

F. D. R. IN SECRET PACT WITH BRITAIN!

Workers Party Candidate Calls on Labor to Repudiate Spokesmen of Boss Class

Signatures Well Above Number Required
By Election Law.—Youth Organization
Publishes Program For Shachtman Campaign

Wendell Willkie and Franklin D. Roosevelt have revealed in their campaign speeches that the salvation of a collapsing capitalist order is their sole concern, Max Shachtman, National Secretary of the Workers Party and candidate for Congress from the 23 District of the Bronx, charged Saturday night at an out-

door election rally on the corner of 161 St. and Prospect Ave.

Pointing to the campaign speeches of Henry A. Wallace, Roosevelt's running mate, Shachtman told the 500 workers who were listening, that Mr. Wallace in his speeches has stated that the "New Deal has rescued the capitalist system." Secretary Wallace forgot to say that the New Deal rescued the capitalist system from the workers of America. Secretary Wallace forgot to say that the capitalist system had been rescued in order to safeguard the huge and profitable investments of Wall Street. Mr. Wallace forgot to say that the capitalist system is still being rescued by the New Deal.

"The staggering preparation for war now being carried out by the Roosevelt administration is for the sole purpose of rescuing from the hands of rival imperialists the enormous resources of Asia, Africa and Latin-America," Shachtman declared. "In this bloody game of rescue, thousands upon thousands of workers will be wantonly sacrificed to the greater glory of American capitalism."

Repudiate Both!

Turning to Wendell Willkie, Shachtman stated, "Willkie's greatest single cry is that 'Free Enterprise' must be rescued. In this, Mr. Willkie sounds like Mr. Wallace, and

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Nazi Puppets Stage Trial Of Scapegoats

Riom Trials Confront
Problem of Accused
Telling the Truth

The "Riom Trials" are now in preparation. They are to establish the French "war guilt." Three ex-premiers: Paul Reynaud, Edouard Daladier, and Leon Blum; one ex-cabinet member, Georges Mandel; and General Maurice Gamelin are, at present, "administratively interned," a few miles from Riom (in unoccupied France); in the Chateau Chazeron.

Warrants are out for the arrest of ex-Air Ministers Pierre Cot and Guy La Chambre. They are to be the important "scapegoats." The Petain-Laval "government" plans to hold them "responsible" for the war. Undoubtedly others will be added. The Supreme Court, established for the purpose, is holding preliminary examinations, hearing witnesses, formulating indictments, etc. In accordance with the existing code the proceedings are kept secret—until the trial. Everything will be strictly legal.

Mandel Dossier

It is impossible to tell whom the Prosecution will concentrate on. Georges Mandel, Minister of the Interior, seems the most likely target. He has already been formally charged with an attempt against the state. It was he who was commissioned to take over and organize French North Africa in order to continue the war against Germany.

Pierre Laval and George Bonnet, now Ambassador to the USA, are, in addition, his personal enemies. They fear him. For years Mandel has kept

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N.J. Scrap Iron Strike In Its 14 Week Now

The strike at the Reichmann-Hoffman scrap yard in Newark, N.J. is now in its fourteenth week. The ranks of the strikers are solid despite police intimidation, the threat of the owners to remove the plant from Newark, and the fact that fourteen weeks are a long time for these low paid workers to be without income. There are nine cases in court against the strikers that have not been yet settled.

A recent development that has a bearing on the Reichmann-Hoffman strike is the agreement signed between the union and the Schiavone and Bonomo plants in New Jersey and New York. This company is the brokerage agency for all scrap yards in this area. The company collects and buys scrap from the other yards and acts as central distributing agency. The company is also a member of the New York and New Jersey chapters of the Scrap Iron Institute. The union (Waste Materials, AFL) is now holding discussions with the Scrap Iron Institute looking toward a general agreement. The workers are demanding a 40 hour week, one week vacation with pay, 80 cents an hour for unskilled and \$1.00 an hour for skilled workers. Also legal holidays off with pay.

Breaking Through Orient Censorship

Announcing a Series of Articles
By Labor Action's Correspondent,
Just Returned From a Tour of Asia

Beginning with the next issue, LABOR ACTION will publish a series of articles on the situation in the principal countries of Asia by its special correspondent, Sherman Stanley, who has just returned from an extensive trip which took him through Japan, China, Singapore, Indo-China, India and other Oriental countries. During his tour, he was in a position not only to observe the situation at first hand but to discuss with many of the authoritative leaders of the countries.

Up to now, virtually all news coming from the East has had to pass through the destructive sieve of close-mouthed censors—Japanese, British, Russian and French. Now we are able to read uncensored accounts of what is going on in reality behind the veil in which official censorship shrouds the facts.

Sherman Stanley is the first American observer and writer in a long time who has been able to visit all these countries in succession and to bring back the unvarnished story of what is going on in them.

Readers will learn the truth about the domestic situation in Japan as a result of the war in China; about the stalemated situation in China itself and why Chiang Kai-Shek is not doing any serious fighting; about what is going on in England's greatest naval base—Singapore—and what is being planned by the United States; about Gandhi and the Indian Congress, and the prospects of English rule; and many other things not covered at all in any other periodical.

Be sure to get LABOR ACTION beginning next week, and regularly thereafter.

20,000 Organized Electricians' Behind Leviton Strikers

Confident of Victory, Strikers Say They Can Take All Boss Has to "Give"—And Then Some

By SUSAN GREEN

BROOKLYN, Sept. 23 — In the fourth week of their strike there has not been one defection from the ranks of the 1,700 workers of the Leviton Mfg. Co. in Greenpoint, strikers assured me this afternoon. Production in the plant is still at a complete standstill.

There wasn't much doing inside the strikers' cafeteria between two and three this afternoon, but the cheerful spirit of the strikers was much in evidence. The radio was playing, the women around were humming the tune, and one of them began to swing it, to the delight of all present.

Everything now waits upon the outcome of the hearing before the Labor Relations Board, which has been set for September 30.

Leviton Dodge Falls

In the meantime, Leviton has invited the strikers back to work on the same conditions for a thirty-day period. After that time, he will generously allow them to vote on whether they want the AFL, the CIO or a company union to represent them. "What is there to vote on?" one striker said. "We're organized in Local 3, AFL and that's our union." "Leviton wants us to give up Local 3 and then he'll have us where he wants us," a woman commented.

The story is circulated among the strikers that Leviton has threatened to spend \$12,000,000 to break the strike, and if that doesn't do it, he will give up the plant altogether. To this a young striker retorted: "We've got 20,000 organized electric-

al workers behind us. They are contributing to our strike fund from their wages. We can take whatever Leviton has to give."

Wages and Conditions

Wednesday is the big day on Greenpoint Ave. The workers come for their strike benefit of \$7 a week. On that day the cafeteria does a rushing business. As a woman at the counter put it today, "Two thousand out of the 1,700 strikers all want to eat at once."

I was treated to a cup of coffee and a cheese sandwich. As I stood at the counter enjoying them, a man working in the bakelite department of the plant talked to me about wages and conditions in his department.

Only men work here. Winter and summer they wear nothing but light trousers, the heat is so great. This worker stands between two steam presses operating at from 125 to 150 pounds of pressure. He fills the moulds in one press, then turns around and fills them in the other. By that time the gadgets in the first press are finished and ready to be removed.

Many different kinds of electrical appliances are made in the presses in the bakelite department. The tiny sockets for lights on Christmas trees are made 130 at a time. The pay is as low as 14¢ for a thousand, so a worker has to be pretty spry. The plates for wall outlets are moulded only 14 at a time. The rate of pay is \$1.80 per thousand. That means about seventy press operations before a worker earns his \$1.80.

I was told that the wages on this piece work basis fluctuate from week to week, depending upon what work the men are put on. One week, a man may bring home \$23 and the next week only \$16. Workers often are compelled to waste time because of the condition of the presses.

Hate Piece Work

Last week's story in LABOR ACTION explained how in the women's departments many serious accidents happen because the company does not allow the guards to be used on the machines and because the machines themselves often operate defectively. The men also complain about the condition of the presses.

They say that with presses going at top speed in mass production, there are constant break-downs. But the company does not employ enough mechanics to take care of repairs quickly. The result is that the men have to stop work until a mechanic can get around to fixing their machines, and thus they lose time.

The workers hate the piece work system. Leviton has mastered the art of getting the most out of them. No sooner does a worker begin to earn around \$23 a week, than his rate of pay is cut. He has to speed up or bring home less money.

Leviton's mastery of the piece work method of exploitation is illustrated by a woman employed there for eighteen years. She has been given such a run around on piece work that after all these years she earns only \$13 a week.

What the strikers want is a scale of wages with time and a half for

The Boss Politicians Here and In England Know That U.S. Entry Into the World Imperialist War Is Only a Matter of Time

During the month of September several events have taken place which unquestionably bring the United States nearer to actual entry into the war on the side of Great Britain. In fact, this country is already a military ally of England.

English comment on the destroyer deal reveals that it is clear to the British that new relations have developed between the United States and England, that a new phase has been reached in the preparations to throw the armed forces of the United States into the war against Hitler. The whole maneuver proceeds under the slogan of "Defense of the Western Hemisphere against Hitler Aggression."

