

Harlem Needs Jobs and Housing, NOT Police!

By DAVID COOLIDGE

For the present, Hitler is no longer the main enemy to LaGuardia, his Head Cop Valentine and the New York Times. Now the main enemy of civilization, the "American Way of Life," and "Our System of Free Enterprise," at least in New York City, are the 8, 12 and 16 year old Negro boys of Harlem, Brooklyn and other parts of the city. Harlem however, according to LaGuardia, Cop Valentine and Times, and other New York papers is the chief danger spot. It is here that Negro boys have run wild in a terrible "crime" wave

that threatens to tax to the limit the skill, intelligence and the physical resources of the entire New York police force of 20,000 trained men and women.

What is this "crime wave" that threatens the safety and security of the citizens at the north end of Central Park, certain areas of Brooklyn and other locations inhabited by Negroes?

First, a young white boy was killed, presumably by a group of Negro boys. Also, it is alleged that groups of Negro boys and youth molest men, women, storekeepers and other

folk going about their business in Harlem, the Negro sections of Brooklyn and areas bordering on these Negro sections. The Times reports numerous cases of "hold-ups, robberies, purse-snatchings, assaults on children and attacks on women in the Central Park district." Police Commissioner Valentine reports that "most of the crimes in and near the Harlem district have been committed by Negro boys, although . . . Puerto Rican, Mexican and other Spanish-speaking boys also have been involved."

"Up in Harlem," according to Valentine, "even my own

men are not safe . . . collectors for milk and insurance companies risk their lives if they go into certain districts without police protection. Most of the crimes are committed by boys from 12 to 16 years of age."

Immediately the alarm spread to Brooklyn and the good folk there began to tell how frightened they are to leave home after dark. According to Mgr. John L. Belford of the Roman Catholic Church of the Nativity, as reported in the Times, four Catholic churches in the Bedford-Stuyvesant

(Continued on page 2)

NEXT WEEK

A One Cent Labor Action!

\$5,000 Party-Building Fund Is Under Way

By MAX SHACHTMAN, Nat. Sec. Workers Party

In accordance with the decision on the Program of Action and Expansion adopted by the recently concluded convention of the Workers Party, the sales prices of LABOR ACTION is to be reduced to one cent per copy.

The new rate goes into effect beginning with the next issue of the paper.

The aim of this price reduction is to increase many fold the circulation of our paper, to get additional thousands of copies into the hands of workers every week. The immediate result of the change in price is that we begin to print twice as many copies for circulation throughout the country than we have been printing up to now. Arrangements have been made with all branches of the Workers Party to step up their activities in this field (as well as in other fields), to multiply the size of their bundle orders of the paper, and to concentrate upon its distribution in places where thousands of industrial workers are concentrated.

WE AIM AT QUADRUPLING OUR CIRCULATION

Double the circulation is the immediate goal, and it is already practically achieved. But that is only the immediate goal. In the next three months, we are setting ourselves the aim of doubling the size of the new circulation figure, that is, quadrupling the number of copies we have circulated up to now.

This is a big order. But it can and will be done. We must reach the widest possible circles of American workers with our program, with our point of view on the crucial problems of the day, and we are determined that we shall reach them with an absolute minimum of delay.

A circulation of twenty-thousand copies of LABOR ACTION every week is not a dream, but an easily realized practical goal. And once we reach it, we'll see where we go from there!

WE MUST HAVE A FINANCIAL RESERVE

But, the reduction of the price of LABOR ACTION to one cent per copy in order to make a mass circulation possible, means putting a tremendous responsibility upon every comrade and friend of the Workers Party. It means, in the first place, a financial reserve to insure continued publication at this price. That reserve is represented by the \$5,000 Party Building Fund for which we are now conducting a concentrated drive among the membership and the sympathizers of the party.

The money must be raised, and raised speedily. The drive closes at the end of this year. The money must be on hand in order to maintain LABOR ACTION and in order to finance all the other enterprises planned by the party convention.

Every branch has its quota. The National Office has also taken a quota—\$500. The National Office is pledged to raise this sum and to oversubscribe it. Let every branch do likewise.

YPSL CONTRIBUTES \$300 TO FUND

The Young Peoples Socialist League (Fourth International) has given the first contribution in the campaign—a cash donation of \$300, with an additional sum to come later.

This is a magnificent start for the drive, and it gives the youth the place of honor and initiative that it has always deserved and enjoyed among us. Every party branch now has a mark to shoot at. Hit the target right in the bull's eye!

We print below the quotas assigned to all party branches in the \$5,000 Party Building Fund. Shoot in your contributions right away, in big lump sums wherever possible. Sympathizers and readers are not barred from contributing to the Fund—quite the contrary, they are warmly invited to do their share.

PARTY BUILDING FUND QUOTAS

New York	\$3,000.00
Los Angeles	300.00
San Francisco	150.00
Chicago Central	125.00
Chicago South Side	50.00
Boston	75.00
Lynn	50.00
Worcester	20.00
Detroit	150.00
St. Louis	300.00
Buffalo	100.00
Akron	100.00
Columbus	30.00
Youngstown	200.00
Washington	100.00
North Philadelphia	100.00
South Philadelphia	500.00
National Office	

LABOR ACTION

NOVEMBER 17, 1941

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

THREE CENTS

U. S. WAR WITH JAPAN NEAR!

MURRAY QUILTS N. D. M. B.!

Should Not Have Been On Board From Start!

Philip Murray and Thomas Kennedy have both resigned from the National Defense Mediation Board. These belated resignations came after a kick in the face by the businessmen on the board, the representatives of the "public" and betrayal by the AFL representatives.

We can say: better late than never. We are glad that Murray has learned a little something. He is beginning to understand that if he is going to be a labor leader, especially the leader of the CIO, he can not at the same time be a minority on a government board that "arbitrates" fights between labor and the bosses.

