

# WAR PLANS MENACE LABOR STANDARDS

AN EDITORIAL

## Conscript War Industries Under Workers Control

Workers going into the army should have no illusions about the task they are being forced to perform. They should not be fooled by any propaganda calling for defense of the United States against attack and for the protection of the Western Hemisphere. Nor should they be fooled by Roosevelt's promises that they will not be sent to fight on European soil. We must always keep in mind the kind of war this is, and how we got into the army.

What is the meaning of this talk about the United States becoming the protector of the whole Western Hemisphere and keeping Hitler out? Who made the U.S. the overlord of all North and South America? Canada is part of the British Empire. The countries of South America and Mexico are presumably free and independent nations.

### A Long And Unsavory Record

The record of the United States as a defender of small nations is not so good. Theodore Roosevelt stole the Canal Zone from Colombia. Years later, this little Central American Republic was handed \$25,000,000 and told to take it and be satisfied. In 1915, this country invaded Haiti, dissolved its parliament with the bayonet and took over the country for big New York banks. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was assistant secretary of the Navy then. He directed the marine invasion of Haiti, and wrote the new constitution that was forced on this small republic.

Roosevelt said that we would not be sent to fight on European soil. What difference does it make in an imperialist war whether we fight in France or Canada, England or the Argentine, Belgium or Brazil? It's what the workers are fighting for that is important, and not the place where they do the fighting. In this war, whether we fight in England or Canada, France or Chile, we will be fighting for a robber class that is using us to pull its chestnuts out of the fire. This war is not our war, it is not being waged in the interest of our class.

Hitler is running off with a large hunk of Europe. Japan is aiming for a big chunk of Asia. The big shots in the U.S. want theirs too. And so they decide to stake off the whole of North and South America and 300 miles out in the ocean. None of these groups is fighting for democracy. They are all fighting for plunder and profit; for the domination of small nations, for colonies, raw materials and markets.

The workers in every country are being drafted for this and for nothing else. England has her African colonies and India, Japan will make a crown colony of China, Hitler and Mussolini are grabbing for northern Africa. The United States will establish its colonial empire in South America.

### "Patriotism" Spelled With A \$ Sign

The patriotic fervor of the ruling class, in this war and all imperialist wars, is a cover for organized banditry, loot and pillage. Workers who support their own boss class in such wars, are aiding and helping in the robbery and suppression of the workers in other countries. At first, the conscripted workers are coddled and pampered a little. They become little heroes in their communities. On the front they are furnished with a few packs of free cigarettes and some cheap jazz entertainment. Should one of them get a leg shot off he may be cited for "extraordinary and unusual heroism above and beyond the line of duty," and get a little medal.

But when the war is over, the soldiers are thrown into the discard. They have done the job for the bosses, there will be more workers than jobs, and thousands of the ex-soldiers will take their places in the bread lines.

Thousands of workers who are going into the army understand and agree with what we have been saying. But they allow themselves to be drafted and sent off to war because to them a victory for Hitler would make conditions worse than they are today. They know that this is an imperialist war, they know that Roosevelt's aims are not what he says they are. They are aware that Roosevelt is backed by the men who pay low wages and turn the cops on the workers when they strike. These workers realize that capitalism has failed and that Roosevelt's New Deal is a dud.

But these workers say that Hitler is a greater evil. Between two evils they say, "we choose the smaller." There is more democracy in the United States than in Germany. We still have our unions, the Wagner Act and the Hours Act. If Hitler wins, our unions would be destroyed and militant workers would be thrown into concentration camps. Compulsory labor would replace collective bargaining and civil liberties would be wiped out. The United States would be just like Germany. That is the reason, say these workers, why we support "our" government in

this war. We prefer Roosevelt or Willkie to Hitler and Mussolini. We want to keep what democratic rights we have.

In this argument the workers are right in so far as many of the things they say are fact. Workers do have more rights, more freedom in the U.S. than the workers of Germany and Italy. We do have our unions and a measure of freedom. We have a higher standard of living and some degree of safety and legal protection. All of these things are worth fighting for—and we will fight for them. We got where we are today because the workers through their organizations opposed the bosses and fought on the picket line for higher wages, a better standard of living and freedom.

But that isn't the purpose for which the bosses and the government have drafted the workers into the army. They are not organizing this conscript army in order that we may fight for our rights and learn how to protect our interests. The workers will have to learn those things without the help of the boss and over his opposition. The bosses are not calling the workers to fight for workers' democracy.

Sure, that's what the workers will have in their minds. That is what they thought they were fighting for in 1917. But look what happened. Millions of workers killed and wounded. After the war, workers movements were suppressed. We had the infamous raids in the United States. The ruling class made billions out of that war. When their rotten system crashed, they threw the workers into the streets. When we protested, we were clubbed by the police and thrown into jail.

### There Is Another Way Open For Us

And now they are at it again. They have conscripted us to push through the same blood bath. They couldn't give us jobs any place but in the army and in factories making war supplies.

We say to the workers, the choice is not between American imperialism and savage Hitler imperialism. There is another way. There is a way to defeat Hitler and yet not support the bosses in the United States. There is a road for the working class of the United States and every country that will lead to peace, freedom and happiness for the workers.

(The above is the second of a series of articles setting forth the Workers Party position on conscription and the war. The third will appear next week.)

## Strike At Bethlehem Plant Is Vital Test Of Labor Rights During War

85 Percent Effective In Baltimore, It May Spread Over The Nation-Wide Bethlehem System

### Special to Labor Action

BALTIMORE, Md.—The power of organized labor to fight for higher standards and better conditions in a war-gearred America, faces its first crucial test in the Baltimore shipyards of Bethlehem steel—with labor, significantly enough, taking the offensive.

4,000 members of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipyard Workers of America, Local 33, walked out Wednesday, September 25, tying up the Bethlehem Steel Sparrows Point Shipyard. This action followed the lead of 900 welders who had already been out a week, and presaged a possible nationwide strike in all Bethlehem plants.

In its second week, the strike is estimated to be 85 percent effective. Fraternal and financial support is being offered wholeheartedly by local unions, particularly by the SWOC, and the AFL teamsters are refusing to cross the picket line. Only the AFL boiler-makers consistently walk through the picket line.

The strike followed the refusal of the company to grant the union's general demands at a conference Tuesday afternoon. The origin of the strike goes back several months. On July 15, six general demands on wages and conditions were presented to Bethlehem. After a number of conferences, Bethlehem finally announced a 62½ cents minimum rate to become effective September 1. The union accepted this, believing for some reason, that the other rates would be adjusted accordingly. They weren't, and even the promised minimum scale was watered with an extremely unsatisfactory bonus scheme.

When the welders called a stoppage September 19, several were suspended, and the whole department walked out. The strike vote of the IUMSWA followed the next Tuesday with only six men out of the several thousand present voting "no."

Conditions in this yard are the worst in the industry. Men are laid off in the middle of the week and worked Saturday and Sunday for

straight time. No bonus is paid for night shift. Pay days are every two weeks. In general, Bethlehem shipyard pays 20 to 30% less than yards under union contract.

For example: Where first class helpers get 70 cents an hour in union yards, Bethlehem pays 57½ cents. And, instead of the flat minimum of 62½ cents per hour required by the Walsh Healey Act and paid by other companies, Bethlehem pays a minimum as low as 41 cents. It assumes to make up the difference with a very mysterious bonus system under which a worker never knows what he is earning, and it works as a sort of speed-up incentive. (Of course, if the bonus goes up one month, it raises the cost of production, and the bonus for the next month has to be cut. All the figuring is done in the office of the Management.)

This low wage scale scarcely reflects a state of bankruptcy on the part of Eugene Grace and his Bethlehem Steel coupon clippers. During the first half of 1940, its profits have

been over \$21 million, 250% more than the corporation made in the first half of 1939. The Bethlehem Shipyard, the focal point of this strike, is no small part of its parent Bethlehem Steel. Fortune estimated in 1937 (and the figures have gone up since then) that the Bethlehem Shipyard made at least 13% net prof-

it on capital investment, and received a net income of \$93,500,000 from 1917 to 1937, more than any other two major shipyards in the country combined!

Since July 1, the Bethlehem Shipyard has been awarded \$846 million in government contracts. Of course,

(Continued on page 3)

### THE WORLD AT WAR

## As Between One or Another Bandit Gang, the Colonial People Find Little to Choose

By MAX STERLING

With the invasion of the British Isles still to be achieved, and with Japan tied solidly to the axis have-not powers, Hitler and Mussolini met at the Brenner Pass to outline their next moves.

What will these next moves be? Will Hitler postpone his attempt to invade the British Isles until next Spring?

Reports are persistent in the press that thousands of Nazi soldiers were drowned in preparatory attempts to invade the British Isles. A Scottish family reports that it received a letter from a relative in Sweden stating that Swedish fishermen were forced to abandon herring fisheries because the bodies of many German soldiers were floating in waters off the southern coast of Sweden, and that the German authorities had offered a reward of about seventy-five cents for each body recovered with the uniform intact. This may be allied propaganda; yet, it may also be the truth.

