

The Japanese Empire at War . . . by Sherman Stanley

BREAKING THROUGH THE ORIENTAL CENSORSHIP:—Sherman Stanley, LABOR ACTION's correspondent, has just returned from an extensive tour of the Far East. In this, the first of a series of articles he has written for LABOR ACTION, Stanley gives his daily impressions of Dai Nippon, Land of the Cherry Blossoms.)

KOBE, Japan—Daily life in Japan today furnishes practical evidence of one axiom of modern politics: *Imperialist war doesn't pay!*

Japan's endless "incident" in China is two years ahead

of the European war. That is, the living standards of the masses have had two years longer in which to decline as compared with their less unlucky brothers in Europe's madhouse. The decline has now reached a stage where the existence of a Japanese worker, clerk or farmer is comparable to that of a primitive toad in a frog pond: eat, hop about at the long day's work and sleep!

The masses are frankly puzzled by the "sacred incident" that was supposed to end after three months. The more they tighten their belts so that the final push may be made and all of China's supposed riches fall into their laps, the more

they are asked to tighten their belts! Even the belt of Asiatic fatalism has just so many notches. Where and when does this vicious cycle end?

CLEANLINESS:

Japanese cities are about the cleanest one can find anywhere. But a good "economic" motivation lurks behind it all. No scrap material can go to waste! Everything except the cobblestones must be picked up, sorted and used. This goes for bits of scrap iron or metal, pieces of string not long enough to mend, a busted shoe lace, bits of odd paper (try

to obtain toilet paper in Japan!), candy wrappers, etc. Everything goes into the totalitarian war machine the oh! so subtle Japanese politicians are trying to erect.

THE LAST UNION:

Japan's last union—the Japanese Seamen's Union—has just been "voluntarily" dissolved. The union bosses decided this was in the Nation's interests and, without consulting a ship's crew, wrote *finis* to Japan's organized labor movement. Now, only secret unions can exist as in any fascist

(Continued on page 2)

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

LABOR ACTION

In This Issue —

The Elections Page 2
Shelters Page 3
Mexico Page 4

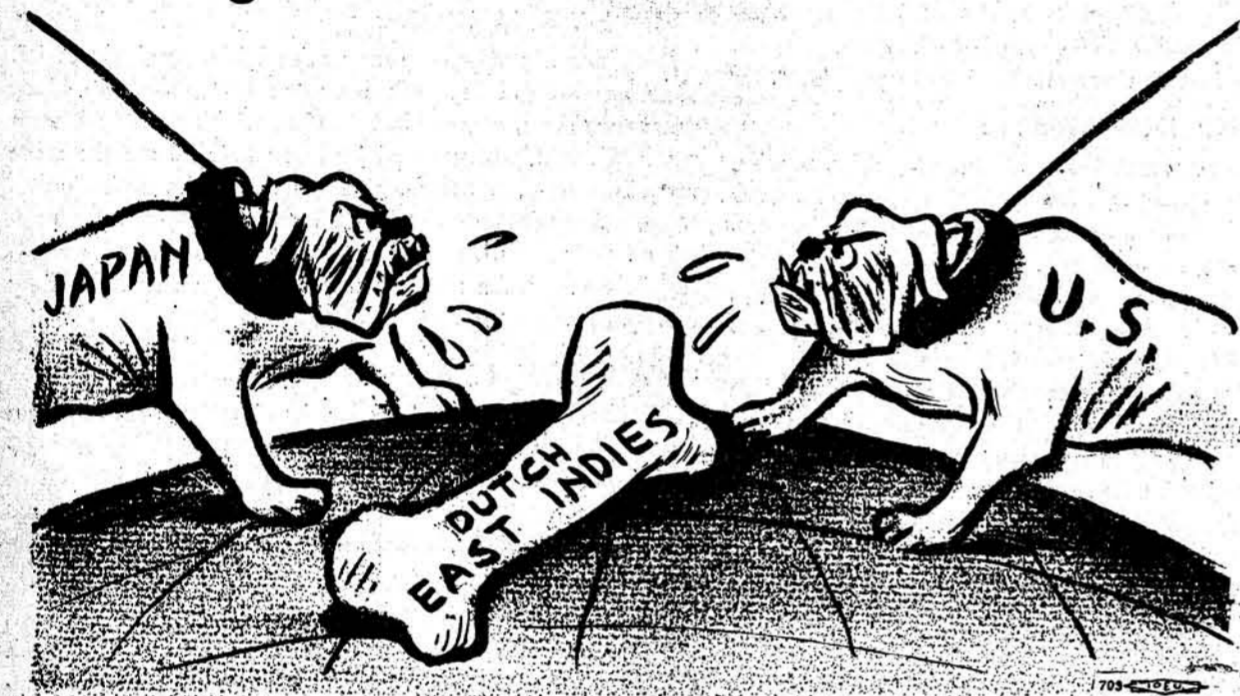
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ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY, SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

THREE CENTS

CONSCRIPT THE WAR INDUSTRIES!

Straining At The Leash



But - - Under Control of the Workers!

The conscription bill, called by the high-sounding name of "Selective Training and Service Act," is now the "law" of the land. By its provisions, millions of young men will be forced to join the army and participate in the Second Imperialist World War. Calling this bill a "Training and Service Act" and attempting to give the impression that it is just a means to aid in preparing against attack, should blind no one to the brute facts.

Millions of young men are being forced to leave their jobs, homes and families to fight in a war being waged by the imperialists of the world to secure their loot and expand their opportunities for exploitation and plunder. We do not believe that the workers can have any interest in serving in such an army and fighting in such a war.

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION opposed this conscription act. Our opposition was not based on the fact that the act provided for "peace-time" conscription. We were not part of that group of labor leaders, liberals and pacifists whose only objection to conscription was that the United States was not at war yet. We had no such mealy-mouth, pussyfoot position.

No! our position was and still is based on the fact that this draft law is part and parcel of the preparations of this country to plunge into the war. Opposition to the draft act was part of our wider opposition to the world war now going on. We make no discrimination between "peace-time" draft for imperialist war and a war time draft for the same purpose. They are both cut out of the same piece of cloth.

The ruling class and Roosevelt—at present their leading spokesman—have had their way. Thousands of men are on their way to the various camps to be "trained" for "service." They are not going of their own free will.

The bosses are going to have an army. They have conscripted it. Millions of workers will be called for this army. They will go from the factories, mines and mills to slave for their bosses in another capacity and on another front.

Other working men and women will take these workers' places. The factories will hum and the profits of the bosses will pile higher and higher. The workers in the boss's army will be miserably paid and the workers in the bosses' factories will get low wages. But the bosses will grow fat and gorge themselves with bigger and bigger dividends and interest.

This will be true if things remain as they are now, because the ruling class "owns" these factories. The government is building more plants for them to produce war supplies and material. Not only this, but the government has guaranteed the bosses' profits.

True, there is some talk about an "excess profits tax." The government is planning to ask the bosses to pay higher taxes for support of the war, their war. This is all right as far as it goes, but it doesn't go very far. The draft act demands that the workers give everything, even their lives. This being true, we must make demands on the government to extend the conscription act to cover the plants, mills and factories producing war materials.

The government has conscripted the workers for the Army, now let them conscript industry.

Workers and soldiers! Demand that the government take over all the war industries. Demand that these industries be operated under workers control. If the workers are asked to give their lives, let the bosses give their plants and profits.

Not only should all the war industries be conscripted and operated and controlled by the workers, but there are other demands that we must make. We Demand:—

1. FULL POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR ALL CONSCRIPTED AND ENLISTED MEN. THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN ALL FEDERAL STATE AND MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS WHILE SERVING IN THE ARMY.
2. THE FULL DEMOCRATIC RIGHT OF THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS TO ASSEMBLE UNDER THEIR OWN AUSPICES FOR POLITICAL DISCUSSION, THE RIGHT TO RECEIVE ANY LITERATURE OF THEIR CHOICE, THE RIGHT TO PUBLISH PAPERS AND LITERATURE OF THEIR CHOICE.
3. THE RIGHT NOT ONLY TO RETAIN THEIR PREVIOUS POLITICAL AND TRADE UNION AFFILIATIONS DURING THEIR ARMY SERVICE, BUT THE RIGHT TO ELECT THEIR OWN COMMITTEES, TO ACT AS THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN DEALING WITH OFFICERS AND TO HANDLE GRIEVANCES.
4. THAT THE MINIMUM ARMY PAY BE RAISED TO \$60 A MONTH, EXCLUSIVE OF "KEEP".
5. THAT ALL RACIAL, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION BE ELIMINATED FROM THE ARMY AND NAVY. THAT ANY AND EVERY BRANCH OF THE ARMY AND NAVY, AND EVERY RANK BE OPEN TO EVERY SOLDIER AND SAILOR WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION.

(The above is the first of a series of articles on conscription, setting forth the Workers Party position. The second in this series will appear next week.)

