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Mexican Unions To Give CIO HEADS HAND OV Workers Army Training CIO HEADS HAND OV

Convention of CTM Casts Unanimous Vote by the government but controlled To Institute Union-Controlled Training

Half a million members of Mexican trade unions for the American fascists to will receive military training under the control and crush the trade union organizadirection of their unions, according to an announcement made on Feb. 9 in the national headquarters of the C. T. M. (Confederation of Mexican Workers), the largest labor federation in the coun- gram, and especially for the lestry. The story, reported in a special dispatch from Mexico City to the Feb. 10 New York Herald-Tribune, explains some of the details of the C. T. M. program for military training:

"All workmen between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five belonging to the federation will drill for one hour daily in brigades organized by labor. It is estimated, for example, that 10,000 chauffeurs will be enroll-D-

ed in a chauffeurs' brigade. Rail- workers organizations into line Business As Usual road workers, bakers, street car for any war the government deline employees, spinners, weav- cides to wage. This is not an ers, electricians and other trades argument against military trainwill be organized into similar ing by the trade unions, but one for a struggle by the workers brigades."

The dispatch indicates too that against the trade union bureauthe decision to train the C.T.M. crats. What is decisive is that for the members is heartily approved by the local officials and members time being the workers will receive military training, and they of the union:

"The training is voluntary as will receive it under the control far as the government is concern- of their own organizations. ed, having been voted unanimous- Whether the members of the ly by several hundred delegates trade unions, once having experito the federation's recent nation- enced such training, will want to al convention in Mexico City, but exchange it for the barrackswill be compulsory within the room rule of the hated reactionfederation, except for those phys- ary officer caste of the army is ically incapacitated."

PROGRESSIVE STEP

The Mexican trade union movement has thus taken a long step forward in the protection of the workers' interests and organizations. The growing menace of reaction within Mexico as reflec- very much like the proposal long ted in the rightward moves of the advanced by THE MILITANT Camacho government, and the and the Socialist Workers Party spread of the war to all parts in this country for "Military of the globe, requires a trade training of workers, financed by union movement that is trained the government, but under conin the military arts and able to trol of the trade unions. Special protect itself against its enemies. officers' training camps, financed The decision of the C.T.M.

means that the workers will be under control of labor organizaby the trade unions, to train the workers to become officers." Such training would make it impossible tions as the fascists did in Ger-

many and Italy. Advanced workers in this country will be interested in the developments of the C.T.M. prosons American workers will be able to learn from it. THE MILI-TANT will make every effort to cover these developments in its

pages.

On International

The "New York Times" of Feb. 5 has a story from Basle, Switzerland, showing that business is still business, and the Axis powers are no more desirous of disrupting it than the United Nations.

"Thomas McKitrick," it reads, "president of the Bank for International Settlements, will retain his post in full agreement with the other members of the bank despite the fact his American nationality is that of a belligerent.

"The bank regulations admit of the constitution of a 'presidential council' of two neutrals in the event of the president's being requested to relinquish his post, but in view of Mr. McKitrick's excellent management it is understood both the Italian and German commissions requested that he be allowed to retain his post."

something that remains to be seen

in the future and will not be de-

termined exclusively by the mo-

tivations of the proponents of

this military training program.

SIMILAR TO SWP PROGRAM

The program of the C.T.M. is

able to receive military training V. R. Dunne Explains Trial tions. These organizations are Of 18 To Auto Workers FLINT, Mich., Feb. 6. --- An ment and endanger the civil libenthusiastic audience of auto- erties of the American people. Despite the fact that the meetmobile workers meeting in the regional headquarters of the ing took place at the same time CIO last night heard a speech as an important union conference, there was a good attendance of union members and officers who had expressed interest in the case. Although most of those who atconvicted for violation of the tended were victims of priorities troit last week-end to draw day wage increase, the union pon clippers. Smith "Gag" Act in the Minneaunemployment, they contributed pclis labor trial last December. generously to the Defense Fund. Dunne gave a short history of the union struggle for decent union democracy within Tobin's national tour for the Civil Rights Teamsters International. He Defense Committee, the organization mobilizing public support sketched the events which led up for the 18 who were convicted. A revised schedule of the retraining "to prepare them for in- with the CIO, and the resultant maining stops of Dunne's tour, as ers in CIO unions all over the vision by which wages would be Conference, which also drew up corporation into the Mexican prosecution of Local 544 and So- released this week by the C.R.- country look to the auto workers readjusted every three months in contract demands providing that WLB are those to which the em-D.C., will be found on P. 2 For Dunne showed that these con- further information about the ers succeed in defending their ship tied to the government will victions both violate the demo- tour, address the C.R.D.C., 160 standards and conditions, it will

Same 'Old Gang' Is Running War Production Board

An Editorial

ited OPM with a new name. Like the OPM, it is run by the dollar-a-year men, and run. by them in the interests of the Wall Street monopolists.

This is becoming clear even to the leaders of labor, who pledged their allegiance to it when it was set up with much fanfare only a month ago.

On Feb. 5, for example, at a symposium in Philadelphia, E. J. Lever, a SWOC official who is now working in the WPB's labor division, charged that the WPB is no different than the monopoly-dominated OPM: "The name has been changed, but the old gang is still there."

The bosses do not ask Washington what to do, he declared, but they tell the government and they "have the brass hats eating out of their hands."

So far as labor policies are concerned, he added, "The labor procurement agencies have been working with too many theories evolved at a time when industry was concentrating onpreventing the extension of collective bargain-

The same day in Detroit UAW President R. J. Thomas blamed current unemployment of 300,000 auto workers on "management and its agents in government", recalled that the OPM had been dominated by "selfish corporate industries" and implied that the WPB was no better.

Thomas' description of the war production set-up was supplemented by a statement from and control of the workers.

gates from 90 General

Motors plants met in De-

rent contract expires in April.

The War Production Board is the discred- Walter Reuther, director of the UAW's GM division, who asserted that GM and the other auto corporations claim that "they merely went along with the government" but the fact is that "they were the government." Since the WPB is only a new label for the old set-up, this means that the capitalist monopolies are the government now too.

EN DEMANDS TO WLB

What these labor leaders say about the WPB is true so far as it goes. But the solution they propose will solve nothing. They ask big business to share a few of the government posts with themselves. They want to reform the WPB by adding a few more "junior partners" like Sidney Hillman.

Donald Nelson has made it clear that he will depend on the dollar-a-year men to run the war. Under pressure, he may add some labor representatives to governmental agencies. But "the old gang" will still be there, and they will still be "eating out of the hands" of the monopolies and running the war program in their interests. The labor representatives will serve only as the window dressing.

Labor's job is not to get some more posts for the union bureaucrats who will only be the prisoners of big business in the government. Labor's job is to fight to take the control of war production completely out of the hands of big business which has shown its chief interest is profits. Labor must demand that the government take over the war industries and operate them under the management

DependOnLabor **Board Alone To Obtain Demands**

Contraction 207

Workers' Struggle for Wage Increases and Union Shop Endangered by No-Strike Policy

The eyes of all American labor are centered on the War Labor Board, to whose mercies the CIO leaders last week entrusted crucial demands of the workers in steel, auto and other basic industries.

Among the decisive cases shunted to the WLB are those involving "Little Steel" - Bethlehem, Republic, Inland Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube - and General Motors. In addition, the WLB for a number of weeks has had before it the "maintenance of membership" demand of he CIO shipyard workers at U. S. Steel's Federal Shipbuilding o. plant in Kearny, N. J.

The WLB decisions in the "Little Steel" cases, where the Steel Workers Organizing Com D-

mittee is seeking dollar-a-day Henderson. An Associated Press wage increases and the union dispatch on Feb. 10 disclosed that shop, are expected to have a de- Henderson last week appeared cisive bearing on pending con-personally before a full session tract negotiations in the entire of the WLB and urged it to rule steel industry and to indicate the against any general wage inposition the Board will take on creases such as the CIO is dethe CIO's general wage and union manding.

shop demands. The Board's handling of the The GM case is thus far limit-Federal Shipbuilding "maintened to the single issue of overance of membership" dispute time pay for Sunday and Saturgives a hint of the position it is days. The fact that the auto likely to take on the question of union leaders have submitted this the union shop. Although the issue to the WLB indicates that Board has had this case for they will probably do the same weeks, it has as yet made no dething with the even more imporcision. This delay indicates that tant wage and union shop de- the Board is seeking some "formands in the coming contract mula" which will seem to make negotiations with the auto corsome concession to the workers. porations. but actually enable the open shop to remain in force. WHAT MURRAY MEANS WHEN HE SAYS "FIGHT" This does not mean that the

far from what they should be both from the point of view of democracy and militancy. Nevertheless they are organizations of workers and as such hostile to the interests of the capitalists.

The dispatch does not say anything about the plans of the C. on "The Meaning of the Min-T.M. for training worker-officers neapolis Convictions" by V. R. in the more highly specialized Dunne, leader of Local 544-CIO art of military leadership. But of Minneapolis, and one of those if the proposal for military training is taken seriously by the unions, this question too will have to be taken up and acted on, for worker-soldiers need worker-officers just as much as any army conditions in Minneapolis and for needs officers.

THE DECISIVE THING

1

The dispatch states that the to the disaffiliation of Local 544 workers will receive military from the AFL and its affiliation Army in case of necessity." The cialist Workers Party leaders. conservative trade union leaderundoubtedly try to swing the cratic rights of the labor move- Fifth Ave., N.Y.C.

Maps Contract Demands

G.M. Auto Union Council

success of the struggle of work- a profit of \$1366 per employee,' By JOE ANDREWS ers in steel, electrical and other FEB. 9. - UAW delemajor industries.

Walter Reuther, GM Director earnings, would still leave over for the UAW, proposed a set of \$1200 profit per employee for the six demands; a blanket dollar-a-

shop, revision of seniority to pro- RISING SCALE up a set of demands for tect workers in the transfer to OF WAGES

Dunne's speech in Flint was new contract negotiations military work, extension of the The demand that wages be reone of his first stops on his with the corporation. The cur- umpire's powers, a \$100 Defense adjusted every three months is Bond payment in lieu of the paid as important as the demand for The results of this conference, union committees to defend the danger of a precipitate fall in the they are staking the interests

> to set the pace. If the auto workcosts in major auto centers. inspire and bear heavily on the

Reuther said. The dollar-a-day mands and disputes to the WLB increase, on the basis of 1941 demonstrates what CIO Presi-Du-Pents and the other GM couthat the CIO would, "fight" for

in all industries.

