

A Vote for Shachtman Is a Vote Against War!

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

LABOR ACTION

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OCTOBER 28, 1940

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY, SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

THREE CENTS

CONSCRIPTS FACE DEATH IN BOSS WAR!

Shachtman Campaign Speeds Ahead in High Gear; Meetings, Literature Cover Bronx District

Workers Party Candidate Challenges His Campaign Opponents To Defend Their Reactionary Views In Public Debate

While all the other Congressional candidates in the 23rd Congressional District continued in hiding, the Shachtman-for Congress Campaign Committee pressed its work with increased vigor.

The campaign reached a new high on Tuesday, October 22, when a caravan of cars, carrying a contingent of Workers Party members, toured the district with banners and literature. At designated corners the cars stopped for a series of brief street meetings.

We Rise To Defend These Ten

Eight divinity students from Union Theological Seminary and two young pacifist socialists have been indicted by a Federal Grand Jury, sitting in New York, for failing to register in the draft. The eight have pleaded guilty and will be sentenced sometime after the national elections, and the two others have not yet, at this writing, pleaded.

We do not consider the action of the ten conscientious objectors as particularly fruitful. However courageous, their action was little more than a futile personal demonstration from which little anti-war benefit can follow. There are better and more forceful means of demonstrating opposition to the boss war.

But that is precisely the spring from which the futility of their action flows. As conscientious objectors they oppose all wars—be it working class war or boss war. Thus they fail to understand that in modern society all social problems of great magnitude, and above all the problem of war, can only be settled by military means. Just as the bosses are compelled to resort to war in defense of their own interests, so too will the workers (as was the case in Spain, etc.) have to resort to war in defense of their own interests.

Thus the essence of a real fight against boss war is the rallying of the masses for concerted action against that war. Conscientious objection not only overlooks that fundamental reality and necessity, it also fails to accomplish what it seeks in terms of its own precepts. Conscientious objection is essentially a personal action. It draws no masses into action; it cannot as a result accomplish anything. The capitalist class, hell-bent for profit and conquest, resorts to the most brutal violence against the people. It cannot be dissuaded by passive and individual resistance. Capitalism is well-organized in the taking care of individual resistors. That is why you have courts and police.

Nevertheless, however much we disapprove of their methods, we rise to defend their rights. The conscription bill was enacted in defiance of the popular will. The people had no opportunity to signify their acceptance or rejection of it—although the evidence is plentiful that they were against the draft. Opposed to the war, these ten pacifists had the right to oppose conscription—a right which should have been recognized by a presumably democratic government in the first place.

They chose their own methods, and while we may not think much of these methods, we certainly think more of them than of the shameful cringing of the Seminary administration before the pronouncements of Colonel McDermott. Here were a group of students acting according to the principles taught them in the school they attend. They acted as young men of principle. Not so the school administration, which normally preaches passive resistance. Faced with a choice between its own idealistic principles and the harsh reality of Colonel McDermott's ire, the administration disassociated itself from

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In addition to these short roving meetings, Shachtman addressed two major meetings. At the first of these, at Tremont and Prospect Avenues, Shachtman spoke to an audience of about 300 workers for a full hour on the principal issue of the campaign: the boss war, and the Workers Party's socialist answer to the plans and purposes of the war-makers.

Shachtman then addressed a meeting at 161st and Tremont Avenue. Although he did not arrive until 11 p.m. (closing time for street meetings in New York), the meeting was extended to allow Shachtman to address the 100 or so workers, who had been listening to speakers since 8:30, on the domestic issues in the campaign.

Thus, despite the cold weather which makes street meetings exceedingly difficult, Shachtman has spoken to fairly large and generally sympathetic audiences at 7 such meetings in the last week. Everywhere, the workers greeted with warm approval Shachtman's challenge to the other candidates to come out from their holes and state their positions.

Local New York of the Workers Party has been pushing the distribution of literature in the campaign above all else. In the last few weeks, (Continued on page 3)

The Presidential Race—



Roosevelt And Willkie Are Birds Of A Feather—Both Deceive The Nation's Youth

Have you got your number, buddy? They have it in Washington. And on October 29 you may be among the eight hundred thousand picked for the conscript army.

If they don't get you this time, have patience, you may be called in next year's contingent of one million.

No doubt you heard or read President Roosevelt's speech to us the day we registered. "It is a day of deep and purposeful meaning in the lives of all of us," he stated. And indeed it was.

But exactly what was its meaning? Why did we register? Why are we being drafted?

The President told us that by registering we were "obeying that first duty of free citizenship".

But 16 million of us registered solely because the law demanded that we do so.

We were not consulted before the law was adopted. We were not asked whether or not we wished to be drafted.

Millions of us—through our unions and other organizations—expressed our opposition to compulsory military training.

DESPITE OUR EXPRESSED WILL, we were forced to register. We will be forced to enter the conscript army.

A FINE PICTURE OF ROOSEVELT'S IDEA OF OUR "FREE CITIZENSHIP"!

You may recall that in the same speech the President informed us that his program of conscription of manpower and tremendous armaments production is for the defense of democracy and peace, "a program obviously of defensive preparation and of defensive preparation only."

Defense of democracy and peace? Is that why, without consulting the people, President Roosevelt has established a military alliance between this country and the British Empire? . . .

—underwritten the continued oppressive domination by the Union Jack in seven British colonies (and Canada) by establishing U.S. Naval bases there? . . .

—engaged in secret dealings with Britain for naval bases in the Far East and for joint naval and military action? . . .

We who are now being drafted into the army to execute Roosevelt's program—and his secret commitments: were we consulted on these matters?

No; "yours not to reason why, yours but to do and die."

That is Roosevelt's "democracy"! This is his "defense of peace"! Peace?

Already, part of the U.S. Navy—the 50 destroyers given to Britain—are fighting in the English Channel. . . .

—thousands of U.S. army planes and guns have been turned over to the British government. . . .

—American industry is a gigantic arsenal for British munitions. . . .

—American aviators are officially encouraged to join the British Royal Air Force. . . .

All this is not peace. It is war; war in which the country has been hurled in by the President under the fine sounding phrases of defense, peace, democracy. . . .

Legally we are not yet at war . . . nor are we at peace. But if Roosevelt has his way—as all his actions clearly show—the lawyers will have no difficulty deciding the question: the U.S. will be engaged in large scale naval and military combats.

Maybe you've heard Wendell Willkie make the same charge against the President. Much as we may dislike it we are forced to agree with this Wall Street dandy: Roosevelt is heading for complete U.S. involvement in the World War.

However, Willkie lies when he says that he will keep the country out of the war. He lies in order to get your vote on November 5. He lies because he, the same as Roosevelt, (Continued on page 3)

Big Business Told It Can Violate Labor Laws

Jackson And Hillman Backwater on Previously Taken Stand

Spokesmen for the Roosevelt Administration announced last week that violators of the Wagner Labor Relations Act would continue to receive fat government contracts.

Testifying to this effect before the Smith Committee of the House of Representatives, which seeks to

scuttle the Act, were Sidney Hillman, head of the Defense Advisory Commission's Labor Division, Attorney General Robert H. Jackson, Secretary of Navy Frank Knox, and Assistant Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson.

The hearings arose following the

"informal" ruling of Attorney General Jackson that NLRB decisions "are binding and conclusive upon other agencies of the executive branch of the government unless and until these findings are reversed by a court of competent jurisdiction."

Position Reversed

This ruling was understood by everyone to mean that the over one billion dollar government contract with Bethlehem Steel Corporation would be cancelled unless the company complied with the Labor Act; and that similar contracts with more than fifty other corporations which have been found guilty of violating the Act would be dependent upon their granting the right of collective bargaining to their employees.

However, the hue and cry raised by big business and their servile press that "national defense" was endangered by the ruling resulted in Jackson writing to the New York Times that his statement was "misinterpreted". He declared that his opinion did not forbid the Army or Navy Departments or the Defense Advisory Commission from dealing with law breakers if they so decided. This complete reversal of position was reiterated by Jackson before the Smith Committee.

Hillman Ambiguous

The Army and Navy officials also affirmed that Jackson's ruling had no bearing on the awarding of "defense" contracts. They asserted that they would not write into these contracts a provision that the concerns must comply with NLRB decisions, and that they would continue to do business with the law violators.