Signatures on Shachtman Petition Top Number Needed Campaign Director Points To Success Of Drive As Demonstration Of Anti-War Sentiment

A place on the ballot for Max Shachtman, National Secretary of the Workers Party and candidate for Congress from the 23rd District of the Bronx, appeared certain today with the announcement by Nathan Gould, Campaign Director, that 7,500 signatures had been secured on the independent nominating petitions.

Gould, in disclosing the total number of nominating signatures, stated that the petition drive had gone well over the top by more than 4,500. The election law, Gould stated, requires only 3,000 signatures to place a candidate in nomination and assure him a place on the ballot.

An Anti-War Protest

"The fine success achieved in our drive to win a place on the ballot for Max Shachtman demonstrates both the zeal of our Party and Yip-sel comrades and the popularity of the Workers Party anti-war program with the voters of the Bronx," Gould stated.

"In reckoning with the candidacy of Max Shachtman," Gould continued, "The Board of Elections will be reckoning with 7,500 workers who

want an anti-war, anti-conscription candidate on the ballot."

The final date for filing the nominating petitions with the Board of Elections is Tuesday, October 8.

Meanwhile, the Campaign Committee pressed forward with its plans for a vigorous election drive.

Challenges Altman

Foremost among the week's developments in this connection was the dispatch of an invitation to Jack Altman, Congressional Candidate of the American Labor Party right-wing, to debate the campaign issues with Max Shachtman.

The full text of the letter to Altman states:

September 27, 1940

My dear Mr. Altman:

You are undoubtedly aware of the fact that Max Shachtman is one of the candidates opposing you in the Congressional contest in the Twenty Third District of the Bronx. Mr. Shachtman is the National Secretary of the Workers Party.

In view of that fact, we should like to arrange a debate between

you and Mr. Shachtman on the issues confronting the voters of the Twenty Third District.

We feel confident that an event of this type is in the best democratic tradition, that it will attract wide interest and that it will afford the voters of the District a fair opportunity to view and weigh the personalities and programs involved in this campaign.

May we hear from you at the earliest date so that we may arrange our schedule accordingly.

Respectfully,
Nathan Gould
Campaign Director

With the invitation to Altman to debate Shachtman, the campaign enters on its second and most important stage. Hitherto, the chief emphasis had been on securing the necessary nominating signatures.

"As the campaign draws nearer to election day, the Workers Party program and candidate will reach thousands upon thousands of workers," the Campaign Committee stated. "It will be our duty to bring before the workers of the Bronx not

only the full anti-war program of the party, but to assure a strong following for the Workers Party candidate at the polls," the Committee statement continued.

"The program of the Workers Party, which will reach into thousands of homes, contains a special appeal to the large Negro population of the Bronx," the statement went on. "The Negro and white workers will be asked to endorse and support the candidate's stand favoring passage of the Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill and his stand for the abolition of the poll tax in the South. On this score, the Workers Party candidate stands committed to an unflinching battle in behalf of America's largest and worst treated minority, the Committee statement concluded.

The Committee also announced that its schedule of mass meetings will be ready for publication next week.

**For Labor Action —
Join Workers Party**

Scrap Iron Workers Win Their Strike!

It Took 16 Hard Weeks, But It Was Worth It

Special to Labor Action

NEWARK, Oct. 2.—The 16 weeks old strike of 35 Negro workers at the Reichman & Hoffman scrap iron plant ended in victory this week. The strikers will return to work Monday with an increased appreciation of union organization and militancy. The strike was long and these workers made many sacrifices

but they know now that it was worth the fight.

The new contract calls for a closed shop, a minimum, for the present, of 45 cents an hour for unskilled labor and 65 cents for skilled workers. After six months, the contract calls for raising the minimum to 52 cents and 72½ cents. Beginning October 1, 1941, the prevailing

scale of the New York area will be paid. This is slightly higher than the New Jersey scale.

The strikers won a 40 hour week, time and a half for overtime and double time for Sundays and holidays. Vacations with pay are provided for in the contract and all legal holidays off with pay.

Previous to the strike, these workers were being paid 30 cents an hour for common labor, and 55 cents an hour for skilled labor. They worked a 60 hour week and no extra pay for overtime for Sundays. Seniority and vacations with pay were unheard of.

The words of Business Manager Collandrillo before the North Jersey Council of Scrap Iron Workers, Waste Materials Union, have come true. "Not only will we win our strike at Reichman-Hoffman but that strike will mark the beginning of an intensive organizational drive among scrap iron workers in North Jersey." Plans for this drive are now under way.

Along with the signing of the Reichman-Hoffman agreement it was announced that the New York Chapter of Scrap Iron and Steel Institute, had reached an agreement with the New York District of the Waste Materials Union. This contract covers 700 workers and covers substantial wage increases.

Confidential!

"U.S. is likely to be involved . . . possibly in a 'shooting war.' This is the official theory.

There's now a genuine war spirit in Washington, partly concealed . . . cramped and restrained by elections . . . labeled, of course, as 'defense.' Spirit has already reached such a pitch that questioning of the program is branded as 'unpatriotic.' It's pretty much a headlong rush."

—from the Kiplinger confidential news letter for business men, Sept. 21.

Watch Prices!

"Business boom is about to start . . . an armaments boom.

Also rising cost of living, probably 10% to 15% higher than now, on the average, sometime within the next 12 months."

—from Kiplinger confidential news letter for business men, Sept. 21.

WITH RESPECT TO RUSSIA

Of great significance, is the following point in article 5 of the pact: "Germany, Italy and Japan affirm that the aforesaid terms do not in any way affect the political status which exists at present, between each of the contracting parties and Soviet Russia." Russia's role is further illuminated, by the following item in the Nazi Frankfurter Zeitung of Sept. 27: "All possibilities have been left open to include the Russian sphere of interest within the great framework of world political cooperation. The Russo-German pact could serve as a starting point model for such a development. This agreement not only retains its full validity, but can open new perspectives that assure for the tremendous complex of territories stretching over Europe and Asia foundations of peaceful development."

Thus even with respect to the traditional enemy, Japan, Stalin continues to remain in the shadow of Hitler, and fear of the latter compels Stalin to go whither Hitler will lead him. There is every possibility

(Continued on page 3)

THE WORLD AT WAR

Japan Answers F.D.R. Embargo On Scrap Iron with Axis Pact-- Both Eye Rich Oriental Spoils

By MAX STERLING

Japan's reply to President Roosevelt's embargo on scrap iron and scrap steel exports to her, and the new loan of \$25,000,000 to China, was to join her destiny irrevocably to that of the Axis powers. The war with the United States is now only a matter of time.

For Japan, this is a move of desperation. The embargo against iron and steel scrap, vital for the Japanese war industries and which constituted 91% of Japan's imports of that item from the United States in 1939, is only one of the reasons motivating Japan in her new alliance.

For Japanese imperialism now is the time, while the United States is still inadequately prepared and occupied in backing up Britain's fight against Germany, to establish its new "order" in the Far East.

American imperialism is certain to get Great Britain to open up the Burma Road on October 18 in order to insure the movement of supplies to China. It is also certain that the United States will receive from Great Britain the use of her great naval base at Singapore to counter any attempts by the Japanese in the direction of the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines.

If American imperialism can continue to involve the Japanese in her war with China and keeping them busy exhausting themselves there, then naturally it would prefer to do this and not get itself involved prematurely in a war with Japan. For the United States there still remains the job of tremendous rearmament and of backing up England in her war with Germany—for at present, British resistance represents the first line of defense of American imperialism.

The question of war now depends

With the Labor Unions On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

A POINT RAISED BY JIMMY WALKER'S NEW JOB

The appointment of ex-Mayor Walker as "impartial chairman" of the garment industry in New York brings up the whole question of trades unions and arbitration. Walker is to get \$20,000 a year. No announcement was made on the point but if the usual practice is followed the salary will be met jointly by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the industry. The steel workers union follows this same procedure whenever "arbitrators are appointed," the unions meeting one half of the bill.

Unions should get rid of this business of "impartial chairmen and arbitrators." There ain't no such animal as an impartial chairman in the conflict between the workers and the boss. The "impartial chairman" is always a member of the ruling class and therefore a stooge for the bosses. It makes no difference whether the so-called impartial chairman is a shyster with a shady past like Walker or some lily pure "liberal" outside the labor movement. The workers' representative will be outvoted 2 to 1. This for the reason that the two things just don't mix: the interests of the workers and the interests of the employers. They are two different camps and cannot be reconciled.

The workers must deal directly with the bosses through committees of their own choosing. They must present their own demands to the boss. If the negotiations break down, then they must decide themselves what to do next. They may decide to strike. They may decide that the time is not right for a strike. Whichever is the decision it

should be made by the union without the assistance of any alleged impartial arbitrator from the ruling class.

The unions cannot delegate their ranks, not even to the government. If the workers had not pursued this independent course in the past they would not even have the right to organize today. Because at one time they were jailed for the terrible crime of "conspiring to raise their own wages."