### WILL SPAIN ENTER

Should the invasion of the British Isles be postponed, will the next Axis drive be directed against the British Empire in Africa and the Suez Canal? The inclusion of Spain as an active partner in this campaign seems to have met with difficulties. Because Spain is prostrate and half starved, any open alignment by her with the axis powers would immediately confront the

latter with the problem of feeding the starved Spaniards. The conditions in Spain under the victorious butcher Franco are so bad that people faint in the street for lack of food.

Such bread and meat as is available to the Spanish masses is of so bad a quality as to be uneatable. There is nothing in the shops to buy. The country has only a 14 days supply of food and a six weeks supply of gasoline. The wheat crop this year is 1,000,000 tons short, and gasoline sells for \$2.80 a gallon. Soup kitchens have been set up all over Spain and people sit in the gutters to eat their one meal a day of rotten stew. Under the "new order" in Spain the people are once more regarded as rabble and between them and their parasitic exploiters who wallow in gluttony and luxury there is an unbridgeable gulf.

Is it any wonder, then, that the war finds the Spanish people filled with bitterness and without the slightest morale? Whatever food and supplies there are, come into the country only because the British blockade has not yet been applied to Spain. The latter's entry into the war on the side of Germany and Italy would shut her off completely from such imports as she is already getting.

That the Axis powers are turning their attention increasingly to the Near East and African theatre

(Continued on page 3)

## Labor Must Take Offensive To Save And Extend Gains Won In Hard-Fought Battle

The drive of the employers and their agents in Congress to wreck the Wagner Act, the Walsh-Healy Act and the Hours and Hours Act got under way in dead earnest last week. The ire of the employers was aroused by an ambiguous and "informal" decision of Attorney-General Jackson that "it seems too clear to admit of controversy . . . that the findings of the National Labor Relations Board that an employer is in violation of the National Labor Relations Act are binding and conclusive upon the other agencies of the executive branch of the government unless and until these findings are reversed by a court of competent jurisdiction."

Jackson's "informal" decision was in reply to a request from Sidney Hillman of the National Defense Advisory Commission. It was taken to mean that decisions of the NLRB were binding on the Defense Commission, in awarding contracts, unless the decision had been overturned by the courts.

A howl went up immediately all over the country. The big industries with fat government war contracts felt that their well

laid schemes to cheat the workers by sliding around the Wagner and Hours Acts had been put in jeopardy. To be compelled to abide by an adverse decision of the NLRB while waiting for that decision to be reversed by the courts was giving the workers too much and interfering seriously with profits. Appeals to the courts against decisions of the NLRB and other government agencies was always a pet scheme of the corporations to nullify decisions rendered in favor of the workers. But, of course, that was different.

## Party Doubles Efforts In Bronx Drive

Funds To Put Over Shachtman Campaign Urgently Needed

The Workers in the 23rd congressional district, the Bronx, are urged to register at their regular polling stations so that they may cast their vote for Max Shachtman on Nov. 5, election day.

On Oct. 7, the Campaign Committee for Shachtman for Representative of the 23rd congressional district, submitted 7,193 signatures to the election Board, petitioning for a place on the ballot for Shachtman. Although only 3,000 signatures are required, the Workers Party in Local N.Y. obtained over twice the number, providing the candidate a safe margin and assurance of a place on the ballot.

### Varied Campaign

The petition drive over, the campaign swings into its second phase, intensive propaganda for the platform of the Workers Party. The "Vote For Shachtman" drive includes:

1. A minimum of 50 street corner meetings in the Bronx, covering every important corner and intersection in the 23rd congressional district.
2. A series of colorful parades through the streets.
3. House to house canvassing with our campaign literature and press.
4. Debates and symposiums with the opposing candidates.
5. Street sales of our press and platform.
6. Publication of a minimum of 25,000 copies of the election platform.
7. Distribution and sale of a minimum of 10,000 copies of the national elections pamphlets.
8. Distribution of a minimum of 20,000 copies of LABOR ACTION.
9. Publication of 10,000 copies of a special election issue of the Challenge of Youth.
10. Special leaflets to the Negro Workers, Irish workers and the Jewish workers in the Bronx.
11. The Campaign will close with a huge wind up rally in the Negro section of the 23rd Congressional District.

This propaganda campaign entails a great financial effort. We appeal to all our friends to send contributions to "Shachtman For Congress Campaign Committee" 1334 Wilkins Ave., Bronx, N.Y., or to "Shachtman for Congress Campaign Committee" 114 W. 14th St. New York City, N.Y.

## We Regret—

that we were compelled through lack of space to omit the second article in the series on Roosevelt and Willkie. We shall however publish a larger installment next week.

—The Editors.

Corporation heads, labor baiters in Congress and the daily papers, led by the New York Times, began to weep loudly about holding up the defense program. "Defense Work Hit By The Labor Act" said the Times. "The ruling was regarded in some quarters as a potential menace to the national defense program." Everybody with a big contract or who expected to profit financially from the "defense" program swelled and overflowed with "patriotism" and love of country.

The New York Times found that "the Wagner Labor Relations Act is an ambiguous law, a one-sided law, a law that has sometimes been administered with shocking bias . . . the Administration's whole labor policy is in need of re-examination and drastic revision."

"Patriotic" congressmen declared that the Jackson ruling was "sabotage of the defense program."

This was too much for the Attorney-General. The next day he dashed off a letter to the Times to explain that there was no reason for alarm. He could not understand how a simple statement could scare so many manufacturers, editors and congressmen. "The fact is that I have not given and have not been asked for any opinion as to whether violators should or should not be awarded contracts." Then, continuing his crawfishing and his weasel words, the head of the "Justice" Department said that the Defense Commission had taken the position that all government defense work "should comply" with Federal provisions effecting labor.

The Times, in the editorial mentioned, seized on the words "should comply" quoted from the statement of the Defense Commission. "This statement of principle sounded so innocuous at the time of its publication that it attracted little attention.

(Continued on page 2)

## Quit Stalinist Controlled Teachers Local

Act To Save Teacher Unionism In New York City

NEW YORK, Oct. 7.—The Communist Party has carried its split of the labor movement into the American Federation of Teachers. This fact is now evident by the resignations, announced today, of a large group of former executive board members, committee chairmen, and national delegates from Local 5, the Stalinist-controlled teachers union of this city. The teachers resigning charged that the local was politically controlled, that continued work was impossible within the union, and that their only recourse was to resign in a body and try to build a real teachers union in New York.

Ever since the August convention of the Federation, reported in LABOR ACTION, the Stalinists have been waging war on the national organization. Overwhelmingly defeated at the convention, both on the whole slate of officers and on the anti-totalitarian resolution that spe-

cifically condemned Russia and Germany, they promptly used Union funds to send out their factional reports of the convention, and, with meetings packed with their huge fraction, howled down the reports of the national majority.

### Open Split Coming

The 100% anti-Stalinist National Executive Council unwisely made no move except to appoint a committee to reinstate Local 5 in the Central Trades and Labor Council, without replying to the insinuations of the Stalinists. The latter have thus been able to consolidate their position in the Local and prepare their members for a split, when they should have been left with nothing but their fraction.

That the C.P. is planning a nationwide split in the AFT was made certain last Friday night, when their spokesmen announced in a Union meeting that if the AFT charters a

new local in New York, their minority in Chicago will apply for a separate charter. This will certainly not be granted for unlike Local 5, the Chicago teachers union is healthy and powerful and works harmoniously with other unions. The next logical step for the Stalinists will be an open split.

The AFT National Council must step into the New York situation if teacher unionism is to be saved, in New York City. Ever since 1935, when the Teachers Guild left Local 5 because it could not stand the Stalinists, the latter have been in undisputed control. For two years the Union grew; then the control of the Union became so obvious that the teachers of New York refused to join.

The administration took the Union into and out of the American League, switched its policies on war and Roosevelt, and altogether discred-

(Continued on page 2)

# Against the Boss War! For A Workers' Government!

## War Plans Menace Labor Standards

(Continued from page 1)

It used the phrase "should comply" and not "must comply". Therefore, of course, it is the frantic position of the Times that no Attorney-General has any business to jeopardize profits by changing the Defense Commission "should" to a Justice Department "must."

The latest move to guarantee that nothing is done to hurt anybody except the workers, was taken in Congress by Howard Smith, of the NLRB snooping committee—of which Smith is chairman. Smith has introduced a resolution declaring "that notwithstanding the Attorney-General's opinion or any law to the contrary, no ruling of any government agency shall be binding while an appeal from such a ruling is pending in the courts."

If this resolution is passed, the effectiveness of all the labor acts will be destroyed. Its passage will mean that all, any corporation has to do is appeal to the courts, then to a higher court up to the Supreme Court and the labor act under dispute will be nullified. Then, for a period at least, employers can hack away at wages and raise hell with workers' living standards.

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION have emphasized again and again that the workers were in danger of losing such benefits as have come to us through New Deal Labor legislation. The bosses and their stooges are profit mad. They want a free hand to do as they please. The Wagner Act and the Walsh-Healy Act stand in their way. They will smash these Acts if the workers slumber and depend on the government to protect them.

