

## Let's Organize All-Out Aid to the Persecuted Unionists of Minneapolis

AN EDITORIAL

Dan Tobin, president of the AFL Teamsters International Union, has slipped a new "ace" out of his sleeve in his attack on the militant leadership of Local 544 in Minneapolis. But, like one he slipped from his cuff before Local 544 joined the CIO, this "ace" is only another shabby deuce parading in masquerade.

Having failed with slander and goon terror to crack the solidarity of the teamsters behind the leadership that built their union and brought them magnificent gains, the jingoes and Tobin have this time gone after the Dunnes and the rest of the union leadership under cover of prosecuting the Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party for "seditious" activities.

Acting on the orders of Acting Attorney General Francis Biddle and armed with search warrants, special agents of the FBI raided the Minneapolis and St. Paul offices of the SWP and seized "records, propaganda and other material." This "subversive" and triumphant haul could have been bought at any of the places at which the SWP sells its literature. And out of all this literature, so small is the leg that the FBI has to stand on, they singled out one paragraph from the program of the SWP, published in 1938, which is in every respect legal—though discomfiting to the police and jingo mind in its statement of socialist objectives.

No indictments against individuals have yet been issued, but these are expected in due course. The "evidence" is being accumulated for presentation to a federal grand jury now in session in St. Paul.

### WHY THE PROSECUTION AT THIS TIME?

How is it that the attorney general's office (and Westbrook Pegler—the "louse in the blouse of journalism") suddenly discovered the "criminal seditious" activities of the SWP? And why in Minneapolis? And why at this time?

The answer is easily found in the coincidence that it comes just after both the labor-haters in the government and the reactionary Tobin leadership lost the first round in their fight with the militant unionists of Minneapolis when the CIO welcomed the men whose record of trade union loyalty and competence is exceeded by none.

Biddle himself made the purpose of his witch-hunt quite clear: the prosecution was brought "under the criminal code of the United States against persons who had been engaged in criminal seditious activities and who are leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and have gained control of a legitimate union in order to use it for illegitimate purposes." Biddle went on to add that the prosecution was in no wise to be connected with the "dispute in labor organizations," nor was it to be construed as an attack on organized labor.

But Biddle will have to do a lot of talking to explain the prosecution to a militant worker as anything else. The second part of the sentence we have quoted (the first part is so much red-baiting fury) is the give-away. The men are using the union for "illegitimate purposes"—and, in the minds of the bosses and their stooges, they do not care. But what's "legitimate" from the bosses' point of view isn't anywhere near that from the workers' point of view. And that's the nub of the question!

Local 544 is one of the most militant locals in the United States. From 1934, when it organized and led to victory a brilliant strike, up to this day, Local 544 has been an example to other unions on how a union should conduct itself. It had a leadership which pursued the LEGITIMATE interests of a trade union, that is to say a leadership which, operating the union democratically, conducted its affairs in the interests of its membership and of the Minneapolis working class as a whole. They were out to make Minneapolis a union town, and succeeded. And that's what roused the Tobin and Biddle dander—particularly today when the government is out to bend every worker and union to the dictates of the war machine.

The bosses and their government never looked kindly on trade union militancy. It was always, in their profit-twisted eyes, "illegitimate." It is doubly so today in the midst of the imperialist war. Tobin is lined up with Roosevelt and the war-makers. That is why he who tolerated, and even approved, the militancy of Local 544 before, is trying to knife it today—and trying to knife it in the only way it can be done, by beheading it of its leaders. Tobin is more interested in furthering the preparations for imperialist war (aid to England and to the profiteers and all that) than in making "Minneapolis a Union Town!" That fits in neatly with what the Biddles have always wanted.

### THE JINGOES WILL LEAVE NO TRICK UNTRIED

If the war-makers are to have their way, union militancy must be crushed everywhere. Labor must be made to work on the bosses' terms. Nothing must be allowed to stand in the way of the war and the preparations for war—nothing, not back-breaking toil, not lousy wages, NOTHING! To achieve that end in North America, the Army was sent out. To achieve that end in the West Coast shipyards strike, the Navy was used as a threat. To achieve that end in Minneapolis, no trick, however brutal, scurrilous or slimy, will be left untried.

Tobin and Biddle haven't rested their case with the prosecution of the SWP. They will haul the leaders of Local 544 into court on flimsy and trumped-up charges. In the meantime, however, they are trying to terrorize the rank and file teamsters—and no warrants have yet been issued against those responsible, nor will be in all likelihood. Tobin goons have been ganging up on union men, ripping off their

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# LABOR ACTION

JULY 7, 1941

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

THREE CENTS

# WORKINGMEN! ON GUARD AGAINST THE C. P. JINGOES!

## FLIP

Pro-War and Pro-Roosevelt  
Line (1935 to 1939)

"If Nazi Germany attacks one of the small neighboring countries, like the Baltic countries, or Czechoslovakia, peace will not be aided by letting Germany win a victory. . . . The Communist Party would vigorously support such a war (against Germany) because here, too, once Germany has begun the war, the defense of the Soviet Union and the defeat of Nazi Germany are the only possible roads to peace."—Daily Worker, Feb. 7, 1936.

"We are bold and outspoken supporters of the active defense of any people, any country threatened by fascist military aggression. . . . And when Hitler fascism goes beyond the borders of Germany, it must be met by military means."—Earl Browder, May 25, 1936.

"The general line of policy guaranteeing our own peace and the world's peace has already been proposed by President Roosevelt."—Earl Browder, May 11, 1938.

## FLOP

Pro-Nazi and "Anti-War"  
Line (1939 to 1941)

"The good-neighborly, friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Germany are not based on fortuitous consideration of a transient nature, but on fundamental state interests of both the USSR and Germany."—Molotov, to Supreme Soviet, Aug. 1, 1940.

"The official memorandum of the German government states that German troops are going into Belgium and Holland in order to prevent its enemies from using these countries for the struggle against Germany. It is quite probable that this is precisely the main objective."—Red Army commentator, Sunday Worker, May 19, 1940.

"The fact is, the whole 'aid-to-Britain' policy was worked out more than a year ago by the Administration as the best way to deceive the people and take them into the war on the side of one of the two imperialist camps. . . . To keep the country at peace, only one course is possible: defeat the War Dictatorship Bill (Lend-Lease Bill); end the whole 'aid-Britain' policy; break the military alliance with Great Britain; pursue a policy of real neutrality in friendly cooperation with the Soviet Union and the masses of people everywhere who desire an immediate end to the war. Get Out and Stay Out of the War."—Daily Worker, March 3, 1941.

## FLIP

Back to the Jingo Line Again  
(June, 1941; to . . .?)

"Previously the war had been a struggle between the rival imperialist power groupings. . . . But now with Hitler's war against the Soviet Union, the whole situation is basically altered. This signifies a definite attempt of Hitler to fasten fascism upon the world. . . ."

"The Lend-Lease law should be extended to the Soviet Union. All possible aid must be sent to Great Britain. The United States should develop a militant line against Hitler and adopt all measures necessary to victory over Hitler by the Soviet Union and the forces of democracy."—William Z. Foster report to CP National Committee, June 28, 1941.

"Foster said the party will support every measure of the United States government directed against Hitler and Hitlerism."—Sunday Worker, June 29, 1941.

"Gallacher (CP member of Parliament in England) reminded his questioners that he had said in Parliament more than once that if Britain was invaded the strongest fighters would be the Communists."—Daily Worker, June 27, 1941.

## Stalinists Fall Into Line Behind Roosevelt War Drive As Stalin Switches Partners

The job of pumping some jingoistic spirit into the American workers is being taken over from the Roosevelt warmongers in Washington. The new bidder for the contract is the American Communist Party, late of the Berlin-Moscow Axis.

After acting as white-wash artists for the Hitler war camp for two years, the Communist Party stooges of the Kremlin boss have just discovered "a definite effort of Hitler to fasten fascism upon the world." This fact was revealed to them as soon as Hitler decided to double-cross his Moscow partner and invade Russia.

## Ask Questions The Stalinists Can't Answer

Special to Labor Action  
CHICAGO—A meeting called by the South Side section of the Communist Party to "Answer Your Questions about the Soviet-Nazi War" turned out to be a total flop. The hall, seating 300 people, had barely 100 people in it—and as late as 8:30, a half hour after the designated starting time, YCLers were being sent out into the street with leaflets in a last minute effort to get a crowd. Obviously South Side workers did not feel that there were many questions about the Soviet-Nazi war that a CP'er could answer.

Claude Lightfoot, South Side section organizer, addressed the meeting, and the change in line was very much in evidence. Lightfoot reas-

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Since the beginning of the war, LABOR ACTION has been warning that the Communist Party's "anti-war" line was a phony, that it was only the mirror-image of Boss Stalin's alliance with Hitler, that the Stalinists were not concerned with the interests of the American workers or of the fight against imperialist war. Any workers, especially those in the trade unions, who have been misled into following the Stalinists because of their anti-war" line, will now have to realize that the Communist Party is busy gearing itself to become the No. 1 jingo outfit.

The Communist Party spokesmen have already endorsed the Lend-Lease law, the Atlantic "patrol" and convoys, and the "aid-to-Britain" drive in the hope that the Roosevelt Administration will make an installment payment on its promise to "defend the Soviet Union." After two years of denouncing Roosevelt for his step-by-step declaration of war, they now turn a somersault and come down with the demand that "the United States government SHOULD DEVELOP a militant line against Hitler."

With sure instinct the Daily Worker turned last Wednesday to the loud-mouthed Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy and chief saber-rattler of the War Dealers. Knox had just made a speech calling upon "us" (you and me) to "strike now" against Hitler "while his back is turned" and to use the Navy to clear Hitler off the Atlantic. And the Daily Worker, in a front-page spread, endorses this call for a declaration of naval war as "timely and accurate."

It has thus taken the Stalinists a matter of days to travel to the position of the Republican New York Herald Tribune, the Social Democratic New Leader and the "liberal" Ralph Ingersoll of PM, all frank interventionists. This makes the present flip-flop the swiftest on record—it took a matter of months for the 1935 switch after the Franco-Soviet pact, and a matter of weeks for the U-turn in 1939 after the Soviet-Nazi alliance.

