# No Draft of American Lives for Wall Street's War!

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

LABOR ACTION

#### AUGUST 19, 1940

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY, SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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# **DRAFT SERVES BOSSES, NOT LABOR! Build a Bomb-Proof Shelter!**



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### North Jersey Scrap Iron Workers Unite Forces

Local 1120 Stands Pat on Demands in Reichman-Hoffman Strike

# **Big Business Acts to Squeeze Every Last Cent of Profit Out of War Preparation**

Are you between 21 and 31 years of age? Are you healthy enough to enjoy life a little if given the chance? Then you are just the man the boss politicians are looking for. They've got a job for you-and they promise you a fine reward: a wooden coffin and a place somewhere in Arlington Cemetry.

But if you have different ideas about all this, if you choose to look forward to something better than death in a cause not your own, then you don't have to accept their offer. You have mighty unions. Not a wheel in this country need turn if you and your unions refuse to turn them.

Make it clear to the congressmen who are busy gambling with your lives that you want no part of the draft, or the war. Make it clear in ACTION-in Seattle, in Maine, in every city and state. Congress will not dare to ignore your protest if in your protest you make it clear that you are as determined to keep out of this war as they are to get you into it.

### -THE WORLD AT WAR -**Report Anti-Government** Feeling Rising in Britain as **Hitler Looses Final Assault**

A series of large scale air battles article in PM, New York daily, porover the English coast this week marked the opening of Hitler's final assault on Britain to settle the im- working class areas around London. perialist rivalry between them.

Waves of air armadas swept over the industrial centers of both Germany and England, leaving a ghastly toll of human lives and property destroyed

It was considered Hitler's final effort to bring the English ruling class to its knees and make peace on terms guaranteeing Hitler's domination over the British Empire as well as \_Europe

Although Nazi fleets of 500 planes Special to Labor Action at a time raided English military and industrial centers and kept the Royal Air Force heavily occupied in in defense, the English pulled a surprise attack on German cities in re-

Fantastic claims of victory and the

by both sides obscured the real cost

of this senseless slaughter. However,

leading American military experts

believed that German losses were not

sufficiently great to give England

As each hour brought an intensifi-

cation of the warfare and the suffer-

ing the major question arising in the

eyes of the world was: How long

Reports of growing dissatisfaction

with the Churchill government were

carried by the daily press. A feature

will the people stand for this?

much hope.

trayed how this anti-government feeling was developing especially in the

### D.A. Trots **Out New** 'Red Scare"

place all of five years ago.

baiter par excellence.

had been

Lurid Tales

into unions

ist," etc

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 10-For the past week this city has been treated to an unadulterated "red scare".

District Attorney Burton Fitts, who has sworn to smash "this bunch of Moscow controlled and financed lib-

erty-hating destructionists" sudden-

ly "uncovered" the murder of a sailor

out in San Pedro by an alleged

member of the Communist Party.

This murder is said to have taken

Clippings from his files in hand,

our star spangled hero then hied

himself over to visit John L. Leech,

who had been, until 1936, Los Angeles

organizer of the Communist Party

and since then an extremely useful

informer, calamity howler, and red

Fitts and Leech having discussed

the murder for a while in court

of the day for which the murder

For four days now we have been

regaled with lurid tales in heavy

black type; tales of black-hearted

villains who "hoped for bloody rev-

olution" and "blackjacked" workers

Hollywood luminaries, members of

the Stalinist "Hollywood Anti-Nazi

League" have been subpoenaed by

District Attorney Fitts. Though some

may pooh-poo the whole affair, and

the rest protest their innocence and

loyalty to the red, white and blue, it

is certain that none of them will have

the courage to speak the truth about

the purpose of the latest "red scare"

-the labeling of all bona-fide union

demands and anti-conscription senti-

ment as "communistic, fifth column-

The Fitts-Leech logic runs some-

thing like this: "The reds demand

constantly increased relief payments,

thus increasing the tax burden and

undermining Capitalism." That's bad

This, coupled with the campaign of

the Chamber of Commerce to "learn

the lesson of France and end labor

rows," means that labor must not

seek protection against the inevitable

rise in prices when the war profits

begin to boom, on pain of being

But it seems that only 33 of the

4,000 airplanes to be produced for

the government during the month of

June have been contracted for ac-

cording to Secretary of War Stimson

Why? The Aircraft companies, most

of which are located here in South-

ern California, are demanding a huge

subsidy from the government for

plant expansion in the form of "tax

concessions". The aircraft companies

have refused to sign government con-

labelled "Bolshevik!"

then proceeded to the real business

"uncovered".

Let the Congressmen know that you see through their "national pretense". Let them know that what they call "conscripting the nation's manpower to defend home, country and democracy," is plain to you for what in reality it is-a scheme to conscript your lives for capitalist profits.

The great "national pretense" works only for you, John Worker. They want YOU to put up your life at \$21 per month for a bald lie. But there is no kidding the "big boys", the men on the "in." These birds know the score. They know just what the conscriptees are going to defend. They know it won't be democracy or the home.

The Wall Street gang wrote this draft bill. A group of them got together in the snooty Harvard Club, wrote the bill, and decided on how to put it over. They want war to keep the juicy morsels of colonial exploitation out of Hitler's hands and in their own. That goes for Latin America, and anything else they have already grabbed or hope to grab.

To fight this war they need the manpower. That's where you come in. That's why Congress is rushing the draft bill.

But men are no good without equipment. When it comes to equipment Congress slows down. It could conscript the industries. It could make the bosses cough up the equipment for their own war. But not on your life! Not that! The Sixty Families who run this country—they won't have it! This whole war idea is theirs. They are the only ones to benefit. But, fine "patriots" that these gentlemen are, they don't want to miss up on profits for a single moment. After all, the whole point of the war is profits; that's in the very nature of their being. Consequently, these scoundrels have already served notice on their scoundrel-servants in Washington that they want more than bloated profits out of this war, and the preparation for it. They want all expenses paid for in addition. If the government wants ships, planes, tanks and munitions, the government must first guarantee a "reasonable" profit—that is, pay well and plenty; then it must promise to pay for the plant and the machinery used in the manufacture of these weapons.

#### Special to Labor Action

NEWARK, N.J., Aug. 12-The Reichman-Hoffman Scrap Iron Co. has sent out a "feeler" for settlement of the strike which has tied up plant operations for eleven weeks. The company, backed up against the wall by the militancy of the 35 Colored strikers, and by the labor solidarity of the longshoremen's and teamsters' unions has let it be rumored that it will negotiate on the union's demands if the union agrees to cancel its suit for infringement of the Wages and Hours Act. The Union is suing for \$20,000 due the men in back pay under the terms of the Wages and Hours Act.

This "feeler" is another indication of the company's desperate situation. No men to work the plant, except a few mouldy scabs-and no way of shipping. With every one of its strike-breaking tricks failing, the company is being forced to settle on the union's terms. John Collandrillo, general manager for Local 1120, Waste Materials Union, AFL, which is leading the strike, emphatically rejected this latest offer. "We will not compromise on this issue. The men are entitled to their back pay and so far as I'm concerned they are going to get it. As far as Local 1120 is concerned, we will continue this strike until the union's demands are won.

#### **Spread Organization**

Another step in the strengthening of the strike and union was taken this week at a meeting of all North Jersey shops which are organized in Local 1120. The conference set up the North Jersey District of the Waste Materials Union and elected temporary officers until a charter. which has already been applied for. is received from the parent organization, the International Hod Carriers of America. Those elected were: Walter Krichfield, from the Newark Compress Steel Co., as president; Harris Addison, from the same company, as vice-president; Claude Turnage, from the Reichman and Hoffman plant, as financial secretary; Sam Askew, Horace McRae, and Bob Mosley, also from Reichman-Hoffman, as treasurer, recording secretary and sergeant at arms respectively; Joe Collandrillo as general organ-

Italian cities. izer, and John Collandrillo as general manager-both the latter elected number of enemy planes shot down

by Local 1120. At this meeting, John Collandrillo

told the men that not only will the Reichman and Hoffman strike be stronger as a result of the unification, but that it also marked a step forward in the organization of all scrap iron plants in Northern New Jersey. "During the last three years", he stated, "the pay of New York scrap iron workers has been more than doubled due to complete organization, and we intend to accomplish as much for

New Jersey workers." He also informed the conference that although scrap-iron contracts in

New York and New Jersey expire at the same time, Sept. 30, negotiations will be started on or about **Anti-Conscription** Sept. 1. Arrangements are already under way to hold conferences for a general agreement with the New York and New Jersey chapters of the Scrap Iron and Steel Institute. These conferences will take place separately. At present, the contracts apply to over 700 men organized into

plants in the metropolitan area and different kind of army took the field here last week-an army AGAINST conscription.