The workers and all the unions should launch an offensive immediately. We must not give one inch. Don't wait on the Attorney-General! Don't appeal to the President! Don't depend on the courts!

Raise the question of organized action in every union and every local. Let's hold on to the labor acts and make them stronger! Demand increases in wages and shortening of hours!

Let's be prepared to strike to gain all our demands! No compromise with the bosses, their stooges in Congress and in the labor movement!

**DEMAND THE CONSCRIPTION OF INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!**

## Teachers—

(Continued from page 1)

ited the Union and labelled it as Stalinist. Therefore the Teachers Guild could never be persuaded to rejoin, the Central Trades and Labor Council (the C.T.L.C. had suspended Local 5 for calling a phoney AFL-CIO unity conference) refused to readmit the Union till it got rid of its Stalinist leadership.

Aside from this isolation from other teacher and labor organizations, Local 5 has had an annual turnover of about one-third of the membership. There have been 241 letters of resignation in the last three months, and at least 1650 members (out of 6500) are so far in arrears that they cannot vote and are almost certain to be dropped.

But in order to save teacher unionism in New York, two things are necessary: First, the National Council must act at once to charter a new local composed of the oppositionists of Local 5, the members of the Guild, and teachers who will flock to a new organization because they need a Union and hate Stalinism; and second, it is imperative that those who have resigned from the union maintain an organization and take their case to the teachers until such a new local can be formed.

## WORKERS OF THE BRONX!

The elections this year are taking place under conditions which are of the most vital importance to us all.

The issues are more than local or state-wide in importance. The main issues facing us are international in scope.

### Against The War! Against Fascism!

The entire world now faces the twin scourges of capitalism—Fascism and War. One country after another has been dragged into the Second Great World War. The few who still remain outside are not even "neutral" but only "non-belligerents" who merely await the proper moment to join the murderous conflict. One country after another has come under the heel of totalitarian dictatorship, imposed upon the working people by their enemy at home, or by an enemy invader.

What is left of freedom and democratic rights is threatened by Fascism. What is left of life and civilization is threatened by War.

Every worker who loves liberty, who wants a decent standard of living that will enable him to exist as a comfortable human being, looks with alarm at the growth of Fascism throughout the world, at the speedy advances of the Fascist hordes, and at the spread of war from one continent to another.

### Labor Must Crush Fascism

Every worker knows what Fascism means: the crushing of all independent labor organizations, be they economic, political or cultural; the wiping out of every vestige of democratic rights; the reduction of the standard of living until every workingman is a slave; the suppression of all cultural and scientific progress; the violent sharpening of racial and religious antagonisms.

We share the feeling of horror and hatred of Fascism. We want to see this pestilential reptile crushed before it crushes all of us.

We know that isolationism cannot smash Fascism. Isolationism is an illusion—or a fraud. No country today can isolate itself from the rest of the world and the problems of the world. No country today is isolated!

We know that pacifism cannot smash Fascism. Fascism attacks armed to the teeth. It can be met and defeated only if the real enemies of Fascism are properly armed, properly trained, and properly led against it.

Shall we therefore support the war of the Democracies against the Axis Powers? Shall we therefore support the program of militarization of the United States today? Shall we therefore support those who are rushing this country into the World War?

NO!

### A War For Profits And For Profiteers

This is not a war against Fascism! This is not a war for Democracy! These are only clever phrases aimed to dupe the people into suffering and dying so that one imperialist gang may triumph over another and take over the world and its wealth for itself.

The present war is like the war of 1914-1918—a war for imperialist plunder, for profit, for colonies, for sources of raw materials, for fields of capital investments, for control of cheap labor.

Before the war started, England, France and the United States had most of these. Germany, Italy and Japan wanted them. The Axis Powers want to take them for their own exploitation. The Democratic Powers want to keep them, to continue benefiting from them.

You can see this most clearly in the colonies. England and Italy are fighting in and around the Mediterranean in order to determine which of the two empires shall rule over the slaves of Africa. Why should we fight and die in order that a boot "Made in England" instead of a boot "Made in Italy" should grind down the neck of Africa's peoples?

### The Pretense of "Democracy"

England calls for support in the war in order to restore the independence and national sovereignty of Poland and Czechoslovakia and Norway, in order to drive the foreign, German troops out of these countries. Why does not England establish full national sovereignty for Ireland, for Egypt, for India, for Palestine, for all her other colonies and dominions? Why does not England withdraw her troops from these long-oppressed countries?

Because the story that this is a war for democracy, for national freedom, is a lie, an imperialist lie!

The leading statesmen of the United States say that they are preparing to fight for democracy and against totalitarian dictatorship. Then why are Roosevelt and the United States government allied with, and why do they support the bloody, totalitarian dictatorships in Latin America—Getulio Vargas in Brazil, Somoza in Nicaragua, Batista in Cuba? Why do they support, and take support from, the reactionary dictatorship below the Mason-Dixon line, which keeps millions of American Negroes in a state of political and economic semi-slavery?

Their "fight for democracy" is a sham and a lie. They are interested in something else entirely.

### The "New Deal" Has Become The "War Deal"

After more than seven years in office, the New Deal has proved to be a failure so far as the masses of the people are concerned. It has not kept any of its promises except one: it has restored the big profits of the bankers and industrialists. Roosevelt rightfully boasts about this. But the standard of

## We Here Present the Election Platform of the Workers Party, Local New York, for the Bronx Congressional Campaign in Which Max Shachtman is Running in the 23rd Congressional District as Labor's Anti-War Candidate.

living of the workers has not been lifted. Unemployment has not been wiped out. There are still 12,000,000 unemployed in the United States. Housing conditions are basically as bad as ever. The real crisis remains unsolved.

American capitalism now wants to take the opportunity to solve it on a world scale—by plunging the country into war. The armies of death will now solve the unemployment problem! Coffins for the millions will take the place of the housing program that was necessary! Blood profits for the arms and munitions industries will expand the wealth of the imperialists. Already the United States has obtained, almost for nothing, England's naval bases in the Atlantic. Tomorrow, it will be Singapore and other bases and colonies in the Pacific.

The loot is rich—not for the people, but for the parasitic ruling class. And if the war is won, American imperialism will take the lion's share of the loot.

### Wall Street Wants War

Like the Axis Powers, the United States is fighting to dominate the world. What will American workers and farmers die for? So that American business may exclude Germany, Italy, Japan and England from the rich markets of Latin America and garner the profits for itself. So that Germany is prevented from dominating Europe and the investments and loans of American bankers thereby lost. So that Japanese imperialists are driven out of China and their places taken by no less avaricious American imperialists. So that the United States may become master of the Dutch East Indies, with its vast resources of and profits in rubber, tin and other raw materials.

And what happens to democracy at home while this fake "war for democracy" is going on abroad?

### War Means The End Of Democratic Rights

The first victim of the "war for democracy" is democracy itself! The first things to be sacrificed are the democratic rights of the people!

Precisely because we hate Fascism with every fibre of our being, we raise the cry of warning: The closer and deeper we get into this war, the closer we bring totalitarianism and Fascism to this country.

The first steps have already been taken in the United States; the next steps will not be long in following.

Beginning in September, 1939, Congress, preparing America's road to war, began a wholesale enactment of anti-labor legislation. Under the hysterical cry of "Fifth Column", the La Follette "Civil Liberties Bill" was turned into a vicious anti-labor, union busting bill. The "Alien" bill was passed providing for the registration and fingerprinting of all Aliens in the U.S. The F.B.I. and the Attorney General's office were converted into a veritable Gestapo or G.P.U.—a political police directed against labor and its organizations. The right of free election and petition is being turned into a mockery by a thousand little "tricks" of coercion and intimidation employed by the Federal and State police.

### Conscription Is A Step Toward Totalitarianism

The adoption of military conscription, in the face of the decisive opposition of the majority of the people, is being coupled in Washington with the idea of labor conscription in industry.

Tomorrow, workers will be toiling in war industries, and then in the other industries, under military discipline, and for the low army wages. Tomorrow, the workers will be deprived of their powerful weapon for righting economic wrongs—the right to strike.

Already, before the United States has formally declared war, the demand for an improvement in wages and working conditions is being attacked as "pro-German" and "Fifth Columnist". What will the war-mongers, the war-profiteers and their government say when the country is at war?

War today is totalitarian! It can only be carried on in a totalitarian way. The deeper we get into the war, the closer we come to a totalitarian regime!

That is exactly what happened in France. The people trusted the capitalist politicians, the self-styled "democrats". The people trusted the capitalist army and the reactionary officers' clique that ran it. In the crisis, it was precisely these "democrats" who made an alliance with the Nazis against the French people, and then set up a totalitarian regime over them. How long shall we wait for the same thing in England, and then in the United States?

If the people continue to follow the capitalist politicians and parties and their tools, the victory of War and Fascism is assured. All of them are turning the present elections into a sinister farce.

### Roosevelt And Willkie Are Both For War

The difference between Roosevelt and Willkie is the difference between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Both of them are for the war program. Both of them are for the conscription and militarization program.

Both of them are for the murderous armaments race which is rushing the people towards impoverishment and death. Never before has there been so little difference between the two main parties of American capitalism, between their respective candidates. The Roosevelt-Willkie contest is a sham and a fraud from start to finish.