-without consulting their members - to surrender the use of vacation, the establishment of a general wage increase. The the strike weapon, it is clear that

and the negotiations with GM, plants. In demanding a dollar- buying power of the workers as and vital demands of the workers will have great significance for a-day increase, Reuther also pro- a result of increased prices was exclusively on the hope of favorthe entire labor movement; work- posed the union ask for a pro- foreseen last year by the GM able WLB decisions.

The demands now before the accordance with rising living wages be raised automatically ployers are most bitterly opposwith the cost of living. ed, general wage increases and Pointing out that workers are But the GM negotiations con- the union shop. The bosses are

actually "worse off than they ducted by Reuther and the UAW raising an ever harsher clamor were a year ago," Reuther based executive board did not win this for "freezing" of wages and the the demand for the wage increase | demand last year; they settled | open-shop status quo. on the fact that the 10 cent an for the blanket 10-cent hourly in-

hour increase won last year has crease, which was quickly eaten already been eaten up by the up by spiralling prices. This year strengthened by influential Adthe problem faces the auto work- ministration spokesmen, particurapid rise in living costs. "In 1941 the corporation made (Continued on page 4)



Minneapolis, Feb. 11. — Judge Hall orders directed verdict of acquittal for Kelly Postal because of lack of evidence.

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 9. - the Tobin payrollers and Quis-The trial of Secretary-Treasur- lings.

er Kelly Postal of Local 544- Of the eight witnesses, seven CIO for the alleged embezzle- are Tobin agents; four of these ment of \$1,000 from AFL were also government witnesses Teamsters President Tobin was in the sedition trial; two are resumed this morning before members of the "Committee of from its enemies. District Judge Levi H. Hall, as 99"; the seventh is T. T. ("Raw the defense began introduction of Deal") Neal, Tobin's receiver. Thursday afternoon, defense at- faith. The judge denied the mo-

testimony.

tions proposed is the claim that 1941, a decline of 39,000 from the benefits and training for all the "embezzlement" case rests amount, made out on Jan. 22, mission of any crime; that if a will never go to the jury, so weak completely on the testimony of 1940, in the middle of the Fink verdict of guilty were given on is Tobin's case.

Board will rule against labor in This readiness of the union every case and on every demand. leaders to submit all major de-There is the' possibility of the Board making some small condent Philip Murray really had in cessions, including limited wage mind when he promised recently increases. Such concessions, however, would have for their purhigher wages and union security pose to silence workers' protest against mounting war profits and soaring living costs and to bol-Since these leaders have agreed ster the myth of the Board's "im-

> FOR REPUDIATION OF THE NO-STRIKE POLICY

partiality".

The union leaders' policy of depending solely on the WLB to protect the workers' interests is a grave danger to the workers because it places their interests entirely at the mercy of the "good-will" of 12 individuals, including four corporation heads and four so-called "public" representatives with pro-employer leanings.

It deprives the workers of their Their offensive has been most effective bargaining weapon, the strike, and gives them larly Price Administrator Leon in return only the privilege of having some self-appointed labor

"attorneys" plead for them before a board which is stacked against labor.

The defense of the workers' interests demands a repudiation of he present union leadership and cashier's check drawn as a pre- its servile policies. It demands a caution against the finks and genuine fighting policy and union their boss backers tying up the officials who are concerned only union treasury. The check was with leading and inspiring the finally cashed June 11, 1941; after workers in genuine struggle for the 544 membership had voted their rights and conditions.

to leave the AFL and join the CIO, and had unanimously passed a resolution instructing its such evidence, such a verdict officers to take all necessary steps | could not be sustained; and that

to defend the union's property if the evidence showed the defendant appropriated funds, he When the state rested its case had done so openly and in good The eighth witness, a clerk at torneys made a motion for dis- tion but suggested the defense That the state had failed to sub- troduced its testimony.

Congress Stalls Priorities Relief Bill

FEB. 10. — Despite mounting unemployment due to pri- employment insurance agencies will reach 148,000 by March, orities and plant closures for war production conversion, Con- are protesting the original bill 185,000 by June, and not hit 235, gress for the past three weeks has been kicking around a bill because it might interfere with 000 again until September. 87, for a paltry \$300,000,000 to aid the jobless. This is the same "state rights" and pave the way 000 GM workers, according to Congress which has appropriated a total of \$115,000,000,000 for war without a pause or quibble.

It was only after months of clamor and growing pressure

from the organized workers that D-President Roosevelt on Jan. 17 posed, \$600,000,000, would fail to made the gesture of proposing provide adequate relief for the an appropriation of \$450,000,000 priorities unemployed. Not only to \$600,000,000 to supplement is it insufficient to last for any present state unemployment in- extended period of time, but the surance benefits, which average plan would provide the unem-\$10 weekly per worker for a ployed with added benefits equal maximum of 13 weeks. This was to only 50 per cent of their state immediately trimmed down to unemployment compensation, but \$300,000,000 following a White not more than a total of \$24 House conference between Roose- weekly. velt and Congressional leaders. The average jobless workers

No further action has been receiving \$10 a week from state a few weeks." taken thus far, although by Feb. funds, with the addition of supstall.

ment insurance. These same Congressmen, how- months. ever, didn't stall for a single The unemployed workers are minute when they recently voted expected to use their months of themselves handsome retirement enforced idleness to train for war pensions, thus setting off nation- production work. This is the sort

vide ridicule of Congress. Meanwhile, a lot of propaganda tions customarily give the workand government sources about full wages. how fast the auto industry conversion is taking place and how

Actually, even the top sum pro- representatives of the state un- June, 1941 peak of 235,000. It jobless workers.

has been spread by corporation ers on the job while paying them "soon" there will be a shortage no less, by appropriating a miniof labor. This is intended to con- mum of \$1,000,000,000 to put all vey the impression that the autor the unemployed into training for

C. E. Wilson, General Motors this training period.

had been laid off. Roosevelt, who ceive a maximum total of \$15 however, at the United Auto mented by nation-wide organizcan always get speedy action a week to maintain his family. Werkers, CIO, GM council con- ed union action to force Congress

The organized labor movement should demand that Congress do

workers will be off work. "only jobs in the war industries while paying full union wages during

1 over 300,000 auto workers alone plementary federal aid would re- president, was forced to admit, This demand must be imple-

The state rested its case last Postal Telegraph, gave testimony missal, on the following grounds: renew its motion after it had in-

Thursday, and a mighty weak that boomeranged on Tobin. can always get speedy action from Congress when he wants it, Pretext for the delay in mak- ference, on Feb. 8, that GM em- to act - and act at once - to case it is. Like the federal gov- The \$1,000 that Postal alleged- stantiate its claims; that the Courtroom observers and newshas sat back and let Congress ing even the skimpy appropria- ployment was 196,000 in Dec., provide adequate unemployment ernment's recent "sedition" case, ly embezzled is the check for that state had failed to show the com-

of training which many corpora-

What Colonial People Think About The War

THE MILITANT

British Get Little Aid Now MIKE GOLD AND HIS FRIEND 'SLIM' From Their Own Subjects By ART PREIS

Some of the capitalist press accounts of the Malaya fighting stoop to the absurd in an effort to "explain", the Japanese military successes. One of the correspondents, for instance, even

has it that the Japanese soldiers have the advantage of being "natural" jungle fighters, although most of them have never seen a jungle, being langely farm boys, factory workers, office clerks, etc., of the sort that make 9up the armies of the western easily fooled by Japanese "dis-

powers. anical equipment.

TWO-

A New York Times story, Jan. 31, reports the extent of these commentator in London estimated laya." But how does it happen that

100,000 men have made such rapid advances against the British who AFRAID TO ARM rule over 400,000,000 people in THE NATIVE PEOPLE India, Burma and the Malay Moreover, the British show no States?

BRITAIN AND CHINA

As for aircraft, tanks and guns, the British forces in Ma- Jan. 15, lamented that "here is laya are far better off in this

hell out of the Japanese at Chang- an population." sha, and filtering toward Canton, while the Malayans, plus Indians, it. They deliberately obstruct it. layan natives plus English?"

they playing? Haven't they heard tives. the message of the "four freedoms?"

East don't say much about the possibility of a few Japanese intain some significant hints on the and wouldn't armed Malayans be status of affairs.

REPORTS ON THE NATIVES from Malay and Burma one reads repeatedly: "British troops most Japanese." of the time have had to fight blind. . . while the Japanese have had aerial observation constantly feel that the native people hate and the great added advantage them no less than they fear the of land reconnaissance by their threat of the new Japanese masown men slipping through the lines disguised as Malayans or by hirelings among the natives."

ingapore dispatch, New York small scale of what has bred ting thoroughly 'plawstered' on around it a couple of hundred cist states but also right here at Times, Jan. 15).

guised as natives"; that the Ma-More plausible accounts reiter- layan and Burmese natives don't ate the plaint about Japanese tip the British off about these "hordes" and "overwhelming su- cunning tricks; that ordinary periority of numbers" and "trem- Japanese soldiers run around endous concentrations" of mech- "shouting" in three foreign tonis the name. gues, no less.

One is forced to conclude, at "hordes". "A British military aren't giving much aid to the any rate, that the mative peoples that the Japanese had six full less indifferent about the British British because they are more or divisions of 100,000 men in Ma-tight for the "four freedoms." Here, then, is a clue to the British difficulties.

eagerness to organize and arm

the natives in defense of their own hand. The London Daily Express,

the great tragedy of Malaya. We respect than the Chinese army. | could have had a native defense "Yet here are the Chinese, who in Malaya. . . But a pack of have nothing," observes the col- whiskey - swilling planters and umnist Samuel Grafton in the military birds of passage have New York Post, Jan. 15, "killing forgotten this side of the Malay-No, they haven't "forgotten'

plus Australians, plus British, are An Associated Press dispatch backing down the Malay Penin-from Singapore on Feb. 6 tells sula toward Singapore. How is it that the Singapore radio has that Chinese 'natives' alone" he broadcast an appeal "for all ableasks, "are doing better than Ma-bodied European civilians" to join

the Singapore defense forces, ex-Here is a question which probes plaining that "the use of only deeply into the reasons for the Europeans for this service likely British defeats. What about the would prevent the Japanese from Malayan natives? What role are trying to land disguised as na-

> Surely, one must ask, wouldn't the advantages of a greatly augthe best preventive of such a

Interspersed in the reports fact that the British fear armed natives as much as they do the Why?

