

## F. D. R. MESSAGE: "ALL-OUT-FOR-WAR"

### Coolidge Sees War Boom Sharpening Class Conflict

By DAVID COOLIDGE

So far on this trip I have been in four cities: Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland and Akron. Each of these cities and the surrounding territory is humming with activity in connection with the preparation of the United States to participate in the war by rendering "all aid to Great Britain short of war." This is the formula that most of the citizens of the Republic seem willing and ready to drug themselves with.

Plants are going up everywhere, huge plants, plants to make powder, gun sights, guns, airplanes, tanks, control apparatus of all kinds and for all sorts of machines used in modern technical warfare. There are plants for making machines that will make other machines; plants to make underwear so that the soldiers can be warm and keep a steady trigger finger. Soldiers can't be allowed to shiver around in the face of the "fascist aggressor." He might break through and destroy the "American Way of Life."

Everywhere I go I find one paramount question being discussed and written about in the editorials and columns of the daily press. That question is LABOR. What are the workers going to do? Will they insist on the maintenance of the present work week? Will they keep up their disconcerting demands for higher wages? Will labor consent to "arbitration" and no strike clauses in new contracts?

While the bosses and their congressional friends discuss these questions and make their plans for lengthening the work week and reducing wages, the workers, especially those of the CIO, go right ahead with organizing campaigns of varying degrees of effectiveness and intensity.

#### Buffalo

Buffalo is an excellent example of this. In this city on Lake Erie, the aircraft industry is literally booming. Plants are expanding and the number of workers in each plant is increasing by the thousands. They are young militant workers. The

(Continued on page 2)

### The President's Message



## Profits Spell Speed-Up at Camp Dix

Writer Finds Workers Not Too Enthusiastic About War Preparations

By BILL CARPENTER

"Anything goes" could well be the sub-title of the National Defense Plan. That is, anything goes that's at the expense of the workers.

Take the situation at Camp Dix as one example. This information is first hand, and therefore authentic.

It all starts with the newspaper advertisements: Three thousand carpenters needed to erect 850 two-story military barracks at Camp Dix. (It's only afterwards that we find out that as many hundreds of men are fired or quit each day, as are hired.)

Arriving at the camp, we are sent to the union to buck up against the labor bureaucrats. We have to wait

for hours until the business agent decides to come. When he finally comes, he calls the members of his own local first. Our books are examined by him—to see that we are up-to-date on dues and assessments, and by the representative of Wm. L. Hutchinson, President of the International Union, affiliated with the AFL, to make sure that radicals and members of progressive locals do not find their way into the Camp.

Then the Burlington local of the Union, the one that assigns the men to Camp Dix, takes the opportunity to get a rake-off at our expense. The price of the monthly working permit is \$3. All carpenters of other locals, who have been members for less than two years and who belong to a local with an initiation fee less than \$80, must pay the difference to the Burlington local.

Despite all these payments there is no guarantee of a lasting job. Consequently, some carpenters find themselves fired, or laid off after a week, a day or even a half a day. And the reason for firing can be anything that suits the foreman, or even something like the fact that you opposed the business agent in your home local years ago.

Here's another way the labor-fakers take advantage of us. On September 17, a business agent and the secretary of a certain New York local came down to the camp to have their stooges placed on jobs. These stooges had preference slips so that they did not have to wait their regular turn, which sometimes is as long as five days, but got jobs immediately after paying \$3. From this we can assume that the business agents' influence works both ways, to place and displace.

#### Water Is Out!

Let's leave the bureaucrat's racket for a while and find out what happens on the job. Printed instructions, with details on how to speed up the men, are handed to the foremen. And they relate to matters such as these: Instead of the usual two, only one man must hold the board in place to mark off the length; he must place his saw so that he can reach it without making an extra step; he is told exactly how to swing his hammer to get the maximum results; etc., etc.

The following are speed-up measures which are enforced but have not been put into printed form as yet: 1) No drinking water on the job, 2) no toilets, 3) no tool shanty, 4) no saw filing or tool sharpening, 5) time deduction when shifted from one section to another during working hours and 6) no redress from the business agent if fired.

It has been figured out that if a man takes a drink of water the boss loses 3 minutes, which equals 2 1/4¢, and if he carries out the instructions circularized in print, he would probably need three drinks of water in 4 hours, which means 9 minutes. This in turn would cause him to go to the toilet and would require three minutes more, adding up to 24 minutes or 54¢ a day. On 500 men the boss

would lose \$270.00. (So the water question is out.)

Now we come to the tool shanty. If the boss were compelled to furnish a tool shanty for each hundred men, he would run up an expense of \$100 a week. So he forgets about that. Saw filing on the job would cost about \$200 a week, and a man caught filing his saw soon finds himself fired.

### Energetic Union Drive Forces Ford Co. Into Defensive Position

Special to Labor Action

DETROIT, Mich.—The drive to organize workers of the Ford Motor Company is proceeding energetically on a number of fronts and has forced the Ford company into a defensive position. Harry H. Bennett, Ford's personnel manager and boss of the gang of thugs known as the "Service Department," announced that 400 workers discharged for union activity would be reinstated, providing that James F. Dewey, Federal Labor Conciliator, found that they had been discriminated against.

"Of course," said Mr. Bennett, whose Service Department hoodlums frequently administer a bloody beating to unionists as an advance of their discharge, "Mr. Dewey understands that by union membership we do not mean those who left their work to argue with other workers and to start fights with them."

An agreement to rehire a single unionist is a decided break in the Ford tradition of autocratic control of his properties and workers. Dozens of complaints of anti-union practices and five convictions by the National Labor Relations Board have not restrained in the least the ruthless crushing of all union activity in Ford plants. But now Ford is beginning to feel the effect of a genuine and sustained drive by the United Automobile Workers.

On another front the UAW and the CIO continue to harass Ford by vigorously protesting the allocation of huge war contracts to a company five times convicted of violating the nation's labor laws. Certainly these protests have not yet deprived Ford of any juicy contracts, as proven by a recent order of the War Department for reconnaissance cars, given despite the objections of Sidney Hillman, member of the National Defense Commission.

Nevertheless, Ford feels compelled to justify himself in the eyes of the public. Full-page advertisements in newspapers throughout the country, followed by more in Detroit newspapers this week, proclaimed that all this talk of labor trouble in Ford plants was the work of "outside agitators and false propaganda."

Significantly, little of Ford's own propaganda was directed towards his employees. Rather, it was addressed to the small business man, the potential buyer of Ford products and to the user of Ford automobiles and trucks. Here is the army that Ford

is attempting to recruit for his coming struggle against the Ford workers.

Less obviously, but with much more certainty as to results, the costly full-page spreads which ran in every newspaper of importance were enlisting the support of the daily press. There is no one more sympathetic to the message of full-page advertising than a newspaper publisher.

Ford is preparing for a fight with labor and he is hurriedly lining up his allies. His fight will not be against the government, for Roosevelt has made plain that the Walsh-Healey act, the Fair Labor Standards act, the National Labor Relations act and the rest of the labor laws are nothing more than phrases, to be ignored at will. What sort of an enemy is it that gives Ford \$150,000,000 worth of contracts in the past two months?

Ford's fight is against the workers in his plants, and their brothers organized in the UAW, and their fellow-unionists in the CIO. These are the workers who are determined that the Ford Motor Company will be organized.

Then there are small side rackets. Collections are made to buy the Superintendent a present, and stooges go around collecting money for the timekeeper and promise those who pay him that they'll get overtime (at double pay), but this never materializes.

For maintaining all of these conditions, the Burlington business

(Continued on page 2)

### Hillman Job Underlines Bosses' Tough Problem: How To Get Labor Behind the War?

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

President Roosevelt took two major steps in his war policy this week. He made an "all-out" speech to Congress asking for full military aid to Britain and declaring an undeclared war against Germany. And he appointed Sidney Hillman and W.S. Knudsen as the top bosses, with equal powers, of the entire rearmament program. Both moves were efforts to answer the same tough question: how to get the support of the American masses for a war which is not their war but a war to defend and extend the interests of American imperialism throughout the world?

#### First Meet Mr. Knudsen-Hillman

The appointment of Hillman to co-leadership with Knudsen of the whole "defense" program came as a shock to the conservative press. When the top "defense" body was being shaped a few weeks ago, it was originally proposed—and even announced—that Knudsen would be the boss, a one-man economic dictator like Baruch in the last war, while Hillman, representing— theoretically, at least—labor, was not even to be on the top board. The left New Dealers persuaded Roosevelt to include Hillman as a fourth board member, the other three being Knox, Stimson and Knudsen. "And now we find Hillman made co-leader with Knudsen, while Knox and Stimson take back seats.

It seems clear that the White House is impressed by the militancy with which organized labor has been fighting for its interests of late, and the failure of the flag-waving, red-baiting campaign to prevent strikes in "defense" industries. The Reuther plane-manufacturing plan, the current Ford organizing drive—these are also factors. Hillman's appointment is thus partly a concession to labor. It is also an attempt to take labor into camp. For Hillman, as the President well knows, is a "safe" and "reasonable" labor leader, who can be relied on to do his best to keep labor in line for war production. When reporters asked what would happen if Hillman and Knudsen disagreed—on giving contracts to Ford, for instance—"the President insisted that the question was silly". He just couldn't imagine such a thing.

To persistent questions, Roosevelt replied that he had "only one defense chief" and that "his name is Knudsen-Hillman". Roosevelt is no amateur in matters of this sort. He and his close advisers have had many months of experience with Hillman and have found him always entirely "reasonable". It will be Hillman's job to hold labor in line for the war and to prevent as much as possible strikes and other signs of labor revolt. But because of the very nature of his position and of his background, Hillman will have to yield more to working class pressure than, say, his partner, Knudsen, would have to. It is up to labor to provide that pressure in ever-increasing measure from now on.