The American Labor Party, which was a promising beginning of independent working-class political action, is now torn in two by two pro-war factions—the right-wing labor bureaucrats and the tools of Stalin.

The labor bureaucrats, instead of fighting labor's battle against the war and the war-mongers, are singing the praises of Roosevelt and doing their bit to regiment the labor movement for the "democratic" war.

### No Support To The Lackies Of Stalin

The Stalinists are working might and main to bring the labor movement under the control of the Moscow tools of Hitler. They are not concerned in the slightest with the interests of the workers in this country or any other. Their one objective is to protect the interests of the bloody bureaucracy of the Kremlin. When it was to the Kremlin's interest to get an alliance with American imperialism, the Communist Party in this country shouted for Roosevelt and for war. Now that the Kremlin's interests are bound up with the camp of the Axis Powers, the Communist Party shouts against Roosevelt. If Stalin should shift to American imperialism again tomorrow, the American Stalinists will again work to tie American labor to the war machine.

To support any of these parties means to further the paralysis of the working class, to bring closer the day of war, and to smooth the way for oncoming reaction and Fascism.

There is only one road out of the crisis—the road of independent working class action.

### For Peace, Freedom And Security

The toiling people must rely on their own strength. They must rely on their own arms and leadership. They must take over the reins of government and run it in the interests of the people, in the interests of peace, and freedom, and abundance for all.

The Workers Party calls upon all workers to rally to its banner in the election—the banner of the only consistent and uncompromising enemy of war and Fascism!

The Workers Party, as the party of world peace and international socialism, calls upon all workers to join with it in a struggle for a

### PROGRAM OF ACTION

We stand for:

#### A Job And A Decent Living For Every Worker In The Country

End unemployment by: Thirty-thirty—a \$30-a-week minimum wage and a 30-hour-a-week maximum working week.

#### Houses—Not Coffins

A twenty-Billion Dollar Federal housing and public works program. The government spends billions for death and destruction and is ready to spend many more. We want houses, not coffins. We demand playgrounds, not graveyards. We want highways, not trenches.

#### Adequate Relief For The Unemployed!

According to the 1940 census, there are still 14,000,000 unemployed workers in the United States. Jobs must be provided for the unemployed. But until they are, the government must provide adequate relief for the unemployed.

Congress and the President have refused consistently to increase the appropriations for relief and WPA. Pointing to the overwhelming national debt, the government succeeded in keeping millions of workers and their families on starvation rations.

Congress however did not find it embarrassing to the national debt to appropriate \$15,000,000,000 for purposes of National Defense. It is apparent that funds ARE available. We demand therefore a sharp increase in the federal appropriations for relief and WPA, to afford every unemployed worker and his family a living allotment until employment is provided.

#### Confiscate The Wealth Of The Parasites!

Expropriate the Sixty Plutocratic Families! The government does not hesitate to confiscate millions of lives by conscription and war. We demand the confiscation of the wealth of the handful of parasites who rule the economic and political life of the country.

Nationalize American industry and run it under workers' control. Under private capitalist ownership and control, industry has experienced one crisis after another, resulting in intense suffering for millions.

Let the workers manage and control industry! They produce all the wealth, let them control and manage this production.

### For A Workers' Government!

A workers government! If Roosevelt or Willkie or the other capitalist politicians do not accept these demands and they do not and will not and cannot, because they are bound hand and foot to Big Business and its system—let the workers take over and run the government themselves!

### For Democratic Rights, Against Fascism!

In the present war crisis, the Workers Party stands for:

A people's army! The government says we are threatened by foreign invasion, by an attack from Fascism: Then let the people be armed! We did not support conscription and fought bitterly against conscription. We opposed the adoption of the draft legislation.

We have no confidence in the capitalist government—we know only too well its aims in this war. We have no confidence in the present army and the reactionary officers' clique that runs it—we saw only too clearly how it acted in France.

The arming of the people must take place under the complete control of the workers' organizations, the trade unions. They will train and organize the people's army. A people's army will not be an imperialist force interested in acquiring domination over foreign people and colonies. It will not be used to crush labor and labor's rights. It will not be used to smash strikes. The masses can have confidence in such an army, for it will not only resist invading Fascism but also Fascism and all other reactionary forces at home, right here in the United States.

### Democratic Rights For Conscripts

Full democratic rights for all conscripts and enlisted men! All soldiers, conscripted or enlisted, must be given the right to vote in all elections, local, state or federal. Soldiers must have the right of free speech, free press and free assembly in the army itself—the right to meet freely to discuss any and all questions, the right to receive or to publish any periodical they desire. Soldiers must have the right to organize and elect freely their rank and file committees to represent them in the presentation of all demands and grievances, and in any other negotiations with their officers. Workers have fought for that right in the factories; the same workers should have the same right in the barracks.

Repeat the anti-Labor, strike breaking clauses of the draft bill ("Selective Military Service Bill")! Repeal the conscription bill!

The selective military service bill, gives the boss of the factory the right to decide whether a worker in question for the draft, is to be deferred from the draft or not. He can decide upon who is "indispensable" to the industry and who is not. This guarantees that the bosses' relatives and "loyal" workers will be deferred, while active unionists (especially in strike actions) will be rendered "non-essential", and thus drafted. This right must be taken from the bosses. Trade Union committees must be given the right to represent the interests of the workers before the draft boards.

Similarly, the threat of conscription, directed at striking workers must be removed by a categorical clause granting the right of workers to strike without the penalty of being conscripted on grounds of "unemployment".

### "Conscript" The War Industries

Nationalize the war industries and place them under workers' control! The Government says this is not a war for profit. The bosses of the war industries, however are not only demanding fabulous profits but they are getting them. These profits will come out of the oceans of workers' blood shed in the war. The government "nationalizes" millions of workers by conscription. We demand the nationalization of the war industries. And since it is the workers who are called upon to die in the war, let them be the men in control of the industries of war.

### Let The People Vote Against The War

A people's referendum on war! The government says this is a democratic war, a people's war. Then let the people vote on war! The people must have the right to say whether the government shall declare war or not. If it is, as they say, "their war," let them decide whether or not to declare it. The right to vote must be extended to everyone from the age of 18 onward.

### Abolition of Secret Diplomacy!

No secret negotiations, no secret commitments, no secret treaties behind the backs of the people! Throw open the diplomatic archives of the govern-

(Continued on page 3)

## New York Election Platform

(Continued from page 2)

ment. It was only after the last World War that we were told of some of the secret documents that led the United States into the war without the knowledge of the people. We demand that we know the truth, the whole truth, now, before the United States is led into the war.

### Preserve And Extend Democratic Rights

No restrictions on the greatest exercise of the right of free speech, free press, free assembly, the right to organize and to strike! If this is a "war for democracy," why should democratic rights be the first to be sacrificed? Labor must guard these rights zealously, and fight every inch of the way to preserve them, to make them more genuine, to extend them in every direction.

### Against Lynching, And "Jim Crow"

Full social, political and economic equality for the Negroes! It is miserable hypocrisy to talk about "democracy" or a "war for democracy" when 14 millions of our fellow-citizens, the Negroes, are almost completely deprived of their democratic rights in this country. Complete abolition of any and every form of discrimination of Jim-Crowism, is on the order of the day.

The Negro workers are Jim-Crowed, lynched, kept from the election polls by poll taxes, barred from unions and jobs, segregated into slum areas. The discrimination against the Negroes takes place not only in civil life, but also in the army. The Negroes are segregated into special army units, and their opportunity for promotions as well as fields of service are restricted by reactionary laws and the officer corps.

We demand:

1. The immediate passage of the anti-lynch bill.
2. The immediate and unconditional abolition of all poll taxes.
3. Jobs for Negroes. No discrimination against the Negro on the job.
4. No segregation of the Negro in the army or in civilian life.

### Repeal The Anti-Alien Legislation

No discrimination against foreign-born workers! We demand the immediate repeal of all discriminatory anti-alien legislation. It is aimed at dividing the workers, at pitting foreign-born against native-born.

## Of Special Interest to Women

By SUSAN GREEN

Mothers who have brought up sons in poverty, and worry over their bad health, may now throw their worries overboard. The army is going to take their sons regardless of their bad health, and fix them up. We have it from such an eminent authority as Dr. Hugh H. Young, medical consultant in the American Expeditionary Force during the last war.

He is of the opinion that the army examination of the conscripts will result in "the detection of diseased tonsils, adenoids and decayed teeth" and will "not only lead to their prompt cure", but will "prevent future rheumatism, heart and arterial diseases which so often come from these simple infections". He believes that military training will "be of incalculable benefit to our young men, increase their vigor", and so on.

Yes, mothers, even if Dr. Young overstates the case, in the interest of his unworthy cause, your boys' chests will expand, their muscles will be toughened, their diseased tonsils may be removed and their decayed teeth may be treated. The minimum health that capitalist society did not allow them for peaceful pursuits, will be theirs as soldiers for the ruling class.

All you will have to worry about is whether or not they will come home alive from the battlefields.

