

Workers! This Is Not Our War!
It Is a War for Boss Profits!
Join Hands in Independent
Labor Action Against the War!

LABOR ACTION

We Say—
Conscript War Industries
Under Workers' Control!

OCTOBER 27, 1941

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

THREE CENTS

Roosevelt Acts Behind the Backs of the People!

DEMAND END TO SECRET DIPLOMACY!

Minnesota Anti-Labor Trial Postponed One Week-- Will Open on Monday, October 27

The trial of 28 labor militants which was scheduled to begin in the Minnesota Federal District Court on Monday, October 20, has been postponed one week as a result of illness in the family of the presiding judge.

Of 29 originally indicted, 28 will face trial. These are: James P. Cannon, Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, Farrell Dobbs, Carl Skogland, Vincent Dunne, Miles Dunne, Grace Carlson, Emil Hanson, Alfred Russell, Oscar Coover, Harry Deboer, Jake Cooper, Carlos Hudson, Max Geldman, Edward Palmquist, Rose Seller, Oscar Schoenfeld, George Frossig, Dorothy Schultz, Kelly Postal, Clarence Hamel, Carl Kuehn, Roy Orton, Ray Rainbolt, Harold Swanson, Walter Hagstrom and Nion Wagner.

Philly Navy Yard Copies Nazi Race- Labeling Badge

PHILADELPHIA (NAACP Release)

The new practice initiated in the Philadelphia Navy Yard of designating colored workers with the letter "N" before their identification numbers on badges and white workers with "W" has been called to the attention of Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox and Rear Admiral A. E. Watson, commandant of the Navy Yard here, by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with a request that the practice be immediately discontinued.

The old identification badge for workers at the Navy Yard contained the worker's number, his picture and his trade. It is just recently that the new one has been supplied carrying picture, finger prints, trade, height, weight, date of birth, identification number preceded by the "N" for Negroes and "W" for whites.

The practice was compared by the NAACP to the Nazi rule of labeling Jews in Germany and occupied territories.

Grant Dunne, the 29th defendant, committed suicide two weeks ago after a long period of illness which dated from shell shock received during the First World War and accentuated by years of loyal and self-sacrificing devotion to the labor movement and capped in the last few months by the Roosevelt-Tobin conspiracy against militant labor in Minneapolis.

While the defense has tried to secure separate trials, all 28 will go on trial simultaneously next Monday. The trial is expected to be a long one.

LABOR ACTION has sent Irving Howe to Minneapolis as a special correspondent who will cover the trials, which are of the utmost importance to the entire labor movement, in full detail. Follow LABOR ACTION week by week for a detailed report of the trials and sidelights!

(Turn to page two for a background story of the trial.)

"A Bundle For Bosses"

From \$9,000 profit in the year 1940 to \$1,952,729 in the first eight months of 1941—after depreciation, federal income taxes and other charges except excess profits tax! That's the neat little "bundle for bosses" made by the Atlantic, Gulf and West Indies Steamship Lines.

Did we hear someone say something about the steamship companies not being able to afford higher wages for seamen?

Not Much of A Holiday For Draftees

P.M. New York daily newspaper, raises a good point in its issue of October 21: "What Good Is a Furlough if You're Broke?"

Of about 95,000 New York youths scattered over the country in various army camps, about 50,000 will get an opportunity to come home for the Christmas holidays. In all, about 800,000 will get Christmas furloughs and each of them faces the same problem as the New Yorker in going home.

How will the boys now in Kansas, Texas, Louisiana, etc., get the money? A soldier leaving Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio for New York will have to spend \$42 for a special army round-trip coach ticket, exclusive of food. That \$42 is the equivalent of a month and a half's pay for a private.

Add to that about \$8 for food—during the 42-hour journey each way—and the total comes to \$50. And this doesn't count anything the private is likely to want during his stay at home—movies, "dates" and such.

For men located in camp nearer their home city, the cost will, of course, be less—but it will still be staggeringly large to the \$21 or \$30 a month private.

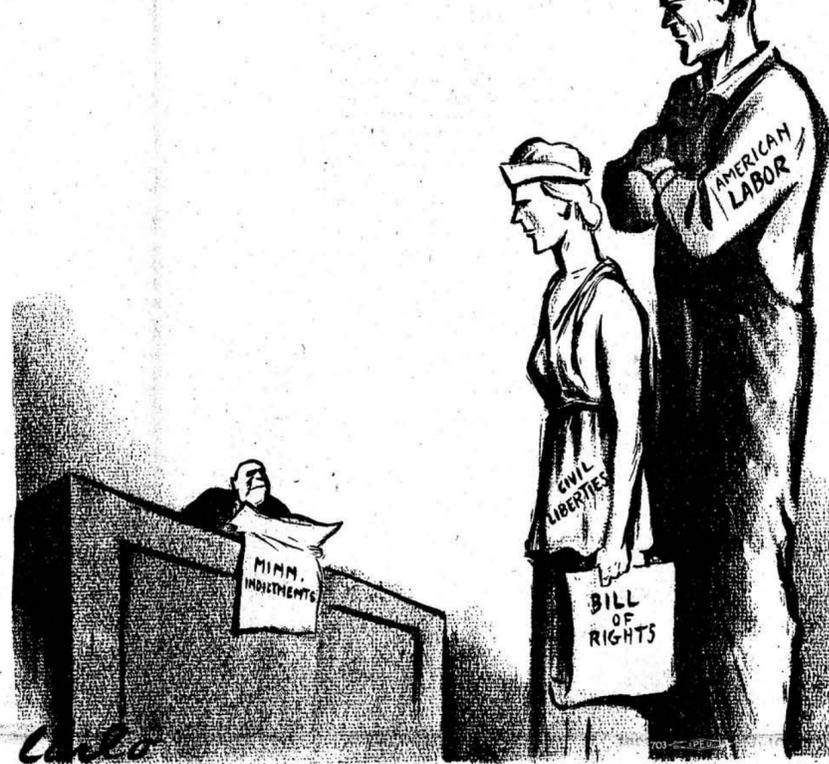
The three largest camps in the country, for example, are in Fort Benning, Ga., Camp Blanding, Fla., and Fort Jackson, S. C. It will cost a Fort Benning boy \$24.50 for a round trip fare, plus what food he will need during the 25-hour ride!

Even if the privates manage in one way or another to get the necessary fare, they can't look forward to much of a holiday hanging around home dead broke.

This won't work much hardship on Private Rockefeller, Jr. (or has he been promoted?). But it will mean a lot to those hundreds of thousands who are dying to get home on furlough and weren't born into the "right" family.

Of course, the army could arrange to provide for free transportation. The railroad companies are rolling in profits. They could easily afford to run special trains for soldiers without charge. Or the government could easily apply some of the money that is now going into juicy profit contracts for the purpose. BUT IT WON'T! Not unless the organized union movement goes to bat for these workers in the army!

On Trial!



Anti-Union Tennessee Mob Seizes ACW Man But Miners Resist Terror—Protect Union Meeting with Defense Guard

The reign of terror in the Southern states against union organizers continued this week. An organizer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (CIO), Palmer Pinnegar, was seized by a mob in South Fulton, Tenn., on the night of October 10, and driven across the state border into Fulton, Ky.

Pinnegar had been distributing leaflets for the Amalgamated in South Fulton. When a crowd gathered around him, he went to the city jail for protection and remained there until 3 a.m. At that time, however, he was surrendered to the mob, which

had in the meantime been whipped up to a near lynch spirit and which threatened to hang him unless he surrendered the union membership cards he had in his possession. He was finally driven across the state border.

Miners Show Way

That Southern labor does not intend to allow itself to be intimidated by this sort of terrorism was indicated by the aftermath of a similar incident in Tennessee. Although two of their organizers had previously been tarred and feathered, workers

of the Meade Paper Corp. at Harri-man, Tenn., voted 96 to 40 in favor of the United Mine Workers (CIO) in an NLRB election. In order to meet the attacks of union-busting vigilantes, two dozen brawny miners formed a guard and successfully protected the union rally held the night before the voting. The miners decided that there should not be a repetition of the kidnaping of Pinnegar, or the tarring of their own organizers, and met the threats of the vigilantes in the only possible way—organization of their own defense guard.

AFL Leader Calls Negro "An Evil" in Unions NAACP Asks Green to Repudiate Chicago Regional Director for Insult

NEW YORK (NAACP Release)—Citing remarks of Harry O'Reilly, regional director of the American Federation of Labor in Chicago, as "insulting to Negro people and a menace to the unity of pro-labor forces," the NAACP has requested that President William Green of the AFL officially and publicly rebuke O'Reilly and Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

O'Reilly is reported as having said to a committee from the Chicago

NAACP branch: "I consider the Negro an evil rather than an asset to organized labor. I don't believe all of this discrimination exists against the Negro; if it does, it is the Negro's fault and also his fight."

