How Can Hitler's Hold On German Soldiers Be Broken?

— See Page 2 —

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

repeated assurances by the

union's top leaders that they

similar sacrifices by industry."

(PM, April 8.) Still others were

The delegates debated the is-

sues for almost six hours. Then

R. J. Thomas reread the final

promising renegotiation of con-

tracts, and Richard Franken-

steen, director of the union's

Chrysler department, shouted:

bulk of the oratory in support

and resentments of the rank and

three-quarters of the delegates

"We're not convinced that giv-

(Continued on page 4)

double Sunday pay."

HOW VOTE WAS TAKEN

VOL. VI-No. 15

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 1942

FIVE (5) CENTS

WAR PROFITEERING GETS SENATE O. K.

An Editorial

The game in India of both the British and American ruling classes is now absolutely clear. With one voice, the American capitalist press is singing hosannas to the Churchill-Cripps plan, which spells continued subjection of India to British imperialism.

The main point of the Cripps plan is an absolute denial to the Indian masses of the right to vote democratically on their own fate. We pass by entirely, for the moment, the

question of how Britain is going to run India 'for the duration", in return for which the Indian masses are to spill their blood and spend their resources in the service of their British

After the war, after the suffering and bloodletting, the promised so-called constituent assembly, the constitution-making body, is NOT TO BE ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

The British insist it is to be chosen thus: 1. More than twenty-five per cent of the delegates are to be APPOINTED by the native princes, those feudal land-holding tyrants who rule their oppressed subjects with the aid of British bayonets and whose last wish is to see those bayonets withdrawn from India.

2. The rest of the constituent assembly is to be chosen in an indirect manner calculated to give the people no voice in the creation of the constitution and to completely thwart their will. This will be done as follows:

(a) Elections to the provincial legislatures will first take place under the provisions of the 1935 Government of India Act. This Act limits suffrage by property and educational qualifications, which, as indicated by the 1937 elections, AUTOMATICAL-LY EXCLUDES 75 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION FROM VOTING.

(b) This same Act arbitrarily sets aside a certain number of seats in the provincial legislatures for "religious communities", the Moslems and other religious minorities. The number of seats thus arbitrarily set aside is, of course, far out of proportion to the actual relative size of these "religious communities" to the total population. This device was placed in the Government of India Act as a means of ensuring seats to reactionary British agents, such as the heads of the Moslem League.

(c) The provincial legislatures, thus "elected", will act in turn as electoral colleges to name the actual delegates to the constituent assembly. In this way, the members of the constituent assembly would be twice-removed even from that tiny minority of privileged individuals allowed to vote at

But the decisions of even this unrepresentative and pro-British constituent assembly are to be subject to a masked veto by the British

The Cripps plan provides that provinces or native states which don't like the new constitution will have the right to set up their own separate governments. Thus, the threat of what was done to Ireland, partitioning under the pretext of "self-determination" and the "protection" of religious minorities, would be a strong weapon in the hands of the native princes and other British agents to force the writing of a constitution favorable to British and native reactionary interest.

And, in addition, the constitution-making body would be pledged in advance to sign a treaty with the British, which would include guarantees for British investments and continued economic domination.

This, then, is the measure of the "democracy" for which the British masters are asking the Indian masses to fight and die. This is the extent of the "national independence" which Britain promises the people of India for some time in the vague future.

At the present time, the bourgeois press is hurling a veritable barrage at the American people in an effort to sell them the idea that the Indian masses are stupidly refusing to accept a good proposition. This hypocritical chorus just a few weeks ago was railing at the Colonel Blimps, sarcastically referring to the 'faded trappings of British imperialism" all as preparation, it is now apparent, for giving support to the Cripps plan in the guise of "friends" of India.

It is easy enough for the American people to see through that guise. Let us suppose that the American masses were granted "freedom" along the lines of the Cripps plan. We would have a constitution drafted by a body, 25 per cent of whose members would be hand-picked by a few individuals like J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., etc.; the rest would be appointed by state legislatures which in turn would be elected only by the people who own at least an eight-room house and have a college degree; and the states where most of the people can't vote, such as our southern polltax states, would have the right to secede from the union if they didn't like the constitution. Would the workers and farmers in this country want to fight for that kind of independence and democracy? No! They'd fight to the death against it!