Mrs. Godowitz, a housewife living in the Bronx, and her family are on relief. You know what that means. When she markets for the family's meagre supplies, she is careful to save every possible penny. She buys her groceries in Goldman's, but she goes to Schoenbach's for milk. In Goldman's it is 11 cents and in Schoenbach's only 10 cents.

Suddenly Mrs. Godowitz found herself involved in a court proceeding.

An injunction was out against Schoenbach to restrain him from selling milk for less than 11 cents. The wholesale milk dealers were banding together to fix the price. They argued before the Bronx Supreme Court that if

## Kicked Out of Their Homes

"We don't want to leave our homes," was the sentiment of 223 families who were forced out of their farms in Portage county, Ohio, to make room for a munitions factory.

"The government sure does things in a hurry," was the reaction of residents of that area when informed by the United States government that they had 30 days in which to move.

Thirty days, said the farmers, who had been high-pressured by the government into selling their land, was not enough time. They had to find new homes, look for new jobs, harvest the banner crop of potatoes, and corn, and move furniture and livestock.

But Uncle Sam demanded speed. The "national defense" program must get under way so we can get into this war for bosses' profits. And the Atlas Powder Co. must start making its profits.

These families, many of whom have lived on the same farms for

generations, are facing the future soberly and without enthusiasm. It's a pathetic sight to see wagons and trailers full of furniture or livestock rolling along the country roads to new homes, while nearly every yard is piled with household goods.

Many families who weren't lucky enough to find new homes in time were faced with the threat of eviction.

Others were forced to auction off their goods because of the loss they had to take in the sale of their land. They stood silently by while livestock, farm machinery, tools, and grain—the products of years of toil—were sold for practically nothing.

Leslie Jagers said he hoped the deal wouldn't go through. He said he took over the place when nobody else could make a living there. After spending over \$5,000 in building and improving the place, he had to sell at market value. His chief objection, he said, was in paying a real estate agent to sell his farm to

## UNITE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM! UNITE FOR SOCIALISM AND PEACE!

The workers of the Bronx have an opportunity in this election to voice their protest against the war-mongers, the profiteers, the capitalist politicians.

### Vote For The Workers Party

The Workers Party, which has no interests separate from the interests of all the workers, has put its own candidate in the field for Congressman, for the member of the House of Representatives in the 23rd Congressional District.

Our candidate is Max Shachtman, National Secretary of the Workers Party, last year candidate for Councilman from the Bronx, a revolutionist with a record of twenty unbroken years of service to the working class movement.

The Workers Party calls upon all workers to cast their vote for its candidate, the candidate of the working class itself, Max Shachtman.

A vote for the candidate of the Workers Party is not a vote for an individual. It is a vote for a program. The program of the Workers Party is the program of militant struggle: Against war and Fascism! For socialism and peace!

World reaction has divided the globe into two camps, we are told. One is the camp of Axis imperialism; the other the camp of Democratic imperialism. The victory of either of these camps means the further decay of society and civilization. All they have to offer is deception, broken promises, wretchedness, suffering and death.

There is another camp! It is the THIRD CAMP! The Third Camp is the camp of the independent working class movement throughout the world. It is the camp of every worker, in every land, who yearns for an end to the nightmare of war, for peace, for security. It is the camp of every colonial slave who longs for the day when the heel of imperialism will be removed from his trampled-down body.

The victory of this camp over all the imperialist bandits means Peace—peace in permanence—and Security—abundance for all. It means an end to oppression and exploitation of all sorts. It means a new order, the order of world socialism!

Workers! Rally to this great inspiring struggle for freedom!

Support the campaign of the Workers Party!

Cast your ballot for Max Shachtman for representative of the 23rd Congressional District.

whiskey can be price-fixed under the law, so can milk. To them milk is not the basic food for children and sick people, it is simply something out of which to make money. So, milk and whiskey are the same to them.

How did Mrs. Godowitz get mixed up in the law suit? Some swindler fooled her into signing a paper ASKING THAT THE PRICE OF MILK BE INCREASED TO 11 CENTS. When told the meaning of what she had signed, she became furious. "My husband is sick and out of work six months. I have two children: Why should I want to pay more for milk?"

And why should greedy profit-makers be allowed to control what women need to keep their families from starving?

A bright-faced lad of twelve was chosen "Typical American Boy" at the World's Fair in New York. I saw his picture with neat shirt and striped tie, flanked by Mayor La Guardia and James Marshall, president of the New York Board of Education, both gentlemen heartily in favor of the military conscription of the older brothers of typical American boys.

In Germany, Italy and now in France, such lads are part of the huge military regime. They are trained not only in the use of guns at this early age, but in such unquestioning allegiance to their rulers that they would even kill their parents if commanded to do so.

Do I hear someone say: "That can't happen here!" Why not? Military conscription has happened here—as it has happened everywhere else.

Why not? Hitlerism and fascism, which regimented lads of twelve, were devised by the boss class of Germany and Italy to save its hide at home and to expand abroad. Why should we suppose that the bosses of this country are any different?

It can't happen here, mothers of typical American boys, only if we throw out the boss class—and THAT must happen EVERYWHERE.

## Union Ready For Long Leviton Fight

Boss May Be Hard  
Nut To Crack—But  
Workers Are Harder

By SUSAN GREEN

BROOKLYN, N.Y., October 7—About a week ago it seemed that the first step had been taken toward settling the strike of the Leviton electrical workers, now in its sixth week. At a conference of National Labor Relations Board, Leviton Mfg. Company and Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, a settlement of the case was reported arranged.

The union agreed to drop its charges against Leviton; the company agreed to notify all the employees that it would abide by the Wagner Act and would reinstate Joseph Mahler, who was discharged for union activity; and an election was to be conducted by the Labor Board. The question on which no agreement was had was whether working foremen should be included in the union. The union insisted on this point and the company refused to agree.

### No Election Held

Today at union headquarters in Greenpoint I was informed that no election has as yet been held. A union official stated that he had no doubt at all that the workers would vote for Local 3, which organized them, led them in the strike, and is paying them strike benefits as well as giving other relief where necessary.

Again it was impressed upon me that the union feels it is not the board hearings nor the election that is important, but the strength of the strike. The Leviton plant is still one hundred percent tied up.

There are indications, I was told, that Leviton is anxious to resume work, but he is a hard nut to crack, and his generosity towards the idea of unionism and of a higher standard of living for the workers is rather microscopic.

The union sees the possibility of a protracted struggle, perhaps extending into the cold weather. Towards this end, all the strength of the workers is being mustered. Also a supply of food for the strikers' free cafeteria will be procured. Overcoats, blankets and other cold weather necessities for pickets and for needy strikers will be obtained.

## World At War

(Continued from page 1)

of the war is indicated by reports that the German High Command is moving in to direct Italian military operations in Africa. Mussolini is reported to have demanded from the Vichy government that French naval bases, airdromes and military centers in Lebanon and Syria be turned over to the Italian armed forces.

The French Colonial Empire is breaking up on all sides. Japan has taken over a part of Indo-China. Even little Thailand is making demands for another part of Indo-China. The British-DeGaulle expedition tried unsuccessfully to take over Dakar. The British have cut Syria off from oil and other supplies formerly derived from Iraq. As a consequence gasoline, wheat, sugar, meat and other prices are very high.

Sentiment for independence in Syria is very strong, but the native peoples in the colonies have not yet had their say in all the attempts to utilize the colonies as pawns of one or the other imperialists. No where, not in Dakar or any of the colonies coveted by the imperialists, has independence been promised. Small wonder then that the natives remain impassive.

Far from freeing the colonial peoples from the heavy boot of their present British, French, and Belgian overlords, the new aspirants to colonial rule tell the natives plainly and cynically what they can expect.

Thus, the Nazi organ, the Schwarze Korps, says that the colonies are not to be colonized by German settlers but merely organized and directed under specially trained Nazi administrators. The purpose of the colonies is to provide the German consumer (read industrialist—H.S.) with colonial products as cheaply as possible. The article goes on to say that only the Negro can produce cheaply in Africa.

The would-be-masters of Africa thus offer to the native populations a change in overlordship and a continuation of the brutal exploitation and rule they now suffer under the "democratic" rulers. For the colonial peoples, freedom and independence can be achieved only by an unending struggle against all the imperialists—be they of the "democratic" or fascist variety. In that struggle, in the tremendous energies that will be released by it, the colonial peoples will play their great part in the liberation of all the peoples.

## We Knew This All The Time

The report of the Securities and Exchange Commission on the ownership and control of industry in the United States should not be such a startling revelation. Workers have known for some time that a few powerfully rich families were sitting on top of the heap and gorging their pockets with the product of the workers' labor. We knew that the Mellons, Rockefellers and DuPonts along with a few more industrial and financial families were the masters of the land. Rockefeller with his oil, banks and real estate. The DuPonts with chemicals, rubber and automobiles. The Mellons with oil, utilities, aluminum, coal and banks.

All that workers have to understand is that a few families own and control the important industries and banks. These families have tremendous financial power and strength. By this power and strength they exert overwhelming influence in the federal, state and municipal governments. These families are not only the industrial and financial bosses but also the political bosses of the country.