O'Reilly is also reported as having used profanely freely to the committee, which contained women, and to have used the word "nigger" instead of Negro.

The NAACP letter labeled O'Reilly "ignorant as well as insulting" and

declared that discrimination against Negroes by AFL unions was well known throughout the labor movement, had been discussed at numerous AFL conventions, including the one just closed in Seattle, Wash., and had been the subject of numerous official statements and letters by President Green's office.

"In the light of this history," said the NAACP letter, "it is ridiculous for Regional Director O'Reilly to say

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THE WORLD AT WAR

Pacific Cleared for Action As Japan Gears Its War Machine for Siberian Push

By MAX STERLING

It is not a mere coincidence that the Konoye cabinet in Japan fell just as Hitler launched his most furious assault at Moscow, the heart of Russia. The fall that has marked the period of negotiation between Tokyo and Washington is coming to an end. Neither the United States nor Japan considered these negotiations in any other sense than as a marking of time.

Stalling for time has been mutually agreeable to both sides. As far as Washington is concerned, it could afford this luxury for quite an indefinite period. It is otherwise with Japan. The latter could wait only for a limited time, measured in terms of months. Time is working for the as yet unprepared America. But for Japan it means depletion of essential stocks, of which oil is the principal item.

The embargo of the "democracies" on Japan has circumscribed the period within which she must find her opportunity for action. Such an opportunity will be present if Hitler's latest offensive results in the collapse of Russian arms.

Watches Russian Battle

Tokyo has been watching the battlefields for just such a sign. The fall of Konoye as Premier and his replacement by a representative of Japan's sabre-rattling army, General Tojo, signifies that Tokyo believes the time is close at hand when the Japanese army will once more be on the move.

General Tojo's assumption of the premiership does not necessarily mean that the Japanese army will tomorrow attack Siberia. Such an act still depends upon a further development of the war in Russia. The Japanese are playing a cautious game. They don't intend to pick the

Siberian plum until they are certain that it is ripe for picking. They don't want to make the same mistake that Italy made.

However, the taking over of the reins of government by General Tojo does at least mean this: the Siberian plum is rapidly ripening and may suddenly become fully ripe. In other words, Tokyo has estimated that the time is very near when Russia will be seriously compelled to deplete its Far Eastern army in order to throw it into the breach against Hitler. That this process is taking place even now is testified to by reports of reinforce-

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AFL Convention Accomplishes Little of Benefit to Labor

On Almost Every Important Issue—Racketeering, War, Labor Unity—the AFL Officialdom Took the Reactionary Stand of Their Jingo Masters

By DAVID COOLIDGE

After being in session for about two weeks and accomplishing little of benefit to labor in the United States, the Green-Tobin-Frey-Hutchinson Federation of Labor convention adjourned and these leaders went home to another year of friendship and peaceful collaboration with the bosses and the Roosevelt government.

For all the good this totally bossed convention did for the working class it might as well not have been held. The delegates voted "right," danced, looked at Mt. Ranier and the other scenic wonders of the Northwest, but as to taking a progressive stand on any of the great issues facing the working class, they showed no inclination whatsoever.

Such lethargy and inertia can not be accounted for by the absence of

important labor and political issues: they were there, all right, but on every important question the convention took a completely reactionary position. There were the war, racketeering, strike policy and the Roosevelt message, race discrimination and CIO-AFL unity. These were matters of real working class importance that came on the floor of the convention. On each of them however, the convention took a position that cannot possibly be of any benefit to labor. On most of these questions the action of the convention was strictly in line with the desires of the bosses and the government.

FDR Sets the Tone

To make sure that the right "tone" was given the convention, Roosevelt sent a message and Secretary of La-

bor Perkins was on hand to "greet" the delegates. Roosevelt called for the end of "organizational rivalries and jurisdictional conflicts." He also said that government "mediation" machinery "must be used" before strikes were called.

Madame Perkins also took a lick at strikes, saying there should be no "strikes which hamper the national effort." Perkins also hinted that the government is about to change its course in connection with the Wagner Act and the closed shop. She told the convention that the public demands that the closed shop be "studied with a view to the public welfare." She also said that the government may be preparing to make further demands on the unions for "voluntary cooperation," the same as the government gets from the manufac-

turers. Perkins then called on the unions for a "self-imposed discipline." This discipline and "voluntary cooperation" with the government would presumably save the unions from attacks by Thurman Arnold or the army's bayonets. Roosevelt's message and the speech by Madame Perkins were enthusiastically received by the convention. Nobody moved to reject either or both of them. Nobody suggested that labor should and can take care of its own affairs without advice from Perkins and Roosevelt. Nobody took the floor to explain that by "self-imposed discipline" Perkins means that the labor movement should subordinate all its real interests to support of the boss imperialist war, and that by "voluntary cooperation" she means that labor should voluntarily give up the right to strike and place itself

completely at the mercy of the boss class.

A Jingo Field Day

No, none of this was evident in this AFL convention. The delegates had been prepared in advance to receive the impudence and veiled threats of Roosevelt and Perkins with loud applause and approval. For over a year, Green and other leaders of the AFL have been bowing and scraping before the bosses and the government. They have been haranguing the membership about their "patriotic" duty and insisting that the organization pass resolutions against striking for the period of the "national emergency."

All the heavyweights among the top bureaucrats were present to head the leading committees and guide the convention in the way that Roosevelt

Open State Department's Secret Files To the Public

While the jingo press is wailing loudly in hypocritical indignation over the Keary affair, the military commitments and intentions of the Roosevelt government continue to remain a sealed book for the great mass of American people.

Unofficially, the United States is at war. Roosevelt has made that plain. And if there was any doubt left in his various statements, the other half of Tweedledum-Tweedledee, Wendell Willkie, made it amply clear this week.

The facts are plain: the United States is at war—undeclared war, to be sure, but war nevertheless. This war was never approved by the people, nor will it be.

In war, ships are sunk. Germany will sink American ships. And American ships will sink German ships. That is the fact of war!

We are, therefore, not concerned with the acts of war that are bound to be committed by nations at war, but by the war itself and the schemes whereby we are led ever more deeply into the slaughter.

As American intervention in this war has progressed from stage to stage, the American people have been informed only AFTER THE EVENT, not before.

Where the U. S. Navy is, what it is doing, whether there are convoys or not, whether merchant ships are armed or not—these become public knowledge after the deed is done, and then not until an incident arises which can be exploited for jingo propaganda.

Military alliances were effected with belligerent nations. Of these we were informed after the fact. And we still do not know the full terms of agreement!

They are locked in the vaults of the State Department. They are of the greatest concern to the people of the United States—IT IS THEIR LIVES WHICH ARE AT STAKE—but the information is withheld.

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American Labor Has a Vital Stake in Minnesota Trial of 28

By IRVING HOWE

On Monday, October 27, the trial of 28 working class militants, leaders of Local 544-CIO Teamsters and of the Socialist Workers Party, on charges of "seditious conspiracy," will begin. This trial is unquestionably the most important in American labor history since the mass prosecutions of the IWW during the First World War and the sending of Eugene Debs to jail because he dared voice his socialist opposition to the war.

The American labor movement is confronted here with a trial which is of utmost importance to it. What is at stake are not merely the rights of the Socialist Workers Party or the rights of Local 544, the basic rights and freedoms of the militant labor movement and the rights of existence and free expression for minority radical parties are at stake.

The government has made clear that it considers this a test case. As Assistant U. S. Attorney-General Schweinhaut said: "We cracked down here FIRST. Mr. Biddle has said this is only a START. So you can expect other actions to follow shortly." (St. Paul Dispatch of June 28, 1941.)

As the trial, which is expected to last for at least two months, progresses, LABOR ACTION hopes to bring its readers regular and detailed reports of the proceedings. In the meantime, we wish to indicate the causes for the prosecution of the 28 militants.

No. 544's Record

Local 544 has been, for the past several years, one of the most militant and progressive unions in the country. In 1934, it won a series of bitter strikes in Minneapolis, which established it as the bargaining agency of the truck drivers in that city. The local had far greater influence than merely in its own trade and locality; it was instrumental in making Minneapolis a strong union center and aided numerous local unions and it helped organize the truck drivers of 11 bordering states, which brought over 200,000 drivers into the Teamsters International. The leader of this 11-state drive was Farrell Dobbs, official of Local 544, and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

For a considerable time, a state of "armed peace" existed between Local 544 and the Teamsters International, led by Dan Tobin, a Democratic Party war horse. Though Tobin was, of course, aware of the militant character of the local and the radical sympathies of some of its leaders (some were friendly to the policies of the Socialist Workers Party), he did not enter into any frontal attack against 544. It paid its per capita tax—and brought in a lot of additional members who paid their per capita. Tobin also recalled the previous occasion, in 1935, during which he had scrapped with No. 544, he had come off second best.