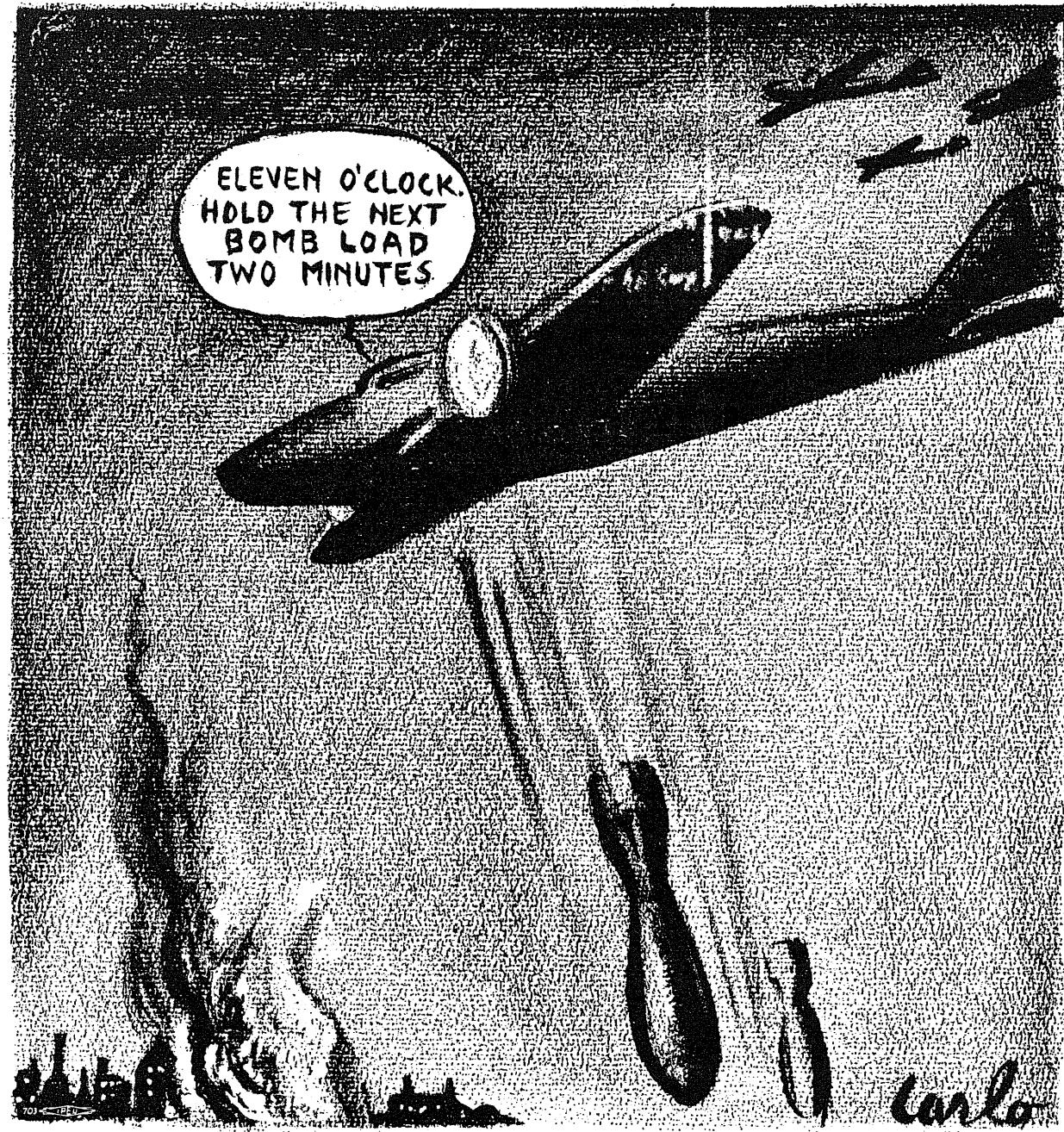
In the March 24 issue of LABOR ACTION, the Workers Party said that when Murray permitted Roosevelt to bludgeon him into withdrawing opposition to the appointment of the "Mediation" Board and accepted a place on that board, he had acted incorrectly as a labor leader. We said that he had no business on that board and that he and all other labor leaders should get off these boards or give up their pretense to being labor leaders.

In the April 14 issue of LABOR ACTION, the Workers Party warned the workers about this "Mediation" Board. We said:

"This board and its procedure is the greatest danger that faces the workers and the unions today. This 'mediation' plan of the bosses and the government acting together is

(Continued on page 4)

Armistice Day, 1941



Imperialists Of Both Nations Stir War Moves

Are the American people about to be plunged into war with Japan?

Will the Pacific Fleet of the American Navy shortly set sail across the waters of the Pacific to shoot it out with the Japanese Navy?

These questions are now being taken up and decided by the advisers of the President and the leading rulers of America. But the people—those who will do the fighting and dying—they are not being consulted!

Ever since the military and imperialist group of men who rule over Japan and who are responsible for the terrible crimes of the Papanese in China—even since these men decided to join up openly with the Axis powers, Germany and Italy, both this country and Japan have been moving steadily closer to war.

NOW THIS WAR IS VERY CLOSE. Roosevelt has ordered the Marines stationed in Shanghai and Tientsin to be withdrawn; all Americans in China and Japan are being hastily evacuated; all commercial and economic relations with Japan are cut off or are at a standstill.

Japan has retaliated, too. She has withdrawn her nationals; her leaders and her government controlled press breathe curses and fire against America.

The rulers of both countries try with might and main to whip up the war spirit and fervor of their people. In America, the boss press tells us that "Japan will be a push-over. It will be a short war and our Navy will wipe out the yellow peril of the Japs in a couple of weeks." How familiar this talk is! Hitler told the German people that the Polish nation would be a push-over and the war would be over in a few weeks. Look at the results! The entrance of the United States into a war against Japan would mean that we would become fully involved in the Second World War—a war that may last for years and years.

The people of Japan are likewise opposed to war with America. They have suffered from a war with China that has gone on for five years and which cannot be ended. They live on rations, shortages and wartime poverty. A war with America could only intensify their troubles and bring disaster to the country.

Then who wants this war between Japan and America? Only the imperialists, the bankers and rulers, of both countries. Roosevelt wants this war to prevent the Japanese from further colonial expansion in China and the East Indies, and also help his game with England and Russia. Churchill seeks to drag us into this war because that will help him in his first to keep the British Empire alive. The Japanese rulers want war because they are in a desperate economic situation; they are squeezed hard on all sides by their rivals, cut off from oil, rubber,

(Continued on page 4)

Shachtman Polls 2211 Anti-War Votes

Significant as Straight Trotskyist Vote Against Jingo Pressure of Boss Candidates

Though the Election Board is not yet ready with the official tally of votes cast in the New York mayoralty election, an unofficial count made by the police department and reported in the New Leader gives the anti-war candidate of the Workers Party, Max Shachtman, 2211 votes.

