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

LABOR ACTION

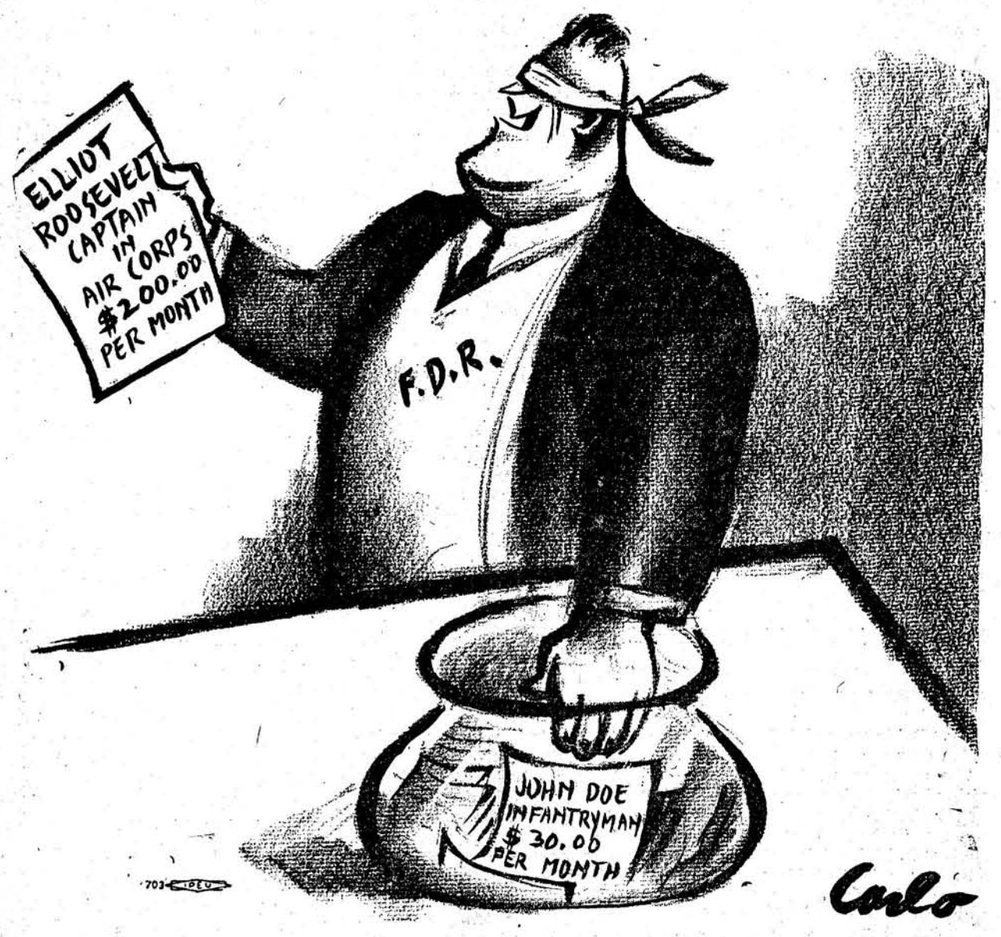
Max Shachtman Begins a Series of Articles On Fascism and War

OCTOBER 21, 1940 — ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY, SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL — THREE CENTS

WE ADDRESS THE CANDIDATES FOR CONSCRIPTION:

YOU MUST FIGHT FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS!

"Democracy" At Work!



By now, the government has your name, and you've been given a number. Until October 23, when you will be sitting by your radio while the numbers are being drawn out of a hat, you have a chance to do some peaceful thinking.

While you're waiting, think about President Roosevelt's latest speech, on Columbus Day.

He said: "I speak bluntly." He did. It was a blunt war speech.

While shaking both fists in the direction of certain "dictator nations", he let out in passing that we who are to be conscripted have a bigger job cut out for us than we thought. Watch what Roosevelt pulled out of the hat in this speech.

You may be able to remember that the original purpose of the oversized arms budgets was supposed to be to "defend our homes". Even this phrase actually covered only one house: the House of Morgan.

Next, Roosevelt stepped across the border and promised His Majesty's Government that we would defend Canada too, even though Canada is already at war. Then—getting into the swing—he announced that we would stand guard over all the American continents, North, Central, and South—down to the Straits of Magellan and Little America.

Inching outward a bit, he then set up a "neutrality patrol" to put the waters adjoining all these coasts under the kindly protection of the U.S. Marines—who have had experience in protecting Latin American countries like Nicaragua and Haiti. The draft bill said that conscripts can be used in any of these parts. Then it was expanded to include the Philippine Islands, which are on the other side of the world.

And NOW—it's the whole of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans! That's what he said on Columbus Day:

"When we speak of defending this Western Hemisphere we are speaking not only of the territory of North, Central and South America and the immediately adjacent islands. We include the right to the peaceful use of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans."

THAT SENTENCE COVERS A LOT OF WATER. YOU BOYS HAD BETTER GIRD YOUR SAM BROWN BELTS. A FEW MORE SPEECHES BY ROOSEVELT AND YOU'LL BE PROTECTING THE ENGLISH CHANNEL AND GOOD OLD ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

There's another speech by Roosevelt due to come up soon—a "fire-side chat" with the newly-drafted cannon-fodder. We hereby offer a draft for this speech. Here it is:—

"My friends and fellow-conscripts:

"Some of you men who have been conscripted may have heard the propaganda about my son Elliot, who has drafted himself into a paper-work job as Captain in the Procurement Division. His job is to 'procure' the necessary guns and bullets to blow OTHER men's sons to bits.

"This heroic example of patriotic sacrifice (at $50-plus a week) has met with some misunderstanding. In reality it is a demonstration of the American System. Starting as a mere movie producer, Elliot becomes a captain practically overnight—showing once again how far a young man can rise with enough will and work.

"It proves that the old maxim is true: There's always room at the top! There had better be. There are a lot more rich men's sons who have got to be taken care of.

"BUT—did Elliot leave his movie company in the lurch when he resigned to go to the front-line trenches in Washington? No, he did not! He has patriotically arranged that his wife take over the movie job, thus relieving him of the task of collecting the $50,000 a year, so he can devote full attention to National Defense.

"Since this is not a campaign address. I shall not mention Willkie, who also made a Columbus Day speech, somewhere near the back page. He had only one point to make. He complained

(Continued on page 2)

THE WORLD AT WAR

Hitler Puts Barrier in Path of Stalin — Move on Dardanelles Seen as Likely

By MAX STERLING

With dramatic speed the Nazi war machine has made its way across Rumania to the Black Sea. All signs indicate that this is preliminary to a concerted axis drive to the oil fields of Iraq and Iran and the attempt to destroy Great Britain's mastery in the Mediterranean by an attack on the Suez Canal.

In this process, Hitler has once more outmaneuvered Stalin. That which Stalin has feared and which he thought he could prevent by his pact with Hitler has come to pass. The Nazi military machine, at the height of its power, is firmly established on the Black Sea and in the Balkans.

All the attempts by Stalin to woo the Balkan states away from Hitler, to use the Balkans as a buffer between him and Hitler have failed. The economic and military power of the Nazis has proven superior to all the staged demonstrations by the puppet Communist Parties of the Balkan states.

Nazi Way Cleared

By ceding Transylvania to Hungary, Hitler put in Russia's path the natural barrier of the Carpathian Mountains. The Nazi occupation of Rumania up to the Black Sea has placed the military might of Germany between Russia and Bulgaria. With Italy on one side and the Germans on the other, Yugoslavia is practically encircled. Already the Nazis are making demands upon Yugoslavia that will make it a field of economic exploitation by the Nazis. As with Rumania, industry will be completely throttled and Yugoslavia will be forced to serve as an agricultural granary and a source of raw materials for Greater Germany.

Out of fear of Hitler, Stalin has had to comply with all those steps that will in the end make easier a Nazi attack upon Soviet Russia. Those who believe that because of this Stalin will now turn upon his partner in the axis are more likely than not mistaken. Every strategical advantage that Hitler gains over Russia brings the latter only more firmly in the grip of the Nazis.

The way is now clear for a Nazi thrust at the Dardenelles. This will be another blow to Russia, but, if Turkey resists as she is expected to, it would be pure delusion to think that Russia will come to her aid.

U.S. ENTRY NEARER

Should the Nazis undertake to blitzkrieg Turkey and the Near East, the Italians will move in on Greece and will attempt to push on farther into Egypt toward the Suez Canal. It is no longer a secret that the Nazis are now fighting with the Italian forces in Egypt. The Nazis hope to succeed where up to now the Italian "blitzkrieg" has bogged down to a crawl. The aim is to hem the British in from both sides.

(Continued on page 3)

Not Bad, Eh?

Gold mine: Dunno how many millionaires were made out of it, but in 1927 a Connecticut corporation (Pratt & Whitney) lent $1,000,000 to a subsidiary known as P. & W. Aircraft, and the stock was peddled to insiders at 20 cents a share. In 1928 a stock dividend of 79 shares for one was declared and in early 1929 United Aircraft took over P. & W. Aircraft for cash and two shares for one. And in the boiling bull market of May, 1929, United reached a peak of $62 a share. Just figure out for yourself what $100 worth of the P. & W. Aircraft at 20 cents in 1927 would have been worth a couple of years later. (We're lame at arithmetic and we dislike getting dizzy.)

—from Neal O'Hara's column in N.Y. Post, Oct. 15.

Shachtman on the Ballot!

Labor Groups Asked to Enlist In Shachtman-For-Congress Campaign

BULLETIN

The New York Election Board today, October 16, ruled the petitions submitted by Local New York of the Workers Party as valid, thus placing Max Shachtman on the ballot as candidate for Congress in the 23rd Congressional District of the Bronx. Though it has been the obvious intention of election boards all over the country to keep working class parties and groups off the ballot, however undemocratic the pretext, the huge number of signatures collected on the Shachtman petition, over 7,000, left the New York board no alternative. Commenting on the Boards' ruling, Nathan Gould, director of the Shachtman-for-Congress Committee, hailed it as a victory for the Workers Party and pledged that, with Shachtman's place on the ballot now assured, the campaign would be pressed even more vigorously than before.