Because the British authorities ters.

We have a good example on a

DISCUSS THE COLONIAL SITUATION which had that day fallen to the Japan-

Institutions have a way of continuing their ese existence long after they have become devoid of And as if to compensate for the blow of the the ideas which gave birth to them. Hitler, for fall of Pontianak, Mike Gold has the additional example, did not abolish the Weimer Constitugood fortune of finding in this operator of the elevator in the Daily Worker building a man tion - the product of German Social Democracy - he menely filled it with totalitarian content. who by some peculiar combination of circumstances expounds a 100 percent Stalinist line, Stalin, to give another example, did not abolish the Soviets created by the Russian Revolution so that Gold does not have to add a single word as the organs of workers' democracy, he merely of his own to the narrative, except some descripshot everyone who took this workers' democracy tive color of the rides up and down the elevator seriously, and all that remains of the Soviets during the interview. Later on we will see why Gold couldn't interview this man he calls "Slim" The Daily Worker was founded 19 years ago on his lunch hour or after working hours.

By M. STEIN

first world war. The Daily Worker today is one

of the most outspokenly jingoist publications.

All that is left of its past is the format and the

name. Yes, and one more anachronism: a column

under the title "Change the World". This col-

umn is conducted by the inimitable Mike Gold.

Of all the Stalinist scribes, he has the longest

record of service, which speaks well for his ca-

pacity for spineless adaptation to every change

In the "Change the World" column we have

under consideration (Daily Worker, Feb. 5),

Mike Gold has the unenviable job of re-educating

those who had read his impassioned denuncia-

tions of British, Dutch and American imperial-

ism in the days of the Stalin-Hitler pact, some

Having had his start as a writer of fiction,

Gold knows that the author can speak most ef-

fectively through a properly chosen character.

And who can speak more authoritatively on the

subject of imperialism than a native of the

Dutch East Indies? Gold had some good fortune.

A native of Borneo was literally discovered right

on his doorstep. All he had to do was walk out

of his office on 13th Street and into the eleva-

tor. Who was there operating the elevator but

RE-EDUCATION AFTER JUNE 22

by a band of self-sacrificing revolutionists carry-"Slim" commences the narrative where Gold ing aloft the banner which was betrayed so left off some seven months ago: shamefully by the social-democracy during the

"There are 65,000,000 people in all Indonesia; the island of Java contains some 45,000,000. . . The Dutch conquered us in 1558. After three centuries of their rule, something like 98 percent of our people are illiterate.

"THEY ARE SLAVES. . ."

"We have known only poverty. We earn a few pennies a day; but are taxed for everything. There is a tax on each chair in the house, a tax on each cocoanut tree in the backyard, and on the street light before one's house. There are special taxes for the street cleaner, the fire department. It is really crushing.

"On the rubber plantation there prevails a system of colonial slavery. The workers are herded there because they are starving, and are willing to sign three-year contracts. Under these contracts they are slaves."

Here Gold gets a bit impatient with Slim's narrative. He has a job to do and so far he's got only the background material. He prompts Slim to come to the real point. We quote further: "'You have painted a terrible picture, Slim,'"

I said. 'What is there left to fight for?'"

Slim, of course, wouldn't think of answering that it is very much worthwhile fighting for national liberation from all brands of oppressors, that it is very much worthwhile fighting for socialism. He knows what Gold has in mind

and he rushes ahead to accommodate him. We quote:

political parties. The Dutch oppressed us but we could appeal to the democratic elements in the motherland"

Treachery of 1914 and 1942

The words of that song: "I got plenty of nothing - nothing is plenty for me" seem to be Slim's creed of 1942. Slim takes the trouble to denounce the native social-democrats by referring to them as Hillquits and Scheidemanns. but he does not dare speak of the policies of Hillquit and Scheidemann.

For while Slim's hand is that of Gold, his voice is that of Scheidemann and the arguments are Scheidemann's arguments of 1914. However, they smell a lot worse today and not because of age alone. When Scheidemann sold out to the Kalser, he at least got something for it in return. Slim is satisfied as long as 65,000,000 colonial slaves can "appeal to the democratic elements in the motherland" of 6,000,000. And just who were the democratic elements in the 'motherland?" The Royal family? The slave holders? Or perhaps the Dutch working class? But the workers were themselves exploited and oppressed, and had no voice in the running of the empire.

Gold is still riding up and down the elevator with Slim. He is not interested in the details of social-democratic policy of 1914 and its points of similarity with Stalinist policy of 1942.

New Slanders Like the Old

His next task is to slay the Trotskyists. Savs Gold:

"But there must be some Malayans who have fallen for Japanese propaganda?"

Answers Slim:

"Yes, there are Quislings everywhere. We had some Trotskyites in Malaya; they are pro-Japanese."

This story too is not original with Slim. He is merely repeating the arguments of the treacherous Russian social-democracy which denounced

both Lenin and Trotsky as agents of the German Kaiser. Kerensky even produced documents to "Plenty, at least we had our trade unions and prove it. The fact that the documents were forged was a mere detail. In the eyes of the socialdemocracy Lenin and Trotsky committed an unpardonable crime - they opposed imperialist war. For the same reasons the Trotskyists are criminals in the eyes of the Stalinists.

Gold passes on quickly to the point that is supposed to clinch the argument:

"What do they (the colonial slaves - M. S.) expect to gain out of the inevitable victory of the United Nations?"

"Everything," said Slim, who speaks in sweeping terms (plenty. . . everything. . .). "The end of world fascism for one. Which reminds me, all the bells are ringing and this is the eighth floor. Wanna get out?"

"Everything" to the Natives,

Now we know why the elevator represents the setting for the expositions of the Stalinist policy. All the bells commence to ring just at the time when the argument becomes most embarrassing. Is "the end of world fascism" everything to the native of Borneo or Java? They have been slaves for three centuries - 98 percent illiterate. Most of them do not know there is such a thing as fascism. But they do know their Dutch slave holders.

All reports indicate that the colonial slaves of the Dutch and British empires have not been able as yet to discover the thin line of difference between slavery under their present masters and the Japanese military clique that aspires to become the masters of tomorrow. This is why the natives in the colonies stand aside in the present war.

Their interest can, however, be aroused in a struggle for liberation and for independence. Only this kind of struggle could be progressive. Gold may try to tell the colonial people from his elevator why they should support one set of imperialists against another, but once they arise. there will be no force on earth to keep them down and it will spell the end of all imperialism.

How The Democracies Treat Aliens And Refugees Attorney-General Biddle has es-tablished restricted zones on the BRITISH GOVERNMENT HOUNDS

Pacific Coast where "enemy ali-THE ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEES ens" may not live. But this is far short of the goal enunciated by Pacific congressmen and employers. Already the "liberal" has:

Revoked the State licenses of 'enemy alien" physicians, den-

tects and optometrists. Removed "enemy aliens" from the State civil service lists.

(The following account of how the British government treats the working-class refugees from fascism is taken from an article Governor Olson of California by Leslie Taylor, "Enemies or Allies", printed in the Dec., 1941. issue of the discussion magazine, LEFT). There is one test issue which D-

proves the irreconcilability of the and interned. Once more they tists, teachers, druggists, archi- capitalist method of war and of went in procession before new any genuine Socialist approach: tribunals, which were instructed the treatment of the Socialist Op- to ignore the previous reviews of position in Germany and the their cases, so that the laborious Nazi-occupied countries (by the task of proving their anti-Nazi

record and sincerity had to be

A Socialist Government would

country. A Socialist Government

more than 125 miles inside Ma-

all affairs except making tin and homes rubber, money, having stengahs

a native of Pontianak, largest city in West Bor-And behind this British indifference to the natives' welfare is The dispatches from the Far mented armed force offset the what the CBS correspondent Cecil Brown described in the Jan. native peoples. But they do con- filtrating "disguised as natives", 12 issue of Life magazine:

seven months ago.

"SINGAPORE MENTALITY" "The atrophying malady of dythe 'Singapore mentality', largely helped to bring the Japanese

of line.

laya (early in Jan.). For civilians (British) this walking death is characterized by an apathy to

and 8 P. M., keeping fit, being

ALL NON-CITIZENS HERE ARE possibility? Clearly, this is a ing-without-death best known as ing-without-death best known as

By MICHAEL CORT

Thousands of workers, whose only offense against the state that they do not have citizenship papers, are being fired from

their jobs, torn from their families, and shipped off from their We've heard stories of such persecutions ever since Musso-(whiskey and soda) between 5 lini and Hitler came to power. But this time the story is a lit-

- etle different, in that it is now known as 'a good chap', and get- pore needed a layer of freedom occuring not only in foreign fasFEBRUARY 14, 1942

"The Japanese continue to fight largely in plain clothes. . Japanese troops dressed like Malays and riding in small groups on bicycles, as if going to marthrough the British lines." York Times, Jan. 21).

And from the Maulmein Front, Burma, comes the story: "Fifth nothing except drains and trenchcolumnists aided them (the Japanese), to some extent, in creating general civilian disorgan- the war came to Malaya, authorization. . . The Japanese dress in ities here shelved a proposal for dian and English. They force na- cost prohibitive." tives to shoulder guns and march Naturally, the native people, along with them to give the im- who are being bombed merciless-

that hatred in the following, reported in an Associated Press dispatch from Singapore, New York Times, Feb. 6: The ranking air raid warden in Singapore is quoted as saying: "It's no use telling the people ket, have attempted to filter that Malta has had a thousand raids and they have stuck it, or (Northern Johore dispatch, New that Chungking has had worse

than we've had. Those places have ideal shelters and we have es.'