Another witness before the Committee, Sidney Hillman, who is supposed to represent labor on the Defense Advisory Commission, explained that the reason why he asked Jackson for an opinion on the effect of Labor Board findings on contracts was in order to reply to trade unions and individuals who were charging that the Defense Commission (Continued on page 4)

THE WORLD AT WAR

Churchill Refuses to State War Aims - - British Bid for Quick American War Entry

By MAX STERLING

Members of the Labor Party in the House of Commons have unsuccessfully tried to make the war more palatable to the workers of England by timidly asking Prime Minister Churchill to state the war aims of the British Government. They hoped that even a vague and general statement about a new and peaceful social order in Europe would have some quieting effect upon the millions of workers who are undergoing so much suffering in this war, the end of which is hardly in sight.

We'd Like An Explanation

It has been reported to us that, in a mid-western city, the FBI is checking up on "reds" and aliens by getting the names of those who take books on socialism from the libraries. By this method, we are informed the FBI is collecting a list of steady readers of socialist literature. Since it is not a crime to read socialist literature in this country—not yet, anyway—the information is presumably being used against aliens for the present. As reaction expands, these lists may be put to further use.

We do not know how wide-spread is this practice. But widespread or not, we object to it, and would like to hear some explanation from the Department of Justice. We repeat: the laws of this country do not make it a crime to read socialist literature. Checking on individuals, be it on what they read, or what they do, where no question of law is involved, is a violation of privacy, of library trust, and of democratic rights. (Continued on page 2)

Some answer had to be given to the workers of the Borough of Ramsgate where 1200 workers homes were destroyed by a Nazi air raid that lasted only five minutes. Surely some answer had to be given to the thousands of East Enders whose only shelter is in the "nightmare arches" and storage depots. How much longer can you get people to endure these cold, smelly and clammy vaults where thousands huddle together on bumpy paving bricks with only a thin blanket to cover them.

You have got to tell the people something, especially when a Labor Minister like Mr. Herbert Morrison tells them that they can't have deep air raid shelters because it would cost too much to build. Even Mr. Morrison knows that you just can't express regrets when a surface shelter is smashed by a direct hit. You can't always keep from the poor the knowledge that at the same time the rich are safely and luxuriously sheltered in the best shelters that money can buy.

And the war is spreading to every part of the globe. The peoples of the Balkan countries, of Turkey and the near East are on the verge of being sucked in. In the Far East, the economic measures taken by Britain and the U.S. to deprive Japan of aviation fuel from the East Indies is being supplemented by military preparations in Hong Kong, Singapore, the Philippines and Hawaii. Entire continents have been put on food rations, and hunger threatens to be universal this winter. The vice president of the Physical Section of the Royal Society of Medicine, Mr. Joseph Barnes Burt, has predicted that during this time a terrible pestilence would break out on the European Continent. (Continued on page 2)

The Second

—in the series of articles by Max Shachtman on Fascism and War will appear in the next issue of LABOR ACTION. It will deal with the position of the Socialist Workers Party (the Cannonites).

AN EDITORIAL

We Want No Passport System

There is more to this conscription business than meets the eye. It's bad enough to draft a nation's manpower to fight a war that is not theirs. It's doubly bad when this act imposes another rule of dangerous implications upon the people of the United States.

By the terms of the conscription bill, the domestic passport system has been introduced into the United States! Not entirely, as yet. Only introduced for the time being. But it is out of such "tiny" introductions that big violations of democracy grow.

So far the passport system affects only those 17,000,000 young men who have been compelled to register for military service. Tomorrow, you can be sure, the rule will be applied to all—if before that tomorrow steps have not been taken to halt this vicious scheme.

How does this passport system operate? You need merely go to the experience of the European working class for an answer. Wherever you go, every time you apply for a job, every time you try to rent an apartment, every time you are forced to spend a night at a hotel, you must register with the landlord, your employer, the hotel-manager, the vital statistics on your life.

Suppose you go for a job. Suppose the employers have put you down on the black-list as a union militant. What happens? You must haul out your sheaf of papers—giving your name, age, address, occupation and everything else an employer needs for "No Help Wanted." And that's only one of the ways in which this passport system operates. When you travel, or do pretty near anything, you have to carry your passport with you.

17,000,000 men will now (in practice—if not in law) have to produce a card, a passport, every time some cop or boss or landlord demands it. Should we now tolerate this imposition on our rights, it will only be a matter of small time before the same regulation is enacted for the whole of the population.

Assume that you accept the necessity and desirability of the draft (which we most certainly do not), assume you do not question the law, you still have the right to ask: why the rule that each registrant must at all times carry his passport—and a passport is exactly what it amounts to? Can any one demand to see it? If not, what is the aim of compelling the registrants to carry their cards with them?

We don't like it, fellow-workers, and we are sure that you don't either. The thing to do then is to get up at the union meeting, and suggest that something be done. Propose a resolution condemning the passport system. Propose a resolution pledging the union to action against this violation of a people's freedom. You owe it to yourselves as unionmen to safeguard your liberties!

With the Labor Unions— On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

YOU SEE, THERE ARE WAYS AND WAYS OF "HELPING"

Along with many of the rich and powerful who shed tears of gratitude over "our brave boys who have come to the defense of our way of life, Governor Lehman of New York added his bit. "All of us can help in some way. We can encourage our sons in meeting their responsibilities willingly and cheerfully. . . . A law creating a selective service and training system has been adopted by Congress and signed by the President after full discussion and consideration. It is a thoroughly democratic system. It plays no favorites. It gives equal responsibilities to those in every walk of life. . . ."

A few days before the governor made this speech it was revealed in the U.S. Senate that the Lehman bank, of which the governor is a partner (of course he "resigned" when he took office), had bought thousands of shares of stock in big steel corporations. The Lehman bank bought 10,000 shares of Bethlehem, 6,000 shares of Republic Steel, 10,000 of U.S. Steel and 4,000 of Youngstown Sheet and Tube.

To be sure the governor is anxious to "insure this nation from becoming a victim of aggression." He wants the workers in the army to protect those 30,000 steel shares. The workers created that wealth for the governor while slaving in the steel mills. Now he is anxious that they go to war and protect it. The governor and all his kind have their patriotism securely tied to their pocket books and "we who are about to die" are bamboozled into believing that we are going to war to fight against fascism and for democracy.

This speech of Lehman's is an insult to every man in the draft and every other worker. "All of us can help in some way." That's right. We can go to the army for \$21 a month

and get butchered. Those of us who remain at home can be kicked around in the factories or in the bread lines. That's the way we can help. Governor Lehman and his class will help too. Yes Sir. They will make millions of dollars out of the war, out of "defense," out of the "American Way of Life."

The conscription act was adopted "after full discussion and consideration." Who discussed it and who considered it. Who signed it making it a law: the masses of the workers? Not these, but the rich and their stooges in Congress and the White House. The workers are against conscription and the war. They have no interests whatsoever in protecting Lehman's 30,000 steel shares.

The Thirteen Families will agree with Lehman. He and Roosevelt are their spokesmen. Here they are and the wealth the workers have created and permit them to keep.

This is not all of the wealth of these "robber barons" but only the "value" of the stock owned by these families in the corporations they control. Their total wealth in land, buildings and bank deposits is many many millions of dollars more. It was for the benefit of these scoundrels that Lehman made his insulting speech to the conscripted workers.

The Point Is: Who Are The Real Idlers?

The high point in assiduity comes from the New York Sun. This foaming-at-the-mouth organ of the land-owning, flower garden, country gentleman, loafer ruling class published an editorial, "Why Do They Hate Wilkie?" Here is the Sun's answer. "Mr. Wilkie has promised work for everybody mentally and physically capable of working. To those who relish the bread of idleness this is not a promise but a threat—and they answer it in the only way they know." (That is by throwing garbage back at Wilkie).

Leviton Strikers Vote On Union— Just A Formality

BROOKLYN, October 21—Under the supervision of the National Labor Relations Board, the Leviton workers, now in the eighth week of their strike under the leadership of Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, will this Thursday hold an election. They will vote whether to be represented by Local 3 or go back to the "protecting" arms of Leviton without a union. The election is a superfluous formality because the union cards of practically all the workers in the plant indicate what they want. Leviton not only insisted on the useless election but did everything in his power to delay it as long as possible.

The workers feel that all this red tape would have been over with weeks ago, but that Leviton wished to make them suffer in the hope of breaking their morale. It was a vain hope.

Mass Picketing

At 10 o'clock this morning an aroma of coffee and pea soup filled the strikers' cafeteria. Forty gallons of soup was in the making, the counter was piled high with an assortment of sandwiches, all in readiness for the strikers who were at a meeting receiving instructions for the Thursday election.