The freight cars behind the CP locomotive are already being coupled up on the new track. The American Student Union, the Stalinist loud-speaker on the campus, hastily bought stamps to take a mail referendum of its national committee on the new line. The American Peace Mobilization, which has stopped its "peace" picketing of the White House, is definitely on the skids or due for a change of name.

Most important, however, is the threat of the new CP line to the trade union movement. The stupid lie that the upsurge of strikes in the war industries and the splendid mili-

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# Why Was the Negro March On Washington Called Off?

Once again the Negro people in the United States have been betrayed by those who had assumed the role of leadership. After months of preparation, publicity, propaganda and agitation for a great mass demonstration in Washington, the march was called off. The organizers of the demonstration told Negroes that the march was to be a militant mass protest against Jim-Crow in the "defense" industries and the federal government. Negroes responded from all over the nation and prepared to join the great push on Washington: the seat of our Jim-Crow federal government.

The call for this militant demonstration hit home because every Negro in the United States knew that Jim-Crow, segregation, proscription and insult are the daily lot of Negroes in the United States. Thousands of Negroes who had gone to the "defense" industries to ask for work knew that they had been turned away. They knew but of their daily experience that no change had come over this country even though the government and leaders in business and

finance were telling the people that this is a war to make the world safe for democracy. Negroes knew that it was the same old United States, with its prejudice, its meanness and its lynching.

Thousands of Negroes were ready and anxious to protest and demonstrate against all the injustices, the brutality and the Jim-Crow that was heaped upon them. They knew that their cause was just and that no change could be effected by conference, petition or begging. This had been tried many times before. Here at last was the opportunity really to do something, to demonstrate their determination and resentment against their lot.

They were being asked to support the war, but before giving their answer the Negroes wanted to ask a few pertinent questions: Why were these American citizens barred from jobs in defense industries? Why were they Jim-Crowed in the government departments at Washington? Why were they being denied admission to the Marine Corps and the Air Service? Why

is it that Negroes can only be scullions in the Navy? Why hasn't the Roosevelt "New Deal" government passed the anti-lynching bill? The Negro citizens wanted to ask what the Roosevelt government means by its preparations to fight for democracy in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece and all over the earth except right here in the United States? How could the Roosevelt government be so concerned with what Hitler is doing in Europe while it spits in the face of the Negro masses here at home?

These were the chief grievances that the march on Washington was to protest against. Thousands of Negroes were ready to fall in line. Roosevelt, Mrs. Roosevelt, Knox, Stimson, Knudsen, La Guardia, heard about the march. They got busy. Such a demonstration must not take place. They knew that they could not defend themselves against the charges the Negroes made. Furthermore, such militancy from Negroes might stir other sections of the working class to greater mili-

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# The War Today Is What It Was Yesterday - - Imperialist!

By MAX SHACHTMAN

We print below extracts from the speech delivered by Max Shachtman to the New York membership of the Workers Party in elucidation of the position taken by the Political Committee of the Workers Party on the Russian events.

I should like to go over the Russian events as they present themselves before our party in the light of the latest turn of world events.

Your Political Committee has unanimously adopted a position which is represented in its statement in LABOR ACTION of June 30. This position is before the party for discussion and decision. Moreover, in view of the acceleration of the pace of events, the PC has decided to advance the date of the second national convention of the party. For the discussion of all party problems, including

the question of our position on the Russian question, the membership will have at its disposal in the coming pre-convention period not only the NI, which was opened for discussion some time ago, and inner-party bulletins specially devoted to the convention, but also a special section of LABOR ACTION. In addition, of course, all branches will arrange the customary discussion evenings. There is therefore every assurance that the position finally taken will be highly representative and, more important than that, will be the result of carefully thought out and freely debated views.

### A CONTINUATION OF OUR VIEWS

The position taken by the PC is both a continuation and a development of the views we have defended since the beginning of the Second World War, which finally led to the mass expulsions from the SWP, the split and the founding of the WP.

These views may be summed up as follows: the predominant character of the war is an inter-imperialist conflict for the redivision of the world, in which Stalinist Russia constitutes a subordinate partner of one of the imperialist camps. The best interests of the international working class, and of international socialism, can be served only by intransigent opposition to the war on both sides, by refusal to support either camp in the war, by an intensification of the class struggle against the ruling regimes in all countries, the belligerent countries in particular, with the aim of establishing peace and socialism by bringing to power revolutionary workers' governments throughout the world.

In no country do we therefore accept the lie of national defense which is a deception calculated to confuse, paralyze and destroy the working class.

Now, with the German attack on the Soviet Union, the war has

taken a turn of great importance. Everyone is greatly agitated. Particularly for us, in whom the fresh memories of the revolutionary epoch and the achievements of the Soviets are still alive, the new situation is of great concern: But if our concern, and the profound sentiment of attachment to the principles of the Russian Revolution, are to be of positive value, if they are to result in advancing the cause of the working class, we must thrust aside mercilessly all tendencies to blind panicky thinking and acting, turn our backs coolly to popular clamor, even where it is not inspired by cunning reactionary interests, and judge the situation and our attitude toward the problems created, with utmost objectivity, from the standpoint of the highest interest of the international working class.

The first question to ask is this: What caused the turn of events, (Continued on page 3)



With the Labor Unions—  
**On the Picket Line**

By David Coolidge

**THE NEW CP LINE AND THE TRADE UNIONS**

When the war broke out between Stalin and Hitler, the Communist Party began to retrace its steps and return to its Peoples Front days. This will be its line now in the trade unions. All of the old signs, placards, streamers can be pulled out and dusted off. The old Peoples Front slogans have already appeared in the Daily Worker. As before, the Stalinists will, of course, pay some attention to the unions. They will want the workers to fall into step behind the "new" line. But the workers will have to watch their step. They will have to say to the Stalinists, "Not so fast, we want to ask you a few questions." Then the workers can go back to the other Peoples Front days before the Stalin-Hitler pact. Then the Stalinists were yelling for Roosevelt and calling him the leader of the Peoples Front and the democratic front. They were demanding that France, England and the United States, the "democracies," as the Stalinists called them, should go to war against Hitler.

Poland. He knew that he had nothing to fear from Stalin. As soon as the Stalinists recovered their breath they began to preach the pact would make for peace. While they were busy with this explanation Hitler invaded Poland and the Second World Imperialist War was on. The Stalinists turned the fire on England and France, especially England. They said the same things about England that Hitler was saying. The workers didn't hear anything more about Hitler being the main enemy of the working class. The main enemy was now England. When the United States began to prepare for the war, the Stalinists told the workers that it was an imperialist war and that we should be against it. The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION said it was an imperialist war, too. The Workers Party explained to the workers that the Stalinists were not really against the war; they were only against England and the United States entering the war against Germany. This was because their leader, Stalin, had a pact with Hitler and was in the imperialist war on Hitler's side. Of course, they didn't want anybody to fight against their fascist ally and buddy, Hitler. The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION also told the workers that if Stalin and Hitler fell out, the Stalinists would be running around again waving the flag and calling for the "democracies" to go to war against Germany.

Then one day, without saying a word to the Stalinist parties, Stalin signed a pact with Hitler. The Stalinist papers came out with the old line and didn't even know that Stalin had signed this pact behind their backs. They were still yelling for war on Hitler after Hitler had made friends with Hitler. This pact gave Hitler the necessary backing to begin the war with the invasion of

**FROM TURN TO TURN THEY REMAIN WRECKERS**

But before we get to this we want to go on with the things that the Stalinists told the workers when Stalin and Hitler were friends. They said they were for peace and that the United States should stay out of the war. They organized the American Peace Mobilization and held a peace congress. They asked the unions to send representatives, and many workers came. They kept up their opposition to Roosevelt because they said they were against the war and Roosevelt was a warmonger.

Neither were the Stalinists interested in the trade unions as labor organizations trying to carry on a fight to improve the conditions of the workers. They would tell the workers different things, depending on which side of the fence Stalin happened to be on. When they had the first Peoples Front they were against strikes. They wanted all the workers to be good patriots and not worry too much about wages and working conditions. In unions where they had influence or control they would expel a worker who did not agree with their party line and opinions. They even refused to defend workers who had been grabbed by the capitalist courts unless they agreed with the Stalinists. We said that they were "wreckers" and "poison" in the labor movement. Thousands of workers who have had experience with the Stalinists know that this is the truth.

The Workers Party through LABOR ACTION kept saying to the workers "don't trust the Stalinists, they will betray you as they have done before." We said that they were only carrying out the policies of Stalin who had betrayed the workers in the Soviet Union and the rest of the world. We said, "Yes, this is an imperialist war—but under the domination of Stalin, Russia is in one of the imperialist camps, the camp of Hitler and Mussolini." There was the Roosevelt-Churchill imperialist camp on one side and the

Hitler-Stalin imperialist camp on the other side. The Stalinists, we said, are not for peace and they are not against the war.

**THEY ARE BETRAYING THE WORKERS AGAIN**

But when Hitler and Stalin went to war the Stalinists changed again. Hitler is the devil now. Churchill is not so bad now and pretty soon Roosevelt will be their hero again. Now they want the workers to support the war. They will be against strikes and will close their eyes to just grievances of the workers against the bosses! They are preparing to betray the workers again. In their new "Peoples Program" they say: "What is needed is speedy and effective aid to the Soviet and British peoples." What does this mean? They use this language to fool the workers and make us believe that they are not for aid to the British government. This is nonsense. It is the British ruling class that is fighting the war under the leadership of the Churchill government. They are for the imperialist war now, just as they have been ever since Stalin signed the pact with Hitler. They have just changed sides, that's all.

British ruling class. Yesterday we told you to be for peace and against the war; then it was an imperialist war. Already, in England, the Stalinist leaders have called for support of the government, that government which yesterday they told the workers not to support. They say: Into the factories! Increase production!

The workers in the United States should not be fooled. The war is still an imperialist war. Our main fight is still against the war; against the bosses right here, for higher wages and shorter hours. Stalin has been forced to go over to Roosevelt and Churchill, but the war is the same: it is an imperialist war. Both camps are fighting for the right to exploit and enslave the workers of the world. Nothing has changed; Stalin has merely been forced out of his friendship with Hitler into the arms of Churchill and Roosevelt. They will use him to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. Workers in the United States should keep up the fight. Don't let the Stalinists betray you! Don't trust them!