The report comments: "Before

Saturday night."

is affected by accurate reporting, shelters or the activities of the British ruling class exclusively

devoted to "making tin and rubber, money, having stengahs." At least one capitalist press

vance shouting in Burmese, In- terrain was unsuitable and the son for the British defeats. Sam- have, and won't free countries uel Grafton, in the New York we do have." Post, Feb. 5, frankly states:

pression of numerical superior- v by the Japanese, resent the care whether the British won or get panic-struck at the idea of fish and cut lumber. Many of

fact that the British could spend the Japanese won, and refused It sounds strange indeed, that \$400,000,000 for a now useless stoutly to give their all for what the British who have ruled Ma- naval base and find the "cost the London press calls the 'whislaya for a hundred years are so prohibitive" for air raid shelters. | key-swilling planters'. . . Singa-

HAVE YOU READ

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL

by James P. Cannon

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miles wide: this is the only kind home in the United States. The Singapore authorities re- of Maginot line which works. . . acted to this disclosure by barring Brown's broadcasts over the

were "damaging to the British of Bengal, and rip the heart out attempting to wipe out all dis- in plants with "vital defense cause and inimical to the local of the invaders, save the Burma tinctions in the people's minds work." There are few industries morale." Local morale, it seems, Road, save China, save India, and between pro-fascist and anti-fas- today that are not engaged in save freedom, if only they had a cist aliens. but not by the lack of air raid portion of freedom to save.

"It is not that the Indians are commentator, however, has dared of hearing about how we are go- or Japanese parentage. the uniforms of prisoners and ad- deep shelters holding that the to put his finger on the real rea- ing to free countries we don't

> Yes, it's hard for the peoples ers. They make steel and auto-"The natives of Malaya did not of India, Burma and Malay to mobiles and mine coal and catch when three centuries of British "rivilization" has brought them little more than a 90 per cent illiteracy, a ragged cotton gown or loin-cloth, and an average life. expectancy of 21 years.

Somehow the message of the is their land - they helped build 'Atlantic Charter" has failed to it! It was the strength of their reach the lands of the Indian backs that helped create General and Pacific Oceans. And if it has, Motors, United States Steel and the natives of India, Burma, Ma- Anaconda Copper. But they nevthey cannot read it. Some apologists for western

imperialism shake their heads at ship in this country. A man must the "stupidity" of the subject pass complicated literacy tests. peoples in the Far East who He must be able to give informaaren't willing to fight for the tion, dates, etc., he often cannot "difference" between their pres- recall. When a worker is down ent lot and what they will have in the coal mines all day it is not to suffer under the Japanese im- easy for him to study at night perialists. They cannot under- Most workers find that the job of stand that the natives' minds are feeding and sheltering their famtoo occupied with the whip ac- ilies is more than full time work tually slicing across their backs to worry much about a Japanese whip which has not yet struck. The only message that will slated for a concentration camp. arouse these subject peoples is the message of independence from all oppressors. Under the banner of national liberation of all the colonial peoples, they would fight and die gladly against the Japanese invaders. They are viewed with almost as But apparently the British government prefers to risk defeat by Hitler. at the hands of the Japanese rather than give up a single one HYSTERIA IN CALIFORNIA of its colonies to the people who live in them.

schools. An anti-alien hysteria is being

"India's millions, like the Chi- carefully nurtured here in Amernese, could pour across that bori ica. Reactionary elements in big the Navy Department, has remov-Singapore radio because they der (Burma) or over the Bay business and the government are ed all "enemy aliens" from jobs

> The very label they use to identify aliens is pure demagogy. ban are closed to aliens anyway indifferent to the war, or "prefer | "Enemy alien" is not a label re- because of the hysteria of the the Japanese'; it is that the spir- ferring to an alien that supports employer class. it of man or dog dies under suffi- the Axis powers - it is any alien cient cuffing and one gets sick that comes of German or Italian

> > sands of "enemy aliens" in this

-far more strongly opposed to fascism than most of their persecutors.

Most of these "enemy aliens" have lived in this country the majority of their adult lives. This phia, Washington, and all the inlantic. WHAT TO DO WITH THEM

lay and the Dutch East Indies er took out citizenship, papers. What to do with the workers are still so largely illiterate that That is their crime against the and anti-fascist refugees once state! they have been taken from their

It's not easy to obtain citizenhomes and jobs, is a problem that apparently does not concern Johnson or the Legion. But the United States Army, often more efficient in such things, is quietly building concentration camps. Seven cantonments are already under construction in the southwestern states. Each camp will hold 3,000 men, women and chil-And so many of them never dren. The camps will house both got around to taking out citizenprisoners of war and "enemy aliens." This means that both ship papers. And so they are now fascists and anti-fascists will be It's not only the workers who dumped in together. have been here for 20 or 30 years

This is indeed a strange "cruthat are being persecuted. The sade against Fascism" when the anti-fascist refugees from Euanti-fascist fighters who are unrope are finding a taste of the fortunate enough to be of Gersame terror they fled abroad. man or Italian or Japanese parentage are thrown into concenmuch suspicion here as they were tration camps - when the workers who neglected to meet cer-

tain legal technicalities are de-California is the focal point of prived of work and taken from the first crescendo of hysteria. their homes.

Banned all foreign language British government).

For years this Opposition bore repeated. Most of them have The federal government, thru the brunt of the tyranny of Naz- filtered through the tribunals ism. Concentration camps, im- now, but with no assurance that prisonment, torture, death, were they will not be rounded up as the lot of thousands of its mem- soon as another scare develops. bers. Some hundreds of them They are still "enemy aliens"... escaped to this country, only to "vital defense work." Those that be treated as outlaws - getting would come outside this official past the immigration officers with welcome as honored guests men

difficulty, living here under con- and women who had suffered at stant restrictions, rarely allowed the hands of Nazism in another to work for a living, Not satisfied with depriving When war came they were would understand the value of

these workers of the means of treated as "enemy aliens", and making them allies. It would semaking a living, Senator Hiram rounded up in internment camps. lect from them reliable leaders There are hundreds of thou- Johnson of California would go Many of them were deported to to man a Department for the further. He is sponsoring a reso- Australia and Canada, some sub- furtherance of revolution in the country. They are mostly work- lution in Congress which would jected on board ship to abomina- countries under Nazi domination. bring about a forced evacuation tions which became a public The wireless would be placed at of all aliens from the Pacific scandal, some meeting their death their disposal; the leaflets dis-Coast zone 300 miles deep and on the Arondora Star. In due tributed over Germany and the stretching from Canada to Mex- course they were brought before Nazi-occupied countries would be ico. If the same policy were ap- tribunals, a process which took drafted by them. The object of plied to the East Coast, and there months. When their genuineness a Socialist Government would be is agitation for it from the Amer- as anti-Nazis had been re-estab- to encourage and assist a Soican Legion, workers would be lished, they returned to their role cialist revolution in Europe, and torn from their homes and jobs of outlaws under constant police they would accept eagerly the in New York, Boston, Philadel- restrictions.

Then came the invasion scare- experts at hand to help them in dustrial centers along the At- and once more they were arrested the task.

> **REVISED SCHEDULE OF V. R. DUNNE** TOUR Sunday, Monday, Feb. 15, 16, Akron, O. fuesday, Wednesday, Feb. 17, 18, Youngstown, O. Thursday thru Saturday, Feb. 19, 20, 21, Buffalo, N. Y. Monday, Feb. 23, Rochester, N. Y. Tuesday, Feb. 24, Syracuse, N. Y. Thursday, Friday, Feb. 26, 27, Boston, Mass. Saturday, Feb. 28, Newark, N. J. Sunday, Monday, Mar. 1, 2, New Haven, Conn. Tuesday thru Thursday, Mar. 3, 4, 5, New York, N. Y. Friday thru Monday, Mar. 6, 7, 8, 9, Allentown, Reading, Quakertown, Philadelphia, Pa. Tuesday thru Sunday, Mar. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, New York City Monday, Tuesday, Mar. 16, 17, Baltimore, Md.

Wednesday, Thursday, Mar. 18, 19, Pittsburgh, Pa. Saturday, Sunday, Mar. 21, 22, St. Louis, Mo. -. Twin Cities

opportunity of having European

FEBRUARY 14, 1942



What Is the Outlook for Negro Masses In World War II?

Is this war going to be a repetition for the Negro people of the humiliating experiences of World War I? Must we expect the same race riots, the beating and lynching of Negro soldiers in uniform, the same segregation and race discrimination in the armed forces? Will the end of the war bring the same revival of activity by the Ku Klux Klan, the wave of lynching and terrorization that Negro soldiers and civilians alike had to endure in 1919?

Although the United States has officially been at war only a little over two months, already the crushing blows dealt to the Negro masses have been, if anything, more intense than in the first World War. In addition to the problems which all sections of the working class must face as a result of the war — the sharp rise in food prices, rent, clothing, etc., without a corresponding rise in wages; priorities unemployment and lay-offs in consumer industries; food rationing and eventual shortages, etc. - the Negroes face still other problems.

There are still many industries which are not open to the Negro, except as a porter or menial. and the bulk of defense industries employ discriminatory practices. Lynching is by no means, under control. The Navy accepts Negroes only as messmen; the Marines not at all. The Red Cross separates and "labels" Negro blood, although it is scientifically no different from white blood. There is a rigid quota for Negro nurses. and the few who are admitted must function in the South, and treat only Negro soldiers. In the Army, Northern Negroes are sent below the Mason and Dixon line where segregation, insult and violence against Negroes is allowed to flourish unchecked.

And already there have been three cases of violent outbreaks in the conscript Army. First there was the fatal shooting of the Negro draftee, Ned Turman, who fought against the Jim-Crow brutality of the military police. Then rioting occurred in Alexandria, Louisiana, between Negro soldiers and MP's, white MP's and local police, where 28 colored soldiers were shot or beaten, and several civilians injured. And now the Negro press reports another outbreak in Fredericksburg, Virginia, where 200 Negro soldiers were dispersed with tear gas and clubs by local police. The complete facts of this latest' riot have not yet been made public.

What Happened in World War I?