Before the meeting there had been a mass picket line not only of Leviton workers but of other electrical workers expressing their solidarity. Among them were eighty from a factory making electrical fixtures, who walked out when they learned that their boss was buying parts from the Leviton Manufacturing Company.

The purpose of the mass picketing at this time is to get the office workers, the salesmen, the engineers, to stop scabbing. Strikers said they were meeting with success. The plan is to continue the mass picketing until not a scab, no matter what he calls himself, enters the plant. This is how the strikers are preparing for the negotiations due between the company and the union after the election on Thursday.

THESE BOYS DO ALL RIGHT—WITHOUT WORKING

Big corporations are beginning to report on their "earnings" for the past nine months. Patriot Tom Girdler's Republic Steel "earned" \$12,633,333 the first nine months this year, over against \$3,898,651 the same period last year. Libby-Owens-Ford Glass Co. "earned" \$7,314,781 this nine months against \$3,902,516 last year. American Telephone and Telegraph Co. (Bell System) "earned" \$204,093,251 for the 12 months ended August 31, 1940. This is \$27,956,344 over last year's profits. AT & T sent out dividend checks amounting to \$42,045,287.

The profit of AT & T for each of the 18,686,794 shares was \$10.92. The regular dividend rate of this corporation is \$9.00 a share.

In order to befuddle workers and to cover itself, the AT & T puts out a fake story that no one owns more than one per cent of the corporation's stock. Perhaps so, but what does this mean? There are 18,686,794 shares outstanding. One half of 1% therefore would be 93,233 shares. Even one fifth of 1% of the total shares would be about 3737 shares.

HIJACKING—BY THE BEST MEANS AND PEOPLE

As an illustration of the manner used by the ruling class to accumulate wealth without working for a living we call attention to a bond issue on which New York City is forced to pay interest until the year 2147.

A community that was later absorbed by New York City issued 7% bonds in 1867 amounting to \$278,000. These bonds are now an obligation of New York City. By "law" the bonds do not mature until 2147. The

In Defense— Distribute Anti- War Literature

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Oct. 16—The St. Louis Branch of the Workers Party last night distributed several hundred copies of the pamphlet This Is Not Our War at meetings in the Municipal Auditorium—one meeting to instruct registrars for today's draft registration, and one meeting at which Norman Thomas spoke in a panel discussion with representatives of the Committee to Aid the Allies, the Reserve Officers' Corps, etc. LABOR ACTION and the NEW International were also sold. The Workers Party had a clear field—only the S.L.P. ventured to distribute a few campaign handbills.

The St. Louis Star-Times today, on its front page, listed the distribution of the W.P. pamphlet as one of the highlights of the opening of the registration drive, referring to the "Workers Party, Fourth International," and giving the name of the pamphlet.

Migrant Workers Strike Calif. Cotton Fields

Special to Labor Action
BAKERSFIELD, Calif., Oct. 11—During the last week, migrant cotton pickers in Madera County, many of them refugees from the "dust bowl," went on strike in a demand for higher wages and union recognition.

The strike was called by the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (CIO) in protest against the 85-cent per hundred weight picking price set by the farmers. The union demands \$1.00.

The deadline for farmers to start negotiations with union representatives or for a representative of Governor Olson to arrange the immediate opening of negotiations having passed, the strike went into effect.

An hour later, the first caravan of seven automobiles, decorated with placards, banners and flags was formed. At 10 a.m. it paraded past cotton fields and distributed leaflets to pickers. It was to cover the Western part of the county. No police were asked to escort the caravan though the sheriff promised the union he would send deputy sheriffs along with the caravans if the strikers so desired.

Although the strike seemed aimed principally at Madera County, where between 3,000 to 4,000 workers are employed, it was believed that it might spread throughout the San Joaquin Valley to include some 20,000 to 25,000 field hands who are employed at the peak of the season.

Picket New York Button Factory

Today, October 15, at 12 noon almost a thousand members of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees (CIO) union gathered in front of the Sterling Button Co., located on 39th St. between 7th and 8th Aves. They took 15 to 30 minutes out of their lunch time in order to stage a mass picket line and help their fellowmembers who are out on strike against this company.

For the past, two months the workers of the Sterling Button Co. have been on strike. Out of 26 employees, 23 are on the picket line.

These workers who have worked there for years and some of whom were still making only an average of only 12 or 13 dollars a week are fighting for a minimum wage of \$18 a week and a general pay increase of \$3. To these demands the employer has been amenable. THE DEMAND WHICH HAS CAUSED THE STRIKE is that the union wishes for a basic staff (to be kept all year round) of a minimum of 23 people. The boss on the other hand wants a basic staff of 19 people. Since in the past years he has never kept less than 23 workers, even in the slowest times, the union demand is just and the employer has no reason for refusing to sign up.

Of Special Interest to Women

By SUSAN GREEN

Spread over a half page in the New York Times the other morning was an advertisement of a collection of natural mink coats—"very Saks Fifth Avenue—beautifully worked—silkly soft—sorel-shining—Remember too that each takes the place of a whole wardrobe of coats—you may slip contentedly and assuredly into one for any daytime occasion—for any evening occasion—simple elegance—marked individual chic—AND ONLY \$1650."

A quarter of the page contained a picture of a glamorous debutante cuddling up in her natural mink. Opposite me in the subway sat a shabby woman, without hat or gloves, clutching a paper bundle and cuddling up in her seat, for her coat was nothing to cuddle up in. It was of some muddy hue, all color having long ago faded out of it—threadbare—buttons gone—buttonholes torn through—pinned at the throat with a safety pin.

And soft, silkly, natural mink coats—"AT ONLY \$1650.00"

Malcolm Macdonald, English boss politician who is Minister of Health, broadcasting from London the other night, vividly described a gripping scene in a subway during a heavy air raid:

"In one arch more brightly lit than others by the spot-lamp hanging from its ceiling, the group of people appeared like a company of actors on a stage raised above the slumberers below. Some standing, some crouching, some lying full length, they formed a circle around the central figure of a powerful young girl.

"She stood almost motionless, her head bowed, a coil of her hair fallen forward over her face, while, with strong sweeps of her arms, she conjured from a giant accordion a whole series of soldiers' songs of the last World War.

"Her concentration was so absolute that it seemed as though nothing in the distraught world mattered but the gay, light music."

Churchill Won't State War Aims

(Continued from page 1)

Though the spectres of death and hunger face the peoples of the world, Prime Minister Churchill, as the supreme representative of the capitalist nations fighting against Hitler's brand of imperialism, is unable to stand up in the House of Commons to deny that the British ruling class is fighting in the defense of its own imperialist interests.

British imperialism is having a tough time fighting off the "have not" gangsters, but the British Prime Minister did find time to remind his allies and erstwhile allies like France that only a British victory can secure for them the colonial empires that were theirs before the Nazi blitzkrieg.

He made it perfectly clear, however, that victory depended not only on Britain but on America as well. Significantly, the British representative to the United States, Lord Lothian, is now in England and he will tell his chiefs what the American people do not know—the extent of America's secret commitments to England. Thankful as the British statesmen are for the help given them so far by American imperialism, they feel that their need requires even far greater aid.

Sir Walter Layton, of the British Ministry of Supply, in a speech made in Boston a week ago said that the

ratio of steel production in Germany and German-occupied Europe was three to that of Britain's one. "There is no doubt" he said "that if the war potential of North America is organized and thrown into the scale, the combined strength of America and the British Empire can certainly surpass and outlast that of Germany and her satellites. But in war, time is all important. Hitler has been held up by British resistance. If the tide of Nazism is to be rolled back, both Britain and the United States must act with speed."

WANT ROOSEVELT TO ACT

In general, British officials in America are deeply apprehensive over the slow development of America's armament production. They have become convinced that sufficient aid will not be forthcoming in time unless the whole program is speeded up through drastic governmental powers which would be available if the President were to declare a state of national emergency under threat of war, or if Congress were to declare war. They realize, however, that no such action can be taken before the elections on Nov. 5. They know that the President will not be able to openly avow war until, like Wilson, he is safely installed in the White House on a program of "the kept us out of war."

A step in this direction has already been taken by a bill introduced in the Senate by Senator King of Utah. It is no doubt being held up for consideration until after the elections in November. The bill calls for open financial aid to Great Britain, a scaling down of the British war debt, suspension of credit limitations of the Johnson Act and neutrality laws so far as they are applied to the United Kingdom, extension of the President's authority to permit him to enter into negotiations for acquisition or lease of British island bases in or bordering on the Pacific, and authority to extend loans directly to Great Britain.