The first public steps were the appointment of the joint United States-Canadian defense commission and the "trade" of the destroyers to England for military bases. The note sent by Lord Lothian to Secretary Hull said that the bases were "in exchange for naval and military equipment and material which the United States government will transfer to his majesty's Government." Now it is clear that "naval and military equipment and material" means more than the 50 "old" destroyers. Lord Lothian means any and all military supplies that Great Britain needs to aid her in defeating Hitler. And if Britain cannot defeat Hitler alone, then such supplies as may be needed to hold Germany off until the United States is prepared and ready to come to

England's rescue by actually declaring war against Germany.

This "material" would include, motor torpedo boats, bombers, tanks and rifles. A speech made by the Canadian minister of national defense, J. L. Ralston is very illuminating on this point. Ralston said: "a tank brigade already organized is to be expanded into a complete corps as rapidly as possible. More than 200 tanks, sufficient to train the corps will shortly arrive from the United States."

A "NEW DEPARTURE"

The London Times does not interpret the destroyer trade as just a simple swap of some "old" boats for the right to station some United States marines on British territory in the western hemisphere. The Times says that Great Britain and the United States can cooperate for defense of "their" position in the western hemisphere.

Furthermore, the Times holds that United States warships operating from Newfoundland and Bermuda will render England a service which will be "full value for the territory they occupy." The service which this country will render England for the right to occupy parts of British territory, is protection of British North Atlantic Commerce. The Times calls this new relationship between the U.S. and England, a "new departure."

The New York Times also realizes that it is a "new departure." But, according to the New York Times, it is "a step in the right direction of more active participation with Great Britain in the defense of a common stake in the Atlantic, and we think in all frankness it must be recognized as such both for the risks it holds and the advantages it offers."

The New York Times does not name the "risks." Presumably they are talking about the danger of being declared a belligerent by Hitler and thus being brought into the war. Perhaps, also, the Times, with a careful eye on the imperialist interests of the United States, is not so sure that it is best to give too much protection to British commerce on this side of the world.

MADE IN SECRET

It is clear that the complete deal between the United States and England has not been made public. In order to get the facts one would have to get at the secret archives of the State Department at Washington or the British Foreign Office in London. The whole development re-

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THE WORLD AT WAR Food for the Poor Rationed In All Warring Countries - - War Flares Up High in Africa

By MAX STERLING

Some of the things that are happening in this war are positively unprecedented. Nothing less than the democratization of English society is being forged under the hail of Nazi bombs. The rich have finally condescended to talk to their servants as though they were human beings and have even gone so far as to join them in a game of poker.

And here is real news: Brigadier General William H. U. Smith was killed when a bomb struck a West

End private hotel. At least one general did not die in bed or did he? But maybe this doesn't count since the old gent was 71 years old and had long since been retired.

SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF SLUM-DWELLINGS

Capitalism has finally found a solution to the clearing of the slums. The East End slums of London are being bombed out of existence. The East Enders are too, but then if they survived there would remain the problem of housing them and that problem the capitalists have never been good at solving.

The people of London have been demanding deep air raid shelters because the inexpensive surface Anderson shelters have cost many lives. Thousands of Londoners have swarmed into the subways for safety and though the government tried to prohibit them from doing this the bitter stubbornness of these thousands of homeless Londoners has finally made the government yield. So great is the mass that jams itself into the subways, that pressure is being put on the government to force owners

No Comment!

One of the German "military objectives" these nights seems to be the Bank of England. So far it has escaped damage but the directors, who are among other things a very prudent group of gentlemen, are taking no chances. They held one of their meetings at the Bank this afternoon. Usually this is held in a hall befitting the dignity of the company, but today they descended to a dreary catacomb in the Bank's vaults, where, uncomfortable, but undisturbed, they voted a 6 per cent dividend.

(N.Y. Times, Sept. 20)

Old Goods Moved

One of the developments since last week is that the police department has comfortably installed itself in the Chevrolet service station across the street from the Leviton plant. Last Monday the sergeants were on the street. Today they were sprawling in the office of the Chevrolet station which commands an excellent view of the Leviton plant.

So far a man and two women on the picket line have been hurt when trucks were moved out of the factory. But the strikers no longer offer any resistance to the movement of trucks. The trucks come through with motorcycle cops in blitzkrieg formation, and the men and women can do nothing about it.

While the company continues to move out several truckloads a week, the goods is not new but surplus that had accumulated in the plant. The trucks are not Leviton's and the truckmen are not Leviton employees.

Scabs in Plant

For the assembling and loading of the goods moved, Leviton has smuggled into the plant about a score of scabs. They are fed and housed in the plant, according to a strike sympathizer living across the street from the plant.

A bunch of workers invited me to a funing party. They say the first thing they will have to do when they get back to work, is to cleanse the place of all traces of these scabs. They are not afraid of this handful of rats, they say. They understand that Leviton is moving trucks simply to break the strikers' morale. He has failed. The strikers know that not a nickel's worth of goods is being produced.

I am subscribing -

Enclosed find _____ for a _____ subscription to Labor Action.
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City _____

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With the Labor Unions— On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

SOMETHING TO BE REMEMBERED FROM THE "OLD DAYS"

Speaking at the convention of the International Association of Machinists, James A. Reynolds, who has been a dues paying member for 51 years, made the following remarks: "I remember in the old days when you did not stay at the Hollenden, boys, like you stay today, and when the international president traveled, he used to come in a caboose, and the local lodge had to pay his expenses."

We are not going to make any argument for President Brown of the machinists travelling to conventions on a freight train. Neither will we make too strenuous objection to unions picking out the swankiest hotel in town for their convention sessions. We do believe though that it would be better if the unions and union officers acted a little more like workers and workers organizations and less like business men and chambers of commerce in such matters as conventions, etc.

CHISELERS AND COCKROACHES

The employer chiselers are still busy. Last week the Labor Department fined the Lane Cotton Mills of New Orleans, \$42,000 for chiseling on the Walsh-Healy Act. \$29,000 of the fine will go to employes for unpaid overtime. \$13,000 will go to the government as a penalty for violation of child labor regulations. Also, the firm is barred from bidding on government orders for three years. This patriotic firm was working on army and navy uniforms.

Lumber mill owners in Virginia, Maryland and West Virginia have

DELEGATES TELL TOBIN: ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!

After passively voting Dan Tobin an increase in salary from \$20,000 to \$30,000 a year, the teamsters decided that this was enough for brother Tobin between now and the next convention in 1945. It seems, from reports, that Tobin was not satisfied with the \$30,000 but wanted an increase in power commensurate with a \$10,000 boost in pay.

The constitution committee proposed that the president be given power to compel locals to arbitrate under penalty of dissolution. The delegates stopped the reporter, Dave Beck, after ten minutes and sent the resolution back for redrafting.

The second Tobin proposal to be defeated was one giving him supervision over strikes and lockouts and granting him authority to declare any strike or lockout illegal if not in conformity with union law.

Thirdly the delegates refused to give Tobin power to approve or disapprove wage scales and by-laws of local unions. There was heated debate over these proposals with Tobin disclaiming any desire to be a dictator over the union. He said he only wanted the confidence of the membership. The convention agreed

WHO DID YOU SAY IS ABUSING THE WAGNER ACT?

Professor Slichter, of Harvard, has been giving some advice to the unions. He fears that the government will be compelled to regulate union elections or qualifications of union representatives unless "American workers and their leaders are able to prevent the Wagner Act from becoming abused by racketeers and foreign agents. The union may select a . . . Scallise . . . to represent it. The employer may be an airplane factory engaged in national defense and employes may select communists or other foreign agents as their representatives. Still the employer must deal with them . . . according to the Labor Relations Board . . ."

Now all this is just so much hooey. In the first place it isn't racketeers and foreign agents that are abusing the Wagner Act. It's the employers. The racketeer is concerned with the Wagner Act only in so far as it aids him in getting a bigger membership in the union so that he can collect a bigger rake-off. In order to do this, however, he must increase the union membership. Suppose the employer refuses to bargain collectively. The

A JOB FOR THE CIO AND AFL AT CON-EDISON

The NLRB has issued a second unfair labor practices complaint against the Consolidated Edison Company of New York. This is the company where the workers thought they could do better with an "independent" union than with the AFL or CIO. They preferred to follow a couple of shysters and hungry lawyers, rather than remain in the real trade union movement. Of course, many of them didn't know any better.

It is also a fact that the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL) and the Electrical, Radio and Machinery Workers (CIO) are partially responsible for the plight of the workers at Con-Edison. The Stalinist controlled UERMWA played around with the situation, in true Stalinist union-wrecking fashion. The IBEW got a contract from Con-Edison by very doubtful methods. There is every reason to believe that the AFL union got its contract from Con-Edison by too friendly relations

The time, years ago, that brother Reynolds was talking about was the days when the unions were fighting for recognition against the government and the bosses. Those were the days when the machinists, under the influence of Socialist members, recognized the reality of the class struggle and said so in the preamble to their union constitution. Those were the days before the coming of "business unionism," huge union salaries and the "stabilization of employer-employee relations."

All of the unions today would be better workers' organizations if there were a little more of the "caboose" days and less Pullman car, swank hotel display. In the "caboose" days the union leader was one of the workers. He lived like an ordinary worker and took his chances along with the rest of the working class. A large dose of this same medicine is urgently needed today in the trade union movement.

been ordered to pay \$70,000 in back wages to 3,400 workers. 370 firms were violating the Wage-Hour Act.

The price of meat is rising all over the country. In Washington the retail cost of round steak increased 6 cents the pound since August 9. There has also been an increase in the price of pork and lamb. The National Defense Advisory Committee is "investigating." We hope that they complete their "investigation" in time for us to get a good steak before New Year's.

that the president should have the power to remove dishonest union officials and appoint trustees in their places.