These are indications — all too clear — that events of the last war are being repeated, even on a worse scale. In 1917 a Negro applying for service in the Navy was accepted only as a menial. In the Army he was segregated, given the dirtiest tasks in camp, and the most dangerous on the battlefield. He was inducted into military service with far less regard for physical unfitness or family dependency than white soldiers. His troops were placed under the control of white officers, who were often Southern "gentlemen" known for their rabid hatred of Negroes. Negro soldiers were sent into the deep South,

fton to the great fear of the "leading citizens"

Still another report testifying to the strengthening of big and navy procurement agencies was introduced into Congress that handling of contracts is "en- torship changed hands many last week. This report, made by the Murray Senate Committee on

Small Business on Feb. 5 after 9a year of study, shows that in ing fragment of the defense pro-

the past the dollar-a-year men gram is distributed among about and the procurement service of- 6,000 prime contractors," and on their personal integrity; they 1y. ficials have, in the interests of "over 174,000 manufacturing es- are naturally affected by bigbig business, been "utterly ruth- tablishments" have not received business psychology," although business is not only no better would still control the program less toward little business," and any war orders at all, even the report itself declares that "in says "there is no sign that the through sub-contracts. War Production Board will take

a materially different attitude." | WHAT WILL HAPPEN To illustrate its charge that AFTER THE WAR

big business has been favored at The effects of such a policy small business) seem deliberate. the expense of the small busi- are obvious. If it continues as nessmen, the committee cites the it has, the committee states, "we NELSON'S PAST ROLE shall find that when the war

Murray went at great length following figures: Out of 184,230 manufacturing has ended the battered and de- into the history of the handling establishments, a mere 56 have cimated ranks of small business of small business by the war received more than 75% of Army will be too weak to carry on" boards from the time an Office and Navy contracts. "The remain- and "big business, with its branch of Small Business Affairs was

Spokesman Of Profiteers Embarrasses Senators

Barnes Tells Naval Affairs Committee It's pany. But Senator Walsh the Up to Them to Get Profits Back by Taxes

By DON DORE

No end of embarrassment was caused the Senate Naval Affairs Committee on Feb. 5 by the testimony of James E. Barnes, Washington lobbyist for the Todd Shipbuilding Corporation, holder of more than a billion dollars in naval contracts.

Barnes cynically admitted that his company is making Arnold, head of the anti-trust men may feel there is some hope unconscionable" profits of over

50 per cent from naval contracts public understands that you are Justice, had been in conference and then boldly challenged the making only 10 per cent on your with Donald Nelson, head of the troubles. But to think that such the placing of a few small busicommittee and Congress to do capital investment. something about it.

The committee members tried to shift the blame entirely onto prosecutions on war production. to act "shocked" and fix the the Navy Department. He said: blame for the war profiteering "There must be something wrong states the New York Heraldon the company and the Navy Department. But Barnes turned the attack against the committee. He charged Congress with most shocking thing" and that tion of the war, because proseget that money back into the the Navy Department to date is fort to a certain extent." Treasury by taxes in some way." the Navy coming here and tes-Barnes put on a show of greattifying that there were no uner indignation about profiteerreasonable profits."

ing than the committee. Profits PROFITS IN TWO WARS are "outrageous," he claimed. Barnes had asked to testify be-But "we don't have any choice fore the committee to correct a about these contracts - we just take what they (the Navy Department) offer us or they take made by the Truman Senate Investigating Committee which rethe plant in fifteen minutes."

Before the session ended, the ported him as saying that "if enators were soliciting Barnes' it hadn't been opinion on what to do about this couldn't have handled our profsituation where the government its with a steam shovel." That referred to the last war, simply forces the helpless corpoation owners to accept monusought to return some of its profmental war profits.

Warns Monopolies, Through Their Chains and chain establishments, backed set up in Nov., 1940, under Don- representatives of big business by great financial and political and Nelson, now Chairman of the The committee is willing to leave Will Take Over Most Businesses After War power, will move in to occupy War Production Board, until the control in their hands; what it the entire field." present time. asks is that a little of that con-Murray stated in the Senate Many changes were made in trol be divided with representa-

business monopoly by the war production boards and army that the trouble lies in the fact this special office, and its direc- tives of small business. How such a small business di tirely" in the hands of "big busi- times. But despite much talk and vision in the WPB as it proposes ness executives who may be un- many promises, during which the would be any better than the consciously affected by their af- appeals of small business were previous small business divisions,

filiations and who owe their first received "with courteous lip ser- the committee does not say. vice, but evasive action," the sitallegiance to the large concerns." This, he says, is "no reflection uation has not changed material- lishment of such a division would

THE MILITANT

change the attitude of the rep-In fact, says Murray, "small resentatives of big business who off than when the defense pro- as a whole.

Nor does it say how the estab-

Nor does it tell what would

an appointee of Nelson, and the

Apparently the committee has

forgotten the remark it makes

in the same report: "Whenever

big business and little business

are required to sleep in the same

bed, big business steals all the

The value of the Murray report

The millions of workers in the

But their task is not to call for

WHAT THE WORKERS

Nelson himself.

covers.

some cases the fact that the program started, but much worse off curement officers have always because its resources have been be the difference between such been associated with big business largely drained away during a 2 a small business division run by has even made the neglect (of year waiting period."

But like all the other recent division which was once run by Congressional committees which have shown convincingly that big business is getting all the benefits of the war program, the Murray Committee doesn't want to, or doesn't know how to, do anything about the problem it reports on.

THE COMMITTEE'S PROGRAM"

MUST FIGHT FOR As a matter of fact, the chief proposal of the committee, boillies not in its wholely useless ed down, is that the pretense of proposals, but in the fact that it small business having a "voice" shows that the government ofin the war production boards be ficials are running the war prorepeated. The committee proposduction program in the interests Hurley had once advised his comes that another small business of big business, which is growing affairs division be established in stronger and richer and more inthe new War Production Board, trenched in its monopoly position where its interests will be "prothan it was before the war. tected" by people who understand and sympathize with the small manufacturing industries problems of small business, by are of course concerned about which it is presumably meant that small business men should the problem, even though it is not for the same reason as the be the personnel of this division. small businessmen. The workers It is likely that small business

are concerned because their jobs division of the Department of for them if they have such a di- are at stake. vision to go to with their a division could or would do any- ness men to act as a front for monopoly and big business con- program. Their task is to fight trol of contracts is ridiculous, and for workers control of industry, to say that it would is dem- and national planning of military and non-military production to

For the Murray Committee insure maximum production, based not on the desire to prodoes not propose that control of tect monopoly but to utilize all the responsibility "if you don't "the only evidence we have from cution might delay the war ef- war production and contracts be the productive resources, in both taken out of the hands of the the large and the small plants.



Publicity has convinced the average American that in Ha- ize to do away with such intol-

Murray Report Shows \$1-A-Year Vladivostok--Key To The Pacific War By A. ROLAND

-THREE

Never in all history have the front lines in a war extended over such vast distances. In Europe the front extends from the Arctic tundras to the further shores of the Mediterranean in North Africa. But the length of front in the Pacific War dwarfs the European one. It extends from Alaska along the entire Asiatic coast to Australia.

The "keys" to this vast front lie in the naval and air bases that give military and commercial control over the surrounding areas. Singspore is one great key, rapidly slipping from the hands of the United Nations. If this shield for India, the Dutch East Indies and Australia falls into Japanese hands, then the greatest blow of the Pacific War will have been dealt to Britain and America.

That blow would then concentrate the attention of both sides in the war on that other key to the north, Vladivostock. It is unthinkable that Japan would wait for the Allies to strengthen this vital point any further before attempting to wrest it from the Soviet Union. At any moment, when the Japanese feel themselves sufficiently entrenched in the south Pacific to turn their attention once more to Russia, the great Siberian base may come under attack.

It is quite true that the Soviet Union would prefer to concentrate her entire attention on the enemy with whom she is already at war. The Red Army is fully occupied with the fascist invaders on the European front. It is probably just as true that Japan would like to stave off the rupture of relations with Soviet Russia as long as possible. But both countries recognize the inevitability of the struggle for Vladivostok

Importance of the Vladivostok Base

The importance of this base in the Pacific War can hardly be exaggerated. It is a point of concentration for a direct attack on Japan, potentially speaking. It has become a commonplace - which, however, remains true - that the Maritime Provinces of Siberia, with Vladivostok as the muzzle, are like a gun aimed at the heart of Japan. The radius of flight of long range, bombers makes the Star of the East a possible base for the bombing of the entire industrial area and the most powerful naval bases of Japan. Less than eight hundred miles from Vladivostok lie the great fleet bases at Kure. Kobe within the Inner Sea of Japan, Sasebo, Yokasuka, Maizuru, Ominato, all can be reached. Japanese shipping through Tsugaru Strait, through La Perouse Strait, through Shimonoseki and through the vital Japanese life-line, the Straits of Tsushima, can be directly menaced by airplane and submarine based on Vladivostok.

It was not entirely by accident that Japan chose December as the time to make her attack on Pearl Harbor. The Japanese militarists reckoned on nature to help keep the USSR quiescent for the time being, even had the USSR desired to take any immediate action in the Pacific. Vladivostok harbor can be kept more or less free of ice, but the ice-infested seas nearby make difficult the passage of submarines for refueling at such bases as Postovoi Bay. Vladivostok Bay outside the harbor itself remains coated by ice up to March.

same day had said he would introduce a bill to punish contractors who defraud the government, except for contractors who make big profits with the full approval and knowledge of the Navy and War Departments.

And earlier in the day, Assistant Attorney General Thurman

War Production Board, about the Byrd and his colleagues tried possible effects of anti-trust thing basic about the growth of big business control of the war "One report of their meeting,"

with the Navy Department if it Tribune, Feb. 5, "had Mr. Nelson agogic. permits such things." Senator asking Mr. Arnold to hold up Brewster added that "this is a such prosecutions for the dura-

hand-to-mouth existence fishing

which American capitalists have

Nor have the Islands proved

a paradise to the hundreds of

cans, Koreans and Filipinos lured

True, overseers no longer lash

there. When the 369th Harlem Regiment was sent to Spartansburg, S. C., in 1917, the New York Times, Aug. 30, 1917, quoted the mayor of that city:

"'I was sorry to learn that this Regiment was ordered here,' said Mayor Floyd, 'for with their northern ideas about race equality, they will probably expect to be treated like white men. I can say right here that they will not be treated as anything except Negroes. . .' An official of the Chamber of Commerce said this afternoon, 'We wouldn't mind if the government sent us a squad of southern Negroes; we understand them and they understand us. . . I can tell you for certain that if any of these colored soldiers go in any of our soda stores. . . and ask to be served they'll be knocked down. . . We don't allow Negroes to use the same glass a white man may later have to drink out of."

