

What's to Be Done?

**Refusal To Serve--"Answering" War With A General Strike
To Fight War We Must Fight Capitalism--The Race
With Death--The Workers Have A Country
To Defend--For A Warless World**

by Bertram D. Wolfe

This is the concluding article in the series by Comrade Wolfe "The Next War" which will soon appear in pamphlet form.

—The Editor.

Refusal to Serve

Next, there is the proposal recently given so much publicity by reason of its advocacy by Professor Einstein, of refusal of individuals to serve in the coming war. "If only 2% of the eligibles would refuse to serve," reasons Dr. Einstein, "there would not be enough jails to hold them." And no doubt the government would be kept so busy building jails that it would have no time to carry on a war!

It sounds easy—too easy! It was tried in the last war. Conscientious objectors went to jail by hundreds and thousands in the warring countries. Others agreed to go into hospital work, or munitions factories, or trench-digging. The war went on just the same!

Real resistance to war, involves an open struggle against it, against the war-making governments and the cause of war, the capitalist system. It must be the work of masses, and not merely of individuals. Such a mass struggle of a revolutionary character would actually be held back if the most conscious opponents of war would refuse to go to the front. That is just where they are needed, to carry on their agitation against war among the soldiers at the front, and in the factories at home. To propose that they should go voluntarily to jail instead, is to propose to skin off the cream of the fighting spirits, to leave the masses leaderless when they are most in need of leadership against war.

"Answering" War With a General Strike

Another "solution" that sounds very "revolutionary" and makes it seem as if it were a comparatively simple thing to stop a world war, is the "solution" that says: "Don't worry. If they try to start another war, we'll answer the war with a general strike." This slogan promises too much and fools the masses into thinking that they need not do anything about war until it is upon us.

War is not so easy to stop by a single act. The ruling class prepares war very carefully, with much maneuvering, many peace conferences, much peace talk, and arranges things in such a way as to take the masses by surprise. The outbreak of war tends to sweep the people off their feet. The newspaper headlines tell only the government version of the "facts." The masses are all the more easily fooled and herded into the war if there has not been a long and continuous struggle on their part against it, previous to the outbreak of the war. A general strike doesn't come by newspaper proclamation. Nor can it be called over night by those who have made no previous preparations and with no development of preliminary struggles. It would only be possible if it were thoroughly prepared in the same manner as the ruling class has prepared for war, in other words, if it is the culmination of a long series of sharp struggles against imperialism and against each step in the preparation of war.

A general strike is not an isolated action. Not only must the working class be prepared in an organizational sense, but the situation in the country, both objective and subjective, must be favorable to a general strike. Such a situation is more likely to exist after the war has run a while and the mass misery and mass discontent and resistance have grown. Any one who promises that the whole thing can be accomplished by a single act, a general strike the day war is declared, is covering his passivity or worse in not carrying on a relentless war against war and capitalism every day in time of peace, and is diverting the attention of the masses from the fact that if war is successfully begun by the masters, the struggle against it does not then cease but only begins in greater earnest. He is no friend of the workers who deludes them with such vain and empty boasts into believing that the struggle against the coming war is a simple matter.

To Fight War We Must Fight Capitalism

No, the struggle against the coming war is not a simple matter. War is the continuation of the politics of peace-time by other, by violent means. Imperialist war is an outgrowth of imperialist policies, of the mad chase for oil and iron and gold and investment spheres and colonies. It is a product of the capitalist system that puts dollars above human lives and is willing to sacrifice the life blood of millions on the insatiable altar of the great god Profit. We cannot wait to struggle against that bloody system of profit-greed and robbery until it has driven us into the most terrible war in human history. That struggle against capitalism must be carried on every day. Whether the employers rob the workers at home, or in the colonies, they must be fought at every step, and on every field. The working class must develop its unions, its revolutionary Communist Party, its fighting strength and consciousness, in a continuous fight to defend itself and strengthen its position. We must expose and fight every step in war preparations. Those of you who read these articles, who see clearly what is happening and what is in store for humanity, must awaken your shopmates and neighbors, circulate newspapers and pamphlets that will awaken

them, develop clubs and unions and a powerful Communist Party, unite the ranks of the divided and weakened working class, carry on a relentless struggle against misleaders and agents of the bosses in the ranks of the workers.

And if, in spite of our efforts, war does come—and the likelihood is great—then we must go into the armies, into the factories, and continue our fight against war. If the capitalist system can not be abolished before it brings on the next war, then the struggle against it must continue in the war. There is no other way out of the war and the war system. There is no shorter road. There is no easy way.

The master class will put us in charge of artillery and tanks and planes and ships. They will put machine guns and gas grenades and bayonets in our hands. And they will bid us use them against our fellow workers, to destroy factories, wipe out cities, ruin farmlands, annihilate the physical basis of modern production and culture, and murder each other by millions and tens of millions.

We cannot avoid it by refusing to take the guns by individual acts of heroism and resistance. "An oppressed class which does not learn the use of arms, to possess these and to become practised in them, is only fit to be oppressed and handled like slaves." (Lenin). We must take the guns and gas grenades and bayonets, and use them, not on each other to wipe out mankind, but we must use them upon the greedy madmen who drive us into war, use them to destroy the profit-hunting, slaughtering, unemployment-and-war-breeding capitalist system and build a decent human world where human lives are valued higher than dollars and exploitation, unemployment and war are unknown.