The Shachtman-for-Congress campaign swung into its final phase Tuesday night with a series of open air-meetings in the 23rd Congressional District of the Bronx.

As the first three of fifty street meetings to be organized before Nov. 5, by Local New York of the Workers Party, Shachtman addressed in succession, meetings at Burnside and Walton Avenues, at East Tremont and Prospect Avenues and 161st Street and Prospect Avenue. Approximately 500 workers heard Shachtman flay the war plans of the Roosevelt administration—plans which have the tacit, where not open approval of Willkie.

Despite a bristling wind, the audiences listened attentively at each of the mettings as the candidate of the Workers Party pinned the war label on the presidential candidates of the boss parties, the Democrats and the Republicans. Recounting the rotten bankruptcy of capitalism which compels it to resort to war so that it may safeguard its imperialist holdings and glut the pockets of the ruling class, Shachtman answered the war mongers with the program of international socialism which seeks an end to wars through the establishment of workers governments in all the lands of the world.

The main issue before the Bronx workers, as for the workers all over the United States, is the war, said Shachtman. No issue equals it in importance, because all other aspects of life are subordinated by the boss class and its government representatives to preparing, and then prosecuting, the war. In face of the already accomplished fact of conscription, Shachtman demanded of the government that, having conscripted lives, it now conscript the profits of those who alone will benefit from the boss war. Bringing the issues of the war home to each listener, he called upon the workers of the Bronx to join in demanding that civil rights be guaranteed the conscripts—the right to vote, the right to select committees to represent them, and, above all, the vital right, along with the entire working class, to a decent standard of living.

A vote for the Workers Party candidate, was Shachtman's message, is a vote against the conscription of labor to fight the bosses' battle. A vote for Shachtman is, above all else, a protest against the boss war.

Altman Says "No"

Before the campaign ends on Nov. 5, there will hardly be a worker in the Bronx who will not have heard this message, hardly a worker who will not have heard the program of the Workers Party. The street meetings now planned will cover every section of the 23rd Congressional District. In addition, Shachtman is scheduled to address numerous Bronx organizations at specially arranged meetings and at symposiums.

(Continued on page 3)

"Fifth Columnists" In Our Midst!

The vigilance of the Campbell, O. police is unmatched. Four prominent Akron artists—Will Collins, Roy Wilhelm, Robert W. Schultz and Adrian French—attending the meeting of the Buckeye Art club at Youngstown were painting the impressive stacks of the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. which is reputedly working on English war orders. Officers arrived. The four men in smocks were arrested. After some questioning they were released after establishing their identity. "Fifth column" vigilance is the price of war hysteria.

Fascism and the World War by Max Shachtman

ARTICLE ONE

Fascism is on a triumphant rampage. Virtually all of Europe is under Hitler's dominion. The Mother of Parliaments, last bastion of democracy in the Old World, is being bombed out of the sea. Every new day of the war seems to be brighter for fascism and blacker for its enemies.

How shall we stop the advance of fascism? What is to be done? Shall we support England with all our strength? Shall we join with Roosevelt (and Willkie) in the armaments race, in conscription, in preparing for war? The official labor movement has long ago taken its position—for national defense, for the war of democracy against fascism. The social democrats have done the same. The Stalinists wait only for an alliance between Stalin and Washington to join in the same chorus.

The "Radicals" Change Color

Up to recently, only the left-wing and semi-left-wing organizations and individuals resisted the democratic-patriotic wave. In varying degrees, they declared that no important problem of our time, not even that of preserving democratic rights from the assaults of fascism, could be solved except in a socialist way, that is, by the **independent class** program and action of labor. They held to this position up to the outbreak of the war and even afterward. But starting with the spectacular victories of Hitler's Blitzkrieg, every bomb dropped by Goering's ships has blown another radical from his position. Some of them are still in mid-air, not certain of their landing place. Others have already landed, howling with pain and with demands for support of the war.

In this series of articles, we aim to examine various positions that have been advanced recently in and around the radical labor movement on the struggle against fascism and the question of the war. The question: Should fascism be fought and crushed?—will not be considered here because we have always taken an affirmative answer for granted. We will deal with such questions as: What is fascism? How can we fight it? What do others propose? and, What do we propose?

In the course of this series we will discuss the recent writings on the subject by Dwight Macdonald, the Cannonites (S.W.P.), Sidney Hook, and the Lovestonites, ending with a presentation of our point of view. The questions of war and fascism and socialist revolution, which are all linked together, are **the** main questions of our time. Let this fact be borne in mind by the reader if he finds our discussion sharply polemical in places. The fight against fascism and the war is inseparable from the fight against confusion, muddled thinking, and the covert abandonment of socialist principles.

•

Comrade Dwight Macdonald is "not at all satisfied with the analysis of the war and of the nature of the totalitarian states held to by the Trotskyists and other 'orthodox' Marxists." Not content with mere discontent, he proceeds ("National Defense: The Case for Socialism," Partisan Review, July-August 1940) to an analysis which he need not claim as his own for the very good reason that nobody would jump such a claim.

We do not have too many examples nowadays of the brilliance and profoundness with which Marxism illuminates political and social problems, and that mainly because so many of its partisans do not take enough pains to master it. But we do have plenty of examples of the confusion and obscurity introduced into questions by those who either scorn or misunderstand Marxism, or who abandon it. Macdonald's contribution is such an example, and an excellent one.

What is fascism? Let us read Macdonald's answer, or more accurately, his several answers.

Fascism is not capitalism. It has introduced "a radical change in the economic system." As clearly as Napoleon's military innovations," it has been "fighting a new kind of war that . . . expressed a new kind of society." The Nazis "have already changed the underlying economic and social structure" of capitalism. "Fascism is qualitatively different from democratic capitalism," and, to underline what would seem to be emphatic enough, he agrees essentially with the proposition that "German fascism is not a variant of the capitalism we know over here, but is a new kind of social system." And, in order to escape the accusation of half-heartedness, he adds that "this new form of state power . . . so baffling, especially to Marxists" (Ahem!) is "also existing in Russia today."

Now, just wherein is fascism basically, radically, qualitatively different from capitalism, just what is it that makes it a new kind of society, a new kind of social system? It is right here, where his earlier courage should show itself most boldly, that it forsakes our author. "Is the Nazi bureaucracy a new ruling class, then, and fascism a new form of society, comparable to capitalism?" he asks; and he answers: "This doesn't seem to be true either." At one blow, the Marxists lose a friend and acquire a companion to whom "this new form of state power" is just as baffling as it is, says he, to them. In any case, what certainly will baffle the Marxists is the job of following Macdonald's analysis.

Neither The Old Nor The New?

Fascism is a new social order, basically different from capitalism. Good. Yet "Hitler has left untouched the legal and financial structure of capitalism." It is not capitalism, "but the old contradictions still exist beneath the surface." But if the old contradictions still exist, and they are precisely **the** characteristics of capitalism, wherein is fascism "qualitatively" different? To make matters lucidly plain, Macdonald writes also that "statesmen like Roosevelt and Churchill and Reynaud recognize in their enemy (i.e., fascism) the characteristics of the system of class rule they are defending, only carried out to the terrible ultimate conclusion." If this means what it says, fascism is only the ultimate conclusion of capitalism, not its negation, not its destruction, but its ultimate conclusion, and has the characteristics of Roosevelt's and Churchill's capitalism. Then where is the basic and qualitative difference in social systems?

But Macdonald is not confused as any ordinary mortal would be. He has already said that fascism is fundamentally a new social order, radically different from the old; and at the same time that it is fundamentally the old social order, retaining its characteristics and its contradictions. Whereupon, to make sure that nobody understands his analysis, he writes that in addition it is neither the old nor the new!

"That gravedigger of capitalism which Marx and Engels saw on the far horizon has finally appeared, wearing not the overalls of the proletariat but the uniform of the Reichswehr. But, although fascism has destroyed the old social order, it is unable to bring the new society into being. That task is still reserved for the world working class."

The Reichswehr as the gravedigger of capitalism is a real triumph, and we will return to it later. It is doubly a triumph when we read elsewhere that Hitler's war is being "carried out against the warnings" of the old Army caste. For the moment, however, it suffices to repeat that (thus far!) according to Macdonald, fascism has the characteristics and contradictions of the social system we know as capitalism, that it is basically and qualitatively different from that social system and represents a new social order (undefined, because very baffling . . . to Marxists), that it is the gravedigger of capitalism (thus doing what the prolet-

(Continued on page 3)

With the Labor Unions—

On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

BOSS AND WORKER MEAN DIFFERENT THINGS BY "RESPECTABILITY"

Following the sentencing of the racketeer labor-faker, George Scalise, to Sing Sing for a minimum of ten years, the new president of the building service workers international, announced a clean-up in the union. The first step of President McFetridge was to suspend the officers of Local 32-A in New York. This local has jurisdiction in the hotel field. McFetridge asked Mayor La Guardia to appoint a "receiver" for the local. He also appointed an investigating committee to look into the union's affairs.

President McFetridge announced that it is his intention to establish "sound, democratic, well-directed, ethical unions . . . every member's rights must be recognized and protected . . . we cannot effectively carry out our purposes unless we are a responsible, law-abiding organization with self-respect and decency."

We subscribe to these sentiments. We believe that unions should be democratic institutions and that the rights of the membership should be recognized and protected. We believe that unions should conduct themselves with self-respect and decency. But in order to be clear on these things we make a few remarks. First, as a step in the direction of cleaning house in the international and establishing democracy was it necessary to ask Mayor La Guardia to intervene? La Guardia is not a trade unionist, is not part of the trade union movement. He is a boss class politician and office-holder and his interests are with the class which he represents.

If it is necessary for Local 32-A to have a "receiver", the appointment should be made by the international executive board of the union or by the Executive Council of the AFL. This is labor's job and not the function of ruling class politicians.