This vote is of extreme significance in the midst of the nationwide jingo drive and especially so in view of the clever propaganda disseminated by the pro-war LaGuardia forces. That the election would be close (as it was—LaGuardia winning by the smallest margin in decades), and that a vote for a working class candidate would benefit O'Dwyer, Tammany candidate and friend of the fascist Franco. Many workers, including radical workers, accepted this scare propaganda at its face value and cast their votes for LaGuardia, in fear that a vote for any other candidate would elect O'Dwyer.

Further, the New York election was especially intense and violent with the LaGuardia and O'Dwyer supporters pouring huge sums of

money into election expenses. During the last two weeks, capitalist candidates exceeded themselves in vulgarity, hurling charges at each other with reckless abandon, pressing an all-out campaign of charge and counter-charge to snare every possible vote. Roosevelt joined in for LaGuardia; Farley and Lehman for O'Dwyer. In the end, LaGuardia, the bankers' candidate, succeeded in making considerable sections of the city's workers believe that, whatever their distrust of him, they had "less" to lose by his election.

1,100 for Cannon

The unofficial police count also lists 1,138 labor votes for the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party (listed on the ballot as Trotsky Anti-War Party), James P. Cannon. The SWP therefore ran 2 to 1 behind our candidate, according to this count.

However, if the totals of the two candidates are combined we find that some 3,500 New York workers cast a straight vote for a Trotskyist candidate. These 3,500 votes represent the by no means insignificant strength of the Fourth In-

ternationalist movement in New York.

Our party is particularly gratified by the Shachtman vote in view of the many obstacles which stood in the way of an aggressive campaign, obstacles which were nevertheless overcome. Despite a pre-convention discussion lasting months, and a national convention just two weeks before the close of the campaign, which consumed a good deal of the party's energy, the party membership drove itself to put over the campaign.

Beginning late, and handicapped by the lack of finances, the party collected over 14,000 nominating petitions, thus insuring a place on the ballot for Shachtman. Then, still handicapped by the financial requirements of a campaign, and burdened with convention preparation, the party published circulars, throw-

aways and special issues of LABOR ACTION which were distributed in many thousands of copies to New York workers. Night after night the party membership, operating on an emergency footing, was out on the streets, distributing literature, holding open-air meetings and otherwise pressing the campaign to its financial and numerical limits.

It is therefore a tribute to the New York membership that they were, first, able to get our candidate on the ballot against terrific odds, and then to mobilize 2211 votes.

As soon as the official election board tally is ready, we will break the figures down by election and assembly districts. This break-down will, we think, reveal some very interesting facts. Watch LABOR ACTION for a summary of the New York election campaign.

For Independent Political Labor Action Against the Boss Class

Defense Shatters Testimony of Prosecution Witnesses

It Is the Duty of Every Worker to Stand by the 28 Militants Now on Trial!

AN EDITORIAL

The trial of 28 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis is of even greater danger to the American labor movement than it previously seemed to be.

Even though the trial is just two weeks old, its real nature is quite clear.

The trial is a gigantic conspiracy—not the "conspiracy" which the defendants are charged with. No, it is a conspiracy carried through by the U.S. Government and its prosecuting attorneys.

It is a conspiracy against free speech. The prosecution has admitted that it contends that the mere advocacy of the SWP program is illegal.

It is a conspiracy against the right of workers to hold socialist opinions. The prosecution has admitted that it contends that the mere belief in Marxism constitutes a violation of the law.

The government is engaged in a gigantic frame-up trial. It admits that it can prove no overt act committed by any defendant to overthrow the government. All it can bring out in evidence is the fact that the defendants believed in and sold the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels!

The government of the United States—this great "democracy" that claims to be preparing to overthrow Hitlerism—wants to send men to jail because they circulate pamphlets by Marx and Engels. It wants to send them to jail because they were friends of Leon Trotsky.

The government of the United States is out to persecute the Socialist Workers Party because that party opposes its imperialist war plans; it is out to smash Local 544-CIO because that local is a militant union which fights against the Administration darling, Dan Tobin, it is out to set a precedent whereby it can smash any future anti-war opposition.

If the prosecution succeeds in this trial, **no labor union can feel itself safe from similar prosecution whenever it engages in militant action, and no working class party can feel itself safe whenever it even expresses a socialist opinion.**

The most fundamental, bitterly fought for rights of the American people are on trial in Minneapolis.

It is happening here, now.

Trade unionists, workers! Protect your rights now while they are being challenged in Minneapolis! Stand by the courageous militants who are on trial! It is the struggle of every worker, of every man who wants to fight for freedom!

Special to LABOR ACTION

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 7.—During the last three days the government has paraded its witnesses before the court. They come in all sizes and types—from men who are reputed to be stoolpigeons, goons, and hop-heads to men reputed to be dervishes, drunkards or hangers-on who once bummed around the fringes of Local 544 and its federal workers' section, and who now work for Tobin.

1) JAMES BARTLETT

Last week's LABOR ACTION reported in detail his testimony last Tuesday, November 4. On the following day came the cross-examination of this strange creature who quit the Communist Party in 1934 because it favored the overthrow of the U.S. Government, then joined the Trotskyists and wrote a statement which attacked the CP for NOT being revolutionary, after which he remained in the SWP and heard numerous statements about how the SWP was preparing to overthrow the government by force (especially in intimate tete-a-tetes—which cannot be checked), but did not resign till long afterward. This stoolpigeon was shown to have spent seven of his last ten years in bitter opposition to the defendants, both politically in the Communist Party and as a government informer, and in the union movement as a Tobin stooge.

Defense Attorney Goldman pursued the same method with this witness as with all the ensuing government witnesses. Bartlett stuck to one thing: alleged private conversations held two or three years ago with defendants who told him about overthrowing the government. On everything else—especially dates of these conversations—Bartlett was painfully vague. Goldman therefore tried to show: 1) the witness's obvious bias and prejudice, 2) his ignorance of the party and its principles, which would disqualify him as being able to say anything about its principles, and 3) the internal contradictions of his testimony.

Before 1936, Bartlett had bitterly fought the Trotskyists in the unemployed movement, having been a Stalinist leader there; and after 1939 he fought the Trotskyists in the Teamsters Union.

His testimony on his stay in the SWP was extraordinarily vague and full of contradictions. On one occasion, he testified, he was told by Max Geldman that a speech he

had made was insufficiently "revolutionary"; at another meeting held "shortly afterward or before," he was told to be careful not to speak too "revolutionary."

He looked very sick when Goldman started to inquire as to what he meant by the "revolutionary situation" he talked so much about. He declared that the SWP wanted and worked toward a depression period so as to hasten the revolution. (When Goldman asked him to square this nonsense with the fact that the SWP people in Local 544 worked for better wages for the workers, the judge ruled the question out of order!)