It took the war hysteria, which was growing in the spring of 1941, to give

Tobin sufficient courage and cause to launch a new attack on the leadership of 544. In the May, 1941, issue of his Teamsters Journal, Tobin published an editorial which accused some Minneapolis teamsters of being "known advocates of the Socialist Workers Party" (Tobin had known that for at least seven years) and declared that anyone who did not resign from the SWP, or anyone who opposed the war policies of President Roosevelt would be expelled from the ranks of the Teamsters International.

Tobin concretized these declarations with an order to No. 544 demanding that the local submit to a dictator-receiver to be appointed by Tobin, who would have complete powers to run the local, including the power to expel anyone.

544 Joins the CIO

Rather than submit to this outrageous demand to allow their union to be cut to pieces by one of Tobin's stooges, Local 544 voted to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO's United Construction Workers' organizing committee.

It is at this crucial point that the fight between Tobin and No. 544 begins to take on real national importance. For, as soon as 544 went CIO and a number of other teamster locals followed, Tobin made a desperate move to keep his power over the teamsters. He appealed directly and openly to President Roosevelt—who, it should be remembered, owed him a political debt for the election work which Tobin had done for the Democratic Party last November—declaring that the affiliation of No. 544 with the CIO was a "regrettable and dangerous condition," that "those disturbers who believe in the policies of foreign, radical governments must in some way be prevented from pursuing THIS DANGEROUS COURSE."

In other words, Tobin was asking FDR to crack down on Local 544 because... they were militant unionists and opposed his war policies.

Roosevelt Cracks Down

And Roosevelt cracked down! He immediately issued a statement declaring that it was understandable why "Bundists, Stalinists and Trotskyists are opposed to them" (that is, Tobin & Co.—I.H.) and why such elements should seek to "destroy loyal trade unions which are supporting democracy." He continued by saying that, in his opinion, this was no time "for labor unions, local or national, to begin raiding each other for the purpose of getting memberships."

After this false and hypocritical statement (for what was involved was clearly not a matter of raiding for membership, but rather the right of a local union to choose its own leadership in a democratic way even if that leadership were radical), the government moved fast. The Minneapolis SWP headquarters, as well as those of 544, were raided and a

series of indictments issued against leaders of both organizations.

These indictments charged the SWP leaders with "sedition" and "intent to overthrow the government by force" and charged that the organization in 1938 of a Union Defense Guard was a concrete instance of this above purposes.

A few words need to be said about the basis for prosecution. The SWP itself is charged with no overt act which in any way be construed as being of such a nature as would overthrow the U.S. Government. It has indicated its belief that America is fighting a reactionary war, that the workers should not support such a war and that it intends to convince the American workers of the desirability of socialism. The holding or expressing of these revolutionary socialist opinions is clearly in line with the right of free speech set down in the Bill of Rights. To deprive the SWP of this right would be a step toward constituting a dictatorship which would suppress minority radical points of view.

Likewise with the charge that Local 544 organized a Union Defense Guard to "overthrow the government." This charge is patently false since the organization of the Guard was a public matter, known in all Minneapolis, and had as its purpose the defense of the union from attacks which the Silver Shirt fascist movement was threatening to make. As soon as this threat was dispelled, the Defense Guard was gradually disbanded, its last activity being to usher at a union picnic for children!

Resurrect Old Law

The indictments have been obtained on the basis of a law which was enacted during the Civil War in July, 1861, and of the recently enacted "Omnibus Gag" Act, introduced by Poll-Tax and Labor-Hater Congressman Smith of Virginia. The first law has seldom been used since the Civil War and the constitutionality of the second is seriously questioned. Despite these flimsy, ludicrous grounds, the government is proceeding with the prosecutions.

The purpose should now be clear to every union militant. Roosevelt is out to pay Dan Tobin a political debt—by wiping out the militant leaders of 544 who threaten Tobin's domination in that industry. If these prosecutions succeed, it is clear that no militant, fighting trade union leadership may not also be framed. What is at stake here is the right of a trade union to choose its own leaders, regardless of their politics. What is at stake here is the right of a revolutionary socialist party to express its anti-war opinions freely and in accordance with the rights which the Bill of Rights grants it. What is at stake is a deliberate, conscious attempt by the government to help a reactionary, pro-war section of the labor movement to destroy one of the most militant and

progressive unions in the country.

Unions Defend 544

The labor movement has risen to the defense of the 28 militants. The national CIO, the United Automobile Workers Union, Labor's Non-Partisan League and numerous other lesser labor organizations have come to the defense of 544. The American Civil Liberties Union has publicly protested the prosecution and is cooperating with the defense.

A united front committee, the Civil Rights Defense Committee, has been formed. The Workers Party has endorsed this committee, and its national secretary, Max Shachtman, is a member of it.

The eyes of every militant worker will be riveted on the Minneapolis trial for the next several weeks. Will we have a repetition of the infamous Palmer raids of the last war, when working class and trade union movements were ruthlessly suppressed, when the government sent hundreds of IWW and anti-war socialists to prison for merely expressing their opinions?

Will Roosevelt conduct his "war for democracy" as Wilson conducted the first one—by persecuting dissidents, by clapping fighting trade unionists into jail?

The American workers await the answer—they watch the trials in Minneapolis—but they are convinced that in the long run it will be they, the masses of the trade union movement, who will decide, and not the witch-hunters of the Roosevelt government.

(The Civil Rights Defense Committee has issued a pamphlet giving the facts on the Minnesota anti-labor case. The pamphlet contains an introduction by James T. Farrell, well known American novelist and chairman of the committee, as well as a thorough review of the case by George Novack. Copies may be obtained by writing to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City.)

Marriages On The Increase

Almost 1,500,000 marriages took place during the year of 1940.

The reasons for this record-breaking number may be summed up as: romance (the usual thing), the Selective Service Act, economic conditions, the fear of war.

There is little point commenting on romance. That is a stable factor. But many people are getting married now because they couldn't during the depression years; they had to wait anywhere from 2 to 10 years before they could afford to get married.

And many other people are getting married now because they fear the draft and the war. They figure that they might as well grab up a bit of happiness while they still can.

World at War - -

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ments sent to the Moscow front from Siberia.

Before the German invasion of Russia, the Far Eastern army represented an overwhelming force as compared to the Japanese army stationed there. Since then, this army has been weakened. The Japanese forces, on the other hand, have been greatly reinforced. Even those Japanese divisions that were recently used in the offensive against Changsha in China have been moved to the Siberian borders. Such a claim was made by none other than the Chinese general, Hsueh Yueh, who opposed the Japanese at Changsha. According to General Yueh, Japan has increased her army in the North facing Siberia to 32 divisions.

Therefore it is clear that a Japanese invasion of Siberia is being seriously prepared. The withdrawal of the Far Eastern army or even its weakening to the point where it can offer no serious resistance to invasion will mark the Japanese invasion of Siberia.

Look to Siberia

This is the direction of Japan's next move when it comes. Such a move is directly connected with the developments in the Russian war. Besides, the Japanese believe that they can be more successful in Siberia than elsewhere at the present time.

The invasion of Siberia is predominantly a matter of land operations. Here the Russians can rely only on themselves. Prior to this the Japanese made sure to protect their flank in the South by their occupation of Indo-China. They therefore hope that Great Britain and America will hesitate with a declaration of war when Japanese operations start in the North.

Thus, while Tokyo may believe she can get away with an invasion of Siberia, she is far less certain about any additional moves to the South. There the line has been drawn. Another step south and war with Britain and America is certain. The nature of such a war will not be as advantageous to Japan. The war in the South would be primarily a naval and aerial war. In such a war the Japanese chances are not as good as a land war against a more or less helpless opponent, which they expect Russia shortly will be.

Moreover, the war in the South can wait. If Hitler conquers Russia and makes a new drive on the Middle East and the Mediterranean, the British, at any rate, may be compelled to withdraw considerable naval and aerial forces now in the Pacific. The Japanese can then take their chances against the weakened allied concentration in the South.

Conscript the War Industries Under Workers' Control!

This is undoubtedly the way Japan would like things to develop in the Far East. However, she has also to reckon with the possibility of war with the Allies in the event of an attack on Siberia. But even this prospect is more welcome to her than waiting for America to establish bases in Siberia in the course of a developing program of aid to Russia via Vladivostok. This fear was expressed by none other than the director of the Japanese naval intelligence section of Imperial Headquarters, Captain Hiraike, who warned that the United States would seek these bases as compensation for assistance to Russia.