Add to this that the draft is a fact and that the President can, by declaring a national emergency, transform the year's military training of the youth of America into an army for war duty and you have American capitalism's contribution to the war for the greater glory of British and American imperialism. Roosevelt will have as much difficulty as Churchill in honestly stating his war aims.

Now You Know

Labor Action reports a great find. Who's Yehudi? Yehudi is the guy who casts a vote in one of the election polls.

AN EDITORIAL

Conscript War Industries Under Workers Control

From the very beginning, our Workers Party has taken a firm position against the adoption of the Conscription Law and against the imperialist army, in this country and every other. Does this mean that we are opposed to the workers of the United States or any other land acquiring military training, and building up their own army? Not at all.

Workers should not shrink from learning military tactics and the use of firearms. We should become experts in the handling of modern army and navy equipment. Military actions are not carried on as in the past. Fighting from behind trees and from housetops was effective at times in the revolutionary war of 1776, but that kind of fighting is ineffective today. Even the trench warfare of the First World Imperialist War may be out of style in the present war and the wars of the future.

The discoveries of science and the applications of science have changed, and new fighting machines have been developed. Today's war is being fought with fast-moving motorized divisions, tanks and airplanes. Soldiers are armed with automatic rifles of tremendous fire power. Operations are controlled from a center by wireless. Modern war is a conflict between machines controlled by electric apparatus and powered by oil-burning engines. These deadly machines are manned by military mechanics and directed by officers who must be experts in the operation of highly complex technical equipment. Workers in the army will be trained to operate and direct these instruments of modern warfare.

Wars Protect CLASS Interests

One important matter for workers to understand is the place that military knowledge and armies play in protecting the interests of a class or national group. The ruling class of every country understands this all too well. They know that conflicts in society, conflicts between classes and nations are usually settled by military means. During the French Revolution, the forerunners of the present ruling class fought against the feudal landlords and their king Louis XVI. The ancestors of the present ruling class in the United States fought a revolutionary war against England in order to establish their own rule. The United States ruling class that was established by the Revolution of 1775 fought a Civil War in 1860-1865 to complete the victory of capitalism. All of these victories of the ruling class were won by military means.

The workers fought in all of these wars. They aided the

present ruling class to take power in every capitalist country. The workers thought they were fighting for their own freedom. In a sense this was true. The destruction of the reactionary feudal landlords; breaking loose from the reactionary English ruling class, and overthrowing the reactionary slave system were all progressive steps leading toward the complete emancipation of the working class. The workers gained greater freedom but the process is not complete yet, as every worker knows. The workers were the backbone of all the wars we have mentioned but the ruling class got most of the benefits.

A Workers' Program Is Needed

Now the workers are going into the capitalist army again. They are going there to fight against Hitler. Hitler can be destroyed only by a superior army with superior equipment and leadership. But something more is necessary for a victory over Hitler and Hitlerism. That is a program completely different from Hitler's program. The ruling class in the U.S. does not and cannot have such a program. Its program is the same as Hitler's: imperialist war for capitalist profits.

Only the working class can have a genuine anti-Hitler program because it is only the working class that can have an anti-capitalist program. The workers of France allowed their leaders to sell them the ideas and program of the ruling class and now the French workers are under the heel of Hitler and the stooge totalitarian government of Petain. The French workers showed confidence in their ruling class and this confidence was violated as has been the case again and again all over the world, when workers believed the lies told by the bosses.

A Resume Of Fundamentals

'Before we go on it is necessary to stop and see what we agree on so far. 1. We agree that this is an imperialist war and not a war against Hitler-fascism. It is a war between two groups of capitalist nations: Germany, Italy and Japan on one side, England and the United States on the other. (Russia is in the German camp but not actively in the war at the time this is written.) Each imperialist group is fighting for colonies, raw materials and control of world trade.

2. At present there is a difference between conditions in the U.S. and conditions in Germany but we do not know how long this will last. We just gave the example of France

that was also a "democratic" country once. This means that workers can not leave the job of "preserving democracy" and defeating fascism to the ruling class.

3. The workers must defeat Fascism, defend what democracy we have, and at the same time increase our democratic rights a thousand-fold. Without losing sight of Hitler, we must keep our eyes on our own ruling class.

4. Hitlerism and Hitler can only be destroyed by an army using the most modern equipment, the highest military skill and knowledge and an anti-capitalist program. The workers have been conscripted and they are entering the army and navy. Here they will acquire military training and a detailed knowledge of the use of military equipment.

5. The majority of the soldiers and sailors will be workers. Workers and not the ruling class will compose the army. We have seen however that this army is not a workers' army. It is not led by workers and it does not have a workers' program. Despite the fact that workers are the big majority in the army, it is an imperialist army. Any worker who supports, builds or strengthens an imperialist army is helping to slit his own throat and the throats of millions of other people.

We Are For A Genuine People's Army

That is why we opposed the adoption of the Conscription Law. That is why we are for its repeal today. But as we have indicated above, we are for the building up of an army, for the military training of the workers, so that they can best defend themselves from all reactionary attacks. That is why we have been and continue to be for a genuine people's army—one organized and controlled by the workers and their organizations. Such an army would have the confidence of the workers; we could rely upon it. Such an army would not be used to gain colonies for the bankers, to exploit colonial slaves, or to smash the workers' movement.

However, such an army has still to be built. While we continue to work with might and main for it, we know that it is not yet a reality. The present conscript army, the imperialist army, is a reality. As months go by, the reality will be greater. So, while continuing the work of building labor's own army, we must ask and answer the question: What shall be done meanwhile in the conscript army?

(The above is the fourth of a series of editorials setting forth the Workers Party position on War and Conscription. The concluding section will appear next week.)

Neither Willkie Nor Roosevelt— Labor Must Take the Road of Independent Class Action!

(Concluded from last issue)

We say that Roosevelt or Willkie is not the only alternative. We say further that the workers can have no confidence in Roosevelt or Willkie. No confidence in the Republican or Democratic Parties, no confidence in the ruling class or any part of it. Both Roosevelt and Willkie are for the war and we are against the war. This is the position that determines what we do in this election.

No one should underestimate the importance of defeating Hitler. Fascism and Hitler are a scourge and a terrifying aspect of the present world situation.

"Yes," you say, "it is an imperialist war. We didn't get much from Roosevelt and we don't expect much from Willkie. But there is Hitler. What do you say about that?" We repeat everything that we said above, and more.

The Ruling Class Puts Over A Myth

The bosses through their parties and candidates has always attempted to make the workers believe that only the present ruling class was competent to govern the country. It was only they who could bring peace, security and happiness to mankind. According to their teaching only they can operate the factories,

mills, mines, farms, power plants and railroads successfully. It is only they and their sons who can organize, lead and officer the army. The workers are competent only to toil in industry and fight in the bosses' army under the command of the boss and his sons.

The ruling class has gotten away with this myth long enough. There are far too many workers who believe this lie today. That is the reason they say the only alternative is Roosevelt or Willkie. That is the reason they are so passively willing to turn over the defeat of Hitler to the ruling class. Granting that the ruling class in this country will fight against Hitler, they will fight only for their own imperialist interests. They will not be fighting for democracy for the workers, but profits for themselves. Furthermore if at any time during the war, workers' eyes were opened and they decided to fight for their own class interests, the ruling class of Germany and the U.S. would quickly make peace and turn the guns on the workers at home. Every national ruling class is more afraid of its own working class than of any "foreign" ruling class. The ruling class all over the capitalist world knows how strong the working class could be if it were united and organized to act and strike as a class. The bosses in the U.S. know that they have two enemies in this war just as Hitler knows he has two enemies in the war: the "foreign" ruling class and the workers at home.

That is why the bosses are so frantic in the U.S. to hold the workers in line. That is why they want to keep us dependent on them. It is the chief business of Roosevelt and Willkie to fool the workers and put this line over. That is the reason for the two boss parties; to make the workers believe there is no other road for them: Roosevelt or Willkie.

They Couldn't Run Their Own System

The bosses brazenly attempt to put this line over despite the fact of their plain failure. They failed to keep their own capitalist system running smoothly, sometimes not at all. They couldn't keep the factories going to supply the people with the necessities of life. They plowed under crops and burned farm produce. They had to pile millions of tons of coal on top of the ground while the workers froze because they had no money to buy. They wrecked their own railroads and their own banks. After eleven years of bungling with Hoover and Roosevelt they cannot employ 9,000,000 men and women workers. On top of all this they could find no way out except through a Second World Imperialist War. They gave us starvation with Hoover and War with Roosevelt.