The only kind of national independence the masses of India want is for the British and all other imperialists to get out of and stay out of India. The only kind of constitution they want is one drafted by the true representatives of the Indian people, a constituent assembly elected by the free vote of the workers and peasants. That is the least they will fight and die for. And no Cripps or any other smooth-tongued "friend" of India, will be able to sell them some shoddy substitute labeled 'just as good."

What Boss Press Hides Militant UAW Delegates Profits Curbs Voted Down About The Cripps Plan Resist Holiday Pay Cut

Convention Accepts Administration Demand proposal, finally were persuaded to vote for it, "but only under

April 8. — Despite strong opposition from many delegates, the special convention of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers in Detroit last night adopted a resolution giving up time-and-a-half and double-time pay for week-end and holiday work within the 40-hour week.

But it took every trick the union's executive board could muster to carry through the dopt the resolution would cause the passage of anti-labor legislation in Congress; appeals to the patriotism of the delegates, etc. 150 HELD FIRM

AGAINST PRESSURE Nevertheless, 150 of the 1200 standard rates of pay. Many of delegates from the union locals the delegates who had come to

adoption of this measure — the stood firm under this barrage, inclusion in the same resolution holding to the position that the of a program advocating "equal- payment of the established wage paragraph of Roosevelt's letter ity of sacrifice" and containing rates for week-end and holiday many progressive demands; a let- work was not holding up producter from President Roosevelt tion. They warned that to surpromising that the money given render on this issue would only up would go to the government encourage the employers and the "Are you going to tell the Presiand not to the employer; dema- anti-labor politicians to become dent of the United States to go gogic threats that failure to bolder in their attacks on the to hell?" workers' standards.

Experienced observers agreed that the vote did not accurately reflect the popularity of the ideas and arguments advanced by those who defended the retention o

FDR'S Letter Shows Bosses Caused Holiday Shutdowns

standards for week - end ble-time. and holiday pay.

points of persuasion were that such wage standards are impeding war production and that the government intends to see to it that the bosses do not profit from this sacrifice by the workers.

An examination of his letter shows how hollow and false Roosevelt's arguments are.

He states that such double-time and premium pay is "quite understandable in peace-time" but "in wartime it puts a brake on production. It causes factories to close on Sundays and holi-

ployers whose argument time pay. he is merely repeating, peacetime?

The labor is available, ment for holiday pay. the factories are there to run. Aside from the fac- something very import- ported that he had been cruelly to lend a show of "impartiality" observed this, and he snatched tor of material shortages ant, something that had white M.P.'s stood by and the only other reason the in the words of the reso- watched. factories are closed, then, lution adopted at the conis that the bosses have vention, "been won thru closed them down in or. decades of struggle" and it is already clear that attempts brutal attacks of M.P.'s. large measure to the present rub- der to provide a pretext which "means acceptance will be made to whitewash the for refusing to pay the of substantial wage cuts, cases and gloss over the Jim Crow treatment of Negroes which is FIGHT BEGAN workers the established even in the face of the at bottom responsible for these pay scales and thereby to sharply increased cost of killings. The public statement by at a small community called rushed out after Gray and fired cut wages and make more living during the past profits. It is the bosses twelve months." ble if the industries do this right is not going to

And Roosevelt's letter bit.

President Roosevelt's itself gives a revealing letter to the United Auto- clue to how false and hymobile Workers special pocritical is the bosses' convention this week argument that they are beplayed a big part in help- ing forced to shut down ing to put over a resolu- on Saturdays, Sundays tion to surrender the es- and holidays because they the reason for this was that the tablished contractualwage can't afford to pay dou-

> Roosevelt, "to renegotiate some of the delegates. ployers wherever necessavings from relinquish. were the following: ment of double or preemployer but the nation." ing sacrifices everywhere - we

ent contracts the employ- any signs that the men who sign ers are receiving funds for the payment of overtime and double-time wages. The employers have not been out-ofpocket one cent by running their factories on week-ends and holidays.