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They say that they have changed because the Soviet Union has been attacked. Sure, the Soviet Union has been invaded, but the war is just as much an imperialist war as it was before Hitler invaded Russia. And Russia was already involved in the war in the Hitler-Mussolini imperialist camp. Furthermore, before Stalin had signed the pact with Hitler he had already enslaved the workers in the Soviet Union. He had destroyed their unions and murdered all the leaders of the October Revolution who wanted to lead Russia to socialism.

Our union is the ILA. I say "our" union, but it's no more ours than the Empire State Building. We have something like 25,000 guys paying dues and we don't know what a union meeting looks like.

Yet the Stalinists today are asking the workers to defend the Stalinist rule. Defend the Soviet Union, they say. Fight against Hitler. Support the United States ruling class and the

There are a few gangsters led by a guy named Di Brizzi who rake in the money, and if anybody says anything about it they're liable to be found beaten up in an alley the next morning. That's happened more than once. We pay our dues and we don't get a damn thing for it. We "shape up" in the morning down in front of Piers 19 and 20. Come down and take a look at us some time—any morning—about 7:30-8:00 o'clock. There's

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

**AFL and CIO Locals Unite on Lynn Housing  
May Run Labor Candidates in Fall if City Officials Do Not Yield**

By BILL HALE

LYNN, Mass.—For the first time in this region, powerful unions of the AFL and the CIO have joined together. A local Chamber of Labor has been set up to present a united front of the working people of Lynn in action against the common enemy, the bosses' Chamber of Commerce. The immediate issue which resulted in this gratifying move is the fight over decent housing.

For the last two years, the labor unions of Lynn have been trying to get Mayor Cole and the city council to set up a housing authority. The need for low cost housing in Lynn is obvious to everyone. There wasn't decent housing before the war boom. But now the housing question has reached vital proportions.

Thousands of new workers in the local General Electric works cannot find decent lodgings. Rents have reached scandalous heights. Landlords laugh at anyone who dares ask for even minor repairs. Low paid, non-war industry workers are being driven from their homes because they cannot pay the continuous rent increases.

**Unions Call Conference**

The united front meeting which set up the Chamber of Labor was called by the Lynn Trade Union Committee on Housing and signed by Leo Barber, president of the AFL Central Labor Union; John Poulos, president of the CIO North Shore Council and business agent of Local 701, Allied Food Workers, and William Dunne, president of the AFL Building Trades Council. Other unions that participated in the conference included the AFL Teamsters Local 42, Motor Coach Operators Local 23, Local 377 of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 245 of the Motion Picture Operators, the Retail Clerks and various building

trades locals.

CIO unions represented included Local 20 of the Fur and Leather Workers, Local 2 of the Shoe Workers, Locals 238, 257 and 21 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Local 132 of the Furniture Workers and the Newspaper Guild as well as the Food Workers.

The conference is determined to put up a serious fight for low cost housing, despite the opposition that has developed from the bankers and real estate operators. These greedy people are anxious to continue and increase the profits they draw from the local firetraps. But local public opinion has definitely been aroused. Even Mayor Cole has had to admit that "Workers in industry cannot afford to pay high rents. Low cost housing is their primary interest and federal projects seem to be able to provide it."

The General Electric union, Local 201, largest in Lynn, is so far interested in fighting only for so-called defense housing—that is, housing projects for defense workers only. The conference elected a committee to confer with them with a view to waging a joint campaign. Stabilization of employment at GE plus the probable laying off of many employees in departments not engaged in war work is expected to take the edge off the defense housing slogan, whereas low cost housing appeals to all workers.

Protest reached a high pitch after the last meeting of the city council. A motion to set up a housing authority, even if only to investigate the obvious need for housing, was defeated by the bankers' stooges. Sentiment at the union conference was strongly in favor of running labor candidates on a labor program this fall. There are indications that independent labor political action may well come into being.

**TWU Retreats Under Many-Sided Pressure  
Transit Workers Are in for a Long Period of Judicial Stalling**

By SUSAN GREEN

NEW YORK CITY—Philip Murray, president of the CIO, yielding to the pressure of the La Guardia government, has entered into an agreement with Mayor La Guardia on the transit situation. In effect, the 32,000 transit workers of New York City are being put in refrigeration for perhaps A WHOLE YEAR. In addition, the Quill leadership, which is known to be friendly to the Stalinists, may have acted under Stalinist pressure. With their new war line, the Stalinists want least of all to embarrass the government with strikes—especially with a subway strike which would paralyze the financial center of the nation.

For months the Transport Workers Union has been fighting the union-busting policy of Mayor La Guardia. It was preparing to strike on the three subway lines on July 1, if the Mayor and the Board of Transportation did not grant the transit workers their right to collective bargaining. This right has now been definitely denied them by their boss, the city of New York. Instead of going ahead with the fight, their leaders, including the "fiery" Michael Quill, international president of the TWU, now tell them to cool off.

The pretext for this retreat is the lawsuit which the Board of Transportation brought in the Supreme Court. The board contends it hasn't the legal right to bargain collectively with the subway workers. The union has all along claimed that there is no federal, state or local law prohibiting the board from bargaining collectively with the workers. On the contrary, the union's position has been that the state and federal laws grant ALL workers the right to collective bargaining and do not say "except workers employed by the

Board of Transportation on the subways of New York City."

But Philip Murray consented to await the outcome of this lawsuit obviously brought by the board as part of its stalling tactics. The stalling may now add up to a year, according to those who understand court procedure. First will come the trial, which cannot take place until September at the earliest. Appeals to the state courts may take more time and then there is the possibility of dragging the case into the federal courts.

Because of the thorough preparations of the TWU, the solid backing of organized labor and sympathetic support from a public, a strike at this time, though necessarily bitter, had excellent chances of success. A transit workers' victory in New York City would, not only for themselves but for the whole working class, answer IN THE NEGATIVE the question: Can labor be reduced to industrial peonage by the government taking over private industry? The chance for such a victory has been bartered away.

What did Murray get for the 32,000 transit workers in return?

The status quo will be maintained in the sense that the IRT and BMT agreements which expired on June 30 will be considered extended until the determination of the lawsuit. The closed shop is out and Murray further conceded that the Civil Service laws take precedence over the provisions of the union agreements. Murray asks the Mayor to stretch a point and include in the arrangements the workers on the Independent line, who are not covered by the existing agreements.

Murray also requests that the Board of Transportation "will not

That the bankers realize the sentiment of the people is clear. They have begun talking of various private projects, at a good profit, of course. There are rumors that they will employ laid-off WPA workers at scab rates on the "projects." The Chamber of Labor has issued a sharp warning to the bosses not to try that trick.

**Lynn Branch Active**

The next meeting of the City Council will be a closed one, but it will have to consider labor's demands. Local leaders of the Negro people, who as usual have been getting the worst end of the situation, are backing labor's demands. The Lynn branch of the Workers Party has of course supported every move for labor unity and low cost housing from the beginning and its supporters will continue to take an active part in the struggle to better the conditions of the working people.

An added note to the picture, which makes it even harder for hundreds of Lynn workers to pay the high rents, is given by the new WPA layoffs. Eight hundred are being dismissed. The sewing project in the Campbell building was a scene sorrow last Friday as over 300 women, most of them elderly and unable to find new jobs, received their pink slips. Most of them were weeping any many got hysterical or fainted.

A great number of them descended upon City Hall and demanded that they at least receive relief. The government, so busy diverting the people's money into munitions to fight for Wall Street profits, has announced that the cases of these women will not even be considered for relief for at least two weeks. The principle seems to be: "If you can't make or shoulder a gun for Wall Street, go off in a corner and die."

*Labor News and Notes  
from Britain*

LONDON (By Mail)—Here's some news and "dope" (as you Yankees say) from the shores of battered England:

(1) A crowded meeting in London on March 17 held by the Council for Civil Liberties protested the refusal by the British Broadcasting Company to employ certain broadcasters because of their liberal, anti-war and pacifist opinions. The BBC has climbed down considerably in its ban. Even Churchill was forced to condemn the BBC bureaucrats! Some reorganization of the BBC's governing board was made in April.

(2) The Sunday Times in an analysis of the 615 members of the present Parliament (elected in 1935) found the following: 10 per cent were over 70 years of age, 36 per cent over 60, 64 per cent over 50, 12 per cent under 40, and 3 per cent under 30.

Churchill says that new elections cannot be held during the war. As the New Leader remarks, by that time the majority of MP's will have one foot in the grave! These doddering old fossils are supposed to be our wartime leaders!

(3) During the year the Labor Party membership has fallen by 91,904—a sign of the vast apathy in the ranks of the Labor Party and opposition to being stooges for Churchill's imperialism.

(4) Trevor Williams, active member of the ILP, has been sacked from his job for "political reasons." A young woman caught reading the New Leader was also sacked recently.

(5) During the first three months of this year the wages of five and one-half million workers were increased by three million dollars per week. This was the result of strike action and the shop steward movement.

(6) The annual conference of the Railway Clerk's Association adopted a resolution urging the Labor Party to renew the demand for the government to state factually its "peace aims."

(7) Seven shop stewards went on trial at Old Bailey last week. Indignation is strong because the bosses have ignored the fire-watching regulations and then caused the arrest of stewards who protest. Particular action is being taken against militant stewards of the Engineers Union.

(8) Imperial Chemical Industries—one of our giants—made a profit last year of twenty-seven million dollars! That's all until next time.

**Minneapolis - -**

(Continued from page 1)

CIO buttons and pinning AFL buttons on them. At least one union member, Jake Cooper, is now in a Minneapolis hospital with a broken nose and other serious injuries—the result of a visit by these thugs. Even Westbrook Pegler admitted the gangster attacks on union militants—but excused it on "patriotic" grounds.

The leaders of Local 544 offered to put the question of union affiliation, AFL or CIO, up to the members. Tobin's stooges knew they would be licked, and refused. Refused, as Tobin's imported agent, Mr. Casey, put it, "to flip a coin." For men like Casey, a union vote is like "flipping a coin."

What they can't accomplish by terror and intimidation they therefore hope to accomplish by federal prosecution. The leaders of the union who are charged with being members of the SWP deny it. But suppose they were, or suppose other union members belonged to the SWP. What of it? Can anyone charge that they have been disloyal to the union? That they have not fulfilled their obligations? That they do not act in the interests of the union? BY NO MEANS!