Organized to give coordinated and effective expression to the widespread popular objection to the governother boss politicians, this they will ment's compulsory military service plan, the California Committee against Conscription at once launched an ambitious whirlwind campaign to

> achieve this end. Armed with leaflets and placards. will-power and determination, this army launched an immediate attack against the corrupting propaganda of the warmongers and the yellow press. A new type of "pincer attack" was developed Saturday night when "mobile units" of the committee marched down Broadway with "STOP CON-SCRIPTION" signs worn sandwich style by each person. Leaflets announcing the formation of the committee and the opening of its drive were distributed in thousands.

Petitions to Congress, protesting against conscription "as a dangerous move in the direction of totalitarianism," were issued last week and are being circulated.

Further plans of the committee include issuance of anti-conscription buttons and literature and the calling of a city-wide mass meeting against conscription on Friday night, August 16.

tracts for almost three months be-(Continued on page 2)

So that the stench won't attract too much attention, they've put an attractive lid over it. They call their proposal "amortization." A long, fine sounding word—long enough to confuse any of you workers who aren't accustomed to the jargon of the financial page. But all it means is that over a period of time, eight years is proposed, the taxpayers must present these "gentlemenpatriots" with factories and machinery so that they can go about the dirty business of coining fabulous profits.

Until they get this, plus other tax concessions and profit guarantees, they refuse to go on-sabotage their OWN "defense" program. They know that Roosevelt, Knudsen and Stettinius who are in charge of operations for them will come to terms on most of what they want.

We don't care a hoot in hell about equipping the bosses' army. And neither should you, fellow-worker. We do, however, care about being forced into an army and a war that is not ours. We do care about this "national pretense" which seeks to delude workers while the bosses are wise to the trick all the time.

These capitalists and their political stooges may sometimes auarrel among themselves, see things differently. They may have different ideas on minor aspects of policy. But when it comes down to defending their OWN national interests, they unite. No pretense or petty quibbling here.

Last week the Chamber of Commerce issued a manifesto. This is what they say: "The inevitable concentration of our. thoughts on defense preparations tends to obscure the growing peril to our institutions, our form of life and in fact our individual liberties."

So far, so good. Every worker agrees. But, workers, these capitalists don't mean you. Listen again: "We must be alert to the effect of greater debt, heavier taxation . . . " and to counteract this effect, they demand "the elimination or modification of laws, rules and propaganda which actually interfere with production."

These national defenders of their own interests go on to demand "expansion of facilities for special forms of production as notably in naval construction and the building of airplanes."

(Continued in editorial column on page 4)

### Parade Opens Shachtman Petition Campaign

Local New York of the Workers Party will open its campaign to put Max Shachtman on the ballot as candidate for Congress from the Bronx with a parade from Wilkins

### Victims of FBI **Frame-Up Jailed**

Victims of an FBI frame-up, seven prominent union militants in the middle-west entered federal prisons this week, the Northwest Organizer, organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, reported.

Jack Malone, member of Local 544 and organizer of Sioux City drivers Local 383, was interned at Sandstone prison in Minnesota, where the Minneapolis WPA framed-up militants are serving time. Lou Miller, of Local 554 of Omaha was placed in Leavenworth. Harry Fouts and Ralph Johnson of Sioux City, W. K. Stultz and E. L. Carpenter of Omaha, and Frances Quinn of Des Moines were to be committed to Sandstone. The union-

Avenue to Tremont Ave. this Friday night. All members of Local New York will participate in circulating signature petitions as required by New York election. law. Signature canvassers will cover the

enfire 23rd Congressional district. Tables will be set up on the main avenues with flags, banners and literature calling upon the workers to register their opposition to boss war by signing the Shachtman petition. In addition, there will be door-todoor canvassing.

Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, is well known to Bronx workers whom he has many times addressed. He is campaigning on a single issue: opposition to the bosses' war plans, specifically for the present, the conscription bill pending in Congress. As the campaign got under way, Shachtman called attention to the speed with which Congress is pushing the Conscription. "While Wheeler, and others of the so-called isolationists, may tie things up for a while", said Shachtman, "a worker would be committing a grave error if he put his trust in these gentlemen. They are Max Shachtman, the anti-war canists were given a two year sentence. bound by ties of class interest to the didate, on the ballot.

prove in any real showdown. However, labor can learn much from the occasional revelations made by a Wheeler or a Holt in Congress. Such information as they bring to light serves to fully expose the sinister forces behind conscription. Last week's debate brought out the fact that the bill had virtually been

> framed in the swanky Harvard Club by a group of big business men. And as LABOR ACTION said, 'That is enough to make any worker suspicious.' But if Senators Wheeler or Holt will do little for us, we ourselves can do a lot. The AFL, the CIO, the overwhelming majority of the people, are opposed to conscription. To be opposed is, however, not enough. Opposition must be supplemented by ACTION, Demonstration, Petition, and more-if necessary. The Workers Party, in opening this campaign, urges you to raise the need of such ACTION in your unions." ... If you live in the 23rd Congressional district, you can show your opposition to conscription and boss war by signing the petition to put

**Army Takes** To the Field Special to Labor Action Local 1120, and cover 75 scrap iron LOS ANGELES, Aug. 5-A new

#### LABOR ACTION

#### Unions Take Fill This Out and Send It To Your Senators! With the Labor Unions-----A Stand on On the Picket Line The Draft By David Coolidge

#### UNION WITCH HUNTS HURT LABOR'S CAUSE

Many unions are falling into a very bad trap. We refer to their so-called fifth column hunts. Here we have the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes at its recent international convention in Quebec passing a resolution containing the following: "It is within the power and authority of our Brotherhood to determine whether or not the supporters and sympathizers of this savagery (fascism and Hitler's blitzkrieg) should or should not be permitted to retain their membership in this Brotherhood." And further: the grand lodge officers are instructed to meet with the officers of the railroads with which union has contractual relations "for the purpose of working out an agreement under which employment on such roads will not be provided for those found, after joint and careful investigation on the part of the Brotherhood and such managements, to be members or advocates of the Communist, Nazi or Fascist parties."

Page 2

We have already mentioned the witch hunt under way in a local of the SWOC in Jones and Laughlin Steel Co. in Pittsburgh. The same thing has ocurred in the building service union in New York City. Other unions are swinging into line and soon if the trade union movement does not come to its senses there will be an orgy of reactionary activities instituted and carried on in the unions by the workers themselves.

organizations. The workers should The Maintenance of Way Employes approach the bosses for the purpose said that they would not take a of bargaining for higher wages, not position on the war. They said nothto seek his advice as to how to run ing in their resolution about contheir organizations. scription, even peace-time conscrip-

tion. But they did take a position on the war. Their resolution means that they took a position in support of the FBI, the employers and other anti-union groups. They even went so far as to demand that plans be worked out in league with the employers not to let people work who are dubbed communist, nazi or fascist by the employers and their officers.

Don't the workers in the unions

know that the employers, the Dies

Committee and the FBI will brand

every worker a communist, fascist or

fifth columnist who fights against the

boss for higher wages and better

working conditions? Don't they und-

violations of union discipline, being

a boss stool-pigeon. No worker

should be expelled from the union

for his political beliefs and opinions.

And above all, the boss should not

be permitted to put his snout into the

union's affairs. His place is in the

Chamber of Commerce and other boss

minded indeed.

Among other CIO unions which

The Lynn resolution suggested the conscription of wealth. However, like other resolutions passed by the unions, it shied clear of taking a forthright stand against boss war and all of its manifestations.

letters from CIO unions and individual members against conscription was reported by Senators in Washerstand that the bosses will seize on ington. this step they have taken to pound Meanwhile, the first labor conven-

away at the Wagner Act, the Wages tion to support conscription was held and Hours Act and all the gains that last week, when the Massachusetts the workers have made? If they don't AFL gathering went on record for understand this they are very simple the draft.

In their own protection, the only ged for the draft, although both the possible positions for unions to take AFL executive council and the Railis that there shall be no expulsions road Brotherhoods went on record from the union except for anti-union

> One of the chief worries of in-Some auto and steel unions have tracts with employers pledging seniority and jobs to the conscripted

### **Red Scare**-

#### SOMETHING FOR THE BROTHERHOOD TO THINK ABOUT

A situation has arisen on the railroads that illustrates one of the difficulties that beset Negro workers. Even those Negro workers who attempt to be supporters of the labor movement and good union men. The head of the Pullman Conductors organiation and the Railway Labor Executives" Association charge that A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, "ran out on them." The Association has been campaigning for the passage of a bill to require the Pullman Company to hire conductors on allroads. night runs instead of using "portersin-charge.

The Association claims that Randolph agreed with this at one time but later changed his mind and entered opposition to the bill, thus holding up passage of the bill through congress.