For Labor Action -  
Join Workers Party

#### Now Listen to FDR's Speech

President Roosevelt's speech before Congress went even farther on the road to war than his radio "fireside chat" of last week. He made it clear that, so far as his Administration is concerned, the United States is already at war with Germany. He repeated, in stronger terms, his proposal to send U.S. Army and Navy planes, guns and munitions "abroad to our friends who by their determined and heroic resistance are giving us time in which to make ready our own defense". And he added: "We will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard it as a breach of international law or as an act of war." Look at Norway, Holland, Belgium, he said; they trusted in international law and waited for the Nazis to attack first. The implication was clear. . . .

There was a noticeable lack of enthusiasm in the response of the members of Congress to the President's fevered oratory. Maybe they were thinking of the seventeen billions they would be asked to vote for as an initial payment on the coming year's war expenses. I think it more likely, however, they were beginning to wonder just how the Anglo-American bloc was going to be able to drive Hitlerism from the face of the earth—and how they could prevent the war aims of Churchill-Roosevelt to their constituents.

#### The "Four Freedoms"

The feeblest part of the President's speech was its grand climax—the statement of American war aims. For the first time, Roosevelt ventured to put into itemized form the aims he conceives Britain and America to have in this war. Here is the best he could do:

"In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

"The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

"The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

"The third is freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

"The fourth is freedom from fear, which translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments. . . ."

It seems incredible that in the year 1941 the thrice-elected leader of the richest and most industrially

(Continued on page 4)

#### THE WORLD AT WAR

### Nazi Balkan Moves Worry Moscow - - But Hitler-Stalin Agreement Seen Indicated

By MAX STERLING

Following the fall of Bardia after twenty days of siege, the British forces in Italian Libya are reported attacking the Italian outposts at Tobruk, 70 miles west of Bardia. There are also reports that the British are racing toward Benghazi, the capital of Libya which is 140 miles still farther west.

The British dealt Mussolini a heavy blow at Bardia. Mussolini's order to the former commander of the Italian forces in the Spanish civil war to hold Bardia at all costs has lost him over 30,000 additional Italian troops besides great quantities of material. It is estimated that so far the Italians have lost, in captured, killed or wounded, at least one third of the army that started out to attack the British in Egypt. It is significant that as soon as the Australian shock troops had broken through the Italian defenses, the Italian soldiers did not attempt to defend the houses in which they were installed, but poured out into the streets in the thousands in order to surrender.

#### BALKAN ACTIVITY

The speed with which the British are advancing in Libya to make a clean sweep of the Italians there may not be unrelated to reports of increased Nazi activity in the Balkans. It is reported that no less than an entire German air corps has been dispatched to bases in Italy. Fifty Junkers transport planes are said to be in constant service carrying Italian troops to Albania while German tanks are already in action against the Greeks.

There are additional reports that German troop movements into Italy have been accelerated and, if continued at the present rate, will bring to nearly 18 the number of German divisions south of the Brenner Pass by February 1. Similar reports estimate that by the same time Ger-

many will have concentrated in Rumania between 35 and 45 divisions.

The time seems right then for the Nazis to put the squeeze on Bulgaria again. It is known that the Bulgarian Premier, Dr. Bogdan Philoff, is now in Germany. A United

(Continued on page 4)

### Briggs Aircraft Pays 75c an Hour Minimum Wage

By L. SAINE

DETROIT—In spite of the recent attacks upon labor standards, the union movement in Detroit continues to grow. The latest victory of the CIO came several weeks ago in the aircraft industry when the Briggs Co. signed a contract establishing a minimum wage of 75¢ an hour for the men, and a \$40 bonus for workers with one year's seniority in lieu of a vacation with pay.

A few days after the contract was signed, Briggs Co. officials complained that the pay was "excessive." It is notable, however, that this complaint was made not on the basis of a claim that production of airplanes is unprofitable, but rather that the company cannot compete with the much cheaper wages paid workers in the same industry in other parts of the country.

This gives the lie to those manufacturers who claim that they cannot produce profitably if wages go up, and shows that even the gains of Vultee were not nearly as high as they should have been. It shows the need for further unionization of the aircraft industry, and for greater union pressure to get a higher wage scale throughout the country.



# With the Labor Unions On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

## "DEFENSE" NEEDS NOT OUR CONCERN

Not being production experts it isn't easy for us to say whether or not the Reuther "Plan" for plane production is a good one. Furthermore we are not much interested in telling the bosses how to organize for the purpose of waging imperialist war. Reuther, we suppose, conceives of his "Plan" as a method of aiding the "defense program" and at the same time spreading and increasing employment. We would like to see more and better employment, but we don't give a rap about this so-called "defense" program. It's not a defense program but a war program.

The fact that much of the supplies will go to little England doesn't change the facts. There are all manner of ways of participating in imperialist war without jeopardizing one's own hide. The ruling class as a whole goes to war in that manner. Not that they are physically cowardly but that they have other things to do. They remain at home and manage the "free" enterprises and the "people's government."

The workers' organizations should let the ruling class plan its own war production. To be sure it's rather difficult for the bosses to plan

anything successfully except champagne parties, strikebreaking, raids on union headquarters and the federal treasury, gyp stock deals and holding companies. But the workers should be concerned with planning their own wars for higher wages and shorter hours.

Shorter hours will take care of unemployment. The CIO should be giving its entire attention to organizing the unemployed and getting more money for them and less work. If the bosses fall down on their war planning, that's their funeral, not ours. If they fall down on the job of running the country, and they have, we'll pick up the reins and go ahead. That's what workers should be thinking about.

Of course, the airplane manufacturers should be exposed before the workers. It has to be explained that the aircraft makers don't want to expand for mass production. They are running an industry that believes in organization for small production with a relatively low investment combined with high profits. If there is to be any expansion, they want the government to pay for the expansion and then give the new plants to them.

## WE PAID BILLIONS IN DIVIDENDS TO THE LOAFERS

The workers in the U.S. certainly did well by their oppressors and exploiters in 1940. We paid \$3,927,629,933 in dividends, most of which went to a gang of loafers who never do any work. The workers are certainly keeping the bosses in grand style. We gave them more in 1940 than we did in 1939 or 1938. We paid them over four billion in 1937. Perhaps we were a little ashamed of ourselves and decided to raise their income in 1940. We even paid these loafers

something on their back dividends, and, to make bosses supremely happy, we gave them a few millions extra.

Perhaps there are some workers who think that this is a joke and that we are trying to be funny. But that's not true. We really gave them these billions. They can only draw these huge dividends because we consent to the continuation of a system that permits those who don't work to have everything while those who produce get nothing.

## LABOR AND CAPITAL CANNOT BE EQUALS

Matt Woll has been talking again. He agrees with the president that strikes and lockouts should be avoided in the arms industries. Well we are against lockouts also, that is lockouts of the workers by the bosses. Should the workers lock the bosses out, that's the bosses' business and they will have to look out for themselves.

can't be partners with those who own everything, even if those who don't own are a numerical majority on the various boards. This is what Philip Murray evidently doesn't understand or he would not be so strong for his scheme of "equal" labor and management representation.

In order to "avoid" strikes and lockouts, Mr. Woll proposes that organized labor be made a "partner" equal with the employers in the "defense" production machinery. Woll, of course, doesn't mention the fact that those who don't own anything

The workers can not be equal to the bosses under capitalism, and under socialism they won't be equal to the present boss class. Under socialism, the workers would have all the rights, power and privileges, and the present owners, as a class, wouldn't have any power, rights or privileges.

# Coolidge Sees War Sharpening Class Conflict

(Continued from page 1)

drive is in charge of the United Automobile Workers (CIO). While I was in Buffalo a conference of UAW executive board members, regional directors and field organizers was held. Frank Snyder, president of district 11, said there were 50,000 potential automobile and aircraft workers in this area ready for unionization. Buffalo has been notorious as an open shop town and the drive, if carried on with energy and determination, should change Buffalo into a real union town. One thing is certain, the workers are ready to join the union. They are ready to carry on a real fight for higher wages. If there is any hitch, the trouble will be at the top and not in the ranks of automobile and aircraft workers.

### Cleveland

Cleveland, that sprawling industrial city with a small town atmosphere, is also busily engaged in preparing for "national defense." All sorts of articles are made in Cleveland useful in the crusade of "all aid to Great Britain short of war." Most of Cleveland's steel, textiles, automobiles, machine parts and tools will be at the service of the country as it goes forth to make the world safe for "democracy."

The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce is rejoicing that "jobs here are within a hair of '29 level.'" The report says that 57 of the 100 firms surveyed, added 2,400 persons to their payrolls in December. This was the sixth consecutive month showing an "improvement" in employment.

The workers I talked to didn't seem to be impressed much when I mentioned improvement in employment. There is still a great deal of unemployment and along with other places, Cleveland can stand quite a boost in the wage rate. The Steel Workers Organizing Committee and the United Automobile Workers are a long way from any reasonable goal such as complete organization of the steel and automobile industries.

Cleveland businessmen and local college professors have been making "forecasts" for 1941. Russell

Weisman, professor of economics at Western Reserve University and associate editor of the Plain Dealer, told the Rotary Club that 1941 will probably be one of small profits. Weisman said that present industry should be adapted to "defense" work instead of putting a lot of capital into expansion on a large scale. Weisman didn't say why he thought that profits would be small in 1941 nor what he considers "small" profits.