Next we suggest that just because there are some racketeers in the unions many of whom have been caught and jailed by the capitalist courts, this is no reason for union leaders to get the jitters and begin leaning over backwards to become "respectable." What's respectable to employers, government officials and numerous elements of the "public" might be some tame, non-militant outfit that was always ready to compromise with the bosses and never breathed a word about a picket line. Workers can't afford to accept and practice this kind of respectability, and "decency."

As members of the working class, unions must establish their own code of "self-respect," and "decency." The working class has its own "morals" and "ethics" just as the ruling class has its "morals" and "ethics." What is decent for a trade union under certain conditions would be considered very indecent by the boss. When the boss runs scabs into a plant on strike under the protection of the police, the strikers consider it decent, ethical, responsible and self-respecting, to give the scabs some workingclass education, even by the use of a little pressure. The bosses however consider such conduct very indecent, irresponsible and unethical.

There are times, too, when the workers must establish their own legality. There are times when workers can not accept the bosses' "law." Workers' organizations can not always remain passively "law-abiding." If workers had always been "law-abiding" according to the terms of ruling class law, there would be no trades unions in the world today. There would be no Wagner Act, no Wages and Hours Act, no Social Security. Wages would be far lower than now and hours would be much longer. Workers have made the gains they have through the decades because they opposed the ruling class and fought every step of the way.

Since nothing fundamental has changed in the relationship of the workers to the bosses there is no reason for the workers to change from the procedure that has brought them their victories.

"ENERGY AND DEVOTION"—BUT FOR WHAT PURPOSE?

"Labor," official organ of 15 railway unions, has come to the defense of Sidney Hillman in the dispute going on over the "informal" statement of the Attorney-General, to the effect that employers must abide by decisions of the NLRB until those decisions are overruled by the courts. Speaking of the hearing before the notorious Smith Committee of the House, "Labor" said —"As a member of the Advisory Commission, he (Hillman) has served his country with exceptional energy and devotion. While Smith has been sniping at labor laws, Hillman has been building up national defense."

We are always glad to see one labor leader come to the defense of another when one of them is attacked by the bosses or their stooges. We too will defend Hillman or any other labor leader against such attacks. But this doesn't settle the matter.

The praise of Hillman by "Labor" is somewhat vague and unclear. Hillman "has served his country with exceptional energy and devotion." What does this mean? **As we have observed him, Hillman is serving Franklin D. Roosevelt, his presidential candidacy, and the bosses' war preparations with "exceptional energy and devotion."** To us this is not the same thing as serving one's country unless "Labor" means that the bosses and their governemnt are the country. "Labor", of course, being a working class paper does not hold to this view.

There are some workers in the U.S. and we hold that their interests are not being served by Hillman or any other labor man who is promoting the candidacy of Roosevelt or Willkie and their preparations to lead these workers into imperialist war. And that is what Hillman is doing, and he is doing this with "energy and devotion."

Hillman said to the Smith Committee that his "first responsibility is to help carry out the defense program. I wouldn't stay on the commission if I felt I impeded defense in any way."

There's the rub: Hillman is a leader of workers and he has no business on this alleged defense commission. **His first responsibility, as a labor leader, in the present crisis is to be at the head of his union fighting for workers' rights over against such fellows as Knudsen and Stettinius. If Roosevelt, Knudsen, and Stettinius thought Hillman was this kind of person he would never have been appointed to the "Defense" Commission. On this commission he represents Roosevelt and the ruling class, not the working class.**

All this came out very vividly when the big shots opened fire on Attorney-General Jackson and Hillman. Both of them turned and began running like scared boys. Neither of them meant any harm. They had been misunderstood. Hillman agrees that the workers should not be unreasonable, they must make concessions, nothing must be done to impede defense in any way.

It's the old story: you can't run with the hare and the hounds at the same time. You just can't reconcile the interests of the workers and the interests of the bosses. Lots of labor leaders tried that and failed long before Hillman, Green, Tobin and Hutchinson.

Sacrificing Comes Easy This Way

Almost any worker would be willing to give up his "salary" in his plant if he could draw a few thousand a year in dividends from the company like Elliot Roosevelt does. Also, we are of the opinion that there are a lot of ordinary workers in the draft who have the ability to be captains in the Procurement Division of the army.

The Business Department Asks: Where's The Action?

For six months LABOR ACTION has been published regularly and not one issue has failed to appear. We believe that this is an achievement on the part of all those who cooperated in making it possible—considering all of the obstacles that had to be overcome.

There have been varying degrees of cooperation on the part of the branches. Some did more than their share, others failed miserably. We sincerely hope that those that can do more in the way of increasing bundle orders, getting subscriptions and making prompter payments, will act immediately before it becomes necessary to make threats and cut off bundle orders.

Mere publication of a revolutionary newspaper; the placing and shipment of bundle orders; the payment (?) of bundle orders; fall far short of fulfilling the purpose of such a paper. Without putting the paper into the hands of ever increasing numbers of workers, new readers, sympathizers and potential sympathizers through the channels open to us—subscriptions and greater bundle order distribution — our purpose is defeated.

To remain static or to go back is to die. Next week we hope to have a plan completely formulated whereby we feel sure that the circulation of LABOR ACTION can be doubled almost immediately without putting much greater financial burden on the branches. In fact it will enable the branches to increase its literature income.

Los Angeles which maintained its bundle order from the beginning dropped 25 on its September 30 issue. But either increased activity or bad conscience brought an order for reinstatement of the original bundle order starting with the October 7 issue. Negative but hopeful!

Lynn drops 25 from its order as of October. Too bad, but from past activity we have reason to have faith in Lynn's ability to come back.

New Brunswick waited for college to open to increase its bundle by 15. But how about the money? And how many students came back for the fall term?

As for New York a plan is being worked out with the city organization whereby circulation will be increased at least three fold. For the first election issue after the gathering of petition signatures to put Comrade Shachtman on the ballot, the city has taken 2,000 additional copies for distribution. Not bad, but could be better and probably will.

Up To You

Once again we want to advise the branches that those who are delinquent in bundle order payments must come through at once. Letters have been written to the worst offenders and they mean what they say. If the condition doesn't improve, this column will devote part of its space each week to publishing the standing of each branch with a record of the bundle orders that have been cut off. We hope this won't be necessary—but that's up to you.

Let's have some ACTION on LABOR ACTION!

To the Candidates for Conscription

(Continued from page 1)

that I have not been sympathetic enough to the manufacturers and big business men, who for 2½ years have been demanding more liberal amortization terms on investments in new war plants.

"Only readers of the financial page know what 'more liberal amortization terms' means. As a democrat, I believe in letting everyone know. It means that the government pays for building their new plants for these industrialists, so that there will be no interference with the American System of making 1700% profit out of defending Freedom and Decency and Humanity.

"Of course, Willkie admits that My Administration has agreed with this demand, and in fact it was we who put it across in Congress only recently. His only complaint is that it wasn't done 2½ years ago.

"But doesn't Willkie know that 2½ years ago I was posing as the enemy of the Economic Royalists and a friend of labor? Does he think a man in my position can make a flip-flop overnight? No, my friends, it took 2½ years to put this thing across on the people. And if Willkie can show he could have done it sooner, he's a better demagogue than I am.

"Anyway, the Big Boys now have what they wanted, haven't they? And now WE'VE got the conscripts where WE wanted THEM. Freedom and Decency and Humanity are now assured.

"And now, my friends, you may want to know why you have been conscripted. It is all very simple. We are getting ready to play Cops and Robbers.

"The Robbers are certain aggressor nations whom I cannot name, but who are called Germany, Italy and Japan. They are stepping on our toes. We had only just got some real toe-holds in Latin America and the Far East when they began stepping on them. Have YOU any toes in Latin America?

"I see that my fellow-conscript, J.P. Morgan, raises his hand. Are you going to sit by idly while John Pierpont's corns are ruthlessly trampled by Hitler? Our capitalists may be exploiters and labor-haters, but by God, they're OUR capitalists and we're going to do right by them.

"That's doing right by Freedom and Decency and Humanity.

"However, as President and your fellow-man, I hereby promise to keep out of war until we're good and ready to get in."

●

While you are thinking over Roosevelt's Columbus Day speech, we invite you also to think of some answers. Talk back while the talking is good.

For example, after coming out in favor of Christopher Columbus, FDR said in that speech that the settlers came over here "for the personal freedoms and liberties which had been denied to them in the Old World."

Well, here are some personal liberties that are denied to conscripts in the Old World:

FULL POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR CONSCRIPTS AND ENLISTED MEN. This means in the first place the right to vote in all elections. WE DON'T HAVE THIS NOW. How about it?

Roosevelt also said: "The core of our defense is the faith we have in the institutions we defend."

All right, Mr. President, show us how much faith you have in democracy—for the very people who are supposed to do the fighting for it.

We want the soldiers and sailors to have THIS democratic right: THE RIGHT TO ASSEMBLE IN MEETINGS OF THEIR OWN TO DISCUSS POLITICAL ISSUES, TO RECEIVE ANY LITERATURE THEY WISH, TO PUBLISH PAPERS AND LITERATURE AS THEY CHOOSE.

Do we get it, or were you just making a speech?

The President's oration continued: "The only encirclement sought is the encircling bond of good old-fashioned neighborly friendship."

Let's be old-fashioned and neighborly among the soldiers too. We propose that service men have the right to remain members of trade unions and political parties of their own choosing. We also want:

THE RIGHT TO ELECT OUR OWN COMMITTEES, TO ACT AS OUR REPRESENTATIVES IN DEALING WITH OFFICERS AND TO HANDLE GRIEVANCES.

Roosevelt went on to denounce those "who seek to break up our unity by preaching ancient race hatreds . . ."

That reminds us of another thing, Mr. President. Fairly ancient race hatreds are being PRACTICED in your army of Freedom, Decency and Humanity. We mean discrimination against Negroes and Jews, for instance—Jim Crowism. Will you see to it that there is—

NO RACIAL, RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE ARMY AND NAVY; EVERY BRANCH OF THE ARMED FORCES OPEN TO EVERY MAN REGARDLESS OF THESE HITLERITE PREJUDICES.