We Have An Alternative

They say they will defeat Hitler. Why should we have any confidence in them? Why should they get our support and our votes? They faced Hitler in France. The workers supported them and fought in their army. Today the French workers are under the heel of Hitler. They faced Hitler in England and the workers supported them and fought in their army, even sacrificing the fight for better conditions. What have the workers gained? Not even bomb shelters. These are reserved for the lords and ladies.

We say there is an alternative to voting for Roosevelt or Willkie. There is an alternative to giving support to the Republican or Democratic Party. There is another road except the road into the camp of the ruling class. That is the road of independent working

class action, independent working class politics. Every class conscious worker will understand this. No support to the ruling class parties, no support to Roosevelt or Willkie. Not a worker's vote for Willkie, not a workers' vote for Roosevelt. This is the first step. Protest against the war, against hunger, nakedness and misery by refusing to vote for Roosevelt or Willkie.

We must establish our own working class political party and our own workers' government. Then we will have a country to fight for, then we can be patriots. Then we can join the army gladly and fight against our enemies because then we will be fighting for our country.

We must make a start today. We can cure the evils of the world. It is only we who can. We can feed every man, woman and child of us. We can provide homes and clothing. We can bring peace and happiness to mankind. We can defeat Hitler and end the evil of war. If we can fight for the ruling class we can fight for ourselves. We have the numbers. We have the ability. What we need is the will, the determination and the organization.

This is a fight for every worker and every genuine friend of the working class. Workingmen and workingwomen! Close ranks!

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

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

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

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

Houses—Not Coffins

A twenty-billion dollar federal housing and public works program.

Adequate Relief For The Unemployed!

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

Confiscate The Wealth Of The Parasites!

Expropriate the Sixty Plutocratic Families! The government does not hesitate to confiscate millions of lives by conscription and war.

Nationalize American industry and run it under workers' control.

For A Workers' Government!

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

NOT A VOTE TO ROOSEVELT OR WILLKIE. BREAK FROM THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

NO SUPPORT TO THE RULING CLASS.

Field Notes On Bronx Campaign

By DWIGHT MACDONALD
Publicity Director

The Twenty-Third Congressional District, where Max Shachtman, candidate of the Workers Party, is running for Congress, embraces a large part of New York City. It includes about two-thirds of the Bronx by area and more than that by population: all of the "West Bronx", the white collar and middle class districts over towards the Hudson, spreading out on both sides of the Grand Concourse; and most of the "East Bronx", a vast area, bisected by Southern Boulevard, whose residents are mostly working men and women.

Both the Bronxes, East and West, are residential districts, with no important factory areas. The tens of thousands of workers in the East Bronx commute to their jobs by subway, going downtown or out to Brooklyn to work in garment factories, bakeries, printing plants, and so on. The Bronx is heavily Jewish in population, and in the East Bronx there is a sizable Negro section.

The Free Press is a wonderful institution, one of the pillars of our great American democracy, etc., etc. But what is it "free" to? Certainly not to the Workers Party. Last week we sent out a news release stating that over 7,000 residents of the Bronx had petitioned the Board of Elections to put Shachtman on the ballot, and that the Board had acted favorably on the petition. One might have thought that any action by seven thousand people was news, and that the appearance on a national ballot of a revolutionary anti-war candidate at this time was news—if only for its rarity value. Worth four lines at the foot of a column somewhere, or a paragraph in the "Political Notes" department. The release was sent out to all the daily papers and to about thirty other papers and magazines. How many will use it remains to be seen. But one thing has definitely been established: the daily papers don't consider it news. Careful reading of the papers for the four days following the release fails to reveal a single reference to it. Even the BRONX HOME NEWS, a daily paper with a large circulation exclusively in the Bronx, has so far printed not a line about Shachtman's campaign.

The Congressional election in the Twenty-Third District is a mysterious affair in some ways. The candidates are: for the Democrats, Charles A. Buckley, now in Congress; for the Republicans, Lowell H. Browne; for the American Labor Party, Jack Altman, the ex-Socialist, now a New Deal patriot; for the Communist Party, the veteran Stalinist back, I. Begun; and, for the Workers Party, Max Shachtman. But, except for the last-named, none of these gentlemen seems to have so far made any decided effort to make himself known to the people of the Bronx. I am told that Shachtman has made more speeches to date in the district than all the other candidates put together.

The only outward signs of the political struggle presumably taking place in the Twenty-Third Congressional District were the red, white and blue signs outside the various campaign headquarters. The Jackson Democratic Club at 1301 Boston Road had a huge sign out, with Roosevelt in large letters and Buckley in small ones. (The clubhouse was closed.) I dropped into two American Labor Party campaign headquarters, looking for some trace of Comrade Jack Altman. At one place, on Southern Boulevard, they told me that no Altman campaign literature had yet been printed, but that some would be ready "next week".

"All we have now is about Roosevelt," they said, pointing to a table loaded with pamphlets and posters. They seemed to regard me with some suspicion, obviously puzzled why any one should take such a keen interest in Altman's candidacy. At the ALP clubhouse at 1400 Boston Road, not only was there no Altman literature, but no one there seemed to place the name.

But the great mystery of the Congressional campaign is: who is the Republican candidate? The BRONX HOME NEWS doesn't tell, there are no references to him even in the few store windows that display Willkie portraits. There is a rumor that his name is Browne, which I was able to verify by a call to Republican Bronx headquarters. (The person who answered the phone didn't know his name and had to ask around to get it.) But nothing more is known of him. The reason for this obscurity, of course, is that in the Bronx, Boss Flynn's Democratic machine is so all-powerful that the Republicans exist there only on sufferance, as a sort of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. The Republican boss in the Bronx, in fact, is actually dependent on Flynn for the \$6,000 a year courthouse job he lives on. Flynn gave it to him and Flynn can take it away any time he likes. So not much is heard of the Republican Party in the Twenty-Third Congressional District.

Workers Party Policy In the 1940 Elections

The National Convention and the presidential nominations of the Republican and Democratic parties clearly show that the overwhelming bulk of American bourgeois political opinion and organization is basically united on the most imperative and vital issue before the country: the preparations for American participation in the second world war. This unity on "foreign policy" is so decisive that it reduces the differences between the two bourgeois parties, their platforms and their candidates, to comparative trifles, that is to the questions of practical application of the main pro-war policy. Previous conflicts over the "New Deal" and its industrial control-social legislation-taxation policies are rapidly receding into the background, or rather, being replaced by agreement on the policies making for the establishment of the totalitarian regime necessitated by the war preparations. This growing unity is reflected in the unprecedented inclusion of prominent statesmen of the Republican Party in than in any other way, by the fact that the main war-a Democratic cabinet and is symbolized, perhaps more cry of the opposition to Roosevelt is the factional triviality of "no third term"

In response to numerous requests we are publishing the resolution on the 1940 elections adopted by the plenary session of the National Committee of the Workers Party, held on August 10 and 11, 1940.

—The Editors

of the two bourgeois parties, the Republican and Democratic. Our party denounces and rejects any support whatsoever to the candidates and program of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist Party, or to the candidates and program of the reformist Socialist Party. While critical support of a Labor party is both permissible and necessary under conditions where it represents a federation of mass labor organization, this is not the case either with the Communist or Socialist parties. Both of these are clearly-defined political parties, or rather, sects—one large and the other small. In addition, both parties acknowledge the principle of national defense under capitalism, one in the interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy and the other in the interests of bourgeois democracy. While carrying on a vigorous campaign against these parties, it is however, permissible, in exceptional circumstances, to give critical support to members of these parties running locally on independent tickets provided they represent and have the support of mass labor organizations and provided that the exceptional case is approved by the Political Committee of the party.

While unable to present national or state candidates of its own, our party must strive with all its strength and enthusiasm to present local candidates of its own—Congressional or municipal—in several cities. Past experiences in New York and Minneapolis show that even with a comparatively small organization the party is not only capable of running its own electoral campaign but also of profiting greatly by it. In New York, if possible elsewhere, it is imperative that the party organization exert every effort to place at least one candidate on the ballot, running openly as a representative of the Workers Party and advocating its full revolutionary program. Such campaigns must be considered as over and above, for our Party far more important than the local campaigns in the trade unions for the formation of a local Labor party or a local United Labor ticket. Even where local election laws prove to offer a now insuperable barrier to getting the number of signatures required to place a candidate on the ballot, the campaign should be started and carried to the end. The results obtained in canvassing for signatures and in other forms of establishing contact with workers (street meetings, indoor meetings, literature sales and press subscriptions), will more than repay our efforts even if we do not succeed everywhere in getting our candidates on the ballot.

