

ROOSEVELT COMMITS AN ACT OF WAR!

The Ramparts They Watch!

UNCLE SAM NEEDS YOU!



FOR THIS!



State Department, Acting in Secret, Seals Military Alliance with Britain

President Roosevelt, as an individual, has the right to whatever convictions he chooses to have. If he wants to support England or Germany or anybody in this war for profits it is his privilege to do so—as an individual and as a member of HIS class. We, however, as members of the working class, are equally free to have our own convictions on this matter.

Consequently, when by virtue of his position, he acts, not as an individual, but as the head of a state, then what he does becomes a matter of vital and dangerous concern to us.

The people of the United States have not authorized the President to enter the war. The people of the United States have not sanctioned by popular vote any of his steps towards war entry. Through their unions, the greatest part of the organized working class, in however limited a way, have made it known that they are against entering the war, that they are against such a step as conscription BECAUSE IT MEANS WAR.

Up to recently, Roosevelt was only MOVING towards war entry. That was bad enough. It was against the interests of the workers. It was for the interests of the bosses. Now with two successive acts, Roosevelt has planted his feet squarely in the arena of the world war.

Last week, Roosevelt organized with Canada, a BELLIGERENT, a Joint 'Defense' Board. And now, after a series of negotiations conducted without the knowledge of we who are losers, he has added another clause to the military and naval alliance he has SECRETLY CONSUMMATED with Britain. Britain gets 50 destroyers with which to carry on its war; the United States gets ninety-nine year leases on eight continental and island points in the Western Hemisphere to be used for sea and air bases.

THE WORLD AT WAR

Hitler Further Protects His Eastern Flank by Brand New Balkan 'Peace' Arrangement

By MAX STERLING

This week marks the end of the first year of the world war number two. Despite the blows that Hitler has dealt his imperialist rivals the end of the war is nowhere in sight. For millions of workers the war has meant death, destruction, hunger and enslavement. The second year of the war offers workers no hope and no relief. It is starting out with a scarcity of food. Famine and epidemics are on the order of the day.

During the last week, the German air force has not let up on its mass raids against the British Isles. The expected collapse of Great Britain under the hail of Hitler's bombs has not taken place. The German high command has altered its time table in regard to its blitzkrieg against England. How much longer the British can hold out against the daily raids on industrial, armaments, airport, shipping as well as metropolitan centers is something that nobody can predict.

The main defense of the British Isles thus far has been the English Channel and the Royal Air Force. The latter has been able so far to moderate the blows of the enemy and has even reached over into enemy territory with its systematic raids on Berlin and Turin. Thus all of the peoples are beginning to experience the havoc of totalitarian warfare.

AIR FORCE IS KEY

The key to the Battle of Britain will be found in the relation of forces in the air. There seems to be no doubt of Hitler's present numerical superiority in the air. If the British

war lords will be able through increased production and help from the United States, to catch up in time with Hitler's air force then the invasion of the British Isles will be averted and with it a probable turn in her fortunes in the war. If Churchill's statement a short time ago,

Prosperity

Fifty companies in the chemical, pulp, glass, metal and wood container industries had profits of \$109,429,708 for the first half of 1940. This is a gain of 62% over the first half of 1939 when combined profits of these companies was \$66,218,251.

The chemical companies "earned" \$76,785,332 in first half 1940 which was an increase of 40% over same period in 1939. A large part of this chemical profit went to DuPont and does not include \$17,500,000 which the Du Ponts received in dividends from General Motors.

Nineteen pulp and paper companies grabbed \$24,458,418 which was 237% over the grab of these same companies in first half of 1939.

to the effect that English plane production has already surpassed that of Germany, is correct, then, unless Hitler unleashes forces of destruction hitherto unseen, the British Isles may withstand the attack.

However, what Hitler is holding back is exactly what is unknown, (Continued on page 4)

So urgent are the war aims of American capitalism that Roosevelt did not even take time to consult HIS Congress. Technically, Congress represents the people. Actually, that is far from being so. Congress is elected by the people, but Congress acts for the Sixty Families, the Wall Street masters of this land. Yet Roosevelt didn't take the time to go through the formality of Congressional approval.

While Congressional sensibilities are affronted by Roosevelt's indifference, it doesn't matter very much. It might have taken a week longer, but Congress for all its howling would have come across. If it didn't, Big Business would whip many a Congressman clear out of his soft job.

Except for an occasional complaint here and there, the boss-politicians and commentators are for the "trade." Willkie is a little peeved that he was not consulted, but he's for it. So too, the many papers that write indignantly against Roosevelt's deal are irked more by the slight than by the deed.

Secret diplomacy is in the very nature of capitalist rule. The bosses, and those who act for them, can't expose their machinations to public view, they don't dare make their true aims known. That is why, ever since capitalism was born, the politicians have made deals and alliances behind the backs of the people. That was true in the last war; that is true in this war. The people are fed the slop of phoney propaganda ("war to save democracy" and such). They must be deceived into fighting; and the deceiving takes a little time. Meanwhile, all the arrangements are made from on top: Mr. English boss gets this; Mr. American boss gets that; Roosevelt will see to it that the American army cooperates with the British or Canadian army; and so forth.

A few short years ago the Spanish loyalists were fighting a desperate battle against Franco fascism. They were badly in need of equipment and supplies. Roosevelt slapped an embargo on any shipments to loyalist Spain; not a boatload of materials could legally go there. Times change; laws change. The Attorney General fixes a legal excuse.

Wall Street is bound by ties of mutual interest to British capitalism. (That doesn't exclude a deal or two with German Big Business where an "honest" capitalist dollar is to be turned.) The British bosses are in no position to hold on to their Latin American possessions. Roosevelt takes over the job of keeping those possessions out of German hands. In the process, Wall Street completes its domination over Latin America; and the City (that's Britain's Wall Street) concentrates on holding on to the rest of its empire.

In effect, the transfer of the 50 destroyers means this: ROOSEVELT IS SENDING THE AMERICAN NAVY TO FIGHT. Because he has not yet gotten to the point where he can actually declare war—several things, like conscription, remain to be done before that is possible—Roosevelt will let British youth man these ships, pending the day when American youth can be officially assigned their places in battle.

And the acquisition of the bases means this: Roosevelt is completing his preparations for military action, when the moment comes, in Latin America. The job of preserving Europe and Africa for British and American exploitation is England's. Should it be necessary, the United States will pitch into the European battles, if Roosevelt and Willkie have their way. For the present, they are concentrating on preserving Latin America—and the Far East too—according to whatever arrangements have been secretly made with Britain. And these islands will not be the last that Roosevelt will get or take. Already a section of the bosses (such as the New York Daily News) is suggesting the occupation of all the French islands in the Western Hemisphere.

Here then you have the real meaning of conscription. Roosevelt undertakes joint military action with a belligerent, Canada. Roosevelt undertakes a military deal with the mother belligerent, England. BY THESE ACTS, ROOSEVELT ENTERS THE WAR. But official entry must be delayed for the day when there is a sufficiently trained American manpower to make such official entry feasible and valuable. THAT COMES WITH CONSCRIPTION.

Now, if Roosevelt were doing all this to defend your interests against fascism, we would have no kick coming. If Roosevelt were doing this in defense of a beleaguered workers' government, we would be for it. But that is not the case. When a workers' govern-

(Continued in editorial column on page 4)

Youth See Spokesman in W.P. Candidate Get Behind Drive to Put Shachtman on Bronx Ballot

The anti-war, anti-conscription Congressional candidacy of Max Shachtman will meet with a gratifying response from the young workers of this city, Irving Howe, National Education Director of the Young Peoples Socialist League, declared today.

"The young workers everywhere have seen the so-called opponents of conscription yield to the pressure of the Administration spokesmen in Congress," Howe declared.

"The statement by Senator Maloney that he 'does not and will not condemn the Burke-Wadsworth Bill' shows up the so-called Congressional anti-conscription bloc for what it is—a show opposition."

"Were there today in the House of Representatives a man of Shachtman's convictions, this week's debate on the conscription bill would see the real voice of the nation's youth raised in protest," Howe stated.

Meanwhile, Milton Miller, Secretary of the New York Division of the Young Peoples Socialist League, and a member of the Shachtman Campaign Committee, stated that the local units of the YPSL will throw all their weight behind the drive to secure a place on the ballot for the Workers Party candidate.

Stating that the YPSL of this city is already participating in the preliminary drive for nominating signatures, Miller declared, "We want

Shachtman in Congress. Once that is achieved, the youth of this city will have a real spokesman."

Headquarters Open

The Campaign Committee announced today that it expects to file the nominating petitions with the Board of Elections early next month. At the same time, the Committee appealed to all members and friends of the Workers Party and Young Peoples Socialist League to join in the election drive.

The Shachtman Campaign headquarters at 1334 Wilkins Avenue in the Bronx is open every night from seven o'clock on.

The Full Text of

The Jackson "Confession" ■ ■ ■ with Notes

Gentlemen:

In writing this letter I have no other object in the event an accident comes to me than to explain to public opinion the motives which induce me to execute the act of justice which I propose.

I am of an old Belgian family. In Paris where I made my

1 An official of the Belgian legation in Mexico City questioned Jackson after the murder. The N.Y. TIMES of August 27 reports: "He said Jackson does not speak with a Belgian but rather with a Swiss accent; that the address he gave in Brussels is false; that no one connected with him lives at the address where he says his mother lives; that it is untrue that he studied at the Loyola Jesuit College in Brussels, since of two Jesuit colleges in that city neither bears that name; and finally that all investigations had failed to confirm that he is the son of a Belgian diplomat."

studies of journalism I made the acquaintance with boys of my age who fought in different left organizations and little by little they won me to their ideas. I was content to have found in journalism a means of livelihood since this permitted me to struggle more effectively against the present system of social injustice. It was then when I began to meet the Trotskyites who convinced me of the justice of their ideology and wholeheartedly I joined their organization. From then on I

2 A lie. Jackson never joined the Trotskyist movement. On the contrary, during most of the two years he was in touch with the movement, preparing the murder, he pretended to be "friendly" but definitely not interested in politics. It was only in the last few months, in order to gain access to Trotsky, that he developed a sudden and intense interest in political matters.

carried into the revolutionary cause all my energy and all my faith. I was a devoted disciple of L.T. and I would have given the last drop of my blood for the needs of the cause. I began to study all that had been written on the different revolutionary movements in order to better instruct myself and develop myself, and in this way be more useful to the cause.