Roosevelt added: "The command of the democratic faith has been ever onward and upward. Never have free men been satisfied with the mere maintenance of any status quo, however comfortable or secure it may have seemed at the moment."

Fine, now we can say it. WE'RE NOT SATISFIED WITH $30 A MONTH, MR. PRESIDENT. It doesn't make us free men feel comfortable or secure.

Still, we're reasonable. At the moment, we're not asking for a 1700% increase in our wages, such as U.S. Steel got for its profits. Just—

MINIMUM ARMY PAY OF $60 A MONTH, OUTSIDE OF KEEP.

And while we're going about being unsatisfied with the mere maintenance of the status quo, let's make a real change.

While we're training or fighting, our bosses are going to be raking in the profits.

For every bullet we shoot or stop, profits go up a point. For every five Americans killed in 1917-18, one new war millionaire was created.

That's why we've got to say: CONSCRIPT THE WAR INDUSTRIES!

TAKE THEM OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE PROFITEERS AND PUT THEM UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE WORKERS!

Roosevelt won't do it? Willkie won't do it? We know that.

THEN GET A GOVERNMENT THAT WILL!

WITH A GOVERNMENT THAT IS OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS, WE CAN REALLY FIGHT FOR THE DEMOCRACY OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY, A WORKERS' WORLD.

"I Am Always in Debt"

The special industries committee appointed to investigate the wage scale in the needlework industry of Puerto Rico recently held hearings in San Juan, and has handed to the Wages and Hours Administration its recommendations for wage increases.

According to reports, Carmen Devalle, a Puerto Rican needleworker, testified at the hearing that when work was plentiful she earned $6 weekly, while it cost her $12 to live.

"I am always in debt," she said.

David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and a member of the committee, asked if she were not better off with work earning $6 than without work.

"I don't know," she said. "When I earn $6, everbody makes me pay. When I don't work, they know I've got nothing and don't try to collect. I owe two months' rent. Only one grocer will sell me on credit. I've stopped the milk."

"How many times a week do you have meat?" asked Dubinsky.

"None", was the reply.

Sam Schweitzer, president of the boss association, tried to make it appear that a union worker was being exploited by the union, not by the boss. He said:

"My purpose is to show whether this worker from her earnings has obligations other than the usual living expenses, whether some organization takes part of her wage."

Mr. Dubinsky pointed out that union dues are 5 to 10 cents weekly.

The employers used the usual device of frightening the workers by threatening to close down the factories and take businesses elsewhere. Herbert L. Miskend, New York manufacturer, said that his plant produced 20,000 dozen silk undergarments in Puerto Rico last year, that he had 3,000 dozen in process in the Philippines and was sending more to the Philippines. He testified that Philippine work was better than comparable garments made in Puerto Rico, that processing in the Philippines and Puerto Rico was identical, and that Philippine wages are lower.

Mr. Miskend also said that China produced superior work, despite the war Mr. Dubinsky asked about deliveries from China. Mr. Miskend replied that they seemed to be good, to which Mr. Dubinsky gave the lie by stating that he had been waiting six months for a suit ordered from China.

2¢ An Hour

The committee majority recommended 12½ cents as a minimum for home work and 20 cents for factory labor in these branches of needlework: handkerchiefs and household articles (these constituting 90% of the islands work), cotton underwear, infants' dresses, needlepoint and tufted rugs; for fabric gloves 15 cents, and for leather gloves 18 cents, with 20 cents for factory work of both types; silk underwear 15 cents for home work, 22½ cents for factory labor; children's and ladies' wearing apparel, 20 cents for both home and factory work.

Mr. Dubinsky commented: "The minimum wage fixed by the Puerto Rico legislature has been 12½ cents for twenty-one years, but the prevailing rate for home work in the needle industry has been 2 cents hourly, according to testimony given at public hearings. Faced with the reality of this fact, the recommendations offer the best solution we could suggest for the island and to protect mainland manufacturers against unfair competition."

Manufacturer Miskend threatened: "We are checking out. We will increase our Philippine operations and forget Puerto Rico."

"I don't know what is to become of the 65,000 island women needleworkers who will be deprived of work by the committee's findings," he added, though he never worried about them before.

It should be remembered that the Wages and Hour Law sets 30¢ an hour as the wage floor. And 35¢ an hour has been fixed by the industry as the needlework minimum throughout the United States. The majority report said the wage rate proposed for Puerto Rico would provide only a minimum standard of health and efficiency.

Lynch Justice Overlooks The Facts In The Case

If a white man had shot a Negro sharecropper, however unprovoked the assault, the chances are that he would get away with it in Virginia. But should a Negro sharecropper, acting in fear and under the impulse of an outrage, murder a white man, however ameliorating the circumstances, he wouldn't have a ghost of a chance.

A case like the latter happened only recently in Chatham, Virginia. Odell Waller had rented land from a Mr. Oscar Davis, a white landowner, in 1939. After Waller had done considerable work on the land, he was ordered to move because Davis intended to plow the crop under. Waller did nothing, in fact he left to get work in another state. In the meantime, his mother and wife were evicted by Davis. Returning to Virginia, Waller tried to get some of the wheat he had grown on the land. Davis blocked him, and threatened him. Believing Davis to be carrying a pistol in his pocket, Waller, in fear, shot Davis during an heated altercation.

The trial that followed was an illustration of lynch justice at work. Sharecroppers were excluded from the jury. Only those who paid a poll tax were admitted. Lynch groups were being organized while the trial was going on. Thus, without examining and investigating the circumstances, the jury sentenced Waller to death.

A Provisional Defense Committee, with headquarters in Chicago, is now trying to have the case reviewed.

Red Caps Gain Something—Not Enough

Reinstatement of all redcaps at Pennsylvania station who had been fired for alleged failure to give passengers change or receipts, was announced by Local 602, United Transport Service Employees of America. The union put up a fight because seventeen redcaps had been convicted of dishonesty on the testimony of company spotters and had not been given a fair trial. But the railroad dished out 10-day suspensions to all the men accused, and continues to use spotters.

All this has come about because of the railroad's ingenious and profitable method of paying the redcaps the minimum wage required by law. Each porter receives a book of 10-cent receipts to the amount of $10. He is supposed to charge each customer 10 cents for each bag carried and give a receipt for each dime. When his book of receipts is gone, he must turn in $10. Thus the passengers virtually pay the wages the company is supposed to pay, and the redcaps are robbed of their tips.

To make sure that it got back every dime taken in by the nearly 400 redcaps at Penn Station, the company hired spotters to pose as passengers. The result of the work of these spies was seen last week when redcaps began to receive notices that they were charged with having failed, at such and such an hour on such and such a day, to give a passenger change or receipts or both.

The porters at Penn Station are aroused and angry. The union is working to abolish the receipt books. It wants the railroad to pay the porters the legal minimum wage, and let the porters keep what the passengers want to give them. At $3.12 a day, porters still need tips to piece out a living.

Though the system varies from station to station, other railroad lines have adopted similar methods of carrying out the minimum wages law—to their own advantage.

AN EDITORIAL

Conscript War Industries Under Workers Control

The path for the workers advocated by the Workers Party is not something new. This is the case because there is nothing fundamentally new in the situation that the workers face. This is a point that we must consider again and again. This point can not be emphasized too much.

The boss class would like to have us forget this. They want us to believe that this war is a new kind of war; this war, they say, is really a war to make the world safe for democracy. This, they say, is not an imperialist war. Some people may have lied about the first World War. Perhaps some business men did skin their government. Perhaps some of the bankers and manufacturers did make huge profits while the workers were dying on the battlefields of France and Belgium. But that can't happen again, they say, because this is a war being fought to stop a vicious "beast" from devouring all of us. The workers must help in this holy crusade or else they too will also be destroyed.

They Had To Get Us By Hook Or Crook

That is the reason they give for asking us to support the war. A huge army is necessary. We did not believe that their story was true and so we didn't rush into their army as volunteers. And then they drafted us. They could not put over their story about making the world safe for democracy, but they had to have an army. They had a job to do and they could not do it themselves; there aren't enough of them. The role of the bosses is to make a profit out of war. A small ruling class can own the factories and take the profits but it takes the huge forces of the working class to make an army.

The workers know very well that it is numbers that count on the picket line. It is mass picket lines at the factory gate, or masses of workers sitting down at the machines in the factory that win strikes. We have learned how to handle and manage our picket lines, sit-downs and stoppages. During a strike we have our strike committees, and our own committees to negotiate with the boss. We have our own picket captains (officers) and they are the people that lead us and tell us what to do. In the mills, mines and factories we don't leave these things to the boss and the ruling class. We have learned from experience that we can not trust the boss to do this job for us.

The Bosses, Not We, Control The Army

When it comes to the army and military action, however, the ruling class learned something long ago that workers are just beginning to learn. The bosses take the position that they must keep complete control of the army. The workers only have the right to obey. They have nothing to say about their pay, the conditions of service, in what country they do the fighting and against whom, what they are fighting for or the war aims of the bosses who conscript them. In the factory we have our unions and collective bargaining. We have something to say about where we work, under what conditions, how long our hours are and what our pay is to be.

The ruling class demands unquestioning obedience in the army because the army is its main instrument for seizing power and holding it. For the workers, "their's not to reason why, their's but to do and die." The bosses know that without an army they could not hold their power and protect their profits. They know that when they have a quarrel with another ruling class, or a big and serious difference with the workers in their own country, they must have a big and well-equipped army.

For the reason that the workers are against imperialist war, the bosses have to draft them into the army. The ruling class is not so anxious for the working class to learn the use of airplanes, rifles, tanks and artillery but they can't help themselves. There are not enough of them to fill the army and they are forced to take the workers and give them military training. Some of the workers understand these things and although they are opposed to conscription and war, when they are drafted by the ruling class they go into the army and learn all they can about war and military operations.

The only conclusion that we can draw from these facts is that it is really the workers who will defeat Hitler, if he is defeated. The only army that can exist is an army composed of workers. There was a time in the Middle Ages when the bosses and professional retainers did their own fighting, but now even if they wanted to, this would be impossible. Wars are too big today; millions of men and vast equipment are required. They are forced therefore to train the workers to fight.