### Akron

Akron, the "Rubber Capital of the World," was in quite a dither. (Akron's transportation system is enough to put anybody in a dither. Buses are few and far between. Yet the city fathers have just granted the company a new 15 year franchise). The local Chamber of Commerce predicts a bumper year for Akron. The chamber gives one bit of advice however. This piece of advice is, "Pay Your Debts, Save Your Money." They fear a "day of reckoning" that will follow the "boom." The chamber might have mentioned the beaver and the bee that store food and supplies against the "day of reckoning."

Akron had its New Year's "forecasters" also. P.W. Litchfield, Chairman of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., was a little gloomy and sorrowful. (Goodyear profits for the first six months of 1940 were only 15% higher than for the same period in 1939). Litchfield said that "we" must make "the best possible use of every single minute that goes to make up the quarter year." "We" must provide adequately for national "defense" and for England. "No consideration can be permitted to stand in the way of this objective."

John S. Knight, editor of the Akron Beacon-Journal, said that "there is little reason for long range optimism when one considers that the present so-called business boom is based almost entirely upon a false prosperity created by our stupendous rearmament program. . . . once we are finally armed to the teeth and circumstances dictate a forced peace in Europe, start looking for the storm cellars. The next deflationary

## India Nationalist Leader Arrested

Celebrating their North African victory which has temporarily renewed their waning confidence in the British Empire, the English authorities have arrested Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, President of the All-India National Congress. Azad, an orthodox follower of Gandhi, faces trial for an anti-war speech he made in December.

Meanwhile, pressed hard from all sides by the angry workers and peasants of the country, Gandhi is threatening to extend his limited Civil Disobedience Movement to nationwide, mass proportions, as soon as the Christmas "truce" is over. This "truce" has already passed.

## Protest Negro Discrimination In Army Draft

NEW YORK, N.Y.—While Army officials announced that no Negroes would be drafted this month, a Queens local draft board member was attacked by representatives of the NAACP for refusing deferment to a Negro because he is not legally married to his present wife.

Edward W. Warnke, chairman of local draft board 261 in South Jamaica, made a scurrilous attack on Negroes in a memorandum to the Draft Appeal Board, charging them with "no regard for moral or financial responsibilities." The memorandum was written in connection with the appeal of Leon Melvin, who was refused exemption though he is responsible for the support of his common-law wife.

The NAACP has asked Governor Lehman to remove Warnke from his position on the draft board in view of his avowed prejudice against Negroes.

Meanwhile, other protests that Negroes were not being admitted into the army were denied in Washington. Draft officials explained that the "Jim Crow units" are more nearly full than the white units, and that therefore Negroes are being drafted at a slower rate than whites. This, according to the Army, does not constitute "discrimination."

The present ban against colored draftees will only be effective in January, draft officials said, and in February the "temporary discrimination" will cease.

Permanent discrimination, with the Negroes segregated into "Jim Crow" or formed into labor battalions will regiments, delegated to menial duties not cease in February, according to

period in this country will make 1933 look like good times."

Labor editors of Akron papers do not expect strikes of any consequence in the rubber industry this year. The Beacon-Journal commentator says that the absence of strikes will not be due to government or congressional action but to the maturing of bargaining procedure. Also the power of the government to rally public opinion against strikes will keep them at a minimum.

The year 1940 "was marred by only one major strike and one serious incident of violence" says Harold Leng of the Beacon-Journal. This was the strike at General Tire which lasted for 12 weeks. The case of violence was the bombing of three CIO construction jobs: One of the bombers was killed and his brother and an AFL business agent were arrested and indicted by the grand jury.

The United Rubber Workers steadily increased its membership during 1940. The largest local, Goodrich, has 10,000 dues paying members. Goodrich has a new president, John House, who was president for seven years, was defeated for re-election. House had aroused a great deal of opposition in the rank and file. The defeat of House was evidence that unions can get rid of undesirable officials.

### In Contrast

There is one important part of the population that I have not mentioned and will treat in a separate article. That is the Negro worker. This is a special and very acute problem and demands separate handling.

One thing I was impressed with everywhere, especially in the smaller cities. That was the spirit of going after the new business, getting "our" share of the federal money being handed out by the billions. Every chamber of commerce is on the job and in high glee. Except when these corporations face the probability of having to lay out some of the capital of their own corporations. They have the true Christmas spirit waiting to see what the government will place in their stockings.

Another thing that stands out everywhere is the shacks the workers live in. All of the industrial cities and towns look alike. A business center of tall buildings and elegant shops. Then the factory centers surrounded by scrap heaps, and the shacks and hovels of the workers. And of course the "heights," the "drives" and the "roads" where the owners and the masters live.

# Union Accuses Our West Coast Correspondent Leviton of Violating Law

The 1,700 men and women of the Leviton Manufacturing Company are now in the eighteenth week of their strike, and still Isidor Leviton refuses to negotiate an agreement with Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, the union legally chosen by the strikers to represent them.

The union has once more filed charges against the company for violation of the Wagner Act in refusing to bargain with Local 3. Leviton had forced the union to wait three weeks after Washington had officially certified the election of Local 3 as bargaining agent by an overwhelming majority of the Leviton workers, before deigning to hold a meeting to discuss demands.

But Leviton showed no desire to come to terms. The company refused to grant wage increases to anyone making more than \$15 a week. This alone indicates the extent of bad faith on the side of the boss.

The NLRB has ruled in other cases that it is not sufficient for the boss to sit down with the representatives of the workers. The boss must really try to come to an agreement. He can't sit there, say "no" to everything the union demands, and then go away and say he complied with the law. The NLRB has ruled that there must be some give and take. Local 3 will now try to have this ruling—which has been upheld by the courts—applied to Leviton.

Meanwhile through rick and cold the strikers carry on, picketing and holding their meetings, running their cafeteria. They are determined to make big boss Leviton come across.

## Camp Dix—

(Continued from page 1)

agent gets around \$80 a week. He's the sort of fellow who's drunk at times while on the job, is missing altogether for days at other times, and objects to a mere \$50 ring as a gift for Hutchinson's representative—nothing less than \$500 is good enough.

The saddest part of the whole situation, which is true of about 90% of the carpenters is this. Their average weekly earnings are \$42.50, but only \$22.50 is left to send home for the support of their families after deducting expenses for transportation, room and board. This is figured on a basis of 13 weeks, so that it often happens that those who work a week or two, don't even have \$10 to send home.

There are many men who still remember the "defense" work they did in 1917, and they cannot understand the big contrast between then and now. At that time a small portion of the war profits was handed down to the workers to encourage them to go along with the program, whereas now, they are not taken into consideration at all. And this is possible because the bosses deal with whom have shady pasts. And in the case of those who do not willingly respond, pressure is used against them. Where this is not so, they are won over by small favors. So that all in all the labor-fakers are brought into line and in turn "whip their herd into line."

As a result of these practices, the men are not overly enthusiastic about the war preparations, because they are being left out in the cold. What is more, they are not enthusiastic about the war either, since they have no stake in it from the very start.

### PARTY NEWS

The National office of the Workers Party has three organizers in the field at present. David Coolidge, Trade Union director of the Party is now making a national tour; Harry Allen, organization Secretary is covering cities in the east; and Henry Pelman, Negro organizer, is covering the eastern cities in connection with Negro work.

## SCHEDULE FOR COOLIDGE TOUR

- St. Louis January 12-15
- Kansas City January 16-17
- Denver January 18
- Los Angeles January 21-27
- San Francisco January 28-February 1
- Seattle February 3
- St. Paul February 6
- Louisville February 7-8
- Columbus February 9-10
- Pittsburgh February 11-13
- Baltimore February 14
- Washington February 15-17
- Philadelphia February 18-19
- Worcester February 20-21
- Boston February 22-23
- Lynn February 24-25
- New York February 27

Aircraft union news takes the lead again this week. A significant straw in the wind on union organization trends was the result of the National Labor Relations Board election this week at the Haverill Aircraft Casting Corp., a small company located here.

The CIO won the election with 162 votes against the 47 cast for the AFL machinists union. Forty nine workers failed to vote for either union. The Vultee strike victory and the militant organization methods of the CIO in the selection campaign clinched the victory.

President Roosevelt's well-timed blow at the eight hour day and union standards, via his announcement on the recently obtained naval bases from England, was hailed with glee by aircraft manufacturers here.

It coincided perfectly with moves at Lockheed and other plants announcing a 56 hour week in many departments, thus following the example set at the Boeing plant in Seattle, Washington.

An eight hour day, seven days a week, is planned for some production workers. Others will toil ten hours a day for five days and put in six hours on Saturday.

Looks like the bosses want to teach the workers once again that under capitalism they live to work rather than work to live. Since the union contracts force payment of overtime, there will not be serious objection at first to the long schedule of work. Many of the aircraft workers here have not had jobs for a long time, and want a chance to catch up on their debts.

But this feeling won't last long. First, it becomes very monotonous to just work and eat and sleep for seven days a week. Second, the wife or girl friend will soon begin to kick when husband or boy friend makes her a workers' widow.

And more important, the rising price level will tend to offset the extra earnings, and the boys will find themselves working the long hours and getting no more in REAL wages than at present!

How many more jobs would be created in Southern California aircraft industry if a five-day forty hour week were established? Union officials estimate at least 30,000 more jobs!

In the light of this fact, one can appreciate more thoroughly how little concerned the government and industry are to solve the problem of unemployment. It's a job for the union movement!

In our previous column we spoke of the tremendous expansion of the aircraft industry. Everyone has read about this in one newspaper or another. Now we have obtained some partial figures on expansion that give more details.

Lockheed plant: floor space increased from 668,000 to 1,139,200 square feet, personnel from 7,400 to 17,400.

Douglas Aircraft: floor space from 1,600,000 to 1,875,000 square feet; personnel from 14,000 to 19,200.

Vultee: floor space from 281,000 to 720,000 square feet; personnel from 848 to 5,400.