Negro Soldiers Killed In They have been getting the money right along from the government to Roosevelt, like the em- meet the costs of over-

still defends its practices and not operate to capacity. increase production one

Approval of 'Toothless', 'Innocuous' Bill Is Go-Ahead Sign for All-Out Profiteering

Prompted by the administration, the Senate this week turned the green light on all-out war profiteerwould wage a last-ditch fight for ing.

Wall Streeters and the corporation monopolists swayed by the president's letter. could scarcely conceal their joy at the news that the Senate last Tuesday voted down a proposal for "profits limitations" and approved a measure, demanded by the administrajust before the vote, President tion, which would leave it up to the government procurement agencies to determine the amount of profits on all war contracts.

An amendment was attached to the latest war appropria-

tions bill providing that there be 3a clause in all war contracts re- ional talk about "taking the prominding the bosses that, if the fits out of war" and "profits limgovernment so desires, it can itation" has been nothing but a "renegotiate" any contract "when profits can be determined" and A standing vote followed, with require repayment of any sums fits limit on war contracts and an estimated 150 delegates rising considered to be "excess profits." the Senate proposal for a two to

to vote against. The number of delegates who did not rise to vote the War Production Board, War on profits were just eye-wash. for or against was not counted. and Navy Departments and Mari-As PM pointed out, sentiment time Commission have up to now against giving up the overtime considered to be "excess profits," pay was much stronger among the war profiteers are undoubtedthe rank-and-file delegates and ly caressing their bellies in dethe local union officials than lighted anticipation of the war among the national leaders. "The profits feast in store for them.

of the executive board came from refrain from noting with undiswith the gripes and uncertainties New York Times reporter that | Times stated forthrightly that it | lion dollars in this way. "would leave the curbing of probore no specific instructions fits largely to the system now emfrom their locals on how to vote; ployed."

convention had been called on BIGGER PROFITS AHEAD

such short notice that most locals "It is the intention of discuss the convention issues; ernment "kitty," the war profit- in principle. eers know that even the lush harvest of 1929 - will be chickenfeed compared to the picking Typical of the comments made by the delegates in opposition to ahead.

Senate and House investigations have brought out some of the facts about what the "system ing up double-time is vital to now employed" has provided the mium time go not to the winning the war. Labor is mak- big trusts and monopolies in the way of war profits With "emph-'Renegotiate contracts' gave up the right to strike, our asis on production" and "to hell brothers and sons are dying in with the costs," as War Produc means that in their pres- the trenches. Can anybody show tion Board chief Donald Nelson has put it, it takes no imagina our pay checks have made one tion to visualize the millionaires turning into billionaires, and the "Every time we make a sacribillionaires getting too tired to fice they ask for more. Many of even count their rake-in.

From the start, the Congress-

calculated fakery. Even the House measures for a six per cent pro-From their knowledge of what ten per cent sliding scale limit

Such profits limits, fixed on contracts rather than in relation to invested capital, would still permit the corporations to make hundreds of per cent profit on their actual capital. Nor would such measures take into account The capitalist press could not cost-padding, hidden profits sunk into so-called "contingency" rethe union's top councils. The mi- guised satisfaction the real char- serves, and, above all, the monunor functionaries, who deal daily acter of the Senate's action. mental gifts which the govern-"Toothless," "entirely innocuous," .ment is giving the big corpora-"the least harmful solution to a tions in government-financed new file, were less disposed to accept knotty problem" the New York plants and facilities. The RFC unconditional abandonment of Herald-Tribune took pleasure in and the government's Defense pointing out to its Wall Street Plant Corporation have already It was also estimated by the readers. And the New York given the bosses more than 11 bil-

> BOSSES' OBJECTION; REAL PURPOSE

The capitalists object to such worthless measures because they With over 150 billion dollars are opposed to any legal recognihad not had adequate time to of war appropriations in the gov- tion of profits limitations even

"profits limitation" chatter is to appease popular resentment, aroused by the Truman Committee and other recent disclosures with the idea that Congress is going to "do something" about the war profiteers.