We know nothing of the merits of this controversy, we intend to investigate this aspect of the case. We do know something however about

IT'S NOT A "DOG'S LIFE" FOR ALL DOGS!

the tremendous difficulty that Negroes have getting jobs. We also know that Negroes are confined to making up beds, shining shoes and carrying a tray on Pullman cars and day coaches. We know too that the railway unions aid and abet the employers in keeping Negro workers chained to the beds, the shoe shine brush and the waiters tray. We know that there are no Negroes in the brotherhoods and that the unions would oppose having Negroes in "their" ranks even if by some miracle one was employed by the rail-We remember how the Pullman

porters got organized and their organization did not come about through the initiative of the railway unions. We remember very well the long hard struggle lead by Randolph which resulted in the formation of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. We submit all this for the aristocrats of railway labor to think about.

The Lynn, Mass. CIO industrial union council joined in the national campaign against peace-time conscription begun by John L. Lewis, CIO chieftain, with a resolution denouncing the Burke-Wadsworth bill.

took a similar stand were the United Automobile Workers, the Michigan State Industrial Union council, the Cleveland CIO movement.

A flood of telegrams, petitions and

New York AFL officials also plug-

against the pending legislation. activity. This means strike-breaking,

> dividual union members about conscription is the fear of loss of seniority and their jobs while in the army. placed special clauses in their con-

cause-they want more dough! Thus, what's sauce for the goose is Bolshevism for the gander in this "Democracy" of ours.

(Continued from page 1)

Next, the "red expose" proceeds along the line of revealing that "a communist must never be willing to fight in defense of his own country." This, of course, does not refer to the Communist Party which whipped it up for "collective security" under Roosevelt until 1940 and then switched to Hitler's side, so much as it does to the millions of workers and farmers who are ready to put up a fight against being lifted by force from their jobs and homes and put away in some barracks.

These workers and farmers who demand a decent living for themselves and their children in the face of war-inflation, and the democratic right to choose their own army and their own war-these are the targets at whom District Attorney Fitts and the Chamber of Commerce are aiming their "expose."

Youth "Town Hall"

**Hits Conscription** 

# **AGAINST CONSCRIPTION! AGAINST THE WAR!**

A PETITION to the Hon.

and the Hon. .

United States Senators from the State of

WHEREAS the Senate and the House of Representatives are now considering the passage of the compulsory military training bill introduced jointly by Senator Burke and Representative Wadsworth, and

WHEREAS this bill is a step toward the militarization of the youth and the people of America, and an open step on the road to American entry into the war, and

WHEREAS the American people are opposed to entry into the war, and

WHEREAS passage of this bill would be an invasion of the democratic rights and liberties of the American people, unprecedented in the peacetime history of the United States,

THEREFORE we the undersigned do petition and demand that you vote against the Burke-Wadsworth Bill and against all appropriations for such purposes.

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Distributed by Young Peoples Socialist League Youth Section of the Workers Party (Fourth International)

Not only are the children of British nobility getting preference over the workers' children in escaping from Hitler's bombs but also the world. Lady Mendl arrives from England by airplane. A few days later her dogs high step down the gang plank of a refugee ship in charge of her ladyship's private secretary. The papers do not mention whether or

THE CONDEMNED MAN IS OFFERED A HEARTY BREAKFAST

The United Press announces that 'days vacation before having our guts many employers "big and small are prepared to eliminate or soften the economic disadvantages which employes participating in National Guard training, or who might be called ordinarily, would suffer." And what are these Good Samaritans planning to do? They are going to continue the wages of such employes while they are in the training camps. So far, the UP reports, this is the plan of Metropolitan Life, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Texas Co., Macy's, A:T. & T., Westinghouse and others. Some of the corporations plan to give extra compensation above wages. Others will increase the vacation period for the defenders of hearth and home.

The workers who are employed by these corporations may think they have got something here. They have. They are going to get a few extra dollars for being willing to risk their lives to save the hides, the property, the wealth and privileges of the boss class. "We Who Are About To Die" are to be given a few extra

not the dogs' tutors and nurses arrived on the same ship. It is reported that after a few weeks rest at the estate of one of our most patriotic citizens the dogs, along with Lady aristocrats of the dog, cat and horse Astor's horses and Lord Percy's cats will embark on the new liner America for a Carribean cruise. The America will be remembered as the new United States Line ship with the most luxurious accommodations for the aristocrats of the dog society.

scattered over the battle fields of

the bosses is astounding. They are

going to give "their" workers some

"extra pay!" It is more astounding

that workers swallow such tripe. The

bosses give an employe getting \$25

a week. \$50 or \$100 more. And for

what reason? Because these workers

have consented to go out and fight

self against any capitalist-boss state

and any boss class. No fighting in the

bosses' army and the bosses' na-

The impudence and effrontery of

the Second World War.

At a "Youth Town Hall Meeting" sponsored by the Liebknecht unit of the Young Peoples Socialist League last Friday an overwhelming majority of the participants voted to telegraph Senators Mead and Wagner their demand that the Burke Wads-

> worth Bill be defeated. Charles Dryden from the St. Augustine Group, who spoke of the Negro youth as "the lackeys of the army" and Eugene Victor, who condemned conscription as a plot to drag the American boy into war, were heartily applauded by an audience of fifty negro and white youths. Mr Davidson, a representative of the NAACP and a veteran of the last war praised "the younger people for their energetic and encouraging fight against the conscription" and told them that the National Council of the youth section of the NAACP had voted recently to fight conscription.

#### to protect the boss, his property and his profits. A few millions extra to I am subscribing the worker-soldiers for performing this service is a cheap price to pay. Enclosed find. for a These worker-soldiers will protect all subscription to Labor the past profits and all the profits

Action. to come as long as capitalism exists, as long as the workers permit it to Name We believe that the workers should Address learn to fight but they should fight in

a worker's army organized by a City \_ workers government to defend it-

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# Sound and Fury Abound--Aid Is Scant

#### So Far as the Poor Children Go, They Can Wait for the Bombs to Strike

#### By SUSAN GREEN

"At the most, only some thousands of children can be taken out of England. The millions of children of the workers will undoubtedly have to remain within range of Hitler's dive bombers."

This statement, which appeared in LABOR ACTION on July 15, is fully borne out by the developments of the past month.

The so-called "mercy ships" bill that just passed the House of Representatives and will soon appear for voting in the Senate, provides an amendment to the neutrality law so that American ships may enter combat zones to remove children. But the steamship companies will collect a fare for every child. The children pay-or they stay as targets for Hitler's bombs. Such is the quality of this "mercy".

The American Committee for the Care of European Children assures the public that there will be no class distinctions and that children will come "from the homes of Welsh coal miners and Oxford dons". That sounds very good in a speech.

#### unless his transportation is paid for, 200,000 children are merely registered those whose parents have money will naturally be the lucky ones.

#### **Class Distinction**

The matter of class distinction has reached the British Parliament where the government has been questioned on its intentions regarding parents who are willing to evacuate their children but haven't got the price of a boat ride. The government spokesman declared that it would be unwise to encourage evacuation by financial assistance in the present stage of the war.

That makes it pretty clear as to where the poor children will be when the bombs begin to rain down from the skies.

The impression has been created that 200,000 children are all set to come here as soon as ships are sent for them. The fact is that these bankers and business men, only

Not So Loud, Messrs. Jingoists!

The real difficulty is the third rea-LOS ANGELES, Aug. 1-Patriots here were thumping their breasts son given in the article. with 100% American pride today as "Another factor, in all services, is recruiting in the U.S. armed services the general economic situation, conreached new all-time peace-time sidering which service life looks far highs-although, let us add, this refrom unattractive to an 18-year-old cruitment is nowhere near what the high school graduate with no job. In all three branches, he can be sure

bosses want it to be. But in their zeal they made one of being comfortably housed and well fed and well clothed, and of little mistake-they gave the show drawing a minimum of \$21 monthly away. besides-an economic situation com-

The notorious Hearst Herald & Express, anxious to fan the fires of war hysteria and promote further enlistments, gave the story a big play -five columns on Page One of the home section, with pictures, brief sketches and interviews.

In trying to explain why the boys want to join the army and navy, the leading article fumbled around with vague generalities like "possibilities for promotion in the growing forces," and "opportunity to learn a trade." These mean nothing. Any American boy can learn a trade in schools designed just for that purpose (that is, if he can get in one) and any person can hope for promotion in any job. for evacuation, which means that their parents are willing to let them go. It is estimated, in those sections of the news items that are not so commonly read, that only 32,000 are actually. on the paid-up list and ready to leave. However, even if the whole 200,-

000 eventually get here, this is still a mere fraction of the millions of youngsters under sixteen who will be left in war-torn England. These will mainly be the children of the masses, not of the upper classes.

The American Committee for the Care of European Children has opened a money-raising drive. Although a flock of society women are on the committee and it has been underwritten by literally scores of

parable with drawing \$125 monthly

in civil life-and try to find a \$125

This is the real reason for the

boom in recruiting. This is why

American youth is joining the army

and navy. We're not so sure about

these boys being well clothed and

fed and housed; and we certainly

don't believe in that hokum about

\$21 being equal to \$125. \$21 is lousy

But three meals a day and spend-

ing money is attractive to any high

school graduate without a job, AND

TRY TO FIND THAT IN CIVIL

pay-however you look at it.

job in civil life."