The members of the SWP not only have the right to belong to unions, but it is their duty to do so—else they would not dare claim the name of a working class party. In the unions they must be judged exclusively and solely on their union records. Prove them disloyal, prove them bad unionists; then there would be reason to kick them (or anybody else) out. But in their case, we doubt that it can be proved. And it certainly cannot be proved in the Minneapolis union, which, we repeat, has been a model for other unions. If Biddle and Tobin are interested in prosecuting those who are seeking to use the union for truly illegitimate purposes, let them prosecute the rats who organized the Committee of 100 (or 99) against the union leadership.

For every trade unionist in the country who is seriously determined that unions shall be used for their LEGITIMATE purposes, and not for the ILLEGITIMATE purpose of furthering the bosses' war plans, the issue is therefore a far greater one than that of defending the SWP from reactionary attack—itsself a necessity. THE ISSUE AT STAKE IS TRADE UNION MILITANCY AND A FREE AND UNCONTROLLED TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

We must resist the jingo union busters. Victorious in Minneapolis, they will level their prosecutions and persecutions at working class militants everywhere. They'll get bolder and bolder—if they are not stopped in Minneapolis. We must stop them by helping the SWP and the Minneapolis drivers to smash the union busting persecution.

Above all is this a job for the CIO militants who warmly welcomed Local 544 into their ranks. The CIO must now come to the aid of the persecuted unions.

**ALL-OUT AID TO THE LEADERS OF LOCAL 544!** Let that be our slogan!  
**HANDS OFF THE SWP!**  
**HANDS OFF THE MILITANT UNIONS!**

**The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .**

**WANTS SOMETHING  
STARTED IN ILA**

Dear Editor:

I'm a longshoreman on Staten Island. I have a wife and two kids living off my pay, so when I kick I'm not doing it just to hear myself speak. I want you to print it big in your paper that we have one of the rottenest unions in the city so maybe somebody will do something about it.

Our union is the ILA. I say "our" union, but it's no more ours than the Empire State Building. We have something like 25,000 guys paying dues and we don't know what a union meeting looks like.

There are a few gangsters led by a guy named Di Brizzi who rake in the money, and if anybody says anything about it they're liable to be found beaten up in an alley the next morning. That's happened more than once.

We pay our dues and we don't get a damn thing for it. We "shape up" in the morning down in front of Piers 19 and 20. Come down and take a look at us some time—any morning—about 7:30-8:00 o'clock. There's

always the same crowd down there. Sometimes we work all week, but mostly three or four days of the week, at \$1.10 an hour. It depends on whether there's enough work in the dock. You'll notice one gang, though, goes on every day—whether the rest of us get hired or not. They're Di Brizzi's pals. The rest of us can whistle until there's a rush and they have to take us on.

Another thing we Staten Island men kick about is that most of his pals are Brooklyn men—19 out of 20. On Saturday or Sunday, when the pay is double or more, it's always Brooklyn men who get on. We pay as much dues as they do and never get a break. I don't know whether Di Brizzi gets a kickback from them but it sure looks like it.

When we do get work, it's when there's a rush and everybody gets on—union or non-union. Sometimes I don't blame guys for not joining the union when the only time we see it is when it's time to pay dues. We don't get any protection, either. If we're hurt on the job we have to be off two weeks before we're entitled to any compensation, and then it's the boss, and not the union, who

takes it up.

If we don't get on right away, we hang around outside the gate, sometimes till noon, when the company cop yells at us and keeps us off company property, so we have to stand in the road or sit on the curb. Every few minutes we have to move so a truck or some fat boss in his car can go in. They do their best to make us feel like a bunch of good-for-nothing bums.

The men are getting pretty disgusted down here, but nobody knows what to do about it. Everybody hates Di Brizzi's guts, but they're afraid to speak. All we hear is men cursing the union—especially the young kids who are coming around and want to get work. If somebody did come in here and try to get a clean union, though, he'd get most of us behind him, especially since we see what's being done by decent unions in other places in the country.

This is just to let you know the way things are, and maybe you have a few ideas about what to do about it. Maybe some other fellows will read this and something will get started.

Longshoreman.

**STALIN'S "WISDOM" IS  
TOO MUCH FOR HIM**

Dear Editor:

Dear, or dear, how my happiness was spoiled by the slight misunderstanding between Kumoter Joe and Kumoter Adolph!

Being born pacifist I loved all the pacifists of the world, those born and those made to order. Especially I loved the pacifists from the Communist Party of the U.S. For they were such rare beauties in contradiction. They were the best, the most beautiful souls among the whole pacifist world. All they desired and prayed for was to be left alone and at liberty to pray to their Almighty God Joe.

And all of a sudden the heavens in confusion brought this slight misunderstanding, causing my dear comrades of the CP to lose their pacifist souls. For now those comrades do preach to spread the war. Yes, heaven forbid, to spread this imperialist war any more. What kind of war is it?

Well, there is socialism in Russia and, we beg pardon of the British lords, we ask them now to defend

it. For 16 years we were proving to the capitalist world that we are respectable people, that we do not want revolution anywhere on earth, that we are self-sufficient, that we shall kill every revolutionary in our country, and that we shall build socialism and the most modern exploitation (fascism) in one country. We also proved to the world that we are able to produce the most capable liars in the world, the shrewdest of diplomats. Why, at one time we had the League of Nations in our vest pocket. And look at our wisdom—we have got half of Europe without firing a shot. First we conquered the III International, then we killed off all the revolutionaries, then we built "socialism" in one country, then we conquered the League of Nations, then we organized a "democratic" bloc for peace and the security of Europe, then we sacrificed Spain on the altar of "democracy," then we secured a pact with Hitler for preservation of peace in Europe, then we got Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and part of Poland from Hitler for being wise and pacifist and on top of it all we even got a kiss from Matsuoka. And God, o God, look what we are

getting now. We are getting Hitler himself.

Yes, comrades, as much as I am pacifist, my peaceful soul is getting horny. And I pray aloud, where is justice, honor, honesty for pacts? Where is mercy for kumoters in distress? O bourgeois world, have mercy on my soul, for I had served you well.

**Long life to socialism in one country!**

**Long life to diplomacy, bourgeois diplomacy.**

**Long life to democracy through Ogpu and firing squads.**

**Long life to the all-seeing wisdom, Joe Stalin.**

S. D.

**Conscript the War  
Industries Under  
Workers' Control!**



# The War Today Is Same As Yesterday - - Imperialist!

(Continued from page 1)

the rupture of the Hitler-Stalin pact and the assault on Russia, and does the new situation alter the character of the war to the extent that warrants an alteration of our position toward it?

The reasons impelling Hitler to attack the Soviet Union at this time should now be fairly clear. Despite all his success on the continent and hopes for the early termination of the war, he has been unable to inflict a military defeat on his principal enemy, England. With England still able to hold out, with American aid to England not only mounting, but threatening to turn into direct American participation in the war, and with the conquered countries at the point of exhaustion from fascist pillage, Hitler is compelled to prepare a sounder base for the long war ahead. Conquering the Soviet Union would give him a triple advantage: 1, it would eliminate for good the possibility of a thrust from the east while he bogged down in the west; 2, it would provide him with the war materials (food and fuel) for a long war, compensating in large measure for America's contributions to the enemy camp; and 3, it enables him to raise again the demagogic cry of a crusade against Bolshevism by means of which he aims to strengthen the hand of the appeasers in the enemy countries, in much the same manner that he did from 1933 onward.

Could we not achieve at least one of these aims—the most important one of getting food and fuel—by forcing Stalin to capitulate without a struggle? The events, in any case, show that he couldn't. He undoubtedly made such demands upon the Kremlin as would have meant the conversion of the bureaucracy into a handful of totally powerless Quislings. In all likelihood, his demands included the demobilization of Stalin's western armies, or its equivalent.

Now, important as the change in the military course of the war is, has it reached a point where we can say that it has changed the predominant character of the war?

In the opinion of the PC, the answer to that question is NO. The attack upon the Soviet Union is part and parcel, an integral part, as the Berlin spokesman said, of the war against Great Britain, that is, of the war between Axis and Anglo-American imperialism. Hitler continues the war against the latter by launching an attack upon Russia for the simple reason that the conquest of Russia is now indispensable to the continuation and winning of the war against England and the United States.

Every thoughtful statesman, from Hitler, Mussolini, Churchill and Roosevelt down, understands and recognizes this important fact. Berlin has already said so. Gayda has taunted the USA with the prospect of its aid being negated by the acquisition of compensating aid in Russia. Churchill has made it clear that he will not (in this war) be diverted from the war against Hitler by the latter's attack on the Soviet Union, but rather regards the Soviet Union as an invaluable ally in the war of British imperialism against Hitler. Roosevelt has said the same. And, for that matter, allowing for the differences in form and emphasis, the Kremlin is saying the same.

So far as the predominant character of the war is concerned, it remains essentially the same. Only now, instead of an inter-imperialist war in which the USSR is a junior partner of the Axis, subordinated to its aims in the war, it is an inter-imperialist war in which the Soviet Union is a junior partner of Anglo-American imperialism, subordinated to ITS aims in the war.

## THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION

Let us look a little further into the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the war. What is it fighting for? Essentially the same thing it has been fighting for for years, and particularly since the Second World War began. Its role is reactionary through and through because (1) it subjugates the working class of the world, wherever it has influence, to the war machines of the imperialist democracies; (2) it is fighting to retain control over the territories it seized when it pursued the course of joint imperialist conquest with Hitler—Poland, the Baltic lands, Bessarabia, Bukovina, Finland; (3) it is fighting to retain control over the Ukraine and White Russia and other internal colonies of the Kremlin overlords; (4) it is fighting to retain control of its counter-revolutionary power over the Soviet Union as a whole, its aristocratic privileges, its murderous police rule, its enslavement of the proletariat and peasantry.

We have spoken so often in the past about "defense of the Soviet Union" that we are apt to forget or overlook some of the blunt realities of the situation. We have not, from the very beginning of this war, been for the defense of the Soviet Union. We were not for the bureaucracy and its army when they conquered southern Finland, eastern Poland and other countries; we are not for them, or for defending them, when they are fighting to retain their conquests. We are not for the bureaucracy continuing its brutal domination of the Ukraine and White Russia; we are for the declaration of independence of a genuinely Revolutionary Soviet Ukraine. We are not for preserving the power of the bureaucracy to continue its infamous rule over the whole of the Soviet Union, the rule which has slaughtered the whole revolutionary Bolshevik movement, massacred millions of workers and peasants, imprisoned and tortured millions of others, and converted the rest of the working class into prison laborers. We are for the overthrow of this detestable regime. Let us not forget this fundamental program of ours for a single moment.

