

Mexican Unions To Give Workers Army Training

Convention of CTM Casts Unanimous Vote To Institute Union-Controlled Training

Half a million members of Mexican trade unions will receive military training under the control and direction 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 country. 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 enrolled in a chauffeurs' brigade. Railroad workers, bakers, street car line employees, spinners, weavers, electricians and other trades will be organized into similar brigades."

The dispatch indicates too that the decision to train the C.T.M. members is heartily approved by the local officials and members of the union:

"The training is voluntary as far as the government is concerned, having been voted unanimously by several hundred delegates to the federation's recent national convention in Mexico City, but will be compulsory within the federation, except for those physically 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 reflected in the rightward moves of the Camacho government, and the spread of the war to all parts of the globe, requires a trade union movement that is trained in the military arts and able to protect itself against its enemies.

The decision of the C.T.M. means that the workers will be able to receive military training under control of labor organizations. These organizations are 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. T. M. for training worker-officers in the more highly specialized art of military leadership. But 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 needs officers.

THE DECISIVE THING

The dispatch states that the workers will receive military training "to prepare them for incorporation into the Mexican Army in case of necessity." The conservative trade union leadership tied to the government will undoubtedly try to swing the

workers organizations into line for any war the government decides to wage. This is not an argument against military training by the trade unions, but one for a struggle by the workers against the trade union bureaucrats.

What is decisive is that for the time being the workers will receive military training, and they will receive it under the control of their own organizations. Whether the members of the trade unions, once having experienced such training, will want to exchange it for the barracks-room rule of the hated reactionary officer caste of the army is something that remains to be seen in the future and will not be determined exclusively by the motivations of the proponents of this military training program.

SIMILAR TO SWP PROGRAM

The program of the C.T.M. is very much like the proposal long advanced by THE MILITANT and the Socialist Workers Party in this country for "Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed

by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train the workers to become officers." Such training would make it impossible for the American fascists to crush the trade union organizations as the fascists did in Germany and Italy.

Advanced workers in this country will be interested in the developments of the C.T.M. program, and especially for the lessons American workers will be able to learn from it. THE MILITANT will make every effort to cover these developments in its pages.

Business As Usual On International Scale

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 McKittrick," 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. McKittrick's excellent management it is understood both the Italian and German commissions requested that he be allowed to retain his post."

V. R. Dunne Explains Trial Of 18 To Auto Workers

FLINT, Mich., Feb. 6. — An enthusiastic audience of automobile workers meeting in the regional headquarters of the CIO last night heard a speech on "The Meaning of the Minneapolis Convictions" by V. R. Dunne, leader of Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis, and one of those convicted for violation of the Smith "Gag" Act in the Minneapolis labor trial last December.

Dunne gave a short history of the union struggle for decent conditions in Minneapolis and for union democracy within Tobin's Teamsters International. He sketched the events which led up to the disaffiliation of Local 544 from the AFL and its affiliation with the CIO, and the resultant prosecution of Local 544 and Socialist Workers Party leaders.

Dunne showed that these convictions both violate the democratic rights of the labor move-

ment and endanger the civil liberties of the American people.

Despite the fact that the meeting took place at the same time 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 attended were victims of priorities unemployment, they contributed generously to the Defense Fund.

Dunne's speech in Flint was one of his first stops on his national tour for the Civil Rights Defense Committee, the organization mobilizing public support for the 18 who were convicted.

A revised schedule of the remaining stops of Dunne's tour, as released this week by the C.R.D.C., will be found on P. 2. For further information about the tour, address the C.R.D.C., 160 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.

CIO HEADS HAND OVER KEY DEMANDS TO WLB

Same 'Old Gang' Is Running War Production Board

An Editorial

The War Production Board is the discredited 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 on preventing the extension of collective bargaining."

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

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.

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 and control of the workers.

G. M. Auto Union Council Maps Contract Demands

By JOE ANDREWS

FEB. 9. — UAW delegates from 90 General Motors plants met in Detroit last week-end to draw up a set of demands for new contract negotiations with the corporation. The current contract expires in April.

The results of this conference, and the negotiations with GM, will have great significance for the entire labor movement; workers in CIO unions all over the country look to the auto workers to set the pace. If the auto workers succeed in defending their standards and conditions, it will inspire and bear heavily on the

success of the struggle of workers in steel, electrical and other major industries.

Walter Reuther, GM Director for the UAW, proposed a set of six demands: a blanket dollar-a-day wage increase, the union shop, revision of seniority to protect workers in the transfer to military work, extension of the umpire's powers, a \$100 Defense Bond payment in lieu of the paid vacation, the establishment of union committees to defend the plants. In demanding a dollar-a-day increase, Reuther also proposed the union ask for a provision by which wages would be readjusted every three months in accordance with rising living costs in major auto centers.

Pointing out that workers are actually "worse off than they were a year ago," Reuther based the demand for the wage increase on the fact that the 10 cent an hour increase won last year has already been eaten up by the rapid rise in living costs.