In New York City it is becoming increasingly customary to call in Mayor La Guardia to settle disputes between the workers and the employers. The "Little-Flower" "settled" the painters strike, the latest bus strike and is now busy with several disputes involving the electricians.

Whether the workers realize it or not, all this feverish haste to get strikes "settled" is tied up with the "defense" program. The government and all the ruling class leaders want to keep the workers quiet and at work. The workers want to keep steadily employed also, but there is another item they are interested in: WAGES AND HOURS. The workers want more wages and shorter hours. The bosses don't want to pay more wages and they are again shortening the hours. The workers can win these demands however if they quit monkeying around with arbitration boards and "impartial chairmen." We must never forget that we are the majority and it is we who man the mines, mills, factories, trains and ships. Not a wheel can turn without us.

GOT SICK WHEN HE WAS CAUGHT

Howard Hopson, former big shot of the billion-dollar Associated Gas and Electric System has been sent to Bellevue Hospital for ten days for mental observation. Hopson is the guy who faces trial for stealing \$20,000,000 from Associated Gas and Electric. He has bought up a bunch of high priced lawyers and six medical fakery. These "professional" men claim that Hopson is "mentally unfit" to stand trial at present.

We would not attempt to say that Hopson is not sick. He may be insane. But he didn't get sick or crazy

until he was caught. Perhaps the fine cigars he bought with money stolen from Associated Gas made him dizzy. After all, a man can buy a big batch of Corona Coronas for \$20,000,000.

If a worker steals a loaf of bread or a pair of shoes for a barefoot child he'll land in the hoosegow without benefit of big lawyers or six doctors. A worker steals because he is a thief and has no respect for private property. A big shot industrialist or financier steals because he is mentally unbalanced.

WHEN THE SHOE BEGAN TO PINCH

Having received permission from the Interstate Commerce Commission to work drivers up to sixty hours a week, the bus companies are now trying to get the sixty hour week extended to mechanics and other non-driver classifications. The International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employes are opposing this step. They have the 42 hour week under the Wages and Hours Act and they want to keep it.

It seems that the IAM and the ASERMEC did not get heated up over this matter until the shoe began to pinch them. The way for the non-driver crafts to protect themselves is to make a vigorous fight for the drivers to come under the maximum Wages and Hours 42 hour week. This will protect all workers in the industry.

THE SOLUTION IS: ORGANIZE THE JOBLESS!

The unemployed in the Akron, Ohio, area who are using the Food Stamp Plan are about to be deluged with a surplus of cabbage. Cabbage is about to become the opium of the people in this region. The surplus commodities authorities are using publicity to extol the virtues of cabbage. It was known to the early Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. In fact, the Egyptians erected a temple to the cabbage.

This of course is one of the weak spots in the food stamp surplus plan. When the agricultural situation changes, the unemployed are likely to find themselves flooded with such items as cabbage, onions, turnips or grape fruit; and not the wide variety of foods that the plan started with. The only cure for the situation is for the unemployed to be strongly organized so that they can secure an increase in the cash relief payment. Then they can go to the store and buy any article of food they want, whether the Egyptians erected a temple to it or not.

These Stands Sell

Labor Action

LOWER MANHATTAN:

14th Street—6th Ave. N.E. & S.E.; University Pl. S.E.; Broadway S.W.; 4th Ave. S.W., N.E., S.E. 1 & 2. 3rd Ave. N.W.; Opposite Jefferson Theater; 2nd Ave. N.W. 12th Street & 2nd Ave. S.E. Biderman's—184 2nd Ave. Modern Book Shop, 27 University Place. 8th St. & 6th Ave. N.E. 7th Ave. & Christopher St., S.W. 75 Greenwich Ave. near 11th St. 131 W. 33rd St. Room 704. 38th St. & 7th Ave. N.W. 42nd Street—6th Ave. S.W., S.E.; opposite Sterns; 5th Ave. S.W. 2nd Stand. 23rd Street—Broadway S.E.; 4th Ave. S.W. Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St. Maisel's Book Store—424 Grand St. 1st St. & 1st Ave. K & K Store, Monroe and Market St. S.W. Bowery & Delancey St. S.E.

Neither Willkie Nor Roosevelt

They Are Presidential Candidates Chosen by the Boss Class

Once again workers in the United States are faced with a demand from the 60 Families and Wall Street that we go to the polls on election day and make one or the other of their hand picked candidates president of the United States. The question of whom the workers shall vote for has been decided to their own satisfaction by the big bankers, manufacturers and land owners.

The bosses have two candidates, Roosevelt and Willkie. Each of these men represents, protects and defends the ideas, beliefs and the way of life of the ruling class in the United States. Neither of them represents the working class or the interests of the workers.

Bosses Control The Government

Roosevelt and Willkie are members and the leaders of the Democratic and Republican Parties. It has been known for a long time that both of these parties are the political organizations of the ruling class of bankers, big business men and the big land owners. These two parties are the organizations through which the Morgans, Rockefellers, Fords, Mellons and Duponts control the government, protect their class interests and maintain their power, profits and wealth.

The present ruling class learned many years ago that if they got power and held it they must control the government: including the army, the national guard and the police. It would be all right for the workers to vote just so long as we voted only for the candidates put up by the bosses. The rich people in every country have always tried to arrange things in this way: so that there will be two strong political parties both controlled by them. This means that whichever candidate the workers vote for—Roosevelt or Willkie in the U.S.—they will be voting for the party and candidate controlled by the ruling class.

Differences Inside The Ruling Class

We do not mean of course that there is absolutely no difference between the Republican and Democratic Parties in the U.S. The ruling class has differences inside its own ranks. These differences are often expressed in the election platforms of their two

(Continued from page 1)

country. Such is "national unity" in the land of the Lotus Flower.

THEY ARE HUNGRY:

Walk along any Japanese street and watch the people carefully. (One sees few young men, mostly old people and children with their mothers). These people are hungry—even the office workers in their badly-fitted suits. They are small in stature, with bad features and posture (the result of centuries of racial in-breeding); their appearance is that of lean meat, with few cheerful expressions.

An American worker on a Japanese diet of rice, fish and a few vegetables would soon reach the enfeebled, dull level these people seem to live on.

THE BOTTOMLESS YEN:

The Japanese Yen is worth about \$.25 to the American dollar officially. Unofficially—on the "Black Bourse"—one can obtain within Japan itself anywhere from 7 to 9 for \$1.00! And outside the country, in Shanghai or Hongkong, for example, 11 to 13 for the dollar is the normal rate. Three years of war have driven the Yen down to one of the world's most depreciated currencies.

The burning economic necessity of obtaining foreign currency—particularly the American gold dollar—to bolster up the collapsible Yen lies behind Japan's feverish attempts to increase its exports. But the Yen just holds its own as the belt tightens.

For now everything possible is exported: even rice, although there is a shortage and for the first time in Japan's history it was found necessary to import a cheap grade from North China. All silk, cotton and textile products, every toy and luxury article must be exported or the Yen folds up. Japan is a poor, third-rate capitalist power putting on the act of a big-shot imperialist bully.

PRICE AND VALUE:

It is estimated that the general cost of living has increased by 2 to 2½ times since the China war. Needless to say, wages, in keeping with usual capitalist practices, having remained practically stationary.

In inns, restaurants and eating houses, the prices listed alongside the food items are not printed, but written in pencil or ink. Thus they can be changed without waste of time or menu cards. Changes, of course, are unilaterally in the upward direction. The number of food items available, however, constantly descends. Even a foreigner with money in his pocket can go hungry unless he goes to one of the expensive European-style hotels!

One way of testing and examining mass living standards is to go through city department stores where commodity goods are displayed. Outstanding factor in Japan's stores—aside from the unprecedentedly high prices—is the universal poor quality of the goods displayed. Made of flimsy, shoddy material; unattractive and drab; imitative and ill-fitting—these are the only suitable descriptions of the textile, clothing, furniture etc. stock that is on sale. Much of it comes from the widely prevalent "home industry" found all over the country. Why the high prices for these cheap objects? Certainly not due to high wages being paid to the "home" workers! It is

due to shortage of basic materials, plus manufacturers' and contractors' profits.

SHORTAGES:

FOODS: Rice, butter, eggs, fruits, sugar (½ pound per month is permitted the Japanese), coffee.

DRINKS: No foreign whiskies or wines are available (Japanese Asahi beer has a taste equivalent to that of skunk urine). Sake wine is the national drink. Henceforth, acorns (!) are to supplant rice in the manufacture of sake—a true taste of Oriental ersatz!

LUXURIES: Beginning October 7, there is a ban on the sale of all luxury (that is, all but dire necessities) goods throughout the country.