And further, as the New York Herald Tribune, April 8, admits, wrapped up in the "profits limitation" talk is "the political consideration that on April 20 a host of labor bills will begin to be acted on in Congress."

Congress has shown its attitude o the bosses. On "Der Tag" -April 20 - it will launch its Spring Offensive against its real objective, the rights and condi-

Standard Oil Bosses Lie **About Deal With Nazis**

New Evidence Piles Up Despite Efforts of Company and Boss Press to Stifle Truth

By ART PREIS

Despite powerful efforts of the Rockefeller interests and the nation's capitalist press to put a lid on the truth, damning evidence continues to pile up about the Standard Oil-I. G. Farbenindustrie conspiracy.

Last week, the Truman Senate Investigating Committee

heard further government testimony showing that Standard Oil, in conformity with its arrangements with the Nazi interests. continued as late as December, 1941 to provide oil and other necessary operating supplies for Standard and the German cap-Nazi and Italian air-lines bringing "spies, propaganda and profit-producing goods" to South evidence presented to the Tru-America and returning to Europo man Committee two weeks ago with "essential war materials."

lips of a leading Treasury official Standard and I. G. Farben had ar the details of Standard's efforts made in Nov., 1929, to recognize to turn over its Hungarian plants each other's exclusive rights in to the Nazis for \$24,000,000 gold, particular economic spheres. I. a deal which the Treasury block- G. Farben was to have world ed because it would have "per- control in chemicals and Standmitted the Standard Oil Co. to ard, in petroleum products and have been preferred by Germa-synthetic gasoline. ny over other American owners of capital investments in Ger- EFFECT OF CONSPIRACY many" and would have furthered '

Nazi economic conquest in Eu-

These facts further brough out the close tie-up between italist interests and lent addi tional weight to the documentary by Assistant Attorney General The committee heard from the Arnold, which established that

iron-c'ad cartel agreement, first

By the terms of their agree

ther understanding reached after the start of the war in October, 1989 for a means of working together during the war "whether or not the U.S. came in" Standard turned all its chemical patents over to I. G., including concerns, and I. G. gave Standard its synthetic gasoline and similar patents and "the privilege of stifling competition."

ment - which included a fur-

In accordance with its agreement with I. G. Farben and its 'natural monopolistic desire" Standard withheld its synthetic rubber processes from American ndustry, "frustrated the creation of an American synthetic rubber industry", and contributed in a per famine which has seriously crippled American production and caused a drastic curtailment of consumers goods.

STANDARD OIL GALL But the significant development

pefore the Truman Committee who are directly responsilast week is that Standard Oil far from admitting its guilt (Continued on page 3)

Roosevelt's two main the government," wrote easy for the leaders to sway contracts with the em- TYPICAL ARGUMENTS sary to insure that the the surrender of holiday pay

This explodes the lie Of Violence That Takes Lives of 4 Negroes fore his turn. carefully avoids any elab- that payment of overtime oration on this point. rates has held up producits invaluable butyl rubber pro- tion?" Why does it do so the bosses to put into their 29 a Negro sergeant in Little Rock, Arkansas, was shot dead weeks ago to give to American in wartime, but not in own pockets the money by a white policeman, aided by white M. P's. A few days begiven them by the govern- fore that a Negro private in Houston, Texas, was shot dead by

be followed by the authorities.

By ALBERT PARKER Just why and how does it tion. What held up pro- diers. On April 2 two Negro privates were shot dead and five "put a brake on produc- duction was the desire of wounded by Military Police in Fort Dix, New Jersey. On March

Jersey, Arkansas, Texas

beaten by white policemen as

a white soldier assigned to guard >

way in most of these cases. But cases and gloss over the Jim Crow HOW FORT DIX post commander, that the whole case was "merely a brawl", laid

assistant to the Army Inspector ed Hayhoe came up and began to

The UAW gave up private stationed in Georgia re- Dix to supervise the inquiry, and been engaged in a bowling game, to the proceedings. Davis has at the holster to prevent the M.P. been used for such work before, notably in the case of Private get the gun, and he turned and Military and even civil investi- Ned Turman, Negro soldier who ran out of the building. (The gations and hearings are under was killed at Fort Bragg, N. C., stories in the capitalist press all last summer, for resisting the failed to tell why Gray reached