As reported by wire in last week's LABOR ACTION, he made the extremely significant admission that the SWP believed that must have a majority of the people before it could take power and he identified as the party creed the section of the Declaration of Principles which reads: "It (the SWP) can take and maintain power only when a decisive majority have been won to the complete program of the party." No, this wasn't there to fool anyone, he said.

Then didn't you inquire if the party was near to the possession of the majority of the people's allegiance?

No, he couldn't recall.

Bartlett also made the significant admission that in no party literature could he find anything advocating insubordination of soldiers to their officers, nor had he heard any SWP members say so.

Goldman also forced him to admit that the party leaders had declared that if they were allowed to do so, the party would continue to work for a majority of the people through the use of free speech and press.

Anderson took over when Goldman finished and amazed the court room by leading Bartlett into an entirely new tale about how V. R. Dunne (who, it would seem, had a penchant for telling Bartlett the most bloodthirsty things) had advocated smashing the state apparatus. A very obliging witness! Goldman protested that the witness was being led to a new tale not previously brought out in testimony but to no avail. When the judge upheld Anderson, Goldman bitterly remarked: "What is the use, since Dunne 's id' EVERYTHING to Bartlett!"

2) WALTER STULTZ

President of Omaha Drivers Local 554, the same local from which came

boomerang government witnesses Smith and Love, as well as defendant Russell.

Stultz testified that despite the fact that Russell was his bitter enemy, Russell told him that the government should be overthrown by force and volunteered the slogan of: "Let's get a rifle and go!"

Goldman brought out that 1) Stultz had always bitterly opposed Russell and the SWP in his union, thus indicating his prejudice; 2) Stultz understood nothing of the SWP program, not even being able to recall the name or content of any SWP publication; 3) and Stultz was obviously, shall we say, coloring things a bit, for all he claimed Russell had ever told him of the party program was that the workers were in a mess and that they ought to take a rifle and shoot—not to mention Russell's claim to being an "ultra-left!"

Stultz had been sent to jail during the drivers strike in Omaha for union activity, he felt bitter toward Russell about it, and he is at present receiving money from the Tobin union while in jail, for the support of his wife.

3) FRANKLIN PAGE

This long-necked and big-eared University of Minnesota student testified to having heard Defendant Grace Carlson speak at the college and advise students to get military training, though admitting that Carlson had not mentioned the way in which she wanted to seize power. He was there as a reporter for the college paper; in fact, he even remembered that one David Cooper was the chairman.

The witness spoke too much. I later found out that Cooper was not the chairman and that a dozen students are prepared to testify that Page is a liar. As a matter of fact, Goldman brought out that when Page printed his article in the University of Minnesota paper, there were immediate protests about his distortions.

4) ROY WIENECKE

This witness, whom the prosecution was later to regret having brought to the stand, was once a member of the Federal Workers Section of 544, and is reputed to be a hophead. He is one of those useless characters who hang around union halls to gamble and gossip. I was told, and had been a general nuisance in the union. He is now an organizer for Tobin!

Sidelights On Trial

Special to LABOR ACTION

MINNEAPOLIS—The splendid kitchen set up in SWP headquarters to feed the defendants is getting help from all sorts of people. A farmer from Renville County promises to come in next week with a side of beef and two sacks of potatoes. A group of housewives have donated groceries. Some PWA workers, members of the Federal Workers Section of 544, have scraped together some pennies in order to help the defendants. Of course, you may live too far away to send food. But you could send cash.

From the Industrial Organizer, paper of Local 544-CIO: "Whenever Bartlett can't think of any one else to accuse in answer to prosecution questions, he always comes back to his old standby: V. R. Dunne.

After a day of this two visitors to the courtroom were commenting on the day's testimony.

"Who killed Cock Robin?" asked one.

"V. R. Dunne."

"Pussy in the well, who put her in?"

"V. R. Dunne," was the laughing reply.

From the Industrial Organizer: "If everything Bartlett said was true, SWP members did nothing in the past three years but buttonhole Bartlett and tell him how very revolutionary the SWP was.

ant Palmquist to create misunderstanding in the WPA (part of the conspiracy, no doubt.)

Then Goldman went to work. He brought out:

Novack had worked on the Tobin goon squads for \$4 a day.

He had been asked to testify by FBI Agent Perrin. (A few minutes later he said he never saw Perrin before his testimony and didn't know what he looked like!)

Each time he had been asked to join the party, he had answered that he didn't understand the party program. (That, presumably, qualified him in the eyes of the prosecution as an expert on the subject.)

He had disagreed with the SWP, since he thought its program of dividing the wealth to be wrong, since the workers who got their share would only spend it... and the capitalist would have it again! Irrefutable logic!

And the final, most damaging thing:

"What would you say if you were told that Ed Palmquist, who you declared had told you about the SWP program on the draft in August, 1940, was IN SANDSTONE PRISON AT THAT TIME?"

"Was he?"

"Did you ever visit him in prison?"

"No."

6) ERNEST MATT

This man testified to having been present when the mysterious "Rube" and Jake Cooper told Novack about the bullets "better than those of the U.S. Army." But he declared that "Rube" did the talking, while Cooper hadn't said two words; Novack had said that Cooper did the talking.

Matt also testified to having received party literature—the Daily Worker!

Goldman didn't even bother asking questions. He made a motion to strike out the testimony of Matt, which was sustained and not even opposed by the prosecution.

7) ELIZABETH HUMPNER

She testified to having heard Defendant Rose Seller advocate the armed overthrow of the government, although, she declared, Miss Seller had said the party would first try to use the ballot.

For a moment it seemed unclear what the motives of this witness were. Then Goldman asked one question which made it crystal clear: She had been the girl friend of Tommy Williams, leader of the Committee of 100 (after his death, the Committee of 99) which led the fight against the Dunnes.

8) JOHN MAJERSKY

Another of the Tobin stooges. It appears the prosecution intends to call the entire Committee of 99 to testify—no doubt considering them the most objective and reliable witnesses.

Nothing much. Told of famous mobilization of Union Defense Guard which ended up by 400 workers present going to the Gaiety burlesk show.

Ah, ha!

9) CARL BATH

Still another Tobin organizer. His motive was plain. He'd once been a temporary union organizer and had been fired. Claimed he was fired because of dropping out of the party, but admitted no one knew he had dropped out of the party when he was fired.