For An Anti-War Campaign

The propaganda and agitational slogans of our election campaigns are already contained in the Fourteen points published regularly in our weekly paper. However, these must be made to revolve around the one central and overwhelming issue of opposition to the imperialist war. All our literature, all our speeches, all our agitation must have this as their main, constantly recurring theme. All our other demands and slogans must be connected with it, must flow from it. "Down with the war and war-mongers!" "Down with conscription!" "For a people's army and a workers' government!" "Record your vote against the war, against conscription and for a government of, for and by the workers!" And, since party recruiting is the main objective of the election campaign for us at the present time, our agitation must be capped with the call, "Join the Workers Party!"

The party press, especially its weekly agitational organ, must devote a great amount of space to the election campaign. The party membership must make an exceptional effort to disseminate and popularize the press to thousands of new readers. The National Office must publish special literature during the campaign for the widest possible distribution of the Party's opinions and program.

No Labor Party In The Field

Despite the existence of large social and semi-political groups which have broken or half-broken with the two bourgeois parties, the 1940 presidential elections will not see in the field a Labor or "third" party. All the talk and threats of the Lewises, Townsends and Wheelers have proved to be blustering phrasemongering and ineffectual political blackmail. Many if not most of the leading labor officials of both A.F.L. and C.I.O. have already been incorporated into the Roosevelt war-preparations machine; the others merely await their call. Although the objective conditions and the need of the working class for an independent labor party are over-ripe in this country, the trade union officialdom from top to bottom has systematically sabotaged its formation. Corrupt labor lieutenants of capitalism, they are keenly aware of the fact that the initiation of a national labor party, especially at this time, would mean a sharp break with the bourgeois political parties and politicians who now dominate the working class and would give a strong impulsion to the class struggle on the political field. This would seriously impair "national unity", that is, the complete subjugation of the working class to the bourgeoisie and its imperialist war aims and preparations. Much as some sections of the trade union officialdom would like to play an independent or rather autonomous political role in the country, their fear of the class implications of a Labor Party and its revolutionary potentialities has caused them to subordinate this desire to the interests of the bourgeoisie.

In view of the practical impossibility of an independent Labor party presidential candidate and campaign in the 1940 elections, our own slogan for a national labor party can be given only a propagandistic character. As a slogan of agitation and action, it must necessarily be confined to local situations, where conditions and working class sentiment are especially favorable to its presentation.

The Workers Party must participate in the 1940 elections to the fullest extent of its forces, utilizing the opportunity afforded it by the campaign and the widespread interests of the masses in it, to present the revolutionary working class program to the greatest possible number of people.

No Support To Any Presidential Candidate

The forces of the Workers Party are too few and too scattered to enable it to present presidential candidates of its own. Our party of course rejects in principle any support whatsoever to the candidates or program

Eugene Victor Debs -- A Citizen of the World

Eugene Victor Debs died sixteen years ago, on October 20. Since his death, he has had to suffer the insult of commemoration by war-mongering scoundrels of every traitorous hue. Gene Debs who spat defiance at the war-mongers of the world in his historic Canton, Ohio, speech; Gene Debs who was clapped into jail by the war-patriots of 1918 for delivering that speech—solemnly commemorated by the turncoats whom he loathed. The insult to the man is unbearable; it cannot pass unchallenged.

Gene Debs himself stands as answer to all those who besmirch his name with their hypocritical praise. He was the most beloved figure in the history of the American labor movement. And he was that, because not once in his life did he waver in loyalty to HIS class. Not once in his life did he yield an inch to the boss. And above all else, not once did he dilute his

hatred of boss war with the vermin-encrusted sop of social-patriotism.

"I hate; I loathe; I despise Junkerdom. I have no earthly use for the Junkers of Germany, and not one particle more for the Junkers of the United States."

That was Debs at Canton, Ohio—striking his proletarian fist at the body of boss war and reformist treachery.

Had he done nothing more in his life than to stand steadfast against the boss-war, had he not led the Pullman strike, had he not been one of the greatest organizers of American labor—for that alone he would be forever remembered. While turncoats topple into the war machine with each passing day, only the best of men can stand up and defy the hysteria with proletarian courage. And Gene Debs was such a man.

We are reliving the days of 1918—on a larger and more terrible scale. Just

as the pre-war "peace" movement collapsed in an orgy of jingoism in 1917—so too today. Just as so many "socialists" of that time turned avid war-patriots—so too today.

But the men who serve their class stand firm, however great the personal peril. That lesson Gene Debs taught us—and we shan't ever forget it. We act in his spirit because we are animated by the same convictions that were his.

Gene Debs was great because he was a worker, a socialist, and only that. He was a patriot of no nation, because he owed allegiance to the whole world of humanity. While "socialists" voted war credits in Germany, and others turned to the selling of liberty bonds—for American, or French, or German "democracy"—Debs challenged the pack with a ringing affirmation of proletarian internationalism: "I have no country to fight for; my country is the earth; I am a citizen of the world."

Speed Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

8,000 copies of LABOR ACTION, 48,000 throw-aways, 5,000 special leaflets, all of them carrying the anti-war message of the Workers Party, have been distributed. This week the youth section of the Party, the Young Peoples Socialist League, began the sale of 8,000 copies of a special 1¢ election issue of the Challenge of Youth. Also, a first printing of 25,000 copies of the Election Platform of the Workers Party, and 8,000 copies of the pamphlet, "Labor and the 1940 Elections," will go on sale

this week. Going to press now are 25,000 special leaflets.

Promote Publicity

To promote the campaign, a Publicity Committee has been formed under the chairmanship of Elsie Dinsmore. Dwight Macdonald is Publicity Director. The Committee has sent out its first news release to fifty-three newspapers and magazines in the city. It has written letters to eighty-four Bronx clubs, fraternal organizations, forums, and unions, enclosing a copy of the Workers Party campaign platform and asking them to acquaint their members with Shachtman's candidacy and to include Shachtman in any discussion meetings they may hold on the issues of the Bronx congressional campaign.

A letter has been written to the local radio station, WBNX, requesting time on the air for Shachtman to present to the voters of the Bronx the Workers Party view of the issues.

An article on the campaign has been prepared by Dwight Macdonald for the Listener News, an influential Negro paper in the Bronx. This is to be printed in the next issue of the paper, and the editor of the Listener News has further offered to arrange a forum meeting at which Shachtman and the other local candidates can present their views.

Last week letters went out to various labor groups asking their support of Shachtman as the only anti-war candidate running in the Bronx. Among these was the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP has not yet answered officially, but it is understood that they will reject the request, putting factional considerations above the interests of the struggle against boss war.

The campaign committee needs \$50.00 for loud speaking equipment

Face Death—

(Continued from page 1)

knows that the people—you and your fellow conscripts—are opposed to the war.

Willkie, like Roosevelt, is a defender of the system of the ownership and control of the wealth of the country by a few wealthy families; the big monopolists who sweat profits out of our toil, and whose rich investments in Latin America and Asia we are supposed to defend.

In this sense Roosevelt was right in his speech to us. His program is defensive. But not the defense of peace. Not the defense of democracy.

No. It is for the defense of the investments and interests of big business; for the defense of the juicy profits of the Morgans, the Mellons and the Rockefellers.

This is what we have to understand. And this is what we must make our fellow conscripts understand.

Then when our number is called, we can enter the army with eyes open, with clear vision. We know what it's all about. We will then work up our own program for "peace and democracy".

We will attempt, in the words of the President, "to bring to pass a better world". Not a world of wage slavery and imperialist wars, which he defends as "democracy", but a world of real democracy, freedom, equality and plenty based upon the common ownership and control by the workers of the fields, factories and workshops of the country.

And for such a world—for a free, socialist society—we would gladly take up arms against reaction, whatever its form.

and about \$100.00 for literature and meetings. It appeals to all the readers of LABOR ACTION to send funds to the Shachtman-for-Congress committee—114 West 14th Street, New York City.

Editorials

OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

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

A Job Well Done

We congratulate the New York Local of the Workers Party on its splendid achievement in placing Max Shachtman on the Congressional ballot. On the face of it, that may not appear as a tremendous accomplishment. But considering the difficulties and the obstacles, the achievement is no mean one for a small revolutionary party, presenting an anti-war candidate.

Since last year when Shachtman was placed on the Councilmanic ballot, war sentiment has many times multiplied. Ream upon ream of war propaganda has been directed at the masses in virtually every bourgeois journal, in the country. The government has loosed a flood of war hysteria. Despite that, and despite the fact that this year the party was working in an area much smaller than last year, the total number of signatures collected was higher by several thousand.