The present Japanese state of mind was also expressed by this self-same gentleman in his statement that "the Imperial Navy is prepared for the worst and has completed all necessary preparations. In fact, the Imperial Navy is 'itching for action when needed.'" Coming from a representative of the Navy this statement is indeed revealing of Tokyo's present mood since it is the first time that any leader of Japan's Navy, normally the more cautious element in Japan, has so definitely thrown down the gauntlet.

So much is Japan on the brink of war in the Pacific that both she and the United States are moving their ships and nationals from each other's ports. Moreover, in the hands of General Tojo are not only the Premiership, but also the Home and War Ministries. Thus a "total" war is being prepared in which the home front will be just as important as the armies in the field.

The arena in the Pacific is being cleared for action. All the potential participants look to the battlefields of Russia for the signal to start firing. In the meantime the meaningless negotiations drag on.

Calls Negro "An Evil" - -

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that he does not believe discrimination exists against Negroes in the AFL."

The NAACP also asserted that there had been "almost daily" discrimination against Negro workers by AFL unions. Particular stress was laid upon the fact that the AFL convention, which closed in Seattle October 16, met under the shadow of the Boeing aircraft plant where Negroes have been repeatedly excluded from employment, not by the Boeing company, but by the AFL Aeronautical Workers Union.

The NAACP letter reminded President Green of the powerful anti-labor forces at work in the country, of the anti-labor legislation pending in Congress and of the appeals which have been made to Negro Americans to help defeat this legislation. The letter declared that Negroes were willing to support organized labor when it demonstrated that it would treat Negro workers without discrimination.

Jim-Crow Takes A Bow in AFL Lumber Union

By ROSS CARRINGTON

LOYALTON, Cal.—Local 2695 of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union, AFL, and the Northern California Council held a three-day celebration over the Labor Day week-end at Loyalton.

During the three-day celebration, there were dances, ball games and much oratory by Joe Boyd, who made it sound as though labor were due for salvation through the AFL, with Bill Hutcheson as the sole and only prophet.

But at the dance, Joe Boyd forgot his strictures about the brotherhood of man that the AFL was building. Fellow unionists from Local 2591, Quincy, Cal., which happens to be about 45 per cent Negro in membership, were kept off the dance floor and ejected from the hall.

This incident is recorded in the September 13 issue of the Lumber Worker, published at Loyalton, in the news column contributed by Brinton M. Collier, secretary of Local 2591.

Jim-Crow at Work

Militant action is throttled in the Quincy local by the inertia of the leadership. And in nearby Slorot, the Quincy Lumber Co. suppresses militant action among the Negro workers in its branch mill through a so-called independent union. In this mill, the general manager, a Mr. King, refuses to hire any Negro worker who has children of school age. In the past any Negro who tried to send his children to public school has been fired. King brought many of the workers with him from Louisiana and he tries to maintain Louisiana conditions.

There are, however, a group of "native" Negroes who are not intimidated. A large section of these pulled away from the Slorot union and joined the AFL. Having left one Jim-Crow outfit, they found little better here. At an organizational meeting, C. O. Mahquist, publisher of the Lumber Worker, speaking of his interest in and love for the Negro workers, constantly referred to them as "Niggers." He was interrupted from the floor by a rank and file CIO worker who stated that in his union they used the word Negro, fellow-worker or brother.

This incident, plus the traditional Jim-Crowism of the AFL, rankled within the Negro workers, the "natives" and those from the South. As a result there is hardly a Negro worker at Slorot with an AFL card, and many at Quincy are champing at the bit.

Workers Fed Up

The Negro workers at Slorot and Quincy are fed up with the AFL. It is no exaggeration that they are on the look-out for a militant action, and a militant union—more so than the white workers. Some of them are beginning to think about the equality and industrial unionism they can find in the CIO.

And another word on the Lumber Worker: it does not carry the label of the Typographical Union, but of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. Editor Mahquist excuses this by publishing a statement from Bill Green that the Typographical Union is not a member of the AFL.

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

LABOR MUST TAKE ROAD OF INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

(Concluded from Last Issue)

The unusual nature of the situation consists in the following anomaly: The American labor movement is today more numerous and more strongly organized than ever before in this country. Yet, it is almost totally unorganized politically. This in a period when not only do all important questions of class conflict almost instantly become political questions that cannot be dealt with otherwise than by political action, but also when the working class cannot look forward to a long and gradual and comparatively peaceful period in which to develop its political strength, but must develop it immediately or, in the crucial days ahead, succumb completely for a long time to follow.

In the past few years, the American working class has displayed marvelous capacities for militant struggle in the economic field. Its strikes, both spontaneous and organized, have terrified the bourgeoisie, because, above all, they evoked the image of a working class capable of disposing with complete ease of any difficulty in the way of establishing its complete social power in the country once it determined to do so. However, the determination to do so involves as an indispensable preliminary the political organization of the working class, not as a mere supplement to its economic organization but as its primary instrument, especially in the present period. The wave of economic struggle which, roughly, inaugurated the CIO movement, is not yet at ebb by any means. But at the present time, particularly given the war and the tendency toward super-centralization of all economic and political power in the hands of the bourgeois state machine, the self-imposed limitation of the struggle of the American workers to the economic field can have only the most exhausting and even paralyzing effects upon the immediate future of the labor movement. More or less purely economic struggles (strikes, etc.) can yield only so much to the workers, and no more. As the war economy becomes more dominant in the country, confinement to economic struggles may, and in all likelihood will, produce a reaction among the workers similar to the reaction that set in among the French workers after the defeat of their purely economic struggles of 1935-1936. Since such struggles by themselves cannot really improve the economic (much less the political) position of the workers, they will tend to pass over more and more to purely defensive actions and even to passivity. The union movement will lose both its numbers and its vigor, and this will in turn only aggravate the situation of the working class. Given no working class way out POLITICALLY, the masses will fall victim to the conservative and even reactionary moods and movements, and that in direct proportion to the sharpening of the economic difficulties and the social crisis which is absolutely inevitable in the course of the war. How fast such a development would take place cannot, of course, be foretold with any accuracy. However, it is clear that a few dramatic events,

such as crushing defeats suffered in a number of important strikes, would greatly accelerate this inevitable trend. Marxists, who cannot substitute their desires for an objective analysis of the situation and the perspectives, must not ignore the possibility of such a development, and orient themselves accordingly.

In a word, unless the American working class speedily develops an independent political party of its own, all its recent gains will be lost and it will itself be threatened with disintegration and impotence.

The principal task of the class-conscious elements in the labor movement is thus clearly indicated. Foremost in their activities among their fellow-workers, in their trade unions and other working class organizations, must come the propaganda and agitation for the formation and rebuilding of an independent labor party. Wherever the conditions are ripe, the initiative must be taken for the formation of such a party even on a local scale, and even if at its inception it can take no more solid shape than the formation of a united labor ticket. Because it is too late to develop such a movement for the coming elections, the propaganda work must be launched now under the slogan of "Labor with its own ticket in the 1942 elections!" Every occasion, every strike, every struggle, every event, must be utilized to draw the key lesson: the workers must have a party of their own, based on the mass organizations of labor, or else the labor movement is crippled. The vanguard elements must understand this in a double sense and not at all in the sense that this is merely a "good agitational argument"; unless it develops a strong independent political movement of its own the labor movement as a whole will be paralyzed; and unless the revolutionary Marxist movement finds such a broad political milieu in which to function, it too is threatened with doom or at best to a strictly sectarian existence for the whole next period.

To be sure, the conscious vanguard elements are not mere "Labor Party partisans." An inseparable, an integral part of their work for the formation of a labor party is their work against reformist politics, class-collaborationist leadership, bureaucratism; for a democratically-controlled party, organized on a federated basis; and for a revolutionary transitional program for that party. That is, a program of demands requiring resolute encroachments upon the economic and political power of the capitalist class, leading directly to a workers' government, as the only means of preserving and extending the gains and interests of the working class. For it is also an elementary truth that unless the working class adopts such a revolutionary program, the mere formation of a labor party will only prolong the agony of capitalist society and leave the working class without a progressive way out of the chronic social crisis.

Conceiving the inter-relationship between the struggle for a labor party and for the socialist revolution in this sense—the only

possible sense in which we can conceive it—the vital importance of the organizational integrity and principled firmness of the Marxist movement acquires renewed emphasis. Without the eventual victory of revolutionary principles and program in the working class, its labor party would only end in a new and terrible dis-

OURS A PARTY OF MILITANT, PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONISTS

The progress that our party has made in the past period is far from fully satisfactory. It is imperative that we speed up in every field, for there is not too much time at our disposal before the show-down. All looseness must be eliminated from the party; it must be knit together more tightly, both from the standpoint of its theoretical foundations and of its individual composition.