Harlem Needs Jobs and Decent Housing - -

(Continued from page 1)

area, which is roughly analogous to the Harlem District of Manhattan, "had been forced to abandon their evening services because the streets were not safe for their parishioners to travel at night." The librarian of the Brooklyn Public Library revealed that branches are "practically deserted at night in the Bedford-Stuyvesant, Fort Greene and South Brownsville sections of Brooklyn, all of which have large Negro populations." He said that women are afraid to go to the library at night and that women employees of the library go home in fear and trembling. Another Brooklyn pastor, in the Bedford area, the Rev. Dr. Robert Rogers, said that evening services at his church were dropped two years ago because the women were afraid to go through the streets.

Up to the time that LABOR ACTION went to press no reports had come in on the "crime wave" in other sections of the city where Negroes live—such as Williamsburg, Jamaica and the section west of Columbus Circle.

SUPPOSE THE ALLEGATIONS ARE TRUE

We have a lot of things to say to Mr. LaGuardia, Mr. Valentine, the New York Times and to all others concerned with this terrible reign of terror unleashed on a helpless city by 8 to 16 year old Negro boys.

In the first place, we don't believe what they say about the situation. We have seen this sort of thing happen before, and we know what the end is sometimes. Presumably LaGuardia, Valentine and the Times are not aware of what the end can be to such a campaign as has been carried on around these events. When we say that we don't believe what Valentine and the papers say, we don't mean to say that we doubt for a moment that some Negro boys have committed "crimes." We are willing to admit that these boys have done everything they are charged with and more.

To be sure no one has been tried yet and proved guilty. But we are willing to pass that trivial detail. The police report that some boys "confessed" to the murder of the white boy, but we have learned from experience not to have any confidence in "confessions" obtained by the police. Despite this the boys may be guilty. We don't want to contest this. We want to talk about something else.

Let us admit that all the allegations about these Negro youth are 100 per cent true. Let us admit that more cops are needed in Harlem and the Bedford-Stuyvesant sections. Let us admit that women are afraid to walk the streets at night. Let us admit that insurance agents' lives are in danger if they go into some sections without police escort. Let us admit that the clerical gentlemen are telling the truth when they say they are compelled to suspend evening services because of this reign of terror. Let us admit that the branch libraries in certain sections of Brooklyn are empty at night for the same cause. Also we are willing to throw in, for good measure, something about Central Park; it, too, is not safe because of the nightly forays of 16 and 18 year old Negro boys from Harlem. But now we want to ask LaGuardia, Valentine, the Times and the others a few questions.

WHY DID LA GUARDIA WAIT UNTIL AFTER ELECTION?

How come the Mayor and Valentine discovered this "crime wave," this reign of terror perpetrated by 8 and 16 year old Negro boys immediately following the election? If it existed before and, according to reports, it did, why didn't they do anything about it? Didn't any of these Brooklyn preachers and librarians report the "crimes" of these boys to the police? What have Valentine's cops in Brooklyn been doing? One Brooklyn pastor reported that his church dropped evening services two years ago because of this reign of terror let loose by Negroes in the area. What's the matter in Brooklyn? What have Valentine and LaGuardia's cops been doing for these two years?

And how about Harlem? Is it a fact that LaGuardia and

Valentine and the Times waited until after the election to "discover" that there was crime in Harlem and that Negro boys 8 to 16 were the main offenders, as Valentine now claims?

The staid and high-hat New York Times is really indignant at these 8 and 16 year old Negro boys. "We may be appalled at the youth of the criminals," says the Times, "but they must be run down and placed where their viciousness will no longer endanger the public." This paper along with all the other best minds calls for more police but admits that other procedures are needed: "Here is a task for the parent, the clergyman, the social worker and the teacher, not merely for the police."

But we want to get back on the main track. We ask again: why did LaGuardia and Valentine wait until the election was past and the Little Flower was safe in City Hall and elsewhere for a term of years before starting the reform of Harlem? Why didn't Valentine make his statement to the press before the votes were counted?

This "drive" against "crime" was held up for two reasons. First these politicians know that the "crimes" committed by these Negro boys fade into real insignificance when compared to the bulk of crime in New York. LaGuardia and Valentine knew what was transpiring in Harlem just as they knew the "crime" situation in every other section of the city. They refrained from "turning on the heat" because they wanted Negro votes in Harlem. You can't get votes if you pick out one section for attention just before election. You can't isolate one section for police attention just before an election and expect to "carry" that section. The "viciousness" of these boys can be overlooked until after the votes are counted. Their fathers and their fathers' friends and acquaintances might have voted for O'Dwyer, you see. Other Negroes may have switched to O'Dwyer.

COPS ARE NOT WHAT PEOPLE OF HARLEM NEED

LaGuardia and Valentine attempt to solve the problem of Harlem and other Negro sections by sending in more cops. Everybody is yelling for more police protection. What these 8 to 16 year old Negro boys need is cops and more cops, the strong arm of the law; hundreds more strong men armed with blackjack, club and gun. The Times will approve of this because the "viciousness" of these boys must not "endanger the public." These Negro boys were conceived in sin and born in iniquity. They need redemption and the cop is just the man to do the job. If the cop fails, well then there is the electric chair.

Of course LaGuardia, Valentine, the Times and other pillars of civilization and respectability admit that the whole job can not be done by the cops. They agree that clergymen, teachers, social workers, playgrounds, parks and better housing might help a little. It is at this point that we begin to penetrate the real heart of this monstrous fraud that LaGuardia, Valentine, the Times and all the pillars of society have perpetrated in the past few days. They know, every one of them, what the problem is in Harlem and every other section of the city where Negroes are segregated together. They know what the answer is. They know that it is not more cops. They know that the police can do nothing that is lasting and substantial.

Suppose the city builds more parks and playgrounds in Harlem. Suppose there are more hospitals and health centers. We are for all this without reserve. But how will this solve the main problem? We say that all these people who are so frightened and alarmed know what the central difficulty is and what has to be done about it.

ABOVE ALL ELSE, THE NEGROES NEED JOBS!

What can the fathers of these boys do with parks? We suppose that after going from factory to factory during the day and being refused work because they are black, they can go to one of these parks to meditate. When they are evicted from the

broken down tenements in which they live, they can move to one of the parks. When these children have been chased out by the rats, they can repair to the new playgrounds that will be built.

When the families of these 8 year old and "vicious" Negro "criminals" have disintegrated because there is no breadwinner in the family, and the children roam the streets snatching pocketbooks, LaGuardia and Valentine will send more cops to Harlem. As for the parents, they can go to one of the new hospitals and be told that they need vitamin "B" complex.