This anti-luxury campaign will be handled by the National Spiritual Mobilization Committee ("Joy through Labor") which will station its snoopers in hotels, cafes, beauty parlors and department stores to deliver lectures on the evils of purchasing a jar of facial cream or after-shaving powder. The Committee will have a no-doubt highly popular Women's Auxiliary which "will send its members out to spot richly-bedecked women and thrust into their hands slips of paper reading: 'Let us stop wearing rings. Let us cease wearing expensive clothes.'"

PRODUCTION: Japan's shortage of basic raw materials (iron, coal, etc.) is well known. In addition, restrictions have just been placed on the use of electricity by factories. Use of nickel for manufacture was prohibited on August 24, except in war industries. (This will just about kill the instrument, cutlery and bicycle manufacturers). Out of 1,006 machine-tool manufacturing plants, 600 are being eliminated and the rest will be organized as contractors for 16 major plants.

MORALITY AND IMMORALITY:

All places of amusement (bars, restaurants, cafes, movies, dance halls, cabarets, etc.) must now close down no later than 10 p.m. After this hour a Japanese city bears an unhappy resemblance to one of your dirge-like English colonial towns after 8:30 p.m. when the colonial inhabitants have gone home to their slum areas and English society has gathered for whiskey-sodas at the Cricket Club!

The Home Ministry has ordered all dance-halls to close down no later than October 1. Simultaneously, jazz music has been banned throughout the country.

Provisions, however, have been made to exempt the Geisha houses and the charming Geisha girls from these harsh rules. Under your double moral codes, what is bad for the sinful masses is so very, very good for the upper middle class and business men.

Religion has put its foot forward. The Shrine Bureau of the Home Ministry (comparable to our American Department of Interior having an Altar Commission!) has launched a campaign urging each family to own its own shrine. As the *China Weekly Review* ironically remarks, "Before it, twice a day, the worshipper will be able to contemplate the indispensable qualities of the government which makes self-sacrifice a matter beyond voluntary action." A shrine in each family is an awful lot of shrines!

SPIES, SPIES EVERYWHERE:

Every citizen is encouraged to have his ears wide open and listen to his neighbor's and foreigners' conversation in parti-

cular. On August 3, Mike Suzuki, head of the Foreign Affairs section of the Metropolitan Police board complained of Japanese loquacity. He warned women not to talk too much, to beware of spies in social clubs and to watch out for that spy who utilizes ye olde love technique!

MOVIES:

Paramount Newsreel and all other foreign news films have been banned from Japan's public theatres. Henceforth, the crudely propagandistic Japan Newsreel Company will have exclusive rights. Importation of American and English full-length films has ceased and only 4-6 year old films are revived. Modern German and Italian movies, however, are widely distributed. As for the Japanese film, in technique, acting, lighting, story-plot etc. it belongs to the Middle Ages of Filmdom. Even India—with its infinitely more backward development—has far superior native films.

In Modern Japan, the only significant artistic and cultural achievements that can be pointed to, date back to the feudal period and the days of the Shogunate. There are no important contemporary writers, artists, or intellectuals. The soil of this regime is barren.

YOUNG MANHOOD:

There goes your Japanese young man, with shaven head and dressed in the drab uniform of the Army or Naval Cadet. For the 17-18 years of his existence he has been taught the virtues of feudal self-sacrifice for the Throne.

YOUNG WOMANHOOD:

Here are a group of young schoolgirls, aged about 17. They are dressed in black from toe to foot—cheap black canvas sneakers, coarse black stockings, black cotton bloomers, black middie-blouse and jet black hair all cut the same way, in a military bang with the nape of the neck shaven. Duty and discipline to Father, Church and Throne are written on their faces. In another year they will either be working in some Osaka mill, or will have been married off by the parents.

AWAY FROM IT ALL:

Despite recent restrictions on immigration to China, on July 1 the number of Japanese residing in China had increased 58,527 over the figure of April 1—a grand total of 452,156 having left the country. In Shanghai there are 73,150 Japanese; Peking, 67,437; Tientsin, 51,374 etc., etc.

Why are so many anxious to leave the land of Cherry Blossoms and the Lotus Flower? And why, incidentally, does the government now restrict immigration? Isn't the China affair necessary to provide for Japan's overcrowded population?

There are two reasons. First, the desire of the petty bourgeoisie to reap some small profit from China's ruin. Secondly, the desire of those who can—from educated and middle class layers—to escape the stifling atmosphere of this imperialist-capitalist-feudal-military-totalitarian regime. Incapable of launching even a democratic struggle against the ruling clique, they seek flight and fresh air in Shanghai.

SHERMAN STANLEY

Next Week: China At War.

side chats" that he had come to save capitalism. After he had lifted capitalism to its feet he was opposed for re-election. Many of his supporters had deserted their 1933 "liberalism". Roosevelt told them in his Syracuse speech in 1936 that he had saved them, that if it had not been for the measures he instituted they would have been faced with a revolt of the working class.

Snatch The Few Crumbs Back

A large section of the ruling class has continued its opposition to Roosevelt right to the present. This has confused many workers and led them to believe that Roosevelt was a friend of the workers because so many of the big businessmen were against him. The workers want to vote for Roosevelt over against Willkie because they believe that Roosevelt is progressive and Willkie reactionary. These workers neglect to examine Roosevelt's record critically, they have failed to understand just how Roosevelt functions as a good representative of the ruling class.

Immediately after his re-election in 1936 Roosevelt began wrecking the "New Deal" and sending it piece by piece to the scrap yard. In fact he knew from the beginning that the "New Deal" was not and could not be anything more than a huge relief; a partial and temporary step to halt mounting unemployment and starvation. All the talk about planning capitalism, New Deal "socialism" was simply the age old bunkum of big shot politicians who had a job to do for their Wall Street masters. Their aim was to win over the workers by giving them a few crumbs more than they got under Hoover.

The fact is that Roosevelt and his "New Deal" Democratic Party did not solve the problem of the worst depression in the history of the country. It is true that there is the Wagner Act, the Social Security Act, the Wages and Hours Act and the Walsh-Healy Act. All of the "gains" however are concessions that the ruling class has been forced to make to the working class. Despite the "gains" there are still eight to ten million unemployed, millions of workers being paid only from ten to twenty dollars a week. Millions of workers are still living in shacks and unsanitary

dwelling. Scarcely a working class family in the U.S. has sufficient clothing. Very few workers families can provide themselves with adequate medical care and hospitalization. Educational and recreational facilities for workers are still woefully inadequate.

New Deal Becomes War Deal

Roosevelt began scrapping the New Deal mainly for the reason that as the chief representative of the ruling class in the United States he was forced by world events to begin turning his attention elsewhere. The inroads of Japan in China, and the imperialist expansion of Germany under Hitler, conflict with the imperialist interests of the U.S. ruling class in the Far East and South America. (Added to this, of course, is the fact that the bosses would abide by the New Deal only so long as they were forced to by the militancy of the workers.) The New Deal became the War Deal. Roosevelt compromised again and again with the ruling class in order to get support for military appropriations. Big business would support Roosevelt now only while he was preparing for war, that is to protect the imperialist interests of the bosses.

At first, some of the bosses held back when Roosevelt began talking about preparedness and "national defense." They finally accepted his war preparedness program completely, continuing however their opposition to WPA and direct relief appropriations. Minor differences which existed between Roosevelt and the bankers faded out of the picture. When the ruling class of one country faces an antagonistic ruling class of another country bent on seizing markets, raw materials and colonies, all small differences are put aside. The ruling class closes ranks. Even their political parties and the candidates of these parties find it difficult to find any important differences to place in their platforms.

(Continued in next issue)

**Be Sure to Get the Sept.
Issue of the New Int'l**

To See or Not To See

by Susan Green

No Shelters for the Poor

The Rich, Of Course, Are Supplied With the Very Best That Can be Bought

It Will Come—

Monogamous Mormons

"BRIGHAM YOUNG—FRONTIERSMAN"

Just why Twentieth Century Fox should want to paint Mormonism in heroic colors at this time, is hard to say. Perhaps it wished to make a plea for religious tolerance. The impassioned speech of disciple Brigham Young at the trial of head-prophet Joseph Smith would indicate something of the sort.

So as not to offend the admission-paying public, the film pushes to the background the polygamy of the Mormons. Young's first wife has the show all to herself. She is his inspiration and pillar of strength, in good conservative fashion, and the only indication of other wives are a few nondescript and vague females scattered about.

According to this version by Louis Brownfield, the Mormons believed in a community way of living. As Joseph Smith explains it to young Brigham, each should work for all and all for each, the needs of all should be supplied from a central store house, the old and the sick should be cared for by the community, there should be no social distinctions. Undoubtedly this principle of equal-sharing was carried out during the trek to Salt Lake City and the building of the first settlement. But, as we all know, the ideal of community living was lost in the shuffle of capitalist development; and Salt Lake City, in its beautiful mountain setting, is today just another American city embracing the haves and the have-nots.