The Fort Dix killings took place reservation. In a place called back Waldron's Sports Palace a dispute But the surrender of down the line that will probably arose among a number of sol-Brigadier-General Benjamin O. waiting in line to use a telephone. Davis, ranking Negro officer and A white military policeman nam- barracks across the road," which

Army Jim Crow Responsible for New Wave abuse a Negro who was accused

None of the boss newspapers reported it, but an eye-witness in the building told a MILITANT correspondent that the M. P. called the Negro "a nigger and other insulting names." Naturally, the

oistoi in his holster. A Negro, him. At the same time a Negro General, has been sent to Fort Private Joseph Gray, who had from using the gun. He did not for the holster; none of them mentioned that the M.P. was reaching for his gun).

Hayhoe was joined by another M.P. named Strouth, and they Colonel C. M. Dowell, Fort Dix Pointville, bordering on the army at him. Gray halted and started

Major Aage Woldike, post public relations officer, declares that diers, Negro and white, who were the M.P.'s shots then "brought forth a fusilade of shots from the

How Can Hitler's Hold On German Soldiers Be Broken? Union To Fight The ClO

Not Practical

A Sailor Describes The Attitude of German Prisoners

A Letter to THE MILITANT

In an editorial, "Why Germans Are Not Surrendering," in the March 7th issue, you say that to class German soldiers as fanatical Nazis is to identify the people with Hitler's clique. You say that the Red Army has but to propagandize the German soldiers with promises of a "Socialist United States of Europe" and these soldiers would not only surrender but join the Red Army for that purpose. I'm afraid you're all wet. I wish you were not.

I have just returned from the Red Sea. While there I paid a visit to Cairo (not far from Port Suez). Here I had an opportunity to see these much publicized German soldiers being led thru the streets as prisoners of war. Their only answer to onlookers was a sneer. Their attitude toward British so diers was one of contempt - the contempt that one who considers himself superior to others might show.

Later, I talked with British soldiers, asking them about the morale and attitude of German prisoners. They told me that these fellows refuse to work in prison camps (they would be paid if they did). They rare y, if ever, talk to anyone but fellow prisoners. But what is most important that the longer they are imprisoned, the more sullen they become. The Nazi salute to British and colonial troops is a popular form of insult. This should prove their morale.

ATTITUDE TO HITLER

- farmers and workers alike. us not try to fool ourselves that remember that Lenin was not wiped out the small businesses, a mass of pamphlets, promising speaking of a war in which a demora ization swept the massa "Socialist United States of Eu | Socialist nation was under attack | es. Hitler was able to find mass rope," can ever change the opinions of millions of soldiers who do not care, much less real ize or understand, what a Europe

Says Program A Revolucionary Policy Of 'Militant' Is Can Win Soldiers

viet Union. If the workers state which they now appear to either is to be able to resist the offen- accept or support? sive for which Hitler has been piling up reserves throughout trary to Brother Burns' errone-Europe all winter, it requires ous assertion, that this can be substantial outside aid. As accomplished by "a mass of Brother Burns says, the Soviet pamph ets promising a Socialist off much longer."

United States and Britain can fore the German masses. and will send; what they have delivered thus far is a mere drop in the bucket, and what they have promised does not equal the amount of supplies and equipment lost in the first week after territory last June.

THE MILITANT and the Trotaid which will save the Soviet, Union can come only from the masses of Europe and especially of Germany. We do not pretend that arousing these masses to revolutionary action will be an easy task: but, difficult though it may be, there is no other way. Brother Burns evidently does

of this kind could mean to them. The German people and soldiers to me, at least - is the fact will have to undergo a lot of suffering before they will listen to any propaganda whatsoever. And while we're waiting for this change to come about, what of Russia? She certainly has not

We have to remember that the degenerate Communist Party, their fear of what will happen Hitler's war program put Ger- in its endeavor to create a sec- to them if Germany loses the man capitalism on its feet. Jobs | end front in Europe, has the only war. were everywhere after his ap- practical solution towards help pointment. German industry soon | ing Russia; it is a lot more prac- | VERSAILLES MEMORIES ferman workers looked to "Second Front" idea. One of you

> Sincerely, WILLIAM J. BURNS, Pacific, N. Y. C.