If further proof were needed that Leon Trotsky was murdered by an agent of the Stalinist GPU, the full text of the "confession" found on Frank Jackson, the assassin, furnishes it. This document, published in full for the first time in the SOCIALIST APPEAL of August 31, is the same sort of police concoction as the testimony and "confessions" in the Moscow trials—crude, internally contradictory, conflicting with known facts, vague and almost hysterical in its venom and vindictiveness. Its general "line", also in the best Moscow manner, fits in perfectly with the purposes of Stalin's foreign policy at the moment. Our comment in the marginal notes is limited to the more glaring falsifications in the document. Our comment is printed in bold face and refers in each case to the italicized phrase in the text itself.—The Editors.

At this time I became acquainted with a member of the Bureau of the Fourth International, who, after various conversations proposed that I make a trip to Mexico in order to meet L. Trotsky. As is natural, this trip filled me with enthusiasm, since it was a thing for which I had not even dreamed, and I accepted with all my heart. This comrade supplied me with all the means, expenses of the trip, papers, etc. It must not be forgotten that with my own papers, it would have been impossible for me to go because of mobilization.

3 Lies. Who was this "member of the Bureau of the Fourth International"? Why should a political organization pay the expenses of a non-member from France to Mexico "to meet L. Trotsky"? In point of fact, Jackson was always well supplied with GPU money, which he explained as the income from his baronial inheritance.

Before going, with the many conversations which I had with this comrade, he made me understand very well that they expected from me something more than a simple militant of the party, but he did not make anything precise to me. I made the trip, first to the United States, and then to Mexico. Recently arrived here, they told me that I must remain some distance from the house in Coyocacan in order to call no attention upon me and only some months afterwards did I begin to visit the said house more or less on the indication of Leon Trotsky who commenced to give me, little by little, some indications of what was expected of me.

For me it was a great disillusionment since in place of finding myself face to face with a political chief who was directing the struggle for the liberation of the working class I found myself before a man who desired nothing more than to satisfy his needs and desires of vengeance and of hate and who did not utilize the workers' struggle for anything more than a

4 Thus, too, all the defendants in the Moscow Trials, after having first been attracted to a fanatical devotion to Trotsky ("I would have given the last drop of my blood for the needs of the cause," says Jackson) by his political ideas, discover that these inspiring principles, these numerous books and pamphlets of revolutionary theory, this ceaseless revolutionary political activity—that all this is merely a cover for the stupidest and pettiest sort of personal vendetta against Stalin. As Trotsky told the Dewey Commission: "One gets the impression that I built a skyscraper to camouflage a dead rat."

means of hiding his own paltriness and despicable calculations. From that moment I remained chilled by his skill in sowing discord in our own party, setting some against others.

(Continued on page 2)

With the Labor Unions— On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

UNION DEMOCRACY IS ANTIDOTE TO RACKETEERS

Far too many union leaders are landing in the capitalist courts on charges of racketeering and mulcting their organizations. There is plenty of evidence at hand to show that the overwhelming majority of these charges are fact. Virtually all of the union racketeers and gangsters are in the American Federation of Labor. The reason for this lies principally in the craft structure of the AFL.

Division by craft creates a happy hunting ground for all manner of racketeering, gangsterism and thieving by employers and corrupt trade union leaders. A corrupt union leader, or an outside muscleman, can make a deal with employers to organize a new union or split one already formed where the craft structure prevails. In the building service field it is possible to have separate organizations for elevator men, window cleaners, scrub women and male janitors. A first rate racketeer can find all manner of distinctions to make between the various types of public and private buildings. In large cities such as New York it is possible to have autonomous organizations in each borough. This same scheme can be carried out in other industries.

It is extremely difficult to operate

IT'S UNION ORGANIZATION THAT REALLY GETS RESULTS

There is another reason for the struggle hold that racketeers have on some unions. A racketeer leadership is slick enough to know that they must get something for the union members. Quite often they do get an increase in wages and improvement in working conditions. They threaten the boss with a strike, they make agreements to organize one shop or area and leave another unorganized. They connive with one boss to eyp another boss, provided "their" men get a raise. The boss and the union racketeer divide the loot, while at the same time the racketeer dependants a "kick-back" from union members.

What union workers must understand is that the racketeer official "gets results" for them only because he represents a mass organization of workers. It is the union that is the racketeer's chief weapon. The boss

BEWARE OF "NO STRIKE" AGREEMENTS WITH THE BOSS!

Suits against unions by the bosses for "violation of contract" is on the increase. This is part of a general drive against the unions by the bosses in league with the Department of Justice. The New Deal Department of Justice with the help of the New Deal Supreme Court has put unions in the same class as corporations under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and the "law" of contracts.

The latest victims are the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Milk Wagon Drivers Union in New York City. The electrical workers are being sued for \$500,000 for striking in violation of the contract. The milk wagon drivers were fined \$10,000 by the "impartial chairman" of the milk industry. The milk company accepted a reduction of the fine to \$5,000 "as a means of promoting better labor relations." The union refused to pay by the date of the dead line and the fine went back to \$10,000.

As long as we have capitalist collective bargaining and capitalist contracts it will be necessary for unions to exercise some care and precaution in the observance of these contracts. In the present social order collective bargaining is a give and take between the unions and the bosses. They reach an agreement which is presumed to be binding on both sides. It is well known of course that the bosses violate these agreements far oftener than the unions.

Since the unions function as collective bargaining agencies through agreements and contracts with the bosses it is a simple matter to understand that it is necessary to be cautious in making agreements and signing contracts. It is imperative that every agreement be presented to the

A WEAPON THE WORKERS CAN USE

At the recent convention of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO), Allan Haywood in the course of his convention address made the statement that "if you (the union) did what the corporations did recently, and sat down for more than 8% net profit, you'd be accused of being traitors." Haywood is correct. If the workers sat down and stayed put until they got more money from the bosses they would be called traitors and fifth columnists. But Haywood didn't make any explanations. He didn't propose anything. He just stood there and made a sob speech. Haywood should know better; he is an old miner. He knows how the miners improved their working conditions and raised their wages. There was some shedding but it wasn't tears.

The bosses know that the government at Washington is their government and they'll sit down on it when they damn please. Nobody is going to call the army and national guard against the bosses because it is their army and their guard.

in this manner under the industrial union structure. Here the industry is organized vertically, one union to the industry. Racketeers don't go for this; they like to operate where they can bite off a slice and chew it in their own way and to their personal advantage.

The workers should clean out the racketeers and gangsters. They should reject the position of Bill Green who wants the FBI and the police to clean up the AFL unions. Unions should set high and rigid standards for union officers to live and act by. First is insistence on internal democracy. Almost no racketeer or strong-arm bureaucrat can live up to this test. Internal democracy means free, honest and regular elections. Regular and frequent meetings of the locals and internationals. The determination of all important procedure and action by vote of the membership after open and thorough discussion. Insistence that officers and committees carry out all decisions of the membership. This applies especially to contracts with the bosses and strike call and settlement. Where these safeguards are erected there will be little trouble with racketeers. This vermin thrives in unions where they are the whole show and are permitted to do pretty much as they please.

is afraid of a strike only because there is an organized force that can actually stop production.

A democratic, militant, mass union can force far more out of the bosses than a racketeer controlled union. A union that shuns shady deals with the boss and puts up a hard clean fight will, in the long run, get far higher wages and shorter hours than can be procured by any double dealing racketeer leader. If the unions function on these principles, clean out every corrupt leader and go to bat as genuine militant working class organizations they will save themselves many headaches and be freed from the disgrace of being successfully charged with racketeering in the capitalist courts. The bosses will drag the workers to the boss courts but let them go there from the picket line that they have voted for and that they control.

membership for discussion and vote before it is signed by union negotiating committees. No union should vote officials the right to sign contracts and agreements with the bosses, before approval by the union membership. Any officials who do such things on their own or who act in violation of the union decision should be severely disciplined.

There has to be flexibility in all union negotiations. Neither side can take an all or nothing attitude as a principled position. The main point for the union is to drive the best possible bargain under the concrete conditions at the time of the agreement. At a later time conditions may change and a different type of agreement may be necessary for the protection of the union and its members.

This makes it especially important that great care and foresight be exercised in the making of agreements. This applies particularly to no strike clauses. The two unions mentioned got into difficulties on this point. They are charged with striking in violation of the contract. No matter what compromises may be feasible from time to time no union should surrender the right to strike. No union official should be given power to sign a no strike agreement even for the briefest period without the expressed consent of the overwhelming majority of the union.

Unions should reject completely all "impartial chairman" set-ups. In the first place "there ain't no such animal." He will be for the union or for the boss. If he is for the union the boss will reject him; if he is for the boss the union should reject him. The union must not accept a status which means that its action is to be determined outside the membership.

The employers know that society is divided into two warring classes; owners and wage workers. The bosses know, and its about time the workers learned this, that the government at Washington, in every state and city is a part of the capitalist state, the bosses, state. Karl Marx called such a government the executive committee of the ruling class. That is, the government of Roosevelt and Willie manages the state, for the benefit of the ruling class, the bosses, just as the board of directors manages a corporation for the benefit of its owners.