# Of Special Interest to Women

Mrs. Roosevelt played a major role in getting the nation to swallow conscription. She traversed the length and breadth of the land getting people accustomed to the unwelcome idea. Her activities then clearly indicated which way the wind was blowing.

Today the first lady is doing another job for the profiteering war lords. She is the most vociferous supporter of the idea of conscription for WOMEN. In nearly every speech she makes she comes out for it. Thus she is again getting people accustomed to a very distasteful idea. And again her activities indicate which way the wind is blowing today.

Recently at the Women's Centennial Congress in New York, again speaking up for conscription for women, she made some very significant remarks, among them the following:

"There is no use waiting, because life doesn't wait, because now life moves so fast we have to run to keep up with it. There is need for every woman to do a job. Not just to twiddle her thumbs and say, 'It's hard to run a house', but actually TO DO A JOB FOR HER GOVERNMENT."

This quotation tells a two-fold story. First it tells what is happening to the "democracy" that is supposed to be safely enthroned in this country. It is a forecast of totalitarianism.

When Hitler and Mussolini shook their fists at the downtrodden women in their countries and urged them to have many babies so that there might be many soldiers, the dictators used something of the same language. They told the women that they must give up their personal lives; that they must live exclusively for the TOTALITARIAN STATE. Later, when it was time to force these German and Italian women into war industry, they were admonished not to "twiddle their thumbs" at home with their children, but to do a "job for the GOVERNMENT, for the STATE". They were regimented, pushed about like inanimate machines, to serve the war interests of the imperialist exploiters of their lands.

It is no accident that Mrs. Roosevelt uses a similar language. American women are to form a spoke in the wheel of the war chariot driven by the profit-mad American imperialists. Thus the false crusaders for "democracy" begin by plucking out whatever little of this rare plant is left on American soil.

Now please go back and read that quotation again. It reveals, without the shadow of doubt, the class of women Mrs. Roosevelt knows and represents—the THUMB-TWIDDLERS.

Women running a house and bringing up children ON A WORKING MAN'S WAGE, have no time to twiddle their thumbs. Neither have the women running a house and bringing up children ON A RELIEF BUDGET. Neither have the millions of women IN OFFICES AND FACTORIES, many of whom not only work but also run a house and bring up children besides. Obviously Mrs. Roosevelt does not speak for these harassed, impoverished working class women.

She speaks for the women of the parasite class—the thumb-twiddlers—who squawk at the "hardships" of running a luxurious household where every stitch is done by servants. She speaks for the useless wives of those useless masters of industry in which the PRODUCTIVE work, from top to bottom, is done by paid workers.

It is the government of this parasite class that is preparing for the war which they alone want. Let THEM do a job for THEIR government which is doing a job for THEM. Why should exploited working women, why should exploited working men, do a job for their enemy class and the government of their enemy class?

Back around election, my ears began to prick up every time they heard God and religion mentioned by the contesting boss politicians in this country. None of Mr. Roosevelt's speeches failed to drag in God. The final speech of his campaign could not have been more

Northrop: floor space from 13,000 to 516,000 square feet; personnel 73 to 2,600.

And at North American Aviation personnel (the only figure available) grew from 4,300 to 8,500.

This expansion occurred during the past year!

Efforts of the Boeing management in Seattle, Washington, and the international officers of the AFL machinists union, to turn the powerful local union there into a semi-company union by way of a red purge appeared to be boomeranging on them.

Newspapers throughout the country carried the story of the vote of expulsion against Don Keppler, vice president of the local, and the presentation of charges against other union officials. Very few of the papers, however, pointed out that the trial board which maneuvered this union-dividing stunt was headed by a well-known police spy.

And even fewer newspapers carried the story of subsequent developments which are a credit to the progressive tendencies of the aircraft workers.

Keppler and his associates in the union demanded a vote by ballot on the trial board recommendations that he be fined \$5,000 for Communist activities and also be expelled from the union.

In the balloting the vote was 1635 to 1160 in favor of the trial board's report. But this fell far short of the 2/3 majority needed to carry the recommendations. This was a victory against the stool pigeons.

The trial board had also found Hugo Lundquist, young business agent of the local, "guilty of red activities." But the rank and file was wise to the scheme behind this red scare. They voted 1336 to 921 to exonerate Lundquist of all the charges made against him! They rejected the proposition that he be fined \$10,000 and be expelled from the union!

And the pay off came when the union membership by a vote of 1174 to 820 found Cliff Stone, Lundquist's accuser, and the police spy on the trial board, guilty of "spreading false and malicious statements."

The affair is by no means settled yet. The AFL machinists international office sent a warning to the local to rid itself of red influences or else it would take a hand. Of course this move played into the hands of the trial board.

It should be remembered in this connection that over one year ago in Liberty magazine, officials of the AFL machinists pointed out that they had an espionage system throughout the union cooperating with the FBI in "ferreting out reds, agitators, etc., etc."

While all the internal trouble was occupying the attention of the Boeing unionists, the company not only instituted an extra day's work in some departments, but also laid off men in other departments. By putting up a strong fight against these blows at the workers, the Lundquist-Keppler group were able to gain enough prestige to swing the tide towards them.

We would not be surprised if the Boeing situation ended up with the local going into the CIO since Lundquist and company are friends of Wyndham Mortimer and his associates in the auto workers.

JACK WILSON

sanctionious even if the pope himself had delivered it. In not as beautiful a voice, but just as unctuously, Mr. Willkie ran Mr. Roosevelt a close second in placing everything in the hands of the Almighty.

Since their "supporters of the capitalist war program of this country are placing more and more emphasis on religion. Nearly every speaker, no matter what his subject, exhorts all and sundry to have faith in God, and of course to get behind the war program. All this hypocritical casting of the eyes towards heaven forbodes evil for working women and their families.

When the war profits of the bosses mount sky high, while the high cost of living drastically reduces the real wages of the workers—they will say it is done in God's "ipnite wisdom".

When our sons go off to man the machines of war and never come back—that will be God's "will".

When our husbands go to replace our sons—that will also be God's "will".

When mothers will be forced to abandon their families and replace their sons and husbands in factories, to produce more instruments of destruction so that still more mothers' sons may be sacrificed on the altar of profit—that too will be in God's "infinite wisdom".

But the wisdom of the working women who are ground down the most by war, will tell them who the real criminals are—and how to deal with the gorging imperialists.

"What about peace?" shouted a woman at Winston Churchill, war lord for the British robber class, when he was inspecting some ruins made by the bombs of the German robber class.

The cry for peace was forced from the lips of one English woman. The longing for peace is in the hearts of millions of woman all over the war-torn world. They are not interested in whether the British imperialists succeed in retaining their robbers' empire—whether the German leeches succeed in grabbing it for themselves—or whether the American powers get the best of both the others.

The newspaper report said that Churchill stared hard at the woman who spoke up for peace as if he had failed to understand her. Then he snapped out: "Peace? When we have beaten them."

Right, Mr. Churchill. Peace! When we have beaten them. Except that "we" and "them" are not the same for you as it is for the million-masses of the world.

When we say "we", we EXCLUDE you and Hitler and Mussolini and Roosevelt. We include ALL THE EXPLOITED OF THE EARTH.

When we say "them", we mean you and Hitler and Mussolini and Roosevelt and the imperialist robbers and bureaucrats of all the nations on earth.

We, the workers of the world, must beat the whole lot of you in order to have permanent peace.

**GOOD NEWS! NO SHORTAGE OF STEEL IN SIGHT! WAR CAN CONTINUE!**

Readers of the current issue of the trade magazine, *Steel*, were much reassured to read a survey of current steel production abroad which concluded:

"The steel supply is ample for a long European war."

Not content with merely stating the good news, Vincent Delport, author of the article, proved his point by a detailed survey of steel production in the chief European countries. There's plenty of the stuff, it seems.

This should cut the ground from under the alarmists who have been trying to panic the stock exchanges with false reports of an early peace.

# LABOR ACTION INSTITUTE OPENS JANUARY 13th

Register Now at 114 West 14th Street, N. Y. C.



# Fascism and the World War by Max Shachtman

## ARTICLE V: WHAT IS FASCISM AND HOW CAN WE DEFEAT IT?

Every thoughtful worker fears and hates Fascism with every fibre of his being. He understands pretty clearly what life under Fascism would mean for him. So do Roosevelt and Churchill and those they represent. That is why they appeal for support in their war against Germany to the class feelings of the workers, just as Hitler appeals to the German worker's continued hatred of imperialism and yearning for socialism. On both sides, the rulers know that without the support of the masses, of the workers, neither the rulers nor their war would last another day. Labor has the fate of world society today in the palm of its hand.

But Fascism will not be crushed, and the conditions of the workers will go from bad to worse, unless they have a clear understanding of just what Fascism is, just how it is related to capitalism and the capitalists, to democracy, to the war, and to socialism which it pretends to establish. With such an understanding, labor will be able to take its proper place in the war, to destroy Fascism and all its enemies, and to serve its own best interests.

It should not be hard for workers to remember how they were deceived and traduced in the last world war. That grim experience should, at the very least, make them highly suspicious of the theories and arguments advanced in the present world war by all the statesmen and spokesmen of the ruling class. Before deciding on such a life-and-death matter as supporting the war, it is imperative for workers to examine every theory, of

Fascism and the fight against it under a critical microscope.

What is Fascism? The press of the democratic capitalist countries explains:

It is a dictatorship of immoral gangsters, lustful for power, wiping out all democracy, and oppressing and exploiting capitalists and workmen alike.

The pro-war labor and socialist leaders give the same explanation of Fascism, and declare that Hitler and Mussolini have established a new kind of social order, which is not capitalist and not socialist.