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By ANTHONY MASSINI | not disagree with us when we say William J. Burns' letter, and that Hitler's drive against the the editorial his letter refers to, Soviet Union could be smashed if are concerned with an import-ant problem — the relationship were aroused to revolutionary acof the soldiers in the German tion, if they would strike Hitler army to the Soviet Union. But in the rear, disintegrate his arthis itself is only one part of my from within, etc. The quesa far more crucial question: tion which he argues is how can how can the Soviet Union be they be aroused - more, partisaved and Hitlerism defeated? | cularly, how can the German war | be any rations to cut. When the This question becomes more machine be cracked and the Gerand more urgent with the first man soldiers set into motion melting of the snow in the So- against the Nazi dictatorship

We have never claimed, con-Union "has not the arms to hold United States of Europe." What is involved here is not a question It would be foolhardy to de- of pamphlets, but of a program, pend for such aid on what the of a perspective to hold up be-

HITLER'S POWER

Brother Burns reminds us that Hitler has a powerful hold on the masses. This is true, but not for the reasons Burns gives. The the German invasion of Soviet advanced workers in Germany and there were 13,000,000 votes cast for the Socialist and Comskyists contend that the outside munist Parties before Hitler came to power - do not thank Hitler for the jobs they have. Nor do they now have "a much higher standard of living than they had known." On the contrary, the conditions of the masses are worse on the whole than they ever were; it was only by smashing the trade unions and lowering the living standards of the work ers that Hitler was able to "put German capitalism on its feet," that is, put it in a position to compete with other capitalist countries. Nor did "war and easy victories" change the conditions of the masses; instead, they must

have made conditions even worse No. the hold that Hit er has the arms to hold off much long- over the German people does not arise from their gratitude for

gave the people a much higher tical then pamph ets. The fact | Most of the German soldiers we overthrow the Kaiser in the behind Churchili - to drive a of all this. War and easy victo- Lenin. One of these quotes is that Germany of its resources, its ries soon put him on a level with Lenin once said that all wars are trade and chance to recuperate Christ in the minds of everyone imperialist in character and that from the war. Children starved workers everywhere shou'd damn for lack of milk, workers were So in the face of all this let them. And I agree. But let us unable to find work, inflation support for his policies because he claimed that he would do away Sailors Union of the with the restrictions of the Versailles Treaty and bring Germany

Once he was in power, his de- USSR. struction of the people's democratic rights prevented them from doing anything about the betrayai of many of the "radical" prom-

ises he had made to them. From the very beginning of the war, Hitler and Goebbels have seized every opportunity to remind the German people that if Britain and its allies win the war, Germany will be faced with another Versailles Treaty. When rations were cut, Goebbe's openly admitted that the people were suffering, but he added that if the war was lost, there wouldn't going got harder, when the Soviet Union was invaded, this became the chief point of agitation of the Nazi propaganda machine.

HOW HITLER IS AIDED

At the same time, Britain refused to differentiate between the Nazi ruling machine and the masses oppressed by that ma chine. It refused to state its war aims, it refused to state what it would do to a defeated Germany All this was grist to the Nazi

Then came the Atlantic Charter, which paid a little lip-service to the question of a just peace but which stated in unmistakable terms that Germany would be disarmed and subjugated by the vic torious nations. Goebbels was able to dispose of the lip-servic by reminding the people that this was not the first time they had been given promises: he recalled that Wilson in the first war had made all kinds of nice-sounding promises, about a peace without revenge, etc., and had broken all of them. The At antic Charter was undoubtedly worth ten divi-

It is not hard to estimate the effect of this on the German peothey also hate the foreign capitalists who will try to make them pay the costs of their war Overthrowing Hitler will be a tremendous task, it will mean suffering and death for many. One does not lightly undertake

As long as the German people fear this, Hitler will be able to do what he wants with German resources and manpower.