The story of westward-ho, on the usual grand scale, is still impressive. A caravan of covered wagons moving across frozen rivers or flooded ones. Man against nature in the raw. Bitter winter with weaklings falling by the wayside. The variation from the usual pioneer picture is that Brigham Young, now in Joseph Smith's shoes, is guided by revelations from god. The final crescendo is the arrival of the famous flock of sea gulls to eat the hordes of crickets attacking the growing grain. Thus afe saved the food of the settlement and the reputation of Brigham Young as a prophet.

Would you believe it—Tyrone Power plays a secondary role, the main role being very well performed by Dean Jagger.

A Pretty Soupy Business

"PUBLIC DEB NO. 1"

After a while you catch on that this is an anti-communist film. At first it gives the impression of poking fun at capitalist justice. A bunch of communist demonstrators are arrested, and the judge gives them all the maximum punishment. When he is informed that one of the prisoners is the rich heir of a soup company, turned communist, in great pain he releases her. On her threat to expose him for his bias in favor of wealth, he consents to let the others go too. Not bad from Hollywood on the subject of justice as it is practiced under capitalism. But from then on, you get something that the cat dragged into the soup.

The heiress is supposed to have been duped by comrade-the-butler who is after her fortune, for himself of course, though he makes her think it is for the cause. Enters the hero, a fearless all-American waiter, who spansks the heiress in a restaurant for her communist beliefs or something. This optimistic hombra is against communism because he wants to hold on to his one-in-a-million chance of becoming a millionaire. Though he does not quite make that grade, he does get to be vice-president of the soup company and marries the heiress, which is as good as anyone can expect.

There is a silly mix-up about saving the company from bankruptcy because the heiress' political views have made her soup distasteful to the pure American stomach. To the rescue comes Elsa Maxwell—of whom the less said the better—with a costume ball at which nearly everyone is dressed as Abraham Lincoln, to add just another touch of true Americanism. Mischa Auer and Charles Ruggles are pathetic swimmers against the soupy current. And if this is the best Hollywood can do by way of demolishing communism, capitalism is in the soup—but definitely.

When Are Atrocities Atrocities?

"PASTOR HALL"

This English film is based upon the story by Ernst Toller, said to have been written from the experience of Martin Niemöller, the Nazi-hounded priest. Without bothering to toot the English horn, it simply sets forth the ruinous march of the Nazi storm troopers into a contented German town and the heroic fight of its pastor against them. Except for the Oxford accent of the storm troopers, the story bears the stamp of authenticity. The conclusions are left to the public. And such is the unjustified moral gain to imperialist England from Hitler's hated savagery, that it is supposed the public will naturally draw the pro-English conclusions.

Though by now Nazi methods are pretty well known and heartily hated, this story is still stirring. There is the great misfortune of a fourteen year old girl who is violated in a Nazi labor camp and comes home with her misery. And the wanton atrocities of a concentration camp where only the lash is liberally used—instead of bullets that cost 12 pfennig each. The spiritual strengthening of the pastor to put up a fight, is realistically developed. His final choice to speak openly against the Nazi and take his punishment of death, rather than escape from the country, comes as a natural climax.

James Roosevelt, the American distributor, did not feel as confident about the conclusions of the public as did the English producer. He has had his mother appear on the screen, in new gown and with school-girlish accents, to deliver the usual blah-blah. Perhaps the Roosevelts remember, and think the public may, that Hitler's atrocities went on from 1933 to 1939, with material aid from England and the United States, and that it was only when Hitler's imperialism began to tread on the pet corn of the British imperialists, that his atrocities became something to write home about.

When the Nazi bombs began to fall in England, the frightful facts revealed that the rulers of the empire on which the sun never set, had not provided any protection at all for the working people.

News coming over about children being caught in school during air raids, gave rise to the question: "Why were these children not in safe air-raid shelters?"

As the destruction of life in the crowded working class districts continued and reports came that women and children were "hiding" under stairs during raids, the question became an urgent cry: "Why were these people not in safe air-raid shelters?"

The answer has since become very clear indeed, affirmed and reaffirmed by the thousands of unnecessary

deaths. The British rulers did not provide safe-air-raid shelters for the common people. And not because they did not know what was needed, but because these money-bags did not want to spend the money.

The agitation for deep shelters began in 1938 when J.B.S. Haldane returned from Barcelona, Spain, impressed with the deep shelters there, which furnished refreshing sleep all night for thousands of men, women and children. Later, a committee of architects supported Haldane's campaign for deep shelters and plans were drawn up for bomb-proof shelters that could house all inhabitants. But Minister of Home Security Anderson turned down the proposals as "impractical and too costly".

When the king goes to the East End to talk to the poor women, as one victim of Hitler's bombs to others, it is the rankest deception. The royal family has ample protection, whereas the poor women have none at all.

A Grim Joke

The so-called shelters that do exist in the poor districts are a grim joke. They are light, designed to go into back yards, capable of holding only four to six persons, and not suitable to sleep in. They weigh but 800 pounds and are placed in a hole about three feet deep and two feet of earth is then packed over and around them. They are like cardboard against direct hits. Occupants of these "shelters" have been killed merely when the debris of nearby buildings fell upon the shelters.

To provide absolute protection, shelters must be at least forty to sixty feet under ground, or must be about half that deep and have a twelve foot top of two layers of concrete, with sand between them to break the force of the bombs.

London has some of these deep shelters, but they are not in the East End. Business houses, government buildings, hotels, elegant apartment houses, all have them. But the poor do not have them.

Hide In Subways

These helpless people started drifting down into the subways to seek shelter. Even this was forbidden them at first, and they were ordered to leave. They refused to go. As night bombings increased, more and more people entered the subways and rode to the deepest stations and remained there throughout the raids. Though they did not sleep for nights, and existed on bread and jam, they at least were not blown to smithereens.

One night, a group of desperate people pushed their way into swanky Savoy Hotel on the Strand and demanded protection. They were allowed to stay in the hotel's shelter until the all-clear signal was given.

In spite of the fact that these shelterless people had nowhere to go but the subways, the government still tried to get them to leave, and issued a special request pointing out that they were holding up transportation, mind you.

However, thousands continue to line up long before sunset with their bedding on their arms to settle down for the night in what they think are the safest places in London. The result is that they have

literally forced the government, against its will, to convert a section of the subway into an air-raid shelter.

A Question

Severe criticism from the Laborites has also forced the government to take up the entire problem of providing deep shelters for the masses. The question is pertinent: "Why did not the Laborites insist on bomb-proof shelters for the workers before the bombing began?" It looks as if these Laborites are more concerned about the morale of the workers in participating in the imperialist war, than in the lives of the workers.

What the rich rulers of England will do remains to be seen. In the meantime the directors of the Bank of England have no such problems as the workers on the East End. Neither where they reside nor where they "work" can Nazi bombs harm them. The other day they did a day's work in the bomb-proof vaults of the bank, undisturbed by Hitler's activities. They voted the usual bank dividend.

The London stock market also operates unmolested, and from a noted stock market authority we have it that in England today stocks are selling on an "abnormally high earnings basis".

Among The Other Candidates— Joseph Buckley

The Democratic Party likes to think that it runs the Bronx.

As a matter of fact, it has run the Bronx for a great number of years, almost as long as Frank Hague has run Jersey City. Like Jersey City, people have come to regard the Bronx as part of the "Solid South."

The man who runs the Democratic Party in the Bronx is the same man who now heads the Democratic National Committee. His name is Edward J. Flynn. If Mr. Flynn runs the national campaign the way he runs campaigns in the Bronx, the Republican Party might as well move to Canada. Mr. Flynn just doesn't like Republicans.

Runs Buckley Too

In addition to running the National Democratic Party, Mr. Flynn also runs Joseph A. Buckley, Congressional incumbent from the Twenty Third District of the Bronx.

It is a matter of well established record that as Mr. Flynn goes, so goes Mr. Buckley.

Although Flynn has moved into the National Chairmanship of the Democratic Party, leaving to Buckley the administration of affairs in the Bronx, Flynn is still very much Buckley's boss. He is and has been. One of these fine days, provided Buckley continues to behave himself, Flynn may put him into the Senate, or move him to the Government mansion in Albany.

"Independent"

As a Congressman, Buckley has a distinguished record for carrying out Flynn's orders. A good party stalwart, in Congress he has voted the Democratic ticket all the way down the line. Congressman Buckley's latest achievement for his party and his constituents was to vote in favor of the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill. Maybe Buckley voted out of habit. He is used to being drafted.

Joe Buckley started his career in politics under the renowned maladministration of James J. Walker, former Mayor of this city. Buckley's official position in the Walker regime was that of City Chamberlain. This exalted position placed in the hands of his title-bearer all financial matters relating to minors. Bonds, securities, estates left to minors were held in trust by the City Chamberlain. This office, which was found so essential to the running of the City government, was abolished after the Walker administration was disgraced out of City Hall. In search of new fields, Buckley found his way into Congress. He is up for re-election this year.