This wealthy clique sits on the backs of the working class and the only way for the workers to get them off is to shake them off and take their places in the government and industry. We didn't need any SEC report to give this information we knew these things already. The SEC nor any other part of the government will remedy the situation. Only the working class can do that.

## Bethlehem—

(Continued from page 1)

The Walsh Healey Act explicitly prohibits government contracts with business organizations flouting its labor provisions—and the suit against Bethlehem is in the courts right now, but appeals to Roosevelt and "labor coordinator" Sidney Hillman have not brought action. This failure to act on the part of the government was not unexpected by the workers. In their leaflets, they promise to take drastic action if Roosevelt doesn't. This is just one reflection of the cynical attitude towards politicians which is prevalent among the shipyard workers here.

In their convention several weeks ago, the IUMSWA passed resolutions opposing conscription, but supporting Roosevelt in the coming election. Typical of their attitude was the speech of one 75 year old worker who said: "We've no illusions about Roosevelt! But as long as we can get more out of him than we can out of Willkie, we'll vote for him." No, they have no illusions about Roosevelt's motives. Their illusions are much more deep-seated.

### 24-Hour Line

The strikers have maintained a 24 hour picket line at the shipyards. Last Friday night, a group of strikers showed up unexpectedly at Wire Mill Road, catching the police unawares, and proceeded to vent some of their feelings on the outgoing scabs. Several cars were overturned, but no one was hurt seriously.

The Baltimore papers—the reactionary Sun and the Hearst American—following the journalistic ethics of the bosses—consistently refuse to mention the fact that such a phenomenon as a strike is going on in Baltimore's largest plant. To offset this insidious negative propaganda of silence, the union broadcast a 15 minute explanation of the strike. The day of the strike, the shipyard was dive-bombed with 800 leaflets, and the union has four motorboats patrolling the shipways and piers.

### May Spread

Chances for a successful strike are very high. The workers are militant and local leadership at least, seems determined to carry the fight through to the finish. It seems very likely that, unless Bethlehem backs down and accedes to the workers' demands, the strike will spread far beyond the confines of the Sparrows Point Shipyard. A nation-wide strike in all Bethlehem Steel plants and shipyards is a likely possibility. It is in this light that the CIO News interprets the meeting of the National officers of the CIO, SWOC and the IUMWSA scheduled for late this week.

A decision for a nation-wide strike would place the Roosevelt administration squarely on the spot, and awkwardly enough for Roosevelt, just before the elections in which labor's vote is vital. This factor, together with the flagrant violations of the Walsh Healey Act by Bethlehem will scarcely permit him to openly align himself with the company. A militant show of strength on the part of the workers can hardly fail to tilt the scales on their side in a showdown.

Victory in such a key strike should be a tremendous impetus to the trade union movement everywhere in its attempts to defend itself against the onslaught of the bosses under the guise of "national defense."

LET THE PEOPLE  
VOTE ON WAR!

## With the Labor Unions On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

### MR. WILLKIE ON THE ROLE OF LABOR

Last week Wendell Willkie journeyed to Pittsburgh to deliver a campaign speech to the workers of the nation. It was Mr. Willkie's bid for the workers' votes on November 5. It was a queer and interesting speech. The candidate began, as politicians have a habit of doing when they are running for office or making July Fourth orations, with a tribute to Lincoln. He quoted Lincoln's saying that "labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is therefore the superior of capital and deserves much higher consideration."

Now we don't pretend to know what Lincoln had in mind when he uttered these words. We do know that Lincoln was the leader of the young Republican Party of his day; the party of emerging northern industrial and finance capitalism. We know that this party played a progressive role during the days of the struggle between the "North" and the "South." It was progressive then, because it was the political expression of that group in society that wanted to develop industry, expand machine production, build railroads, factories, cities and develop a market for their products. They wanted to develop their plan with the wages

system, the "free worker," the private ownership of property and their control of exchange and distribution. They would emancipate the slaves and set the workers "free."

This was the system of capitalism entering the final conflict with the slave economy of the South. The two systems could not live together side by side. The Civil War was the result with the victory of the Republican Party and northern capitalism.

Both Roosevelt and Willkie, the Republican and Democratic Parties are the heirs and defenders of this victory of capitalism. On this platform they have moved closer and closer to each other. The industrialists and Republicans of 1860-65 took Lincoln's words about labor no more seriously than do the industrialists and capitalist politicians of today. Despite the progressive character of the position taken by the North and the Republican Party of 1860 they had no illusions about the priority of labor or labor deserving higher consideration than capital. The northern industrialists were out to establish their own priority and that is what they did. The white workers of the North and South along with the freed slaves became "wage slaves" and that is what they remain today.

### WROUGHT ABOUT A HOUSE—THE HOUSE OF MORGAN

Willkie said in his Pittsburgh speech that he stands with Lincoln, he himself has earned his bread by the sweat of his brow. He therefore understands the bond that binds those who labor. But says Mr. Willkie, "this bond should not lead to war upon business, or upon property." You see Mr. Willkie owns some property, he is the head of a huge utilities system that has millions of dollars in property. He is backed by Ford and other people who hold millions of dollars in property. He doesn't want the work-ers to misunderstand Lincoln's words.

Mr. Willkie tells us that he sweated to earn his daily bread just like any other worker. He is one of us and we mustn't have any ideas about taking his power plants. It isn't nice to take the belongings of another

worker. (Remember, that Mr. Roosevelt too joined the labor movement in his "we must not give up our gains" speech before the teamsters convention.)

"Property is the fruit of labor; (he didn't say whose labor property is desirable; it is a positive good in the world.) (We don't know as we don't have any power plants and Fifth Avenue apartments.) Let not him who is homeless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself. . . ." There you are, the trouble with the workers in the U.S. and the rest of the world is just laziness. If we were diligent and thrifty (like the bee and the beaver) we too would have Fifth Avenue apartments, Hyde Park estates and power plants.

### APPLES IN THE GARDEN OF EDEN

Mr. Willkie, if he is elected president, will make this country into a Garden of Eden. This land will bloom and blossom like the roses of Sharon. Everybody that wants a business will get one.

Mr. Willkie will give birth to an expanding economy, (all by himself) but labor must help. The workers must be willing to become partners in this grand and glorious expanding "free enterprise." There must be "good relations between labor and industry. He doesn't want to change the National Labor Relations Act immediately. "The trouble lies in the main, not in the act but with its administration." We must have a labor board that will give the free enterprise a break, because the Willkie expanding economy will be

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the Act of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933, of

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State of New York, County of New York, ss: Before me, a notary public in and for the State of New York, personally appeared Max Shachtman, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the owner of Labor Action Publishing Company, publisher of Labor Action, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc. of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 337, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—Labor Action Publishing Co., 114 West 14th St., New York, N.Y.  
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2. That the owner is: Owner—Labor Action Publishing Company, 114 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y.; Max Shachtman, 114 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y.; Joseph Carter, 114 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y.; Emanuel Garrett, 114 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stocks, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

MAX SHACHTMAN, Owner.  
Sworn to and subscribed before me this second day of October, 1940.

[Seal]

Notary Public Bronx Co. Clk's No. 61, Reg. No. 12384 N.Y. Co. Clk's No. 860, Reg. No. 22324 Kings Co. Clk's No. 41, Reg. No. 2281. Commission Expires March 30, 1941.

a partnership. A just labor board would "help people to work together" say for example, the workers and Messrs. Ford, Girdler and Weir. And if we remember correctly the NLRB has stirred up a little trouble at some of Mr. Willkie's power plants. This must be true for his workers could not possibly have any reason for complaint.

"There should be some decentralization of Federal Government activities in the labor field, because each locality knows its problems best." You see Mr. Willkie, his finance Minister, Mr. Weir, his pal Mr. Lamont and others have plants and factories scattered through many states. The thing to do is establish labor boards, wage and hour boards, ad social security boards in every community where these plants, mines, mills and factories are. These boards should be composed of the outstanding citizens in each industrial community. There would be boards in Weirton, W. Va. (unincorporated), and in all steel centers. There should be boards in the cotton regions of Mississippi and Arkansas to handle the grievances of the white and Negro sharecroppers. There should be little boards in all the regions where Mr. Willkie has his power plants. These would be far superior to the central boards in Washington because they would be closer to the scene and "each locality knows its problems best."

The next to the last point made by the candidate is his suggestion that "labor and management . . . incorporate into their contracts, of their own volition, provisions for a cooling off period, a delay before they commence their economic weapons' use." This is to permit good will and brotherly love to get under way. If the workers will just cool off and be satisfied with present wages and hours then the bosses will cool off also and refuse to buy any more tear gas, machine guns or sawed off shot guns. If the workers will mail their grievances to the boss and then refrigerate for six months, the boss on his part will also take to the ice box and forget all about the police, the national guard, injunctions and lock-outs. Mr. Willkie feels very deeply about this for "where the principles of collective bargaining are really understood and really accepted by both parties, this would seem to me to be feasible."

After going into tears over "coercion by unscrupulous employers" and "crooked racketeers (are there any other kind?) who have found their way into the labor movement" the candidate closed his great Bill of Rights for Labor with the ringing declaration:

"I propose a triumvirate of labor, agriculture and business—one for all, all for one."