The workers should learn a lesson from what is going on today with the so-called defense program. They want higher wages and shorter hours. They won't get this by calling the bosses fifth columnists, traitors and charging them with a lack of patriotism. This is nonsense. Bill Green and John L. Lewis won't move the ruling class and the boss government by indignation. They've got to lead the workers to the sit-down and to the picket line.

The Jackson "Confession"

The Full Text . . . With Notes

(Continued from page 1)

the leaders of yesterday against those of today, which brought into our own ranks a tangle and confusion, so that the majority of the members of the party lost their time in discussing among themselves questions of a personal and secondary order relegating to a secondary plane all the problems of the working class, which ended by disanimating many of the members who, like me, had come to the movement in order to consecrate themselves entirely to the cause.

After various conversations it was at last plain to me what they expected of me. It was then that there was sown in me the most profound disillusionment, and the greatest contempt for this man in whom I had formerly believed.

It was proposed to me that I go to Russia in order to organize there a series of attempts against different persons and in the first place against Stalin. This was against all the principles of a struggle that until then I had considered open and loyal, and contrary to all my principles. Nevertheless I

5 It was also, of course, against every principle that Lenin and Trotsky and the Bolshevik movement held. As every one but a police agent knows, individual terroristic assassination has always been flatly rejected by Trotsky and by other Marxists as a method of revolutionary struggle. (And this on practical rather than moral grounds.) Jackson, of course, gives no motive for Trotsky's alleged choice of terroristic methods. See Radek's testimony in the second Moscow Trial: "For nothing at all, just for the sake of Trotsky's beautiful eyes, the country was to return to capitalism. When I read this, I felt as if it were a madhouse." A madhouse indeed, whose keepers wear GPU uniforms!

did nothing to prevent full clarity since I wished to know to what limits the baseness and hate of this man would go.

I began to ask, among other things, the means to employ in order to be able to enter Russia. I was answered that I did not have to be disturbed since as any means would be good in order to arrive at a result, he expected to count not only on the support of a great nation but also on the support of a certain foreign parliamentary committee.

6 Apparently a reference to the United States and the Dies Committee. In the Moscow Trials, when the Popular Front policy was being pursued, Trotsky's foreign backing centered in Berlin, according to the GPU. Stalin's line has changed and so, obligingly, have Trotsky's own conspiratorial connections. It may be noted that the U.S. Government loved Trotsky so well it would not even permit his dead body to be brought within its borders.

This, for me, was the drop of water which filled the glass too full and from this moment no doubt existed in my mind that Trotsky had no other object in his life than to utilize his followers in order to satisfy his personal ends and paltiness. Above all, I was shocked by the wide contacts which he had with certain leaders of the capitalist countries and I came to

7 Who were these leaders? And why did the DAILY WORKER of August 26 omit the reference to the Stalinists when it printed the rest of this sentence? Was it perhaps because here the GPU was a little too crude even for consumption in American C.P. circles?

David Lasser Hitches Star-Spangled Unemployed Organization to War Chariot

NOTICE: Having Left the Bed and Board of Stalinism, Lasser's Political Bills and Debts Will Be Paid by Roosevelt

By DAVID COOLIDGE

David Lasser has been to Chicago and come away with another "national" unemployed organization tucked away in his hip pocket. He calls his new mass movement the "American Security Federation." Of course, Lasser is the national president.

Not only did Lasser give birth to a brand new unemployed organization but he got the blessing of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The President wrote Lasser that his intention "to form a 100% American movement of WPA workers and other underprivileged is legitimate and laudable. It can assist the nation in securing the viewpoint of the unemployed and help to render a patriotic service to 'our nation as well.'" This from Roosevelt who evidently doesn't have any knowledge of unemployed opinion after seven years in the White House. Also, from the same Roosevelt who said that the workers could not strike against the government and whose Justice Department sent striking WPA workers to jail in Minneapolis.

No Militancy

Lasser has had considerable experience manipulating unemployed organizations and hopping from one to the other. He led the Workers Unemployed Union in New York City. He held a "national" convention in Washington in 1935 and puffed the WUU into the Workers Alliance of America. At this time the Unemployed Councils and the National Unemployed League were already functioning as national organizations. The NUL was publishing a weekly paper, *Mass Action*, and leading real fights of the unemployed for the raising of relief standards.

As a leader of the unemployed, Lasser has never exhibited any tendency toward militancy. It was his policy to solve the hunger problems of the unemployed by getting the "endorsement" of the AFL and "liberal" congressmen. Mass demonstrations—even if he had any masses—and militant action at relief bureaus were not part of Lasser's program for the unemployed. Post card campaigns to Congress; yes; conferences with congressmen and with national relief officials, all right; but pounding away in mass attack at relief bureaus, in the manner of the National Unemployed League; this was activity that Mr. Lasser would never sanction if he could possibly escape it.

Shopped Around

Before negotiations for merger of the Workers Alliance, National Unemployed League and the Unemployed Councils got under way, Lasser dickered separately with the NUL and the NUC. At this time Lasser was a member of the Socialist Party. Lasser was ready to make a deal either with the NUC or the NUL de-

pending on which direction would give him the greater prestige. This is important in the light of Lasser's recent statement that he left the Workers Alliance because he discovered that it was communist controlled only after he had been its president for nearly four years.

Negotiations for the merger of the NUL and the WAA to the exclusion of the Stalinist Unemployed Councils broke down for a time. Lasser demanded that his WAA get 11 of the 15 members of the national committee of the merged organization; president, secretary and the first three vice-presidents. The NUL was to have an assistant secretary, four national committee members and the fourth vice-president. The NUL had about five times the membership of the WAA. When the NUL representatives remonstrated with Lasser at such a monstrous proposal, he replied that he wanted to be sure that the WAA had the majority on the board. Lasser further stated that he wanted to have this decisive majority because the NUL was led by Workers Party members who acted under discipline and functioned as a fraction. He said that as a member of the Socialist Party this was not required of him.

Makes a Deal

Lasser's terms were rejected by the national committee of the NUL and Lasser turned again to the Stalinist Unemployed Councils lead by Herbert Benjamin. A deal was made for merger which, for various reasons, the NUL later decided to enter. The Councils agreed to minority membership on the national committee. Lasser was to be president and Benjamin and the Stalinist fraction twisted Benjamin's title from Assistant Secretary to Organization Secretary. The Stalinists giving a taste of the discipline that he said he feared so much from the old Workers Party, and which made it necessary to keep them a tiny minority on the national committee.

Lasser was now hand in glove with the Stalinists. This was 1936. There was one national unemployed organization. Lasser was the president and Benjamin, a shrewd and experienced Stalinist functionary was the Organization Secretary. Under Benjamin's guidance, the Stalinists were able, the following year, to take over control of the organization. There is no record to show that Lasser ever made any protest.

Birds of a Feather

Why did Lasser submit to the control of the WAA by the Stalinists while he remained its nominal head, probably at wages of about \$25 a week? Lasser knew, better than anyone else, that the Stalinists were in control. He knew that they could have kicked him out at any time they chose during the past three

the conclusion that perhaps the Stalinists were not so far from the truth when they accused Trotsky with preoccupying himself with the working class as if it were a dirty sock.

After my conversations with him I was astonished to see with what contempt he spoke of the Mexican Revolution and of everything that was Mexican. Naturally all his sympathies are in favor of Almazan, but aside from him and some of his followers he threw everything into the same sack, criticizing the politics of Cardenas, the Mexican police, who he said were completely corrupted; and I will not say anything about what he said about Lombardo Toledano and Avila Camacho, who he expected would be very soon assassinated, in order to leave a free field to Almazan (and in such a way that I am sure there was under way some plot in this sense, that otherwise he would not have spoken thus, since he liked very much to give himself the importance of a prophet. It would not be prudent to confide thus).

8 Thus we have Trotsky and his handful of followers planning, from their villa in Coyoacan, not only the assassination of Stalin and the other Soviet leaders, but also of various high Mexican personages (Camacho, Toledano), as well as a mass slaughter of those who in his own movement belonged to the "Minority" faction. Thus Trotsky in his years of exile has been leading not a political movement but a murder syndicate on a scale to dwarf efforts among American gangsters. That there is a murder syndicate involved in all these events we have no doubt. The only question is whether its headquarters are in Coyoacan or in Moscow. For it is a curious thing that, in eleven years of alleged murderous plotting in exile, Trotsky was able to bring off, according to the GPU itself, only one "murder", that of Kirov. While on the other hand, an assassin's hand has struck down in this period seven of Trotsky's secretaries, his son, and now, himself.

This is not astonishing when one recalls that he has the same hate towards the members of his party who are not absolutely in accord with him. It is for this that when he is speaking of the Minority of the party, he insinuates the possibility of a struggle of another order than political. When he says that the Minorities wish to attack him one of these days, this means that he is going to begin among them a bloody war.

One day, speaking of the fortress which his house had become, he said "it is not only to defend myself against the Stalinists, but also against the Minorities," which meant that he desired the expulsion of various members of the party. Precisely in connection with this house, which he said very well had been converted into a fortress, I asked myself very often, from where had come the money for such work, since in reality the party is very poor and in many countries do not have the possibility of bringing out a daily paper, an indispensable means for the struggle. Where did this money come from? Perhaps the consul of a great foreign nation who often visited him could answer this question for us.

9 Who is this consul? And why is it that throughout this confession, so explicit about Trotsky's alleged crimes, these capitalist diplomats and agents who are said to have had relations with Trotsky are never identified even by their nationality? The same vagueness—which makes disproof more

difficult and which avoids offending foreign governments with which Stalin's government has relations—is to be noted in the Moscow confessions. Only a GPU agent would charge Trotsky with conspiratorial relations with foreign governments without naming the governments.