The delegates evidently thought that to give their president a monthly salary bigger than they get in a year's hard labor, was enough without surrendering the democratic right to control important phases of union life and activity. Even the most passive delegates knew that to give the president the right to force the locals to arbitrate, could cripple the local and put it at the mercy of the bosses.

The delegates evidently smelled a rat in these proposals. That one about strikes sounds as though it came straight from the White House or the National Defense Advisory Committee. The proposal for power to the president to disapprove or approve wage scales has the same tint.

The delegates were willing to grant Tobin a huge salary but they were not willing for him to take over complete control of the union. They were correct in this and demonstrated a healthy attitude among the membership towards trade union democracy.

racketeer leader will appeal to the NLRB. But this is a legal NLRB case whether appealed by a racketeer or other type of leader. Suppose the racketeer threatens to call a strike. This has nothing to do with the Wagner Act. This Act was conceived for the purpose of allaying strikes.

The same holds true for the "foreign agent" twaddle. Sure, a union may select a "foreign agent" as its representative. Also the union might select a bosses agent or an FBI agent as its representative. How about this Professor Slichter? The unions today are passing resolutions and kicking "communists" out of the unions. They are also beginning slowly to move against racketeers.

We are of the opinion that Professor Slichter is not so much worried about "racketeers" and "foreign agents" in the unions as he is about the Wagner Act as such. There are a lot of people, including rich Harvard contributors who pay Professor Slichter's salary, who would like to see the Wagner Act revoked. Furthermore, there are numerous union militants who will be labelled "foreign agents" and "Communists."

with the company at the time when the company was trying to keep the CIO out. Later the workers at Con-Edison kicked both the AFL and CIO in the pants, held an election and voted for the "independent union."

This of course was just what the company wanted: to get rid of the CIO and AFL. It's far easier to skin a lone banana than one on a bunch. Recently the company has fired workers, refused to rehire others and refused to meet with the "independent" grievance committee. No one should be surprised at this. Con-Edison looks at the "independent" either as a company union or as an outfit too weak and inexperienced to do anything effective for the workers.

The cure for this situation is for the AFL or CIO to get busy at Con-Edison with a determined organizing campaign. Show the workers that something will be done, that the union will fight for them.

Nothing Much Done at CIO Electrical Meet

Stalinist Hold on Union and Carey Seen Growing Weaker

By MIKE STEVENS

CLEVELAND, Ohio—The delegates to the Seventh Annual Convention of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (CIO) have returned to their homes and jobs. In line with the practice of most conventions, this one had virtually no hand in the determination of union policy. There were a few good anti-conscription speeches, organizers salaries were raised and the election of new officers took place. These events were the high lights of an otherwise unimportant convention.

The officers reported a membership of 250,000 and an increase of 50,000 during the past year. Both of

these figures are far too high. In fact, despite the growth of the organization, the membership probably has not reached the 100,000 mark yet. The union has made some progress in the signing of contracts. The UERMWA has contracts with General Electric, Westinghouse and other companies in the electrical industry.

Defense Board Appointee

Hillman will be forced to take this into account when he makes appointments to the National Defense Board. During the past week correspondence has been made public between Lewis, Hillman and the UERMWA on the question of appointing a representative from the union to the Defense

Board. Hillman is actually looking around to find a UERMWA member who is not a Stalinist. By such an appointment he will ally criticism from the General Office of the UERMWA. The appointee will most likely be selected from one of the large New England locals where the Stalinists have no influence.

Despite Stalinist leadership at the top in the International, their hold is very shaky, more so than in any other union where they have control. The bulk of the membership is in locals where the Stalinists have no members and little influence. James P. Carey, long known as a Stalinist fellow-traveller, is beginning to move away from them very rapidly.

Warmongers Have Upper Hand at UAW Convention

Special to Labor Action

AKRON—The fifth national convention of the United Rubber Workers ended in Detroit last Saturday with an inglorious record of accomplishment in obtaining labor objectives since the 1939 convention.

In reality, the whole course of the convention was dictated by the decision of the International Executive Board last July, which committed the URWA as the only CIO union supporting Roosevelt's conscription plans. The convention, meeting the week following the adoption by Congress of the Burke-Wadsworth measure to hand over the labor movement to the mercies of the profit gougers and war mongers, passed, without debate and almost unanimously, the reactionary decision of its executives.

Showing how thoroughly the Hillmanization of the URWA has proceeded in the period recently passed, Thomas F. Burns was re-elected as vice-president, even though he declared his intention in advance that, if he were re-elected, he intended to ask a leave of absence from duties in order to "assist" Hillman in Washington to round up and hog tie the labor unions behind Wall Street's national defense commission.

The convention opened with the usual blasting of Willkie, and oratorical praises for Roosevelt. No one with sufficient political understanding or guts took the floor to attack the support being given also to the War Deal, by the notorious Democratic Boss Ed Crump, of Memphis, from whose city George Bass, a URWA organizer, has been driven out and beaten up twice in recent weeks in attempting to organize the Firestone workers there.

Minor Conflicts

What conflicts arose during the convention centered around such questions as increased dues for organizing the smaller plants, with the result that this year the organization budget will be lifted \$25,000. Fortunately, on another issue "progressives" mustered sufficient strength to defeat a reactionary proposal that all strike votes must be taken with 50% of a local's membership in attendance. Such a proposition, one delegate correctly argued "would place us in a position where we could never have a strike."

The situation at the Goodyear factories presents the toughest nut to crack. The union has no contract and the accumulated grievances continue to pile up. Taking no new measure to eliminate this Achilles heel, the convention skirted around such issues as a real drive for the 30 hour week at no reduction in pay, and refused to strike out along the road of independent working class militancy such as brought victory in the Goodyear strike of 1936 and prevented the installation of the 8 hour day at that time.

To complete the picture, L. L. Callahan, president of the Goodrich local, the largest in the URWA and one-time "progressive", announced his retirement from the labor movement to farming!

Paying Domestic Virtually Nothing

The Women's Bureau of the Labor Dept. reports that in some states housemaids and housekeepers are paid as little as \$2.00 a week. In 28 states the average cash earnings of domestics is less than \$5.00 weekly. In only two states and the District of Columbia is the average as high as \$8.00 weekly. The Bureau points out gently that some "minimum wage machinery" is necessary in this field.

The emphasis on "cash earnings" is important for the reason that domestics are expected to get part of their pay in food and old clothing discarded by the lady of the house. Furthermore, in the South, thousands of Negro domestics have no regular wage at all. Their pay is anything that the "master" and "mistress" see fit to throw their way from time to time.

WANTED: Male to share an apartment. All improvements. Call 244 E. 13th St., N. Y. C., Apt. 27 between 6-7 P.M.

Our Readers Take the Floor. . .

SOME NOTES ON WILLKIE'S SPEECH

Dear Comrade Editor:

The following comments came to my mind after I read the newspaper accounts of Willkie's Coffeyville speech, delivered as the opening gun in his campaign for the presidency. Despite his inability to master Roosevelt's speech-making, Willkie and the incumbent commonly resort to broad generalities and, as will be seen below, avoid issues of controversy.

1. Willkie says that as "free people", we of the United States should be "grateful". Later in his speech he says there are 9,600,000 unemployed. Are we, then, a free people? He says later on that we have never recovered from the depression of 1932—are we, then, a "free people"? Yes, we are free to starve, wear shabby clothes, produce iron and munitions for human destruction but not commodities that we can use for our maintenance.

2. He called attention to the de-

structive war in Europe several times, and his conclusion was that "a philosophy is in flames"—not cities nor human slaughter. Evidently, he was referring to the philosophy of bourgeois democracy, the same kind of democracy that Roosevelt preaches and administers—the kind Willkie wants to preserve, he says, and the kind Roosevelt too wants to preserve—for the capitalists.

3. The Republican candidate says our concern, first of all, should be with the "Battle of America". What in Hades is he talking about; what battle? The only kind of battle going on over here is a boss battle against workers to lower living standard—and utility magnate Willkie surely couldn't be thinking of that battle, or could he? Willkie's statement that Americans are deluded unless they see that "our democracy is in danger from without because it is in danger from within", is a repetition of what FDR has said many times.

Fraternally,
Houston, Sept. 16 J. D.

Roosevelt In Secret Pact With Britain

(Continued from page 1)
calls the "secret treaties before the first world war and also the revelation" that Wilson had committed the United States to entry into the war before his re-election in 1916.

Big business and the government are reconciled to the fact

Riom Trials—

(Continued from page 1)

a dossier on the leading French politicians. Laval and Bonnet have been involved in financial scandals which have made them rich. Their negotiations with Hitler in their capacity as the leaders of the French "appeasement" group were noted by Mandel's spies. Reynaud, as head of the war-cabinet, will share the "guilt" of its members.

Prosecutor Gaston Cassagnau has "interrogated" Daladier. The French press indicates that the former chief of the Radical Socialists will be charged with: (1) declaring war without consulting the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate; and (2) as Minister of War, not properly equipping the army. Gamelin will shoulder responsibility for the military failures.

Leon Blum's "guilt" rests on the Popular Front's "abolition of work in France." A social-patriot will be credited with the forty hour week, time and a half for overtime, won by the workers through the great sit-down strikes of 193 and 1937! Blum has already been condemned by the reactionary American press.