# 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.

## The Power Of Organization

The power and the value of organization for the workers has been vividly demonstrated again in a very small and relatively insignificant strike in a New Jersey scrap yard. These workers, only 35 were employed in the plant, were organized in the Waste Materials Union and were a section of the Hod Carriers and Common Laborers Union. Most of them had never been in a union or a strike before and all were Negroes.

They had miserable conditions at the scrap yard. Wages were low and the hours long. They received no overtime pay, no extra pay for Sundays. They were not allowed holidays, and if they took them, it was their loss. They got no vacations with pay. Their working time and the company books were so juggled that it was difficult for them to know what their pay should be. There were no sanitary conveniences in the yard.

These workers went on strike for higher pay, shorter hours and better working conditions. After sixteen weeks, these Negro workers won their strike. They held fast through all this period—against police intimidation, attacks by scabs and all the efforts of the employers to break the strike. Their determination was voiced by one strikers who remarked one day: "I ain't goin' back. I'm goin' to be a good union man once in my life if I ain't nothin' else."

Their fortitude, solidarity and courage won for them a closed shop contract, the minimum pay is raised from 30 to 45 cents an hour for unskilled workers and from 55 to 65 cents for skilled workers. After six months, the pay will be 52 to 72½ cents an hour. They won a 40 hour week, time and one half for overtime and double time for Sundays and holidays. Also vacations with pay and all legal holidays with pay.

The concrete results were a large decrease in the hours with no decrease in pay, overtime pay that will increase the amount of money they draw each week and the establishment of the union as a real bargaining agent and protector of these workers.

Just as important, however, is the edu-

cation in trade unionism that these workers received in the course of the strike. They learned how to deal with the boss in an organized fashion; how to work together, how to organize meetings and picket lines, how to formulate demands and fight for them in a militant manner. They learned something about the role of the police, and how the boss and the police work together to crush strikes.

This sort of action can be carried out all over the country in all sorts of small plants where workers are outrageously exploited and mistreated. All that is needed is a militant and capable union leadership that understands the difference between the interests of the workers and the interests of the bosses, and is determined to fight for the workers' rights against the boss.

## Liberty In U.S.A.

The police of Inwood, Nassau County, New York State have been carrying on a veritable reign of terror among the Negro residents of the county. It is said that it arose out of the murder of a policeman who was supposed to have been killed by a Negro. At any rate, these Nassau County "guardians of the law" have been acting like the police in a backwoods county in darkest Georgia.

The homes of Negro residents of Inwood were invaded whenever the Nassau cops felt inclined. Men and women were clubbed and dragged from their homes to jail. The whole Negro population was terrorized and subjected to every indignity known to a dumb and stupid flatfoot on a rampage. It is reported that Governor Lehman has ordered an "investigation."

The cops of Nassau County were preparing and conditioning Negroes for service in the United States army to make the world once again safe for democracy. We are certain that every Negro in Inwood and every Negro in the United States who learns of this affair will rush to the colors and be thankful that he has such a blessed country to fight for. We can imagine the Negroes of Nassau County displaying two flags on every house chanting the Star Spangled Banner on rising in the morning and making it the last patriotic rite before retiring at night.

## A New Crime

A small and little noticed item in the daily press the other day reported the end of free education in Russia. Hereafter high school and college students in the Soviet Union will be compelled to pay a tuition fee. Thus, another achievement of the great Russian Revolution has been whittled away to nothingness by Stalin, who is more proficient in murder than in education.

The Soviet educational system was one of the most magnificent achievements of the Russian Revolution. Educators from all over the world, those who weren't bound by capitalist servitude, came to Russia to admire the modern and wonderful work there begun. But what was proper in Lenin's time went the way of Old Bolsheviks in Stalin's day. Under Stalin the education was systematically revised—socialist experimentation was eliminated, the archaic educational methods of the capitalist world were reintroduced.

This new decree is, therefore, merely the culmination of trend. But its significances are sharper and, perhaps, more sweeping. Who will be educated now? The poor worker whose income is barely enough to keep body and soul together? Hardly!

The son of the bureaucrat and specialist—he will have the means, he will, therefore, get the education. Result: the bureaucracy will tend to perpetuate itself as a trained ruling clique.

In the light of all the other crimes committed by Stalin, it is difficult to wax indignant about this, the latest one. Let us, however, mark it down another mile post on the Stalinist road to reaction.

**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 \_\_\_\_\_

## Breaking Through the Oriental Censorship

# The Tragedy of China's National War

By Sherman Stanley

SHANGHAI—The undeclared war between Japan and China is now wearily dragging its way through the early stages of its fourth year. An elementary taking of inventory reveals a sorry picture indeed so far as the position of Chinese nationalism, revolutionary potentialities and the fate of China's masses are concerned. We must nevertheless recognize the bitter truth for what it is.

Any bridge that may have led to a possible settlement of the conflict between Japanese imperialism and the Chinese colonial bourgeois class now appears to have been blown up beyond possibility of reconstruction. Japan, on the eve of "recognizing" its miserable caricature of a Puppet State headed by the pitiful Wang ching-wei at Nanking, has pushed too far ahead to re-open negotiations with Chiang kai-shek. The subtlety of these Nipponese agents slays one! Owing the Nanking regime lock, stock and barrel they have now prepared an elaborate "treaty" which no doubt will be signed with all that ornate ceremony of which only the Japanese are capable. The treaty will give them economic monopolies to exploit all of occupied-China— which exploitation can hardly begin to take place because of the simple fact that Japan doesn't have the necessary initial capital to invest.

### War Fronts Frozen

And Chiang kai-shek, always amenable to a favorable agreement, he too apparently has burned all his bridges behind him. Thus the long-existent military and political stalemate—there is barely any military action with the exception of a stupid and indiscriminate bombing of Chungking which only displays the hysterical anxiety of the Japanese to "do something" and make an end of the bloody mess they've gotten into—remains and probably can continue indefinitely.

On both sides, the war fronts are frozen stiff. The Japanese—told that the "holy incident" would end in three months—have gotten nothing out of the war except additional loads to bear and further melancholy reflections to store away in their warehouse of Oriental fatalisms. As for the Chinese, the reactionary Chinese Kuomintang having done everything possible to prevent a raising of the national consciousness, they are yet more indifferent and tired of it all.

### A Worried Man

What is China's position today? While it is true that the country is not "conquered" and that 1¼ million Japanese soldiers as well as large naval forces are inextricably tangled up like a helpless new-born babe twisted in its umbilical cord, nevertheless the fact remains that Japanese imperialism can make something out of the situation, while the Chiang kai-shek regime cannot. The stupidity of those liberal bourgeois folk who prate about China winning the war through sheer weight and attrition—particularly now with the practical abandonment of the Chungking regime by the "democratic" imperialist powers—is beyond contempt. No war was ever won by back-peddling Generals and retreating armies, not even in China!

Then why does Chiang kai-shek continue? Partly because there is nothing else for him to do; partly because he hopes that a change in the international situation may revive his hopes of loyally serving his imperialist masters of France, England and America. But he is a very worried gentleman indeed! He sees himself dependent entirely upon Stalinist Russia for external supplies which, in turn, means a lighter squeeze from his dubious allies of the Eighth Route (Stalinist) Army.

In his final speech before the plenary session of the Kuomintang Executive Committee (July 8), Chiang sweated hard attempting to explain that the statement of Mr. Stephen Early to the effect that "There should be applications of the Monroe Doctrine in Europe and Asia..." did not signify an extension of the glad-hand from Yankee imperialism to Japan. But many of China's so-called nationalist leaders fear otherwise.

### No Victories Here

Today huge and rich areas of China are occupied. The coast from tip to tip is Japanese controlled. Only the Russian supply route remains open. The industrial, commercial and modern cities of the coast are all in enemy hands. All that remains of Free China is the peasant hinterland. When the last Japanese "peace" offer was turned down the Nipponese responded with new offensives on land and in the air (these have since petered out), with a further intensification of their naval blockade of the coast and with successful isolation moves in the South.

Internally, China's situation is still worse. With the exception of the Shanghai area practically all modern industry has been destroyed

either by military action of the Japanese or "scorched earth" action of the Chinese. Free China has virtually no industry. Its food and land problems remain as before, with great famine and malarial districts, floods, epidemics etc. sweeping the land. Estimates of those who have died in the past 3 years range from 6 to 10 million, mostly from disease and famine. Rice prices are colossal, while the Chungking dollar goes down, down and down. Descriptions of inland China, with its millions of refugees, make it appear as a land struck simultaneously by the Seven Plagues of the Old Testament! There are no "victories" to be read in all of this.

Upon whom must responsibility be fixed for this tragic state of affairs? What has caused this sharp dip in China's national and revolutionary movements so that today one must frankly recognize that the labor movement of the country is, in effect, temporarily dead, organizationally non-existent.

For the "democratic" capitalist powers (England, France and America) China's struggle for national liberation was, from the beginning, only a convenient weapon in their campaign of imperialist rivalry against the Japanese. And, as is often the case, when New York scrap iron merchants and California oil men found it profitable to sell to Japan they did so without hesitation or thought of the "broader" aims of imperialist strategy.