Two arguments may be raised against our position, our anti-defensist position. One is: the Soviet workers have something to defend—not the bureaucracy, to be sure, but that remaining achievement of the Russian Revolution which is represented by the nationalized economy. That makes the present war a mixed war—we are not defensists in the imperialist countries and are defensists in the Soviet Union. The second is: while we are for overturning the Stalinist regime and replacing it with a genuine Soviet regime, a workers' democracy, we are not for Hitler doing that job for us—Hitler cannot avenge the international working class for Stalin's crimes, for he will replace the bureaucracy with a regime that is worse or, in any case, at least as bad.

The arguments are based on a misconception. First: the nationalized economy of the Soviet Union is not something abstract and supra-historical and therefore valuable and progressive in and of itself and regardless of the circumstances of place and time in which its existence is involved. In the hands of the proletariat, it is the indispensable precondition to the building of socialism. In the hands of the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, it is the basis of the power which they wield to keep the proletariat in subjection and themselves in the seats of aristocratic, totalitarian rule. Furthermore, if you agree with some of us, myself included, that nationalized economy is historically superior to private capitalist economy, it does not follow at each and every moment of the development of history and the class struggle that it is involved as the decisive criterion by which to judge our position. Let us grant for the moment—and I personally grant it freely—that the nationalized economy IS involved in the war as it is in its present stage.

Does a position of defensism follow from this? In our opinion, given the concrete circumstances of the war, it does not follow. Not any more than it follows that just because Hitler's attack on Czechoslovakia involves an assault on the democratic principle of self-determination of nations and peoples, as well as an assault on the rights and institutions of the working class, that therefore we must be for the defense of Czechoslovakia.

We are told and, for that matter, we ourselves say, that Hitler threatens the working class and its institutions in England and the United States. If he conquers these countries, then, as in France, the labor and revolutionary movements and their rights are completely abolished. Does the worker in the U.S. have something to defend? Most certainly! Does that mean we are for national defense in the U.S. or in England? NO! We say: to preserve what you have, much less to extend what you have, it is necessary to establish a genuine workers' government—the present reactionary government is not fighting for YOUR achievements and interests.

In the present war, which the bureaucracy is conducting in its interests and as part of the Imperialist War, we must say the same thing to the Russian workers: "Whatever you have to defend can be defended only by no support to the war of the bureaucracy, no support to the bureaucracy itself, only by overthrowing the bureaucracy and establishing a genuine workers' government."

The second argument is really so specious, or based on such thoughtlessness, that it hardly deserves a serious answer. We mustn't turn over to Hitler the job of crushing the infamous Stalinist bureaucracy. But we are doing no such thing! We do not turn over to Hitler the job of crushing the infamous British imperialist ruling class either. It is the dirty scoundrels and footmen of imperialism, people like the New Leader crowd, and Hook and Eastman who tell us, whining and cringing in their shame, that they too don't like British imperialism but they don't want to turn over the job of crushing it to Hitler since he will at the same time crush the working class of England; therefore, they say, we are agents—oh, of course, objective agents—of Hitlerism. It's as much a lie in the case of the British example as in the case of the Russian example.

## WHAT IS BASIC IS THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR

A final point. Does this mean that we abandon the present party position and declare that defensism of the Soviet Union is inconceivable under any circumstances so long as the Stalinist bureaucracy is at its head? I do not believe so and I would warn earnestly against such an abandonment.

Every modern war in particular has within it the elements of a war of a different character. There are no wars which are purely this or purely that in character. That is why we speak of the PREDOMINANTLY imperialist character of the war.

We were defensists in the Spanish civil war, although it had in it the ELEMENTS of a war of a fundamentally different character, the World Imperialist War that finally broke out.

We would have been, according to Lenin, defensists in a war between Serbia and Austria-Hungary, had it remained a duel. But it immediately became a European war, predominantly imperialist in character.

We were defensists in Ethiopia, in 1936, but we are not defensists in Ethiopia today, because the character of the war, predominantly, has changed.

We are defensists in China today, because it is in its predomi-

nant character a war of a semi-colonial country for independence from imperialism represented by Japan. In this war are already present the elements of an imperialist war, with China a subordinate part of it. Suppose, which is very likely, that China tomorrow becomes a mere battleground between Anglo-American and Japanese imperialism? Would we be defensists? I don't think so, because IN CONCRETE FACT that would mean defense of one of the imperialist camps.

Lenin was ready to accept aid from Anglo-French imperialism in the last war—to "work with it," so to speak. It was a dangerous maneuver, to be sure, even under Lenin. But it had to be judged by its decisive character and outcome. Its outcome was the strengthening of the revolutionary movement, because under Lenin that act, so to speak, of becoming an agent of Anglo-French imperialism was subordinated in theory AND IN PRACTICE to the policy of spreading the world revolution. Hindenburg, Clemenceau and Lloyd George learned that fact to their dismay and fury, but not before it was too late for them. For, as is known, Anglo-French aid never materialized.

## SHOULD THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR CHANGE

The imperialists know what we must know, namely, that the war of the bureaucracy is subordinated to the needs of world imperialism. That is why this time they are ready to extend aid and, if necessary, IN THIS WAR, to fight side by side with the Stalinist army. Should the Hitler army fail, as is possible, to conquer Russia quickly in a blitzkrieg, we should in turn be prepared for the armies of Anglo-American imperialism fighting side by side with the army of the Bonapartist autocracy in Russia. I do not envy the revolutionary defensists of Russia—the Cannonites are the ones I refer to—when that situation arises. That it can arise and will arise—provided the condition mentioned before obtains—is proved for us by the fact that politically and to a certain extent militarily, it already exists. England's imperialist forces ARE already fighting side by side with Stalin's forces and only those fail to see this reality who are blinded by the geographical detail—in this case it is a detail—of the distance that separates the two military forces.

But England would not be, and is not, a "reliable ally" of Russia. In the first place, no country has "reliable allies"—Mussolini's ally is not very reliable; Churchill's ally in Washington wants as much from England as does his enemy in Berlin. In the second place, if and when Anglo-American imperialism is no longer on the side of Russia—or the other way around—then that means that THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR HAS INDEED CHANGED, and by virtue of that fact, a reconsideration of our position would be dictated.

In that case, if we can assume this hypothetical situation, it would be a war in which one or more of the capitalist imperialist powers would be engaged in an attack on the Soviet Union—whether with the active or passive support of the other imperialist powers would not be decisive, in my opinion. In that case, the predominant character of the war could not be described as an inter-imperialist war. In that case, again I give my opinion which is in harmony with the present position of the party, our opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy would have to take the same form and occupy the same relative position—in substance—as, let us say, our opposition to bourgeois democracy in Spain at the time of its civil war against fascism. A fundamental position of revolutionary defensism would be dictated to us. At the very least, the grounds for such a position would exist.

IN THE PRESENT WAR THEY DO NOT.

# For the Defense of the Soviet Union! A PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION ARTICLE

By JACK WILSON

Hitler's Drang Nach Osten took the form of a blitzkrieg attack on the Soviet Union to carve out a rich colony supplying essential raw materials, in particular from the Ukraine, to his strained war economy. It came as a surprise in only one respect to the Marxist movement.

Stalin failed to capitulate to Hitler's demand for the Ukraine and for other concessions. Or more accurately, Stalin was forced to fight because the tremendous pressure of the Soviet masses made itself felt even through the bureaucracy and caused the change in Stalin's orientation.

Two years ago Leon Trotsky warned of the possibility of Stalin capitulating to Hitler's demand for the Ukrainian breadbasket and the Caucasian oil wells and therefore raised the slogan for an Independent Soviet Ukraine. When Stalin hitched his wagon to Hitler's ascending star, it was generally believed that only when and if Hitler began to lose, i.e., suffer a major defeat, would Stalin switch sides and make an agreement with the British and American ruling classes.

Meanwhile Stalin assumed the contemptible role of jackal to Hitler's marauding lion, grabbing a share of Poland, Finland Bessarabia and the small Baltic countries.

### An Unexpected Change

Hitler's military and diplomatic successes in Europe and especially the Balkans brought fear and dread to the Kremlin, but also, in the eyes of the entire world, made Stalin a closer prisoner in the Axis chain from which escape was possible only by a London-Washington victory of such decisive proportions that Stalin would not fear the Nazi war machine. So the accepted theory went.

Yet the Soviet Union today is fighting desperately for existence, against the panzer divisions, long before the full force of American imperialist intervention has been felt. Hitler is waging a war on two fronts, his bete noire; the jackal fights not for spoils but for his own skin.

One must be candid: The present turn of the war is different than that considered probable or possible by the entire Marxist movement, not to speak of the rest of the world.

Trotsky foresaw, and predicted often, that sooner or later the Second Imperialist World War would turn into an onslaught of world imperialism against the Soviet Union with Hitler in the role of super-Wrangell. His supporters in the American movement even went so far as the headline in the Socialist Appeal which announced an undeclared four-power pact and war against the Soviet Union.

But that Hitler would attack the Soviet Union while the Battle of the Atlantic was raging, would attack the USSR while still fighting London-Washington, and that this would

In preparation for the coming convention of the Workers Party, the National Committee of the WP herewith opens the pre-convention discussion period. To the extent that space is available, LABOR ACTION will publish discussion contributions on the various political problems confronting the party. ALL CONTRIBUTIONS MUST BE LIMITED TO 1,200 WORDS. The article we print below runs over the space allotment because it is the first presentation of a position counter to that taken by the Political Committee of the Workers Party.

bring not a four-power pact against Russia but renewed British-American determination to defeat Hitler—a possible Washington-London-Moscow combination? This was entirely unexpected.

For, to re-emphasize, even such strong apologists and mouthpieces of Stalin as Walter Duranty in the New York Times only a few days before the attack began declared again that the world must expect capitulation because Stalin feared war above all things.

### What Motivated Stalin?

What does this indicate? What does the war mean?