STALIN'S POLICY

It is in the light of these facts and workers against Hitler. In Soviet Union. return for the trickle of aid he receives from the "democracies",

Stalin endorses the Atlantic Charter which to the German people is synonymous with the Versailles Treaty. True, in his order of the day on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the founding of the Red Army, he dec ared that "it would be ridiculous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people and the German state." But this is just verbiage, isolated from the general course neither do we. We differentiate, of his war policies; it is certainly competely negated by his support of the Atlantic Charter. Stalin identifies the struggle of the German people with the war of Britain, confusing in the eyes of the German masses the differences between the Soviet Union as a workers state fighting to preserve the conquests of the October Revolution and Britain as a capitalist state fighting to preserve the Empire and the right in any way alter the character of British imperialism to exploit or role or weaknesses of capitai-

In short, Stalinism offers no perspective to the German soldiers capable of arousing them to make sacrifices for the overthrow of Hitler. In return for the hope of a second front to be opened by the imperialists - concerned not with saving the workers' state but with winning the war so that their brand of imperialism can rule the world -Stalin throws away the possibilitv of creating a second front in Hit er's rear through the German and European revolutions which would save the Soviet Union and sweep away the whole system of capitalism which as long as it continues will always

back to its "place in the sun." threaten the existence of the

A PRACTICAL POLICY

Some people — Brother Burns seems to held this view — dismiss this revolutioary perspective as utopian and impractical. They completely overlook the lessons of the past, of the early days days, 1918-20, the Soviet Union, Aircraft and Agricultural Implejust organizing the Red Army, had to face invading 'armies of forces. If all it had had to rely on then was material aid from capitalist countries, it would surely have been defeated.

But Lenin and Trotsky knew that the Soviet Union had reaf allies - they appealed for aid Wright workers were being urged from the masses in the very same capita ist countries that had sent ings of the independent's (comarmies against the workers state, pany union) officers" and that soldiers in those armies.

And they received this support. The morale of the armies of intervention was undermined, the masses in Britain and France forced the withdrawal of the armies, and the Soviet Union was saved. The Leninist policy of class struggle proved far more Stalinist policy has proved in this

The same policy today would of solidarity to the German work- dictional struggles." ers and soldiers: it would promise support to them against the establishment of a new Versailies; it would offer assistance to them in overthrowing Hitlerism; and it would pledge collaboration to them in the building of a Socialist Germany.

The German soldiers would see a way out of the war, their fear ple. They hate Hitlerism, but Union would disappear. The Soof a German defeat by the Soviet cia ist United States of Europe would be not a mere slogan to them, but a program for their own emancipation.

PRISONERS' ATTITUDE

Brother Burns cites eye-wit-All of this convinces me that Nazi oppression; it arises from provement of conditions. "If we which by and large probably holds go through all that," the peop'e true of German prisoners everyfeel, "if we succeed in overthrow- where. But what he describes can ing the Nazis and establishing be considered only as additional our own workers' government, evidence of the inability of what will happen to us? Didn't Churchill - and Stalin following standard of living than they had that the United States is in the may still be young men, but - last war and establish a democra- wedge between Hitler and the known. And jobs and a better liv- war and that there seems to be as with the older generations — tic republic, on y to have the Al- German soldiers. The German ing are the best morale builders no labor opposition. . . seems to ingrained deep in their conscious- lies treat the whole nation as soldiers are hostile to the Briteverywhere. And let's admit that me all the more reason for the ness is the memory of what hap- though it were responsible for ish, they refuse to work in the the war? Won't they do the same prison-camps even though they handy and must have been in Adolf Hitler as the direct cause dearly loved sports is to quote The Versailles Treaty stripped thing again in this war? Won't would be paid for it, etc. What they try to make us pay for Hit- does this all mean but that the regulations. The New York Times ler's crimes? Won't they still try | German soldiers are still convincto impose another Versailles on ed that a German defeat would that one of these soldier, Private bring them only new suffering?