"In 1941 the corporation made

a profit of \$1366 per employee," Reuther said. The dollar-a-day increase, on the basis of 1941 earnings, would still leave over \$1200 profit per employee for the Du-Ponts and the other GM coupon clippers.

RIISING SCALE OF WAGES

The demand that wages be readjusted every three months is as important as the demand for a general wage increase. The danger of a precipitate fall in the buying power of the workers as a result of increased prices was foreseen last year by the GM Conference, which also drew up contract demands providing that wages be raised automatically with the cost of living.

But the GM negotiations conducted by Reuther and the UAW executive board did not win this demand last year; they settled for the blanket 10-cent hourly increase, which was quickly eaten up by spiralling prices. This year the problem faces the auto workers.

(Continued on page 4)

Depend On Labor Board Alone To Obtain Demands

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 the CIO shipyard workers at U. S. Steel's Federal Shipbuilding Co. plant in Kearny, N. J.

The WLB decisions in the "Little Steel" cases, where the Steel Workers Organizing Committee is seeking dollar-a-day wage increases and the union shop, are expected to have a decisive bearing on pending contract negotiations in the entire steel industry and to indicate the position the Board will take on the CIO's general wage and union shop demands.

The GM case is thus far limited to the single issue of overtime pay for Sunday and Saturdays. The fact that the auto union leaders have submitted this issue to the WLB indicates that they will probably do the same thing with the even more important wage and union shop demands in the coming contract negotiations with the auto corporations.

WHAT MURRAY MEANS WHEN HE SAYS "FIGHT"

This readiness of the union leaders to submit all major demands and disputes to the WLB demonstrates what CIO President Philip Murray really had in mind when he promised recently that the CIO would "fight" for higher wages and union security in all industries.

Since these leaders have agreed — without consulting their members — to surrender the use of the strike weapon, it is clear that they are staking the interests and vital demands of the workers exclusively on the hope of favorable WLB decisions.

The demands now before the WLB are those to which the employers are most bitterly opposed, general wage increases and the union shop. The bosses are raising an ever harsher clamor for "freezing" of wages and the open-shop status quo.

Their offensive has been strengthened by influential Administration spokesmen, particularly Price Administrator Leon

Henderson. An Associated Press dispatch on Feb. 10 disclosed that Henderson last week appeared personally before a full session of the WLB and urged it to rule against any general wage increases such as the CIO is demanding.

The Board's handling of the Federal Shipbuilding "maintenance of membership" dispute gives a hint of the position it is likely to take on the question of the union shop. Although the Board has had this case for weeks, it has as yet made no decision. This delay indicates that the Board is seeking some "formula" which will seem to make some concession to the workers, but actually enable the open shop to remain in force.

This does not mean that the Board will rule against labor in every case and on every demand. There is the possibility of the Board making some small concessions, including limited wage increases. Such concessions, however, would have for their purpose to silence workers' protest against mounting war profits and soaring living costs and to bolster the myth of the Board's "impartiality."

FOR REPUDIATION OF THE NO-STRIKE POLICY

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 most effective bargaining weapon, the strike, and gives them 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 the present union leadership and its servile policies. It demands a genuine fighting policy and union officials who are concerned only with leading and inspiring the workers in genuine struggle for their rights and conditions.

such evidence, such a verdict could not be sustained; and that if the evidence showed the defendant appropriated funds, he had done so openly and in good faith. The judge denied the motion but suggested the defense renew its motion after it had introduced its testimony.

Courtroom observers and newspapermen predict that the case will never go to the jury, so weak is Tobin's case.

Congress Stalls Priorities Relief Bill

FEB. 10. — Despite mounting unemployment due to priorities and plant closures for war production conversion, Congress for the past three weeks has been kicking around a bill for a paltry \$300,000,000 to aid the jobless. This is the same 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 President Roosevelt on Jan. 17 made the gesture of proposing an appropriation of \$450,000,000 to \$600,000,000 to supplement present state unemployment insurance benefits, which average \$10 weekly per worker for a maximum of 13 weeks. This was immediately trimmed down to \$300,000,000 following a White House conference between Roosevelt and Congressional leaders.

No further action has been taken thus far, although by Feb. 1 over 300,000 auto workers alone had been laid off. Roosevelt, who can always get speedy action from Congress when he wants it, has sat back and let Congress stall.

Actually, even the top sum pro-

posed, \$600,000,000, would fail to provide adequate relief for the priorities unemployed. Not only is it insufficient to last for an extended period of time, but the plan would provide the unemployed with added benefits equal to only 50 per cent of their state unemployment compensation, but not more than a total of \$24 weekly.

The average jobless workers receiving \$10 a week from state funds, with the addition of supplementary federal aid would receive a maximum total of \$15 a week to maintain his family.

Pretext for the delay in making even the skimpy appropriations proposed is the claim that representatives of the state un-

employment insurance agencies are protesting the original bill because it might interfere with "state rights" and pave the way for "federalization" of unemployment insurance.

These same Congressmen, however, didn't stall for a single minute when they recently voted themselves handsome retirement pensions, thus setting off nationwide ridicule of Congress.