LIFE!

\$5,000,000 is the goal for the whole country. The share for New York City-Wall Street's bailiwick-is a mere million and a half. The profits in the offing from Great Britain's war orders warrant greater "generosity" from the American profiteers.

But not even this small sum will leave the reluctant pockets of the millionaires. Most of the money will come from ordinary people whose sympathies have been aroused enough to send their donations. Little do these people realize that the society women who are making a great noise and doing so very little to relieve the sufferings of war, are themselves the beneficiaries of war.

The funds of this committee are not to be used for transporting children across the Atlantic. When the children have already arrived here, the committee will see to it that they get to their temporary homes in this country. That is all.

The committee's talk about making no distinction between the Welsh miner and the Oxford don is deceptive. The committee does not choose who comes here. That is determined solely by who has money.

The conclusion is inevitable that the great to-do in this country over the refugee children, is mostly sound and fury signifying very little against the great problem of the millions of children who will have to stay where they are. The safety of these children depends upon the British masses themselves.

The first thing they must decide is whether the defense of their homes and families against Hitler can be entrusted to the British boss government-that government which winks understandingly at the fascist Mosley and allows him to live like a prince instead of a prisoner.

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INFORMAL HOUSE

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Where You Do as You Please

But since no child can come over

**Helping Whom?** 

#### To See or Not To See by Susan Green

#### Daughters Without Ducats "PRIDE AND PREJUDICE"

To have had a family of five marriageable daughters in middle-class provincial England of the early nineteenth century, was no joke. Husbands had to be found somehow. The competition of other families with daughters on their hands was as deadly as economic competition can be. When an eligible bachelor with money appeared on the scene, normal competition broke out into open warfare.

Thanks to Jane Austen's honesty about her era and to M-G-M's good sense in sticking to her realistic slant, this story about long ago does not ooze nostalgic longing for the "good old times", as is usually the case with such pictures. Instead you get a bit of what was what. The struggle of Mrs. Bennett to marry off her petticoated brood, is no pretty thing to see-even through the kindly spectacles of Jane Austen's sense of humor.

The kick of the story is concentrated in Lizzie Bennett, the oldest of the girls, who had beauty, charm, wit and a healthy resentment for the haughty aristocrats who looked down their noses at her own class. Her poisoned arrows were directed at the unbending Mr. Darcy and the verbal contest-in spite of the king's best English-is a wow. In the happy end she overcomes her prejudice and he his pride.

Greer Garson easily takes the honors as Lizzie, in a very well-casted piece. She is beautiful, and not at all dumb. She knows her stuff all right.

### Heil, Heel!

#### "THE MAN I MARRIED"

One can expect a long list of anti-Nazi films just to push along the "moral" armament program. Here is one of them, and it is really better than routine-though you must beware of the patriotic overtones.

A German in America and his American wife are summoned to Germany by the man's father. They start with a disbelief in what they have heard about the Nazis. When they get there, their reactions are diametrically opposed. He becomes such an enthusiastic admirer of the "energy" of the "new" Germany that he joins the Nazi party, decides to remain there, to divorce his wife for a Nazi woman, and to keep his American-born little boy in the fatherland.

She, on the other hand, has her eyes opened to the starker realities of Hitlerism by an American journalist in Berlin-he puts in a scare or two by alluding to Hitler's intentions in America. After witnessing wanton cruelties practised on innocent Czechs and being herself arrested by the Gestapo, she salutes her Nazi husband with a "Heil, Heel!", to the great delight of the audience.

The ending has an unexpected twist. In order to get his grandson back to America, the old man reveals

that his wife was a Holland Jewess. He had bribed the proper officials to have the records "fixed". The Nazi woman, in whose presence this revelation is made, runs off to tell the Gestapo. The would-be Nazi hero is in for it. The torments he was willing to inflict on others, he will enjoy himself.

Consistency not being too important to film-makers by and large, we must not ask if taking care of his business was a good enough reason for this anti-Nazi father to bring his son back into the clutches of the Gestapo.

#### Oh Wonderful Democracy! "ANDY HARDY MEETS DEBUTANTE"

There are possibilities for an uproariously funny film based on a situation where a small-town adolescent goes nuts over America's No. 1 glamor girl. Naturally, it must be kept strictly on the flippant side.

However, in the interest of preparing youth to defend democracy, Hollywood recognizes no limitations. A flying leap is taken into a solemn sermon on the nobility of America's great, the meaning of the statue of Liberty, and, of course, equality of opportunities. Judge Hardy, Andy's old man, lectures Andy on these brightly original topics-and is plenty boring.

To prove that democracy is not a matter of words alone, Judge Hardy wins a case against'a slick Wall Street lawyer and an orphanage is not taken away from the poor orphans. Andy who has been complaining about his lowly station in life, is of course convinced that he is the equal of any society girl.

Such are the problems of youth and thus are they solved.

Mickey Rooney should be given better things to do.

#### Hitler Struts

#### GERMAN NEWSREEL

At the Garden Theatre, 86th Street & Lexington Avenue, in the centre of the German population of New York, audiences applaud pictures of the German blitzkrieg, of Hitler, of anything German.

A recent newsreel showed Hitler as the French surrendered at Campiegne. First there was the monument set up to commemorate the French victory over the Germans in the last war. The Nazi flag rolled down over it. Hitler and his delegation marched into the railroad car. The French delegation entered and signed on the dotted line. Hitler left the car looking like the cat that has licked up the cream-he all but patted his belly in satisfaction. Yorkville admirers gloated with him.

Uncritical, misguided patriotism is, however, not the monopoly of Yorkville Germans. There is the 100% American variety as well.

BILL: The owning CLASS and the working CLASS.

Now, how much do you think are fair profits for doing

The Bosses Will Fight Like Hell--**10 Defend Their Own Class Interests** 

#### By DAVID COOLIDGE

The tilt in the Senate last week between Senators Holt and Minton, and the spirited defense of Col. Adler, of the New York Times, by Senator Lucas, raises some interesting questions in connection with capitalist war, conscription and the Roosevelt "defense" program.

Holt revealed that the conscription bill was fabricated at a meeting in the swank Harvard Club in New York by a group of rich men and the stooges of the rich. Col. Adler and the present Secretary of War Stimson were present at this conspiritorial meeting. Stimson had not entered the cabinet at the time of this meeting.

The draft of a conscription bill drawn up by these conspirators found its way to Senator Burke (who admires Hitler) and Representative Wadsworth. Mr. Stimson later became Secretary of War. This means that the wealthy conspirators had two direct representatives in Congress and one at the head of the War Department in the New Deal Cabinet. Of course the Head New Dealer in the White House is not supposed to have known anything about the dark deeds carried on in the luxury and calm of the Harvard Club.

Holt who is a sort of young man on a flying trapeze, let the cat out of the bag. He exposed this conspiracy of the rich to conscript the young men and send them to death on any old imperialist battlefield. He mentioned the fact that Col. Adler of the New York Times was a prime mover in this conspiracy.

#### **Ruling Class Bravery**

The day after the Holt-Minton fracas, which was dignified by such pleasantries as "rat," "louse," and 'slacker", Senator Lucas took the floor for a spirited defense of Col. Adler and his war record. Lucas said the colonel is a brave man. He got the Distinguished Service Cross, as they say, for "unusual and heroic action above and beyond the line of duty." It seems that the colonel and another officer captured 50 Germans in the last world war. The argument of Lucas was that the colonel should not be criticized for framing the conscription bill: he and his friends are not cowards, for they too serve in the army.

To make the matter of personal . JOHNNY: Wait a minute-it takes a lot of work most bravery or cowardice the point of departure in any discussion of conscription is to distort the question for the purpose of fooling the workers. Whether or not an individual is or is not a brave man and willing to



fight in the army is a question of no relevance or importance. We do not charge the members of the ruling class with personal cowardice. We do not attack them in this foolish way. This kind of argument has no point. This is a trick of the capitalists to throw dust in the eves of the workers and make it difficult for the workers to see where their interests lie and how they are different from the interests of the bosses.

#### **Big Business Patriotism**

War to the ruling class is a method of defending their interests. They know how to do this. Watch them at work today. They are patriots but how does their patriotism express itself? In fighting for guaranteed big profits. They won't let a wheel turn on the war orders until their government agrees to pay for expanding their plants, reduces taxes and increases their profits. Added to this they want the workers to toil longer hours and be satisfied with present or lower wages. They want the Wagner Act, the Walsh-Healy Act and the Wages and Hours Act scrapped. They want to junk the WPA. The New York Times, managed by Col. Adler, was one of the earliest leaders in this movement. On top of all this the bosses want the workers to fight in the army to protect the bosses' property and profits.