In order to demonstrate the slight interest which he has for everything not connected with himself, I add that I was promised to a certain young girl whom I love with all my soul, because she is good and loyal. When I told him that I could not go to Russia because I wished to get married first, and I would not go without my wife he became very nervous, and told me that I had to finish with her. I could not marry a person such as she, "who seconded the Minority rabble." It is probable that after my act she may not wish to know me any more, nevertheless it was also for her sake that I decided to sacrifice myself entirely, removing the chief of the workers' movement who caused only damage to it, and I am sure that later, not only the party, but also history will know how to see me in the right light, when they will see that the bloody enemy of the working class is gone.

10 Frank Jackson, GPU "Trotskyist": "the bloody enemy of the working class is gone" . . . Karl Radek, GPU "Trotskyist": "Trotskyism is the instrument of the warmongers." . . . Y. L. Pyatakov, GPU "Trotskyist": "this fifth, this vileness, . . . counter-revolution of the most vile, loathsome, fascist type, Trotskyite counter-revolution." . . . G. Y. Sokolnikov, GPU "Trotskyist": "I think that Trotskyism in other countries too has been exposed by this trial, and that Trotsky himself has been exposed as an ally of capitalism, as the vilest agent of fascism, as a fomenter of world war who will be hated and execrated by the millions everywhere."

To these grotesque slanders, which fall to the ground of their own weight and which are an index of the psychopathic degeneration of the Stalinist mentality, the best answer was given by Trotsky himself in his testimony before the Dewey Commission:

"NOT EVEN MY ADVERSARIES HAVE DENIED THAT MY BOOKS AND ARTICLES, WRITTEN IN THE SPIRIT OF THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION, POSSESS SOME MERIT. ON THE OTHER HAND, MY LETTERS AND VERBAL DIRECTIVES, INSPIRED BY INTEREST IN FASCISM, ARE, TO JUDGE BY THE MOSCOW REPORTS, DISTINGUISHED BY AN EXTRAORDINARY STUPIDITY. BETWEEN THE TWO BRANCHES OF MY ACTIVITY, THE PUBLIC AND THE SECRET, THERE IS OBSERVABLE AN EXTREME DISPROPORTION. THE PUBLIC—THAT IS, THE "HYPOCRITICAL"—ACTIVITY, WHICH SERVED ONLY AS "CAMOUFLAGE", SURPASSED MY SECRET—THAT IS THE "GENUINE"—ACTIVITY ALMOST A THOUSAND TIMES IN QUANTITY AND, I VENTURE TO ASSERT, EQUALLY IN QUALITY. ONE GETS THE IMPRESSION THAT I BUILT A SKYSCRAPER TO "CAMOUFLAGE" A DEAD RAT. NO, IT IS NOT CONVINCING!"

In case anything unfortunate occurs to me I ask the publication of this letter.

August 20, 1940.

J.A.C.

physical and moral coward. He was afraid that the CP might become a militant revolutionary party again, (vain delusion). That would be no place for Lasser.

This is the man who has placed himself at the head of another group of unemployed workers, and received Roosevelt's benediction. He can "render a patriotic service to our nation . . ." How? By herding any unemployed workers foolish enough to follow him behind the Roosevelt war drive and into the Wall Street Army!

Lasser is in glorious company. That's what the Klan, big business, the FBI and the police and the vigilantes will be doing. In so far as he has any influence at all he will be a first rate recruiting sergeant.

There is no unemployed organization today that is anything more than

an empty shell and a caricature of the NUL and the NUC in its days of militant class struggle activity. Neither the Workers Security Federation, the WAA or Lasser's new outfit amount to a pinch of snuff. The WAA is tied to the Stalin-Hitler Pact and to one of the imperialist camps engaged in the war. The Workers Security Federation is tied to the pro-British Socialist Party and therefore, eventually, to a "national defense" pro-war position. Lasser's new American Security Federation was born fastened to Roosevelt's war chariot.

It is time for the unemployed and WPA workers to begin thinking seriously about reforming their ranks on a national scale. This is demanded now, just as at the beginning of the depression. For now we are in the Second World Imperialist War.

Food Stamp Plan in Brooklyn May Yet Be Made Compulsory, As In Newark

The city administration and the Surplus Marketing Administration are all set to start the Food Stamp Plan in Brooklyn.

Up to now, participation in the Plan is voluntary. It is reported that 23,000 families have signed up. This is 75% of the families eligible. Use of the blue and orange stamps will begin September 3.

In addition to grocery stores, licensed peddlers, butchers, bakers, delicatessens and chain stores, applications from milk companies will be accepted for door to door delivery of milk.

Brooklyn will not have a Stamp Bank where the unemployed purchase the stamps with cash they have received from the Welfare Department. In place of this, the price of the stamps the family is entitled to will be deducted from the semi-monthly relief check. The family will be sent stamps by mail.

Although the Stamp Plan is voluntary at present it may become compulsory after adoption. This is what

happened in Newark, N.J. where the plan began with emphasis on its voluntary character and after about a month was made compulsory. The change from voluntary to compulsory is not such a radical change as may appear due to the fact that under the voluntary system the relief worker is cut off from any surplus foods if he refuses to participate in the Plan. This means that his right to refuse to use the Plan is only a right to do without additional food.

Unemployed workers of course would prefer an increase in relief on a cash basis so that they could purchase food and other articles as they see fit and wherever they see fit. They have the additional problem under the Stamp Plan that there may be a change in the kind of surplus commodities available. At present there is a rather wide variety of surplus foods available. This can change and the unemployed would find themselves in a position where surplus purchases would be confined to grape fruit, onions or potatoes.

September New International Will Be A Trotsky Memorial Number

The September issue of *The New International* is already in preparation and will appear as a special Leon Trotsky Memorial Number. The entire issue will be devoted to the life and role of Lenin's co-worker, dealing with various phases of his life and his fundamental contributions to the revolutionary movement.

Max Shachtman is writing an article on the struggle for the Fourth International founded upon the principles of Marxism, which was initiated by Trotsky. An evaluation of Trotsky is the subject of an article by J.R. Johnson, while his biography is being prepared by Dwight Macdonald. The reign of terror in the labor movement and the system of hoodlumism and gangsterism arising therefrom, both introduced by Stalin and his bureaucracy, is reviewed by Albert Gates. Jack Mann is writing a complete bibliography of Leon Trotsky's writings in the English language. Selections from Leon Trotsky dealing specifically with the United States will also appear.

To See or Not To See

by Susan Green

Crooked Politics—Of The Past

"THE GREAT MCGINTY"

In a lively action film with plenty of verbal and fistic give-and-take, Paramount has produced a humorous satire of the days when political graft was less streamlined than it is today. The party czar, who in this case is also at the controls of the other party, has in his hands everything worth having. Business men squirm but have to pay the heavy tributes he demands. The taxpayers' millions go into unnecessary and defective buildings and bridges contracted to the political boss's companies.

McGinty enters this scheme of things as a pugnacious and pugilistic bum on an election-day breadline, where it is whispered to him he can earn \$2 if he votes for so-and-so for mayor. McGinty votes 37 times at a gross earning of \$74 plus the attention of the political boss who is convinced he can use such a pushing piece of humanity. McGinty rises from alderman to mayor to governor as a shield for the boss crook—and the monuments of graft rise in multiple proportion. Tamiroff plays the political boss with gusto and skill. Brian Donlevy as the cluck whose brains are in his fists is cut out for the part.

"The Great McGinty" falls as did Adam—he listens to his Eve who wants him to go in for reform. There follow a fight between McGinty and the boss, the arrest of the boss for attempted assassination of the governor, the arrest of the governor for fraud, and the escape of both to a banana port in Central America, where they live in perpetual combat—the boss as the owner of a bar and the great McGinty as the bartender who has an aversion to ringing up sales.

Since Paramount has made such a good start in the field of political expose, it is suggested that national politics of 1940 offers rich material. But of course that may interfere with the "national defense program." It is indeed more patriotic to "expose" only the past.

Pro-English Propaganda

"THE SEA HAWK"

If you want to develop an inferiority complex about yourself and our time, go see Errol Flynn and his sea pirates carry on for two solid hours. Nothing is too much for these supermen of the sixteenth century and their Captain Thorpe, one of the sea hawks or privateers who with their pirate ships were, according to Hollywood, the main naval defense of the England of Queen Elizabeth. This Thorpe sinks Spanish ships, crosses the Atlantic to rob the Spaniards of gold pilfered from Central America, survives betrayal and a sojourn in the deadly jungle, frees himself and all his men from the chains

and irons of a Spanish galley just in time to get valuable papers for his queen, and wins knighthood and a bride.

But more important these days—if you want to see how subtle pro-English propaganda is put over, have a look in on "The Sea Hawk". In this sixteenth century struggle between England and Spain for dominance on the seas, the British were of course the heroes and the Spaniards the villains. The Spaniards used galley-slaves to propel their vessels, but the freedom-loving English relied on the free wind in their sails. When the sea hawks plundered a Spanish vessel, the first thing they did was to free the galley-slaves. The Spaniards were intriguers and maintained a fifth column right in the court of the queen, while she, dear lady, thought only of maintaining peace for the good of her subjects. The Spaniards plundered the Latin American Indians, but the English privateers plundered the Spanish ships to get gold for their queen, to build a navy, to put an end to Spanish plundering. Catch on?

Counterfeit

"THREE FACES WEST"

"The Grapes of Wrath" quite obviously inspired this imitation. Except for some excellent shots of dust storms and of a town half buried in its own top soil, the backbone of authenticity is pretty weak. "The Grapes of Wrath" portrayed people whose fathers and grandfathers had owned the land, being forced off it and into the unhappy status of migratory workers. This later edition of the dust bowl tragedy makes it appear that only the "worthless" sharecropper became a migrant. Folks who owned the land could pick themselves up, just like that, and start all over again in Oregon where prosperity waited with open arms.

Not only is the dust bowl tragedy twisted, but the interesting situation with which the story starts is twisted into artificial contours. An old German doctor and his daughter, refugees from Hitlerism, come to live and work in this dust bowl town, only to become refugees once more—driven out by nature. Handled with respect for the likelihood of developments, there are possibilities here for gripping drama. However it all deteriorates into trimmings for a love story between the German girl and the young dust bowl farmer, whose romance is needlessly complicated by the reappearance of the girl's old sweetheart.