Stalin feared war because it would crack his shaky regime and bring closer the revolution at home, Trotsky pointed out time and again. Stalin feared something today greater than his fear of revolution tomorrow. It was the internal uprising today, inevitable if he pursued once more a Munich policy in relation to Hitler. This profoundly significant fact caused the drastic shift in Stalin's policy. Garbled reports of the struggle of Red Army leaders against the capitulation to Hitler's demands hint at what really happened. Three years ago this same army was unable to protect its leaders from the purge.

Stalin was forced by tremendous internal pressure to take the step he dreaded, to fight a war for the defense of the Soviet Union, in particular the Ukraine. And the primary role of the USSR in the Second World War NOW is self-defense, a struggle for sheer existence.

### Stalin's Weaknesses

How terrible the tragedy that in this crucial hour the Soviet Union will pay heavily for the crimes of mismanagement under Stalin's regime: Its Red Army deprived of the possibility of leadership from its creator and revolutionary soul, Leon Trotsky, a victim of the GPU; its general staff and the brilliant Tukachevsky destroyed; its workers and peasants demoralized by the cruelty of the regime; its economy in a grave crisis from the blundering Stalinist policies and the extermination of competent technicians and administrators in the purges; its once invincible Bolshevik party and leadership murdered and mummified.

Hitler didn't suddenly become a madman when he decided to attack

the Soviet Union, although the war with Britain was just reaching the decisive stage. Hitler knew precisely the exact weaknesses of the Soviet Union. His technical and military missions, the Gestapo, his friends in the terrible results of Stalinism in Russia. Hitler envisions a blitzkrieg victory over the Soviet Union—another France, in his eyes—before American imperialism can throw its full military weight in the war and dominate the world. For the possibility of successful war against Anglo-American imperialism Hitler must reduce Russia into a super-India on whose shoulders would fall the intolerable burden of the imperialist war as a slave. And it is not excluded that Stalin might become a peculiar kind of Petain, or that he visualizes himself as reserved for that role in "unoccupied Russia."

### Which Way Victory?

Victory of Hitler over the Soviet Union means a prolongation of the Second Imperialist World War, and the attendant miseries to the peoples of the world. It would signify the destruction of the remaining vestiges of the October Revolution, the nationalized economy and the monopoly of foreign trade; it would wipe out the tradition of the Russian Revolution, already horribly deformed by Stalinism.

Victory of the Soviet Union can come only through the resurgence of the flaming spirit and morale which distinguished the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky, defending itself successfully on fifteen fronts over thousands of miles against all the world's big powers. The Soviet people must utilize this war not only to drive the enslaver from Germany into oblivion, but to restore the country to the path of socialism. Hitler's defeat would bring a revolutionary crisis in Germany; it would inspire and arouse all the oppressed small nations and peoples in Europe. It would smash the myth of the invincibility of fascism.

These considerations are not one whit less valid for those comrades who, disagreeing with the present position of the Workers Party that Russia is a bureaucratically degenerated workers' state, state with Comrade Shachtman that the class character of the USSR is "bureaucratic collectivism."

"As in the case of a colonial or semi-colonial country or a small na-

tion, we defend the Soviet Union against imperialism when it is fighting a progressive war—one that corresponds with that of the international socialist revolution," he wrote in the December, 1940, New Internationalist. And he gave an example which is exactly the case today, in demonstrating when he would defend the USSR.

"Should the character of the present war change from that of a struggle between the imperialist camps into a struggle of imperialists to crush the Soviet Union, the interests of the world revolution would demand the defense of the Soviet Union by the international proletariat. The aim of imperialism in that case, whether it were represented in the war by ONE OR MANY POWERS (our emphasis—J.W.) would be to solve the crisis of world capitalism at the cost of reducing the Soviet Union to one or more colonial possessions or spheres of interest."

"Such a transformation of the Soviet Union as triumphant imperialism would undertake would have a vast and durable reactionary effect upon world social development, give capitalism and reaction a new lease on life, retard enormously the revolutionary movement and postpone for we don't know how long the introduction of world socialist society. From that viewpoint and under these conditions, the defense of the Soviet Union, even under Stalinism, is both possible and necessary," Shachtman declared. Correct, for those conditions prevail today.

### Dual Character

Winston Churchill, arch-foe of Lenin's Russia, shed a crocodile tear over the plight of the Soviet people under the lash of the Swastika. He called for aid to Russia as an ally of British imperialism. Britain undoubtedly received a badly needed breathing spell from Hitler's diversion in the East. Most of the defenders of democratic imperialism who yesterday denounced Stalin not for his crimes against the workers but for his refusal to help them bolster the dying British Empire, France and the United States, are ready to clasp him to their bosoms again, as befitting political prostitutes.

If a conjunctural relationship of forces brings a military alliance between these three powers against Hitler we do not in advance condemn Russia's signature there. But the Soviet people must see to it that the pact does not become another "Stalin-Hitler" alliance, dividing small nations, binding the world proletariat to the imperialist war aims of the other belligerents.

The difference between the Stalin-Hitler pact and a Washington-London-Moscow pact now is not that one was with a fascist nation and the other with democratic imperialism. No. Marxists have always realized that under certain circumstances temporary military alliances

by a workers' state or a semi-colonial country might be necessary. What is decisive in these alliances is the specific content. That under no circumstances must the struggle for world revolution be signed away. The Fourth International criticized the Franco-Soviet pact not because it was an agreement with a capitalist nation but because Stalin tied the Communist Party of France to the coattails of the French bourgeoisie. It replaced class struggle with class collaboration and the Communist Party voted for the military budget. Stalin's pact with Hitler was reactionary basically for the same reason. And Stalin dragged Russia into a treacherous adventure so the bureaucracy could satisfy its lust for power, revenue and prestige. His plunge into Finland alienated the world proletariat, his enslavement of a section of Poland likewise was reactionary. All these things were part of the Stalin-Hitler pact. Stalin's blunders and crimes weakened the Soviet Union, not defended it. Now Stalin is forced to defend the Soviet Union. He finds himself "reluctantly and unwillingly" fighting Hitler, as one radio commentator put it exactly. In these concrete circumstances, a military pact with London-Washington would be primarily a defensive one from the point of view of the interests of the Soviet Union.

Neither Roosevelt nor Churchill need to nor will they offer anything to Stalin except perhaps to assist him long enough to save his skin temporarily while they prepare to settle with German imperialism. Actually the mutual exhaustion of Germany and Russia in this war is the hope of the Anglo-American rulers. But their fear of a quick collapse of Stalin's regime apparently is inducing them to some aid now. Thus, any agreement between London-Washington and Moscow now will have a different content and significance now than did the Stalin-Hitler pact in 1939.

And the war assumes a dual character now. The aims of Britain, Germany, America and their respective allies are purely imperialistic. Each of these nations seeks world domination of the markets, the sources of raw materials, etc. The Soviet Union has been forced into the Washington-London camp purely for defensive reasons. This kind of war was foreseen as possible by the old thesis of the Fourth International on war and the strategy and tactics flowing from it are known to students of the movement.

### Our War Position

No trust in the "democracies" to aid in the defense of the Soviet Union. It is not excluded by a long shot that a turn in the fortunes of war would bring a deal with Hitler by Britain and America. Russia today must not be permitted to become another Spain.

It goes without saying that we are as unalterably opposed to American participation in this war today as ever. Only scoundrels and traitors in the labor movement will call for America's declaration of war against Germany, even if given under the false excuse that this will aid the Soviet Union. America's participation in this war is motivated by only one urge—expansion of American imperialism, its world domination. To bind the American workers to this reactionary aim is to betray their best interests. The main task of the American workers consists of continuing the class struggle at home. Trotsky expressed the whole strategy very well in the February, 1940, issue of *The New Internationalist*. "The Fourth International has established firmly that in all imperialist countries, independent of the fact as to whether they are in alliance with the USSR or in a camp hostile to it, the proletarian parties during the war must develop the class struggle with the purpose of seizing power."

The world proletariat through independent action helped save the Soviet Union in the crucial years from 1917-21, while the big powers, recently concluding a four year war for world mastery, united then to destroy the Soviet Union. This lesson must not be forgotten.

So today the Soviet people have only one ally. It is the oppressed people of the world; industrial workers, sharecroppers, colonial peoples, white, brown, black and yellow. They must come to the rescue again by giving material aid to the Soviet Union, independently of their ruling governments.

### Must Overthrow Stalin

The Stalin regime proved itself bankrupt in time of peace. Its international record is one of tragic blunders and defeats and treachery. Stalin can hardly expect the slightest bit of confidence or political support from the world proletariat even while it aids the Soviet Union materially. While the Soviet Army is battling desperately to drive Hitler from Russia, the Russian workers and peasants should not forget—they must carry on to win the war—another task. The overthrow of the Stalin regime, this stinky and deadly albatross around their necks. Transform the present Red Army into the invincible legions of Trotsky's Red Guards. Create Soviets to direct the struggle as in the days of old. This must be the strategic goal of the Soviet fighters defending valiantly the country from Hitler. Out of their rich historical experience and knowledge, the Russian workers will know how to carry out the tremendous tasks placed on their shoulders by history.

Nor should the many crimes of Stalin and the bureaucracy blind or prejudice either the Russian workers or the world proletariat to the vital need for being Soviet defensists

today against the onslaught of Hitler. To settle accounts with Stalin is a job the proletariat must reserve for itself. A crushed Russia today means not merely the defeat of Stalin but the extermination of all that is left of the October Revolution, the further enslavement of the Soviet people, a setback for the world revolution.

The new twists and turns of the Stalinist parties throughout the world already evident today should be treated with exactly what they deserve, the contempt and repudiation of the world proletariat. In America and England the Stalinists will rush back into respectable society and repeat all the tragic blunders of the old Peoples Front days.

Stalin and his lackeys throughout the world will try to fight fascism now as they "fought" it in Spain. They still fear the call for revolutionary struggle against fascism. It was this fear that betrayed the Spanish workers and brought Franco to victory. The Soviet people and the world proletariat can be mobilized in unconquerable struggle against fascism only under the revolutionary banners and ideas of Lenin and Trotsky. Rather than depend on this force, Stalin in Spain banked on England and America, and the Spanish revolution was crushed, with the GPU hounding and murdering the revolutionists who stood firmly for a program of victory. This tragic mistake must not be repeated now.