The bravery and the physical courage of the ruling class is used in defense of their class interests. They will perform great feats of bravery to defend and perpetuate their ownership and rule. They will join the army and fight to hold on to their property, privileges and power. That is the meaning of Plattsburg and all their officers training camps. They are preparing to defend their class interests, their property and their government. They learn military tactics and strategy so that they may be competent to protect their lands,

factories, mines, mills, castles, polo fields, yachts and banks. This is what patriotism means to them, this is what they mean by "our country." And this is all they mean: me and my property and my privileges. "God Bless America" to\* the Adlers, Morgans, and all their class means bless my dividends, my interest and my profits.

#### Army is Tool of the Rich

The workers however when they go into the army and fight in the wars made by the capitalists are not fighting in the interest of their class. They are fighting for the perpetuation of low wages, poverty, long hours, and horrible death on imperialist battlefields. In the army they place themselves under the command of the rich and the lackeys of the rich. The ruling class runs the show and the workers dance to the tune called by those who profit from capitalism and capitalist war.

The bosses know their class interests, they are very class conscious. That is what they were talking about that night in the Harvard Club when their representatives met and conspired to put conscription over. They know that workers do not want to go to war. They know too that the reason is not that workers are cowards. They have had experience with the bravery and sacrifice of the working class at a thousand factory gates, a thousand mine pits and on a thousand waterfronts.

Yes the bosses are class conscious. They act together, in their chambers of commerce, security leagues, "save America" groups and at the Harvard Club. It is in these places that they make their decisions. In order to enforce them they have their thugs, gunmen and strikebreakers. If these are not enough they call on their government to send in the national guard and the army. This same national guard and army that they want

the workers to join. The bosses don't believe that the conflict between them and the workers can be settled by peaceful means.

Page 3

The bosses of the United States say that they want to fight against Hitler to save democracy, to save civilization. They want the workers to help them. They have to have the workers help because the bosses are only a very small part of the population. If the workers refuse to help them, if the workers decide that they will only fight in a workers' army under a workers' government, then the bosses would be in one hell of a fix.

Of course the bosses will fight against Hitler. They'll fight like hell to stop Hitler and Mussolini from taking their property or interfering with their profits. They don't want the German and Italian capitalists to get the profits that come from the exploitation of the workers in the U.S. and Latin-America. That is true of the bosses in every country. They fight among themselves for profits, for colonies, for domination of the colonial people and for world markets. But they will always get together in a love feast if any section of

the ruling class is threatened with the power and the might of the working class. The workers want to defeat Hitler too. They don't want to live under fascism. Neither do they want to live under the terror organized by their

present bosses. The only road for them is the defeat of Hitler and their own bosses right here in the United States. They cannot accomplish this end in the bosses' army. The workers have fought in many a battle against the bosses on the picket line. They must go on with this fight today. Their battle cry must be: DOWN WITH CONSCRIPTION! AGAINST THE BOSSES' WAR! FOR A WORKERS GOVERNMENT AND A PEOPLE'S ARMY.

# The Struggle Against Imperialism and War

through with deceit. In the pacifism and even patriotism of the oppressed there are elements which reflect on the one hand a hatred of destructive war and on the other a clinging to what they believe to be their own good-elements which we must know how to seize upon in order to draw the requisite conclusions.

Using these considerations as its point of departure, the Fourth International supports every, even if insufficient, demand, if it can draw the masses to a certain extent into active politics, awaken their criticism and strengthen their control over the machinations of the bourgeoisie.

From this point of view, our American section, for example, critically supports the proposal for establishing a referendum on the question of declaring war. No democratic reform it is understood, can by itself prevent the rulers from provoking war when they wish it. It is necessary to give frank warning of this. But notwithstanding the illusions of the masses in regard to the proposed referendum, their support of it reflects the distrust felt by workers and farmers for bourgeis government and congress. Without supporting and without sparing illusions, it is necessary to support with all possible strength the progressive distrust of the exploited toward the exploiters. The more widespread the movement for the referendum becomes, the sooner will the bourgeois pacifists move away from it; the more completely will the betrayers of the Comintern be compromised; the more acute will distrust of the imperialists become.

### Mr. Boss Gets the Gravy

"OK," said Johnny, who hands it across the counter at Lunt's Cafeteria, "I'm against war profiteers just the same as you. So, we make sure they're held down to fair profits only. Slap a few extra taxes on them, for instance, and take away everything but what's coming to them."

BILL: Now, you tell me-what's fair profits and how much?

JOHNNY: Well, say just what they've been making in ordinary times, and don't let 'em make a penny more out of the war.

BILL: All right, suppose they don't find fifty-seven ways of getting around that, just as they did in the last war. Then, you say, they'd be getting only fair profits?

#### Legitimate? Like Hell It Is!

JOHNNY: Absolutely. It's legitimate for anybody to try to make a living, ain't it?

of the time to own a business and make it go. A lot of them manage their own business too.

nothing but owning?

BILL: In that case they deserve to get a salary as manager, but nobody ever became a millionaire that way. The fat boys who own most of these United States got that way by working hard-at running down competitors by hook or crook. Or by keeping their workers at starvation wages, or fancy speculating on the stock market. That's provided they didn't inherit all of it from somebody else in the first place. But they don't add a button to the country's wealth that way. They work at taking, not making.

JOHNNY: Where do they take it from?

JOHNNY: Owners and workers?

BILL: There's only one place they can take it from: that's from the work that you and I and other workers From the Program of the Fourth International

The whole world outlook, and consequently also the inner political life of individual countries, is overcast by the threat of world war. Already the imminent catastrophe sends violent ripples of apprehension through the very broadest masses of mankind.

The Second International repeats its infamous politics of 1914, with all the greater assurance since today it is the Comintern which plays first fiddle in chauvinism. As quickly as the danger of war assumed concrete outline, the Stalinists, outstripping the bourgeois and petty bourgeois pacifists by far, became blatant haranguers for so-called "national delense." The revolutionary struggle against war thus rests fully on the shoulders of the Fourth International.

The Bolshevik-Leninist policy regarding this question, formulated in the thesis of the International Secretariat (War and the Fourth International, 1934) preves all of its force today. In the next period a revo lutionary party will depend for success primarily on its policy on the question of war. A correct policy is composed of two elements: an uncompromising attitude on imperialism and its wars and the ability to base one's program on the experience of the masses themselves.

BILL: No, not for racketeers and not for slavers, but only for people who do some useful work. There's your own boss, Mr. Lunt, for instance. What work does he do? Does he manage all his cafeterias himself?

JOHNNY: I should say not: he pays men to do that for him. If they don't show a good take, he fires them and gets somebody else.

BILL: Yes, and he can hire a general manager or anybody else on a salary to take care of every angle there is to running the business. That leaves him with nothing to do but collect the profit. How much does he get for that spot of hard "work"?

JOHNNY: Don't know but enough to keep him on Park Drive-say, ten thousand a year.

BILL: While you countermen get \$20 a week for a ten-hour day and the busboys get \$12. Is that "fair"?

JOHNNY: Well, we ought to get higher wages, but still he's got a right to make his profit. Because he owns the joints, we just work for him.

#### You Work-But He Owns

BILL: Right. So he gets rich by OWNING and you keep yourself poor by WORKING. And remember the whole country is like your cafeteria outfit-all some of the men have to do is sit tight and OWN, while working-people like you and me carry on the useful work that the world really needs. You've got two kinds of people there.

do and the wealth we produce.

JOHNNY: Maybe it is funny that the people who do the least work get the biggest cut . . . All right, I'll bite: how much do you think are fair profits?

BILL: Profits are what you get for doing nothing but owning, aren't they? Then here's the answer in two words: EXACTLY NOTHING.

JOHNNY: That don't make sense! Somebody's got to own things, don't they?

#### Workers Have an Answer

BILL: Somebody, sure. Why not the working-men who really produce the wealth of the country? The steel companies and utilities and mines are owned by a crowd of investors who hold the stocks but maybe never saw a plant in their life. Just let the workers take over the ownership, and then they can stop paying out the biggest slice of what they themselves make to a bunch of parasites and coupon-clippers. They can run it too, with a committee of workers elected by themselves, instead of a board of Wall Street directors . . . Why not?

JOHNNY: Hey, that's socialism!

BILL: Sure it's socialism, and THAT'S WHY THE BOSSES AND COUPON-CLIPPERS DON'T LIKE SO-CIALISM.

### **The Men Behind Willkie**

#### By ALAN SELKIRK

The excited but duped gentlemen of the press, seeking answers to the mystery of the Willkie boom, wrote; "How is it that a man of Mr. Willkie's background can be so popular with the plain people. Willkie, who stems from the most maligned industry in the country, the utilities, has overcome all obstacles in emerging as one of the nation's outstanding political figures, as witness the fanatical cheers for him everytime his name is mentioned at Convention Hall."

That many of the eye-witnesses and personal observers at the Republican convention were duped into accepting as genuine the cooked-up gallery demonstrations for Willkie is testimony to the ability of that small but powerful group which got behind the utilities magnate and boosted him to the candidacy for president.