The struggle of the young farmer to keep the town-folk from despairing is good stuff, and John Wayne is o.k. in that role. Sigrid Gurie, a newcomer to Hollywood, very naturally fits the role of the girl refugee, except when she tries to be kitchy. Charles Coburn plays the old German doctor, who loves doctoring, as if he enjoys acting such a part.

What's "Treason" for the Worker Is "Paypatriotism" for the Boss

What's What About the "Bottleneck" in Industry

While Congress is in an awful rush to put uniforms on the working and jobless youth of this country, big business is spelling patriotism with a big \$ sign.

As the war program gets going all talk about conscripting big business and taking the profits out of war is proving to be just a lot of hot air. All the corporations are making millions of dollars out of the war program and if the government tries to put any restrictions on them they just tell the government where to get off. Even their plant expansion is at the government's expense. No sir, big business isn't taking any chances. It's their war program and they are trying to get the most out of it. War and war preparations is a business and what good is business without profits?

This greed for profits on the part of big business goes so far that in some cases the big corporations momentarily stand in the way of their own war program.

This is shown by a suit that the government has brought against the Aluminum Corporation of America, one of the biggest corporations in the United States.

Withhold Aluminum

According to Walter L. Rice of the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice, who is in charge of the government's suit against the corporation, the Aluminum Corporation of America has so monopolized the production of aluminum, deliberately curtailing its production and fixing, exorbitant prices, that there is a big shortage of aluminum for the 50,000 airplanes that have to be built according to the government's aviation program.

Aluminum is the largest single item needed in the manufacture of airplanes. The lack of aluminum has created a "bottleneck" in the aviation industry. According to Mr. Rice only 375,000 pounds of aluminum was produced last year while the aviation program calls for a production of 800,000 pounds of aluminum.

Mr. Rice is out to break the trust, so he says, but already the case has dragged through the courts for over two years. The judge in the case, Judge Caffey, who is 72 years old, and isn't taking any chances said that it would take another two years to write an opinion on the case, so he has decided to hand down an oral opinion but before he does that he will have to go over testimony and exhibits which add up 32 feet of shelf space.

Another Case

Here is another of the many samples of big business patriotism. On August 30 a grand jury handed up in a federal court an indictment against the General Electric Company for conspiring with the Krupp armament corporation of Essen, Germany, to control the American supply of hard metal compounds, needed for a great variety of machine tools. The compounds are various combinations containing tungsten, tantalum, titanium and carbon together with iron, cobalt or nickel, and important in the armament, automobile, airplane and many other industries.

As the agreement exists today Krupp has the power to prevent the General Electric Company from licensing additional makers of compounds in this country. An illustration of the enormous profits derived by the companies through price fixing can be seen by the following: In 1928 one of the compounds was selling for \$48 a pound. After the agree-

ment between Krupp and the General Electric Company on November 5, 1928, this same compound was sold for \$453 a pound and its price is still around \$205 a pound.

The General Electric Company declared that they had not knowingly violated any law and that they had made all the deals involved in the indictment with competent advice from eminent counsel. Mr. Jeffries, chairman of the board of the General Electric Company said that he looked forward to "any court litigation with complete confidence."

An Old Story

And why not? Trust busting has been a lot of hokey ever since the days of Teddy Roosevelt and before. The Aluminum Corporation of America, the General Electric Company and every other trust will wrap these new trust busters with so much legal red tape that in the end this shadow boxing will settle down to business deals on the corporations terms. The corporations will cheerfully partake of the war program with bigger profits than ever before and they will emerge from it more "trustified" than ever.

When the workers of the Aluminum Corporation went out on strike for higher wages some months ago they were driven back to work by the howl that was set up on how it was unpatriotic to disrupt the war program through strikes. Mr. Jeffries is right when he says that it is no crime for business to make profits any way it can. Under capitalism the greatest mortal sin is to interfere with profits.

If the General Electric Company does business with an enemy firm like Krupp that is no crime. Big business and profits know no national boundaries. For a worker to refuse to stick a bayonet into another worker of another country—that under capitalism, is a crime.

The workers of America must learn to know their class interests just as big business knows its class interests. The war industries will operate for the benefit of the workers when they are nationalized under workers control. The armies that they are herded into will be theirs only when they are the peoples armies of a workers' government.

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!

Safest Spot? G.H.Q.

Do you know what is the safest place to be in England or in Germany today? Do you know where, in the last war and in the present one, you would have the least chance of being bombed or shelled? The answer is: at General Headquarters of the high commands of the two "enemy" armies.

Here is what J. W. T. Mason, military expert of the Scripps Howard papers, writes in the N.Y. World-Telegram for August 28: "During the last and the present wars, there was an informal understanding that no belligerent was to bomb the general field headquarters of the other." He goes on to explain the curious fact that no bombs, until last week, have been dropped in either London or Berlin, as due to these cities being the military headquarters of the opposing armies.

Not because millions of civilians are concentrated in London and Berlin. Not because the art and architecture of centuries might be blown to bits. Simply because "neither side would gain if each were competent to compel the other to keep moving its central place of command."

The bourgeoisie and their military executioners have a solidarity of their own. Each side spares the other's G.H.Q. in a "gentleman's agreement" to keep the war going. (Hitler, after a month of intensive air blitzkrieg against England, has at last been forced to violate this—and the English are reported to be much annoyed at its ungentlemanly conduct.) What does it all mean? We recall an article written several years ago by the French writer, Simone Weil:

"Marx has shown forcefully that the modern method of production consists essentially of the subordination of the workers to the instruments of labor, which are disposed of by those who do not work. He has shown how competition, knowing no other weapons than the exploitation of the workers, is transformed into a struggle of each employer against his own workmen and, in the last analysis, of the entire class of employers against their employees.

"In the same way, war in our days is distinguished by the subordination of the combatants to the instruments of combat, and the armaments, the true heroes of modern warfare, as well as the men dedicated to their service, are directed by those who do not fight. And since this directing apparatus has no other way of fighting the enemy than by sending its own soldiers, under compulsion, to their death—the war of one state against another state resolves itself into a war of the state and the military apparatus against its own army.

"War in the last analysis appears as a struggle led by all the state apparatuses and their general staffs against all men old enough and able to bear arms."

Five Arrested Protesting Stalin Murder of Trotsky

Protesting the brutal assassination of Leon Trotsky by the Kremlin, more than one hundred members of the Workers Party braved police interference to stage a militant mass picket line before the Soviet Consulate last Friday, August 29.

Despite heavy police re-inforcements, the demonstrators marched down East 61st Street, site of the Consulate, shouting "Stalin Has Murdered Our Comrade Trotsky."

Placards denounced Stalin's reign of terror against the Fourth International and called attention to his long list of previous murders.

"Down With Stalin, Partner of Hitler," "For Workers Democracy In The Soviet Union," read a number of placards.

Police Swoop Down

Fifteen minutes after the demonstration began, a horde of police

rushed the picket line, pouring from doorways in a hotel opposite the Soviet Consulate.

The over-zealous police, acting on orders from Mayor LaGuardia forbidding the picketing of foreign consulates, made five arrests.

The arrested demonstrators, Charles Harrison, Albert Pitkin, George Farber, Dwight Macdonald and Joseph Carter, were fined twenty-five dollars each in West Side Court by Magistrate Morris H. Rothenberg.

Adding a star-spangled note to his exorbitant fine, Magistrate Rothenberg snapped, "The conduct of these men was not within the category of lawful picketing. Our City streets cannot be made the battling ground of political hatreds."

Court spectators shook their heads disapprovingly, indicating that the Magistrate's learned decision was not unambiguous.

Sparks in the News

OUT OF THE HORSE'S MOUTH

"The Democratic Party is not against business—it has never been against business. I believe there are more business men in the ranks of Democracy than the Republicans ever had. I defy any one to prove the contrary. . . . This Administration had to protect business against entrenched wealth. . . ."

Paul V. McNutt, Social Security Administrator and White House mouthpiece, in a recent speech (N.Y. TIMES, Aug. 24).

THE SECRETARY'S LAMENT

We think the following bit of verse, by Mabel Fisher, a Kingston, N.Y., trade unionist, will strike a responsive chord in the bosoms of many of our readers. It was printed in Kenosha Labor for August 8:

If a secretary writes a letter, it's too long,
If she sends a postal, it's too short,
If she doesn't send a notice, she's lazy,
If she attends a committee meeting, she's butting in,
If she stays away, she's a shirker.
If she duns the members for dues, she's insulting,
If she fails to collect, she's slipping,
If she asks for advice, she's incompetent,
If she doesn't, she's bullheaded.
If she writes her reports complete, they're too long,
If she condenses them they're incomplete.
If she talks on a subject, she's trying to run things,
If she remains quiet, she's lost interest in the meetings.

Ashes to ashes,
Dust to dust,
If others won't do it,
The secretary must.

MR. WILLKIE AND MR. SNYDER

Wendell Willkie has been reading a book by the reactionary economist, Carl Snyder, with the fetching

title: Capitalism the Creator. Mr. Willkie has stated his high admiration for Mr. Snyder's work. We wonder if he has underlined such passages as the following:

P. 143: "The highest rate of profit will promote the greatest progress."

P. 418: "Throughout all history, this fierce urge to destroy, to level up, to abase the talented, the capable, and the rich: one of the strongest drives within those vast lower levels of our neolithic population."

P. 177: "The attempt to raise wages through action of labor unions, particularly when accompanied by strikes, can only work harm."

No, I won't talk politics! All my prophecies have been so utterly wrong that it is useless to indulge in more guesswork.

—Aga Khan, one time President of the League of Nations Assembly.

Messrs. diplomats, statesmen, columnists, commentators, please note.