This is not merely a testimony to the energy of the comrades who went out night after night and plugged away at their job; it is also a testimony to the forthrightness of their anti-war position, and an indication of the great numbers of workers who have not yet been deluded by the war propaganda. Especially was this so in the Negro neighborhoods of the 23rd Congressional district where the anti-war and race equality program of the Workers Party was best received.

All of this is made more significant by the fact that there has been a deliberate policy in the various election boards (acting on Department of Justice inspiration) of the country to keep working class parties off the ballot, especially, where as in our case, the party is a revolutionary one. So for example, the Communist Party (now playing the anti-war theme under Stalin's foreign policy baton) has been kept off the ballot in many states—in violation of the spirit and letter of the Constitution. In New York, where the Communist Party is legally on the ballot, the Board ruled many of its candidates off the ballot by declaring their signature petitions invalid. So too, in some cases, the Socialist Party.

The Election Board would no doubt have been glad for the least opportunity to keep Shachtman off the ballot. Repub-

licans, Democrats and Roosevelt ALP'ers—they can run to their heart's content. It makes small difference to the bosses if these run, because all of them hold essentially the same program. It does make a difference to them when a candidate takes the floor on a militant socialist program, exposes the war-mongers, and bids for labor support on a real labor platform.

The New York Local has done the first part of its job well. The past two weeks give us every reason to predict that the second job, advancing the program of socialist opposition to war in the Congressional campaign, will be done equally well.

Sergeant Jim Crow

President Roosevelt has given official sanction and approval to the Jim-Crow policies of the army and navy. After consultation with the secretaries of the War and Navy Departments he issued the following statement of policy. We quote only point "7" as this is the main part of the Jim-Crow position of the government.

"The policy of the War Department is not to intermingle colored and white enlisted personnel in the same regimental organizations. This policy has proven satisfactory over a long period of years and to make changes would produce situations destructive to moral and detrimental to the preparations for national defense."

"For similar reasons the department does not contemplate assigning colored reserve officers other than those of the medical corps and chaplains to existing Negro combat units of the regular army . . . it is the opinion of the War Department that no experiments should be tried with the organizational set-up of these units at this critical time."

This procedure is nothing new, but as far as we know, it was never given official sanction by a president before in a public statement. This was the policy of the government in the last war, but it was a sort of gentlemen's agreement. Negroes were Jim-Crowed, segregated, mistreated and insulted in the army. Outside the army they were Jim-Crowed, mobbed and lynched while the war was going on. Roosevelt now proclaims Jim-Crow the official policy of the government and boldly lets the whole world know. The government puts its seal of approval on the vicious Jim-Crow policy of every Negro hater, of every leader of the mob in the United States. Negroes are told bluntly by the president of the United States that they are outcasts; filth and dirt, they have no rights that white men are bound to respect; they are no better than an army mule.

Roosevelt can get off all the blah and blow he chooses about Negroes going into every branch of the service and having equal opportunity with everyone else. The fact that Negroes are getting into the air corps and other branches that have hitherto been closed to him is not the main point. The chief consideration is that they are being Jim-Crowed and that the segregation policy of the military bureaucrats has been officially upheld.

What does Roosevelt mean when he says that this Jim-Crow policy "has been proven satisfactory." Satisfactory to whom? We can answer that: it has proven satisfactory to the Klan, the German-American Bund, leaders of the mob and every Negro hater from coast to coast.

Negro officers are not to be permitted in the four regiments of the regular army; only Negro doctors and preachers. In civil life, Negroes are attended by Negro doctors and Negro preachers give them their religion. White doctors don't like Negroes in their offices along with other patients. White churches bar Negroes. Therefore the government will carry this Jim-Crow practice over into the army. Nothing must be disturbed. All the disabilities the Negro suffers in civil life are to be transported into the army. Into an army that is supposed to be fighting to make the world safe for democracy.

This stand of the government must make Negroes very happy. Jim-Crow and segregation and lynching everywhere. Jim-Crow restaurants, theatres and schools. Residential segregation and discrimination in the courts. Not permitted to vote in several southern states. Subject to insult from birth until death and from morning to night. A Jim-Crow army to fight against fascism. And all this receives the blessing of the federal government.

"We wonder for how long Negroes will submit to this sort of barbarism and injustice. They have a long hard fight ahead of them. Their main enemy is not in Germany but right here in the United States.

Breaking Through the Oriental Censorship

On the Road to Singapore

By SHERMAN STANLEY

SINGAPORE — Happy, oh happy indeed is the world of dreams and illusion! In this outpost of British imperialism the most popular current movie is that of our old friends, Bing Crosby, Bob Hope and Dorothy Lamour in "The Road To Singapore!"

As you know, this picture has about as much to do with Singapore or the road leading to it as President F.D.R. has to do with the road leading to peace. But I suppose this is precisely why it is so popular with the population and has been indefinitely held over. For life in colonial Singapore—hot, dirty, squalid, overcrowded—would hardly be bearable without some make-believe touch to relieve the monotony of each day's existence.

Military Base

The island of Singapore is today dotted with hastily constructed military and naval works. While an in-different and largely hostile colonial population looks on, the British authorities are putting the last touches to their Gibraltar of the Far-East. For, far from expecting the early arrival of crooner Crosby or luscious Lamour on the next P & O boat, they nervously await the long-feared invasion of Japanese naval and military forces. Thus, Singapore has become Britain's major military base in this area of the world, with large naval forces, several airfields and a minimum of 10,000 troops.

Occupation of Singapore would give the Japanese imperialists complete domination of the Southern Pacific, including the Dutch East Indies, British and French Borneo and would place the forces of Japan a bare 350 miles from Australia. Such is the strategic value of this Far Eastern rock! The road to Singapore is sown with the hard rock of bitter, inter-imperialist military conflict.

A Vital Possession

Britain has been staging an embarrassing retreat in the Far East. Before the overwhelmingly superior position of Japan one imperialist barricade after the other has tumbled. The British gave up the ghost in the Tientsin dispute, then withdrew their naval forces from Hongkong, closed the Burma Road, (until this week—Ed.) withdrew their total forces from Shanghai, etc. But it will not surrender Singapore without a bloody last ditch fight. Far too much is at stake. Not only would surrender mean loss of the South Pacific, but the eastern portals guarding the entrance to Malay, Burma, Ceylon and India would be thrown open.

It is for this reason that Singapore has now become a concentration center and base of the Empire. All those troops, forces and equipment that were withdrawn from China, etc. have been drawn as if by a magnet to Singapore island. In addition, ex-

tra troops have been shipped from Australia, England and India. Anzacs from down under; swaggering English lads in R.A.F. uniforms; small, dark Malaysians; powerfully-built Punjabis from Northern India—all these soldier types can be seen on Singapore's streets. Come what may, the imperialists are determined to hold on to their plunder!

There is yet another objective behind these military preparations. As a part of the daily growing military and political accord between America and the remnants of the British Empire, there is a distinct possibility that Singapore may be "leased" to the United States for its own imperial purposes. I understand that imperialist surveyor Mr. Roy Howard is shortly expected here as part of a tour of the East Indian area. This notorious American journalist salesman no doubt intends to sample the goods before the purchasing price is fixed! American capital is extending its arms across the vast Pacific and preparing to reach for new, hitherto untouched areas.

But Singapore island has more value than that of military-strategic importance. It is the shipping and feeder-point for the peninsula of Malay—a colony rich in two highly coveted raw materials, rubber and tin. Raw rubber and tin—how badly are these products needed by the hungry war machines of the imperialist powers!

Slavery For People

And this brings us right to the question of the colonial population who inhabit Singapore city and the adjacent peninsula. On Singapore island itself Chinese who migrated from Canton, Hongkong and Fukien Province in South China form about 85% (450,000) of the total population. The balance of the population (leaving aside the unwanted foreign imperialists) consists of the Malaysians and Indian immigrants. As for Malay, there the bulk of the population consists of the native people who work the plantations.

In no sense do these people (95% of the population) participate in the decisions that supposedly are to decide their fate. They are the dark, exploited masses—slaving away on the rubber plantations, in the tin mines and smelter factories, on the quays and dockyards. Colonial rule in Malay is as harsh as any other place—sub-existence wages, union organizations forbidden, long prison terms for malcontents, etc. Since the war began, the collapse of the international market and shortage of shipping have thrown tens of thousands into indefinite unemployment. Singapore's great harbor today handles two or three ships per week! And at the same time there looms that greatest danger of all—a shortage of rice, the food staple of the masses.