Under a Handicap

Totalitarian regimes utilize the political trials as propaganda and to eliminate political (and personal) opposition. Their pattern varies within narrow limits. Servile judges, a marionette prosecutor, "witnesses" accusations without corroborative evidence, "confessions," etc. The "Moscow Trials" are the classic expression.

But the Riom Trials have a terrific handicap. The bulk of the French people know that Petain-Laval are Nazi puppets—and that the Trials have been prepared in conjunction with the Gestapo.

The Mandel dossiers may be in London or New York—safe in the keeping of a Rothschild. Their publication might have "unfavorable repercussions" for supporters of the regime and big business. Le Temps, the property of Francois Wendel, head of the Comité des Forges, has published the account of Mandel's and Daladier's journey to North Africa. They were acting under orders from the French Government. Big business has yet to decide if it pays to push the ex-premiers, ministers, and Gamelin to the wall. They might tell the truth!

that they will be forced to fight Hitler and perhaps Japan. In the case of a conflict with Japan it will be necessary to get a foothold in the Far East. This is the meaning of the suggestion for a naval base for the United States at Singapore.

Furthermore, the cheapest way to oppose Hitler is to give material aid to England, already at war with Germany. This will aid England to hold Hitler off until the United States is prepared.

Thus intrigue and secret diplomacy proceed with increased rapidity behind the backs of the working class in the United States. Big business

You're Healthy Enough To Be a Soldier

If workers eligible for the hated draft think they will get exemption because of this or that physical defect, they must prepare for disappointment.

Medical officers have revealed that under the terms of Mobilization Regulations 1 to 9 nearly every conscript called up will pass the physical requirements either for regular service, or for special and limited service.

During the last war many exemptions were given to conscripts on the ground of impaired health. The subnormal conditions that prevail for the workers under the boss system account for the low status of the general health.

Depression Toll

Since the last war the depression, the vast army of unemployed, the flagrantly inadequate help given by the boss governments, all have united to bring even lower the general health of the working class—the main reservoir from which soldiers are drafted.

But the boss government has learned its lesson. It will no longer hand out wholesale exemptions. To

For our part we do not hold responsible a handful of individuals for an imperialist war. They acted as representatives of a ruling class intent on maintaining its privileges. The accused and the accusers are equally involved. They have long been condemned in the workers' courts. The social revolution which must rise in war torn Europe will carry out the workers' judgments. Leon Blum, too, has been condemned. Supported by the Communist Party he shackled the workers' movement which in 1936-37 drove towards a socialist France. Such a Socialist France alone can crush Nazidom.

AN EDITORIAL

Jim-Crow in the Army and Navy

Negro papers are claiming a victory in their agitational campaign to have Negroes given wider opportunities to serve in the armed forces of the United States. They base their jubilation on the fact that 36,000 Negroes will be called in the draft on the basis of proportional representation. While it is true that in the present circumstances, Negroes will be placed in certain branches that they have not served in before, it is not true that there has been any basic change in the attitude of the government toward Negroes in the military service.

LABOR ACTION pointed out several weeks ago that, in an emergency, the ruling class, as a means of assuring protection to its class interests, would draft Negroes into the army and also organize them in branches of the service they had not been permitted to enter before. No campaigns on anybody's part were necessary to accomplish this. The ruling class takes such steps to protect its own hide and profits.

The real campaign for Negro papers to carry on is a campaign against Jim-Crow in the army and everywhere else. To boast of the fact that 36,000 Negroes are to be drafted for the purpose of protecting Wall Street's profits is to do the Negro worker a disservice. Although Negroes apparently are to be given expanded opportunity for military service this will be done in the usual thorough-going Jim-Crow U.S. manner. All Negroes in the army will be organized into Jim-Crow units. This is one of the reasons why there has been no change in the regulations for Negroes entering the navy. It is not so easy to arrange for Jim-Crow units on a ship. Right now, of course, it is out of the question to have a battleship with an all Negro crew.

Therefore we say that the correct and proper campaign is not to get Negroes into the military service. The main fight must be against Jim-Crow. Negroes fight against Jim-Crow schools, transportation, restaurants, etc., and then passively accept Jim-Crow in the army and navy. What is so sacred about the army and navy that makes them immune to an anti-Jim-Crow struggle? What kind of democracy is it that this country is preparing to fight for which makes it necessary for Negroes to accept Jim-Crow regiments, divisions, air units and confines them to the scullery in the navy?

Let the Negro keep up the fight for SOCIAL, POLITICAL and ECONOMIC EQUALITY in war time as well as in peace time. This means refusal to accept any and all Jim-Crow.

and the Washington government conspire to participate in the war before any actual declaration, holding off that event until an army is conscripted and trained.

All the more reason then to make our proletarian opposition to a declaration war known now. We, the workers, who will do the fighting and dying, must demand the right to vote on whether or not we want the war. If the war is in the interests of the working-class we will be for it. But this war, on both its sides, is patently a war of the bosses—hence we want no part of it.

Neither do we want any part

of the commitments which have been made in our name, without our knowledge. We must demand of Congress that it make known the secret treaties and correspondence by which our lives have been pledged to the sacrifice.

A democratic government, acting in the interests of the people, should have no fear making known to these people how matters stand, what pledges have been made, what plans are afoot.

DOWN WITH SECRET DIPLOMACY!
LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!

can be rejected because of "extreme ugliness," but conscripts will all be Apollos, regardless.

Physicians Decide

Much freedom is to be given to examining physicians in determining the state of health of the conscript. Their objective will be to get the greatest possible number into the army. They are warned not to follow even the relaxed requirements too closely. They will be guided by the rule that if a man is not physically fit, they will put him into the army anyway and maybe he will become more fit there. And if not, there is always the special and limited service for the physically unfit.

How unpopular the draft is, is revealed by the emphasis to be made in medical examinations. Physicians will turn all their attention on the ways and means to discover "malingerers eager to avoid service."

Even the Hardest Nut Can Be Thoroughly Cracked

The United Automobile Workers and the CIO have put up \$100,000 to begin the drive to organize the Ford Motor Company. This will be a tough assignment but it must be done. The pious old brigand of Dearborn will try again to organize his thugs and gunmen under the direction of his Chief Thug, Harry Bennett. But the CIO and the UAW should not let this stop them. The organized workers have cracked harder nuts than Ford.

Volunteers for the Regular Army

Of Special Interest to Women

By SUSAN GREEN

If people in London who still have houses to live in, have to get along without electricity, it is easily understandable.

But many families in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and other cities, towns and villages in America, which still enjoys "the blessings of peace", also have to get along without electricity. Why?

In some districts the people are so poor that the utility companies do not even bother to supply current there. But in many places where there is current, people are too poor to pay their electricity bills. So the company shuts off the current.

This was the case the other night in the home of the De Lugios—father, mother and two children—living in Greenpoint, Brooklyn. Both mother and father worked. But the boss paid them so little that they could not afford light, one of the basic necessities of life.

Thus, there is something in common between Hitler bosses and American bosses.

And to add insult to injury, the boss who exploits the De Lugios is the powerful Leviton Mfg. Co., manufacturer of electrical appliances.

The De Lugios are now on strike for decent wages and working conditions—along with the 1,700 other workers in the Leviton plant. More than half of the strikers are women.

Many of them have never been on strike before. Some are mothers. Nearly all have dependents. Yet in the third week of the strike they were unwavering. The men have nothing but praise for them, saying that the women are even more militant, more determined, than they are.

The fight against the Leviton Mfg. Co. is only one battle in the great struggle of the workers for freedom from poverty, insecurity and war. That struggle will be over when there is no more boss class. Women are brave fighters. They will do their part.

Laboratory tests of poultry purchased in various parts of New York City, revealed that great quantities of diseased and decomposed birds, unfit for human consumption, are sold to unsuspecting housewives.

Mrs. Morgan, Mrs. du Pont, Mrs. Roosevelt, Mrs. Willkie are not among these housewives. The stores at which this rotten poultry was bought, are located in the poorest sections of the city, where these grand ladies do not live.

Working women are the ones from whom good money is taken for rotten poultry. They are also the ones from whom good money is taken for shoddy shoes and clothing for their families.

Because they can afford to buy only the cheapest clothes and the cheapest food, the values they get for their money is even less than the dollars and cents of

their husband's miserable wages. They have to buy shoes that hurt the feet and can't withstand a drenching—clothes of bad cut and material that can't take wear and weather—food that does not nourish the body but poisons it.

Here we have more proof of the saying: "Those who have get—the have-nots get it in the neck."

As for the poor workers eating rotten poultry and undermining their health thereby, the Health Department of the City of New York believes that is none of its business.

Imagine the feelings of 650 women in Chicago whose families have suddenly been evicted from comfortable Federal Housing apartments. Having for a short time enjoyed the conveniences of modern kitchen, bright airy bedrooms, easier work involved in keeping such apartments clean, they are now thrust back into the dirty crowded tenements they came from.

The joke of it is that their plight is due to the economies practised by the Federal Housing Authority. The cost of running the housing projects was reduced. So rents were also cut. This sounds like an awfully good thing, but—

Families whose annual income is more than five times the annual rent, are not poor enough to live in the Federal Housing buildings. After the reduction in rent, the incomes of these 650 families were more than what the regulations require. So they were evicted.

These families may not be poor enough to live in government houses, but they are not rich enough to pay the rents for decent apartments owned by private landlords. So back they went to where they came from—the slums.

The misfortune of these 650 families proves how little has actually been done to provide adequate housing for the working people.