In Houston, Texas, where Negro soldiers were not allowed to have arms, a Negro soldier who had tried to protect a colored woman from being beaten by local police, was himself clubbed and arrested. When news of this reached camp, more than 125 Negro soldiers set out to lodge a protest with the police. Determined not to permit any interference, they armed themselves. For daring to do this, they were met by a band of Houston citizens and Illinois guardsmen. Several were wounded or killed, and thirteen of the "rebels" were later hanged.

But the end of the war did not mean the end of discrimination and violence. A wave of lynching and terror swept the South. The North was no paradise either for returning Negro soldiers. In Pittsburgh signs were posted in the Negro districts, warning colored citizens "to stay in their place." Riots between Negroes and whites took place in Chicago, Washington, and other northern centers.

Only Socialism Provides a Solution

Obviously there have been no steps taken since the last war to remove the cause of these riots, to provide greater equality for the Negro masses, to wipe out Jim-Crowism. There have been no moves to outlaw lynching, or to make illegal the discriminatory practices of the Southern Bourbons, the Army and the Navy, etc.

Nor can there be a solution to the problems of the Negro masses until the workers themselves establish a government operating in the interests of the entire working class. Only socialism which provides full economic, social and political equality for all workers, can guarantee an end to racial discrimination. Not until the establishment of a socialist society will there be an end to the devastating wars, with all their poverty, death, brutal discrimination, and misery for the masses, which now scorch the earth.

PROFIT LIMITATIONS?

Senator Byrd voiced the opinion, not too strongly, that maybe care?' profits on war contracts should be limited to eight per cent on invested capital. Senator Walsh, war," said Barnes in his mock been pushed to the very edge of chairman of the committee, made confessional, "because they are so bold as to suggest six per bad enough in this war as it is." cent.

They are so bad, in fact, that Todd paid \$4,000,000 back to the and raising a few vegetables. "I don't care if you put it down to two or three per cent," replied Navy - after previously ar- Few dollar's pass through their Barnes. "If you give us any prof- ranging with the government to hands. These are the blessings it at all, with the magnitude of have it deducted from income our business and our investment, | taxes. But even on a 10 per cent | bestowed upon them. we will be profiteers."

profit limitation agreed to with Barnes was slyly mocking the the Navy, profits are still "pretcommittee, knowing the members ty high," because the company thousands of Chinese, Japanese. were scared to death of their can make plenty of money even Portuguese, Spanish, Puerto Riown suggestions, Twice these at one per cent. same Senators have voted down Barnes further testified that from their distant homes by the bills to increase corporation ex- Todd owns or has partnerships promise of an American standcess profits taxes. Last year in 16 shipyards. Nine of these, ard of living. they supported the repeal of the he said, have been organized Vinson-Trammel act limiting since 1939 with the government them with black-snake whips as

supplying \$24,000,000 for plant they did before the turn of the profits on naval contracts. Barnes told the committee that facilities. These are a gift, but century, when these workers arhis company's business with the the company does not figure rived to find themselves litergovernment this year totals up them as profit. to \$200,000,000, on which it will. In giving the committee even resentative in 1937 found some make \$20,000,000 profits, 10 per more information than it sought, workers putting in as many as dents. cent of the face value of the Barnes mockingly said: "There is 90 hours per week, with wages contracts, but 50 per cent on the no use lying about it. God, when as low as nine cents an hour. HOUSING, THE WORKERS company's invested capital of you have two or three investiga- The average was somewhat bet-

Senator Byrd: "That's an aston- WHY BARNES ishing situation. Here's a witness EMBARRASSED THE who admits his company makes 50 per cent on its investment. measures his profits — by how committee: All right, you wise That's the way a businessman much he makes on his invest- guys. You've been embarrassing ment."

WHAT THE VINSON REPORT CONCEALED

\$40,000,000.

Byrd was then compelled to you worry about quieting public confess that this threw the re- protest. I'm going to tell just port of the Vinson House Naval enough to make you look like the Affairs Committee into a bad hypocrites you are when you fail light, because that report showed to do anything about it. Then, profits based on each contract maybe, you'll lay off this "inrather than on invested capital. vestigation" stuff for a while. The public has been misled by

waii the native males, lithe and handsome, devote their lives to erable exploitation? Desperate riding the waves on surf boards, while the native females, beauti- attempts have been made to do ful as the flowers with which they bedeck themselves, dance on just that as we shall describe stated Barnes, when the company | the sun-drenched shores.

It comes as a shock to learn that in Hawaii the native its and was told by Chairman Hawaiians have become a neg-

Hurley of the War Shipping ligible factor, possibly 20,000 of Moreover, prices at the company Board, "Shut up. What do you them having survived brutal con- stores on two plantations invesquest of the Islands by big busi- | tigated by Fortune near Honolulu ness. Steadfastly resisting en- were uniformly higher than in ed up with our profits in this slavement in the fields, they have the Honolulu stores."

Eagen, the NLRB representatheir once happy country. Destive whose 1937 report was supperately poor, they drag out a

pressed for three years, found that "the price of milk runs as high as 21c a quart", and commented thus on the miserable diet of Hawaii's workers: "It does not seem reasonable to assume that it is a matter of preference that they eat fish eyes instead of pork, seaweed instead of spinach, or poi and rice instead of bread, butter, salad, potatoes and meat."

Because the Big Five maintains an iron control of importing of food, vegetables, etc., it becomes impossible for the landless population deprived of home-grown is true of social and welfare vegetables to obtain even a modicum of the expensive imported

ally slaves. But an NLRB rep- dalously high rates of deficiency diseases among the island resi-

In the city of Honolulu, the ter, but the base pay for plantavorkers live in appalling slums tion workers was still \$1 per day. - a mass of verminous, obsolete Under the impetus of minimum shacks, which bring outrageouswage standards set by the De- ly high rents and are little more partment of Agriculture, wages than overcrowded firetraps. The in 1938 were upped nearly 27% | Housing Authority administra-- in order that the industry tor, Nathan Straus, called Honomight collect benefit payments | lulu's tenement areas "the worst totalling \$16,000,000 under the in America."

Sugar Control Act of 1937. On the plantations, the "pat-But Barber, in his book, "Hawaii - Restless Rampart" still for the workers to live in. The Islands has been secured. But found in December, 1940 that walls of these are of wide, rough there are signs which indicate 'the average per capita effective buying income of Hawaii is less workers can afford are in keep- things in store. The workers of than \$275, lower than all but ing. Most of the workers cannot Hawaii can not be prevented forthree or four states in the union." afford beds, and sleep on the ever from fighting for their floors, on mats 1/8 inch thick, rights.

each accommodating two mem-Can the worker in Hawaii sub- | bers of the family. There are no

next week. To counter-act these attempts, and terrorize labor into abandoning its efforts at organization a Gestapo-like industrial espionage system has been established by the Big Five. Barber describes that system as follows:

ESPIONAGE AND INTIMIDATION

"The Big Five introduced an industrial espionage system on a large scale. 'Trusted' plantation workers were set to spying on their fellows, observing their actions, their views on labor, monopoly, politics, reporting regularly their findings. A similar procedure has been adapted to the more loosely knit Honolulu and Hilo (factory) communities, where there are more so-called malcontents. . . Employees are

prevailed upon to report the presence of 'dangerous thoughts'. Business offices, newspapers, banks, stores. . . (and) the same agencies, clubs and especially student organizations. The venones. As a result there are scanture has all the earmarks of a Territory-wide 'Red' hunt, with practically no Reds. Those injudicious enough to express publicly their antagonism against the Big Five and to urge their views

on others are generally 'reached' by their superiors who are in turn told by high-ups to throttle such criticism. Sometimes the offending employee is merely warned. and in the majority of cases this suffices. Others, past reform, ane dismissed, usually on the grounds of inefficiency or gross neglect of duty." It would seem that the Big

ernalistic" owners provide shacks Five's monopolistic control of the boards, and the furnishings the that the future may hold other

(Next Week-Workers' Outlook)



It is clear that it is only a question of time before the Japanese launch their attack on Vladivostok and the Maritime Provinces. They will once more attempt to use the element of surprise to deliver a terrific blow similar to that of Port Arthur and Pearl Harbor. It is doubtful that they can succeed again, but that will not deter them from trying. They might hope to smash the bombing planes concentrated at the Siberian base before the planes can take off.

The Red Army was caught napping in Europe when Hitler sprang his invasion, mainly because of Stalin's policy of conceding to Hitler whatever Hitler demanded. Stalin could not believe, that Hitler would invade when he could obtain all that he needed without invasion. But the same thing does not apply in the East. The "peace-pact" signed between Stalin and Matsuoka became meaningless the moment the Pacific War began.

The Strategy of Japan

Will the Japanese attack this spring, when Hitler opens his new campaign in the West? That possibility is not to be ignored. The Japanese may have an eye on India once they take Singapore, but they would not dare to concentrate the forces necessary for such an undertaking, even with Hitler attacking from the West if he can break through the Near Eastern barriers, while Vladivostok remains there to the north. Just as Hitler found it necessary to try to wipe out the Red Army before proceeding to an attack on England, so Japan will feel it necessary to get rid of the menace of Vladivostok before going much further in the Pacific War. The strategy of Japan was to keep her enemies divided as much as possible. Japan did not ucceed entirely, but she would most certainly prefer to attack Russia while she continues to have control of the Pacific sea-lanes. She could thus hope to isolate Siberia and face Russia in the East while Hitler faces the Soviets in the West. The time element remains favorable to Japan, because the United States still has a long way to go on its war production program.

It is possible that Japan was herself surprised at the ease with which she was able to move south and seize vast territories. Her strategy may well have included the attack on Vladivostok sooner. The very success of her southern campaign whetted her appetite for more and may have caused the postponement of the inevitable attack on the Star of the East. But Japan may well feel that she cannot afford to postpone the inevitable much longer. The Japanese generals know as well as the English and Americans that the final outcome of the war depends in large measure on what happens to Hitler's campaign in Russia. Japan will take every possible measure to assure his success.