Meanwhile, a lot of propaganda has been spread by corporation and government sources about how fast the auto industry conversion is taking place and how "soon" there will be a shortage of labor. This is intended to convey the impression that the auto workers will be off work "only a few weeks."

C. E. Wilson, General Motors president, was forced to admit, however, at the United Auto Workers, CIO, GM council conference, on Feb. 8, that GM employment was 196,000 in Dec., 1941, a decline of 39,000 from the June, 1941 peak of 235,000. It

will reach 148,000 by March, 185,000 by June, and not hit 235,000 again until September. 87,000 GM workers, according to Wilson's own admission, will be out of work from two to eight months.

The unemployed workers are expected to use their months of enforced idleness to train for war production work. This is the sort of training which many corporations customarily give the workers on the job while paying them full wages.

The organized labor movement should demand that Congress do no less, by appropriating a minimum of \$1,000,000,000 to put all the unemployed into training for jobs in the war industries while paying full union wages during this training period.

This demand must be implemented by nation-wide organized union action to force Congress to act — and act at once — to provide adequate unemployment benefits and training for all the jobless workers.

KELLY POSTAL ACQUITTED BY JUDGE

BULLETIN

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

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 9. — The trial of Secretary-Treasurer Kelly Postal of Local 544-CIO for the alleged embezzlement of \$1,000 from AFL Teamsters President Tobin was resumed this morning before District Judge Levi H. Hall, as the defense began introduction of testimony.

The state rested its case last Thursday, and a mighty weak case it is. Like the federal government's recent "sedition" case, the "embezzlement" case rests completely on the testimony of

the Tobin payrollers and Quislings.

Of the eight witnesses, seven are Tobin agents; four of these were also government witnesses in the sedition trial; two are members of the "Committee of 99"; the seventh is T. T. ("Raw Deal") Neal, Tobin's receiver. The eighth witness, a clerk at Postal Telegraph, gave testimony that boomeranged on Tobin.

The \$1,000 that Postal allegedly embezzled is the check for that amount, made out on Jan. 22, 1940, in the middle of the Fink

Suit against Local 544. It was a cashier's check drawn as a precaution against the finks and their boss backers tying up the union treasury. The check was finally cashed June 11, 1941; after the 544 membership had voted to leave the AFL and join the CIO, and had unanimously passed a resolution instructing its officers to take all necessary steps to defend the union's property from its enemies.

When the state rested its case Thursday afternoon, defense attorneys made a motion for dismissal, on the following grounds: That the state had failed to substantiate its claims; that the state had failed to show the commission of any crime; that if a verdict of guilty were given on

What Colonial People Think About The War

British Get Little Aid Now 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 largely farm boys, factory workers, office clerks, etc., of the sort that make up the armies of the western powers.

More plausible accounts reiterate the complaint about Japanese "hordes" and "overwhelming superiority of numbers" and "tremendous concentrations" of mechanical equipment.

A New York Times story, Jan. 31, reports the extent of these "hordes." "A British military commentator in London estimated that the Japanese had six full divisions of 100,000 men in Malaya."

But how does it happen that 100,000 men have made such rapid advances against the British who rule over 400,000,000 people in India, Burma and the Malay States?

BRITAIN AND CHINA

As for aircraft, tanks and guns, the British forces in Malaya are far better off in this respect than the Chinese army.

"Yet here are the Chinese, who have nothing," observes the columnist Samuel Grafton in the New York Post, Jan. 15, "killing hell out of the Japanese at Changsha, and filtering toward Canton, while the Malays, plus Indians, plus Australians, plus British, are backing down the Malay Peninsula toward Singapore. How is it that Chinese 'natives' alone" he asks, "are doing better than Malayan natives plus English?"

Here is a question which probes deeply into the reasons for the British defeats. What about the Malayan natives? What role are they playing? Haven't they heard the message of the "four freedoms?"

The dispatches from the Far East don't say much about the native peoples. But they do contain some significant hints on the status of affairs.

REPORTS ON THE NATIVES
Interspersed in the reports from Malaya and Burma one reads repeatedly: "British troops most of the time have had to fight blind. . . while the Japanese have had aerial observation constantly and the great added advantage of land reconnaissance by their own men slipping through the lines disguised as Malaysians or by hirelings among the natives." (Singapore dispatch, New York Times, Jan. 15).

"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 market, have attempted to filter through the British lines." (Northern Johore dispatch, New York Times, Jan. 21).

And from the Maulmein Front, Burma, comes the story: "Fifth columnists aided them (the Japanese), to some extent, in creating general civilian disorganization. . . The Japanese dress in the uniforms of prisoners and advance shouting in Burmese, Indian and English. They force natives to shoulder guns and march along with them to give the impression of numerical superiority."

It sounds strange indeed, that the British who have ruled Malaya for a hundred years are so

MIKE GOLD AND HIS FRIEND 'SLIM' DISCUSS THE COLONIAL SITUATION

By M. STEIN

Institutions have a way of continuing their existence long after they have become devoid of the ideas which gave birth to them. Hitler, for example, did not abolish the Weimar Constitution — the product of German Social Democracy — he merely filled it with totalitarian content. Stalin, to give another example, did not abolish the Soviets created by the Russian Revolution as the organs of workers' democracy, he merely shot everyone who took this workers' democracy seriously, and all that remains of the Soviets is the name.