The death last week of a 22-year-old expectant mother who jumped from the fourth floor of a blazing Manhattan tenement which did not have fire escapes, also shows up the loud-mouthed lies of the politicians. Daily the proof multiplies that, in spite of all the sound and fury on the subject of housing, the real accomplishments amount to a drop in the bucket.

Democrats or Republicans, old dealers or new dealers, whatever the boss government calls itself, it gives the workers a false deal. There is never enough money to build the houses that the working people need. But, in the twinkling of an eye, sixteen billion dollars are appropriated and the best men of the country are conscripted for the bosses' war.

To the women who suffer most bringing up families in the unsanitary fire-trap tenements, I say that NO boss government will EVER get around to supplying even the most elementary needs of the workers. We need a workers' government for that.

The Daily Worker had a comeback. They quoted G.E.R. Gedy, New York Times correspondent, to the effect that it was still possible for an honest newspaperman to report Soviet Russia. . . . Now the whole story comes out. One week after Gedy woke up to the real situation. Dispatch after dispatch, reporting on the breakdown of the Stalinist economy, the apathy of the masses, the pro-Nazism of the Comintern, was thrown into the basket. Gedy, in disgust, finally closed down the Times office in Moscow, and from central Europe has written a series of articles on Soviet society. . . . The Daily Worker has as yet made no comment. . . .

THE real Hero of the recent "Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion" held at Columbia University was none other than Sidney Hook, who is now revising 1914 social-patriotism for 1940 use. . . . Mortimer J. Adler, reactionary spokesman for the Catholic Church, had exonerated Hitler, and blamed "our secular, aesthetic culture" for the contemporary crisis. . . . And Sidney (currently doing theoretical work for the bourgeoisie) rushed to the rostrum to protest violently. Why, he said, for a representative of an organization which has struck concordats with international fascism to come here and say such a thing at a time when America and the British Empire are gloriously defending Democracy against Hitler's hordes, is sheer presumption! . . . The applause was deafening. . . . The professors and assorted theologians fell over their feet in the rush to congratulate their courageous spokesman. . . . and Hook was left beaming. . . . Some years ago, when Sidney Hook, the revolutionary Marxist, was appointed as chairman of NYU's philosophy department, he tore his hair: "How can a revolutionist hold such a position?" . . . You see how, Sidney, you see how. . . .

BUT Hook is at least an academic big-shot—Louis M. Hacker is not even a professor. . . . But the bourgeoisie these days can pick up a left-wing intellectual for practically nothing. . . . Once America's outstanding Marxist historian, Hacker, in his latest book, *The Triumph of American Capitalism*, dismisses any fears that you or I might have about the rosy future that's just around the corner. "I am really not fearful of American state capitalism," he writes, "it is here to stay." And what's more, he adds, "is heralding Abundance!" . . . To the credit of Hacker's "triumphant American capitalism", you can put down another little conquest—Louis Hacker himself. . . . Alas for our poor intellectuals! We knew them well. They were once very honest. . . .

Workers Party Candidate Calls on Labor To Repudiate Boss Class Spokesmen

(Continued from page 1)

Mr. Wallace, like his master. The candidates of both parties are unanimous to the point of occupying the same spot at the same time, which is a unique refutation of a long held scientific truth.

"This campaign must see the repudiation of both Roosevelt and Willkie. Throughout the country the workers can register their disapproval and disgust with the war

Among the Other Candidates— Jack Altman

The right wing of the American Labor Party has selected an outspoken war-monger to represent it on the Congressional ballot in the Twenty Third District of the Bronx. His name is Jack Altman.

Among Altman's opponents in the Congressional contest is Max Shachtman, anti-war candidate of the Workers Party.

Met Before

This will not be the first time that Shachtman has crossed swords with Altman.

As the darling of the right wing forces in the Socialist Party, Altman had the ill-starred fortune of meeting Shachtman in debate. Unable to score effectively against Shachtman and the left-wing of the Socialist Party, Altman, together with Norman Thomas, bueraucratically expelled the anti-war forces.

Altman and Thomas soon fell into a separate quarrel of their own.

Leaves the SP

Thomas, who has tried to keep the Socialist Party evenly keeled between capitalism and confusion, resented the extreme pro-war policy advocated by Altman. Thomas, who insisted on giving discreet aid to the allies as distinct from Altman's total aid, was forced to expel his once trusted lieutenant.

Quick to grasp at outstretched guns, Altman lined up with the warmad Rose-Antonini clique in the ALP.

In this, Altman exchanged Norman Thomas for Franklin D. Roosevelt. According to Altman's view of things, it is better to go along with Roosevelt than straggle behind him.

Altman stands for aid-to the allies, conscription, the two ocean navy—in fact, Roosevelt is his leader. Enough said.

policies of both candidates by refusing to vote for either of the candidates. In the Twenty-Third District of the Bronx, the workers can answer the war drive of American capitalism by supporting and voting for the Socialist anti-war candidate of the Workers Party." Shachtman concluded.

Meanwhile, the Shachtman Campaign Committee announced that the number of signatures to the nominating petitions had risen to over 5,000. Although this is two thousand above the required number of signatures, the Campaign Committee declared that the final week of the drive will see three thousand additional names secured in order to demonstrate to the election authorities the wide popularity of the anti-war program of the Workers Party candidate.

Youth Program

The Young Peoples Socialist League, in its current issue of *The*

You Can Buy Labor Action At These Stands

HARLEM:

116th St. & Lenox Ave., N.E.
120th St. & Lenox Ave., S.E.
125th St. & Lenox Ave., S.E.
135th St. & Lenox Ave. N.E. & N.W.
Widgerson's—396 W. 145th St. near St. Nickolas.

BRONX:

Freeman St. & Southern Blvd., N.W.
Simpson St. & Southern Blvd., N.E.
174th St. & Boston Road, W.S.
Allerton Ave. & White Plains Road, S.E.
167th St. & Jerome Ave., S.E.
170th St. & Jerome Ave., S.E.
Burnside & Jerome Ave., S.E. & S.W.
143rd St. & Southern Blvd.

UPPER WEST SIDE, MANHATTAN

59th St. & 9th Ave., S.E.
64th & Broadway, Candy Store.
86th & Broadway, S.W.
103rd St. & Broadway, Candy Store.
110th St. & Broadway, N.E.
114th St. & Amsterdam, S.W. Candy Store.

BENSONHURST, BROOKLYN:

Bay Parkway & 86th St.
Bay Parkway & 86th St.
Ditmas & MacDonald Aves.
New Utrecht & 49th St.

Challenge of Youth, published its youth platform in connection with the Shachtman campaign. Workers Party's candidate can recall to the gentlemen of the House and Senate that the American youth want employment rather than concentration camps." *The Challenge of Youth* platform declares:

"1. Against Conscription. We condemn the militarization of youth by

the Roosevelt government for the Stating that "The boldness of the purpose of preparing youth for another imperialist war."

"2. Let Youth Vote Against War. We demand the right of youth, beginning at the age of eighteen, as well as the entire population, to vote on the question of American entry into war through a popular referendum."

This Is MAX SHACHTMAN

By ALAN SELKIRK

(Concluded from last week)

Max Shachtman aligned himself with the genuine revolutionary elements from the very first moment of his entry into the Socialist movement. Thus, in 1921, when Shachtman entered the Socialist Party, he joined with the revolutionary left-wing in its fight for adherence to the newly formed International of Lenin and Trotsky. Not long after the Workers Council, as the Left-Wing of the Socialist Party was then known fused with the Communist Party at a convention held in New York City and there emerged the Workers Party, affiliated to the Third International.

Shachtman took up his duties with the new organization as a member of the Young Workers League, precursor of the Young Communist League, and as a staff writer for the newly launched *Daily Worker*.

In 1923, Shachtman entrained for Chicago, where he continued his revolutionary activities among the youth. Earlier that year he had been elected an alternate to the National Committee of the Young Workers League and had assumed fresh duties as editor of the "Young Worker," a post he held until 1926.

In Labor Defense

With the founding of the International Labor Defense in 1926, Shachtman entered on a long and bitter fight to defend the civil rights of labor and in particular to fight for the freedom of Sacco and Vanzetti, then threatened with legal murder by the Sovereign State of Massachusetts.

The International Labor Defense, which Shachtman served as editor of the "Labor Defender," aroused thousands of American workers in behalf of the imperilled Anarchist fighters. It was during this period that Shachtman penned the pamphlet, "Sacco and Vanzetti, Labor's Martyrs," a stirring tract which attained wide circulation among American workmen and which helped place the International Labor Defense in the forefront of the struggle to free the doomed but immortal Italian Anarchists.

Sent to Moscow

In 1927, Shachtman was elected an alternate to the Central Committee of the Workers Party and that same year went to Moscow as a delegate to the Congress of the International Red Aid. Two years earlier, in 1925, Shachtman had made his first visit to Moscow as a delegate to the plenum of the Young Communist International and as a delegate to the fifth plenum of the Communist International.

Opposes Stalin

The year 1928 marked a critical turning point in the life of Max Shachtman.

Within the Communist International a long fight had been going on against the bureaucratic clique headed by Joseph Stalin.

Ranged against Stalin was an opposition headed by Leon Trotsky.

Trotsky hammered at the Stalinist clique for its conservative pace in industrializing the Soviet Union, repudiated the elimination of democracy in Soviet life and demanded a Leninist policy for the International.

Stalin answered the criticisms of Trotsky with snide ridicule and with a campaign to defame the former leader of the Red Army.