This theory pursues a very deliberate aim, or rather, several aims. If Fascism crushes capitalists and workers alike, then labor should give up its independence, should abandon or at least reduce to a minimum its fight against the capitalist for better conditions, and make a single, united front with him against their common enemy, Fascism. That is one, and the principal aim of the democratic politicians and their mimics in the ranks of labor.

Thus they seek to preserve a sick and poisonous capitalist system from the just attacks of labor which is the principal sufferer from the system's sickness. Don't strike now for better wages and conditions and for union recognition—say these politicians; this is no time for labor to be "selfish" (that is, to protect itself); this is no time for fighting between capital and labor; the two must unite in face of the common danger of Fascism.

der capitalism when profits are flowing but unbearable when they interfere with profits, have been abolished by the Nazis.

There are even greater gains in prospect. The Nazis "abolished" unemployment and the burdens of unemployment insurance in the interests of the bourgeoisie. They established labor camps for the youth and various other forms of forced labor. They inaugurated an unprecedented drive to re-arm Germany, to fit and equip her for a decisive challenge to the dominant imperialist powers. The Nazis greatly expanded the contracting home market of German capitalism by making the state a devouring consumer of commodities—commodities of destruction, cannons and dive bombers, submarines and

munitions, uniforms and army provisions. German industry, technologically among the most advanced and most highly rationalized in the world, began to move again at a terrific speed after the Nazis took over. Moreover, the re-armament drive was not undertaken for its own sake. It was the indispensable pre-condition for a successful expansion of German capitalism on a world scale. "We must export or die," Hitler has cried—and with the profoundest sincerity! German capitalism, like capitalism everywhere, must expand or strangle to death. Here, too, Hitler is fulfilling faithfully his promise to capital, as the first year of the world war has amply revealed. Is it any wonder that the German capitalists are fairly content, and very grateful?

## FASCISM DOES NOT ABOLISH, IT BOLSTERS CAPITALISM

There is, of course, another aspect of Fascism which is no less significant. The fact that the German capitalist class literally called upon Hitler to take over (this is not a theoretical deduction; as has been established, it is an actual fact), was equivalent to a declaration of bankruptcy on its part. In effect, it said: "We can no longer organize German society to any important extent. We can no longer hold the blind forces of economic development in check by our traditional methods. We can no longer satisfy the elementary needs of the people, and we cannot hold them back from taking over power and satisfying their needs themselves. We need a Super-Regulator of our social order, a Super-Arbitrator, and we are willing to pay for one and pay well." Like the frogs in the fable, the capitalists thought they needed a king; unlike the frogs, the capitalists really did need one. His name is Fascism.

The king maintains a most expensive court, but he discharges his duties with the highest fidelity. The relief afforded capitalism from "labor troubles" is too well known to require extended comment here. Only the ruthless, totalitarian regimentation of Fascism could do such a thorough job for the bourgeoisie. The organizing, subsidizing and regulation of German exports was never done so systematically as it has been done by the Fascist state. To see in this job an assault on German capitalism, as some observers do, instead of succor of it, is the sheerest absurdity. The organization of a war economy on such a scale as Germany has experienced, could be done only by the totalitarian regime. And, it should never be forgotten, the aid of the war economy is the establishment and maintenance of such a military force as makes possible the conquest of increasing sections of the world market, the world's raw material, colonies, sources of cheap labor—precisely what are needed to keep debilitated capitalism in any country alive a little longer.

Those who put a disproportionate emphasis upon the restrictions and annoyances Fascism imposes on this or that capitalist or corporation, or who go so far

as to deny that capitalism exists in Germany today, simply do not understand what is going on. Many of them imitate the vulgar economists who, unlike Marxists, examine and judge by the individual capitalist instead of capitalism as a whole. Others simply cannot conceive of capitalism except as it used to be, that is, they identify capitalism with that capitalist democracy of old which is everywhere dying out—or being killed. Still others judge by what was once properly called "superficial and temporary phenomena." And still others fail to understand that while it is precisely Fascism which has so sensationally demonstrated what Marxists have argued, namely, that the capitalists and the capitalist class have become totally superfluous, purely parasitical, and in no way necessary for the management of the state or of industry, of political or economic life—this does not at all mean that the capitalist class or capitalism has already been abolished in Germany!

Quite the contrary. Our brief exposition of Fascism, based on observable realities throughout the world, merely shows that the only way capitalism can maintain itself at all in any country is by installing Fascism in power. That is why capitalism everywhere is moving away from democracy and towards totalitarianism. Capitalism may still be saved, to live a little longer in the throes of agony. But **capitalist democracy** which is not at all the same thing, is **beyond saving**. Where it is not already dead, it is dying of an organic disease. Its successor can be either the working class engaged in the socialist reorganization of society, or the Fascist tools of capitalism and assassins of civilization.

With these brief introductory comments on a subject which deserves far more detailed statement, we are, we think, in a better position to answer the question of the day:

What about the world war and the struggle to defeat Fascism?

(Concluded next week)

## CAPITALISM GROWS DEAFER TO THE PLEAS OF THE DEMOCRATS

The democratic politicians pursue another aim—that of self-preservation. They would like to continue ruling the government and serving their financial and industrial overlords. The whole trouble is that capitalism is in a terrible state of disorganization and decay. Its profits are menaced. The overhead costs of capitalist democracy are becoming an insufferable burden to it. Despite all the fervent assurances of the servile labor leaders and theoreticians that Fascism would be an awful thing for the capitalists, the latter move closer and closer to putting the Blackshirt gangsters at the head of the government, and throwing the democratic politicians and their institutions into the wastebasket. The politicians are worried, and well they may be. Their paymasters want tougher servants who won't be such a drain on their profits. So the politicians shriek and moan, threaten and plead: "Dear and ever so beloved capitalists, don't go over to Fascism. Fascists would cause you no end of annoyance. They really aren't the friends of your interests you think they are. On our word of honor, we can serve you a thousand times better than they can or will. We'll get the workers to make you every conce-

sion you want. We'll even take over some of the good features of Fascism, just to please you. We'll establish a strong regime, we won't tolerate any nonsense, any subversive activities, any threat to property which—believe us—we worship as fervently as you do. But in the name of all we both hold sacred, don't send us to blazes, don't go over to Fascism. We're pleading with you (or threatening you, as the case may be) for your own good (and for ours!)"

The only trouble with this touching appeal is that the desperate capitalist class grows deaf to it every day. Even after all the terrible things Hitler has done to "both the capitalists and the workers" in Germany, the workers in the democratic countries grow more hostile to Fascism every day, but the capitalists in the same countries become friendlier to home-grown Fascism by the hour. Stupid capitalists! They don't have sense enough to know their own interests. If only they would read the "New Leader" . . . But we fear even that would not help. The capitalist class **knows** just what Fascism is.

What, then, is it?

## FASCISM GREW OUT OF "DEMOCRACY'S" BANKRUPTCY

With the outbreak of the first World War, Lenin declared, the world left behind it the relatively peaceful period through which it had lived and entered a period of wars and revolutions. To that we might add, a period of convulsive crises. This period could come to an end only with the victory of the working class and the establishment of a sane, organized, planned and peaceful social order, socialism.

In its relatively peaceful period, capitalism, steadily growing richer with its expansion of the world market and the vast profits tapped from its empires, not only could afford the luxury of democracy, but needed it. So long as the capitalists owned and controlled the factories and mines and banks and railroads—all that is needed to make modern life possible—and controlled the press and pulp and schools and parliaments, a greater or lesser measure of democratic rights for the masses did capital no great harm. Quite the contrary, it gave the people the illusion that they were the real masters (which they weren't and aren't).

But with the war of 1914 and all that followed it—including, above all, the revolution of the Russian masses and the revolutionary uprisings in so many other countries, which all but frightened the capitalist class out of its wits—even the meager and fraudulent democracy enjoyed by the masses under capitalism became an intolerable burden to the ruling class.

Every crisis made it increasingly intolerable. The capitalist profit system was revealing its thorough bankruptcy with every new day. The last crisis of 1929, which hipped up every capitalist country, only emphasized this bankruptcy. Industry slowed up and even came to a standstill. The world market—and capitalism cannot exist without a market in which to realize its profits—became narrower than ever. Unemployment assumed proportions never before known in history. The middle classes faced complete economic extinction. The fact that capitalism had collapsed, that it could not even feed, clothe and house millions of people on the most elementary subsistence level, that it could not reach the profit levels it yearned for, became evident to millions.

Elementary decency would have dictated to the capitalists their abdication on the grounds of complete bankruptcy. Alas, capitalism is not based on decency, but on the production of profits. And it is precisely in our time, in the period of capitalism's disintegration,

that democracy—primarily the existence of a militant and independent labor movement—is incompatible with profits.

Anyone who knows what has really been the evolution of Germany in the last decade or two, can understand the rise of Fascism without too much difficulty.

The contradictions and conflicts of capitalism were tearing at the very vitals of Germany. The victors of the first world war had sought to reduce their German rival on the world market to a state of economic and political impotence. Every post-war effort of German capital was directed towards restoring its power at home and in the world. In the way of these efforts stood the German labor movement—best organized in the world—and the victors of Versailles. The crisis of 1929 only accentuated all the difficulties and brought them to the breaking point. These difficulties could be dealt with in one of two ways, and no other: their complete elimination by means of a socialist reorganization of society, or their complete suppression by means of a violent dictatorship of capital.

The labor parties, social-democratic and Stalinist, proved incapable of acting as the parties of hope. They offered the masses of the people no way out of the crisis. The social-democrats in particular offered the people the status quo—things as they were. That is precisely what the people could no longer stand, and no longer wanted. They could not be inspired to fight for what had come to mean increased misery and hopelessness. The bourgeois democratic politicians offered no better solution; they only increased the dissatisfaction and irritation of all classes.