The Daily Worker was founded 19 years ago by a band of self-sacrificing revolutionists carrying aloft the banner which was betrayed so shamefully by the social-democracy during the 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 column is conducted by the inimitable Mike Gold. Of all the Stalinist scribes, he has the longest record of service, which speaks well for his capacity for spineless adaptation to every change of line.

RE-EDUCATION AFTER JUNE 22

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 denunciations of British, Dutch and American imperialism in the days of the Stalin-Hitler pact, some seven months ago.

Having had his start as a writer of fiction, Gold knows that the author can speak most effectively 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 elevator. Who was there operating the elevator but a native of Pontianak, largest city in West Borneo, which had that day fallen to the Japanese.

And as if to compensate for the blow of the fall of Pontianak, Mike Gold has the additional good fortune of finding in this operator of the elevator in the Daily Worker building a man who by some peculiar combination of circumstances expounds a 100 percent Stalinist line, so that Gold does not have to add a single word of his own to the narrative, except some descriptive color of the rides up and down the elevator during the interview. Later on we will see why Gold couldn't interview this man he calls "Slim" on his lunch hour or after working hours.

"Slim" commences the narrative where Gold left off some seven months ago: "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 coconut 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:

"Plenty, at least we had our trade unions and 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 Kaiser, 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. Says Gold:

"But there must be some Malaysians 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 prove it. The fact that the documents were forged was a mere detail. In the eyes of the social-democracy 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

ALL NON-CITIZENS HERE ARE LABELLED 'ENEMY ALIENS'

By MICHAEL CORT

Thousands of workers, whose only offense against the state is that they do not have citizenship papers, are being fired from their jobs, torn from their families, and shipped off from their homes.

We've heard stories of such persecutions ever since Mussolini and Hitler came to power. But this time the story is a little different, in that it is now occurring not only in foreign fascist states but also right here at home in the United States.

An anti-alien hysteria is being carefully nurtured here in America. Reactionary elements in big business and the government are attempting to wipe out all distinctions in the people's minds between pro-fascist and anti-fascist aliens.

The very label they use to identify aliens is pure demagoguery. "Enemy alien" is not a label referring to an alien that supports the Axis powers — it is any alien that comes of German or Italian or Japanese parentage.

There are hundreds of thousands of "enemy aliens" in this country. They are mostly workers. They make steel and automobiles and mine coal and catch fish and cut lumber. Many of them are trade union militants — 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 is their land — they helped build it! It was the strength of their backs that helped create General Motors, United States Steel and Anaconda Copper. But they never took out citizenship papers. That is their crime against the state!

It's not easy to obtain citizenship in this country. A man must pass complicated literacy tests. He must be able to give information, dates, etc., he often cannot recall. When a worker is down in the coal mines all day it is not easy for him to study at night. Most workers find that the job of feeding and sheltering their families is more than full time work.

And so many of them never got around to taking out citizenship papers. And so they are now slated for a concentration camp. It's not only the workers who have been here for 20 or 30 years that are being persecuted. The anti-fascist fighters from Europe are finding a taste of the same terror they fled abroad. They are viewed with almost as much suspicion here as they were by Hitler.

HYSTERIA IN CALIFORNIA
California is the focal point of the first crescendo of hysteria. Attorney-General Biddle has established restricted zones on the Pacific Coast where "enemy aliens" may not live. But this is far short of the goal enunciated by Pacific congressmen and employers. Already the "liberal" Governor Olson of California has:

Revoked the State licenses of "enemy alien" physicians, dentists, teachers, druggists, architects and optometrists.

Removed "enemy aliens" from the State civil service lists. Banned all foreign language schools.

The federal government, thru the Navy Department, has removed all "enemy aliens" from jobs in plants with "vital defense work." There are few industries today that are not engaged in "vital defense work." Those that would come outside this official ban are closed to aliens anyway because of the hysteria of the employer class.

Not satisfied with depriving these workers of the means of making a living, Senator Hiram Johnson of California would go further. He is sponsoring a resolution in Congress which would bring about a forced evacuation of all aliens from the Pacific Coast zone 300 miles deep and stretching from Canada to Mexico. If the same policy were applied to the East Coast, and there is agitation for it from the American Legion, workers would be torn from their homes and jobs in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, and all the industrial centers along the Atlantic.

WHAT TO DO WITH THEM

What to do with the workers and anti-fascist refugees once they have been taken from their homes 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 children. The camps will house both prisoners of war and "enemy aliens." This means that both fascists and anti-fascists will be dumped in together.

This is indeed a strange "crusade against Fascism" when the anti-fascist fighters who are unfortunate enough to be of German or Italian or Japanese parentage are thrown into concentration camps — when the workers who neglected to meet certain legal technicalities are deprived of work and taken from their homes.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT HOUNDS THE ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEES

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

There is one test issue which proves the irreconcilability of the capitalist method of war and of any genuine Socialist approach: the treatment of the Socialist Opposition in Germany and the Nazi-occupied countries (by the British government).