### "National Hero"

By far the greatest responsibility devolves upon the Chinese Kuomintang, political organization of the Chinese property class, and its allies of the Chinese Stalinist organizations. For three years, Chiang kai-shek has done everything to prevent the war from broadening its base—he has catered to the most cynically corrupt Chinese generals and war lords; he has been blind to the most incredible profiteering on food, money exchange and war contracts (in front of his nose the wife of his Finance Minister sells Chungking money short on the Shanghai exchange); he has permitted the most treacherous officers and commanders to continue; he has destroyed embryonic labor unions in his own territory and denied all democratic liberties; he has based his armies on the forced draft and accomplished his labor through the forced levy; he has conducted the

war on the military plane solely, leaving intact feudal and landlord China.

Chiang kai-shek, man of the foreign imperialists, Chinese bankers, merchants and landlords, has accomplished his task well. Among the Chinese masses he is no more of a "National Hero" than Hoover is in America. As for his wife—puffed up to heroic proportions by American journalism and Pearl Buck—she proved so incompetent as Commander of the Chinese Air Force (which never takes to the air) that her husband was forced to remove her from the post.

### Stalin's Tool

Although there have been and still are numerous clashes between the Kuomintang forces and the Stalinist Red Army they are of a purely bureaucratic nature. The policy of confining themselves to a stipulated area, of abandoning their socialist program for the capitalist program of the Kuomintang has been consistently followed by the Chinese Stalinists. The clashes are not those of political principle, but are quite analogous to those between the Chungking government and rival, provincial war lords who have the annoying habit of raising their heads every so often. In addition, there is the fact that the Eighth Route Army is a useful pressure tool in the hands of the Moscow oligarchy—"now we threaten Japan, now we threaten Chiang kai-shek!" That is the deep "strategy" of the so-called Red Army of China.

The laws of revolutionary history and revolutionary strategy in particular seem to be proven only in a negative—that is, reactionary and counter-revolutionary—fashion in our disastrous times. So it is with China and its war of national emancipation. Here we have definitive and classic evidence that the colonial, national bourgeois class is incapable not merely of leading a progressive struggle to a successful conclusion, but incapable of even partial successes! If the colonial masses remain quiescent or are duped, only disaster can result. The horror and tragedy of modern China is before us. Today, the men of property in Europe and America are capable only of destroying whatever remains of civilization; their lesser lights and pale shadows in the colonial world are proving themselves not one whit less destructive or pernicious to the interests of civilization.

## Nicholas Murray Butler, Servant Of Wall Street, Does His Duty

The rulers of the U.S.A. are preparing at a breakneck pace to participate in the World War. They know that the whole population must be mobilized—every institution commandeered; and the universities are no exception. Their faculties can not escape performing the goose-step in public.

J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. is, as Upton Sinclair long ago proved, master of Columbia University and its Board of Trustees. Dr. Nicholas Butler, president of Columbia University, and spokesman for the Board, is therefore, in a manner of speaking, one of Mr. Morgan's employees.

### DOING HIS MILITARY BIT

On October 3, in his speech to the Columbia teaching staff, Dr. Butler announced the steps taken and to-be taken in enlisting his university in the war: a Committee on National Defense, composed of Columbia trustees, deans, and professors has been functioning since early summer; courses in aeronautics, military engineering and related topics are now included in the curriculum. In addition to a B.S. degree, the courses lead to commissions in the army or navy.

Columbia will grant leaves of absence without pay to professors, instructors, etc., who are called to the colors and pay the insurance fees for those who have already assumed Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association contracts. Obviously, the University is too poor to pay the staff draftee their salaries while they are in military service.

Students will also be given leaves of absence and equitable arrangements will be made in regard to their tuition fees. Dr. Butler did not call for volunteers. He did break a Columbia tradition by making Oct. 16 a holiday. He is determined to cooperate: there are 3,000 potential recruits at Columbia.

### THE CHOICE: SILENCE OR DISMISSAL

Dr. Butler warned that any member of his teaching staff who is not solidly behind the rearmament drive must keep his mouth shut. The world-wide moral prestige of Columbia is on the side of righteousness (British imperialism) and no member of the faculty will be permitted to hamper the University in its pursuit of "high ideals" (the preparations to hurl the U.S.A. into the present war). Any teacher who is not in accord with the "high ideal" of saving "civilization" through an imperialist war is free to resign his position. So, in the last war, were competent and able teachers hounded out of the school system.

Dr. Butler compared universities to churches: if you disagree with the policies it is ignoble to continue membership. He is certainly correct in one respect: the churches are, in spite of their professed creeds, centers of war propaganda; he forgets, grown rich in the service of J.P. Morgan & Co., that some people have to earn a living—even in the employ of senile reactionaries.

In defense of his "gag rule", Dr. Butler developed a unique theory: a university has its own kind of freedom; "accomplished scholars" (by flattery, the teaching staff) have "academic freedom"; the student body has none. The "university freedom" is the higher type; if there is any conflict between the "freedoms", "academic freedom" naturally gives way.

At one stroke, Butler's stand wiped out all the important rights of the students at Columbia University. In reality, if the attitude taken by Butler prevails, no one at Columbia will have academic freedom except Noble Prize winners, distinguished research scholars and a few other full professors, who are too big to fire because they might be hired to glorify a rival "seat of learning."

### HIS IDEALS ARE SUSPECT

Now, we rise to ask, what is a university anyway aside from the students and faculty? This was understood even in the Middle Ages: that the glory of a university as a seat of learning resided in the excellence of the faculty and in the quality of the student body. What is "university freedom" if not academic freedom for the faculty and student body: freedom to pursue truth "to whatever abysses it may lead." Take away the students and faculty and what is left? Nothing but the trustees and the administrative staff.

That is what Butler really means by "university"—the trustees, the big businessmen who give the money and control the policies of the institution in the interests of their class. These are the "high ideals" of which Butler is preaching. Right now the "high ideals" of these trustees, these big industrialists and bankers coincide with their imperialist interest in the World War. Any faculty member or student who is against the war is against "university freedom" that is to say, against the trustees.

Free speech is important; doubly important because of the war, and there you have the real issue: the war.

No one should be surprised at the position taken by Butler. He is an old Republican wheel horse of small proportions, who at one time aspired to be nominated for president of the U.S. He is first of all a politician. It is perhaps to their "advantage" that few workers' children are able to attend Columbia, and study under this reactionary politician posing as an educator. At least in the factory they can join the union, fight for the right to be heard, for greater freedom and a better life.

## For Labor Action—Join the Workers Party

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## Leon Trotsky on Fascism and New Deal

Two methods for saving historically doomed capitalism are today vying with each other in the world arena—Fascism and the New Deal. Fascism bases its program on the demolition of labor organizations, on the destruction of social reforms, and on the complete annihilation of democratic rights, in order to forestall a resurrection of the proletariat's class struggle. The Fascist state officially legalizes the degradation of workers and the pauperization of the middle classes, in the name of saving the "nation" and the "race"—presumptuous names under which decaying capitalism figures.

The policy of the New Deal, which tries to save imperialist democracy by way of sops to the labor and farmer aristocracy, is in its broad compass accessible only to the very wealthy nations, and so in that sense it is American policy *par excellence*. The American government has attempted to shift a part of the costs of that policy to the shoulders of the monopolists, exhorting them to raise wages and shorten the labor day and thus increase the purchasing power of the population and extend production. Leon Blum attempted to translate this sermon into elementary school French. In vain! The French capitalist, like the American, does not produce for the sake of production but for profit. He is always ready to limit production, even to destroy manufactured products, if thereby his own share of the national income will be increased.

The New Deal program is all the more inconsistent in that, while preaching sermons to the magnates of capital about the advantages of abundance over scarcity, the government dispenses premiums for cutting down on production. Is greater confusion possible? The government confutes its critics with the challenge: can you do better? What all this means is that on the basis of capitalism the situation is hopeless.

Beginning with 1933, i.e., in the course of the last six years in America, the federal government, the states, and the municipalities have handed out to the unemployed nearly fifteen billion dollars in relief, a sum quite insufficient in itself and representing merely the smaller part of lost wages, but at the same time, considering the declining national income, a colossal sum. During 1938, which was a year of comparative economic revival, the national debt of the United States increased by two billion dollars past the thirty-eight billion dollar mark, or twelve billion dollars more than the highest point at the end of the World War. Early in 1939 it passed the forty billion dollar mark. And then what? The mounting national debt is of course a burden on posterity. But the New Deal itself was possible only because of the tremendous wealth accumulated by past generations. Only a very rich nation could indulge itself in so extravagant a policy. But even such a nation cannot indefinitely go on living at the expense of past generations. The New Deal policy with its fictitious achievements and its very real increase in the national debt is unavoidably bound to culminate in fierce capitalist reaction and a devastating explosion of imperialism. In other words, it is directed into the same channels as the policy of Fascism.

—From the Introduction to THE LIVING THOUGHTS OF KARL MARX, 1939, Longman's, Green and Co., pp. 23-25.