The Democratic campaign literature will describe him as fearless and independent.

Pages from a Rebel's Notebook

NOW you see it, now you don't . . . Watch that so-called Excess Profits Tax that's about to go through Congress very carefully. The trick, of course, is in "Normal Profits" . . . Senator George of Georgia saved the Coca Cola boys back home about \$10,000,000 a year . . . National Defense big-shot, William Knudsen, whose General Motors made normal profits last year of 17 per cent on its invested capital, did some nice plugging in Congress which saved \$50,000,000 . . . S. Clay Williams head of R. J. Reynolds Tobacco (Camels cigarettes) hung around Washington a while, working with Rep. Doughton of North Carolina, who is chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, and Senator Bailey, who is on the Senate Finance Committee. Via the normal profits plan, he picked up something like \$6,000,000 . . . Why go on? . . . The Masonite Corp. of Mississippi has been making from 28 to 43 per cent profit, and will save a cool quarter-million. Senator Harrison, of Mississippi, is chairman of the Senate Finance committee . . . Philip Morris cigarettes have been making about 30 percent, and will save \$2,000,000. Virginia has Senator Byrd on the Senate committee and Rep. Robertson on the House committee . . . With War just around the corner, the Big Boys are working the old Army game for all it's worth! . . .

THE Tory ruling class in Britain is not going in for book-burning—just yet . . . Recent police seizures of Dangerous Literature have involved G.E.R. Gedye's "Betrayal in Central Europe", pamphlets by Leonard Woolf, Ellen Wilkinson (Labor M.P.) and G.D.H. Cole . . . Also turning up in the confiscation were copies of John Stuart Mill's Principles of Political Economy! . . . Meanwhile, the rumblings against Britain's capitalist government are everywhere to be heard. Fat, old H.G. Wells has bitterly called for an end to the reactionary, aristocratic clique rule. And as the editor of a London weekly reluctantly admits, "The masses smile ironically when the Ministry of Information insists that this is 'a people's war' and 'a people's government'". . . .

UNDER Capitalism (as Veblen used to point out) everything, but EVERYTHING, is a Strictly Business

Proposition . . . From a circular issued by Shields & Co., Wall St. brokerage house—"While most of the legislators in Washington voted for conscription as a measure of defense, those who were most instrumental in writing the Burke-Wadsworth Bill go further. It is their feeling that universal military service will give the country the needed discipline, character and conservatism. They see in conscription an offset of subversive ideas. When talked with, they admit that a large standing army is a prime requisite for a dictator. They stress that even should the war end suddenly the need of a large conscript army would not be lessened, for subsequent hard times would bring unrest that would have to be controlled". . . .

CLASSIC self-portrait by a Master . . . "The British won't arrest me," were Mahatma Gandhi's confident words on the Anglo-Indian crisis, "They know me too well". . . .

WHAT a miserable crew these bourgeois liberals are! . . . Capitalism puts the bread in their mouths, and they feel obliged to crawl around on their well-fed stomachs—what if they eat a little dirt? . . . According to the New Republic, the Liberals are currently pondering the momentous question of whom to vote for . . . John Chamberlain, who once wrote a fairly good book called "Farewell to Reform", and who used to protest that rather than fight in the war he would die fighting the War Party, is supporting—Franklin Roosevelt's War Deal! . . . Van Wyck Brooks is offering his apologies to the peace-time Jeffersonian, Norman Thomas, because he feels he must vote for the war-time Jeffersonian in this time of crisis—FDR. . . . Charles A. Beard, who can understand a lot of things if they happen to be at least a hundred years old, is undecided as yet. He wants to wait and see what Willieka he has to say! . . . And so on through all the rest . . . What a miserable crew! higgling and haggling over a pair of state politics . . . and not a single courageous voice to shout from the housetops what they all know is so true . . . Against a bankrupt capitalist civilization, and for the Socialist Revolution! . . .

Well, Elliot Roosevelt Managed to Beat the Draft

You worker between 21 and 35 who will soon be subject to the draft. Did you hear the great news? There is a way of dodging the draft. And no kidding. You just ask Elliot Roosevelt, the president's son, about it.

Know what he did? He got himself commissioned to serve as a captain in the Air Corps. He's going to get \$200 a month instead of the \$30 that a draftee will get; and besides he will collect an allowance of from \$78 to \$116 a month for something called "subsistence". Not bad!

You could try it—if you were the son of the president or of some other influential politician or "industrialist".

You're only a worker? That's too bad. In that case you will have to be content with being a conscript at \$30 a month and the president's assurance that the "selection" for the army is going on "fairly and without fear or favor".

This is a democratic country and all that, but it's certainly nice to be the son of a "somebody". Now take this Elliot Roosevelt again. He didn't

have to go to any recruiting office. He did his business with the head of the Army Air Corps, General Arnold. That makes it sort of pleasant—man to man instead of one lone worker caught up in a heartless military machine.

"Confidential"

So Elliot Roosevelt suddenly became a "specialist of procurement" in the Air Corps, which has something to do with buying supplies. When asked by reporters what "qualifications" Elliot has for this job, General Arnold replied that the subject was "confidential".

When you are drafted, you will not serve where it will please you, but wherever it will please the army to place you. That's because you are only a worker. But a son of the head of the boss government, is handed a sweet baby of a job on a silver platter.

It would be a mistake to suppose that Elliot Roosevelt is the only one who is getting himself a cushy job. It so happens that the Republicans are on Roosevelt's neck. So all the

anti-Roosevelt papers are delighted to drag out this sudden transformation of the president's son into a well-paid captain in the air corps. But the odds are dollars to doughnuts that there are many sons of "somebodies", both democrats and republicans, all over the country, quietly feathering their war nests.

When the draft gets into full swing and hundreds of thousands of workers are ruthlessly torn away from their jobs, their families and everything they hold dear, there will be a small but secure army of Elliott Roosevelts, running all the risks of sitting at a desk and collecting a fat check every month.

And among those eligible to the draft will be a contingent of young men become as suddenly "indispensable" to industry, as Elliott Roosevelt became "qualified" as specialist of procurement for the Air Corps. The Kiplinger service for business men has already cautioned fathers who are "industrialists" that their sons must become "indispensable" to industry to be out of the draft. The age of miracles has come with the

draft law, and any young-man-about-town who may have a dislike for military service, will become "indispensable" somewhere else—if there's enough money behind him. The "democratic" draft in the last war made that clear.

Really Noble

These draft dodgers in the upper tiers of society, will doubtless claim to be making "great sacrifices". Elliot Roosevelt said his little self-sacrifice speech in these words: "No matter what the sacrifices, it is important for all young people to join up and take part in the defense program."

The nobility of soul of these self-sacrificers is simply titanic. Elliott Roosevelt, who is thirty years old and whose family is not dependent on him, would, according to Mrs. Roosevelt herself, be the first to be drafted if married men are taken. He has thus exchanged a \$30 a month job for one paying ten times as much. He has exchanged the hard life of a drafted soldier taking the chance of being blown to bits the

first day the boss war starts, for the secure life of a swivel chair captain. Any worker could make that exchange too—if only you were the son of a "somebody" and not just a worker.

World at War - -

(Continued from page 1)

now that Stalin will conclude a new pact with the Japanese militarists. What will the Stalinists say to this? It is reported that Max Stahmer, Hitler's special envoy to Tokyo, is now acting as an intermediary between Moscow and Tokyo. The pressure that Hitler puts upon Stalin is in the first place fear.

To this date Russia's request for a say in the Nazi dominated Danube Commission has remained unanswered. In Norway, where Quisling and his Nazi party the National Sammling have taken over full control after having prohibited all other

streets to arouse public sympathy in favor of the strikers.

Some of the placards read: "When Leviton girls lose their fingers at his machines, they lose their jobs."—"Can Mr. Leviton tell us how human beings can live on coolie wages of \$11 and \$12 a week.

In the headquarters, Mr. Broach of the International Union of Electrical Workers, Local 3, spoke to me about the hearing today before the Labor Relations Board. He was puzzled by Mr. Leviton's attitude. He said that the man is either the dumbest ass imaginable or else a wise old fox. Leviton acts as if he doesn't know what it's all about, is afraid of the court procedure, doesn't answer questions, and appeals to his lawyer to take him out of it all.

The workers testifying at the hearing acquitted themselves very well, according to Mr. Broach. They were

enjoying their boss's discomfiture. Some of them thought he should go to the union school to learn something about unionism in 1940 and such things.

Mr. Leviton is before the Labor Board charged with firing workers for union membership and in other ways interfering with the unionization of the plant. The hearing is to continue.

At the strikers' cafeteria an addition has been made to the menu of coffee and sandwiches. A nutritious stew is now being served.

I met Kitty, one of the girls who organized the Leviton workers. She is a member of Local 3, working in a unionized plant. She gladly gave her evenings to further the cause of unionism among the exploited Leviton workers. She said that nearly all the organization work was done by volunteers from the union, workers who had benefited tremendously through the union.