For years this Opposition bore the brunt of the tyranny of Nazism. Concentration camps, imprisonment, torture, death, were the lot of thousands of its members. Some hundreds of them escaped to this country, only to be treated as outlaws — getting past the immigration officers with difficulty, living here under constant restrictions, rarely allowed to work for a living.

When war came they were treated as "enemy aliens", and rounded up in internment camps. Many of them were deported to Australia and Canada, some subordinated on board ship to abominations which became a public scandal, some meeting their death on the Arandora Star. In due course they were brought before tribunals, a process which took months. When their genuineness as anti-Nazis had been re-established, they returned to their role of outlaws under constant police restrictions.

Then came the invasion scare — and once more they were arrested

and interned. Once more they went in procession before new tribunals, which were instructed to ignore the previous reviews of their cases, so that the laborious task of proving their anti-Nazi record and sincerity had to be repeated. Most of them have filtered through the tribunals now, but with no assurance that they will not be rounded up as soon as another scare develops. They are still "enemy aliens".

A Socialist Government would welcome as honored guests men and women who had suffered at the hands of Nazism in another country. A Socialist Government would understand the value of making them allies. It would select from them reliable leaders to man a Department for the furtherance of revolution in the countries under Nazi domination. The wireless would be placed at their disposal; the leaflets distributed over Germany and the Nazi-occupied countries would be drafted by them. The object of a Socialist Government would be to encourage and assist a Socialist revolution in Europe, and they would accept eagerly the opportunity of having European experts at hand to help them in the task.

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by James P. Cannon

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PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK

The Negro Struggle

By Ernest Williams

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, often to the great fear of the "leading citizens" there. When the 369th Harlem Regiment was sent to Sparta, 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 as 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.

Murray Report Shows \$1-A-Year Men Aid Growth Of The Monopolies

Warns Monopolies, Through Their Chains Will Take Over Most Businesses After War

Still another report testifying to the strengthening of big business monopoly by the war production boards and army and navy procurement agencies was introduced into Congress last week.

This report, made by the Murray Senate Committee on Small Business on Feb. 5 after a year of study, shows that in the past the dollar-a-year men and the procurement service officials have, in the interests of big business, been "utterly ruthless toward little business," and says "there is no sign that the War Production Board will take a materially different attitude."

To illustrate its charge that big business has been favored at the expense of the small businessmen, the committee cites the following figures:

Out of 184,230 manufacturing establishments, a mere 56 have received more than 75% of Army and Navy contracts. "The remain-

ing fragment of the defense program is distributed among about 6,000 prime contractors," and "over 174,000 manufacturing establishments have not received any war orders at all, even through sub-contracts."

WHAT WILL HAPPEN AFTER THE WAR

The effects of such a policy are obvious. If it continues as it has, the committee states, "we shall find that when the war has ended the battered and decimated ranks of small business will be too weak to carry on" and "big business, with its branch

and chain establishments, backed by great financial and political power, will move in to occupy the entire field."

Murray stated in the Senate that the trouble lies in the fact that handling of contracts is "entirely" in the hands of "big business executives who may be unconsciously affected by their affiliations and who owe their political and personal integrity; they are naturally affected by big business psychology," although the report itself declares that "in some cases the fact that the procurement officers have always been associated with big business has even made the neglect (of small business) seem deliberate."

In fact, says Murray, "small business is not only no better off than when the defense program started, but much worse off because its resources have been largely drained away during a 2 year waiting period."

But like all the other recent 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"

As a matter of fact, the chief proposal of the committee, boiled down, is that the pretense of small business having a "voice" in the war production boards be repeated. The committee proposes that another small business affairs division be established in the new War Production Board, where its interests will be "protected" by people who understand and sympathize with the problems of small business, by which it is presumably meant that small business men should be the personnel of this division.

It is likely that small business men may feel there is some hope for them if they have such a division to go to with their troubles. But to think that such a division could or would do anything basic about the growth of monopoly and big business control of contracts is ridiculous, and to say that it would be demagogic.

For the Murray Committee does not propose that control of war production and contracts be taken out of the hands of the

representatives of big business. The committee is willing to leave control in their hands; what it asks is that a little of that control be divided with representatives of small business.

How such a small business division in the WPB as it proposes would be any better than the previous small business divisions, the committee does not say.

Nor does it say how the establishment of such a division would change the attitude of the representatives of big business who would still control the program as a whole.

Nor does it tell what would be the difference between such a small business division run by an appointee of Nelson, and the division which was once run by Nelson himself.

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 covers."

WHAT THE WORKERS MUST FIGHT FOR

The value of the Murray report lies not in its wholly useless proposals, but in the fact that it shows that the government officials are running the war production program in the interests of big business, which is growing stronger and richer and more entrenched in its monopoly position than it was before the war.

The millions of workers in the small manufacturing industries are of course concerned about the problem, even though it is not for the same reason as the small businessmen. The workers are concerned because their jobs are at stake.