In December of 1928, Stalin succeeded in expelling the Trotskyist opposition from the International.

In the United States, Max Shachtman, James P. Cannon and Martin Abern were expelled from the Communist Party as Trotskyists and there began the long, uphill fight, first, to re-orient the CP, and, when that was no longer possible, to erect a new, revolutionary International.

Upon the expulsion of the American Trotskyists in 1928, Shachtman became editor of the "Militant," organ of the Left Opposition.

Initiates World Conference

Since that time, Shachtman has been in the van of the world Trotskyist movement. Shachtman's close friendship with Leon Trotsky dates from 1930, when, as the first American Socialist to do so, he visited Trotsky following the latter's exile from the Soviet Union.

Shachtman initiated the first Inter-

national Conference of the Left Opposition in 1930 and attended its sessions in Paris as a delegate from the United States. Out of this historic Conference grew the International Executive Committee of the Left Opposition, forerunner of the Fourth International.

Written Much

Max Shachtman has written extensively and contributed much to the body of Socialist literature. For ten years he served as the editor of Leon Trotsky's *Collected Works*.

Shachtman has also been the editor of numerous revolutionary publications, among them the "New Militant," organ of the Communist League of America, the "New International" theoretical organ of the presently constituted Workers Party.

Among the books and pamphlets written by Shachtman are, "Sacco and Vanzetti, Labor's Martyrs," "The Ziegler Frame-Up Case," in connection with the strike of the Illinois Miners in 1927, "Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg," "Ten Years, History and Principles of the Left Opposition," "1871—The Paris Commune," and "Behind the Moscow Trials."

Although Max Shachtman is running for Congress from the Bronx, he is known to workers all over the country. His assistance in the famous strike of truck drivers in Minneapolis during 1934 is well remembered by the workers of that city.

In his frequent tours all over the nation, Shachtman has spoken to and lived among sharecroppers, miners,



sailors, steel workers, longshoremen, needle workers and a host of others. His name is well known in the Middle West and on the Pacific Coast.

Ran for Council

In the 1939 elections in New York City, Shachtman led a vigorous campaign for the City Council and hopes to better the vote this year by a considerable margin.

But whether Shachtman wins or loses, whether he is elected or defeated, in Congress or out, he is pledged to carry on in the struggle for the final liberation of humanity.

A Sad Situation

A judge in the State of Washington has ruled that a union member must pay dues. A suit was brought by the Smeltermen's union against one of its members who was ordered by the court to pay \$21.75 in back dues. The court said that "the defendant could not continue to receive the benefits obtained for him by the union and escape the payment of dues. . . . reasonably necessary for the payment of expenses incurred in the obtaining of such benefits."

We do not know why this union man refused to pay his dues. It is a sad situation however when a union has to call in the capitalist courts to collect its dues. It is similar to Bill Green calling on the FBI and police to clean the racketeers from the unions.

LECTURE
The Life & Role of
Leon Trotsky
By MAX SHACHTMAN
National Sec'y - Workers Party
American Editor of
Trotsky's Collected Works
431 PINE STREET
Friday, September 27
Admission 25 Cents 8:30 P.M.

Pages from a Rebel's Notebook

THE census figures on Unemployment in the United States will not be released to the public until November 7 of this year—48 hours after the Elections! . . . The first official government estimate of Capitalism's Forgotten Men will list 12,500,000 jobless. . . .

LAST Memorial Day, Max Shachtman was stopped from speaking on the Michigan campus by the reactionary University officials. . . . Several weeks later the Administration cracked down on the student body. Twelve campus leaders were expelled, and many others given ultimatums. . . . But President Alexander Ruthven—a loud-mouthed fool who defines a radical as "one who is completely ignorant of social problems"—admits under pressure of protest that he is "only a chore boy" for the men behind the University. . . . The Board of Regents consists of five corporation lawyers, one of whom is a National-committee man of the Democratic Party and a legal counsel for a Willkie power company, and another a Garner-for-President backer. Plus Harry Kipke, who is close to Harry Bennett, Ford's anti-union personnel director. Plus a retired banker. Plus the wife of a General Motors executive. . . .

TIME magazine, with its consistent flair for contemptible journalism, came through as usual on the murder of Leon Trotsky. . . . Its utterly vile report pictured Trotsky as a mild-mannered old man, with a quack beard, spending his last days pleasantly in his library and Mexican garden, a bourgeois litterateur. . . . The author, we now learn, was none other than that "great proletarian artist", Robert Cantwell. . . . Cantwell, who for years has played ball with the Stalinists. . . .

WILL somebody please wake Freda Kirchwey up? . . . Writes Charles Noyes in the latest number of the war-mongering *Nation*: " . . . Anyone who maintains that the United States can match the productive efficiency of Germany without curtailment of personal liberties, or without drastic changes in the organization of our economy, is a liar, a demagogue or a fool." . . . In case Editor Kirchwey doesn't know it, what Noyes tried to prove is that the only thing that will save "American democracy" is—American fascism! . . .

LAST Fall, following the Stalin-Hitler pact, when the shaky and frightened Kremlin clique instituted a new and complete totalitarian censorship of the news,

Learn a Lesson from the Past

By JUDY STONE

During the year of Europe's war, and in particular the last few months of active American intervention, there has been a gradual, at times almost unnoticeable, but still steadily growing rise in prices. Clothing, food, rents have all been following an ever-rising trend. And this, in spite of the loudly-flaunted speeches and promises regarding war-profiteering.

But what we have seen so far, is only an indication. Even in the last war, the first year showed a rise of no more than 5% in the price of commodities as a whole. But that was just the beginning. By the end of the war, there had been a 65% rise in price levels over what they had been at the beginning.

And even that wasn't the end of it. Wars don't stop when the treaty of peace is signed. In the next two years, from 1918 to 1920, there the rise continued to the tune of an additional 34%. It was estimated that

	July 1915	July 1916	July 1917	July 1918	Nov. 1918	Mar. 1919	July 1919	Nov. 1919	Mar. 1920
All Items	.5	8.7	31.3	57.2	65	60.5	72.2	82.2	94.8
Food		11	46	62	83	75	90	92	100
Shelter*		1.5	5	15	20	22	28	38	49
Clothing	3	20	43	77	83	81	100	135	177
Fuel, Heat									
Light	2	4	26	35	40	42	42	48	49
Sundries		4	17	50	55	55	63	75	83

*The increase in shelter costs was higher in New York, Cleveland, Detroit and Los Angeles where it went above 100%.

a yearly clothes budget for a man, which in '14 would have been about \$60, by 1920 amounted to over \$165.

The price of food had doubled itself, the price of clothing almost tripled, and rents, although up to this time they had risen to only 1 1/2 times what they had been, were rapidly going up. Two years after the cessation of war activities, there was a shortage of housing, and ev-

everything was still rising. The politicians are talking a lot today about how much they have done to keep prices down, to restrain business in its urge to make money on the war. But it doesn't take much more than a look at the way it worked last time to see what's in store for the worker-consumer. (The figures show relative percentage increases).

World at War --

(Continued from page 1)

of sugar per month and other foods in similar meager proportions. . . .

Refugees from Holland arriving in the United States, report the following about the German exercises preparatory to the invasion of the British Isles: "The German soldiers were heavily armed and weighted down with full equipment. They were taken a mile or so to sea off the Netherlands coast aboard flat-bottomed boats. The boats would come toward shore and the men were forced to leap out and swim. We people living near the sea saw thousands of bodies of officers and men floating in the water. Many soldiers rebelled and were chained and taken back to the interior of Germany to be punished for their insubordination."

An American ambulance driver who was captured by the Germans and released described the daily fare given to the prisoners in a prison camp in Dresden as 1/5 of a loaf of bread, a bowl of soup at noon and a cup of dark liquid substitute for coffee.

WAR EXPANDING IN AFRICA

The African theatre of war is expanding. The Italians are proceeding cautiously with their "blitzkrieg" in Egypt. Their goal is the Suez Canal but they are finding the going tough in face of the burning desert and British fleet. Their invasion of Egypt has provoked an Egyptian cabinet crisis and those ministers who were in favor of declaring war against Italy resigned from the cabinet. These ministers have found no echo for their aims in the Egyptian masses who have no enthusiasm for a war to defend British imperialism.

The British are anticipating the greater drive on Africa and the Near East that will probably follow the conversations now taking place between Von Ribbentrop, Mussolini and Serrano Suner of Spain. At present, the British fleet is blazing away at a French squadron at Dakar in French West Africa. The British are intent on wiping out all points of opposition to it in Africa and the Near East. With Spain included in the axis a battle of the continents is on the order of the day. A vast pincer movement is in the offing with Gibraltar as the start-

ing point on one end, and a new "settlement" in the Balkans on the other end leading through Greece, Turkey and Syria in an effort to break up the British Empire.

WAR INVOLVEMENT INCREASINGLY NEAR

German encouragement to Japan which has led to the invasion of Indo-China is intended in the meantime to keep the Anglo-American combination occupied in the Far East. . . .

In this great struggle of the continents the English and American bourgeoisie are forging their own unity. Discussions have been held between Secretary of State Hull, the British Ambassador to the United States, Lord Lothian and Richard G. Casey, Australian Minister to the United States. These discussions have for their aim joint use by the United States and Great Britain of all British air and naval bases in the Pacific. It is almost certain that the United States will be granted the use of the great Singapore base in the Far East and the clash with Japan comes closer and closer.