While giving full material support to the Soviet Union in the war against Hitlerism now, the revolutionary movement must not renounce one single line of its devastating political criticism of Stalinism. Building the parties of the Fourth International to lead the proletariat in triumph against world imperialism assures the best and only defense of the workers of the world and the Soviet Union.

June 23, 1941.

## Lynn Audience Shows Interest In WP Message

LYNN, Mass.—Nearing the end of his national tour, Max Shachtman spoke before an enthusiastic audience consisting mostly of active trade unionists on June 23. Twenty-five workers evidenced deep interest in the message of the Workers Party, as was shown by their active participation in the question and discussion period. For the newly reorganized branch here, this was quite a feat. Literature sales were good and a number of workers asked to be notified of future meetings. The most striking proof of the impression Comrade Shachtman made was the generous financial response by the audience, totaling \$17.

NO GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WITHOUT A UNION CONTRACT!



# Editorials

## OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

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

## The Negro March--

(Continued from page 1)

tancy. White workers might be stirred to support the Negroes, and greater solidarity of the working class might ensue. Also, Roosevelt knew he didn't dare send the Army against this demonstration as he had against the striking workers at North American Aviation.

Roosevelt issued a "memorandum" to the OPM calling attention to discrimination against Negro workers. This didn't interest Knudsen because this General Motors boss doesn't give a damn whether Negroes starve or not. Despite this "memorandum," preparations for the march continued. Then Roosevelt called a conference. The leaders and organizers of the march went to Washington. A. Philip Randolph, Walter White, Frank R. Crosswaith, Lester Granger and Layle Lane went down to have it out with the "great humanitarian" in the White House. There they met not only Roosevelt, but Knox, Stimson, Knudsen, Hillman and La Guardia. This conference revealed just how much respect government officials and big business men have for the Negro people or their leaders, real or alleged.

Roosevelt said to Randolph: "Now you must be patient," as though Negroes in the United States had not been patient for 300 years. Roosevelt again: "When a march is made on Washington, the American people will resent it." Knudsen felt that the matter must be handled by "education and persuasion." This was the first conference that Knudsen was ever in with Negroes. Knox of the Navy asked: "Do you believe that Negroes and whites should be made to live together on ships?" When the answer was against Jim-Crow in any form, Knox replied: "In this period of national defense we can't institute any experiments." This is the kind of insult that these Negro leaders were subjected to by the highest officials of the government.

Knox said in plain English that Jim-Crow in the Navy will continue. This is the point at which the conference should have ended. In the name of the millions of oppressed Negroes these leaders should have demonstrated their resentment by announcing that they would go through with the march. The conference itself proved that militant mass demonstration was the only language these people could understand.

The conference created a subcommittee and Roosevelt issued another "memorandum." Negroes must be given jobs in the "defense" industries.

And then the crack-up came. These "leaders" called the march off. And why

did they call it off? Their aims had been attained. The President had issued an "order." Randolph told the NAACP conference in Houston that the march had not been called off, only "postponed." This is all nonsense, the worst type of nonsense. Negroes should understand this. What are the real reasons that this march was called off? Let us take a look at the committee in charge.

## Who Was in Charge?

There is Randolph, the main organizer of the march. Randolph is a supporter of this war, the Second World Imperialist War. This was being fought by the great imperialist nations for loot, plunder and the subjection of the workers of the world. Randolph is a member of the Fight for Freedom Committee. This committee wants the United States to enter the war now. The honorary chairman of this committee is Senator Carter Glass of Virginia. Randolph is for the war, and he can not therefore stand up against the pressure of the government. He must subordinate everything, even Negro rights, to the "defense" program. He must support the government in whatever it stands for and in whatever it does. His fundamental position on the war determined his attitude on the march. He is for Negro rights, yes; but he is for the war first.

Walter White is secretary of the NAACP. This organization is not controlled by Negroes, but by a group of white men and women who are supporters of the war. White is under their pressure and could not go through with the march unless his bosses approved. That is, he could not unless he was prepared to give up his job.

Frank Crosswaith is a supporter of the war and left the Socialist Party because it indicated some feeble opposition to the war. Lester Granger is an Urban League official. This organization gets its money from white business men, all of whom support the war. He couldn't resist unless he was ready to hunt for another job. Henry Craft of the New York YMCA was on the committee. The YMCA is controlled by white business men and there is no more reactionary outfit in the country. The board of the "Y" is of course for the war. Craft could not resist unless he was ready to look for another job.

Every leader of the committee except Randolph was a jobholder in some organization whose directors were supporters of the war. Furthermore, these are organizations that do not believe in such militant actions as a march on Washington. The men who control these organizations, such as the YMCA and the Urban League, are the same men who own the industries that Jim-Crow the Negroes. They are also the same men who are against the white workers and against the unions.

These are the reasons why the march was called off, these are the reasons for the failure. The leaders are not free men, with the exception of Randolph, and Randolph was tied hand and foot by the fact that he is a supporter of the war. These men, White, Craft, Granger and others, are not ready to risk their jobs, make sacrifices and place themselves at the head of the Negro masses and remain there come what may. These men are part of the Negro intellectuals; they are not Negro workers who have nothing to lose but their chains. They want to hold the support of the Negro masses, but they can't because they can't deliver. They must fall back when the pressure is put on them just as they did with the march.

## We Can Still Act

The calling off of the march was a disgraceful and disgusting act. The Negro people were sold down the river. Not one of their grievances has been corrected. Roosevelt's notes and pronouncements don't amount to a damn. Jim-Crow lives and is still the national policy.

We hope that both Negro and white workers have learned a lesson from what happened to the march on Washington. We can not believe that in this whole United States there are not a few Negroes with the courage, loyalty and devotion necessary to reorganize the march on Washington and carry it through. If there are such Negroes, and we believe there are, they should get together for immediate and continuous action.

Effective leadership should and will come only from the Negro masses. For full effect the Negro workers must have the complete support of the white workers, particularly the white workers in the trades unions. They must fight together with the Negro workers for full ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EQUALITY FOR NEGROES.

## THE WORLD AT WAR

### Axis and Allied War Camps Have Much at Stake in the Outcome of Russian Battles

By MAX STERLING

For close to a week a titanic battle of tanks has been raging between the armies of Hitler and the Soviet Union. This battle, which is taking place in Russian occupied Poland and around Minsk, will go a long way toward deciding the outcome of the war. (Since this was written, the Germans have announced the capture of Minsk—Ed.) If the Germans defeat the Russians in this battle they will have done more than to destroy a considerable force of the Red Army. More important, they will then be in a position to veer sharply south to encircle huge masses of Russian troops which are now battling along the entire Bessarabian border. If that should happen, the Red Army will be seriously cut up and Hitler will be the master of the Ukraine and Transcaucasia.

Such an eventuality will also endanger the British position in the Middle East. From the British point of view, therefore, their operations in Syria had best be speeded up. If the French should still be fighting in Syria when the Germans are on the Iranian frontier the British might as well get out of Iraq. Conversely, the clean-up of Syria before the conquest of the Ukraine will enable the British to establish an important front in contact with Russia.

#### Among Hitler's Demands

However, if the Russians stop the Nazis in Poland and in the Minsk area and in general put up a surprising stiff resistance, then Hitler may very well have committed an important strategic error. It would mean that he overestimated the ability of his military machine to knock out Russia in one stage. The journalist Pertinax reveals that Hitler could have wrung considerable concessions from Stalin if he had decided to postpone his attack. These concessions would have weakened the Soviet Union considerably. Pertinax says that only two weeks ago an unofficial meeting took place in Vienna between delegates from Moscow and Berlin. The conference, he says, took place at the instance of Stalin and its object was the appeasement of Hitler. According to Pertinax, Stalin was prepared to yield a great deal to Hitler but that the latter made such impossible demands as to stagger the representatives of Stalin. Only two of these demands were divulged. One was that Russia must enforce a new plan of production wherein the Russian war industries would be cut down to a mere fraction of their figures for the last decade. The other known demand was for the demobilization of the Red Army. No wonder Tass thought Hitler's demands very "unclear."

These two demands alone show that Hitler did not want to be appeased. This was too much even for Stalin—it was equivalent to demanding that Russia should leave itself wide open for a walk-in by the Nazis. In effect it was a declaration of war. Only a supreme confidence in the ability of the German war machine to dispose speedily of the Red Army could have prompted Hitler to forsake those preliminary stages of penetration and strategic encirclement that has characterized his other campaigns. Future events alone can reveal to what degree Hitler was mistaken in his attempt to leap over the usual preliminary stages of conquest.

Pertinax also explains how it is that the USSR maintained up to the very last that everything was in order between itself and the Nazis. "... Provided that," says Pertinax, "the outward appearances of its authority be safeguarded, the government of Russia was ready to go a long way to meet German claims. UNTIL THE LAST MOMENT IT STROVE TO CONCEAL FROM THE OUTSIDE WORLD THE WARLIKE TREND BECAUSE IT INTENDED TO DRESS ITS OWN SURRENDER IN THE GARB OF A COMPROMISE" (my emphasis—M.S.). Little wonder, then, that such intimate creations of the Russian bureaucracy as the various sections of the Communist International outside of Russia were caught completely unawares by the Nazi invasion of Russia. At the very moment that Hitler's legions were crossing Russia's frontiers the New Masses had already reached the newsstands in which their leading article "proved" that the rumors and reports of Russian-German tension were lies, provocations and inventions of the capitalist press.

#### Flip to Flop

The Daily Worker, of course, followed the same line and it was not until two days after the invasion that their editors began to follow the lead of the capitalist press. Once again events had swept them off their feet, and from out of a hastily assembled huddle, the CP big sho's improvised a new line. And in this new line, the ex-imperialist war has emerged as a just war of the "democracies," with Russia of course among the "democracies," against the fascist aggressors. Thus William Z. Foster has finally called for "an international front of the peoples of the Soviet, Britain and the United States against Hitler fascism." In

addition, says this erstwhile "leader" of the struggle against imperialist war, "THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SHOULD DEVELOP A MILITARY LINE AGAINST HITLER AND ADOPT ALL MEASURES NECESSARY TO VICTORY OVER HITLER BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE FORCES OF DEMOCRACY." (My emphasis—M.S.) You can now mark a cross over the American Peace Mobilization.