But their task is not to call for the placing of a few small business men to act as a front for big business control of the war program. Their task is to fight for workers control of industry, and national planning of military and non-military production to insure maximum production, based not on the desire to protect monopoly but to utilize all the productive resources, in both the large and the small plants.

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Vladivostok--Key To The Pacific War

By A. ROLAND

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. Singapore 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, Vladivostok. 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, Yokosuka, 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.

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 Matsuo-oka 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 succeed 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.

Spokesman Of Profiteers Embarrasses Senators

Barnes Tells Naval Affairs Committee It's 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 "unconscionable" profits of over 50 per cent from naval contracts and then boldly challenged the committee and Congress to do something about it.

The committee members tried to act "shocked" and fix the blame for the war profiteering on the company and the Navy Department. But Barnes turned the attack against the committee. He charged Congress with the responsibility "if you don't get that money back into the Treasury by taxes in some way."

Barnes put on a show of greater indignation about profiteering than the committee. Profits are "outrageous," he claimed. But "we don't have any choice about these contracts — we just take what they (the Navy Department) offer us or they take the plant in fifteen minutes."

Before the session ended, the Senators were soliciting Barnes' opinion on what to do about this situation where the government simply forces the helpless corporation owners to accept monumental war profits.

PROFIT LIMITATIONS?

Senator Byrd voiced the opinion, not too strongly, that maybe profits on war contracts should be limited to eight per cent on invested capital. Senator Walsh, chairman of the committee, made so bold as to suggest six per cent.

"I don't care if you put it down to two or three per cent," replied Barnes. "If you give us any profit at all, with the magnitude of our business and our investment, we will be profiteers."

Barnes was slyly mocking the committee, knowing the members were scared to death of their own suggestions. Twice these same Senators have voted down bills to increase corporation excess profits taxes. Last year they supported the repeal of the Vinson-Trammell act limiting profits on naval contracts.

Barnes told the committee that his company's business with the government this year totals up to \$200,000,000, on which it will make \$20,000,000 profits, 10 per cent of the face value of the contracts, but 50 per cent on the company's invested capital of \$40,000,000.

This evoked the comment from Senator Byrd: "That's an astonishing situation. Here's a witness who admits his company makes 50 per cent on its investment. That's the way a businessman measures his profits — by how much he makes on his investment."

WHAT THE VINSON REPORT CONCEALED

Byrd was then compelled to confess that this threw the report of the Vinson House Naval Affairs Committee into a bad light, because that report showed profits based on each contract rather than on invested capital. "The public has been misled by the figures on profit percentages. Instead of being told that you are getting 10 per cent on the cost of each contract, the

public understands that you are making only 10 per cent on your capital investment."

Byrd and his colleagues tried to shift the blame entirely onto the Navy Department. He said: "There must be something wrong with the Navy Department if it permits such things." Senator Brewster added that "this is a most shocking thing" and that "the only evidence we have from the Navy Department to date is the Navy coming here and testifying that there were no unreasonable profits."

PROFITS IN TWO WARS

Barnes had asked to testify before the committee to correct a "misstatement" he claimed was made by the Truman Senate Investigating Committee which reported him as saying that "if it hadn't been for taxes, we couldn't have handled our profits with a steam shovel."

That referred to the last war, stated Barnes, when the company sought to return some of its profits and was told by Chairman Hurley of the War Shipping Board, "Shut up. What do you care?"

"I didn't want to get that mixed up with our profits in this war," said Barnes in his mock confession, "because they are bad enough in this war as it is."

They are so bad, in fact, that Todd paid \$4,000,000 back to the Navy — after previously arranging with the government to have it deducted from income taxes. But even on a 10 per cent profit limitation agreed to with the Navy, profits are still "pretty high," because the company can make plenty of money even at one per cent.

Barnes further testified that Todd owns or has partnerships in 16 shipyards. Nine of these, he said, have been organized since 1939 with the government supplying \$24,000,000 for plant facilities. These are a gift, but the company does not figure them as profit.

In giving the committee even more information than it sought, Barnes mockingly said: "There is no use lying about it. God, when you have two or three investigating committees, they'll catch you lying quicker than anything."

WHY BARNES EMBARRASSED THE SENATE COMMITTEE

Barnes was really telling the committee: All right, you wise guys. You've been embarrassing us by trying to make a little demagogic capital on the profiteering issue. Now I'm going to spill some of the beans and let you worry about quieting public protest. I'm going to tell just enough to make you look like the hypocrites you are when you fail to do anything about it. Then, maybe, you'll lay off this "investigation" stuff for a while.

Of course, if Barnes or his company had had any fear that Congress would do something about war profiteering, he would have kept his mouth shut, as

Hurley had once advised his company. But Senator Walsh the 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 Arnold, head of the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice, had been in conference with Donald Nelson, head of the War Production Board, about the possible effects of anti-trust prosecutions on war production. "One report of their meeting," states the *New York Herald-Tribune*, Feb. 5, "had Mr. Nelson asking Mr. Arnold to hold up such prosecutions for the duration of the war, because prosecution might delay the war effort to a certain extent."