Material aid from the United States to Great Britain is assuming greater and greater proportions. Thus far, Great Britain has received from the United States in addition to the 50 destroyers and 229 tanks, 3,000 planes, 80,000 machine guns, 700 cannons, 500,000 rifles and now there is talk in Washington of sending 25 flying fortresses to England and of permitting Canada to use American flying fields for the training of pilots.

The war talk in Washington is assuming a more open character. Thus the Kiplinger Washington Letter of Sept. 14 states: "All official talk for publication is that of course the defense plans are meant to reduce the risk of war, but the unofficial private talk is shifting more and more to the prospect of involvement if the war runs through the winter, and most opinions are that the war will run through the winter regardless of the Battle of Britain."

For Labor Action -
Join Workers Party

Editorials

OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

1. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war. All war funds to be unemployed.
2. For a rising scale of wages to meet increasing cost of living. Thirty Thirty—\$30 weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers.
3. Expropriate the Sixty Families. For Government ownership and workers control of all war industries—aviation, steel, chemicals, railroads, public utilities, etc.
4. Against both imperialist war camps. For the Third Camp of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples.
5. Let the people vote on war. For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18.
6. Abolish secret diplomacy. Open the files of the State Department.
7. Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America.
8. Against compulsory military training and conscription.
9. For the defense of civil liberties and workers' rights. Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day Plans and war-time dictatorship.
10. For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and trade unions.
11. For an independent Labor Party.
12. For Workers' Defense Guards against Fascist and vigilante attacks.
13. No confidence in the Roosevelt government. For a workers' government and a people's army.
14. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, and for the World Socialist Federation.

Neither Willkie Nor Roosevelt

Last week, LABOR ACTION discussed certain phases of the question, "Why France Fell." In that editorial we discussed the role played by Leon Blum, the Socialist leaders and the Stalinists in paving the way for Hitler. Next week we will discuss the role of the French ruling class in the capitulation to Hitler, and how it relates to Roosevelt and Willkie's solicitude for the American workers. In the meantime, we wish to discuss a phase of this problem which is suggested by the speech Mr. Paul V. McNutt, Social Security Administrator, made at the convention of the International Association of Machinists.

Mr. McNutt is one of the chief spokesmen for the Roosevelt administration in the present election campaign. In the course of his speech, McNutt made the following remarks.

"It is said in high places that the liberal government of Blum and the French labor leaders so reduced the industrial productivity in France that she could not turn out the machines necessary to meet the German mechanized warfare. But the truth is, as every American newspaper man in France knows, that actually the opposite is true. Under the liberal government of Leon Blum, the output of French industry was the highest it has ever been in French history. And this production was accomplished, not by the stretch-out and wage curtailment, but by decreased hours, increased wages, collective bargaining and other liberal and social reforms which characterize a genuine democratic government. . . it was the same small group of pro-fascist reactionaries who almost betrayed the British Empire, men who . . . were shipping consignments of critical war materials to German markets, even after the Nazi legions were on French soil."

Mr. McNutt was making a . . .

Campaign Speech.

(We do not mean of course that what he said was not true). The New Deal labor legislation has been attacked by the Republicans and by the big industrialists and financiers. These are backing Mr. Willkie because they believe that with Willkie in the White House there will be a change. The most reactionary section of the ruling class contends that France was weakened by the labor legislation of the Blum government. The inference to be drawn from their contentions is that the United States will also be weakened if the New Deal labor acts are not repealed. These points were discussed in this column last week.

The labor acts and their relationship to "national defense" are an issue in the presidential campaign. For campaign purposes and in order to get the workers' vote, both Republicans and Democrats are making an issue of labor legislation and "re-

forms." The New Dealers and their supporters among the ruling class hold that the U.S. can prepare for war without giving up such legislation as the Wagner Act, the Wages and Hours Act and the Walsh-Healy Act. The Republican politicians and their supporters in the ruling class want to scrap these acts and return to rough and tumble, "do as I damned please" capitalism. And thus a temporary and superficial difference shows itself in the ranks of the boss class and among its stooges, the Republican and Democratic politicians.

This is the meaning of McNutt's speech to the machinists. In order to carry a campaign point against his opponent Willkie, Roosevelt and his representatives come to the defense of the Blum government and the labor standards won by the French workers during the Blum regime.

In order to defend himself against Willkie and hold the workers' vote, Roosevelt, who before the campaign got under way had scrapped the New Deal, was compelled to become the champion of labor and labor legislation. And not only the New Deal labor legislation, but the gains made by labor in France under the Blum government as well.

Does this mean that workers should support Roosevelt as against Willkie for president of the United States? Is the Roosevelt position as expressed by McNutt in his speech to the machinists, grounds for making a choice between two full-fledged representatives of the ruling class? The . . .

Answer Is: No!

—The Workers Party has given the reasons for this position again and again in LABOR ACTION and other Party literature.

We are not interested here in "national defense" and its relation to labor standards. We have expressed our position on this numerous times, and will do so again. But, for the moment, we are limiting ourselves to the important question of bettering working conditions and wages. The point we are making is that the workers must take advantage of these temporary and surface differences between sections of the ruling class and their political representatives, Roosevelt and Willkie. They should use every difference in the ranks of the ruling class to gain their own ends. Roosevelt says he is for labor, for preserving the gains of labor, even to the extent of defending the gains of the French workers under Blum (which, by the by, were gained in the militant strike actions of 1936-7). Very well, then let the workers in the United States demand, fight for, and if necessary strike for, higher wages and shorter hours.

LABOR ACTION and all the leading labor papers have displayed the huge profits the corporations are making from war orders. These corporations are paying enormous salaries, dividends and interest to the big shots. The workers created this wealth, and they should get it. It is not enough to try and hold on to what we have. That isn't adequate and every worker knows this.

More important still is the question of the war. This is the decisive question for the working class. It is the decisive question of this presidential campaign. On this question both Roosevelt and Willkie see eye to eye and clasp each other in brotherly love.

We must continue to oppose the war moves of Roosevelt. We must expose the sham opposition of Willkie and the Republicans to the war and war preparations. We must not vote for either Roosevelt or Willkie. It is not a question of Roosevelt or Willkie. **The working class is the majority. We can establish our own workers' government. We can organize our own peoples' army in that workers government. And with that army we can take care of every enemy of the working class including Hitler.**

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 _____

There's More Than One Way of Cutting Wages; Sometimes It's Done By Inflating the Currency

Does Inflation Threaten?

By FRANK DEMBY

The recent sudden rise in retail food prices, particularly meat prices, raises for every worker the question of whether the United States stands on the threshold of an inflationary period. The sharp price rise that occurred after the outbreak of the war in Europe in September, 1939 gave way at the beginning of 1940 to a steady decline, which lasted until this summer. Since that time the trend has been in the direction of rising prices. All wholesale prices, for example, have risen more than four points during the past month. Retail prices, of course, have gone up even more sharply.

So pronounced has the rise in some food prices been that Miss Harriet Elliott, consumer adviser to the National Defense Commission, has acknowledged a steady increase in complaints since the beginning of September. A similar situation is reported by the Bureau of Consumer Service of New York City's Department of Markets. Prices of steaks have gone up five to eight cents a pound. Beef, pork and lamb are also special objects of complaint. Even the butchers are complaining as the price rise is depriving them of customers. Various government bureaus are now investigating the situation. So, don't worry—just stop eating meat.

A spokesman for the packing industry in Chicago, who refused to allow his name to be used, stated to the press that "the situation was partly seasonal, partly due to higher payrolls and partly attributable to the fact that the old livestock crop year was ending and the new crop year about to begin."

MORE THAN ONE WAY OF CUTTING WAGES

If the factors that have caused this price rise are merely temporary and accidental, then we don't have to worry about inflation. But if they are more or less a permanent part of our general economic situation, then every worker and every trade unionist must give the problem his closest attention. For there is more than one way of cutting wages, as has been demonstrated time and again during the tortured history of capitalism. Every worker knows and understands the simple and direct method of cutting wages. The boss simply reduces the wage. Even such indirect methods of wage-cutting as lengthening working hours or the use of the speed-up are familiar enough to the average worker. Fighting against these things are part of his daily struggle for existence.

The cleverest method of cutting wages, because the worker doesn't experience it on his job, is the inflationary method. A period of generally and rapidly rising prices is considered inflationary. The worker might even receive an increase in the amount of money he receives every week. But before he knows it, he and his wife discover that his wage buys less food and other necessities than before. What has happened, of course, is that prices of things the worker and his family must buy have gone up much more than any possible raise in his wages. The economist sums this process up by saying that purchasing power has decreased. In a period of inflation, the decline in ability to buy and the rise in prices is most marked.

It would be interesting to ask the representative of the meat packers just exactly what he means by saying that higher payrolls are part of the explanation of the recent rise in meat prices. He would probably answer that wage costs in the meat packing industry have gone up. Consequently, in order to maintain profits, prices have to be raised. But we have the faint suspicion that the workers in the packing houses would have something to say about that. It is also not impossible that the real meaning is that there has been a certain amount of re-employment in some communities due to the "defense" program. This increase in payrolls provides the meat packers with an opportunity to raise their prices and make greater profits. The workers, they figure, can "afford" to pay higher prices.