Revolution has become a dominant factor in the world today. . . . The possibility of revolution in conquered countries is now a British hope. The recent uprising in Albania is an indication of what Great Britain would like to see happen to a greater extent in the countries which have been overrun by the Nazis. . . . It is only reasonable to suppose that Hitler has many infuriated, though subdued enemies, in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and France. Those enemies might be the one factor to upset his extremely well made plans.

—New York World-Telegram, August 14.
And, it is only reasonable to suppose that England has many infuriated, though subdued, enemies in India, British Guiana, South Africa, Kenya, Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, and points north, west, south, and east. Just thought we'd mention it.

What Are the Facts on the Gov't Excess Profits Swindle?

By FRANK DEMBY

While the final text of the proposed excess profits and amortization bill is still to be prepared, the Bill as passed in the house indicates that one of the most gigantic swindles in the history of the country is now being prepared in Washington. In order to offset the growing clamor from labor unions, some sections of the press and public sentiment, that if the workers are to be conscripted, and offered to the sacrifice, the only fair thing to do is to conscript capital as well, the ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION IS PREPARING AN EXCESS PROFITS AND AMORTIZATION BILL THAT WILL SEEMINGLY REQUIRE SACRIFICES OF CAPITAL, BUT WHICH WILL, IN REALITY, GUARANTEE THE CAPITALISTS HIGHER PROFITS THAN THEY HAVE MADE IN MANY A LONG YEAR.

Manufacturers are holding up hundreds of millions of dollars worth of army, navy and air contracts because, as they say, "We don't trust the government; we must have absolute guarantees (of our profits) before a wheel turns." Just imagine what a hue and cry would arise from the paid propagandists of the capitalist press if the workers, after the conscription bill is passed, said, "We refuse to allow ourselves to be conscripted until we receive absolute guarantees that any war this country engages in will not be for imperialist purposes but in the interests of the working masses of this country!" Cries of "traitor," "red," "fifth columnists," etc. would be hurled at the workers. But when a manufac-

turer refuses to sign a "defense" contract until his profits are guaranteed, that is true patriotism.

MILLIONS FOR THE MILLIONAIRES

The President has already said "there will be no new millionaires" as a result of the armaments program. However, the tax bill in preparation, gives the lie to this high-sounding phrase. Not only will there be new millionaires, but the present millionaires (according to a recently issued statement of the Treasury, 50 individuals filed income taxes for 1939 showing incomes of a million dollars and more in 1938) will make even more millions than they have in the past.

What worries our patriotic manufacturers most appears to be the amortization measure. Their argument runs something like this: "These new contracts require us to erect new plants. These new factories will cost huge sums of money and they will be practically worthless once the war is over. Unless we are allowed to write-off (amortize) the cost of the new factories in a 'reasonable' period of time (five years or less), we will lose our shirts." Normally, a manufacturer writes-off the cost of new plant equipment (capital investment) in a period of 20 years by setting up a sinking fund. In other words, if a five year period is decided upon, approximately 20% of the cost of any new plant equipment will be added to expenses. Since in this modern day of mass production, fixed capital (machines, etc.)

constitutes an ever-increasing proportion of the total capital accumulation of the modern corporation, this means that sums running into the millions and millions will be deducted from profits AND THEREFORE NOT ELIGIBLE TO THE EXCESS PROFITS TAX.

In addition to this gravy which will be secured to the capitalist, there are any number of other considerations which are positively fascinating in their appeal to the manufacturer's patriotism. Suppose, for example, the war and/or the "defense" program lasts more than five years; having already written-off the cost of the new factories, profits will be absolutely fantastic. Even should the war period end in the next five years, an airplane manufacturer, to take just one example, will certainly be able to use his new factories in peacetime pursuits.

Finally, in many cases, it will undoubtedly be found that these new factories erected for "defense" purposes will not fill only government orders. Many of them will be able to fill private contracts for England. In such cases, a manufacturer may well decide to use his new plants to fill U.S. Government orders, since these may be subject to various restrictions (Walsh-Healy Bill, for example) and his old plants to fill other contracts. Truly, the prospects of coining huge profits are so good that it actually staggers the imagination. AND SINCE ROOSEVELT AND ALL CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS HAVE ALREADY STATED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO GUARANTEE THE PASSAGE OF AN AMORTIZA-

TION MEASURE PROVIDING FOR EVERYTHING THE MANUFACTURERS WANT, WHAT IS REALLY DISTURBING OUR PATRIOTIC MANUFACTURERS?

JUST A TINY FLY IN THE OINTMENT

It is simply the insistence of the Administration, fully aware that an election is coming up in November, in coupling the amortization measure with an excess profits tax. The politicians know that if they give the capitalists everything they want in regard to the amortization measure, mass resentment will be extremely high (and will cost votes) unless this is compensated for by placing a ceiling on profits. That is why Roosevelt has turned a deaf ear to the pleas of the NEW YORK TIMES to pass only an amortization bill now and spend the rest of the year studying the problem of excess profits very carefully since "it is so complicated and can't go into effect until the 1941 income tax returns are made." Excess profits, of course, are a "complicated" question, but not conscription.

Present signs, however, indicate that an excess profits tax will be passed. But what kind?—that is another question. Without going into the technical complications, and the various alternatives, which require a Philadelphia lawyer to disentangle, the basis of the proposed bill is TO EXEMPT FROM AN EXCESS PROFITS TAX, PROFITS AMOUNTING TO A SUM EQUAL TO THE AVERAGE NET PROFIT MADE DURING 1936-1939. For most of the large cor-

porations, this is a pretty favorable period. It has only one bad year included—1938. It includes two fairly good years, 1936 and 1939—and one exceptionally good year, 1937. In addition, the average earnings during this base period will be increased by 8% of new capital invested. This means that the large corporations (say General Motors or U.S. Steel, who will certainly get their share of the contracts) will make from 8 to 10% and more profits, without having to pay an excess profits tax.

There may not be many new millionaires, but a lot of the old ones are going to increase their fortunes sizeably. Moreover, should profits now run so phenomenally high, it doesn't follow that the portion of profits which is subject to the excess profits tax, will be confiscated by the government. So far, the highest excess profits tax proposed is 50%. The average rate aimed at is apparently 25%. Thus, the manufacturer will be allowed to keep a goodly portion of the excess profits. Certainly, no restraints on "private initiative" here!

The sacrifices that capital will be required to make "in the interests of national defense" will, consequently, be largely on paper. They will be useful for bamboozling the workers, but they will not interfere with the patriotism of the bosses—which, as always, centers around their pocket-books.

Just in case the above analysis has been a bit too difficult for you to follow in detail, THE SINGLE FACT WHICH EXPOSES THE EXCESS PROFITS SWINDLE MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE IS THAT THE

ESTIMATED YIELD OF THE PROPOSED EXCESS PROFITS TAX FOR 1940 IS \$300,000,000. This, of course, is mere chicken-feed. It is a drop in the bucket when compared with the billions and billions of dollars now being spent on armaments. It is even less when compared with the billions of dollars that corporations will make. It clearly shows that the Government does not expect very much help in meeting the costs of "defense" from the excess profits tax. As always, the costs of war will be borne by the masses—not by the bosses.

One immediate conclusion that every worker must draw from this situation is to raise in his union the demand for NATIONALIZATION OF ALL WAR INDUSTRIES. THIS IS ONE WAY OF STOPPING THE PROPOSED EXCESS PROFITS SWINDLE.

Since the strike began on June 19, one worker has been stabbed to death and scores injured by the police.

Otto Maschoff and Harvey Lang, officials of Local 1108, UERMW have already protested the bitter role of the police. In a long letter to Mayor B. F. Dickmann, Maschoff and Lang have called for an inquiry into police activities, stating, "Shall the St. Louis police, supported by all the people, serve the interest of a single company against the welfare of 1100 citizens and their families. Shall the St. Louis police, with a duty to maintain peace and liberty, aid the company by obstructing legitimate activities of our members through wholesale violations of their civil liberties. We ask you to investigate this situation to the end that a proper correction of these abuses may be achieved."

LAST CHANCE TO GET YOUR . . .
AUGUST ISSUE
NEW INTERNATIONAL
featuring the
Following Articles
LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY—An Editorial
THE INTER-AMERICAN CARTEL—Albert Gates
STATE AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION—J. R. Johnson
NATURE OF GERMAN ECONOMY—D. L. Robbins
THE PROGRESS AND STAGNATION OF MARXISM—
Rosa Luxemburg
Subscribe Now—\$1.50 per year . . . 15c per copy
\$1.00 six months (N.Y.C. and Bronx, \$1.75 and \$1.25)
Send all monies to Albert Gates, Business Manager, 114 W. 14th St., N.Y.

Editorials

OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

1. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war. All war funds to the unemployed.
2. For a rising scale of wages to meet increasing cost of living. Thirty Thirty—\$30 weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers.
3. Expropriate the Sixty Families. For Government ownership and workers control of all war industries—aviation, steel, chemicals, railroads, public utilities, etc.
4. Against both imperialist war camps. For the Third Camp of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples.
5. Let the people vote on war. For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18.
6. Abolish secret diplomacy. Open the files of the State Department.
7. Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America.
8. Against compulsory military training and conscription.
9. For the defense of civil liberties and workers' rights. Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day Plans and war-time dictatorship.
10. For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and trade unions.
11. For an independent Labor Party.
12. For Workers' Defense Guards against Fascist and vigilante attacks.
13. No confidence in the Roosevelt government. For a workers' government and a people's army.
14. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, and for the World Socialist Federation.

F.D.R. Commits An Act of War!

(Continued from page 1)

would be for it. But that is not the case. When a workers' government needed aid in 1918-1920, American Big Business, through its White House office boy, sent troops, not to aid these Russian workers, but to shoot them down. When the Spanish workers were in dire need of materials to pursue their fight against fascism, Roosevelt stood in the way.