In the early months of this year Singapore labor responded nobly to the difficult problems facing it.

There were economic strikes among the rubber plantation workers, dock laborers and factory women. Most dramatic strike of all was that of 300 women working in the American owned Firestone rubber factory of Singapore city. These women pulled a sit-down strike and were only ousted after a physical clash with the police. So fierce did Malay and Singapore labor become that the authorities began to lose their heads and newspaper editors became hysterical. On May Day several Chinese workers were killed in a bloody clash with police during a Stalinist-led parade. The closing of the Burma Road hardly added to British popularity.

But these actions, unfortunately, were conducted mainly under Stalinist leadership. These gentlemen, far more concerned with conducting military defeatist propaganda in favor of the Hitler-Stalin accord, could give no lead or shape to the rising movement. Instead, they fell victim to the police and many of them were interned or deported. Now the movement has temporarily died down and all is tentatively quiet. What was lacking was revolutionary direction.

Indifferent To Attack

And what if Japan attacks? What will happen then? First of all, under the complex circumstances of today it would be wrong to assume that Japan is prepared to attack Singapore shortly. No doubt they are planning to do so ultimately and have long ago spied out the ground with their ubiquitous "fishermen". But Japan, partly because of its own internal weakness which is far more than most people imagine and partly because of fear of incurring Hitler's wrath, must play a waiting, cautious game. Japan cannot act boldly and swiftly.

But if and when they do attack there is no question that Singapore will fall. It can be largely isolated by naval and land forces, while the Japanese can bring up large forces. Far more important is the fact that the masses, seeing no distinction between British and Japanese imperialism, will remain passive and neutral, forming the silent mass of the Third Camp that is slowly being whipped into shape by revolutionary internationalists everywhere. Although they burn with hatred of the Japanese (Singapore's Chinese colony has done more for Nationalist China than any other Chinese foreign community), they cannot distinguish sufficient difference between the British and Japanese to make it worth while dying for. For an independent Singapore and Malay, yes—for England's colony, no. So they will fold their hands in silence while the rival brigands fight it out.

Even worse for the British is the fact that their large Punjabi (Indian) forces will quit the fight at the first opportunity. These Indian soldiers, brought to Singapore against their will, have no heart to fight for the British. Already there have been several cases of rebellion and "disobedience" in the Punjabi ranks. Let it be remembered, as Lenin pointed out in his writings on Ireland, that Indian regiments in Singapore were the first to rebel against the last World War—a full year before Ireland's Easter Week uprising! And these soldiers, to whom I have talked, have not forgotten 1915. They want only to return to India, to fight for India's freedom!

Such is Singapore today. Waiting nervously and expectantly for the outcome of the war. And in the background, more conscious than ever before of the purely mercenary and imperialist character of the conflict, hover the Chinese and Malayan masses. They too are waiting—waiting their first opportunity to smash all imperialisms be they white, yellow or brown. These are the people to whom the small group of Fourth Internationalists in Singapore direct their revolutionary propaganda.

Big Business—

(Continued from page 1)

sion was abetting these open shop law breakers.

Now it appears, Hillman can give an unambiguous answer to these charges. They have been affirmed as true by all the responsible officials—including President Roosevelt, who when asked about the matter at a press conference, referred to the testimony of his subordinates.

Hillman, in a statement to reporters following the hearing, declared "it is obvious that there may be times when a person should not insist upon the final technical letter of the law." This from the mouth of a labor leader in reference to labor laws!

Like his big boss President Roosevelt, Hillman has repeatedly promised to defend the social gains of the workers even in "emergencies". However, he cannot serve both the imperialist war interests of big business and the needs of the workers and trade unions. Tied to Roosevelt's war machine Hillman has become a valuable tool for breaking strikes ("mediating") and destroying the social gains of the workers.

It is up to the workers in the unions to act. They must prepare to fight if they are to maintain their social gains, and go forward in the struggle for higher wages and better conditions.

About The Rat Who Starved To Death In A Cheese Factory

By PAUL TEMPLE

"Up to a certain point, you talk a lot of horse-sense," said Johnny to Bill, "and that's why I listen. But then you go and jump off, and make a lot of statements you can't prove."

BILL: What's on your mind?

JOHNNY: I mean when you say that Roosevelt wants to be imperialistic. Now me, I think Roosevelt's a right guy, and doesn't want to horn in on any small countries and step on their necks.

Not A Personal Question

BILL: Let's get one thing straight first. There's a difference between "wanting to" and "having to". I don't know whether Roosevelt enjoys holding a whip over the Latin American people or not, but I know that he has to. Otherwise the capitalists in this country would starve for profits. Roosevelt WANTS to do his duty to keep capitalism going, so he HAS to be imperialistic.

JOHNNY: Well, I can see what you mean. It's just as if the boss would like to pay us higher wages, but he can't because then he wouldn't rake in a profit for himself.

BILL: Absolutely. Our boss has to exploit us in order to keep his own business making profit. Put together all the bosses and you can say: they have to exploit the people of Latin America so that American capitalism can keep on making profits.

JOHNNY: I said I see what you mean, but that doesn't mean I agree with you. You've got to show why Roosevelt has to be imperialistic just because he's for capitalism.

Starvation In Midst Of Plenty

BILL: I'll do it with two fairy tales, and here's the first: "Once upon a time there was a rat who starved to death in a cheese factory . . ."

JOHNNY: All that shows is that the rat had indigestion. Are you trying to be funny?

BILL: Not a bit! That's just what happened, right in this country. This country is the richest in the world and can produce enough food and goods for everybody. But still millions of people haven't enough to eat—Here's the rest of the fairy tale: "This particular rat found a big hunk of cheese, but it was too big, so he threw it all out of the window and lived on grasshoppers." That's why, when the farmers grow too much wheat, it has to be plowed under while at the same time people don't have enough bread.

JOHNNY: You explained that once. It's because the capitalists will sell the goods to us only if they make a profit, and we don't get enough in wages to buy it. I know that's crazy, but what's it got to do with being imperialistic?

BILL: Here's what. If the capitalists can't sell these goods at home in the U.S., they've got to sell them to other countries, in order to keep their profit system going. At the same time the capitalists in England and Germany and Japan have got to get rid of their unsold cornflakes and oil and machines too. So all of them compete with each other. The next thing you know, one of them decides that the best way to corner the market is to grab control of the country itself. That's why all the big countries fight for control of the weak ones, and whoever gets frozen out gets its profit system in a lot of trouble.

Run A Protection Racket

JOHNNY: And you say that the U.S. does that too?

BILL: The U.S. actually controls most of the countries of Latin America, even though they're supposed to be "independent".—But there's something even more important. That's where the second fairy tale comes in. "Once upon a time there was a very rich man who turned into a crook because he had so much money he didn't know what to do with it all."

JOHNNY: That sounds as crazy as the rat, but maybe you've got a point.

BILL: I certainly have. The American bosses have been piling up mountains of profit out of our labor for over 150 years now. What are they going to do with all the spare capital they've hoarded?

JOHNNY: That's easy. They buy a lot of Rolls-Royces, yachts, servants, mansions . . .

BILL:—and politicians and mistresses. But then they still have some fat bankrolls left.

JOHNNY: They can plow it back into business and re-invest it.

BILL: You mean they'll build more plants and factories HERE, so that they can make still more goods that can't be sold here and just lie around and clog up the profit system? NO SIR. They take their extra change and ship it down to one of these backward countries, and build their factories and oil plants THERE. They get cheaper labor there, and they have a bigger market there, and so they make more money that they don't know what to do with.

JOHNNY: All right, so besides shipping out the goods they make in factories in this country, they also ship out their extra money to make the factories themselves, abroad.

BILL: See what happens then? Once they've got a lot of investments in these weaker countries, they've got to worry about PROTECTING them from the natives—out of whom they're grinding their profits. That's where the government comes in; it runs the protection racket for the bosses. That's another reason why it has to horn in on the small countries; and if these countries don't like the idea, it has to step on their necks.

JOHNNY: I still don't believe Roosevelt would do that.

BILL: His only way out is to abolish the profit system here in the U.S. Then the food and goods and capital that they now have to ship out of the country, in order to make a profit, can go to the masses of American workers in order to make a profit, can go to the masses of American workers in order to feed and clothe us better. But you won't catch Roosevelt betraying his own class that way. No—he's hanging on to capitalism, and capitalism is hanging on to its imperialistic control over other peoples. That's why fighting against imperialism is the job of OUR OWN CLASS, the workers.

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