The workers in the boss imperialist army will be fighting against Hitler, it is true. But they will be fighting under the direction of the bosses and for their interests. The overwhelming majority of the officers who will be giving commands to the workers will be members of the ruling class or its stooges. Workers can't have any confidence in such officers because they cannot have any confidence in the class which these officers represent. The only value such an army can have for the workers is that they will have an opportunity to learn some things useful for them to know.

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

The October Issue Of The New International Is Off The Press

Neither Willkie Nor Roosevelt

They Serve the Bosses, Not the Class Interests of Labor

(Continued from last issue)

This is the situation today in the present election campaign. This election year comes not only after eleven years of the worst depression in the history of capitalism, but also at a most crucial period of the Second World Imperialist War. This is the most important election year since the Wilson campaign for re-election in 1916. That campaign too revolved around the position of the United States in relation to war: the First World Imperialist War.

Capitalism Sheds Its Pretenses

The present year is far more significant for the workers than 1916. Since the Wilson days and following the "peace" of 1918, capitalism, moving steadily nearer the precipice, is making a final frantic effort to save itself. Beginning with Italy in 1921, followed by Germany in 1933, the big capitalists in all countries are giving up all pretensions to democracy, civil liberties and workers rights.

As they face a militant working class in one country after another they throw off the cloak of democracy and capitalism reveals itself to the working class, as what it really is, the brutal regime of a bandit class determined to preserve its power and profits.

This is fascism and its world leader today is Hitler. It is one part of the problem of the Second World Imperialist War and a very disturbing and confusing question for the workers. This question disturbs and confuses the workers because we are being told that this is a war of "democracy" against "fascism." It is a war to "save the world for democracy," for "freedom" against "barbarism."

The Candidates Represent: Imperialism

This has been made the paramount issue in the presidential campaign by both the Republican and Democratic Parties and their candidates Willkie and Roosevelt. There is no difference between them on this major question. There can be no difference between them because both of them are hand in hand representatives of a ruling class that has decided to fight Hitler. The ruling class in the U.S. has no choice but to fight Hitler just as the English ruling class had no choice.

The 60 Families in the U.S. must go to war against Hitler not for democracy and freedom, or because Hitler is a fascist, but for the reason that Hitler is an imperialist. He strides with seven league boots over the whole of Europe. Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union and Japan threaten to dominate the whole world and divide up the markets, wealth and colonies among themselves. The imperialist ruling classes of England and the United States cannot tolerate this. England wants to hold on to Africa, India, Hong Kong and her world trade. The United States wants to become the dominant world power with influence in the Far East and complete domination of the western hemisphere.

This is what they fight for and this is what both Roosevelt and Willkie represent. This is what the Democratic and Republican Parties represent; a ruling class preparing for war not to preserve democracy but to preserve and increase profits, to save their capitalist imperialist system and to continue their domination of the working class which alone creates those profits.

Where Is The Democracy?

Any worker who looks at the matter carefully will understand this. When has England stood for democracy for the workers and the masses of the British Empire? Where is this democracy in Africa, India and China? The English ruling class keeps fat and bloated from the terrible and cruel exploitation of the Africans, Indians and Chinese. The British workers are at the mercy of the ruling class that keeps them in misery and wretchedness.

We have pointed out the condition of the workers in this country. Where is there democracy? What happens to us when we strike for a few cents more an hour? How about the strikebreakers, spies and thugs? What is Roosevelt's Justice Department trying to do today but break up the unions through Thurman Arnold's so-called anti-trust suits against the unions? Where is the democracy for the Negro workers and farmers? What has Roosevelt done about lynching and the civil rights of Negroes? How about the hundreds of thousands of white workers in the South who cannot vote even in federal elections because they cannot pay the vicious poll tax?

Yes, The Main Issue Is The War!

We too say that the chief issue in the present campaign is the war: this Second World Imperialist War. As workers, our main concern is the war. Our attitude toward Roosevelt and Willkie must be decided now by our attitude on the war above all else. Both parties and both candidates are committed to the war but both of them and their parties try to get away with the lies that there are fundamental differences between them.

Roosevelt is the "indispensable man" and Willkie says he is for the American Way of Life. If he is not elected Willkie states solemnly that "this way of life will pass." *But both of them are for war because both of them are the tools of the ruling class. This is decisive for the workers.*

They Won't Preserve Labor's Gains

The workers do not like war. They do not like Fascism, and they want Hitler defeated. We want to preserve what democracy we have and extend it. The majority of the workers seem to believe that this can best be accomplished by the re-election of Roosevelt.

They think that it must be Roosevelt or Willkie and to them there is no other alternative. Furthermore the majority of the workers take the position that we are more likely to preserve labor's gains with Roosevelt as president than with Willkie, because Willkie comes from Wall Street.

We have demonstrated sound reasons why it is a mistake to hold such a position. We have demonstrated that Roosevelt comes from Wall Street, also, and why this is so. But you say that while this is true, labor has nevertheless gained under Roosevelt and you want to hold those gains. We have the Wagner Act, the Wages and Hours Act, Social Security and old age pensions. You don't trust Willkie, he has a bad record. But we say again that is not the way to look at this important question.

Roosevelt GAVE Us Nothing

1. In the first place, Roosevelt did not give the workers anything. We are sorry to say it, but it is the workers' leaders in the unions who are chiefly responsible for spreading this myth. Hillman, Tracy, Green, Lewis, Dubinsky, Tobin, Murray, Curran and others. We have pointed out that the ruling class was forced to make concessions. They were afraid around 1933 that if they did not have a "New Deal" the workers would revolt and take everything. Roosevelt was only the messenger boy, so to speak, passing out a few small favors to the workers to keep them peaceful.

Everything Sacrificed For War

2. Even if Roosevelt was the one responsible for the labor gains, this does not mean that concessions made to workers in peace time would obtain in war time. We know that the ruling class began pounding away at the Wagner Act even before the war began. After the U.S. enters the war, Roosevelt will be forced to subordinate everything to winning the war for the class which is waging the war.

If victory can be achieved and profits sustained by retaining the various labor acts, this will be done. If in the opinion of the ruling class this cannot be done, then they will command Roosevelt or Willkie to scrap the labor legislation and throw it into the ashcan. It will not depend on Roosevelt's good will or his kind heart but upon what the ruling class conceives to be for its best interests. In this matter there would be no difference between Roosevelt and Willkie.

That is what would happen if the needs of the ruling class intervenes in its own interest and calls a halt by militant mass action. This would not depend on Roosevelt or Willkie and would have nothing in common with their ideas and opinions. That is, the workers themselves would be forced to preserve their gains in the same manner the acquired them; on the picket line.

We Want MORE Than We Have

3. We cannot stop at the present meagre gains, even though there is a war. This is not our war. We are being dragged into it against our will. Now is the time for us to increase our demands. We have created tremendous piles of wealth that the ruling class is passing around among themselves. These handouts will grow bigger and bigger as the war progresses. Both Roosevelt and Willkie draw cash dividends and interest from the wealth we have made. Roosevelt's policy is to stop right where we are. He tells us that "we" must hold to what we have, we must not go back.

What kind of program is this for workers to accept and give as a reason for supporting the imperialist war-monger Roosevelt over against another war-monger Willkie? Our fight is against the ruling class arming for war and imperialist banditry. No force on earth save the organized might of the working class can defeat this ruling class and make it disgorge its plunder, position and power.

No Confidence In Either

4. Most important of all, is the general question of the war and the defeat of Hitler. We have discussed the war and the aims and motives of the ruling class. You agree with this and yet you say that Hitler is a menace, that if he wins even those rights workers have today will be taken from them. Therefore you will vote for Roosevelt (or Willkie) with the belief that one or the other will fight best against Hitler and preserve democracy. Those workers who are thinking of voting for Roosevelt believe they are combining the fight against Hitler with a guarantee that democratic rights and labor gains will be preserved.

(Concluded in next issue)

Invite Aid Of Labor Groups in Bronx Drive

(Continued from page 1)

While the Workers Party's anti-war candidate is pressing his campaign in all quarters of his district, ready to defend his position against all comers, others of the candidates are not quite as ready to submit their programs to investigation and contest. Jack Altman, ex-socialist, who is running as an independent American Labor Party candidate on a pro-war program, has rejected Shachtman's offer to debate the issues of the campaign. Remembering past experiences in pitting his milk and water reformism against Shachtman's militant socialism, Altman thought it best to abstain. Rejecting the debate he suggested that the two might possibly meet in casual encounter at symposiums. Should this happen, Altman no doubt hopes that time and occasion will not be adequate for a thorough probing of his war-mongering views.

Seek To Enlist Groups

In an effort to enlist other working class organizations in the anti-war campaign for Shachtman, the Workers Party, Local New York, has addressed communications to the Socialist Workers Party and other groups calling for support of labor's anti-war candidate in the Bronx. Ruinning no candidate of their own these organizations can have no reason other than indifference to the burning issue of war if they fail to endorse our candidate.

Local New York is devoting the major part of its activity to the Bronx campaign. There is every reason to expect this second phase of the campaign will be fully as successful as was the collection of signatures on the Shachtman petition.

Announced last week, the plans include the distribution of over 100,000 pieces of literature, fifty street meetings, and three large indoor meetings. Watch LABOR ACTION for the time and place of these. Follow LABOR ACTION for the latest steps in the Shachtman for Congress campaign. And remember this: **A VOTE FOR SHACHTMAN IS A VOTE AGAINST WAR!**

Fascism and the Imperialist War

(Continued from page 1)

ariat has not done), without having established the new social order (which, for the time being, the proletariat is still assigned to do).

Production—What For?

Yes, surely, this new ruling class which is not really a ruling class and dominates a social order which is old and new and neither at the same time—surely it is SOMETHING. It cannot be mere ectoplasm. It is rather more corporeal. And what is it? "German fascism is a highly specialized social form designed for one quite specific and limited purpose: to win the war which has just been won." There you have it, and it is positively brutal in its clarity and finality. Not, mind you, that it was easy to define it. Macdonald refuses to conceal this fact. "The extreme difficulty which one has in classifying this strange monster (after what Macdonald does to it even Hitler would find the monster strange. M.S.) comes from the fact that fascism has destroyed the profit-and-property motor force of the old bourgeois economy, without evolving any general rationale, any new dynamism to replace it."