From now on we expect the Stalinists to become the most vociferous shouters for the imperialist war and the most venal finger men in the labor movement. You will scarcely be able to distinguish them from the most rabid of the British and American jingoists. So long as the Stalin regime exists and fights against Hitler, Great Britain and America, far from yielding to Hitler's offers of a negotiated peace at the expense of Russia, will do everything in their power to see to it that the Russian front does not disappear. Already a British military and economic commission has arrived in Moscow for this purpose. If Roosevelt is obliged to proceed more slowly it is only because he has first to overcome those religious and pro-appeasement groups which are not uninfluential in America.

#### What Next?

For American imperialism an alliance with Russia is dictated not only by America's attitude to Germany but also with respect to Japan. It is not at all inconceivable that a collapse of the Red Army may follow the same pattern as at the time of the collapse of Poland. Russia would then be only a larger Poland. The Germans would take her from the west and the Japanese from the east. However, the division is not likely to be so equal as was the case with Poland. The Japanese may have to satisfy themselves with the Maritime provinces, some of eastern Siberia and its Pacific Islands, and (possibly) Outer Mongolia. These seizures would be dictated by Japan's fear of German proximity—a far more dangerous neighbor than Russia. America's chances in the Far East would be diminished considerably in that event.

How fast the campaign will progress remains to be seen. One thing, however, is clear: comparisons between Hitler's invasion and Napoleon's are apt to be misleading. The Polish, French and Balkan experiences show that the very speed of modern warfare can knock out armies of great masses. In Poland and the Balkans, the German army showed that it could advance quickly despite the lack of good roads. A persistent, steady and successful retreat before Napoleon's foot soldiers is one thing. To be able to do the same before swiftly advancing motorized forces which can strike deep and away behind the lines and then cut in any number of directions in encircling movements, is quite another thing.

Once before the Soviet Union had to withstand, by itself, attack on 15 fronts... and was successful through the genius of its leadership and the enthusiasm of its ill-clad masses. But that was under Lenin and Trotsky. Today, however...

## Questions--

(Continued from page 1)

sured his audience that the Soviet Union had more tractors than all of Europe, which could easily be converted into tanks.

Anyone who came there expecting to hear how the fight against the imperialist war was to be carried on, did not hear even a whisper on that score. Instead, one did hear that one should "write and wire the President, asking him to apply the Lend-Lease Bill to the Soviet Union."

The Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League distributed a leaflet at this meeting addressing a series of 13 questions to the speaker. One of the questions read: "The Communist press has correctly denounced the war between Germany and the British Empire as imperialist. Roosevelt was accused of steering the country into the war to defend Wall Street's world imperialist interests."

"Does the involvement of the Soviet Union change this? Are Roosevelt's efforts on behalf of the Soviet Union now motivated by reasons other than the advancement of Wall Street imperialism? IS WALL'S STREET'S WAR STILL IMPERIALIST?"

But Lightfoot was as silent as the tomb on this cardinal point to which every militant worker must demand an answer.

There Are Two Weeks Left To Avail Yourselves of the Special Introductory Subscription Offer for LABOR ACTION—25 Cents for 3 Months. Get Your Sub Today!

## Mickey Mouse Wants to Be A Union Man

By JOHN BORDEN

HOLLYWOOD, June 23—I tell you, fellers, this old country is really going to hell. There's no more joy in living. The bosses are seeing to that.

They've made things pretty miserable for most guys—you don't have to be reminded of that. But now comes a first-class calamity: there's no more Mickey Mouse! Mickey and all his pals—Donald Duck, Pinocchio and the whole little lovable crew of dwarfs—are on strike!

That's what things are coming to. Mickey Mouse, the best source of joy and relaxation between war scares, is no more. Those fine, laugh-filled, imaginative artists who give Mickey and his friends life and blood—ink and color and movement—are on strike because the man they work for, Walt Disney, has turned out to be as bad a boss as any other.

Here are some of the things Disney has done. Read them over and see if you could create anything more than a sour stomach if you worked under such conditions.

1. Through a phony talent bureau in New York, Disney has lured, with lush promises, some of the finest artists out to Hollywood. Promising a minimum of \$75 a week after six months, the bureau forced them to sign contracts. After the six months expired, Disney refused to honor the contracts. The artists, having given up good jobs and brought their families out here, were stuck for whatever Disney wanted to pay them.

2. Artists making as little as \$22.50 a week must sign contracts containing a clause which says that if a man leaves his job voluntarily within a three year period, he must pay the studio a fine of \$1,320! He is furthermore not permitted to work at his craft for a whole year and must automatically blackball himself from the industry!

3. As artists would advance in seniority and pay, Disney would keep operating costs low by the simple means of firing the older employees. Then he would hire a bunch of new (innocent and cheap) artists in place of the others.

This year, Disney worked this little game with a new twist. He promised no lay-offs if the workers would accept a 10 per cent wage cut. They took the cut and the annual blitzkrieg came just the same. The only difference was that this year practically every artist fired was a member of the Screen Cartoonists Guild, the independent union that organized Disney artists and is running the strike. Five of the men chopped were shop stewards!

4. Disney has deliberately fostered a company union, refusing to allow the artists to organize their own union. Finally, in the face of a Labor Board order to dissolve the flink outfit, Disney yielded. The same night a new company union was born—with officers, attorney and post office address identical to those of the dissolved union!

You can see for yourself why Mickey Mouse wants to be a union man. You can see why the Screen Cartoonists Guild is on strike. Of 580 Disney artists, 450 are out solidly. They are supported by teamsters, electricians, soundmen, air conditioning workers, still camera men, laboratory technicians, culinary workers and even traffic boys. They have support from the AFL, the CIO and the various independent Hollywood guilds.

With their legitimate demands and strong unity, the Disney artists are confident of ultimate victory. But in the meantime, there just ain't no Mickey Mouse. And if there is one at your neighborhood theater, don't go in. Remember, only rats cross a picket line and Mickey is now a full-fledged union man!

## Stalinists--

(Continued from page 1)

tancy displayed by the American workers in the past year, was due merely to Muscovite plotting does not need any more exposing. The mounting profits and cost of living tell their own story. But just as they tried to do during the Peoples Front line of 1935 to 1939, in America as in France, the Stalinists will once more swing their influence in the trade union movement behind the no-strike, "national unity with the bosses" movement.

In the hope that they will once more become respectable, recognized "patriots," trade unions which they control will cease to strike even where the workers want to fight for the settlement of their grievances; and their trade union "hatchet men" will again peddle the dope of moderation, restraint, don't-antagonize-the-government. In addition, the CP network can be useful to the FBI strikebreakers in supplying finger-men.

LABOR ACTION has called the turn on the tactics of the Communist Party before this. Warmongering and patrioterism, strike-breaking and informing is the Stalinist method of convincing the government that it is a "safe" proposition to send aid to Russia. Every worker must be on guard against the Communist Party's henchmen in the labor movement!

## THE NEGRO'S FIGHT

### Beware of Those Pushing You Into the War

By J. R. JOHNSON

Two events have taken place during the last few days which light up the home situation for the Negroes. The first is the Russo-German war; the second is the calling off by Randolph of the march on Washington.

The first seems far away. In reality it is close to the American Negro—very close. The Communist Party, with all its funds, its organizers, its press, has already changed its policy of calling the war an imperialist war, for a policy of helping the "democracies." Up to last week they were attacking Roosevelt, stimulating the workers to action, calling upon Negroes to fight for their rights here, telling workers everywhere not to be fooled by all the propaganda about war for democracy.

That was ten days ago. Then Hitler falls out with Stalin, they begin to fight and once more these Stalinists begin to push the American workers and the Negro people into the jaws of the American ruling class. Once more the Stalinists have shown that they are nothing else but servants of the rulers of Russia, using the workers and the oppressed in all countries in order to further Stalin's foreign policy. Look at it.

#### OUR RECORD AGAINST THEIRS

1933-1935. Stalin has no foreign alliance. The Stalinists tell the Negroes that Roosevelt is the enemy of democracy and the Negroes must fight against the American ruling class.

1935-1939. Stalin gets an alliance with France and tries for an alliance with Britain. The Stalinists tell the Negro people that they must support Roosevelt, that everybody everywhere must do all that is possible to help "the democracies" defeat Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado.

1939-1941. Stalin joins Hitler. The Stalinists tell the Negro people that Roosevelt is the enemy, that the war is an imperialist war, that the struggle must be carried on here, that not Hitler but all capitalists are enemies.

June, 1941. Hitler fights with Stalin. The Stalinists start at once to tell the Negroes how they must bend all their energies to the defeat of Hitler.

But note please that from 1932 to 1941 the Negro is where he always was, stamped upon by all. Cotton Ed Smith, Senator Bilbo, the federal government, the army, the navy, the air force, the war industries—all oppress the Negro as much as they ever did. The Stalinists do not care. They are concerned with their paymasters in Moscow, not with Negro emancipation.

Compare them with the Workers Party. We have one policy. It is this: **The oppressors of the American Negroes are here. They have always been here. Our fight is here.** Hitler is not oppressing Negroes in Chicago, in San Francisco or in Birmingham. Negroes were oppressed before Hitler was born. They will be oppressed after he is dead—unless they overthrow their oppressors, the American ruling class.

The Stalinists are among the greatest enemies of the Negro people for they deceive and use them in the interests of the masters of Russia.

#### THE MARCH IS CALLED OFF

The second point is that Roosevelt got so scared at the idea of 100,000 Negroes marching on Washington that he and Eleanor Roosevelt, Stimson and Knox, all moved heaven and earth to stop the march. From the time the agitation for the march got under way, the Workers Party has insisted upon its tremendous significance. The American ruling class also saw how important it was and so they used Randolph to sabotage the independent action of the Negro masses. Now Randolph, Crosswaith, Walter White and the rest in this latest act of theirs are stooges for the American ruling class. Ford and the Stalinists are stooges for the Stalinist bureaucracy. These two groups were enemies yesterday, but today the Stalinist bureaucracy and the American ruling class are on the same side. Look out for the stooges. They will all be pushing hard to get the Negroes to support of the war, to support Roosevelt, etc. They will get closer and closer.

During the next few weeks we shall expose the tricks and dodges and treachery of the enemies of the great masses of Negroes. Follow LABOR ACTION carefully. Read its general articles as well as the articles on Negro struggles. The Negroes must keep their heads clear or their fight will be betrayed by stooges inside the Negro ranks. Negroes, be on guard!

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 \_\_\_\_\_

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