VARIOUS INDICATIONS OF INFLATION

It is still too early to state definitely whether the country is entering a period of inflation, but there are already unmistakable signs pointing in that direction in the not-too-distant future. One indication is the fact that the total money in circulation is now well over 8 billion dollars. This is the highest figure in American history. Much of this may be attributed to hoarding, especially by foreigners. Nevertheless, a large amount of money in circulation is always one of the characteristics of inflation. If not at present, then some time in the future, this can easily help along an inflationary process.

Another indication is the fact that bank deposits are also at record highs. The Federal Reserve Board's most recent figures show the total of bank deposits and money in the hands of the public at a record high of \$67,000,000,000. This fact must be

coupled with another very important fact—namely, that excess reserves of the Federal Reserve System are now over 6½ billion dollars, almost the all-time peak. This means that the banks have this huge sum around just lying idle. The way the banking system operates, this money can be used to lend anywhere from 30 to 60 billion dollars. Both facts taken together mean that the base for a most colossal credit inflation has already been laid.

BECAUSE OF THE WAR TREND IS WORLD-WIDE

Still, something is required to set off the inflationary process, if it is to occur in the near future. Historically, that something has usually been war. This war is proving no exception. In England, for example, the country whose economy most closely resembles that of the U.S., all wholesale prices increased an average of 37.2 per cent from June, 1939, to June, 1940. The cost of living advanced 16 per cent during this period. In Russia, which experienced just a minor war with Finland so far, Mr. Gedye of the NEW YORK TIMES, stated that there has been a particularly sharp rise in prices (between January and April of this year, butter increased in price by 45 per cent, cheese by 20 per cent, sausages, bacon and ham by 25 per cent; gas, water and electricity from 50 to 100 per cent) while incomes have remained stationary and hours of work have been lengthened.

Even in Germany, the country with the most rigidly controlled price system in the world, while wages have remained absolutely fixed and hours of work have lengthened to from 10 to 14 hours per day, there have been some very pronounced price rises (from 10 to 40 per cent

in many cases) especially in such staple items of the German diet as potatoes and sausages. The same experience is to be noted in Japan and Italy. What is taking place is clearly a world-wide inflationary trend. It is just a faint indication of how the entire world situation is loaded with dynamite.

A QUESTION FOR THE UNION AGENDA

Even should the U.S. not enter the war in the near future, the cost of the "defense" program threatens a runaway inflation. This is clearly recognized in a study just completed by the National Industrial Conference Board. The huge cost of this program all of which is just so much waste so far as the satisfaction of human wants is concerned, indicates that only a small portion will be covered through increased taxation. The capitalists are certainly going to oppose any increased taxation on the rich and there is a limit to the burden of taxation that can be placed on the workers without producing unrest and rebellion. The most "painless" method of meeting the huge cost of this program is, therefore, largely through increased Government borrowing. No matter what price controls are introduced—and there will be many—a rapidly rising Federal Debt is bound to give a strong impulse to the inflationary process.

In summary, therefore: The bases for a vast inflation already exist in the United States. The next months should witness further advances in prices. Every trade unionist, as a matter of self-protection, must immediately demand that this question, along with the worker's natural answer to the problem—a rising scale of wages—be placed on the agenda of his next union meeting.

Leon Trotsky on Defending Democracy

The sham of national defense is covered up wherever possible by the additional sham of the *defense of democracy*. If even now, in the imperialist epoch, Marxists do not identify democracy with fascism and are ready at any moment to repel fascism's encroachment upon democracy, must not the proletariat in case of war support the democratic governments against the fascist governments?

Flagrant sophism! We defend democracy against fascism by means of the organizations and methods of the proletariat. Contrary to social democracy, we do not entrust this defense to the bourgeois state ("Staat, greif zu!"). And if we remain in irreconcilable opposition to the most "democratic" government in time of peace, how can we take upon ourselves even a shadow of responsibility for it in time of war when all the infamies and crimes of capitalism take on a most brutal and bloody form?

A modern war between the great powers does not signify a conflict between democracy and fascism but a struggle of two imperialisms for the re-division of the world. Moreover, the war must inevitably assume an international character and in both camps will be found fascist (semi-fascist, bonapartist, etc.) as well as "democratic" states. The republican form of French imperialism did not prevent it from basing itself in peacetime on the military-bourgeois dictatorship in Poland, Yugoslavia and Roumania, as it will not prevent it, in case of necessity, from restoring the Austro-Hungarian monarchy as a barrier against the unification of Austria with Germany. Finally, in France itself, parliamentary democracy, already sufficiently weakened today, would undoubtedly be one of the first victims of war if it is not upset before its start.

The bourgeoisie of a number of civilized countries has already shown and is continuing to show how, in case of internal danger, it changes without much ado the parliamentary form of its rule for an authoritarian, dictatorial, Bonapartist or a fascist form. It will make the change that much faster and more decisively in time of war when both internal and external dangers will threaten its basic class interests with ten-fold force. Under these conditions the support by a workers' party of "its" national imperialism for the sake of a fragile democratic shell means the *renunciation of an independent policy and the chauvinistic demoralization of the workers*, that is, the destruction of the only factor which can save humanity from disaster.

"The struggle for democracy" in time of war would signify above all the struggle for the preservation of the workers' press and of workers' organizations against unbridled military censorship and military authority. On the basis of these tasks the revolutionary vanguard will seek a united front with other working class organizations—*against its own "democratic" government*, but in no case unity with its own government against the hostile country.

An imperialist war stands above the question of the state form of capitalist rule. It places before each national bourgeoisie the question of the fate of national capitalism and before the bourgeoisie of all countries—the question of the fate of capitalism in general. Only thus must the proletariat too pose the question: *capitalism or socialism*, the triumph of one of the imperialist camps or the proletarian revolution.

—from WAR AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, 1934, pp. 11-13.

CHICAGO MEETING "What Conscription Means to the Negro People"

SPEAKER — ERNEST LUND, Chicago Organizer Workers Party
8 P. M. TUESDAY OCTOBER 1
South Side Workers Center
7 WEST 52nd STREET
Auspices: South Side Workers Party Young Peoples Socialist League
ADMISSION FREE

Why, Even the PROMISES of The Bosses Are Getting Thinner

By PAUL TEMPLE

"What I like about Roosevelt," said Johnny, "is, he's forward-looking. Take his speech to the Teamsters' Union, for instance. He told them he wasn't going to scrap any of the social gains the workers have gotten in the last years, and more than that, he said he was going ahead to try to get new things for them."

BILL: Like what?

JOHNNY: Old-age pensions, for one. And unemployment insurance.

Yes, Roosevelt SPEAKS to the Workers

BILL: So he says he's going to insure you against unemployment so you can hold out long enough to collect an old-age pension. Well, well, well! Hoover used to promise us a chicken in every pot. Capitalism certainly is declining.

JOHNNY: How do you jump to that idea?

BILL: Even the politicians' PROMISES are getting thinner and thinner, like the unemployed. Here Roosevelt comes before a trade union convention.

JOHNNY: And that's something too! Whoever saw Hoover or any other Republican take time out to make a speech just for a bunch of workers?

BILL: Well, you've hit on the difference between Roosevelt and Willkie! The Republicans ignored the workers altogether for so long that some of us seem to be damned glad if Roosevelt pays just enough attention to us to try to pull the wool over our eyes. Like a kid that wants to attract attention from the grown-ups even if he gets spanked for it.

JOHNNY: Well, that's your point of view. But Roosevelt isn't pulling the wool over our eyes. He's sincere.

The Best You Get Is a Miserable Pittance

BILL: Yes? Then why didn't he say something to the Teamsters about the problems they're interested in? Like employment and jobs? Like higher wages to catch up with the rise of prices and profits? He didn't even bother to make any PROMISES on that.

JOHNNY: The trouble with you socialists is that you want everything at the same time. Why, if we got a real pension and insurance system in this country it'll be a lot more than we ever had before! I'm willing to take what I can get now.

BILL: All right, Roosevelt comes before a convention of workers in the richest country in the world, and what does he have to offer us? That we won't have to go to the poor-house! Isn't that what he said?

JOHNNY: Hrm. I guess so. That sort of puts it in a 'bad light. . .

Remember This: Roosevelt Cut Thousands Off WPA

BILL: But the correct light, unless you want to fool yourself. Remember, that's the best that capitalism can PROMISE the American workers today—not to have to go to the poorhouse. And I haven't yet said a word about what Roosevelt's promises are worth. Do you recall what the first thing he did for the workers was when he was re-elected in 1936?

JOHNNY: I'm afraid my memory doesn't go back that far.

BILL: That's the trouble with a lot of other workers too. Well, it was to cut WPA by a few hundreds of thousands of workers.

JOHNNY: Don't you think there's ANY difference between Roosevelt and Willkie? Or do you want me to vote for that utility corporation lawyer?

BILL: Roosevelt's in, and Willkie's out. That's one difference. Another difference is: Willkie says 8 years of the White House is enough for any president. After that he's likely to be found out, you see. And Roosevelt says the people shouldn't swap hearses while they're going to their own funeral. If I have to be serious about it, here's the heart of the question. NO MATTER WHAT THE PERSONAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO MEN, BOTH OF THEM WOULD BE FORCED TO DO THE SAME THING IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS. And that's to squeeze the workers harder in order to get the system out of its difficulties. You can't give U.S. Steel an increase of 1700% in its profits and so on with the other corporations, and at the same time find more money for labor. One or the other goes down when the other goes up, in the long run.

JOHNNY: Well, I still like Roosevelt's idea of making progress slowly but steadily.

BILL: Sure, and I suppose the best way to kill a snake is to cut off an inch of its tail every year until it's all gone.

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