SENATE COMMITTEE Barnes was really telling the us by trying to make a little demagogic capital on the profit-

eering issue. Now I'm going to spill some of the beans and let

HIGH COST OF LIVING

Of course, if Barnes or his sist on such an income? Fortune clothes closets in the shacks; and the figures on profit percent- company had had any fear that magazine finds "food costs in the workers can manage only ages. Instead of being told that Congress would do something Honolulu 25 per cent above the rude benches and tables to serve you are getting 10 per cent on about war profiteering, he would mainland, electricity nearly 10 as living room furniture. the cost of each contract, the have kept his mouth shut, as per cent, and gas 15 per cent. Why don't the workers organ-

ting committees, they'll catch you This evoked the comment from lying quicker than anything."

"I didn't want to get that mix-

15

\$



- drafted into the army. 3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed
- forces and the war industries-Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
- 4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
- 5. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
- 6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- 7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
- 8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

No Forced Labor!

President Roosevelt has under consideration a plan to establish a government agency with farreaching powers to control and allocate the nation's labor supply.

This is a plan drafted by Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, who earned the title of "the Hoosier Hitler" when he was Governor of Indiana. It would give to a board of seven members functioning under direction of the President the power to designate where any worker is to be employed and what work he must do. It would have the power to prevent workers from leaving a job, or taking one job in preference to another.

Opposition to such a plan is being voiced in the union ranks. Labor's Non-Partisan League has assailed it as a threat of "imposing a virtual peonage system over labor."

It can readily be seen how such a system might be used for union-busting on the grand scale. Through this device, the boss class could shift union men from organized plants into non-organized low-pay jobs, Non-union workers, even downright finks and scabs, could be used to take the place of union men. The workers would become virtual slaves, bound by boss class edict to submit to any conditions, unable of their own free choice to accept or quit a job. They would be so much chattel which the government and the bosses could dispose of at will. The only name to describe such a system is ----- forced labor. Roosevelt has asked the AFL and CIO leaders to give their recommendations on the plan. There is but one recommendation they can make, if they wish to preserve the labor movement and defend the workers from forced labor. That is a resounding "No!" to the whole idea, coupled with a decisive declaration that they will fight such a scheme by every means at their command.

turers, or the paid spokesman for the Chamber of Commerce?

No, he is the arbiter between the Waterfront Employers Association and the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Wayne L. Morse, dean of the University of Oregon Law School, and one of the four members of the new National War Labor Board, appointed to represent the "impartial" public.

'A Privilege' And 'The Four Freedoms'

During a hearing last week on the activities of the Farm Security Administration, chief agency in charge of relief to low income farmers, Poll-Tax Senator Byrd's Economy Committee blew up in the air at a report that impoverished Southern farmers are using part of their FSA debt loans to pay poll taxes so they can vote.

Committee members, who are seeking to eliminate FSA help to poor farmers, pounced on this disclosure and charged the FSA with using goyernment funds "for the purposes of influencing votes."

FSA Administrator Baldwin dared to challenge the committee and defend the practice, pointing out that FSA loans are made to low-income farmers to pay off their debts, including all delinquent taxes. He made it clear that if a farmer chose to sacrifice a portion of his loan in order to exercise his "right to vote" that that did not constitute "buying votes".

At the mention of the word "right") Poll-Tax Senator Glass of Virginia, who holds office by virtue of the vote of only 16 per cent of his electorate, waxed indignant: "I understood suffrage was a privilege and not a right."

In that word "privilege" was contained the very essence of the reason why in the eight Southern poll-tax states only 25.7 per cent of electorate voted in the 1940 Presidential elections, as against an average of 70.6 per cent in the rest of the country.

To these Southern "democrats", whose virtue is outraged at the idea that a few poor farmers have now found a way to enable them to cast a ballot, the fact that three-fourths of the citizens in eight states are deprived of the franchise because they are too poor to pay for it, is not a matter for concern. Suffrage to these Senators is something that the ruling, class can give or take away at will. It is a "privilege" - which has been conveniently reserved for the well-to-do, who can afford to pay poll-taxes.

And it's a "privilege" which enables the Southern Bourbons to continue to wield political power and keep the Negroes and poor whites in abject poverty and degradation.

This dispute between Baldwin and the Senators over the use of FSA funds to pay poll-taxes is secondary when compared with the issue of the poll-tax itself. Nevertheless, it is symptomatic of the attitude of the entire ruling class toward the fundamental rights of the masses.

This dispute has not yet been formally resolved. But it has been decided to all intents and purposes by Baldwin's chief.

For that greatest of all "democrats", President Roosevelt, who is bent on bringing the "tour treedoms" to the entire world, has just done his bit for the "four freedoms" down South.

How Lenin Explained the Causes Of World War I

A few months before the end of the first World War and less in the last fifty years by Gerthan a year after he had led the Russian masses to the establish- many. The industries of Germany ment of the first workers state, Lenin, at a mass meeting in the were eclipsing those of England. Polytechnic Museum in Moscow on Aug. 23, 1918, delivered a speech The immense state capitalism of on "The Causes of the World War".

We reprint part of that speech here for its educational value to workers who wish to learn to apply Marxism to concrete events, the record. and to show the contrast between the method Lenin used to analyze events in World War I and the method used by the presentday Stalinists who still pretend to accept the principles of Lenin.

By V. I. LENIN The majority of mankind at the part of Germany, the war present is opposed to the bloody is waged against the barbarous. Cossacks, who threaten the Kulwar, but they are unable to grasp its indissoluble connections with tur of the German nation, as well as for the purpose of defending the capitalist system. The horthe fatherland from hosts of inrors of the present war are manivading enemies. fest even to the eyes of the bour-We, however, are aware that geoisie, but the bourgeoisie is inthis war was carefully prepared capable of connecting the end of for, that it came slowly to mathe war with the end of the capturity, and that it was inevitable. italist system. But this funda-It was just as inevitable as is mental thought has been the conthe ultimate war between Amerstant distinction between the ica and Japan. In what does this

Bolsheviks and revolutionary soinevitability consist? cialists of all countries, on the one hand, and those who wish to CAPITALISTS DIVIDE favor the earth with the bless-UP THE EARTH ings of peace, conserving unshaken the capitalist order of society,

on the other hand. Why are wars waged? We know that most wars have been waged in the interests of dynasties and have therefore been called dynastic wars.

But sometimes wars are waged in the interests of the oppressed. the defense of the enslaved class es. Such wars were waged during the epoch of colonial subjection, an epoch which has not yet ceased, as well as in the epoch came inevitable. of slavery, etc. These wars were righteous wars; these wars can-

in this war were the firms of not be condemned. "England" and "Germany". But when we speak of the England was the most powerpresent European War in terms of condemnation, it is for the ful colonial nation. Although simple reason that this war is the population of England itself waged by the class of the op is not more than forty millions, inception of the war; it is a mis-

pressors. What is the goal pursued by over four hundred millions. Not of having created the present this war? If we may believe the so long ago, by right of conquest, war. The war was made by capdiplomats of all countries, the England seized additional colo- ital. Capitalism had run into a war is waged on the part of nies, additional land areas, and blind alley. This blind alley was France and England for the pur- has profited by their exploitapose of defending the small na | tion. tions against the barbarians, the But, economically speaking, between those competing for the

Huns - the Germans; while on England has been outdistanced ownership of the world.



There was no other means of deciding the struggle for primacy between these two giants than the resort to force.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND GERMANY

While England had at times, by the right of the stronger, taken land away from Holland, Portugal, etc., it was now Germany that had come out upon the scene with the declaration

that its turn had now come to enrich itself at the expense of others.

That is the question at stake; it was a struggle for the division of the world between the strongest. And, by reason of the fact that each side possessed capital amounting to hundreds of

It consists in the fact that capmillions, the struggle between italism had concentrated the them was transformed into a riches of the earth in the hands world struggle.

of certain states which had di-We are aware how many secret vided the earth down to the last crimes were committed in this acre. Any further division, any war. The secret treaties publishfurther enrichment, had to be ac- ed by us (after the Bolsheviks complished at the expense of came to power) have shown that those already enriched, by one the phrases disseminated in order Spartacus inaugurated a war for government at the expense of the to justify the conduct of the war other. The only decision in such were words only and that every a question was of course that of government, including Russia force — and the war between also, was connected with other the world bandits therefore be- governments by a series of dirty treaties promising enrichment to Up to the present time the each at the expense of the small principal going concerns engaged and weak nations. As a result,

he who had been strong became still richer; he who was weak was eliminated entirely.

It is childish to attempt to hold individual persons guilty for the its colonies have a population of take to accuse kings and czars nothing more nor less than the imperialism which dictated a war



out and discrimination, nor will the War Labor Board. (Continued from page 1)

ers in even sharper form, since it lessen the number of griev- There is little confidence among prices are rising more rapidly ances that pile up every month. CIO leaders that this new board The GM corporation will continue | will prove fair to labor. But with every month. The militant GM workers who to try to undermine the union the CIO committed to a no-strike drew up the proposed agreement and extract the last possible policy, these leaders have given ounce of profits from the work- up the one weapon which can de-



"Try as I may, I can see no practical political alternative today to the war as a means of stopping the worldwide triumph of fascist totalitarianism." This is the conclusion arrived at by Norman Thomas in his subsidiary statement on the Socialist Party's official declaration on the war published in the Jan. 17 Call.

With these words the leader of the Socialist Party announces his political bankruptcy, casts off his last pretense of opposition, and openly joins the partisans of the "democratic" war of defense against fascism. The struggle of the working class for socialism, he says in effect, is "practical" only during peacetime; it must be abandoned when the capitalist government declares war. Thus Thomas provides the capitalist regime with a sure-fire weapon against the working class: it need only become involved in a foreign war for this "practical" politician to advise workers to cease the struggle for socialism.

Thomas gives two chief reasons in justification of his "critical" support of Wall Street's war. (1.) "Most of us believe that it is romantic to think that Hitler and the Japanese can be stopped today by some mass rising of the peoples outside of the organized military forces which are locked in combat."