This small group not only invented the fiction of Willkie's "popularity" but converted into a "liberal" the seventy five thousand dollar a year utilities tycoon.

A "Distinguished" Group

This small group, equipped with

of expert experience at manipulation, includes:

Thomas W. Lamont, senior partner in J. P. Morgan and Co.

Mary Louise Curtis Bok, immensely wealthy head of the Bok family, which owns the Philadelphia Ledger and the Saturday Evening Post, both Willkie boosters.

Roy W. Howard, millionaire owner of the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain.

William S. Harman, vice-president of the Baldwin Locomotive Works. now engaged in tank and munitions profiteering.

#### **Publishers** Lined-Up

Since the Republican convention, Willkie has been front page copy throughout the nation. It is estimated that virtually ninety percent of the nation's press outside the "solid south" is behind the Utilities king. Willkie's contacts with the press are both numerous and intimate. That he has been able to "win over" to his utilities banner the majority of the nation's press has been due to his brazen manipulation of advertising contracts for Commonwealth

limitless sums of money and years and Southern. The story of Willkie's successful attempt in smashing the Chattanooga News was reported in a recent issue of LABOR ACTION.

> Also, Willkie has been on many occasions a feature speaker and guest at Newspaper conventions and banquets. His appearance at the April convention of the American Newspaper Publishers Association played a big part in lining up a score of influential publishers for the "big push" at Philadelphia.

In recent weeks. Willkie has received offers of aid and support from numerous figures once prominent in the Roosevelt administration. These include former Judge Proskauer, of the influential law firm of Proskauer, yet. Rose and Paskus; John W. Hanes, a

former governor of the New York Stock Exchange; Lewis W. Douglas, a former Director of the Budget and a prominent investment banker. Gladdened by this exhibition of

support from "high circles," Willkie has gone off the deep end in declaring, "I am proud that in all the offers I have received there is not a Hague, or a Kelley, or a Nash or a Pendergast in the lot."

Were Willkie to jump off for a dy.

We print below an exchange between Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Colonies of Great Britain, and members of parliament, on the amount of money the British government has spent on the education of native children in Africa compared with the amount spent on educating European children.

"Mr. M. MacDonald: On the basis of the figures for 1938, which are the latest available, the amounts in question are: European children, approximately 17 pounds 12s. per head (about \$85); African children, approximately 12s. 3d. (about \$3) per head. In neither case are contributions from the funds of local authorities taken into account.

Mr. Lipson: Is my right hon. Friend satisfied with the amount spent upon the education of African children. and in view of the fact that it is the declared policy of the Government to prepare the natives of these regions to take their part in government, will he not consider doing more in the matter?

Mr. MacDonald: On more than one occasion I have stated that the Government is not satisfied with the rate of progress in these African Colonies. It was partly for that reason that, in the statement of policy which was issued last week, we announced that in future it would be possible to finance education services out of the funds made available by the British Exchequer.

Mr. Paling: Is this 12s. per head reckoned on the number of African children actually in school or on the whole of the children who are old enough to go to school? Mr. MacDonald: On the number

of those actually in school.

Mr. Sorenson: May I ask how much per head it is estimated will be spent under the new, arrangement?

Mr. MacDonald: I could not possibly say that. We have not even got the legislation through Parliament

This is the sort of democracy Britain is defending. Is it any wonder that the natives of Kenya and other British colonies see little to choose from as between Hitler or Churchill?

moment of cool reflection he would observe that the Nashes and Hagues and Kellevs in the Republican campaign go under the names of Joe Pew, Edward T. Weir and Joe Grun-

#### **Beware of Deceptive Abstractions**

The bourgeoisie and its agents use the war question, more than any other, to deceive the people by means of abstractions, general formulas, lame phraseology: "neutrality," "collective security," "arming for the defense of peace," "national defense," "struggle against fascism," and so on. All such formulas reduce themselves in the end to the fact that the war question, i.e., the fate of the people, is left in the hands of the imperialists, their governing staffs, their diplomacy, their generals, with all their intrigues and plots against the people.

The Fourth International rejects with abhorrence all such abstractions which play the same role in the democratic camp as in the fascist: "Honor," "blood," "race." But abhorrence is not enough. It is imperative to help the masses discern, by means of verified criteria, slogans, and demands, the concrete essence of these fraudulent abstractions.

"Disarmament?"-But the entire question revolves around who will disarm whom. The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers. But to disarm the bourgeoisie the workers must arm themselves.

"Neutrality?"-But the proletariat is nothing like neutral in the war between Japan and China, or a war between Germany and the U.S.S.R. "Then what is meant is the defense of China and the U.S.S.R.?" Of course! But not by the imperialists who will strangle both China and the U.S.S.R.

"Defense of the Fatherland?"-But by this abstraction, the bourgeoisie understands the defense of its profits and plunder. We stand ready to defend the fatherland from foreign capitalists, if we first bind our own -(capitalists) hand and foot and hinder them from attacking foreign fatherlands; if the workers and the farmers of our country become its real masters; if the wealth of the country be transferred from the hands of the people; if the army becomes a weapon of the exploiteers.

#### We Stand With the Workers in Their Democratic Demands

It is necessary to interpret these fundamental ideas by breaking them up into more concrete and partial ones, dependent upon the course of events and the orientation of the thought of the masses. In addition, it is necessary to differentiate strictly between the pacifism of the diplomat, professor, journalist and the pacifism of the carpenter, agricultural worker, and charwoman. In one case, pacifism is a screen for imperialism; in the other, it is the confused expression of distrust in imperialism. When the small farmer or worker speaks about the defense of the fatherland, he means defense of his home, his family and other similar families from invasion, bombs and poisonous gas. The capitalist and his journalist understand by the defense of the fatherland the seizure of colonies and markets, the predatory increase of the "national" share of world income. Bourgeois pacifism and patriotism are shot

From this viewpoint, it is necessary to advance the demand: electoral rights for men and women beginning with the age of 18. Those who will be called upon to die for the fatherland tomorrow should have the right to vote today. The struggle against war must first of all begin with the revolutionary mobilization of the youth.

#### Not a Man, Not a Penny for the Bosses!

Light must be shed upon the problem of war from all angles, hinging upon the side from which it will confront the masses at a given moment.

War is a gigantic commercial enterprise, especially for the war industry. The "60 Families" are therefore first-line patriots and the chief provocateurs of war. Workers control of war industries is the first step in the struggle against the "manufactures" of war.

To the slogan of the reformists: a tax on military profit, we counterpose the slogans: confiscation of military profit and expropriation of the traffickers in war industries. Where military industry is "nationalized," as in France, the slogan of workers' control preserves its full strength. The proletariat has as little confidence in the government of the bourgeoisie is in the individual bourgeois.

Not one man and not one penny for the bourgeois government!

Not an armaments program but a program of useful public works!

Complete independence of workers' organzations from military-police control!

Once and for all we must tear from the hands of the greedy and merciless imperialist clique, scheming behind the backs of the people, the disposition of the people's fate.

In accordance with this demand:

Complete abolition of secret diplomacy; all treaties and agreements to be made accessible to all workers and farmers under direct control of workers and farmers committees:

Creation of military schools for the training of commanders among the toilers, chosen by workers' organizations:

Substitution for the standing army of a people's militia, indissolubly linked up with factories, mines farms, etc.

(Excerpt from "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International", adopted at the founding congress of the Fourth International, Sept. 1938.)

## 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-30hour 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 nd 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.

### **Conscription**-

(Continued from page 1)

Everybody is to chip in buy factories for the bosses-that same "amortization."

This sort of freedom, this sort of liberty the Chamber of Commerce urges strongly. Freedom and profit for the profiteers! But there is another thought it urges even more sharply:

"The first and foremost task is the preparation of adequate physical defense of trained man-power . . . without delay."

Sum it all up: national defense of the capitalist's interests. By whom? By you.

You must therefore fight these men who are always thinking of using you-in the factory, in the army, in the navy—always for profits. You must tell them that you are up to their tricks, that you see through the "national pretense." You are against the draft; you are against pouring profits into the pockets of Big Business.

crimes of the Stalinists against labor, their union-wrecking, their murderous hounding of revolutionists, their treachery. Labor alone can bring the Stalinists to account for these crimes. Arizona is merely after a weapon to use against anti-war and union militants.

The revolution that freed this country from British rule laid down certain principles. Arizona is violating the most fundamental of them all-freedom of speech, press and ASSEMBLY. Take away these rights and you have a system of government little different from fascism.

Speech, press and assembly never meant too much to the rulers of this country. They have many times infringed on these simple rights in the most brutal and flagrant way.

Our job therefore is to improve on the principles laid down in 1776-to develop a greater democracy, a worker's democracy wherein the word demoracy really means something.