All right, all right, It's a "highly specialized social form" which has one purpose: to win the war. In the course of effecting its purpose, it has already taken care of one detail, that of destroying the profit-and-property motor force of capitalism. What took its place as motor force? "The national economy has come to be organized on the basis of production rather than profit." This monster is strange with a vengeance, and by its side the unicorn and the Cyclops, the pterodactyl and the dinosaur, are like ordinary houseflies. National economy is not organized on the basis of profit under fascism, although, you understand, a mite of profit is allowed here and there. It is organized on the basis of production. That's it—**of production.** But production for what?For profit? Preish the thought. "It is true that the elaborate mechanism of capitalism still persits—loans, credits, interest, dividends, stock exchanges—but, from being the living heart, the raison d'etre of the economy, all this has become merely the bookkeeping method of the State." (A trifle, just a trifle.) Production for use, then? Well, hardly. Perhaps production for the sake of producing things? What things and what for?

Here we remember, though it does us little good, that fascism is a "highly specialized social form" with a single, limited purpose: win the war. Good. Then economy is organized on the basis of production for war. "Hitler manipulates the forms of German capitalism not for capitalist profits but to build up a strong national war economy—and to keep his bureaucracy in control of it." But what brought on this war, what does fascism aim to get out of it? Is Hitler fighting merely because—mythological old Norse warrior that he is—he likes a good fight?

It is hardly necessary to speculate about the answer: we need only to look at the real war going on. Germany wants markets, sources of raw material, spheres of influence, capital and fields of capital investment, sources of cheap labor, control of the highways of commerce, colonies. Benighted as they are, Queen Wilhelmina, King Carol, Leopold of Belgium, Benes, Churchill, Roosevelt and even Stalin—any or all of them could tell Macdonald that. Germany wants what capitalist imperialist powers have always wanted, and for the same reasons. Hitler must, in his own phrase, "expand or die," and he MUST precisely because "beneath the surface" of his "new" social system all the old contradictions still exist."

This is just what Macdonald denies. And in so doing, he moves unwittingly closer to the social-patriots. "This war," he writes, "seems to me to differ from the last in that it is not a conflict between rival imperialisms of the same general order but rather a **social** war between different kinds of systems." (Macdonald's emphasis.) This one sentence is a first-class disaster.

A revolutionist, even if he is not an "orthodox Marxist," cannot be indifferent to the outcome of a war between two different social systems. The feudal aristocracy was more "cultured" and less "rude" than the French peasant and artisan and petty bourgeois. But a revolutionist supported the latter in the war against the former because the victory of the French Revolution represented the victory of a superior social system.

If Macdonald's analysis means anything, it means that fascism is the transition between obsolete capitalism and still unborn socialism. The Reichswehr is the gravedigger of capitalism! Then why not pitch in—independently, of course, critically, of course—and help it dig? Why not, indeed!

"Fascism," says Macdonald, "is qualitatively different from democratic capitalism, in the sense that it is a more advanced and effective form of organizing national production . . ." A few paragraphs later, Macdonald speaks of the "great mass of workers, whose interests correspond with those of advancing production." Then why in heaven's name don't the interests of these workers correspond, at least in part, with those of fascism? In part—for Macdonald reminds us that a socialist state "would be able to organize production even more efficiently (!!) than fascism." A happy reminder!

•

Macdonald does not, of course, propose to support fascism in the war. More significant, he polemizes against support for the imperialist democracies in the war, for support of Willkie or Roosevelt. All this does real credit to his revolutionary **spirit**, especially at a time when most of the "left-wing" intellectuals of yesterday are speeding to the war camp like express trains.

His analysis of fascism and the war does not, however, do him any credit at all. He calls fascism "ersatz-socialism." His analysis is ersatz-Marxism. So far as it is meaningful from the standpoint of opposition to fascism, it could serve as a theoretical foundation for Popular Frontism. What better conclusion could one draw from an analysis which declares that fascism crushes the worker, and at the same time destroys the social basis of the bourgeoisie? He wants to "examine again, with a cold and skeptical eye, the most basic premises of Marxism." He appeals for devotion to the revolutionary fight of the workers, and for "skepticism towards all theories, governments, and social systems." One cannot but honor his first appeal, especially in these black times. And one cannot but agree with Trotsky's comment.

Confidence, Not Skepticism, Is Our Need

The radical intellectuals need precious little urging to become "skeptical." They are rotten with skepticism and cynicism and defeatism as it is. The skeptic will never inspire anyone to struggle. The best he can say to the masses, who need a clarion voice and a clear road, is: I'm not sure; I really don't believe; it may be and then again it may not. Rather than that, let him, before he speaks to the masses and addresses them as a teacher, learn to acquire some of that confidence in the recuperative powers of the working class, in its revolutionary invincibility—the confidence which is indispensable to the socialist who must swim against the bloody tide of the day.

World at War—

(Continued from page 1)

If this campaign materializes, the British fleet will have its hands full and there is talk already in high American naval circles that a part of the American navy should be assigned to aid the British in the Mediterranean. The tie-up between American and British Imperialism is pushing America relentlessly beyond material aid to Britain and headlong into the war. The sacrifice of American workers' lives is only a matter of time, and may come sooner than we think. Those who have been puzzled as to where American manpower can be used may find that the burning deserts of the African continent and the Near East can accomodate millions of American soldiers.

The Japanese too might utilize the present situation to fling caution to the winds and grab up what they can in the Far East as an answer to Britain's opening of the Burma Road. Washington realizes this and has taken the important step of recalling all American nationals from the Orient. Although the American war mongers are not sufficiently prepared, events may culminate so swiftly as to throw us into the war regardless. "I hate war" Roosevelt has already indicated in his latest speech that American Imperialism will stand for no "appeasement".

HIS MAJESTY'S SERVANTS

To the workers who are suffering in this war for the oil of the Near East or the rich markets of the Far East, the only thing that Ernest Bevin, British Minister of Labor (to take only one example) can say is that they should produce more and more and "that anyone trying to rake up the old prejudices between management and labor (read: resist the attempts of the bosses to make profits out of the workers' sweat and blood—Ed.) is a friend of Hitler and an enemy of liberty and democracy."

And, should the workers demand adequate protection from the continuous hail of bombs that have destroyed thousands of their homes and taken a heavy toll in their lives, Herbert Morrison, another "Labor" Minister, is there to tell them that while the rich are comfortably and luxuriously installed in the most modern deep air raid shelters, the miserable surface shelters are good enough for the poor.

And, to add insult to injury, Mr. Morrison has the effrontery to say: "There are people who are demanding deep shelters, I am bound to say, for mischievous political reasons and sometimes doing it in ways which are almost fifth column in their effect, I am not always sure they are not fifth column in intention."

Siqueiros, GPU Agent Sought In Trotsky Murder, Arrested By Mexican Police

By DOUGLAS CONLEY

In a sensational, though incomplete, statement before the Mexican criminal court at Coyoacan, the arrested Stalinist leader, David Alfaro Siqueiros, has confessed to the following: that he was once a member of the Communist Party of Mexico and that he still remained very close to that organization; that he was the responsible head of "an organization" for spying on Trotsky's house, and that he was in close relationship with another organization which committed the machine-gun assault of May 24.

He also accused the Mexican Government of being responsible for the assault by violating the Penal Law and the Constitution, in harboring Trotsky, thereby causing the "defenders" of the Constitution to use other than peaceful means.

Chary On Details

This confession tallies closely with the Workers Party's accusations and serves to confirm our charge that the GPU engineered both the assault and the murder. Siqueiros denied, however, that he acted as an agent of the GPU or had any konwledge or relations with Jackson, the murder. He implied that he might know something concerning the murder of Harte, but refused for the present to divulge any details concerning this matter and the assault of May 24 on the grounds that it might implicate his friends of "the organization".

Siqueiros was found in a little Communist controlled mining town in Jalisco state, hiding in a house of one of the municipal authorities who were protecting him. The examination of Siqueiros will undoubtedly throw much light upon the role of the G.P.U. in Trotsky's murder.

His statement of October 8, as yet very incomplete, took two hours before the court. The high points included the following: Siqueiros had not been a member of the Communist Party of Mexico for ten years, but had been accepted as a "sympathizer of confidence and had been accorded the right of a voice in all meetings of the (Party) Congress and Plenums". Since returning to Mexico, some thirty months ago, he had urged the Communist party to wage a campaign against Trotsky's counter-revolutionary barracks in Mexico. He claims that it was a "liberal weakness" of the Government to allow Trotsky to stay.

In harboring Trotsky, he holds the Government Secretary and the Executive violated Articles 215 and 216 of the Penal Code, and he added that those who attacked Trotsky's house were only seeking by every means possible to terminate an unconstitutional anomaly, but that it could not be done peacefully. He charges that the Government, by thus violating the Constitution, is itself responsible for the assault of May 24 and everything related to that event. He further implied that the assault was an independent, autonomous act, conceived, organized and carried out by persons free of any out-side organization. Thus he tries to hide the real organizers of the GPU.

He terminated his formal written statement by saying in the year 1930 when he was a political prisoner in the penitentiary, a Trotskyite, Rosalio Negrete, tried to attract him into his organization, but that he declined.

To most of the Judge's questions he refused answers, because "the form of our organization imposes discretion upon the members". To the question "Did you direct and organize the espionage of the house?", Siqueiros answered "Yes, I directed the espionage outside of the house, but another person organized the interior espionage". He refused to name the other person, but admitted that "I was in direct relations with him (or her)".

Siqueiros was formally charged with attempt to murder, the unlawful shooting of fire-arms and other acts in connection with the attempt of May 24.