The danger of lagging cannot possibly be overstated. We have not yet emerged from the long period of world social reaction that has lasted for almost two decades. On the contrary, the indications are that before a revolutionary upswing begins with real vigor behind it, we shall still have to pass through the period of reaction. Such periods are also periods of reaction in the realm of revolutionary theory in which the elements of despair and confusion, reflecting alien class pressures, seek to viliate the clarity of the Marxist doctrine; such periods are also periods of organizational looseness and even decomposition. The tendencies represented hereby assail the small revolutionary groups no less than the large, reformist organizations, and in some respects even more. It should suffice to point to the voluntary dissolution, in the past year alone, of the Lovestone group, the Stamm group and the Socialist Union Party, all victims of the reaction and of their own political irresoluteness and instability. Left alone or "tolerated," these tendencies successfully accomplish their disintegrating objectives. They can be resisted and defeated only by conscious and deliberate struggle against them. This struggle requires such an organization, or reorganization of the revolutionary party as best enables it not merely to resist reactionary tendencies but to rise out of sectarian isolation and grow into a party of the masses.

This means the organization of our Party on such a basis that it is composed in overwhelming predominance of factory workers, including the most exploited section of the American workers, the Negroes. That its qualifications for party membership and leadership are of the highest and strictest order, with regard to requirements for party activity, party loyalty, readiness to make sacrifices for the party and the socialist struggle. That its educational training of the membership in Marxist principles and revolutionary politics is not relaxed, as has been the case among us in the past period, but extended and intensified so that not dozens but hundreds of party members are in a position to act as qualified representatives of the party and its program. That, in general, it prefers to have its sympathizers around the party, helping it, than to have members in the party who are no more than sympathizers.

illusionment; just as, by the same token, the vanguard Marxist movement would end in complete sterility. Hence the need, more than ever before, to strengthen the revolutionary vanguard party, to preserve its principles intact, and to solidify and raise the quality of its ranks for the severe tests and tasks lying ahead of it.

Adopted by the Second National Convention of the Workers 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.....

Stalinists Launch All-Out War-Mongering Campaign

"We are for the opening up of a Western Front. We urge full U.S. military collaboration with Great Britain and the Soviet Union to destroy Hitler." (James W. Ford, National Committee member of the Communist Party, speaking over radio station WMCA, October 13.)

The American Communist (Stalinist) Party has opened up an all-out campaign for complete intervention on the part of the United States in the Second World War.

There are no ifs and buts about it—these stooges and agents of the Stalin regime are clear about what they mean. Their representative in Congress, Marcantonio, is demanding that an AEF be sent to Europe; the Greater New York Industrial Council of the CIO, which they control, is sending a group of its union leaders to Washington to demand that Congress vote for repeal of the Neutrality Act and a call for a Madison Square Garden rally issued by a group of Stalinist union officials says:

"Let this be a great demonstration in support of the President's effort to repeal the Neutrality Act. Let this rally call upon President Roosevelt to urge that the British government open up a new front against Hitler, AIDED BY THE UNITED STATES. Joseph Curran, Stalinist National Maritime Union leader, in reply to questions put to him by reporters, said that "A new front against Hitler, to be made effective immediately, would require U.S. Navy convoys right to European ports to get war materials to the British." He intimated that a new front cannot wait for an AEF—"that would come later." (Daily Worker, October 18.)

Yesterday, when Stalin was the willing ally of Hitler, the Communist Party claimed to be violently anti-war; today, with Hitler conquering Soviet territory piece by piece, the Communist Party is violently pro-

Roosevelt Calls Jingo Tune at AFL Convention

Convention Accomplishes Little of Benefit to Labor as It Takes Reactionary Stand on Major Issues

(Continued from page 1)

The convention had the ever-present problem of racketeering before it. Green had made the rather asinine remark that of the five million members of the AFL, 4,999,999 of them were honest. Strange to say, this remark was made at the time Green was attending the hodcarriers' convention in St. Louis, which is held only once in the active lifetime of the average hodcarrier. While the AFL was whooping it up for the war, Roosevelt and no strikes, St. Louis papers were carrying the news that warrants had been issued for four of the officers of a local of the hodcarriers union. They were charged with stealing \$47,000 of the local's funds. The district attorney's office was also trying to locate an additional \$79,000 which had been raised but which could not be located.

When Green heard about this he admitted that perhaps he had made a mistake when he said there was only one dishonest person in the AFL; he would be forced to change his estimate: there were perhaps two. The convention was faced with the brazen attempt of George E. Browne, president of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, to be re-elected to his post on the executive council.

The AFL had sought to get rid of Browne by reducing the number of the executive council from 15 to 13. But this didn't work. Browne ran anyhow, but was defeated, 37,944 to 421. Only members of Browne's union voted for their favorite son. Since Brown is under indictment for racketeering and extortion and since he was not re-elected to the executive council, these pious gentlemen feel

that they have made a real start to clean the racketeers from the organization.

As is their custom, however, the convention was very tender with the racketeers and gangsters. A suggestion was made to the internationalists that if they find it necessary they should amend their constitutions so as to expel any member guilty of "serious wrong-doing which reflects dishonor on the trade union movement." The report of the committee repeated the old story that the national organization had no authority to discipline international unions. The report closed with the usual refrain that the dishonest individuals in the Federation are "considerably less than those found in other organizations." The executive council always makes this statement, but it never mentions what other organizations it has in mind.

The convention correctly took a blast at Westbrook Pegler, but it did absolutely nothing to disarm Pegler. Also it did nothing that would give comfort and hope to the hundreds of thousands of honest and militant members of the AFL who want to see racketeering and gangsterism out of their organization. These honest and militant members are left to the tender mercies of the gangster and racketeering leaders of many AFL unions and locals. Members of this type have little opportunity to make their strength felt because they don't get elected delegate to the conventions, and if they did the top bureaucrats would smother them with their united steamroller.

While it is true that the internationalists are "autonomous" (and this

is a charmed word among the AFL leaders), it is also true that the most powerful international presidents, 13 of them, are members of the executive council. It has not been reported that any of them have made a fight in the council to give the council the authority necessary to take drastic steps against the gangsters and racketeers. It is also not recorded that Bill Green has ever put up a real fight against racketeering.

No-Strike Policy

The convention approved the no-strike policy in national defense industries. Green said that this action would "strengthen and develop the national defense program and result in carrying out the no-strike policy of the AFL in a more universal way." Green went on to say that Roosevelt's no-strike appeal was almost a "word-for-word" declaration issued by the executive council of the AFL six months ago. . . . More than 99 per cent of the AFL membership had refrained from striking." Mr. Green understood how "impatient men and women" might act "hastily." They may forget for the moment "the broader issues involved and the ultimate effect of their ill-considered conduct." Green appealed to his membership to remember that the "national interest comes first." He urged the AFL membership not to "gamble for pennies at the risk of losing everything we hold dear in America."

Green's idea is very simple: that is, keep at work and don't bother about wages and hours during the national emergency." It's all right for the bosses to refuse to move until they are assured of bigger profits than they made last year, but the AFL workers should plug along hoping that somehow a few crumbs will fall into their plates. Of course Green and the others on the executive council don't have to worry; they have their fat salaries and expense accounts.

But there is another element in this situation. The AFL unions, that is, the leading ones, are craft unions composed of skilled workers who are in the higher wage brackets. Their regular wage for an 8-hour day, 40-hour week runs from \$45 to around \$60 a week. For overtime they are paid time and a half and double time. It is these unions, along with the teamsters, which control the AFL and are its main base.

These unions have large treasuries and are numerically strong. They are stabilized and have established themselves with the employers. Because their occupations are the skilled trades, they do not have much difficulty in renewing their contracts. On the whole, these unions have developed into an "aristocracy of labor" and do not give much attention to the lower orders even in their own Federation. It is not very difficult, therefore, to convince these workers that the "national interest" comes first. In many respects (in their own minds) they can equate the "national interest" with their own financial welfare. The bosses of course reason in a similar manner. The war effort becomes a happy hunting ground for all those seeking to make more money. In these times of high prices and high taxes it is easier to be a "patriot" at \$10 a day than at \$5.00 a day. A \$10 a day patriot may be less inclined to strike than a \$5.00 a day one.

Furthermore, it seems to be established that some kind of a deal has been made between the AFL and the government with Sidney Hillman as the front for Roosevelt. The Carrier fabricated house incident has made it clear that some promises were made to the AFL that if there were no strikes, the AFL building trade unions would get preference on government "defense" industries that came within the occupation field of these unions. That is, the government must have said something to the effect that "if you agree against strikes we will be prepared to throw some choice employment morsels your way."

On AFL-CIO Unity

Following Roosevelt's message the convention had to say something about "unity" with the CIO. Green

replied to Roosevelt's request on "unity" in a national broadcast. He said that the President should direct future appeals to the CIO and use "all the influence at your command until the representatives of that organization agree to confer with us. . . . We are willing to take peace and make peace at any time."