• We cannot in the meantime tolerate the slightest infringement of the few rights we constitutionally possess. While striving for that greater democracy, we must be vigilant against any attempt to destroy what little democracy we have.

Arizona's action is intolerable to labor.

### **Be Consistent!**

In the July 29 issue of LABOR ACTION we discussed Mr. Torkild Rieber who resigned as head of Texaco the other day. Rieber's connections with fascist business in Germany, Italy, France and Spain, exposed in our article, became public knowledge when the name of a Mr. Alois Westrick was splashed over the front pages last week. Public indignation, especially in the hypocrite press, swelled so rapidly that Rieber was compelled to resign to protect his company.

Westrick we described as "Hitler's ambassador-off-the-record to U.S. business," here to "interest business men in friendly cooperation with Germany." "Cap" Rieber, the oil tycoon was Westrick's principal contact. The relations between the two were very close.

Now that the newspapers have waxed so indignant about Rieber and Westrick, we wish to submit to their attention and indignation a chain of relationships between "democratic" business and fascist business. We doubt, however, if the press will work itself up into any kind of fury about it.

### Britain at War: Part II, the Workers

LABOR ACTION

# **The Class Struggle Goes On**

#### By BRITANNICUS

When the war began last September, the British workers like all the workers in Europe, were sullen and dissatisfied, and as time passed, this dissatisfaction grew, until last spring ' one conference representing nearly one million and a half workers, denounced the war as an imperialist war. This was at the Cooperative Conference whose membership on the whole consists of the more privileged workers. Delegates representing 1,-323,000 workers demanded an immediate armistice and an international workers conference to end the war. This, though far from being a majority, was an enormous vote and fairly accurately represented the mass hostility to the war.

Idiots, small and large, accuse the British government of waiting until the blitzkrieg began on May 10 before it imposed "discipline" on the whole nation. The Chamberlain government knew that any attempt it made to attack the workers conditions in the factories would have been met by strikes from one end of the country to the other.

With the blitzkrieg in France, the fear of invasion and the promise to conscript capital as well as labor. the situation has undoubtedly changed. The opposition to the war has receded and for the moment the British workers are anxious to defeat Hitler. Enthusiasm for the war, however, there is still none. And the distrust of the capitalist class is greater than ever. Though news is difficult to come by, in the American press, in some of the English labor press and by private sources, one can build up a picture of the proletarian tension that exists beneath the unity for the moment against Hitler.

#### LITTLE USE FOR ANY OF THE POLITICIANS The workers on the whole hate

Chamberlain and Sir John Simon first for their long years of grafting in the National Government, for getting Britain into the war and finally for their incompetence. But they have little use for Churchill either, which is very important. For Churchill is the one man in England whom 99 people out of every 100 would vote for as the man to direct the armed forces during a war, particularly the navy. Even a purely labor government at the beginning of the war might very well have appointed Churchill to some naval post and got away with it. Yet today, blitzkrieg or no blitzkrieg, it was Herbert Morrison and not Churchill who mobilized mass support for the new government. Churchill's speeches left the workers cold.

The worker and his friends want Chamberlain out of the government all together, and are so hostile to the capitalist class that though they are listening to Morrison and Bevin, the minister of Labor, they cannot stomach the idea of the labor leaders being in the same government with Chamberlain. But the Conservative Party has the majority in the House of Commons and is desperately afraid of what the labor leaders, drawn on by the masses, may do. They back Chamberlain firmly. But the government cannot go on without the labor leaders, and as the Post of August 2 reported "an unofficial survey. of the country in recent weeks is reported to have shown that the majority of the working people, especially those in vital war industries. tend to regard the parliamentary labor leaders as having betrayed them

#### ment with the Chamberlain group.' Thus the class struggle goes on, subdued, but no less fiercely for that. Beaverbrook, the Canadian, has made a reputation for himself as aircraft minister. To appeal to the skilled workers he was brought into the war cabinet and at any serious crisis he may be asked to form a ministry. The labor leaders are on the spot. For the workers accept the new conditions only because of them, but the Tories have the majority in the parliament and are holding grimly to

by seeking office in the same govern

the state of the second se

it there. For the moment the labor leaders can hold the situation with the workers, but such is the tension that they can hold it only as long as they really have some power and as long as there is danger of invasion. The inclusion of Beaverbrook in the cabinet strengthened Churchill and the capitalists against the workers' leaders. The future depends on many things but one point is certain. The idea that everybody is "united" against Hitler is an all-embracing lie.

#### WORKERS CAUTIOUS **ON "COOPERATION"**

Let us take one of the most unfortunate towns in England, Coventry, of which an investigation was made some months ago after the government had gotten its special powers. Coventry is a great armament center and it is prosperous, practically no unemployment, a labor ma-

### Careful! They'll Pinch You For Breathing

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 5-You can get arrested for breathing now in the nearby cities of San Bernadino and Pasadena, as a result of newly passed anti-trespassing ordinances.

Under the guise of aiming at "Fifth Columnists." the San Bernadino Board of Supervisors passed a law prohibiting "loitering near and trespassing on power and water lines, at industrial plants, and at or near places where vital commodities or explosives are stored." This could cover almost any act of living when properly misinterpreted, as it is sure to be.

Pasadena's ordinance is slightly more vague in wording but will be just as effective in curbing civil liberties and the expression of anti-war sentiment, which is just what the Supervisors want anyhow.

jority on the 'City Council'. The most powerful union in the town is the Amalgamated Engineering Union with 15,000 members and ocupying a key position in the war industries. The Union District Committee refused to accept the 12 hour day, 7 days a week. It has passed a resolution making over-time voluntary and insisting that a worker who wishes for personal reasons to avoid overtime on a particular occasion can do so. They are willing to work hard but as one shop-steward said, "there are two things we are a bit cautious about. One is all this talk of 'cooperation' coming from employers who in the past have been our bitter-103rd St. & Broadway, Candy Store. est enemies-we want to wait a bit to see how genuine their change of heart is. The other is that Bevin has not always been-well, he's not always worked in harness with the engineers; and we want to wait a bit where he's concerned too." Thus, in this town, in the heart of England, we have the exact basis of the situation in the cabinet-the Wigderson's-396 W. 145th St. near workers willing for the time being to fight, distrustful of the employers, looking at the labor leaders to see what they will do. It seems that this is the situation among the industrial workers from one end of the country to the other. In Welwyn, the workers in one armament factory, ready to fight Hitler but hostile to the employers, demanded that they be allowed to run the factory so as to produce more and better for the war. The government has made a gesture towards the agricultural workers by fixing a minimum wage after years of agitation. This is a necessary stage in the development of the British revolution, and in fact this is exactly what any Marxist would expect. What makes the situation so full of dynamite is that even while they are preparing to fight off Hitler's invasion. there is a general feeling of hopelessness about the whole war and what will happen, even if victory is won. Vincent Sheean expressed it in last week's Liberty when he said that the British people seemed to need some revolutionary stimulus, some aim or purpose. What is to happen after the war? Hitler has many Germans dreaming of new territory, colonies, jobs, higher wages. The British know their system can go no further, victory or no victory. Hence their cold outlook on the future. That is always the mood of the masses as they feel their way to the conclusion that a new society is necessary. Tremendous shocks are approaching. We need have no fear that the British workers will react to circumstances as we want them to. The signs are there.

### We Must Fight **Against Any Kind Of Enslavement**

#### By J. R. JOHNSON

The government is busy getting the sheep ready for the slaughter: the white sheep and the black sheep. The slaughter is the imperialist war; the black sheep are the Negroes.

Now, all who read our paper know our stand on this question: The war is Wall Street's war. The workers must oppose it in all its forms. The immediate fight is on conscription. The Negroes, who more than any other people in the world know what a thundering lie capitalist democracy is, must join every organized attempt of the working-class to block, impede and prevent this monstrous tyranny that the capitalists want to impose on us. No conscription! Down with conscription! Conscription by the capitalist class is only a way of forcing the workers to die for capitalist profits after working all their lives for the same criminal and demoralizing purpose.

#### WE ARE AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

But Negroes, oppressed as always, have not only got to fight the general fight of all workers. but have special difficulties of their own. And the situation has been somewhat complicated by the vigorous fight that the Pittsburg Courier and several organizations are carrying on for equal rights in the army, navy and air-force for Negroes. The question therefore faces the Negroes: Are we against conscription? The answer comes from 12,000,000 throats: "Yes!"

But then comes the second question: Are you for equal rights in the army and navy? And the reply must unhesitatingly be "Yes!"

#### NO CONTRADICTION HERE

There is not the slightest contradiction there. When the capitalist keeps the Negro out of the navy, does not want him to be an officer in the army, does not want him to learn to fly, he is carrying on the class struggle-against the Negroes in particular and the working class in general. First, he makes the white workers feel that they are superior to the Negroes, and by so doing he divides them not only in the army and other military forces, but he divides them in the factory as well.