Super-Exploitation Is Lot Of Hawaiian Masses

By RUTH JEFFREY

Publicity has convinced the average American that in Hawaii the native males, lithe and handsome, devote their lives to riding the waves on surf boards, while the native females, beautiful as the flowers with which they bedeck themselves, dance on the sun-drenched shores.

It comes as a shock to learn that in Hawaii the native Hawaiians have become a negligible factor, possibly 20,000 of them having survived brutal conquest of the Islands by big business. Steadfastly resisting enslavement in the fields, they have been pushed to the very edge of their once happy country. Desperately poor, they drag out a hand-to-mouth existence fishing and raising a few vegetables. Few dollars pass through their hands. These are the blessings which American capitalists have bestowed upon them.

Nor have the Islands proved a paradise to the hundreds of thousands of Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Spanish, Puerto Ricans, Koreans and Filipinos lured from their distant homes by the promise of an American standard of living.

True, overseers no longer lash them with black-snake whips as they did before the turn of the century, when these workers arrived to find themselves literally slaves. But an NLRB representative in 1937 found some workers putting in as many as 90 hours per week, with wages as low as nine cents an hour. The average was somewhat better, but the base pay for plantation workers was still \$1 per day.

Under the impetus of minimum wage standards set by the Department of Agriculture, wages in 1938 were upped nearly 27% — in order that the industry might collect benefit payments totalling \$16,000,000 under the Sugar Control Act of 1937.

But Barber, in his book, "Hawaii — Restless Rampart" still found in December, 1940 that "the average per capita effective buying income of Hawaii is less than \$275, lower than all but three or four states in the union."

HIGH COST OF LIVING

Can the worker in Hawaii subsist on such an income? *Fortune* magazine finds "food costs in Honolulu 25 per cent above the mainland, electricity nearly 10 per cent, and gas 15 per cent.

ize to do away with such intolerable exploitation? Desperate attempts have been made to do just that as we shall describe 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 is true of social and welfare agencies, clubs and especially student organizations. The venture 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, are dismissed, usually on the grounds of inefficiency or gross neglect of duty."

It would seem that the Big Five's monopolistic control of the Islands has been secured. But there are signs which indicate that the future may hold other things in store. The workers of Hawaii can not be prevented forever from fighting for their rights.

(Next Week—Workers' Outlook)

Join the Socialist Workers Party

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JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers 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 far-reaching 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 down-right 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.

'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-

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 government 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 "four freedoms" to the entire world, has just done his bit for the "four freedoms" down South.

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 loud-est 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 all-out 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.

How Lenin Explained the Causes Of World War I

A few months before the end of the first World War and less than a year after he had led the Russian masses to the establishment of the first workers state, Lenin, at a mass meeting in the Polytechnic Museum in Moscow on Aug. 23, 1918, delivered a speech 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, and to show the contrast between the method Lenin used to analyze events in World War I and the method used by the present-day Stalinists who still pretend to accept the principles of Lenin.

By V. I. LENIN

The majority of mankind at present is opposed to the bloody war, but they are unable to grasp its indissoluble connections with the capitalist system. The horrors of the present war are manifest even to the eyes of the bourgeoisie, but the bourgeoisie is incapable of connecting the end of the war with the end of the capitalist system. But this fundamental thought has been the constant distinction between the Bolsheviks and revolutionary socialists of all countries, on the one hand, and those who wish to favor the earth with the blessings of peace, conserving unshakable 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. Spartacus inaugurated a war for the defense of the enslaved slaves. Such wars were waged during the epoch of colonial subjection, an epoch which has not yet ceased, as well as in the epoch of slavery, etc. These wars were righteous wars; these wars cannot be condemned.

But when we speak of the present European War in terms of condemnation, it is for the simple reason that this war is waged by the class of the oppressors.

What is the goal pursued by this war? If we may believe the diplomats of all countries, the war is waged on the part of France and England for the purpose of defending the small nations against the barbarians, the Huns — the Germans; while on

the part of Germany, the war is waged against the barbarous Cossacks, who threaten the Kultur of the German nation, as well as for the purpose of defending the fatherland from hosts of invading enemies.

We, however, are aware that this war was carefully prepared for, that it came slowly to maturity, and that it was inevitable. It was just as inevitable as is the ultimate war between America and Japan. In what does this inevitability consist?

CAPITALISTS DIVIDE UP THE EARTH

It consists in the fact that capitalism had concentrated the riches of the earth in the hands of certain states which had divided the earth down to the last acre. Any further division, any further enrichment, had to be accomplished at the expense of those already enriched, by one government at the expense of the other. The only decision in such a question was of course that of force — and the war between the world handits therefore became inevitable.

Up to the present time the principal going concerns engaged in this war were the firms of "England" and "Germany".

England was the most powerful colonial nation. Although the population of England itself is not more than forty millions, its colonies have a population of over four hundred millions. Not so long ago, by right of conquest, England seized additional colonies, additional land areas, and has profited by their exploitation.

But, economically speaking, England has been outdistanced

in the last fifty years by Germany. The industries of Germany were eclipsing those of England. The immense state capitalism of Germany had united with its bureaucracy, and Germany beat the record.