LaGuardia and his Head Cop Valentine are teaching us something. The proper way to cure the evils of Jim-Crow, segregation and unemployment is to send in more cops against those who are the victims of Jim-Crow, segregation and unemployment. And more: you reserve your severest condemnation for the 8 to 16 year old boys. According to LaGuardia and Valentine, the proper way to reform 8 year old boys is not to give their fathers a job so that the family can have a decent house, adequate food and comfortable clothing. No, you don't do this, you just send in more cops.

Everybody in New York above the mental age of a beetle knows what is wrong in Harlem. It is Jim-Crow, segregation, unemployment, poverty, economic misery. What can cops do about this? What is wrong in Harlem is what is wrong in every section of New York where the poor live, where the lowest paid of the working class live.

LET NEGRO MEN IN HARLEM GET JOBS LIKE OTHER WORKERS, AT THE SAME PAY, AND YOU CAN TAKE SOME OF THE COPS OUT OF HARLEM. IT IS CERTAIN THAT MORE WILL NOT BE NEEDED.

Force the respectable bankers and landlords to tear down the firetraps and rat nests that pass for human dwellings in Harlem and Messrs. LaGuardia and Valentine will have more cops for the gangsters that the police have never been able to catch.

Let LaGuardia upbraid his President for not enforcing his order against discrimination in the war industries so that Negro parents can get money for the support of their families!

Build decent homes in Harlem for the Negro boys to live in and they may not find Central Park so attractive.

HARLEM'S REAL PROBLEM IS JIM-CROW!

We can only laugh about the "business men" whose stores are being robbed in Harlem. From what we have seen in some of these stores they should have been closed down months ago by the city government. What with their rotten meat and eggs, their low grade canned goods and their high prices, who will get excited over these little shysters who live and grow fat gouging poor Negro workers, employed and unemployed?

We are for "law and order," but we really get a thrill when we read of the cops escorting collectors for all manner of fly-by-night insurance companies on their appointed rounds. We know something about these shysters, too. Too often they take money and give nothing in return.

The problem of Harlem is the problem of Jim-Crow. When you have moved effectively against Jim-Crow, segregation and discrimination in New York, Messrs. LaGuardia and Valentine, then send in your cops to "run down" 8 year old Negro boys. Then and only then will we be moved when you tell us tall tales about closed churches, abandoned libraries, frightened women, panic-stricken "business men" and insurance collectors needing cops for bodyguards.

NEGROES OF HARLEM! DON'T LET THEM BESMIRCH YOU IN THIS MANNER. THROW THIS FILTH BACK AT LA GUARDIA, VALENTINE AND THE TIMES. HURL THIS LIE BACK AT THEM! TELL THEM THAT THE "CRIMES" OF THESE BOYS REST AT THEIR FEET. THEY ARE THE PROTECTORS OF THE JIM-CROW, SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION THAT BREED POVERTY, MISERY WANT AND "CRIME."

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. \$60 a month minimum for 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.

PM "Explains" Moscow Trials

With Russia once again in the orbit of the "democracies," various of the capitalist spokesmen in America have begun to circulate the Stalinist version of the Moscow trials and purges. Among the latest and most shameful of these, is the "Report on Russia," written by Ralph Ingersoll, editor of the New York daily, PM.

Ingersoll recently visited Russia, interviewed Stalin, and otherwise "probed" the Soviet situation. There is much in his "report" that deserves comment. For the present, however, we will confine ourselves to his insidious "new light" on the trials. (Perhaps not so new for Ingersoll who has more than once dispensed a Stalinist interpretation of the news).

With the admiration for totalitarian methods that is growing in capitalist circles in this country, Ingersoll finds "Morale Improved by the Purges" (PM, Nov. 6). And he cautions against jumping to "hasty conclusions" about other people's lives . . . because foreigners might judge America as a land ruled by Chicago mobsters. (Tsk! Tsk!)

The best brains of the Soviet army—Tuckashevsky, for example—were destroyed. Small matter. "Morale is improved." The generation of Bolshevik leaders and militants—Zinoviev, Kamenev and others—was murdered. Good! It "improved morale." And it no doubt did improve the morale of the world bourgeoisie because these men, however broken or defeated, represented what remained of the October revolution.

Above all, Ingersoll readily accepts, and advances, the canard that these men were traitors. His new "friends" told him "everyone agrees now that it was carried too far [there were a few excesses of zeal, you see—no more]. But how else can you get rid of traitors?" There it is, quoted black on

white, and it isn't followed by denial . . . but by the feeble admission that there were a few individuals unjustly condemned, just as there are many "killed in automobile accidents."

All the world has had an opportunity to ascertain the real facts on the purges and trials. In the hearings conducted by the Dewey Commission in Mexico, the accusations against the Russian revolutionists were disproved and hurled back at the accusers. The label of traitor to the Revolution and to the Russian people was pinned **not on the persecuted but on the persecutors**, chiefly on Stalin—the hangman of the revolution.

That Ingersoll, and Harry Hopkins before him, now finds the Moscow trials acceptable is not surprising. Who were the persecuted and condemned? They were the leaders of 1917, the revolutionists who, though broken in spirit or body, represented a threat both to the counter-revolutionary state of Stalin, and, as internationalists, to the capitalist world.

Harry Hopkins was pleased that the purges had eliminated a "fifth column." That was his way of saying that the purges had eliminated the core of revolutionists. They did not eliminate, on the contrary, **they strengthened the REAL "fifth column"** against the Russian people—the Stalin bureaucracy.

Ingersoll and Hopkins dare repeat the accusation of traitor against Zinoviev, Tuckashevsky (and by implication Trotsky whom Stalin murdered in Mexico). In the trials these men were "traitors" because of alleged deals with Hitler. Yet, after the trials, after the murders, it was Stalin who made a deal with Hitler. While that deal was still in effect, the American politicians and journalists pretended to be distressed by the brutality of the Moscow regime. Now that relations have been patched up, they find reason for a "new light" on the trials. After all, it was only a bunch of revolutionists who were killed.

True, these men, unlike Stalin, might have been able to lead a really successful war against Hitler by appealing to the revolutionary sentiments of the masses. But that wouldn't have pleased Ingersoll, Hopkins or Stalin at all. It would not have "improved THEIR morale."