This was as far as the matter got: Green replying to Roosevelt in these vague sentences in a broadcast. It would appear that all that stands in the way of "peace" is the refusal of the CIO to confer with the AFL. But, as is well known, this is not the case. The point is not just "peace," or any old kind of "unity," but a unity that will not destroy the CIO and industrial unionism.

This is what the bosses want to do—DESTROY THE CIO. They want Bill Green and Sidney Hillman to help. Such a labor traitor as Hillman, of course, is ready to do the will of Roosevelt and the bosses. A pious and impotent fraud like Green also is ready for such a consummation. The craft unions, the backbone of the AFL, at present have no interest in the maintenance of industrial unionism. This does not create a situation favorable to unification that will preserve industrial unionism.

The chief "unity" howlers today are Roosevelt and the war-mongers among the bosses. All workers, AFL and CIO, should turn a deaf ear to this type of "unity" plea. This is not a plea for unity but for the regimentation of the entire labor movement and specifically a scheme for breaking the CIO.

If the AFL and the CIO can come together on a plan and program that will really strengthen the labor movement—the entire movement—then the workers should be for it. But labor, especially the CIO, should beware of the Roosevelt and the Hillmans bearing gifts.

Vote Aid to Russia

In line with the signs of the times, the convention decided to support aid to Russia, but the convention resolution said that "the proper support now being given to Russia, so that her people may more adequately defend their national existence" does not in any way change the attitude of the AFL toward communists. "It is the opinion of your committee that a victory by Stalin over the other countries in Europe would be as disastrous to free institutions as a victory by Hitler."

It seems as though the committee wasn't quite certain just what position the convention should take. It

wanted to help the Russian people defend their "national existence" but at the same time they seem to say that this isn't what is at stake, but rather only the existence of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The AFL seems to be saying also that it would be well if neither Stalin nor Hitler wins, that they should destroy each other.

This is probably what the AFL bureaucrats really would like to see happen. They are not interested in the "national existence" of the Russian people. These high placed and high salaried bureaucrats have only lapped up the propaganda of the government and the bosses about aid to England and her allies. Green & Co. are for aid to Russia for the same reason that Churchill, Roosevelt and the bosses are for aid to Russia. They all want to save their own hides, profits, salaries and jobs. They believe that right now the best and cheapest way to do this is to give material aid to Russia with the hope that Stalin's armies will defeat Hitler's armies.

These hypocrites and "democrats" are willing to see the last Russian man, woman and child slaughtered by Hitler's tanks, if only this will keep Hitler away from their factories, mines, mills and banks. Therefore their cheap talk about "brave Russia," "national existence" and "religious freedom." Also Deacon Green will have a tough time keeping the Stalinists off his doorstep these days. They have the same ideas and opinions on the war, "national defense" and strikes.

Suspend Brewers

In the midst of the "patriotic" fervor, aid to Russia hypocrisy and anti-racketeering fakery, the convention took time out to suspend the Brewery Workers Union, the only industrial union in the AFL. These workers had refused to give up their drivers to Tobin's teamsters and were kicked out.

The disgraceful attitude of the convention and the AFL leadership to Randolph's condemnation of Jim-Crow in the AFL will be dealt with in next week's LABOR ACTION.

All in all, one can say that this year's AFL convention reached a pretty low point. It is difficult to point out any good reason why the convention was held except to go through the "democratic" formality of holding annual conventions. From this year's gathering one can easily imagine what the next one will be like if the "United States" is at war with Germany by that time.

Britain's Black Record

By GEORGE PADMORE

In a preceding article (printed in LABOR ACTION, October 13—Ed.), I think I said enough to prove that the Germans—our justified condemnation of Hitlerism notwithstanding—are not the only white folks with a BLACK RECORD. The truth is: imperialist powers cannot afford to turn up their noses at one another, for they ALL have black records. This is an historic fact which seems to have escaped such Britons as the eminent publicist, Lord Vansittart.

The treatment meted out to the defenseless Africans, by representatives of the social class to which Lord Vansittart belongs, shows that British imperialism can also behave like German Nazis when they lord it over a subject race.

The totalitarian regimes applied to the blacks (and to them only) in territories like the Union and Southern Rhodesia were in existence long before Hitler began to institute similar methods in Europe. Hitler not only copied from British colonial practices, but also largely borrowed the theoretical foundation for his racial philosophy from the writings of another eminent English publicist, Houston Stuart Chamberlain, author of "The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century."

Is it any wonder that the Fuehrer has expressed in "Mein Kampf" great admiration for the British Empire? Hitler has certainly learned much from the British imperialists, especially those who have settled in the colonies.

THE BLACK MAN'S BURDEN

The extent to which reaction has triumphed in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia is best shown by examining the character of legislation enacted in recent years by the Rhodesian govern-

ment.

On the initiative of certain missionary societies, an ordinance under the title of the Preachers' Bill was in 1936 presented to the Legislative Assembly, composed entirely of whites. Articles four and five of the bill recommended that:

"Wherever three or four natives are gathered together and conduct a religious service in the presence of a fourth native, which is either of a religious character or instruction in religion, the person conducting it will be liable to both fine and imprisonment unless he is in possession of a certificate granted either by the native commissioner or a missionary."

Like true Pharisees, these are the people who are forever talking about religious freedom! Freedom for themselves, not the blacks.

When the text of the bill came before the House of Commons for imperial assent, MP's attacked it so violently that Malcolm MacDonald, who was then Dominions Secretary, was forced to reject these discriminating clauses. For, had Parliament agreed to what the white Rhodesians were demanding, an African father reading the Bible to his family would technically be committing a criminal offense! And, as I said, the bill was sponsored by so-called Christian missionaries!

What was the reason for this un-Christian conduct? To prevent their black converts from organizing churches, independent of white control. Because of the racial attitude of the overwhelming majority of European "Christians" to Africans, many natives who have embraced Christianity have organized a distinct African church under their own management.

The Dutch Reformed Church, for example, refused to participate in the World Sunday School Convention held in South Africa in July, 1940, on the ground that it is against their racial principles for whites and blacks to associate on the basis of "equality, even in the presence of God."

While opposed to "social equality" with non-Europeans, these men of God still want to control all religious activities among Africans.

FINGER PRINT PASSES

This particular bill was defeated thanks to opposition in the House of Commons, but other racial regulations which have had the most disastrous effect for the Africans were enacted. About the same time as the Preachers' Bill was presented, the Rhodesian Parliament enacted an amendment to the Native Pass Consolidation Ordinance, which received the approval of the Dominions Office in London. This Act provides for the tightening up of control over the movements of Africans, as also do the Native Registration Act of 1936 and the Native Urban Location Ordinance. These regulations correspond to curfew and martial law estab-

lished in the Nazi-occupied countries in Europe.

Any African, for example, living in a reserve area but wishing to move into a location or native ghetto, must first have his finger prints taken and comply with other identification formalities, after which he is granted a special permit by the European Location Superintendent entitling him to enter the ghetto for a certain period.

Unlike the Poles and Jews in Poland, the Africans are not forced to wear any distinguishing letters on their arms. The color of their skin is a sufficient badge of servitude!

LEGALIZED BROTHELS

Africans living permanently in townships and European districts must observe curfew regulations. They are not allowed to be outside prescribed areas between 9 p.m. and 5 a.m. without a special pass from the authorities. If an African not permanently residing in a "location" sleeps in a tenement (which, incidentally, are built by white labor under the industrial color-bar regulations), the person giving such hospitality is liable to imprisonment on a charge of "harboring," unless permission was previously obtained.

Under the Registration Enactment Ordinance, assented to by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald in 1936, brothels are now legal in the industrial areas of Southern Rhodesia. This law was bitterly denounced at the time by certain MP's, especially Tom Johnston, Secretary for Scotland, but the Rhodesian government wanted it and Whitehall gave its approval.

The ordinance makes it legal for African women to set up brothels and provide mistresses for native miners doing their period of indenture in the mining areas. A man engages a woman to live with him and is under no obligation to support her or his children (if any) when he returns to his home. The woman is left to take on a newcomer until she is out of service. The idea is that this system will induce a greater flow of labor to the mines from neighboring territories, as the future development of the industry depends upon a continuous flow of cheap labor from outside the colony.

This demand for slave labor is the chief cause of conflict between the industrialists and farmers in Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa, and the reason why Sir Godfrey Huggins, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, is pressing the Churchill government to hand over Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This is a matter over which "we are not prepared to be put off," declared Sir Godfrey, addressing a meeting in Salisbury as late as August 5, 1941.

(To be continued next week)

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

Few Draftees Bite On Enlistment

Dear Editor:

Some time ago I wrote you that in travelling around the country, I just naturally ran into a lot of draftees and that I would write to you about how they felt. I've been strongly impressed by the efforts the army makes to get the draftees to enlist—without success!