Secondly, he knows that the Negroes are bitter against the fraud of capitalist democracy and he does not want them to use arms and have positions of authority in military matters. Finally, he wants to keep the Negroes in a state of subordination, with a feeling of inferiority.

We will have none of that. The Negro must have his rights. He must have a job like anybody else, he must eat where he likes, live where he likes, do what he likes. He will be no second-class citizen. Everytime a capitalist says, "This way for whites, but that way for Negroes," we say, "No. The same way for all-Negroes and whites."

But, though we fight for equal rights we don't join the Negroes who go whining and begging to be allowed to die for Roosevelt's democracy. No sir! No Negro wants to die for Roosevelt's democracy. It isn't good enough. Fight? Yes! Fight and die for the right of all Negroes to have equal rights with all men; fight and die for Negroes to have land without landlords, to have jobs without fear of unemployment.

Yes, Negroes have fought and died for similar things before, and will do so again. But it isn't tler who is taking these things away from Negroes in this country. It is Roosevelt and his class. So the fight is against them first of all. No. We demand rights for Negroes as citizens. We do not say, "Please, Mr. Capitalist, you lynch us and you Jim-Crow us, but please give us equal rights in the army so that we may die for this beautiful democracy." We say instead, "We demand our rights. Whatever anybody else can do, we must do. The moment you say that a Negro cannot come here or go there, you are Jim-Crowing us. We will come or go as we please. It is our right to decide. Perhaps we prefer to ride in the bus and not in the train. That is our business. But you have no right, because of that, to Jim-Crow us in the train."

Last Sunday, while selling the antiwar literature of the Workers Party

two literature salesmen were pulled in by the Oakland police after a complaint made by a zealous 100 per center on the lookout for the fifth column,

Dear Editor:

The well fed cop who made the arrest almost had a fit of apoplexy as he saw through a somewhat inebriated haze the name of Karl Marx on the back off one of the pamphlets. That was sufficient evidence for him to violate the democratic right of the salesmen to sell their literature.

More than that, he dragged his quarry to jail and on the way took the liberty not only too abuse his peace. When that time comes, and it victims in true fascist style but also to beat up one of the young salesmen who was about one third his

jail for nine hours before the district attorney's office would consent to the demand of the local branch of the Civil Liberties Union that they

be released on bail. The \$100 bail was raised by friends here and the two comrades were compelled to appear in court twice before they were released for the lack of a complaint against them.

For the present, the Oakland police are confining themselves to such tactics in order to hinder and obstruct the voice of labor groups against the war. In the meantime, the FBI has arranged conferences with the police here in order to go over to much more drastic repressions as soon as the signal is given by the great "democrat" Roosevelt for the complete blackout of democracy and

Our Readers Take the Floor ... PERSECUTE SALESMEN **OF LABOR ACTION** 

# -THE NEGRO'S FIGHT

Right now, the first step in this fight is to balk the conscription plans. Don't turn this job over to Senators like Wheeler or Holt whose motives we have reason to suspect. They too in their own way, are up to their necks in defending capitalist interests, in putting over the great "national pretense."

Lewis and Green have declared themselves against conscription. A declaration is not enough. It must be made meaningful through ACTION.

Raise this question in your unions. Get your union to unite with other unions and workers' organizations for a mighty demonstration of labor's national strength. That alone will put a crimp in the conscription scheme.

### An Intolerable Act

The Communist Party has been banned from the ballot in Arizona. Governor Jones, commenting on the action taken by his underlings, expressed "100 per cent approval." Other states are contemplating similar action.

Every one of our readers knows that we do not have a penny's worth of use for the Communist Party. We have many times pointed out that the Stalinists are dangerous enemies of labor operating within labor's ranks. But we will defend their right to speak as they please, to enjoy those liberties which are supposed to be guaranteed each individual by the Constitution.

Arizona's action is of a piece with all the anti-labor and anti-alien legislation crowding the law books of this country. It is part and parcel of the growing trend towards dictatorial rule. In effect, Arizona is aiming its totalitarian shafts not only at the Communist Party; it is aiming at every labor organization as well. What rules and excuses it will use today to ban the Communist Party will tomorrow be used against any worker or worker's organization which dares speak out against the war.

What is here involved are not the

"(1) On July 10, 1940, the Texas Corporation offered to the investing public \$60,000,000 of 3% debentures. (2) The banking house which is floating this security issue is the powerful Wall Street firm of Dillon, Read & Co. (3) The president of Dillon, Read & Co. is James Forrestal. (4) Mr. Forrestal is now on leave of absence in Washington, where he is functioning as special executive assistant to that great champion of democracy against the Nazi hordes, Franklin Delano Roosevelt." (We quote from LABOR AC-TION, July 29.)

Rieber acted for Texaco. Texaco was friendly with German business. Dillon and Read represented Texaco. Thus, here is an opportunity for the press to make its indignation consistent. Why stop short at one link in the chain? Why absolve Rieber's business associates who were well aware of Rieber's operations.

The fact is that Big Business has much more in common with its fascist counterpart than with the democracy it pretends to "defend." It wants war action against Germany for its own purposes and ends. But, business remains business; and profits are not to be overlooked-regardless ' of the source, regardless of the time.

Rieber is only one of the "REAL fifth columnists" who menace freedom and democracy. Wall Street is made up of many such "fifth columnists" whose opposition to fascism is only profit-deep.

Fascism must indeed be fought. But it will not be fought on an imperialist battlefield. It will not be fought under the leadership of the Riebers and the Forrestals and the Roosevelt-Willkies who are tied by their very nature to the capitalism for which Hitler acts-in his own way.

The real enemy of fascism is LABOR. Labor has no ties, and cannot have any with fascism.

Let the People Vote on War!

is very close, the fascists and warmongers in our own country will not find the Oakland police wanting. M. S.

110th St. & Broadway, N.E.

116th St. & Lenox Ave., N.E.

120th St. & Lenox Ave., S.E.

125th St. & Lenox Ave., S.E.

dy Store.

St. Nickolas.

HARLEM;

BRONX:

N.W.

N.E.

S.E.

S.W.

.114th St. & Amsterdam, S.W. Can-

135th St. & Lenox Ave. N.E. & N.W.

Freeman St. & Southern Blvd.,

Simpson St. & Southern Blvd.,

Allerton Ave. & White Plains Road,

Burnside & Jerome Ave., S.E. &

174th St. & Boston Road, W.S.

167th St. & Jerome Ave., S.E.

170th St. & Jerome Ave., S.E.

143rd St. & Southern Blvd.

BENSONHURST, BROOKLYN:

Ditmas & MacDonald Aves.

Bay Parkway & 86th St.

Bay Parkway & 66th St.

New Utrecht & 49th St.

The two comrades were kept in Oakland, Aug. 2.

### You Can Buy Labor Action At the Following N.Y. Stands

#### LOWER MANHATTAN:

14th Street-6th Ave. N.E. & S.E.; University Pl. S.E.; Broadway S.W.; 4th Ave. S.W., N.E., S.E. 1 & 2. 3rd Ave. N.W.: Opposite Jefferson Theater; 2nd Ave. N.W. 12th Street & 2nd Ave. S.E. Biderman's-184 2nd Ave. Modern Book Shop, 27 University Place. 8th St. & 6th Ave. N.E. 7th Ave. & Christopher St., S.W. 75 Greenwich Ave. near 11th St. 131 W. 33rd St. Room 704. 38th St. & 7th Ave. N.W. 42nd Street-6th Ave. S.W., S.E.; opposite Sterns; 5th Ave.. S.W. 2nd Stand. 23rd Street-Broadway S.E.; 4th Ave. S.W. Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St. Maisel's Book Store-424 Grand St. 1st St. & 1st Ave. K & K Store, Monroe and Market St. S.W. Bowery & Delancey St. S.E. UPPER WEST SIDE, MANHATTAN 59th St. & 9th Ave., S.E. 64th & Broadway, Candy Store. 96th & Broadway, S.W.

#### LABOR ACTION

114 W. 14th Street

New York City

#### **Dear Friends:**

I am interested in learning more about the Workers Party and

its fight against the bosses' war plans.

Name

Address City

#### AGAINST ENSLAVEMENT OF ANY KIND!

When the capitalist Jim-Crows the Negro in the armed forces, he is carrying on the classstruggle against the workers. We oppose him. But when he says that the workers must be drafted into the army, he is using the workers as animals to serve the needs of capitalists profits. This is the class struggle in a most vicious form. So we oppose him there also. As LABOR ACTION has so consistently pointed out, conscription is an enslavement of the workers. And the Negroes, as always, must be in this fight to the end.

Quite often in the class struggle we have to fight on two fronts at once. Today the Negroes, in the unions or with other organizations of workers, must concentrate on the fight against conscription. If, however, tomorrow the draft bill is passed and the Negroes, like the rest are forced into the armies, then the Negroes will there arry on their fight, and the Negroes and whites who fought a good fight against conscription will be better united, in and out of the army, to fight against Negro discrimination.

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