What Thomas' Position Results In

Like all the others who separated the struggle against war from the struggle against capitalism, Thomas sees only the opposing armies as the determining forces in the present war. But behind these armies in all countries, yes, and within them, are the working masses. Without the support, voluntary or coerced, of the workers and farmers who produce the means of warfare, these armed forces could not function. Today they constitute the decisive factor in carrying on the war. It is not surprising that those who do not understand this wind up by deserting the struggle for socialism.

Thomas believes that it is "romantic" to think that Hitler can be stopped by a mass rising of the German people. It is true that the Roosevelt-Churchill call for a second Treaty of Versailles, for the destruction of the German people and the dismemberment of the German nation, makes the mobilization of the German people for the overthrow of Hitler all the more difficult, for it provides Hitler with his strongest internal propaganda weapon and helps him to keep the fires of national hatred blazing.

The fears of the German masses can be removed and mass opposition stimulated and strengthened in the Axis countries only if the workers on the other side set the example of class struggle against their own oppressors. Is this "romantic"? No, this is precisely the way that the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia supplied the impetus for the revolutions in Germany and Austro-Hungary during the last world war.

But Norman Thomas cannot even think in such terms. The policy of a world-wide class struggle against imperialist oppression is as alien to him as it is hateful to the rulers he serves.

By his declaration that Hitler cannot be stopped "by some mass rising of the peoples outside of the organized military forces which are locked in combat," Thomas contributes to the idea that the class struggle in this country must be abandoned or at least curbed because Hitler can be stopped only by "the organized military forces which are locked in combat." He thereby helps enchain the workers to the capitalist regime and weakens their strange socialism and the abolition of the causes of war and reaction in this country. This in turn makes it all the more difficult to arouse the German masses against Hitlerism. .

'Impartial'

"This war should not be the source of large financial profits for any American. . . We are at war and whoever seeks to take advantage of it for unreasonable and selfish gains strikes a blow at sound war economy. Such persons must be checked as pillagers of our war-disrupted economic system. They can only be checked through a flexible coordinated national system which is aimed to pay for as much of the war as possible while we are prosecuting it."

What is the occasion for such a statement? Perhaps the recent revelations in Congress about the tremendous war profiteering by big business? No, this statement was made last week when finally the longshoremen on the Pacific coast managed to win an award of a 10 cents per hour wage increase to partially offset the increase in the cost of living.

The speaker is not warning the war profiteers, he is warning the workers.

He is telling them that he subscribes to the view that "labor, especially workers in the high-paid brackets, have no right to expect that they should receive wage increases during this war period which will enable them to keep dollar for dollar pace with upward changes in cost of living."

And who is the speaker? Perhaps he is the president of the National Association of Manufac-

An Associated Press dispatch of Feb. 10 reports that when he heard that Alabama poor farmers were using FSA loans to pay poll taxes, "Mr. Roosevelt said that he did not think that this should be done."

Why?

A cartoon on the front page of the Feb. 5 Daily Worker reminds us that the campaign to free Earl Browder being conducted by the Communist Party is unique in American labor history.

The cartoon shows a worker holding a scroll containing an excerpt from Article VIII of the Bill of Rights, declaring that "excessive bail shall not be required nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted."

The worker is shown pointing to a sign which points out that "Earl Browder got 4 years on a technical passport charge that usually brings a suspended sentence!"

Above the cartoon is the question: "Why?"

The thing that is unique about the Browder defense movement is that it refuses to answer that question!

It does not answer that question because it is afraid to let workers know why Browder was railroaded to jail.

The Communist Party, which is today the loudest jingo in the labor movement, does not want to remind people that Browder is in jail because before Germany attacked the Soviet Union he refused to support the war program of the United States, and denounced the second World War as imperialist.

The Communist Party, which today is an allout supporter of the Roosevelt administration, does not want to remind people that this same administration sent Browder to jail only because he declared his opposition to the war at that time.

The Communist Party, which is today trying to organize lynch campaigns against all opponents of the Stalinist policy and to silence all those who want to express their independent views about the administration's policies, does not want to remind people that Browder is also the victim of a campaign against civil liberties.

And that is why we witness this strange defense movement which does not dare expose the reasons why their leader has been railroaded to prison.

last year only to see it "bargained" into the waste basket, do not ers, even if it grants the union fend the workers against the campaign to wreck living standwant to see this provision sacri- | shop. Ford granted the UAW the ards. The GM demands are not ficed again.

closed shop-checkoff agreement, backed up with a serious threat MEANING OF UNION SHOP but it is well-known in auto that by the UAW leaders to act. This the heed for a union shop, but the workers in Ford have had to presents the possibility of a comfor reasons different from those fight bitterly every day in the promise which sacrifices many of week, against Ford's continued the important demands of the which impel the rank and file to attempts at speed-up and intimi- GM workers. R. J. Thomas stafight for this demand. dation. There has not been a day ted at the conference: "I predict To the rank and file this is a means to strengthen the union, of "peace" in the Ford plants that the present governmental to compel "hitch-hikers" to get since the signing of the agree- set-up will not work." But since into the union, and to help en- ment. The dues come in, and that he has given up the strike weaeases the task of the Reuthers pon, Thomas has no alternative force union conditions in the

and Thomases, but it does not but to refer the demands of the however, was that "granting of solve the basic problems of the GM workers to agencies which he workers who must constantly himself knows will "not work" but will repeat the crimes against fight for their conditions. the workers committed by the GM militants, who remember statement implies that once the what happened last year to their OPM and the NDMB.

The current negotiations with union shop is obtained, and dues | demands in the contract negotiaare assured, the leadership will tions, realize that there is great GM will provide a crucial test of have no worries. The union treas- danger that the UAW leadership the ability of the UAW to mainury will be full and their salaries may not carry through the fight tain its hard won standards, and to protect the working conditions to win its demands. This test will come in like clock-work. But the union shop is not a so- of the workers, that they may will weigh heavily in the Steel ution of all the basic problems settle for a wage increase and negotiations, in which the CIO is

of the rank and file. It is a union shop, and forget about the asking for a dollar-a-day inmeans toward strengthening the speed-up, grievances, and the crease, and in other major CIO union. It will not eliminate the need to assure automatic wage negotiations with major corporaconstant war in the plants against | increases as prices rise. tions.

the union shop would make it

possible for the union to concen-

trate on the war effort." This

The New York Science \ 7:45 to 8:45 The Labor Movement of Russia JOHN G. WRIGHT 9:00 to 10:00 Modern World Capitalism C. CHARLES 7:45 to 8:45 Progress of American Culture, 1870-1940 WILLIAM F. WARDE 9:00 to 10:00 Labor in World War I FELIX MORROW \$1.00 per Course 25c Each Lecture

LABOR TEMPLE

The refusal of GM to continue The GM workers are organizdouble-time pay for Sunday work ed now as never before; the UAW

has already forewarned GM has reached a new high in memworkers that the corporation in- bership, over 600,000 workers. tends to break down, piece by The UAW can and should win piece, all that the UAW has built all of the demands asked by in its years of struggle. If dou- Reuther and more. The corporable-time pay is eliminated, GM | tion can meet those demands, and workers will be deprived of \$85,- the union is strong enough to 000,000 in wages. This means enforce them. But this cannot that if GM does not pay double- be done with the strike weapon time on Sundays, it will be able voluntarily relinquished. The to pay for the dollar-a-day wage corporation, which has consistincrease demanded by the UAW, ently fought the UAW since 1937 is thus assured in advance by the by what it saves on Sunday pay. UAW leaders that they do not Under those conditions, a dollarintend to fight seriously for the a-day increase will bring no real gain in income to GM workers. union's demands. The leaders of the UAW have The demand for double-time correctly exposed General Motors pay on Sunday has been certified to the War Labor Board. The as a corporation interested in union is bound in advance to one thing only: profits. The miagree; this board is headed by the litants in the shops who have same Chairman William H. Davis | fought GM for the past five years who, as head of the National De- know there is only one way to fense Mediation Board, ruled deal with such a corporation, and against the CIO in the captive that is by a consistently militant mine dispute, and who was at- policy of struggle. Only such a tacked by Philip Murray and all policy will win the demands of the CIO leadership. At least part | the GM conference and assure the of the other demands embodied existence of a strong UAW and in the proposals of Walter Reuth- decent conditions for the auto er will also probably go before workers.

Measuring the Depths of Hell

(2.) Just as Thomas can see only the opposing imperialist armies locked in combat, so he can envisage only the victory of one side over the other as a conclusion of this war. "We are in a literal hell, but the deepest pit of hell out of which the climb would be hardest, would be a victory by Hitler and the Japanese militarists."

Thomas cannot surrender to the Axis. . .therefore he surrenders to Roosevelt and Churchill as the lesser evil.

Victory in this war for the Anglo-American allies would halt the slide into hell even less than their victory in the last war. The root-cause of all political, social and economic reaction today lies in the decomposition of world capitalism. The war is causing so much destruction that the capitalist system can only go from bad to worse, from one degree of reaction to a deeper one, whichever capitalist coalition comes out on top. Hitlerism is not necessarily the most frightful phenomenon capitalist degeneration can produce! Nor is a victory for Britain and the U.S. any kind of guarantee against the establishment of fascism in these countries!

The workers are lost if they have no alternative but to choose between two different degrees of capitalist hell on earth, as Thomas insists. Despite Thomas, it is both possible and necessary for the workers to take an entirely different course and to fight in their own way and under their own class leadership for the victory of socialism over capitalism and all its evils.

In this statement Thomas strips himself not only of socialism, but also of the pacifist phrases with which he duped his followers before the war. "Politically, the NEC was unanimously convinced that under present conditions the demand that the government stop fighting now, and at once begin peace negotiations would do more harm than good." He now stands forth for what he really is: a mealymouthed hypocrite, who drags in the rear of the social-patriotic procession headed by the Stalinists, Social-Democrats and official labor leaders.

"I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people. . . I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the world-wide war of the social revolution."

This is the attitude Eugene V. Debs took toward the first world war. The difference between his position and that of Norman Thomas provides a precise measure of the degeneration of the Socialist Party and its leadership.

speed-up, intimidation, stretch-School of Social WEDNESDAYS FRIDAYS

242 East 14th Street