The Fascists came forward as the leaders of a vast, discontented mob—demobilized officers, university students, slum proletarians, underworld elements, but primarily of demoralized and desperate middle class people whom the labor parties had failed utterly to bring to their support. The Nazis promised the people "socialism"—with which demagogic appeal they showed themselves to be infinitely wiser than all the advocates of the insufferable status quo. They promised that they would smash the Versailles Treaty and Marxism. These promises were made in deadly earnest, and later carried out to the letter. They meant: bring Germany back as active competitor against its rivals on the world imperialist arena, and smash every semblance of an independent labor movement.

## WHAT THE BOSSES GAINED FAR OUTWEIGHED THEIR LOSSES

Looking back now on the choice that the big capitalists made in 1933—Fascism—superstitious and academic observers shake their heads and declare: "The choice was not ideal for the bourgeoisie." Quite so. But it was the ideal choice for capital under the circumstances. They knew what the choice would cost them, but they knew also what was to be gained by it; and as they look back on the seven years that have passed, there is no doubt that they would do it all over again in the same circumstances.

The cost? The need of maintaining a vast horde of bureaucrats and spies, and even the loss of a great deal of their political power, which the Nazis monopolized. But that price they gladly paid rather than pay the costs of the only social alternative—the proletarian revolution in Germany which would have deprived the capitalist class of all their power and privilege, which would have wiped them out, root and branch, as a ruling class.

The gains? Enormous, truly enormous! Private property is guaranteed against any serious encroachments by the labor and revolutionary movements which the

democratic regime more or less tolerated, but which Fascism has annihilated. No capitalist is now disturbed in his routine of profit-making by the intervention of the shop committees and factory councils and labor unions which existed before Hitler came to power. If you have ever been a capitalist, you know what an indescribable nightmare trade unions and factory committees can be! Like Oliver Twist, they are constantly asking for more. In comparison with them, the system of Nazi commissars is a paradise. **That this is so is attested by the highly significant fact that no significant section of the German capitalist class (or of the Italian capitalists, who have "suffered" under Fascism for twenty-two years, three times as long as the Germans) has shown the slightest inclination to combine with labor or with the social-democrats to restore the Weimar Republic.** Strikes are violently prohibited, and with them have been eliminated those interruptions of production and profits that are so costly to capitalism. Elections, a multiplicity of parties, of newspapers, of parliaments, of agitation, of free speech, press and assembly—all of these onerous expenses of democracy, tolerable un-

## Luxemburg on Capitalism and War

Into the disillusioned atmosphere of pale daylight there rings a different chorus; the hoarse croak of the hawks and hyenas of the battlefield. Ten thousand tents, guaranteed according to specifications, 100,000 kilos of bacon, cocoa powder, coffee substitute, cash on immediate delivery. Shrapnel, drills, ammunition bags, marriage bureaus for war widows, leather belts, war orders—only serious propositions considered. And the cannon fodder that was loaded upon the trains in August and September is rotting on the battlefields of Belgium and the Vosges, while profits are springing, like weeds, from the fields of the dead.

Business is flourishing upon the ruins. Cities are turned into shambles, whole countries into deserts, villages into cemeteries, whole nations into beggars, churches into stables; popular rights, treaties, alliances, the holiest words and the highest authorities have been torn into scraps; every sovereign by the grace of God is called a fool, an unfaithful wretch, by his cousin on the other side; every diplomat calls his colleague in the enemy's country a desperate criminal; each government looks upon the other as the evil genius of its people, worthy only of the contempt of the world. Hunger revolts in Venetia, in Lisbon, in Moscow, in Singapore, pestilence in Russia, misery and desperation everywhere.

Shamed, dishonored, wading in blood and dripping with filth, thus capitalist society stands. Not as we usually see it, playing the roles of peace and righteousness, of order, of philosophy, of ethics—as a roaring beast, as an orgy of anarchy, as a pestilential breath, devastating culture and humanity—so it appears in all its hideous nakedness. . . .

Capitalist politicians, in whose eyes the rulers of the people and the ruling classes are the nation, cannot honestly speak of the "right of national self-determination" in connection with such colonial empires. To the socialist, no nation is free whose national existence is based upon the enslavement of another people, for to him colonial peoples, too, are human beings, and, as such, parts of the national state. International Socialism recognized the right of free independent nations, with equal rights. But Socialism alone can create such nations, can bring self-determination of their peoples. This slogan of Socialism is like all its others, not an apology for existing conditions, but a guide-post, a spur for the revolutionary, regenerative, active policy of the proletariat. So long as capitalist states exist, i.e., so long as imperialistic world policies determine and regulate the inner and the outer life of a nation, there can be no "national self-determination" either in war or in peace.

In the present imperialistic milieu there can be no wars of national self-defense. Every socialist policy that depends upon this determining historic milieu that is willing to fix its policies in the world whirlpool from the point of view of a single nation is built upon a foundation of sand. . . .

Historic development moves in contradictions, and for every necessity puts its opposite into the world as well. The capitalist state is doubtless a historic necessity, but so also is the revolt of the working class against it. Capital is a historic necessity, but in the same measure is its grave digger, the Socialist proletariat. The world rule of imperialism is a historic necessity, but likewise its overthrow by the proletarian international. Side by side the two historic necessities exist, in constant conflict with each other. And ours is the necessity of Socialism. Our necessity receives its justification with the moment when the capitalist class ceases to be the bearer of historic progress, when it becomes a hindrance, a danger, to the future development of society. That capitalism has reached this stage the present world war has revealed. . . .

This madness will not stop, and this bloody nightmare of hell will not cease until the workers of Germany, of France, of Russia and of England will wake up out of their drunken sleep; will clasp each other's hands in brotherhood and will down the bestial chorus of war agitators and the hoarse cry of capitalist hyenas with the mighty cry of labor, "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

—From Rosa Luxemburg's "CRISIS IN THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL DEMOCRACY," the famous "Junius" pamphlet.

## In Salute to A Soldier of The Revolution

British imperialism has just added another name to its lengthy list of victims. **Labor Action** has received word of the death, while imprisoned in a Calcutta cell, of Swami Sahajananda, one of the finest and most militant leaders ever to spring from the great peasant masses of India.

Comrade Sahajananda, the recognized and feared leader of the **All-India Kisan Sabha** (peasants' union), was a young man, in the prime of life. His everyday actions—organizing the peasant unions, leading huge marches and demonstrations, conducting hunger strikes in his frequent sojourns in British jails, etc.—expressed the deepest strivings of the peasants and agrarian laborers of Bengal, Orissa and Bihar Provinces. He was their leader against British and feudal tyranny, in every sense.

Sahajananda, who began as an orthodox follower of Gandhi, rapidly progressed beyond that stage. By turn he became a member of the moderate Congress Socialist Party, and then came under Stalinist influence. But his disillusionment with the conservatism of the Socialists of India and with the treachery of the Stalinists did not destroy his faith in revolutionary Marxism. Shortly after breaking with the Indian Communist Party as a result of the Hitler-Stalin alliance, he was sentenced to a long jail term for his anti-war speeches. It was in these circumstances—undoubtedly due to harsh prison conditions—that he died. But he had met new friends and had expressed great sympathy with their ideas. These friends were members of the Indian section of the Fourth International.

India has lost a splendid leader and comrade; a man who would have played a great part in its approaching revolution. He shall be remembered; likewise those who murdered him. S.S.

## Relief That Does Not Relieve—A Few New York Case Histories

New York City Welfare Commissioner William Hodson has just reported, with considerable pride, that relief cost the city much less in 1940 than the year before. The saving to the city amounted to eight or nine millions of dollars on relief cases alone.

Hodson spoke as if it was perfectly legitimate to take this big slice of money away from people on relief.

Here are some facts. Judge for yourself.

There is pending in Relief Bureau No. 73 in Brooklyn the case of a woman with eight children and a husband sick in the hospital. One son works and earns \$18 a week, a good part of which he turns over to his mother. How far this miserable sum can go with a family of ten, including rent, gas and electricity, can be imagined. The woman has requested supplementary relief. She cannot get it.

The Relief Bureau claims that there is another son who works. He is somewhere at sea, one of the crew on a ship. The Bureau has ruled that the mother should sue the son for support. Because the son is at sea it is difficult to do this. Also she is reluctant to sue her own son. But the Bureau has wiped its hands of the case and allows this woman and her family to starve.

There is the case of a Negro woman in the same Relief Bureau who was taken off relief—and thereby helped save the city a little money—because her investigator called when

she was sick in bed and could not get in touch with her. Very often, without any grounds for it, investigators will put in a report that a Negro client has gone back to the south and cut off relief. That was done in this case. All the time the woman was right in Brooklyn and sick in bed. This happened in the middle of October.

Since then she has been trying to get back on relief, but she is refused an application. She now has a certificate from the hospital that she was confined there for two weeks. She says she has to return to the hospital for an operation. Since the middle of October she has received no relief and her application still is not accepted.

Here are just two of many cases throughout the city. Such cases explain how the city saves money—at least it is one way it saves.

There are innumerable cases where families have not received winter underwear or winter coats because there were no appropriations for clothing.

Relief clients needing glasses have to wait nearly a year before they can even get an appointment to have their eyes tested for glasses. After that they have to wait months to have their prescriptions filled.

Relief clients needing dental work, wait even longer than a year for an appointment. This writer has seen clients so badly in need of dentures that they can hardly masticate their food or talk normally. But they wait—while the city saves money.

## U.S. Imperialism Moves to Take Over Rich Trade Routes of British Empire

By TOM VAUGHAN

Far-reaching plans of American imperialism to take over the rich trade routes of the British empire in the Pacific appeared a step nearer realization this week as Washington circles awaited the return of two Maritime Commission officials from London.