If Roosevelt was doing all this in a real fight against fascism we would be for it too. Fascism is a noxious disease that must be destroyed and the workers are the only ones who can do the destroying. Roosevelt represents a regime of capitalist rule by so-called democratic means, which, it is true, are more favorable to the workers than fascist means. Still, as between fascist rule and workers' rule, Roosevelt would unhesitatingly ally himself with the fascists. A real fight against fascism is also a fight against its instigator, CAPITALISM. And such a fight neither Roosevelt nor Willkie, agents of capitalism, can undertake.

The American imperialist politicians who time after time have sent troops down to Latin America—as in Haiti—to subject the people there to Wall Street domination, are not seeking to liberate Latin America with the bases gotten in "trade." These bases will be used to beat off the German exploiters in favor of the American exploiters.

We have nothing in common with either of these exploiters—German or American. OUR interests are shared by the workers all over the world who daily feel the lash of imperialist privation and war. OUR interests are shared by the Latin American and the Chinese and the Indian people who, like ourselves, need liberation from ALL the exploiters.

Our interests cannot be served by secret diplomacy. Neither can fascism be fought that way. We must know exactly what it is the boss government is cooking up for us. We must know exactly what agreements our lives have been pledged to. We must know exactly what the secret archives of the State Department contain. The State Department, representing an enemy class, has no right to act for us.

Before the suppression that actual war conditions will bring—and you can foresee the severity of this by the many suppressions of civil liberties already enacted—we must militantly act through our unions and organizations:

TO DEMAND OF CONGRESS THAT IT MAKE ALL SECRET TREATIES PUBLIC.
TO DEMAND OF CONGRESS THAT IT RESCIND ALL THE WAR STEPS TAKEN BY ROOSEVELT.

TO DEMAND OF CONGRESS THAT IT REJECT THE CONSCRIPTION BILL.

TO PREPARE OURSELVES FOR THE DAY WHEN, RID OF OUR EXPLOITERS, WE WILL ESTABLISH OUR OWN WORKERS' GOVERNMENT.

We Propose for Investigation:

Martin Dies, chairman of the House Committee to Investigate "un-American" Activities has asked Congress to give him \$100,000 to continue his "investigations." Dies wants to look into "fifth column" activities in every large city in the country. From now on the "investigation" will be conducted behind closed doors.

We are for Dies getting the \$100,000 on one condition: if he will conduct an investigation of lynching and the poll tax situation in the eight southern poll tax states. This would include Texas and, particularly, Dies' own district.

We want Dies to take his committee into Tennessee, to Brownsville, and investigate the recent lynching of Everett Williams and the participation of prominent democratic office holders in that lynching. We want him to look into the charge that Williams was lynched and other Negroes run out of Brownsville because they wanted to avail themselves of their constitutional right to vote.

We want Dies to investigate the lynching of a 17 year old Negro boy in Rust County, Texas, because someone accused him of stealing chickens.

As this country prepares for war by conscripting young men, including Negroes, into the army we would like for Dies to . . .

Look Into Lynching

—and all manner of mob violence, intimidation, disfranchisement and discrimination that Negroes are the victims of. That is, we would like to see Martin Dies and his committee look into some of the "un-American" activities that occur openly and right under his nose. In fact, the things we are talking about don't require much investigation, they are plain for everyone to see.

Next we would like for Dies to use a part of this \$100,000 finding out who and what is responsible for the fact that it is the practice not to permit Negroes to vote in the South. We want to know how Dies can get elected to Congress in 1938 with only 12,284 votes cast while in a similar election that same year in the State of Washington 147, 061 votes were cast.

Here is something else for the Dies "un-American Activities Committee" to look into. Rhode Island with a population of only 637,000 cast more votes for its two representatives in 1938 than were cast for 36 representatives to Congress in four districts of Virginia, and the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi with 11,000,000 population! In the poll tax states, with 22,000,000 population, only 1,892,000 people voted in the last senatorial elections! The Negroes and poor whites were disfranchised: the whites because they did not have the money to pay the high poll taxes of from \$1.50 to \$2.00, and the Negroes because they could not pay the taxes, and for the more important reason that even, if they had the money, they would risk lynching if they attempted to register and vote.

These are a few un-American activities for Dies to look into. If this obscure, insignificant, inconsequential demagogue from the mob state of Texas wants to do a job, let him . . .

Clean the Rubbish

—from his own back yard, and the filth from under his own bed. Fifteen million Negroes will be especially interested in such an investigation as we propose. They are more concerned now than ever because they are being called on to join the army and defend the rotten borough system that makes it possible for Dies to remain in congress; vote against the anti-lynching bill and all other legislation that will benefit the working class.

Negroes will want to know what Congress do about mob violence, lynching and congress and the Dies Committee are going the denial of civil rights to Negroes. They are far more interested in these things than joining the army to fight in an imperialist war.

For Labor Action—Join the Workers Party

How the Spectre of Trotsky's Ideas Haunted the Press

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

"All the principal events of his career are surrounded by an atmosphere of secrecy and furtiveness. He moved through the world subterraneously, like a mole burrowing from the sun . . . Desiring the fulfillment of the Marxian dream for a proletarian dictatorship, he demanded rebellions everywhere on earth and did his best to bring them about. Only this struggle," he insisted, "will bring real peace to the blood drenched world." But the serenity he wanted was the submission of society to a form of slavery as cruel as any the mind can conceive. . . . Now he has died a martyr to the logical development of the errors he taught. But the evil that he did lives after him to the sorrow of millions."

Thus the Washington Star paid tribute, in its way, to the greatest revolutionary of our age on the day after he was brutally murdered by a GPU pickaxe in the brain. This strange mixture of hatred, fact and nonsense is typical of all the comments in the bourgeois press on Trotsky. The editorial hacks who articulated, in the banal and vulgar phrases of daily journalism, the attitude of the American ruling class towards their fallen enemy, managed to make one thing clear: Stalin's pickaxe removed from the world scene a leader their bosses hated and feared. The world ruling class has neither forgotten nor forgiven Leon Trotsky for expropriating their Russian colleagues.

"Died as He Lived . . ."

Far from expressing the slightest human sympathy for the victim or even of indignation over the brutality of the act itself, the bourgeois press played endless variations on the theme expressed most succinctly in the Scripps-Howard press: "Trotsky, who once lived by the sword, died by the pickaxe."

The Chicago Tribune, whose editorial writer performed the apparently impossible feat of believing both that Jackson was a factional opponent of Trotsky inside the movement and that he was also a GPU agent, put it thus: "If Trotsky dies of this, he will have died as he lived and as all the old Bolsheviks died, of violence or execution." The N.Y. Times rose to fiery heights of moral indignation: "Brutal? Of course it was; but it was no more brutal than the Stalin tyranny as a whole, no more ruthless than the Russian Revolution which this consummate firebrand in exile had himself set alight and kept aflame a generation ago. Trotsky prided himself on being a true revolutionary who shrank at nothing. The victims of his cold cruelty, and of Lenin's, can be numbered in the millions; the wastes of Siberia are bleached with their bones."

"No Tears . . ."

The frankest in its hatred was that most debased and rotten of warmongering "left" papers, the Social Democrats' New Leader, which began its editorial:

"We cannot pretend to weep any bitter tears over the death of Leon Trotsky. The shades of Russian workmen and peasants whom in his days of glory he caused to be shot down rise between us and his bier."

Thus the New Leader, which calls itself a "Marxist" organ—the "Marxism" of Noske and Scheidemann! The editors, in fact, went so far in their venomous slandering of Trotsky's memory that one of their own contributors, Leon Dennen, wrote in a letter of protest.

It is plain that the ruling class, like their ally, Stalin, knows their enemy. The hypocrisy of all this moralizing over Trotsky's revolutionary blood-letting is exposed by the fact that in the same day's papers as announced Trotsky's death could be read articles about women and children being blown to bits by the bombers of England and Germany. The mouthpieces of a capitalist system which for months now has been slaughtering tens of thousands of the people of Poland, England, France, Holland, Norway, Belgium, and Germany—these gentlemen still recall with horror the loss of life in the Russian revolution. The fact is that when people die in a senseless war to perpetuate the existing system of slavery and exploitation called capitalism, their deaths arouse no horror in the breast of editorial writers since such human sacrifices are necessary to maintain "law and order." But when a revolutionary leader sheds blood to bring a better world into being, he is attacking "law and order" and those who die in the revolution are victims of cruel massacre.

The Left-Wing Press

Finally, a few words on what is generally referred to as the leftwing press. (I exclude, of course, the Trotskyist press—Labor Action and the Socialist Appeal) Workers Age, organ of the Lovestone groups, and the Weekly People, organ of the Socialist Labor Party, are the only papers I have seen which expressed real regret at Trotsky's death and some sense of his historical greatness as a revolutionist. A section of the Weekly People's revolutionary tribute is printed elsewhere in this issue. The Socialist Call was very characteristically cautious and lukewarm, committing itself no farther than to note that Stalin had made

Trotsky "the last great martyr of the Russian Revolution". The Nation printed a remarkably sympathetic editorial—perhaps to make up for an earlier article by one Harry Block which implied that the first murder attempt this spring was a fake arranged by Trotsky. The Nation even went so far as to argue that Trotsky would have run the Soviet Union more humanely and intelligently than Stalin has, which is a really amazing thing to read in those pages after the treatment of Trotsky at the time of the Moscow Trials. The New Republic, on the other hand, which has been in the last year much more Stalinized than the Nation, printed an extremely vulgar and malicious editorial note on Trotsky, probably from the pen of Malcolm Cowley.