It seems that as soon as the draftees get on the train bound for the camp, they get a pep talk. "This is your opportunity; think it over. You can enlist instead of being a selective trainee, and have your own choice of service. You will have more opportunities for advancement, etc." Several times after that they get a

similar talk. In the camp itself there is a regular recruiting station. All in all, the brass hats try to make a very rigid distinction between the superior enlistees and the inferior draftees.

But very few of the draftees yield. Said one who was telling about it: "I'll serve my time and get out."

The big shots are evidently very anxious to sign the men up as enlistees for the sake of appearance. For all their propaganda, the word "draftee" or "conscript" still carries the stigma of opposition among the people. That is why the words are frowned on by the brass hats. They prefer "selectee" or "trainee." If they can get a good number of men to enlist it would be like so much white-wash. But few draftees are willing to allow themselves to be used as

brushes. They don't like the army, they don't like conscription.

Of course, while the morale is generally low, it isn't always on the same level. Where the treatment and food are better, as they are in some camps, the morale is on the whole higher—except for the general resentment against service, about which the draftees feel they can do little.

I see where there is a bill in Congress to give the draftees free postage rights. As your paper said when it commented on the proposal some time ago, it's a mighty good idea. The only trouble with it is that it hardly touches the real sore points of the draftees. Free postage will help, of course. But there is the greater problem of low "wages," and the equally great problem of civil rights—such as the right to get to-

gether so that they can present their beefs in an organized way.

M.L.

Maneuvers Not So Thrilling to Soldiers

Dear Editor:

There's a great misconception around about how thrilling maneuvers are for the conscripts. From what I've been able to learn by reading the newspapers and listening to what people tell me, the conscripts are glad to be relieved of the dull and apparently senseless routine of training camp drill. But that's where the thrill ends.

After bumping along for endless miles in a convoy, the men finally

reach their destination and dump themselves onto "beds"—that is the earth—to rest up. The tents are newly set up and are unprovided with cots, wooden or otherwise. In some cases there is no water in camp; it has to be gotten from the nearest spring, tested for purity, chlorinated, canned and then carried back to camp. Then comes the job of building camp in some woods—it takes almost nine days to make the camp livable. While this is going on, the men work long, hard hours in the sun or rain, as the case may be.

Comes then the problem of recreation—AND THERE IS NONE. Where there is a town reasonably near the camp (five or ten miles), it is as a rule far too small to accommodate the thousands of soldiers. The busi-

ness men in town try to get in as much as they can. And, of course, the bawdy houses coin most. For all the glamor a uniform is supposed to have in the movies, it's as good as a leper sign when a soldier approaches a local daughter for a dance or a "date."

Such hotels as there are in town take civilians first and draftees only when there is some rat hole left. Most of the men who want to spend the night in town have to makeshift as best they can for a bed. For breakfast the next day they are liable to be handed a menu with ham and eggs raised from the usual 25 cents to 45 cents.

Very thrilling, indeed!

J.M.

A workers' government would not have to resort to chicanery, deception and secrecy in a war against the Hitler monster. It would be warring against Hitlerism by warring against capitalism, and the masses would know it and would support it.

But a government that is fighting in the interests of one imperialist gang of exploiters and despoilers against another, cannot speak freely, cannot submit to the test of public approval!

We have in this country a mighty labor movement. In one battle after another it has demonstrated its strength—save as it was sapped by misleaders.

A large section of this great (Continued on page 4)

Diplomacy - -

(Continued from page 1)

of Roosevelt with regard to military intervention? Will he officially declare war? Will he not? To what and when have the lives of American youth been pledged? We have the right to know! WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO DECIDE!

All the governments of the world proceed in secret. None of them dares make public its aims and secret agreements. They fear the wrath of the oppressed and persecuted millions of the world should the truth become known.

A government that has to hide its intentions and its aims from the eyes of the people is a government that does not represent the people!

A government that truly represented the working masses of the country, a WORKERS' government, would have no need for secrecy or intrigue. It could speak its policies fully, because it would know that the working people of the nation are behind it for their own interests.

Something more was discussed at this meeting. The real war aims of United States and British imperialism were discussed and possibly decided. What are they? WE HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW!

What plans in territorial conquest or imperialist control have been devised by the administration servants of Wall Street? Just what are the plans

Where We Stand!

WE ARE AGAINST:

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

WE ARE FOR:

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

LABOR ACTION

SHACHTMAN CAMPAIGN PAGE

SHACHTMAN ON N.Y. BALLOT AS ANTI-WAR CANDIDATE!

Max Shachtman, the Workers Party anti-war candidate, is on the ballot for Mayor of New York City.

His nominating petitions were ruled valid by the Board of Elections at hearings held last Monday. One Arthur J. Gang, who had filed objections, failed to sustain them with specific proof, and the nominating petitions went through uncontested.

That the LaGuardia forces, fearful of a close race, were anxious to knock minority parties off the ballot, was evidenced by the fact that the Industrial Government Party (SLP) was denied its rightful place on the ballot on the basis of objections pressed by agents of LaGuardia's United City Party. But the large number of signature petitions submitted for Shachtman—over 14,000, or nearly twice the legal requirement—made it impossible to deprive the Workers Party of its right to participate in the mayoralty campaign with a candidate pledged to fight against the imperialist war and for labor's rights.

Meanwhile, without waiting for the Board of Election's decision, the Workers Party pressed forward in its drive to reach new thousands of workers in New York with its message of struggle against boss war.

In addition to broadside distribution of a four-page election leaflet entitled "You CAN Vote Against the War," and a campaign card plunger which is reproduced on this page, street meetings are being held in the four neighborhoods of Harlem, Yorkville, Bronx and Brownsville.

In Yorkville, where a strong fascist element is mingled with a militant anti-war working class population, two attempts by Nazi disrupters to break up our street meetings succeeded only in mobilizing the sympathy of listening workers in our defense. The meetings in Yorkville are now widely known in the neighborhood and street sales of LABOR ACTION are the best in the city.

In Brownsville a huge street meeting with Shachtman as the main speaker was held last week—the largest meeting of its kind held in that neighborhood for some time.

Unfortunately, Shachtman's speaking schedule has had to be curtailed because of a throat ailment, but he is now scheduled to speak in each of the four neighborhoods during the last week of the campaign. That week will also see a special leaflet issued for the Harlem workers, and a special campaign issue of LABOR ACTION for industrial distribution.

MUNICIPAL

Merry-Go-Round

By Susan Green

By SUSAN GREEN

One of the most side-splitting performances in this election campaign has been given by the politicians of the American Labor Party.

That disreputable outfit—which is neither a party nor of labor, but simply a corral for labor votes to be used in the interest of the ALP politicians—has just completed a deal with the Democratic Party.

What! With the Democratic Party? The ALP is fighting the Democratic Party, isn't it?

Nonsense! The ALP doesn't fight anyone or anything—IT HASN'T THAT MUCH PRINCIPLE. It merely makes political deals.

So—

On the one hand it strikes a bargain with LaGuardia—that outstanding politician of the American boss class. This places the ALP in opposition to O'Dwyer and the Democratic Party.

But on the other hand the ALP comes to terms with Governor Lehman and the Democratic Party together to run Joseph V. O'Leary for state controller to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Morris E. Tremaine. Thus the ALP puts its own candidate for Mayor, LaGuardia, in something of a pickle. (O'Leary, an ambitious lawyer fishing in political waters through ALP channels, is, by the way, no more a representative of labor than is LaGuardia.)

SUCH POLITICAL TRAFFICKERS SHOULD FEEL THE HARD EDGE OF LABOR'S BOOT.

For outspoken class interests, the businessmen's committee formed to work for the re-election of LaGuardia takes the cake.

According to their chairman, I. A. Hirschmann, vice-president of Bloomingdale's department store, they have good and sufficient reasons for supporting the Mayor.

In the first place, they "know where they stand with him."

They can "get things done quickly and without red tape."

They state they have no other motive in advancing the candidacy of LaGuardia, "EXCEPT THE DESIRE FOR PROFITABLE BUSINESS."

Mr. Hirschmann's statement cannot be best. These businessmen want a Mayor who will help them in their innocent game of extracting profits from the working class.

LaGUARDIA IS THEIR MAN.

In condemning contrast to his treatment of businessmen is LaGuardia's bosslike handling of the tens of thousands of his city employees, including the 30,000 subway workers.

THEY ALSO KNOW WHERE THEY STAND WITH LaGUARDIA.

His administration opposes the city workers' elementary rights to organize and bargain collectively.

It has tried to entangle them in miles of red tape.

Union representatives of the subway workers have been literally smothered in red tape by the Mayor's Board of Transportation.

