosevelt government of the boss class. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have no "nation" to defend; you must organize and fight to make this country, your country. You must join with the awakening working class of Europe to make this a workers' world."

The Stalinist traitors say further: ". . . anything that interferes with production of needed war supplies—whether as a result of strikes or of delays by the employers—can only help Hitler and weaken the defense of the United States. In addition to helping Hitler, stoppages in defense industries under present conditions also play into the hands of those employers who may tend toward appeasement and of those who seek for an excuse for not treating with labor on equal terms . . . labor should find ways to deal with employers . . . in such a manner as will not weaken the defense effort."

This is from the Daily Worker, but we had read it many months before in the capitalist press. Roosevelt used this argument when he smashed the North American strike with the army. Frey used this argument when he rode the Navy truck through the Bay Area AFL picket line. Tobin used this argument when he betrayed the Minneapolis CIO teamsters to the FBI; and Hillman advances this argument in every utterance and in every act and deed.

What is behind these betrayals by the Stalinists today? The same reasons as for the betrayals of yesterday: these bootlickers of Roosevelt and the American boss class are the lackeys, the funkies of the murderer in the Kremlin. They do the will of Stalin orders. They carry out the orders of Stalin always. Stalin wants to save himself and his gang of oppressors from the assault of the fascist Hitler. This wrecker of the October Revolution, this tyrant who has delivered world labor to the imperialists, wants the aid of the American imperialists against Hitler.

The Roosevelt government and the bosses will welcome this offer of aid from the Stalinists in the United States. They emblazon this newest capitulation to the ruling class all over their papers. They want to give aid to Russia, not for the benefit of the Russian workers, but for the benefit of British-American imperialism.

Can betrayal of labor go deeper than the present foul advice from the Stalinists? Yes it can, and the Stalinists will amply demonstrate this in the days to come. They will put the GPU at the service of the Roosevelt government. The Stalinist leadership will become the willing tools of the FBI. They will spy on the labor movement. They will sell out every strike if they possibly can. All this the Stalinists will do and more.

The militant rank and file of the Stalinist party, the Communist Party members in the factories and the trade unions should revolt against this betrayal. They should flee from this Stalinist poison forever.

The Workers Party will welcome every militant member of the Communist Party and every militant worker in the trade unions. We say to the members of the Communist Party: your treacherous leaders have sold you to the boss class, to the war-makers; if you continue to follow them you will be broken on the rack of the imperialist war machine.

You can help us build the revolutionary party of the American working class; a party that will fight valiantly against the imperialist war, against the ruling class, against capitalism and for socialism.

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

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