Such is the power of unionism and so great the bosses' fear of it, that Mr. Leviton has, since his Greenpoint employes went out, given a slight wage increase to the workers in one of his out-of-town plants, as a sop.

The Greenpoint plant is still at a complete standstill. As in the first weeks of the strike, an occasional truckload is moved out, especially on Wednesdays when the strikers all come to headquarters for their strike benefit. But this stage setting does not bother them. Four weeks of strike has made veterans of them. About the hearing, a union man commented: "A strike is never won at a hearing." By which he meant it is up to the strikers themselves. There is nothing wrong with these strikers.

Our Readers Take the Floor. . .

SAYS THERE IS A WORLD TO MAKE

Dear Editor:

"Alone," said a poet, "and afraid in a world I never made." But he was a bitter man, solitary, cloistered, dreaming bitter dreams of frustration and hopelessness. We have not made this world, but we need not be afraid of it. We have the duty to hurl our questions at it and to demand answers.

Let us ask the men who made this world: the bankers, the industrialists, the politicians: the Roosevelts, the Willkies, La Guardias, Du Ponts and Morgans: "When the war is over, will we get jobs?"

And if the answer is, "Yes, you will get jobs," then let us ask, "Why don't we have them now? Why have we gone eleven years without work?"

And when they will evade answering and instead will say, "You are fighting for democracy, for civil liberty, for freedom," let us hurl the lie in their throats:

"Freedom—you mean the freedom to be unemployed.

"Civil liberty—you mean the liberty to join a breadline.

"Democracy—the right to pick Tweedledum or Tweedledee, Roosevelt or Willkie."

We are weak only because we do not realize our strength. We are not alone. We are millions strong, the manpower without which wars cannot be fought. We have the right and the duty and the will and the

capacity to make a world in which nobody need be afraid.

Fraternally, Herbert Ribot

New York

WAGES: 11¢ PER HOUR FOR TWO

Dear Friends:

My wife and I are now working at picking tomatoes, which is supposed to be the money crop for pickers. But by adding the total wages of my wife and myself I find that we average 11¢ per hour each. The hours are, of course, dawn to dusk.

The tomatoes have now reached the clean-up stage where the workers either pick them free to earn a bonus which is promised if one stays until the crop is finished on, or move on.

We are starting tomorrow on the ranch picking English walnuts, 2,800 acres. Can't say yet what the prospects will be. To get around to these places we have found that a car and a tent are indispensable, and getting even the lousiest jalopy has cut into our wages considerably—even if we did get the stuff on credit, and time to pay.

We are now living in a camp on the ranch with light and water furnished free to about 25 families. After the tomato fields where you park in the fields and carry water a mile, my wife is feeling ritzky.

Will write again soon. Right now I'm too damn tired to write more.

Fraternally, Haywood, Calif. J.-

Editorials

OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

1. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war. All war funds to be 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.

Save The Labor Union Movement!

The disgraceful anti-labor conduct of the Hillman right wing bureaucrats and the Stalinist hatchet men in connection with the recent New York State CIO convention should call the attention of rank and file workers to the grave dangers that face the labor movement. That danger is the persistent and organized attempt of two factions to tie the CIO and the whole labor movement to the imperialist war chariot. Hillman, direct agent of Roosevelt, first labor lieutenant of Stettinius and Knudsen, schemes and conspires to drag the workers into the Roosevelt war camp, the British-American axis. The Stalinist bureaucrats, direct agents of the bloody butcher in the Kremlin, seek to drag the labor movement along behind the Berlin-Moscow combination. These factions, each in its own way, defend and promote the interests of one of the struggling imperialist war camps.

If the CIO is to maintain its unity, its independence and continue to grow, its members must be on the alert and stand guard against the attempts of the Hillman and Stalinist traitors to wreck that unity and destroy that independence.

This is the only way for the workers to react to what happened at the New York CIO convention. There the Hillman machine went into the convention determined at all costs and by whatever means to jam through an endorsement of Roosevelt and the war preparations. They criminally and in a most demagogic manner took advantage of the fact that large numbers of workers have a healthy and correct resentment against the Stalinists for their past union wrecking activities. Furthermore, Hillman and Company placed themselves on the side of the FBI, the Dies Committee and the rabble rousers to exploit, for their own ends, the present "patriotic" drive against the Stalinists as agents of a "foreign power." They most bureaucratically rejected the credentials of accredited delegates in good standing in the organization to make certain that there would be no opposition to their motion to endorse Roosevelt and the war.

The Stalinists on their side proceeded in their usual disruptive manner. They too had a "candidate" to endorse:—Stalin. They are against Roosevelt. They went to the convention determined, come what may, to stop the approval of Roosevelt. They were there, an organized section of the Communist Party, not in the role of revolutionary trade unionists fighting for the legitimate and independent interests of the trade union movement, but as agents of the Kremlin and to jam through its foreign policy.

The Stalinists say they are against Roosevelt and against the war. They ARE against Roosevelt, but why? Two years ago they were licking Roosevelt's boots and invoking the shades of Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln to hear their supplications and bear witness to their Americanism. They were noisy anti-fascists, democratic frontiers and Roosevelt was their major prophet in the United States. They were for a collective war of the "democracies" against Hitler. If the United States, England and France had waged war then against Hitler, to them it would not have been an imperialist war but a war to make the world safe for democracy. They were the world's chief war-mongers.

But now "the line" has been changed again. The bloody hand of Stalin has grasped the bloody hand of Hitler. Stalin slipped over the Stalin-Hitler Pact behind the backs of his Comintern buddies and without advance notice to them. And so, they are against Roosevelt. They are against war? What war? In Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Rumania? Were they against the war in France. Are they against the war in England. They are not and they can't be because they are in one of the imperialist camps just as Hillman and Co. are in the other. They are in the camp of Hitler-Stalin just as Hillman is in the camp of Roosevelt-Churchill. They say this is an imperialist war and that is true, but they are like highwaymen working one side of the street while Hillman works the other side. Their anti-war talk is a fraud and a fake.

These discredited bureaucrats, war-mongers and union wreckers seek in a most atrocious manner to exploit the healthy and legitimate anti-war feeling of the workers. They prowl around the labor movement, especially in the CIO. They lure militant class conscious workers, who want an independent labor movement and independent working class political action, into their ranks. They degenerate them, betray them and fasten them to the foreign policy of Joseph Stalin.

We say the workers must be on guard against this poison both from the Hillman right and the Stalinist fake "left." This is especially important for the progressive and class conscious militants in the CIO and the rest of the labor movement. In their correct reaction against Hillman and other reactionary Roosevelt supporters they must not permit themselves to be trapped by the Stalinists, posing as progressives and revolutionists. In their healthy revulsion against the Stalinists no workers should permit themselves to be trapped by Hillman into support of the war and the Roosevelt war machine.

CIO workers must resist any split in their ranks. They must preserve the unity of their organization. They must carry on a persistent struggle to purge their organization of all the labor lieutenants of the imperialist war machines. They must begin immediately the organization of real progressive action to wipe out the labor agents of the Roosevelt war drive as well as the labor agents of the Kremlin war machine. Both of these camps are anti-union, both seek to deprive the labor movement of its class independence and of its independence of action.

You See, Mister There's a Reason

Clarence W. Stowell, the congressman in "The Ramparts We Watch", latest super-patriotic flicker, interviewed in Cleveland, declared the "south is afire." He says 70% of our recruiting has been down in the traditionally "Democratic" area of this country. Great trucks and trailers, filled with "recruiting crews," he reports, are traversing the south where "boys from every walk in life" are flocking into service. Stowell's last statement explains why. "Thirty dollars a month is more than a good many of them have made for a long time." In the South, the army BUYS men.

The Mexican Stalinists and Their Role in the Unions

By DOUGLAS CONLEY

In the rural and the outlying industrial sections of Mexico one gets the impression that the peasants and workers are very revolutionary and that the Stalinists are very strong. The Stalinists have been successful in gaining key positions and a substantial leadership in rural education and in agrarian reorganization, as well as in many of the big labor organizations. A more thorough investigation, and contact with the strong labor movement of Mexico City, shows that the picture is not so simple and that the revolutionary impetus of the masses, as well as the strength of Stalinist leadership, does not prevail in all parts.

Three or four years ago, at the time of great labor militancy in Spain, France and the United States, a wave of revolutionary action swept over the Mexican workers, a wave which the Stalinists successfully rode. In Mexico City and in the more developed unions, this revolutionary upsurge has now spent its force, but it is still quite alive in the rural areas where the land is being redistributed. During the upsurge, the Stalinists were carried to control of such strong unions as the railway workers, street transport workers and teachers. Through the Stalinist, Lombardo Toledano, and his C.T.M. apparatus, they seemed to stand at the front of the main bulk of Mexican organized labor. With government support, the C.T.M. (Mexican Federation of Workers) grew much faster than the other two labor federations.