Subhas Bose

In an effort to discredit the Indian Nationalist movement which is fighting for the independence of India from British rule, the British ruling authorities have announced that Subhas Bose, a former "left-wing" leader of the Congress has fled the country and gone to Berlin or Rome in order to help the Axis powers.

But the British have conveniently ignored the following facts, although they are well acquainted with them:

(1) Bose has been a thoroughly discredited man in India for several years now. Precisely because he expressed fascist sympathies publicly and practised fascist methods in his own organization and among his own followers, he lost the overwhelming bulk of the support he formerly had during the time he opposed the conservative methods of Gandhi, head of the Indian Nationalist Congress.

(2) All left-wing elements in the Indian

nationalist movement have broken with and denounced Bose for two years now, beginning with the war. He had no labor support, no socialist support, no genuine nationalist support.

Bose did not represent Indian nationalism during the war and certainly does not represent it today or tomorrow when he will seek to carry out whatever criminal tasks he will be assigned to by Hitler and Il Duce.

The 400,000,000 oppressed people of India will not accept any effort to discredit their movement for freedom by having Subhas Bose flung in their faces. Their reply will be what it has been since the war began: "We wish to be ruled neither by British imperialist nor by German imperialism. We want and we shall yet obtain the complete freedom of our country from any form of imperialist rule. Bose has sold himself to Hitler imperialism. As the world will find out, he represented nothing but himself, for our struggle against the war shall continue."

\$60 for Draftees!

There's a bill in Congress to raise the pay of privates from \$21 to \$42 a month. Good—as far as it goes! But it doesn't go far enough!

The so-called pay of the draftee is so abysmally low that even the congressmen have begun to take note. They are particularly impressed by the low state of morale—part of which, though by no means all, is attributable to the poor excuse for pay given the draftee. But taking note is one thing and doing something about it is another.

Forty-two dollars is better than \$21. But it's still far from being enough. THE DRAFTEE SHOULD GET A MINIMUM OF \$60 A MONTH—PLUS ALL FOUND! That would be some kind of decent equivalent to the wage needs of the draftees.

What do we mean by "all found"? At present the draftee, out of his "pay," must deduct varying sums for laundry, insurance, company fund, towels, shaving cream, fare for an occasional trip home, stamps, etc. Add all that together and on the basis of \$21 it leaves the draftee less than nothing. On the \$42 basis it still leaves the draftee with virtually nothing. It just about covers his expenses. In other words, he will really be getting little more than is necessary to maintain himself in camp.

That's no wage! He should get something that equals a wage—and that's at least \$60 plus all expenses paid!

THE WORLD AT WAR "Allied" Politicians Lavish Praise on Stalin as Mortal Enemy of World Revolution

By MAX STERLING

Stalin has finally "arrived." He has all at once become the "super-darling" of the "democratic" bourgeoisie. The latter have now conveniently forgotten all of his terrible crimes. Who will forget the sense of horror that the world capitalist press simulated over the Moscow trials and the widespread purges in the Red Army? While the workers of the world genuinely condemned these crimes as the work of reaction, the capitalist class identified these same crimes with socialism and communism in order to discredit these ideas with the masses.

Despite their fakery, world capitalism understood very well the counter-revolutionary significance of the Moscow trials. How well they understood it is being demonstrated most clearly only now. Stalin's conduct of the war has been a test for them, and Stalin the counter-revolutionist has not failed them.

Lavishly Praised

Never has Stalin been so felicitated by them as now. On the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the Russian Revolution the "democratic" bourgeoisie sends to the Kremlin its most heartfelt congratulations. Even the hammer and sickle, which used to be the symbol of revolution, have now acquired "recognition" and an entirely new meaning. Fantastic! Hardly! Under a large hammer and sickle a commercial firm advertised in the London Times as follows:

"Salute to an Ally!"
"The hammer and sickle, symbol once of a distant, mysterious and unknown land, is the symbol today of the power and patriotism of Holy Russia. We salute the hammer and sickle and through them the suffering millions of the Soviet Republics who are fighting back against the forces of darkness and aggression in a way which commands the admiration of the whole world."

This is not exceptional, but is typical of the new attitude of the British ruling class toward Russia. Says John Gunther, reporting in the New York Times:

"Dozens of samples similar to this may be cited. Mrs. Winston Churchill's collection for the Russian Red Cross has reached almost 500,000 pounds. Books elucidating Russian mysteries and extolling Russian virtues have a wide sale. Newspapers print picture strip biographies of Joseph Stalin day by day, making him a hero. . . . A new movie, 'Our Russian Allies,' with a commentary by J. B. Priestly, is widely popular, and a Soviet play, 'Distant Point,' is a smash hit in the West End."

Every so-called liberal and bourgeois who has come back to the "democracies" after an interview with Stalin has gone into raptures over him. Erskine Caldwell, Harry Hopkins, Harriman, Beaverbrook, Ingersoll and the former American ambassador to Russia, Davies, have reported, each in his own way, that Stalin has "the coldest eyes ever seen," and that his "manner and personality are extraordinary." Lord Beaverbrook, speaking before a group of workers at Manchester recently, had the following to say about Stalin:

"Make no mistake about it. If I am a judge of mankind, if I have had any experience worth while in my long life, I put my faith in that man's leadership."

Churchill too is not sparing of praise. Speaking at Sheffield recently he said:

"Great forces are now developing great strength. Fifteen months ago we were alone and almost unarmed. Now the great warrior, Stalin, is at the head of the Russians and the Americans are sending out their war vessels."

In America, Too

In America, too, Stalin is receiving a new and heroic appreciation. Even the Moscow trials and the Red Army purges are retrospectively being recognized as Stalin's justified attempt to eliminate the "fifth column" in Russia and Stalin is credited with a hitherto unappreciated wisdom and foresight which accounts in no small measure for the present stability of his regime. This is the new interpretation put forth by Harry Hopkins and ex-Ambassador Davies and others of their ilk.

There are of course very good reasons for all this. Churchill and Roosevelt have not changed. The same Churchill who led the counter-revolutionary interventionists against the Russia of Lenin

and Trotsky is just as far-sighted today as he was more than 20 years ago. He is just as far-sighted as any representative of decadent capitalism can be. Churchill saw years ago the significance of the Trotsky-Stalin fight in Russia. Even after Trotsky was exiled from Russia he recognized the real enemy by writing for Cosmopolitan Magazine one of the scurviest attacks ever written against Trotsky, in whom he saw the authentic representative of the Russian Revolution.