The Race with Death

Under capitalism war is inevitable. The coming madness is being prepared with headlong speed. It may come tomorrow or be delayed a decade, just as the war of 1914-18 was brewing from the beginning of the century and nearly began several times before it broke out. We must relentlessly and untiringly carry on our struggle against capitalism. It is a mad race with death. If capitalism succeeds in unleashing the forces of war, it will be even more powerless to end it, than it was the last war, which ended only after the

Russian and German revolutions. Only the working class can end it. The New York Times has sounded a warning note. "Its end may be the end of a civilization that has been ages in the building." The only alternative is the turning of the imperialist war into civil war!

The Workers Have a Country to Defend.

The coming war will likely begin as a war against the Soviet Union by the imperialist powers. Even if the imperialist powers go to war first with each other, when the revolutionary movements begin to develop, the ruling classes will join hands (as French and German rulers did in 1870 against the Paris Commune, and as Allied and German rulers did in 1917 against the Russian Revolution). They will join hands to crush the Soviet Union and defeat the working class revolts in the capitalist countries.

In a war between two imperialist powers, the worker-soldiers on the front must fraternize with each other and join in a common struggle against the common enemy the capitalist rulers on both sides. The real enemy is not the worker of the "enemy" country. The real enemy is at home—the capitalist, the war-maker, the brutal, warbreeding system.

In a war of the capitalist powers against the Soviet Union, the Red Army of the Workers Republic must get the support of every class conscious worker in every imperialist country. There alone the workers rule. There alone is there a real desire for peace. There alone is the profit-system abolished and a socialist system being built up to make unemployment and war impossible. Up till 1917 "the workers had no country to defend" because no country belonged to them, there was no country in which they were not exploited and enslaved. But since 1917 the workers of the world have had a country to defend, one-sixth of the surface of the earth where the new social order is building—the Soviet Union.

For a Warless World

In the last war the capitalists lost one-sixth of the surface of the earth. Now it is a race between war and revolution. If war comes first, we must end it once and for all, not by taking another sixth or two-sixths or three-sixths, but the other five-sixths of the earth and establishing throughout the earth a workers world!

Rationalization and the Worker

ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

by Hal Long

The main tendencies in the development of factory organization during recent years may be classified under four headings:

(1). Larger plants, employing more workers. (2). Standardization of methods and products. (3). Extensive planning inside the corporations. (4). Further specialization.

The first and last one of these tendencies have always prevailed in industry, while the two other ones have risen to prominence in the post-war period.

Larger plants make certain expenses, that are about the same for plants of different sizes, relatively more unimportant. Supervision and control is simplified, and transportation between plants is eliminated. Larger plants are also necessary for a successful application of the other three phases of organizational development.

Standardization of products, that means reduction of the types and sizes manufactured, eliminates clerical and technical work.

However, the greatest significance of standardization is the reduction of tools and machines needed in the processes of production, and the consequent thorough utilization of both. The number turned out of one single product is greatly increased, mass-production is made possible.

Standardization of methods embraces operations in the shop such as described in the previous article. It also covers technical definitions, tests and measurements, grades and units, etc. All these things are thereby made easier to remember and recognize, and management is greatly simplified.

Mass-production can only be really profitable thru an extensive and detailed planning of every piece of work to be done in the factory. Take the case of an automobile factory, turning out one car per minute. To ensure this end, it is necessary to make one carburetor, one radiator and so on per minute, not more and not less. Therefore, a careful study of the time involved in all the different manufacturing processes must be made. A proper number of workers, of tools and machines must be assigned for each job. Probably the most important thing to be considered is transportation; the material to be worked on must always be at hand in the right place at the right time, and be taken away as soon as the job is done. A new principle of plant lay-out has been developed in order to reduce transportation to a minimum. No longer are drill-presses put in one shop, punch-presses in another. The machines are placed according to the sequence in

which they are to work on the product. Thus, when a piece has been turned in a lathe, it is not taken across the yard to another shop to be drilled but a drill-press is placed besides the lathe, the transportation is a matter of few feet.

The plant is laid out according to the principle of straight line motion. Thus all unnecessary transportation is eliminated. The Willys-Overland Company cut handling costs to one third thru the introduction of straight-line motion.

A most conspicuous example on the gains derived from planning is the Lehn & Fink Company manufacturing cosmetics. Thru a thoro plant reorganization, rearrangement of equipment, combined with time and motion study, it was able to turn out three times as much as before. This without getting new equipment and without hiring any more workers!

Planning of purchases and sales is more a commercial question than a technical one—especially sales. Manufacturers have to a greater and greater extent endeavored to get rid of their products as quickly as possible. Thus, they try to reduce the storage-room needed in their plants. This endeavor reflects itself in phenomena like chain-stores, installment selling, growing difference between wholesale and retail prices in the post-war period, etc. That some of them (before the present depression) succeeded in getting their sales well organized, is exemplified by the Good-year Rubber & Tire Company, which during the years 1920 to 27, it increased output by 60%, reduced labor costs to one third, and reduced the time of production turn-over from a half-year to one month. A systematic planning of purchases, production and sales played a prominent part in this development.

Heavy machinery and industrial equipment, ships, etc. can of course not be made on a large enough scale to make mass-production applicable. These things are made for orders. Here the planning can not be made once for all; new planning can not be carried thru with the same degree of accuracy as in plants for mass-production. But results are brought about, as for instance in the case of the Newport Shipbuilding & Dry-dock Company, that reduced labor costs by 50% from 1916 to 1926 mainly thru increased control and systematized planning.

Specialization among the workers has under the development of mass-production, taken on a different form from that of the 19th century. No longer does specialization to a considerable extent develop skill; on the contrary, for the bulk of the workers it does away with