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 millions, the struggle between them was transformed into a world struggle.

We are aware how many secret crimes were committed in this war. The secret treaties published by us (after the Bolsheviks came to power) have shown that the phrases disseminated in order to justify the conduct of the war were words only and that every government, including Russia also, was connected with other governments by a series of dirty treaties promising enrichment to each at the expense of the small 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 inception of the war; it is a mistake to accuse kings and czars of having created the present war. The war was made by capital. Capitalism had run into a blind alley. This blind alley was nothing more nor less than the imperialism which dictated a war between those competing for the ownership of the world.

G. M. Auto Union Council Maps Contract Demands

(Continued from page 1)

ers in even sharper form, since prices are rising more rapidly every month.

The militant GM workers who drew up the proposed agreement last year only to see it "bargained" into the waste basket, do not want to see this provision sacrificed again.

MEANING OF UNION SHOP
Reuther in his speech stressed the need for a union shop, but for reasons different from those which impel the rank and file to fight for this demand.

To the rank and file this is a means to strengthen the union, to compel "hitch-hikers" to get into the union, and to help enforce union conditions in the plant; Reuther's explanation, however, was that "granting of the union shop would make it possible for the union to concentrate on the war effort." This statement implies that once the union shop is obtained, and dues are assured, the leadership will have no worries. The union treasury will be full and their salaries will come in like clock-work.

But the union shop is not a solution of all the basic problems of the rank and file. It is a means toward strengthening the union. It will not eliminate the constant war in the plants against speed-up, intimidation, stretch-

out and discrimination, nor will it lessen the number of grievances that pile up every month. The GM corporation will continue to try to undermine the union and extract the last possible ounce of profits from the workers, even if it grants the union shop.

Ford granted the UAW the closed shop-checkoff agreement, but it is well-known in auto that the workers in Ford have had to fight bitterly every day in the week, against Ford's continued attempts at speed-up and intimidation. There has not been a day of "peace" in the Ford plants since the signing of the agreement. The dues come in, and that eases the task of the Reuthers and Thomases, but it does not solve the basic problems of the workers who must constantly fight for their conditions.

GM militants, who remember what happened last year to their demands in the contract negotiations, realize that there is great danger that the UAW leadership may not carry through the fight to protect the working conditions of the workers, that they may settle for a wage increase and union shop, and forget about the speed-up, grievances, and the need to assure automatic wage increases as prices rise.

The refusal of GM to continue double-time pay for Sunday work has already forewarned GM workers that the corporation intends to break down, piece by piece, all that the UAW has built in its years of struggle. If double-time pay is eliminated, GM workers will be deprived of \$85,000,000 in wages. This means that if GM does not pay double-time on Sundays, it will be able to pay for the dollar-a-day wage increase demanded by the UAW, by what it saves on Sunday pay. Under those conditions, a dollar-a-day increase will bring no real gain in income to GM workers.

The demand for double-time pay on Sunday has been certified to the War Labor Board. The union is bound in advance to agree; this board is headed by the same Chairman William H. Davis who, as head of the National Defense Mediation Board, ruled against the CIO in the captive mine dispute, and who was attacked by Philip Murray and all the CIO leadership. At least part of the other demands embodied in the proposals of Walter Reuther will also probably go before

the War Labor Board.

There is little confidence among CIO leaders that this new board will prove fair to labor. But with the CIO committed to a no-strike policy, these leaders have given up the one weapon which can defend the workers against the campaign to wreck living standards. The GM demands are not backed up with a serious threat by the UAW leaders to act. This presents the possibility of a compromise which sacrifices many of the important demands of the GM workers. R. J. Thomas stated at the conference: "I predict that the present governmental set-up will not work." But since he has given up the strike weapon, Thomas has no alternative but to refer the demands of the GM workers to agencies which he himself knows will "not work" but will repeat the crimes against the workers committed by the OPM and the NDMB.

The current negotiations with GM will provide a crucial test of the ability of the UAW to maintain its hard won standards, and to win its demands. This test will weigh heavily in the Steel negotiations, in which the CIO is asking for a dollar-a-day increase, and in other major CIO negotiations with major corporations.

The GM workers are organized now as never before; the UAW has reached a new high in membership, over 600,000 workers. The UAW can and should win all of the demands asked by Reuther and more. The corporation can meet those demands, and the union is strong enough to enforce them. But this cannot be done with the strike weapon voluntarily relinquished. The corporation, which has consistently fought the UAW since 1937, is thus assured in advance by the UAW leaders that they do not intend to fight seriously for the union's demands.

The leaders of the UAW have correctly exposed General Motors as a corporation interested in one thing only: profits. The militants in the shops who have fought GM for the past five years know there is only one way to deal with such a corporation, and that is by a consistently militant policy of struggle. Only such a policy will win the demands of the GM conference and assure the existence of a strong UAW and decent conditions for the auto workers.

Norman Thomas Does Not See 'Practical' Alternative To War

By WILLIAM F. WARDE

"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 struggle for 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.

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 mealy-mouthed 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.

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