Stalin is recognized because thanks to him the Russian Revolution is crushed and the Anglo-American imperialists can once more refer to "our gallant Ally—Holy Russia." No longer does the specter of revolutionary Russia haunt these gentlemen. Only to the Russia of "the great warrior, Stalin," is it safe to allocate \$1,000,000,000 of Lend-Lease funds.

Stalin still celebrates the anniversary of the Russian Revolution. A few days ago on the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, he distorted the entire meaning of this event by referring to the specter of revolution as a trick of Hitler's who tried to play upon the fears of Churchill and Roosevelt. "It turned out," said Stalin, "that the German policy of playing upon contradictions and intimidating with the specter of revolution had exhausted its possibilities and was no longer suited to the new situation."

Decadent capitalism, the breeder of Hunger and War, does not, according to Stalin, face the specter of revolution. That is only a trick of Hitler's. Roosevelt and Churchill don't have to lie awake at nights worrying about the revolution. Stalin not only does not promote that sort of thing, but he has already offered himself as a tool to see to it that not socialism but a new Versailles comes out of the war.

The imperialist war, according to Stalin, is a war of liberation. In his speech in which he shamelessly quoted Lenin as his authority, Stalin said:

"As distinct from Hitlerite Germany, the Soviet Union and its allies are waging a war of liberation—a just war calculated for the liberation of the enslaved peoples of Europe and the USSR from Hitler tyranny. Therefore all honest people support the armies of the US SR, Great Britain and the other armies of liberation."

Is it any wonder then that Stalin could refer lovingly to the arch-imperialist Churchill as "the old warrior?"

There's a Reason

The adoration of Stalin by the "democratic" ruling classes proceeds from the fact that he is incapable of raising the banner of the world socialist revolution. Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin see eye to eye on the war and what to do after the war. That is why the "democracies" are all-out for Russia. Beaverbrook and Churchill bring to the British workers the counterfeit Stalin in order to urge them to further exertions for the war effort. If it is socialism that the British workers want, why not bring to them that monstrosity called Stalinism which more than anything else can derail the workers from socialism?

But, regardless of the intentions of the rulers of capitalism, neither the world orders of Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, nor of Hitler-Goebbels, can bring peace, freedom and plenty to the ruled of the earth. Despite all of them and their plans, the specter of revolution will once more emerge and become a reality. Against the decadent world orders that they propose will come the only world order that has any meaning to the oppressed peoples: the world order of international socialism!

Stalinists Ask For War Declaration!

William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, has finally stated openly and clearly that his party advocates an open declaration of war by this country against Germany—nothing less.

Replying to a question, "What is the attitude of the Communist Party toward a declaration of war by the United States against Nazi Germany," Foster says in the Daily Worker of October 30: "The Communist Party is fully in favor of the United States' participation in the war, for a declaration of war against Nazi Germany."

Thus, the Stalinists have come all the way from support of Hitler during the period of the Hitler-Stalin pact to a position which places them in a united front with America's leading war jingo and imperialists. These enemies of the American working class—now full-blooded interventionists—are now among America's most fanatical war mongers.

Japan--

(Continued from page 1)

iron and steel, etc. They wish to expand and gain the raw materials of the East Indies, Siberia and China.

The American working class must demand an accounting of the relations between this country and Japan. What will Roosevelt say to the Japanese representative now on his way to America who, we are told, is bringing Japan's last offer before the shooting begins. The workers of this country must refuse to be dragged into an imperialist war with Japan; a war that is organized behind their backs and about which they know nothing.

Down with secret diplomacy and secret negotiations between the American and Japanese imperialists! Let the people vote on war!

Murray--

(Continued from page 1)

a trick to catch the unwary and weak-kneed labor leaders."

This boss board was pulled together by Roosevelt right at the time when the workers were moving into the most militant strikes. The bosses were afraid to plunge head-on into these strikes and rigged up this "Mediation" Board. They caught the unwary Murray and made him a member. The Workers Party in LABOR ACTION said:

"... Keep the picket lines going. To hell with the Mediation Board and its boss class trickery. Demand that labor leaders get off this board and take their places on the picket line. Keep the strikes going. Organize all the workers. Demand signed contracts. Demand higher wages and shorter hours. Don't take less from the bosses. Don't take less from the government."

The Workers Party believes that this is still good tactics for labor. This is the way to win. Murray says: "I think it (the board) is done. I cannot see how this board can be sustained in the public mind." Murray's education as a labor leader has not been completed yet despite his long years in the United Mine Workers. What he should be considering is not the "public mind" (whatever that is), but the minds and needs of the mine workers, steel workers and the other millions in the CIO. This is the job he is mainly responsible for. The so-called public had its men on the "Mediation" Board and Murray knows what they did to the demands of the workers in the captive mines. They will vote the same way when the SWOC presents the same demands.

Let Murray get steel completely organized and a democratic international union in steel. This kind of steel union in league with the militant coal diggers will take care of the demands of these workers, if properly led, without the intercession of any "mediation" boards.

THE HARLEM LABOR FORUM

ANNOUNCES

A SERIES OF POPULAR LECTURES ON PROBLEMS OF THE WORKING CLASS

To Be Held Every Friday Evening at 8:45 O'Clock. The First:—

Friday, Nov. 14: "THE ONLY WAY TO STOP CRIME IN HARLEM"

Auspices: Workers Party Harlem Branch

321 WEST 125TH STREET (near St. Nicholas Ave.)

ROOM 4

ADMISSION FREE

LABOR ACTION
Official Organ of the Workers Party

Published weekly by the
Labor Action Publishing Company

Vol. 5, No. 46 November 17, 1941

114 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. (3rd Floor)

Editor: EMANUEL GARRETT

Subscription Rate: \$1.50 per year
\$1.00 for six months
(\$2.00 per year or \$1.50 for six months for Canada and foreign)

Re-entered as second class matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 2, 1879.

MAX SHACHTMAN,

National Secretary of the Workers Party

WILL SPEAK ON **Twenty-four Years After October!**

Friday, November 21 • Irving Plaza • Irving Place and 15th Street, New York

NEWARK MASS MEETING

To Support Minneapolis Labor Defendants

SPEAKERS:

GEORGE NOVACK, Treasurer Civil Rights Defense Committee

JOHN T. FINERTY, Attorney for Odell Waller

CARLO TRESCA, Leader Sacco-Vanzetti Defense

Manhattan Room at Continental, 984 Broad St.

Friday, Nov. 14, 1941--8:30 P.M.

Admission: 25 Cents

Auspices: Newark Civil Rights Defense Committee