The Commission's European manager, E. A. Spencer, and Harvey Klemmer, its London representative, are expected to bring the British answer to the proposal that American ships take over British shipping routes in the Pacific. Under the guise of freeing the British merchant marine to concentrate in the Atlantic, American imperialism would accomplish two objectives—more British ships would be available to carry the highly profitable munitions exports to Great Britain, and the rich British-dominated markets of the Far East would be left in U.S. hands.

The plan is not new. It was worked out in complete detail by the Maritime Commission under Joseph P. Kennedy and first proposed in the early weeks of the war. But the British, who have no reason to trust the good-heartedness of Uncle Sam, declined to cooperate. They understood that once American interests had become established through the new routes, more than soft words would be needed to dislodge them.

Under the strain of 16 months of warfare the British may be forced

to give in to the covetous plans of American business. Shipping circles are fairly confident that a deal can be made. One plan that may be tried is the confiscation of the 100-odd ships owned by German-occupied countries now tied up in the United States and the presentation of them to Britain.

Another is a scheme embodied in legislation proposed by Representative O'Leary which would transfer American ships to foreign corporations organized by the American shippers and operated in the war zone. That the plan is only a sham to evade the Neutrality act is frankly admitted by its author.

Whether the British accept the proposal now or hold out in hope of more favorable terms in the future, the United States can be expected to go ahead with its project of dominating the trade of the Pacific and South America. The ambitious American merchant marine conceived by the Maritime Commission in 1936 was predicated upon mercantile control of South America and the Pacific. Already, without inter-governmental sanction, it is becoming a reality. American ships are carrying wool and grain from Australia, dairy products from New Zealand, rubber from the East Indies and tea and cotton from India. This is new and profitable business and talk of there being "aiding the British" is plain hypocrisy.

## Philadelphia Readers . . .

Max Shachtman will speak at the

## LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING

SUNDAY, JANUARY 26, 8:30 P.M.

at 715 PINE STREET

AUSPICES: Workers Party and Young Peoples Socialist League



# 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.

exports to totalitarian Japan by 109% in October over the previous month, again when there is a domestic shortage of such machinery?

We have a good suspicion of what the President thinks about all this, in the quiet of his study. We suspect he doesn't feel quite so morally indignant about these war profiteers, these nest-featherers, as he does when he is facing the microphones. For Roosevelt is a realistic capitalist politician, and he knows that profits aren't really so immoral under his 'democratic' system, and that 'boys will be boys'. After all, he has turned over the entire organization of American war industry to the 'boys'—and Knudsen, Stettinius, Forrester, and Nelson are as competent nest-featherers as their class colleagues in aircraft and copper.

We suspect the President knows that you can't prepare for an imperialist war to defend the profits of American business without the American eagle losing a few of his tail feathers.

## By Whose Right?

The leaders of thirteen international unions in the metal trades, affiliated with the AFL, have undertaken to speed boss-war preparations by the adoption of a "no strike" policy. We have no complaint if that declaration is intended as an expression of their own personal opinions. We think they are wrong, dead wrong. But still, they are democratically free to hold any opinion they choose.

However, they made their declaration as an expression of policy for the union. And that they had no right to do. No more right than if they had decided to vote the unions out of existence. And that's what they are doing in effect! As individuals they are privileged to act as fools and scoundrels. As union leaders, they are obliged to act in the interests of the union.

Picture then this situation to yourself: The boss of a given factory announces a wage cut. The union representatives go into the employer's office. "Look here", they say, "You can't do this. We won't let you."

"What do you propose to do about it," asks the boss. "Strike? You know you made a pledge not to hinder our war program by strikes."

"Oh no, we don't intend to call a strike. We promised not to do that. But we demand you talk with us, and arbitrate."

And so they talk. They even have arbitration conferences. In the meantime, the men stay at their machines. Work continues. No pressure is put on the boss—at least, not the kind of pressure he understands, strike action. The situation which caused the protest continues. Or maybe, in the course of interminable arbitration negotiations, some infinitesimal concession is thrown the way of the workers as a gesture of good faith—while the main grievance sticks.

The point is that the only real weapon the union has to enforce its demands is the strike. And that the union leaders have sworn away. What boss will take a union demand seriously if he knows in advance the men won't strike?

Even where a union is compelled by circumstances to accept arbitration, its value for the union is exactly equal to the union's ability to resort to strike action in the showdown. A militant, fighting union leadership can get around the dangers of arbitration. A union leadership so concerned with promoting the boss war program as is this one, cannot possibly be expected to hinder that program in arbitration proceedings.

Insisting upon arbitration amounts to insisting on a useless formality. The very fact that the boss press slobbered all over itself in commending the union's leaders declaration should be sufficient to put a union man on his guard. Any proposition that meets with so much approval from the boss press just naturally makes us suspicious. It now remains for the metal trades workers to make their own attitude known at the union meeting.

# Congress Gets Roosevelt's All-Out-For-War Message

(Continued from page 1)

advanced nation in the world should talk in these motheaten terms of Wilsonianism. They meant little in Wilson's day, they mean less today. It is as though a witch doctor should try to cure a typhoid epidemic by magic passes and incantations. But there is a reason.

Roosevelt's first two "freedoms," of speech and religion, have existed in emasculated form in the capitalist world for a century and a half, without preventing periodic world wars. In actual practice the first of these along with other liberties, is fast becoming a chimera in the United States. For, Roosevelt's verbal allegiance to democracy notwithstanding, totalitarianism—the abolition of such liberties as freedom of speech—is inherent in the very nature of the war he proposes to wage. (And what an index of the backward and reactionary nature of this so-called 'advanced' Administration, to include in 1941 as one of four supreme war aims—the winning of religious freedom! That was once taken for granted!)

Roosevelt's last two "freedoms" are faint echoes of liberal-capitalist illusions which have been thoroughly

exploded by the course of events since the last war—and by Roosevelt's own policies! Who still preserves the innocent faith to be able to believe in free trade and disarmament as panaceas for the ills of the twentieth century world?

Roosevelt, however, needs to be given this much credit: he probably doesn't take his "war aims" very seriously either. But he is in the same spot as the present political leaders of England: he must call the masses into action to "defend" "democracy" against the totalitarian menace, and yet he must avoid any possible incitement to revolution, any possible implication that fundamental social and economic changes might be desirable. So he talks in what are for him, catch phrases, which mean little in the face of reality, and hopes for the best. Though he may speak in mumbo-jumbo, Roosevelt knows witch-doctoring is a fake.

There is nothing in these four points of Roosevelt's worth the blood of a single American worker. Yes, real democracy is something to fight for. But the Negro who lives under lynch terror, the worker who is threatened not to strike, know how

little is the value of democracy in the mouth of a Roosevelt.

A war conducted to defend a socialist America against Hitler, a war in alliance with a socialist Britain, a war to build a new world of economic and social justice based on the rule of the working masses—this kind of a war could be expressed in slogans which would arouse support throughout Europe and make Hitler's (and capitalism's) position impossible. This kind of a war would enlist the full support of American workers. Roosevelt can't fight it because he is defending the present capitalist system—which finds democracy an ever increasing embarrassment. So he has to maneuver around with Hillman and talk the old platitudes about free speech and free trade. It remains to be seen whether this is enough to persuade the workingclass of America that this is their war.

## World at War—

(Continued from page 1)

Press dispatch claims that German Foreign Minister Von Ribbentrop presented him with an ultimatum which demanded passage of German troops through Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Premier is said to have capitulated to this demand.

## RUSSIA'S STAND

The importance of these developments to Russia is shown by the fact that the Russian ministers to Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Hungary have left their posts for consultations in Moscow, and by the arrival in Sofia of Alexander Mihailovitch, the director of the Middle European Division of the Soviet Foreign Commissariat, who is considered Moscow's leading expert on Balkan affairs.

Despite the reports that Russia is strenuously opposing further Nazi expansion in the Balkans, official German sources say that she has agreed to let them take over Bulgarian territory in return for non-opposition to Russian policy either in Finland or Moldavia, the Rumanian area which adjoins Bessarabia. The same sources report that Bulgaria would be granted her long sought outlet to the Aegean Sea and the rest of Dobruja, the southern part of which has already been ceded to her by Rumania under Axis arbitration. Hungary, it is said, would get the remainder of Transylvania and what is left of Rumania would be under German military and civil domination.

## WAR CONGRESS OPENS

While things are thus brewing in the Balkans, a newly convened Congress is settling down to the concrete measures that will result in "all-out-aid" to Britain. Following Roosevelt's broadcast to the nation, and his address to Congress on the "state of the union," Congress will appropriate \$10,000,000,000 of a \$17,000,000,000 budget for war expenditures. Included in this will be the "lend-lease" plan which will supply Britain with tremendous amounts of American war materials, for which the British will not have to pay in cash.

The War Department has already applied for an additional appropriation of \$3,000,000,000 with which to further arm that branch of the military. Following the army, the Navy Department, through Chairman Vinson of the Naval Affairs Committee, is asking for \$509,000,000 more for expansion of naval shipbuilding and ordnance manufacturing facilities.

To help Britain out of her shipping difficulties Roosevelt has coolly allocated from 300 to 350 million dollars for the construction of 200 prefabricated merchant ships. All sorts of bills are being introduced by war mongering Congressmen from the repeal of the Johnson Act to schemes for turning American and foreign ships in American ports over to the British by legal devices which are calculated to circumvent the letter of actual war participation. One of the most vicious bills, authored by Representative Dirksen of Illinois, would bring all merchant ship crews into active naval reserve during the "defense emergency." In effect what this means is to force a section of American labor, the seamen, under the domination of the naval brass hats. It means the smashing of their unions and their reduction to the status of mere cogs in the war machine which would be the first step toward the totalitarian enslavement of labor.