The miners and municipal authorities of the little mining village in Jalisco state, who were arrested for harboring Siqueiros, offered testimony which throws light upon the background of this man and which suggests a gruesome commentary on the prostitution of bona fide revolutionary workers by the Stalinist organization. The miners portrayed the heroic part played by Siqueiros and other Communist leaders in the long, but successful strike they waged against the mining corporation in 1926 and 1927. On the strength of friendship and confidence established at that time, when the Communist organization was still militant and more or less consistently revolutionary, present-day Stalinist gunmen were able to impose upon the miners and their elected officials for shelter. These revolutionary miners had been led to believe that the murder of Trotsky was justifiable. Such is the recent role of the Communist International.

Fits GPU Picture

Siqueiros' statement fits exactly into the general picture, and further confirms our charge that he attempted to murder Trotsky as an agent of the G.P.U. It also shows that he, like Jackson, still is playing the G.P.U. game. Caught up by the testimony of his accomplices, already arrested, he cannot deny his own responsibility, but like Jackson, he tries to justify his acts by repeating a typical Stalinist slander against Trotsky, calling him a counter-revolutionary and a reactionary. At the same time he pretends to have acted alone and tries to shield the G.P.U. and the Stalinist international apparatus, upon whom he must know the real responsibility lies.

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.*

Army Wages

It may be that the American people now accept conscription as a fact. But they accept it reluctantly—as something compelled, rather than as something desired.

Take even the National Guard conscriptees. One would expect that these would be most tolerant of the conscription, and all that goes along with conscription in point of wages, etc. Yet, when the first pay-day came around in Fort Dix, New York, last week, these men behaved very much more like civilians accustomed to fighting for their rights, than like soldiers trained in unquestioning discipline.

Here was a group of men presumably conscripted to safeguard the institutions and democratic traditions of the United States. Without even a by-your-leave, they received a wage cut from the $30-a-month they expected to $21. In addition, even the piddling pay of $21 was reduced by exorbitant charges for laundry, cigarettes, and such. (The army lets out the laundry to a private contractor. And, you know, everybody is entitled to his little gravy.) Now, the men didn't take it lying down. Coming from factories and shops where many of them were accustomed to voicing their beefs, they complained openly and bitterly.

At that, $30 a month is so ridiculously low as hardly to be called a wage. The Workers Party proposes that labor undertake a campaign to demand, among other things which we have already presented and will again present, a minimum wage of $60 a month, with all expenses footed by the army.

We propose this not because we approve of conscription or the boss-war purpose for which it was enacted. LABOR ACTION has made our position known on both these subjects. But, if labor is driven into the army, we favor a campaign by labor for democratic rights in the army, to fight in the army for that concept of decent living standards which is the backbone of unionism.

Such a campaign is not the province of the conscriptees alone. It is a job for all labor to undertake. The National Guard conscriptees are no more than the first batch among the many, many thousands to be yanked from labor's ranks into the army.

And more than that, allow the principle of wage-cutting, of low standards, to be established in the army, and the time will not be far distant before the same principle is carried over into civilian labor. There are already many such signs. Labor's fight must be to keep up its standards—and to better them.

At Gutter Level

Workers have before them a good example to illustrate some of the things that we have been saying about the bankruptcy of the Republican and Democratic Parties, in the filth that was issued on Willkie and his ancestry. We refer to the publicity issued by the Democrats in the name of the "Colored Division" from the Jim-Crow offices across the street from the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee. This was the pamphlet, allegedly issued by the "Colored Division", which warned Negroes not to vote for Willkie because his ancestors were born in Germany, the implication being that the Republican candidate has fascist, and therefore anti-Negro, sympathies.

The big shot leaders of the Democrats violently disclaim any responsibility for this pamphlet. Mr. Rainey, big chief of the Jim-Crow section of the Democratic National Committee, says that he had no knowledge of the pamphlet. We can believe that this is true. He was Jim-Crowed in this as in everything in connection with the campaign.

The "big" Negroes leading the Jim-Crow sections of the Democratic and Republican National Committees are really little fellows, diminutive figure-heads, who are permitted to get at the trough for a brief period and lap up a little of the slop. For this they are expected to lead Negro workers to the polls to vote for Tweedle-Dee Roosevelt or Tweedle-Dum Willkie.

Our concern is not with the fact that this pamphlet was issued by the Demoats—not by a long shot. The Republicans have done the same thing in the past and will do so again in the future. They did it when Al Smith, a Catholic, was running for President and when Lehman, a Jew, was running for Governor.

This campaign is particularly virulent, and muck is drawn in mainly for the reason that the two parties and their candidates have no differences on the main issue. They are both agreed on the war and the entry of the United States. Workers should repudiate and reject both gangs.

This applies to all the workers. Negro workers should take special notice. First, both Democrats and Republicans set up Jim-Crow divisions. They segregate the Negro from the white ladies and gentlemen. The Democratic National Committee, that is the white people, are in the Waldorf-Astoria. The "Colored Division" is across the street, at a safe distance, so the Negroes will not spread any "disagreeable odors" around the swank Waldorf-Astoria. Ditto the Republicans.

Not satisfied with this insult and Jim-Crow, one of these parties (it could just as reasonably have been the other) adds a further insult by issuing a dirty race hatred pamphlet in the name of Negroes. They want to spread this filth, this incentive to prejudice and meanness. And of all the people to make spokesman for this sort of thing they pick the American Negro.

This incident is enough to demonstrate to all workers, white and Negro, the kind of outfits the Republican and Democratic Parties are. Workers, white and black, should flee from both of them.

Slanderer No. One

Miss Katherine Mayo, famous author of **"Mother India"**, died last week. The press eulogized the literary and practical career of this international busybody—not so we.

Katherine Mayo was a woman forever allied to the most reactionary causes. Her special task was writing books and articles "proving" the inherent inferiority of the oppressed colonial peoples, as for example, the Philippinos and the Indians. She worked ardently and overtime apologizing for Western " democratic" imperialism.

Her infamous book, **"Mother India"**, attracted world wide attention. It was written after a one month trip through India (mostly in a railroad car), and it deliberately and crudely distorted the entire picture of India's social life, depicting the people as a barbaric and heinous race of inferiors. As Ghandhi wrote, "she drained the sewers to the last ounce." Many things she described existed and—in remote, backward areas of India—still exist. But her attempt, as an imperialist pen prostitute, to lay it all at the door of Nationalist India is a grotesque slander. The responsibility for India's backwardness rests squarely on those who have ruled the country for 200 years—British imperialists.

Today, resurgent and nationalist India is at work destroying the last remains of feudalism and Oriental backwardness. First on its program is the driving out of the foreign rulers — independence for India. Katherine Mayo hated this cause. She had won for herself the unenviable crown of being the most despised woman in India's history.

Breaking Through the Oriental Censorship

Shanghai: A City in Turmoil

By SHERMAN STANLEY

SHANGHAI, September — In Shanghai, the local merchant and property-owning class has a special law unto itself that it puts into constant operation. "Never save for to-morrow what you can spend to-night!" Such is the economic base upon which the innumerable night clubs, gambling joints, brothels, opium dens, horse and dog race tracks, etc., operate.

Probably Shanghai reflects more than any other city the vicissitudes of the modern imperialist world. Nobody knows what will happen next—not the next day, but the next hour! Money (and every kind of money floats around Shanghai) therefore burns fiercely in the pockets of those speculators and **compradores** privileged to possess it. Nowhere in the world does the bourgeois class so proudly exhibit its inherent vice and corruption as in this city. Particularly now, with important changes shortly to be put into effect, are these people, pursuing the rule of "anything goes."

Reign Of Terror

For a double-edged campaign aiming at undermining the status of the famous International Settlement and the French Concession (Shanghai's two old foreign imperialist areas) is now underway. The pressure is applied from two sources: the miserable puppet regime of Wang Ching-wei having its center in Nanking, the Japanese military authorities operating from Hongkew, the section of the city they have occupied. Everyone understands, of course, that the Japanese are really behind the whole business and are simply preparing to establish their full authority over the entire area. Already they dominate Shanghai militarily, control its communications and access to the sea. Now they wish to complete the job by driving out the remnants of the rival imperialists.

Thus a reign of threats, assassinations, intimidations and gangster rule has opened up. The British troops have made their inglorious departure for Southern points, the French Concession authorities each day yield more and more to the demands of the Japanese. Only American marines and 100-odd Italian soldiers remain in the International Settlement. The Japanese are now negotiating to take over police control in those areas abandoned by the British. The road ahead is clear, for who will stay their hand? It was all summed up by a spokesman for the Puppet Government who stated recently, "Only the submission of the local authorities to the National (i.e., Wang Ching-wei) Government at Nanking, and the assumption of direct authority over the entire Shanghai area by the National Government can restore the rule of law."

But if the imperialists are settling (with much heart-break) the status of Shanghai among themselves, all is not so well among the Chinese masses. It must be borne in mind that even if you lump all of Shanghai's foreigners together (Japanese Russian émigrées; German-Jewish refugees—who, by the way, live miserably in a Hongkew **ghetto** for the most part and have learned nothing from their Hitler experience; British, French and American agents, etc.) you still have **considerably less than 5%** of Shanghai's total population! Walk two minutes' distance off one of the main streets and a foreigner is rarely seen, only the Chinese masses living in miserable slum sections.

Shanghai has experienced a real strike wave this year. Basically of an economic character its causes have been described as follows by the **China Weekly Review** (August 17, 1940), "The basic reason for the current strike wave is the terrifically high cost of living. This, in turn is due to the fall in the exchange value of the Chinese national dollar; hoarding and manipulation by profiteers; political factors, such as the general deterioration in the European situation, and the disappearance of subsidiary coins, which dealt a severe blow to petty merchants and pedlars who were almost ruined."

Strikes have been pulled by bus workers, utility men, dockyard laborers, textile workers, and have affected iron works, tobacco factories, newspaper offices, laundries, etc. In the first half of this year there have been 156 strikes, although the **annual** average for Shanghai since 1918 has been only 79. Examination of the Shanghai Municipal Council index prices quickly reveals the driving force behind these strikes. Taking 100 as the living cost of Shanghai workers in 1936 (before the Sino-Japanese war), the figure for June, 1940 stands at 422.91! The purchasing power of the Chinese dollar is now 23.65% of its pre-war value! It is estimated that at the end of July it cost a Chinese worker 4.5 times as much to live as it did in 1936, while his wages in most cases have barely even doubled. As the **China Weekly Review** neatly puts it, "Strike or starve—that is the alternative facing them (the Shanghai workers)."