LaGuardia's aim is to put the Transport Workers Union OUT OF BUSINESS in this city. He has brought a law suit to deny the TWU the right to bargain collectively for the organized transit workers. (Naturally the case has been postponed until AFTER election.)

The city workers want merely to protect and improve their livelihood. AS BOSS OF THE CITY, LaGUARDIA HAS MADE A FIGHTING FRONT AGAINST THEM—as does every boss against his workers.

Speaking before 400 bankers and brokers at the poor man's Banker's Club, LaGuardia let out of the bag a very important bit of information about his much-tooted clean government.

He told the emaciated bankers that: "It would not only be disastrous, it would be fatal if the government of the city of New York were turned back to Flynn, Kelly and Sullivan."

Why will financial destruction descend upon the city if O'Dwyer and Tammany Hall win the election? Because, states the Mayor, "their only desire is to get back into office, take control of the departments and get their slimy fingers back into the city treasury so that the tin boxes, safe deposit vaults and special accounts may be replenished."

LaGuardia knows Tammany Hall. HE ALSO KNOWS HIS BANKERS.

If the Tammany grafters get their fingers on the city swag, if they cheat on prices to split with contractors, there will be less left in the city treasury for Wall Street.

Unearned millions must go to the bankers for interest on city bonds. The Morgans and the Rockefeller must get their \$340,000,000 for the watered stock of the BMT and IRT, plus the pure gravy of millions in interest. This gives a rough idea of why Wall Street is interested in "clean government."

In a word, LaGuardia's civic virtues amount to keeping the fingers of the Tammany grafters out of the city treasury SO THAT THE BANKERS CAN GET THEIR FISTS INTO IT.

The answer of the working people of the city to Tammany-run O'Dwyer and banker-run LaGuardia must be: A PLAGUE ON BOTH YOUR HOUSES!

Before the same bunch of starving bankers, LaGuardia became prophetic and predicted that the change from a war to a peace basis when it is all over, will bring millions upon millions of unemployed, "WORSE THAN IN 1929."

Just why he tells this cheery news to the bankers at election time is hard to say. Maybe he wants them to know that he worries about their problems. NO DOUBT MILLIONS UPON MILLIONS OF UNEMPLOYED WILL BE A PROBLEM—BUT PRIMARILY FOR THE WORKERS, NOT FOR THE BANKERS!

The workers might start on the solution by asking LaGuardia and the other vicarious warriors why they are shoving the country into this imperialist war, OUT OF WHICH THE WORKERS WILL EMERGE VERY MUCH IN THE RED—in the red in every respect.

He will tell the workers: "Hitlerism must be defeated."

The German workers are told: British imperialism and the Jewish international bankers must be defeated."

Both these statements are false and only war propaganda because—WHOEVER IS DEFEATED, THOSE WORKERS WHO ARE NOT WIPED OUT IN THE CATAclysm—be they American or German, British or Italian, Russian or Japanese—WILL REAP THE HELL OF THE AFTER-WAR DEPRESSION, until the next imperialist war will bring another so-called boom.

This is what working people are worrying about today—not "clean government" for the bankers. THE ISSUE OF THIS CAMPAIGN IS THE WAR. On this issue, the candidate of the WORKERS PARTY, MAX SHACHTMAN, is on the ballot. He stands on an anti-war platform. Not the Lindbergh brand of anti-war platform, which is a cloak for pro-Nazism.

But on the anti-war platform of the class-conscious working class, LEADING TOWARD SOCIALISM AND THE ABOLITION OF ALL IMPERIALIST WARS.

Publishers Yield to Newsdealers, Boycott of 8 Dailies Is Called Off

NEW YORK—Newsdealers who had virtually stopped the circulation of eight big dailies by a city-wide boycott, called off the boycott after announcing a partial victory.

Under the previous arrangement, the newsdealers lost 85 cents on every hundred of unsold papers. Under the temporary agreement signed after conferences with the Mayor and the publishers, the newsdealers will be allowed \$2.00 per hundred on unsold papers, in place of the \$1.50 formerly allowed.

This grievance was the main issue in the boycott which spread throughout Manhattan and into the Bronx and Brooklyn, winning the support of various retail confectioners' and stationers' associations.

After a three-day recess, negotiations will be resumed on the other demands of the Newsdealers Union, which is affiliated with the AFL. Of these, the main demands are: elimination of overloading, that is, forcing the dealer to take an amount greater than his need; recognition of the union; full credit for unsold papers; and the elimination of delivery and service charges.

At first, the publishers refused to meet with the representatives of the newsdealers. Instead they sought to break the boycott by hiring boys to hawk the papers in the street. Picketing newsdealers, many of them physically disabled persons, whose stands are their sole source of a puny income (as low as \$11 a week) followed the strike-breakers with sandwich signs and effectively kept sales down to a minimum. The publishers had to give in.

Though not strictly workers in the sense of wage workers exploited by a boss, the newsdealers represent a strata of the population which the

Each Repetition Of CP History More Nauseating

When LaGuardia ran for Mayor four years ago, the Communist Party was then in the midst of its Peoples Front policy. Sometime before election it withdrew its own candidate to support LaGuardia.

In the period between then and now, the Communist Party has twice flipped to new flops. For part of that period, during the short-lived Hitler-Stalin marriage, the Stalinists turned on LaGuardia with all their hypocritical fury—attacked him, opposed the war.

Now, Stalin is wedded to the "democratic" Allies and so, as four years ago, the Communist Party has withdrawn its candidate to support LaGuardia. And, of course, to support the war—support it by advocating immediate, unreserved entry louder than anyone else.

It reminds us of the old shell game—now you see it, now you don't. The only difference is that the shell game was relatively decent.

Between now and Election Day, LABOR ACTION will run a full campaign page each week. Don't forget to get your copy of LABOR ACTION regularly!

labor movement must support in their fight against the big capitalists. That New York labor understood it that way was evidenced by the few papers in sight during the morning and evening jams in the subways. That's the kind of cooperation which will lead all the disinherited victims of capitalism to look to the working class as their ally.

"Street Cleaner" Blasts LaGuardia Record As Boss of City's Employees

Dear Editor:

LaGuardia as a politician has always attempted to appear as a "friend of labor." But La Guardia as Mayor of New York City is also a boss—the largest employer, in fact, in New York. La Guardia determines the wages and working conditions for several hundred thousand city employed workers.

This "friend of labor" is one of the worst bosses the city employees ever had. Everyone knows the case of the subway workers. Little known but more flagrant is that of the sanitation men, the street cleaners. These men perform the dirtiest work, in

all kinds of weather. Sickness and disease from this work are common among them.

Abolishes Pension System

When LaGuardia took office one of his first "economy" measures was to abolish the pension system of the sanitation men. Instead of the city paying the whole pension after 20 years, the entire cost of pensions was, from then on, to be paid by the men themselves.

Sanitation men still work 48 hours a week, although 40 hours is the number written into the federal labor schedules. No time and a half for

overtime. In fact, for several years these men only got time off for their overtime, which during the winter sometimes amounts to 4 and 6 hours a day.

Although prices have skyrocketed, LaGuardia has not raised pay by one cent since he first took office. This policy of no pay raises is universal among LaGuardia employees.

For snow removal, LaGuardia's "economy" policy calls for no additional hiring. Instead he keeps the regular men extra hours at regular pay.

Fights Unionization

Unionization has been stubbornly

fought. The only organizations recognized are the stooge "benevolent" societies and Holy Name societies. When the CIO began an organization drive several months ago, LaGuardia made it known that he disapproved of "outside organizations" and by speeches at benevolent society meetings implied his displeasure.

The case of the sanitation men is but one example of LaGuardia's labor policy. The same is probably true of most of the city departments. City employees must have the right to organize and must get wage increases to match living costs.

W. B.

Workers!

Be Loyal

To Your

Class.

Cast an

Anti-War

LABOR

Vote for

the Can-

didate

for Mayor

of the

Workers

Party

on Elec-

tion Day.

Front and Back of Plunger Being Distributed by Local New York

YOU CAN VOTE AGAINST THE WAR!



- Max Shachtman has devoted his life to defending labor's interests and rights.
- He is a well-known fighter against Roosevelt's War Deal. He does not support either the British Empire and Stalin or Fascist Germany. He believes in fighting HERE for democratic rights and a decent living for workers.
- FOR PEACE AND SOCIALISM!

MAX SHACHTMAN FOR MAYOR

Vote For Labor's Anti-War Candidate

OPPOSE Wall Street's war, supported by Jingo LaGuardia and Tammanyman O'Dwyer...

PROTEST government strike-breaking and union-busting...

SMASH Jim-Crowism and discrimination against Negroes...

MAKE the rich pay for this war...

FIGHT for a workers' government which alone can fight fascism and bring freedom, security and peace...

VOTE FOR

MAX SHACHTMAN

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