**READ, SUBSCRIBE TO NEW INTERNATIONAL**

## THE NEGRO'S FIGHT

# There's a Way Out for the Negro Masses

By JACK MANN

Last week we spoke of the fatalistic attitude of Negro intellectuals toward the solution of the "Negro Question" in the United States. We pointed out that their attitude expressed "a complete lack of confidence in the ability of the Negro to overcome the obstacles imposed by American capitalism." Unable or unwilling to recognize that the "Negro Problem" cannot be solved within the framework of American capitalism and refusing to undertake a struggle which would mobilize the millions of Negroes in the country for the defense of their rights, they have adjusted themselves (without too much difficulty) to making the best of "things as they are."

On the crucial question of the war this attitude is expressed in slavishly pleading for the opportunity to enlist more Negro boys in the various branches of the armed forces. They want Negroes to have the right to join any branch of the military service, but haven't a word to say to the Negro youth about the imperialist nature of the war or what the Negro has to gain by fighting for Wall Street profits and by defending "democratic" England which refuses to grant any democracy to its colonial slaves in India, Africa and the West Indies. As a matter of fact, their fight for "participation of Negroes in national defense" does not even call for an end to Jim Crowism in the armed forces!

## Where Schuyler Fails

George Schuyler, on the other hand, has been carrying on a one-man campaign in his column in the *Pittsburgh Courier* exhorting those who advocate "national unity and defending democracy" while the Negro has been reduced to the status of a helot. He has been one of the few prominent Negroes to raise his voice against the fakery of the present war being fought for "democracy." He knows that Negroes have nothing to gain from the war and that "national unity to Negro Americans is working and fighting to perpetuate their subjugation under the direction of the white dictatorship which promises no amelioration of their condition . . . Naive Negroes here said after the last World War that Afri-Americans would find their status improved. They were fooled. Now they are saying that if we help crush Hitlerism we shall be better off afterwards. They are destined to be again fooled. The white people in authority know this, which explains why nothing is being promised to Negroes, except more segregation."

But here Schuyler stops. "We are caught in a trap," he says, "from which perhaps we cannot extricate ourselves . . ." And so for different reasons, while opposing support of either imperialist camp in the war, Schuyler also cannot see any hope for the Negro. The problem appears insoluble to him because he stops at the limits imposed by the laws and customs of the ruling class. Certainly there is no hope for a better life under the capitalist system of wars, poverty, exploitation and discrimination. This is true for the white worker and doubly true for the Negro. That being the case, it is necessary for the black and white workers to unite and take matters into their own hands. We are now being forced into a war which is not our own, but for the maintenance of the status quo. The status quo means a continuation of all the indignities, discrimination and exploitation to which the Negro is now subjected in "our American way of life"—only on a much greater scale after the destruction caused by the war. If the Negro cannot get any democracy now, before America is actively in the war, he can expect even less after the war. There is only one road the Negro can take which will put an end to his present caste status in American society. There is only one way that he can "extricate himself" from the conditions of life imposed by the bosses and their governments. That way leads to opposing both imperialist camps in the war, which are fighting to either keep the peoples under their rule in subjugation or for the right to subjugate the people of other nations and colonies.

## With the Third Camp

To say that there is no way out is not only false but shows a lack of faith in the revolutionary potentialities of the Negro. The backward slaves of San Domingo won their freedom from the most powerful nation in Europe. The exploited and oppressed peoples in the colonial countries, uniting with the revolutionary working class in the capitalist countries can put an end to the war and build a world where no man will be able to exploit his fellow-men, where all men will live as equals.

This perspective offers the only possibility of evading the trap in which Schuyler believes the Negro is caught . . . it means actively participating in the confident and growing ranks of the THIRD CAMP which opposes both imperialist camps in the war. It means a militant and uncompromising struggle first against our own oppressors at home. In this struggle the Negro will find his allies among those white workers who are also fighting for an end to the wars, exploitation and oppression to which the workers of the capitalist world are now subjected. The Workers Party calls on all Negroes to join with them in this struggle, which offers the only guarantee of complete social, political and economic equality for the Negro.

## On Nests and Feathers

In his speech to Congress calling for "all-out" aid to Britain, President Roosevelt said: "We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests."

It was a dramatic phrase, and the President delivered it with his usual moral earnestness. He really meant it—in the heat of the moment, anyway, standing up there in the klieg lights facing the microphones and movie cameras that were transmitting his words to the nation.

But we wonder what the President thinks when he sits alone in his study in the White House and, in cold blood, looks over the day's news—any day's news. We wonder what he thinks about nest-feathering then—and what he plans to do about it.

Speaking of clipping the eagle's wings to feather private nests—what does the President think about the American aircraft industry which began the year with \$675,000,000 in orders on hand and ended it with \$3,500,000,000, which has forced its workers to strike time and again to get decent wages, which has delayed construction of new plants for months in order to highjack vast sums of money from the U.S. Treasury?

What does the President think about the 150 corporations—including the Aluminum Corp., Great Lakes Steel, Douglas Aircraft, Hercules Powder, and the A.O. Smith Corp.—which are currently trying to get the War Department to pay for their new plants as well as give them huge and profitable orders?

What does the President think of laboring Bethlehem Steel Corp., which is making the biggest profits in its history and which will make even bigger ones—half of which is being paid directly by the Government and the other half of which will be paid also by the Government indirectly, through 'favorable' amortization provisions?

What does the President think of the U.S. copper producers and exporters who have sold so much American copper to Japan that October figures for this trade were 180% higher than the month before, so that there is now a serious domestic shortage of copper? What does he think of the American manufacturers of metal-working machinery who increased

# Liebknecht on The Aim of Militarism

Twenty-two years ago, on the night of January 15, the two leaders of the German Revolution, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, were murdered by the reactionary order of the Ebert-Scheideman-Noske Social-Democratic government. Liebknecht was the man who, alone among the many socialist representatives in the Reichstag, had dared vote against the war credits in 1914, and who thereafter, from trench and prison, continued his bitter denunciation of the war. Luxemburg was the woman who, devoted to the cause of the working class all her life, flayed the revisionists of Marxism, with her inspired pen, and who, in prison and out, hurled her brilliant tracts against the war-lords of the world. Both were internationalists in the fullest sense of the world. Both were the most beloved leaders of the German proletariat—because neither wavered for an instant in allegiance to revolutionary principle. They were the organizers of the Spartakus Bund which in 1918 led the German workers onto the streets in revolutionary action to establish, as had the Russian proletariat before them, a workers' government. The revolution was cut down by the reactionary bands of the Social-Democratic government; and its great leaders murdered.

Below, and on page 4, we present selections from the works of these two revolutionary immortals, Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

There is nothing specifically capitalistic about militarism. Moreover, it is proper and essential to all systems of class society of which the capitalist system is the last. Capitalism, like any other system of class society, develops its own special variety of militarism; for militarism, by its very essence, is a means to an end, or to several ends, which vary in accordance with the kind of social system, and which can be attained in different ways in accordance with this variance. . . .

An army based on universal military service corresponds best to the capitalist stage of development. Although it is an army composed of the people, it is not a people's army, but an army against the people, or is being shaped more and more with this end in view.

It appears either as a standing army or as militia. The standing army which is not a special feature of capitalism alone appears as its most developed and even . . . as its normal form.

The army of the capitalistic order of society as well as that of other systems of class society serves a double purpose.

It is first of all a national institution destined to attack a foreign country or to be protection against danger from without. In short, the army is destined for use in international complications or, to use a military expression, 'against the external enemy?'

Militarism is not only a means of defense against the external enemy; it has a second task, which comes more and more to the fore as class contradictions become more marked and as proletarian class-consciousness keeps growing. Thus the outer form of militarism and its inner character takes a more definite shape: its task is to uphold the prevailing order of society, to prop up capitalism and all reaction against the struggle of the working class for freedom. Militarism manifests itself here as a mere tool in the class struggle, as a tool in the hands of the ruling class. It is destined to retard the development of class-consciousness . . . The task of militarism is, above all, to secure for a minority, at whatever cost, even against the enlightened will of the majority of the people, domination in the state and freedom to exploit.

When pious people and deceivers want to make us believe, for instance, that the tension between Germany and England is merely due to misunderstandings, incitement by malicious newspaper writers, and to the boastful speeches of the bad musicians in the concert of diplomacy, we know better. We know that this tension is a necessary consequence of the ever-growing economic rivalry between England and Germany on the world market, i.e., a direct consequence of unbridled capitalist development and of international competition. The Spanish-American war over Cuba, the Abyssinian war of Italy, the Transvaal war of England, the Sino-Japanese war, even though their special causes and conditions are manifold, yet they all possess one great common feature, that of wars of expansion.

—From Karl Liebknecht's "MILITARISM AND ANTI-MILITARISM" (See page 3 for Luxemburg quote)

**Commemorate the anti-war fighters of the last war** ● **Lenin • Liebknecht • Luxemburg**

**HEAR: NATHAN GOULD, N.Y. Organizer Workers Party**  
**BERNARD PASTON, Editor Challenge of Youth**

**Friday, January 17, 8:15 P. M. Admission 10c**

**Irving Plaza, IRVING PLACE & 15th STREET**  
**Young Peoples Socialist League (Youth Section, Workers Party) 114 West 14th Street, New York City**

**LABOR ACTION**  
**Official Organ of Workers Party**

Published weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Company

VOL. 5, No. 2 JANUARY 13, 1941  
 114 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. (3rd Floor)

Editor: JOSEPH CARTER  
 Managing Editor: EMANUEL GARRETT  
 Business Manager: JOHN BILLINGS

Subscription Rate: \$1.50 per year, \$1.00 six months  
 (\$2.00 per year or \$1.50 six months for Canada and foreign)

Re-entered as second class matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.