LOCAL BUREAUCRATS HAVE UPPER HAND

Much of the Stalinist control of union organizations has proved illusory, however. Events have proved that not Toledano and the Stalinists, but rather the local labor bureaucrats hold the real power in most of the C.T.M. unions. Toledano's position is much like that of William Green in the AFL. By going along with the stream and not countering the local organizations, Toledano can retain control of the national federation (C.T.M.). He is powerless to intervene in a union's internal affairs. Within each union, the bureaucratic group is all powerful, even over the members.

Compared to the typical Mexican unions, those of the AFL are democratic heavens. The "Exclusion Clause", the Government enforced closed shop, makes it possible for the union leadership to summarily

dismiss from his job any union member who does not fully accept the positions of his organization. Thus it becomes difficult to foment any opposition within the union and almost impossible to bring about a change in policy or leadership. The local bureaucrats rule supreme.

STALINIST CONTROL HAS BEEN NARROWED

Most of the C.T.M. unions are ruled by reformist bureaucrats who cooperate with Lombardo Toledano. These are known as the Lombardista unions. At the same time there are several outright Stalinist unions, ruled by Stalinist officers who are supported by strong Stalinist blocs among the ranks. A few years ago, some of the most powerful and progressive unions were found in this group. At the present time, Stalinist control has been narrowed to the Government workers' unions, particularly in the Departments of Communications, Interior, Health and Education. The latter form a section of the powerful Teachers' Federation (S.T.E.R.M.). It has been through its control over the workers of these Government departments that the Stalinists have gained an influence in the Mexican Government. At no time, however, did their power reach the proportions imagined by fifth-column hunters across the Rio Grande.

There is also a third group of unions within the C.T.M., whose leaders will not play ball with Toledano or the Stalinists. These latter organizations supported Almazan in the recent elections. Foremost among them are powerful unions formerly under Stalinist domination, particularly the street-car and bus drivers. The railway workers are well on the way down the same path, and there is now danger that the Teachers' Federation will turn from Stalinism to reaction. How did this swing away from the Stalinists come about?

THERE IS A GROWING OPPOSITION TO STALINISM

Just as in France, the United States and other countries, the Stalinists were able to gain union influence by supporting and encouraging the militant workers. But sooner or later union policies were suddenly and drastically changed, not in accordance with the needs of the union and the working class, but rather according to the political needs of Stalin and his organization in some distant part of the world.

Leon Trotsky on Planned World Economy

Capitalism achieved the twin historical merit of having placed technique on a high level and having bound all parts of the world with economic ties. Thus it pledged the material pre-requisites for the systematic utilization of all of our planet's resources. However, capitalism is in no position to fulfill this urgent task. The nidus of its expansion continues to consist of circumscribed nationalist states with their customs houses and armies. Yet the productive forces have long ago outgrown the boundaries of the national state, thereby transforming what was once a progressive historical factor into an unendurable restraint. Imperialist wars are nothing else than the detonations of productive forces against the state borders which have come to be too confining for them. The program of so-called autarchy has nothing to do with going back to a self-sufficient circumscribed economy. It only means that the national base is being made ready for a new war.

After the Versailles Treaty was signed it was generally believed that the terrestrial globe had been pretty well subdivided. But more recent events have served to remind us that our planet continues to contain lands that have not yet been either plundered or sufficiently plundered. The struggle for colonies continues to be part and parcel of the policy of imperialist capitalism. No matter how thoroughly the world is divided the process never ends, but only again and again places on the order of the day the question of a new revision of the world in line with altered relations between imperialistic forces. Such is the actual reason today for rearmaments, diplomatic convulsions, and war alignments.

All attempts to represent the impending war as a clash between the ideas of democracy and fascism belong to the realm either of charlatanism or stupidity. Political forms change, capitalist appetites remain. If a fascist regime were to be established tomorrow on either side of the English Channel—and hardly anyone will dare to deny such a possibility—the Paris and London dictators would be just as little able to give up their colonial possessions as Mussolini and Hitler their colonial claims. The furious and hopeless struggle for a new division of the world follows irresistibly from the mortal crisis of the capitalist system.

Partial reforms and patchwork will do no good. Historical development has come to one of those decisive stages when only the direct intervention of the masses is able to sweep away the reactionary obstructions and lay the foundations of a new regime. Abolition of private ownership in the means of production is the first pre-requisite to planned economy, i.e., the introduction of reason into the sphere of human relations, first on a national and eventually on a world scale. Once it begins, the socialist revolution will spread from country to country with immeasurably greater force than fascism spreads today. By the example and with the aid of the advanced nations, the backward nations will also be carried away into the main stream of socialism. The thoroughly rotted customs toll-gates will fall. The contradictions which rend Europe and the entire world asunder will find their natural and peaceful solution within the framework of a Socialist United States in Europe as well as in other parts of the world. Liberated humanity will draw itself up to its full height.

—From the introduction to *THE LIVING THOUGHTS OF KARL MARX*, pp. 41-43.

Yes, It's A Rich Man's War— And A Poor Man's Fight!

By PAUL TEMPLE

"When are you getting yourself married, Johnny?" asked Bill, and drank his beer while his pal registered surprise, indignation and disgust.

JOHNNY: Who, me? No SIR, I'm smart. What put that in your head?

BILL: Well, everybody seems to be doing it. It's getting so a girl can't tell whether it's love or the draft.

JOHNNY: Me, I'd rather run away to Mexico than to a preacher. These fellows getting married to avoid the draft are just a bunch of cowards.

BILL: I don't believe in running away to Mexico or anywhere else; but I think you're a bit too harsh on them. And considering that it takes at least two to make a marriage, there must be hundreds of thousands of others who'd do the same if they could. Then you can add the fellows who're trying to get into an industry that'll keep them out of a uniform. It's practically a mass movement.

JOHNNY: I still say they're just afraid of risking their hides.

BILL: Sure, there may be some cowards among them, but you won't convince me that the run of American workers are yellow. I'll tell you what's the trouble: THEY'RE VOTING.

JOHNNY: Voting?

BILL: That's it. They're voting on the draft. They're not afraid to "risk their hides" but they don't want to get skinned at home. So they're voting in the only way they can. A majority of the workers are against this draft bill anyway. They're saying to the war-birds: We're not enthusiastic about this war of yours.

Some Will Beat The Draft

JOHNNY: Maybe so . . . but now that it's passed, everybody's got to stand by. If these fellows duck out, the next guy has to take the rap.

BILL: Well, in that they're only taking lessons from their upper class "betters". THE BIGGEST JOB OF DRAFT-DODGING isn't going to be done by working stiffs but BY THE OWNING CLASS AND THEIR SONS.

JOHNNY: You mean they'll BUY their way out?

BILL: I'm not thinking of that right now, though it's not impossible. That was legally done during the Civil War draft as a matter of fact. A man then could buy exemption by paying \$300 to the government, but naturally the common people kicked. They yelled it was "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight". But the Fat Boys know they couldn't get away with that raw stuff today.

JOHNNY: Well, NOW all the numbers are going to be taken out of a hat like in a bingo game. Can't be anything fairer than that, one fellow stands as much chance of being tagged as the next, no matter how rich he is.—Tag! You're IN!—that's democracy.

BILL: OK, now you're in for a lesson in democracy. Before the numbers are put into the hat, the men are "classified". After that some of the men don't play bingo at all. You know why?

JOHNNY: Certainly, I read about that. If the draft board says you're needed in your job, you're exempted—I mean "deferred".

BILL: If you're needed in your job . . . all right, now, who's going to be "needed"?

JOHNNY: Why, a lot of highly skilled workmen in the first place . . .

BILL: You're a cafeteria counterman. YOU aren't needed, that is, somebody could take your place in very little time. Same for the busboys, dishwashers and even the chefs. They can get women. So who IS really necessary in all of Lunt's Cafeterias?

JOHNNY: Nobody, I guess.

BILL: You're wrong there. The draft board is going to say, the MOST NECESSARY man in the chain is—Mr. Lunt. You see, HIS "job" is owning, and nobody can legally substitute for him in that.

Go down the line of all his managers, high-powered executives, vice-presidents, etc. They can all claim they're "necessary" too. Or take young Lunt Jr., his old man can give him any necessary job he feels like in the system. After all, the draft rules say that it's the BOSS who certifies whether or not the job is "necessary". And it's the rich men's sons who are going to fill up the paper-work jobs in the government bureaus that'll run the war machinery.

JOHNNY: Hell, it'd be better business to charge them the \$300 for their exemption!

BILL: Sure, there's more real discrimination this way than there was before. But notice that it just "happens" to come out that way . . . because it "happens" that business and industry are privately owned by capitalists, who are ALL-POWERFUL inside their businesses. The "democracy" of this draft system can't be anything but a joke as long as there's no democracy in the economic life of the country.

JOHNNY: What was it they said in the Civil War? . . . "A rich man's war and a poor man's fight". . .

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