Can't Be Settled

Unfortunately, the strike wave now shows signs of petering out. Brought about and organized through spontaneous labor action (there is no organized labor movement in all of China), these strikes succeeded in travelling a certain distance on the economic front but were incapable of tackling the dominant political front. Any strike in China today soon confronts the organized might of Japanese or foreign imperialism. The tragedy of the whole situation is the total lack of interest displayed by the Chunking (Chiang kai-shek) regime in these workers who are, in reality, its only genuine allies.

But while the strike wave may temporarily die away and the rival imperialists may affect a temporary settlement by handing over all of Shanghai to the Japanese, the "strike or starve" alternative remains and the class struggle of China's workers will continue.

Leon Trotsky on Democracy and Fascism

For the backward colonial and semi-colonial countries, the struggle for democracy, including the struggle for national independence, represents a necessary and progressive stage of historical development. It is just for this reason that we deem it not only the right but also the duty of workers in these countries actively to participate in the "defense of the fatherland" against imperialism, on condition, to be sure, that they preserve the complete independence of their class organization and conduct a ruthless struggle against the poison of chauvinism. Thus, in the conflict between Mexico and the oil kings and their executive committee, which is the democratic government of Great Britain, the class-conscious proletariat of the world sides wholly with Mexico (this does not of course apply to the imperialist lackeys at the head of the British Labour Party).

As regards advanced capitalism, the latter has long since outgrown not only the old property forms, but also the national state, and in consequence bourgeois democracy as well. The fundamental crisis of contemporary civilization lies precisely here. Imperialist democracy is putrefying and disintegrating. A program of "defense of democracy" for the advanced countries is a program of reaction. The only progressive task here is the preparation of the international socialist revolution. Its aim is to smash the framework of the old national state and build up economy in accordance with geographic and technological conditions, without medieval taxes and duties.

Again, this does not imply an attitude of indifference toward the current political methods of imperialism. In all cases where the counter-revolutionary forces tend to pull *back* away from the decomposing "democratic" states—toward provincial particularism, toward all monarchy, military dictatorship, Fascism—the revolutionary proletariat, without assuming the slightest responsibility for the "defense of democracy", (it is indefensible!) will meet these counter-revolutionary forces with armed resistance, in order, if successful, to direct its offensive against imperialist "democracy".

This policy, however, is applicable only with regard to internal conflicts, that is, in those cases where the struggle really involves the issue of a political regime, as was for instance the case in Spain. The participation of Spanish workers in the struggle against Franco was their elementary duty. But precisely, and only because the workers did not succeed in time in replacing the rule of bourgeois democracy with their own rule, "democracy" was able to clear the path for Fascism.

It is, however, sheer fraud and charlatanism to transfer mechanically the laws of the struggle between *different* classes of *one and the same* nation over to an imperialist war, that is, the struggle waged by *one and the same class* of *different* nations. At present, after the fresh experience of Czechoslovakia, there is no necessity, it seems, to demonstrate that the imperialists are fighting one another not for political principles, but for domination over the world under the cover of any principles that will serve their purpose.

Mussolini and his closest associates, so far as one can gather, are atheists, that is they believe neither in God nor the Devil. The King of Britain and his ministers are mired in medieval superstitions and believe not only in the Devil but in the Devil's grandmother. Yet this does not mean that a war between Italy and England would be a war of science against religion. Mussolini, the atheist, will do all in his power to fan the religious passions of the Mohammedans. The devout Protestant Chamberlain will, for his part, seek assistance from the Pope, and so on. In the calendar of human progress, a republic rates above a monarchy. But does this signify that a war waged by republican France, say, against monarchist Holland for colonies, would be a war of a republic against a monarchy? We shall not even dwell on the fact that in the event of a national war waged by the Bey of Tunis against France, progress would be on the side of the barbarian monarch and not on that of the imperialist republic. Hygiene occupies an important place in human culture. But when a murder is involved, the question of whether the murderer washed his hands beforehand is not of decisive importance. To substitute political or moral abstractions for the actual aims of the warring imperialist camp is not to fight for democracy, but to help the brigands disguise their robbery, pillage and violence. This is now precisely the main function of the Second and Third Internationals.

—*From* A FRESH LESSON, *published in the New International for December*, 1938, *pp.* 361-362.

A Foothold In India

BOMBAY, India — For the first time in the history of the Fourth International we can now report that a foothold has been obtained in the world's most famous and important colony.

"Trotskyism" — hitherto misrepresented in India by a few scattered cliques of sectarian and isolated intellectuals—can now claim a genuinely organized section. The Revolutionary Socialist League of India is off to a good start with selected members, a public theoretical magazine and several branches.

We confidently predict that this organization — devoting its energies to the interests of India's 400,000,000 workers and peasants—will come to occupy an important place in the nationalist movement. The fact that it was organized **after** the war had begun is likewise evidence of the power of our ideas, particularly since the British rule over India with such fascist-like repression. The creation of this new section is one of the most encouraging events in recent Fourth International history.

In the future, we shall describe conditions in India, what has happened to the Indian Nationalist Congress and new problems that our comrades are preparing to meet in their battle against imperialism.

Through The Telescope

Dr. Robert Milikan, scientist, says: "The nations which, in the climb up from savagery, have outgrown the ideology of conquest must develop enough intelligence and short-range unselfishness to unite their forces for defense against the international bandits."

And where are the nations, Dr. Milikan, which have "outgrown the ideology of conquest"?

We Are Against The War Even Though We Are Not Pacifists

By PAUL TEMPLE

"A lot of what you say about the war is all right," said Johnny, "and this war certainly is horrible. But still I don't see any sense in being a pacifist. I don't believe in turning the other cheek when a guy takes a smack at you."

BILL: For a change, I agree with you 100 percent there. I'm not a pacifist either.

JOHNNY: But you say you're against the war! And now you say you're not a pacifist. Why don't you make up your mind?

BILL: I see you think you've got me there. But you haven't, not yet. You're mixed up because you don't know what a pacifist is.

JOHNNY: The hell I don't! A pacifist is just a fellow who's against war. Understand me, he may have a point to what he says about it, but you've got to be realistic.

You See, There Are Wars — And Then There Are Other Wars

BILL: I take it you're not a pacifist either. OK. Suppose the United States sent the army down to Mexico to wipe up the Mexican people and take over the country—how would you feel about it?

JOHNNY: Sure I'd be against it, but that wouldn't make a pacifist out of me. I'd be against that war because it would be a hijacking expedition.—You can't trip me up that way.

BILL: You've already tripped yourself up. You'd be against THAT war but you wouldn't be a pacifist. I'm against THIS war, and **I'M** not a pacifist. Catch on?

JOHNNY: You **sound** as if you make sense, but . . .

BILL: All right, then, here's the point. I'm against **this** war because I think it's a war between hi-jackers and gangsters on both sides. A pacifist is against war JUST BECAUSE IT'S WAR, because it means bloodshed and destruction and violence. That's a different point of view, isn't it?—A pacifist would be against ANY war for the same reason. **I'm willing to support any war that's in the interests of the workers. This one isn't.**

JOHNNY: All right, all right, maybe you're not a pacifist. But there's a fight going on now, and we've got to pick out our side and get behind it. You can't just stand aside.

BILL: No SIR, you don't always pick a side when there's a fight. I'll give you an example. Do you remember Dutch Schultz?

JOHNNY: Seems to me he was a gangster once . . . way back in the wet days of prohibition, wasn't it?

BILL: That's it. He ran the beer racket in an outlying part of the United States called the Bronx. The gangsters had New York City all divided up into territories run by different strong-arm men.

JOHNNY: What's all that got to do with . . ?

BILL: Taking sides? You'll see.—When the crash came in 1929, Schultz started losing a lot of business. Not because the citizens of the Bronx lost their taste for beer, but because they couldn't afford to buy as much.

JOHNNY: Same thing happened to businessmen all over the country.

BILL: You mean OTHER businessmen. Schultz's business wasn't as crooked as a lot of others that were legal.—Well, when he lost his home market in the Bronx, he had to do something to keep his profits up. So he collected his gang, recruited a few unemployed gunmen, and decided to muscle in on the racketeer who controlled upper Manhattan. What do you think happened?

JOHNNY: I guess he found a gang-war on his hands.

BILL: Sure, the Manhattan racketeer muscled back. He was defending his own backyard. OK, what side do you take?

We Take Sides—But We Choose Our OWN Side

JOHNNY: Smart, ain't you? Well, I don't take sides in a gang-war.

BILL: Why not? Suppose the Manhattan gangster made you a speech and said: "Look, I'm a peaceful guy, see? I don't go around looking for trouble, not since I bumped over my last batch of competitors. This guy Schultz, though, he's attacking me. He's the aggressor. Not only that, but he uses vomiting gas and I just use dum-dum bullets. It's the duty of every good citizen to help me against this dirty gangster, or else he'll move into Brooklyn next."

JOHNNY: I get you. You think this war is just like that gang war.

BILL: Exactly the same. Between the two gangs I say: Let's erase both of them, because all they're fighting about is, who's to keep his hand in **our** pockets. **Sure we take sides, but it's a third side. It's the side of the workers, against the owning class that exploits them now, as well as against the owning class that WANTS to exploit them.** NOT PEOPLE AGAINST PEOPLE, BUT CLASS AGAINST CLASS.

LABOR ACTION
Official Organ of Workers Party
(*Section of the 4th International*)
Published weekly by the
Labor Action Publishing Company
VOL. 4, No. 28 OCTOBER 21, 1940
114 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.
(3rd Floor)
Editor: JOSEPH CARTER
Managing Editor: EMANUEL GARRETT
Business Manager: JOHN BILLINGS
Subscription Rate: $1.50 per year,
$1.00 six months
($2.00 per year or $1.50 six months for Canada and Foreign)
Re-entered as second class matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.