The Stalinist press at first tried to

ignore the killing entirely. The only daily paper in New York not to mention the attack within twenty-four hours of its occurrence was the Daily Worker. After Trotsky had died, the Worker ran a front-page news story headed "FOLLOWER OF TROTSKY TELLS MOTIVES IN ASSASSINATION", as well as a lead editorial which began: "Leon Trotsky died at the hands of one of that small gang of dubious social elements and provocateurs who alone remained for him to lead after he had long been exposed as an enemy of the working class." The rest of the editorial was in this vein, an inchoate mass of garbled facts, rumors, slanders and abuse from the gutter.

And the masses in Soviet Russia learned of Trotsky's death from a notice exactly seven lines long in the official press.

Our Readers Take the Floor. . .

UNFAIR CONDITIONS IN BROOKLYN FACTORY

Dear Editor:

I am sending you this letter to see if there is a thing as a law. I work in a factory at . . . Brooklyn, N.Y. on children pants and my boss does not take on any help. He sends all the girls away saying he has no work. Then he takes his work after hours, and also on Saturday, to the home of one of his favorites, and goes after it himself when she has it done. Now, I know that a law was passed saying no more home work must be done, that the bosses must take on more help.

Please look into this matter. Why should some girls work by day in the shop, and by night at home. While some can't even get a job at all on account of such a thing.

Yours,
L. M.

Brooklyn, N.Y.
(If you want to do something about the situation in the factory you should immediately inform the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The union will advise you on what to do, and will undoubtedly take some action. Also if you will

communicate with our trade union department, it will try to help you. —Ed.)

Let Us Fight!

Our fathers lie in Flanders fields Their bones are rotting there. While overhead a tyrant's flag Is floating in the air.

They died in lands far o'er the sea Where tyrants freely roam. To save the cash investments Of tyrants here at home.

Shall we their children also die In wars that bankers make? Or shall we raise the rebel flag And die for freedom's sake.

If we must die, then let us die To set the workers free. And not to save the bankers' gold And their fake democracy.

Then let us fight, and let us die Like workers free and brave. It's better to have fought and died Than live a banker's slave. St. Louis, Mo. Sam Hill

World at War - -

(Continued from page 1) and that only the further development of the war will unfold.

FRENCH FACTIONS

In the meantime, the French empire is dividing up in its allegiance to either the Nazi dominated government at Vichy or the English dominated government in London which is headed by General de Gaulle. Almost the whole of French Equatorial Africa has pledged its allegiance to General de Gaulle and will continue the fight against the axis powers. And now, French Indo China too is reported in revolt against the Vichy government. Needless to say the natives of these colonies have no say in the matter and are being used as pawns in the factional fights of these colonial overlords and exploiters.

BALKANS AGAIN

The Balkan question came to the fore again this week. Last Friday Hitler dictated peace to the Balkans, at least temporarily, when Count Ciano and Herr von Ribbentrop meeting at Vienna decreed that Rumania cede to Hungary the northern half of Transylvania. Hitler's interest in peace in the Balkans at this time is understandable. He wishes to concentrate his entire attention on the fight against England.

However, an interesting feature of the division of Transylvania is the inclusion, as the frontier of the new Hungary, of the Carpathian mountains as a natural bulwark against any attacks from the East. Thus Hitler has, through his vassal Hungary, further made it certain that, until he finishes his job in the west, his eastern flank is fully protected.

Hitler's solution of the problem of national minorities in Europe is dictated by the same military-economic strategic necessities as was that of the Allies after the last world war. Only now Hitler is the victor and is therefore the beneficiary. Prior to the partition of Transylvania the Hungarian minority within it clamored for its restoration to Hungary. Now there is a substantial Rumanian minority in the ceded section that protests its inclusion into Hungary. Here we see that fascist variety of capitalism, like its democratic variety, is unable to solve the problem of national minorities. Only a socialist society purged of exploitation and racial national hatreds can achieve that.

Just a couple of days prior to Rumania's ceding of Northern Transylvania to Hungary, Russia protested vehemently to Rumania against alleged anti-Russian actions on the Bessarabian border. There are some people given to wishful thinking who with Rumania—which besides tak-

believe that Hitler's "settlement" of a slice of territory also "guaranteed" her present frontiers—shows that Russia and Germany are falling out. Anybody who has followed the reactionary partnership between Hitler and Stalin will see that as with Poland, Finland and Bessarabia, the present partition of Rumania was undoubtedly decided on in advance between Hitler and Stalin, and that Stalin's protests against Rumania were deliberately staged in order to get Rumania to agree to the partition in a hurry by playing up the Russian bogeyman.

No less a Stalinist flunkey than Walter Duranty makes this clear in his dispatch to the New York Times of Aug. 31. Writing from Bucharest under the date line of Aug. 30, Duranty says:

"Continuance of Russian and German collaboration—at least for the present or near future—seems the answer to the problem of Russia's Balkan policy and of Russian-German relations.

"Pessimists here—Bucharest is full of them—mutter gloomily that Rumania may suffer a fate only less grievous than Poland's, that Russia and Germany have temporarily settled their differences at Rumania's expense by giving more than half of Transylvania to Hungary and another slice of Eastern Rumania to Russia. Some support is given this view by Russia's sudden note of protest against alleged anti-Russian action by Rumania on the Bessarabian border. The Bulgarians, too, unexpectedly began to speak about delays in the Dobruja settlement. . . . whether Russia now gets her pound of Rumanian flesh, the manner and timing of the Soviet protest has convinced the Rumanians that Russia and Germany are at present in accord. . . ."

"The Vienna conference has served to tighten the bonds between Italy and Germany and produces a clear Russian-German sky. Russia, no doubt, plays her own hand, and is by no means certain of Germany's intentions and feels the need for taking precautionary measures against them.

"Russia is also eager to get what she can while she can, but the present, and perhaps for a long time to come, she is in no condition or temper to challenge Germany.

"Russian - German 'friendship' seems to have gained a new lease on life in the same way as before when Herr Hitler deliberately gave the Russians a free hand in Eastern Poland, the Baltic States, Finland and, lately, in Bessarabia. This, however, does not mean that Russia and Germany trust each other any more than they ever did."

Thus from Walter Duranty. And he ought to know.

THE NEGRO'S FIGHT Where Will You Find Friends Of the Negroes?

By J. R. JOHNSON

Negroes have now had over 75 years of experience with the Democratic and Republican parties, and should be able to draw certain conclusions. During those years we have had Republican governments, Democratic governments, Republican governments and again Democratic governments. But for Negroes—the same old Jim Crow: Jim Crow in the Federal service, Jim Crow in jobs—above all Jim Crow in jobs—Jim Crow in trains, in the army, in the navy. Anti-lynching bills are thrown out. Surely, if the Democratic and Republican parties were friends of the Negroes, they could easily join together and pass any bills they wanted to.

During the last few years, however the name of Roosevelt has made a great stir among the Negroes. Negroes had no relief, Negroes had no WPA. Now Negroes, or at least some Negroes, can get these things. Therefore, Roosevelt is a friend of the Negro. Negroes vote for Roosevelt.

But if Roosevelt is a friend of the Negro, why the same old Jim Crow in Washington, the nation's capital? Why not a word from Roosevelt about the anti-lynching bill? Why the Jim Crow in the army, navy and in jobs? Why? Why? Because Roosevelt is no friend of the Negro. Roosevelt is no more a friend of the Negro than Willkie is.

SMALL FAVORS STAVED OFF EXPLOSION

Negroes got relief and some jobs on the WPA because the American capitalist system was going to pieces in 1932, and if someone didn't do something there would have been an explosion. A certain section of the capitalists, with Roosevelt at their head decided to increase the purchasing power of the poorer classes to keep them quiet, and to set the wheels of industry going once more. So it was that the poorer people gained a little relief from starvation and the Negroes, being among the poorest, could not be excluded.

Roosevelt included Negroes among those who got a little something from the New Deal because he had to. If you want proof, listen to Willkie. He agrees with all that remains of the New Deal. He has to. Because that is the only way that, for the time being, capitalism can stagger along. But he would be a very stupid Negro who thinks that because Willkie, if elected president, would continue relief and WPA, for that reason, Willkie is a friend of the Negro.

ON FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS THEY AGREE

To understand the attitude of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party to Negroes we should watch their attitude to the war. Roosevelt is for help to Britain. Roosevelt is for a war against Hitler, Willkie is for a war against Hitler. Roosevelt is for conscription Willkie is for conscription. The only difference between them on the war question is the way they spell their names.

Why? Because the protection of American capitalist interests by war is a fundamental necessity of American capitalism. So, though they fight each other for power, Roosevelt and Willkie are united on the war.

But the suppression of the Negroes is another fundamental question for American capitalism. And therefore, on this question, Roosevelt and Willkie are united also. And that is why, Republican or Democratic government, we have the same old Jim Crow, in the federal service, in the army, navy and everywhere.

THE NEGRO'S CAUSE IS LABOR'S CAUSE

Once we learn that, then we have learned something very valuable. We know that no serious improvement in the Negroes position can come from these gangs. The Negroes must turn to themselves and to the labor movement. And, however discouraging the fight along this road may be at times yet it is the only road. Because the labor movement is frequently in violent conflict with the capitalist class, both Democratic and Republican, it must also champion the Negroes cause.

Thus today, the AFL and CIO are opposing conscription which is being pushed on by the Democrats and the Republicans, alike. Here the Negro comes in. He throws his full weight with the labor movement against conscription. For, whoever is against the capitalist class, is thereby a friend of Negro emancipation.

LABOR ACTION
114 W. 14th Street
New York City

Dear Friends:

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

Name _____
Address _____
City _____

LABOR ACTION
Official Organ of Workers Party
(Section of the 4th International)
Published weekly by the National Council of the Young People's Socialist League of America (Fourth International)
VOL. 4, No. 22 SEPTEMBER 9, 1940
114 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. (3rd Floor)
Editor: JOSEPH CARTER
Managing Editor: EMANUEL GARRETT
Business Manager: ALBERT GATES
Subscription Rate: \$1.50 per year, \$1.00 six months (\$2.00 per year or \$1.50 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 3, 1879.