ple and soldiers will have to un- shot down by Hayhoe. dergo a lot of suffering before they will listen to any propaganda whatsoever." To say this is to SOLDIERS ARMED? overlook the fact that they althat Stalin's policies in the war suffering under Hitler. What is "forty Negro soldiers illegally can most easily be understood for more important it is no argument armed" participated. At least 50 the betrayals they are. The Sta- at all against the use of propa- shots were fired. When the fight inist bureaucracy has not dared ganda which proved effective in was finally stopped, five other Ne to take a single effective step 1918 and which has never been groes were found wounded and to arouse the German soldiers utilized in this war even by the

> LENINISM IS NOT OUTDATED

Burns concludes his letter by rejecting the teachings of Leninism on war as outdated as well as impractical. It would have been far wiser for him to familiarize himself with those teach ings before making such pro-

nouncements on them. Lenin never said that all wars are imperialist in character, and for example, between the war of Britain as a capitalist state in the epoch of imperialism and the war of China as a semi-colonial country fighting for its freedom from imperialism. Lenin's attitude toward imperialist wars was formulated before the Soviet Union was founded; but the foundation of a workers state and the participation of a workers state in a war - does not ist states at war.

The strategy and tactics of Lenin and the Bolsheviks for defending a workers state against imperialist attack, however, were worked out after the foundation of the USSR. Neither the course of the war, nor the distortions of that they have to protect them-Leninism by the Stalinists, nor the arguments of Brother Burns give any reason for abandoning or altering that strategy and those tactics which proved completely practical and successful

The Editor.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

AFL Heads Help Company

Stooges After NLRB Denies It Recognition

BUFFALO, N. Y. - The | management is assisting this ef-BUFFALO, N. Y. — The management is assisting this effort of its company union stooges on an aggressive organizing drive.

AFL national officialdom has fort of its company union stooges. Too much reliance was placed on leaped to the aid of the open- and the AFL leaders to prevent shop Curtiss-Wright Corporation, which has been conducting a bitter 20-months war against the organization of the workers in its giant aircraft plant tivity is prohibited. Through its and the union leaders are once of the Soviet Union. In those here into the United Automobile, ment Workers, CIO.

Immediately after a recent de-Britain, France, Japan, United cision of the National Labor Re-States and others, in addition to lations Board ordering the comthe counter-revolutionary Russian pany to cease to recognize the company union known as The Aircraft, Kriegbaum, head of the company union, announced that The Aircraft was going to "emerge under the AFL aegis." He announced that the Curtissto join the AFL "with the blessthey sought the support of the the local AFL Central Labor Union was supporting the move.

Shortly thereafter, the UAW-CIO local officials triumphantly announced in a leaflet, calling on The Aircraft members to join the CIO ranks, that William Green, AFL president, had announced that "no federal charter had been granted and no federal 'practical" in those days than the charter will be granted" in the Curtiss Buffalo plant. The leaflet praised Green for his "fine expression of the sincere efforts break Hit er's hold on the German of the AFL to aid America's war soldiers. It would extend a hand effort by preventing any juris-

GREEN CHANGES MIND

The praise turned sour in short order. On April 1, the announcement came out of the AFL naton — after an all-day conference between Green, AFL Secretary George Meany and President Harvey Brown of the AFL's Interna tional Association of Machinists with local Buffalo AFL leaders and the company union heads that the AFL will issue an IAM drive in Curtiss here.

the Curtiss-Wright workers from joining a genuine industrial union. AFL recruitment is being carried on openly in the plant while all CIO organizational acpower to arrange draft deferments | more seeking to get the NLRB to for "necessary" men, the company help them through filing a comis further able to discriminate plaint against the company's aid against CIO militants and attempt to intimidate the workers into a new company-dominated self will not organize the workset-up under the "AFL aegis."

MUST DO MORE THAN FILE NLRB COMPLAINT

stantial headway in the plant, fight to win the workers' declaiming at least 50 per cent of mands.

the workers, despite the fact that the union leadership has failed to put forward a clear-cut program of union demands and carry a favorable NLRB decision to accomplish the CIO's organizing task.

This task has been complicated now by the activities of the AFL, to the AFL. But like the previous appeal, a complaint by iters, who will respond only to a program which meets their demands for better conditions and an aggressive organizing policy The UAW-CIO has made sub- to show that the CIO will really

Wage Scales Cut By Auto Bosses In The New Plants

of Local 6, United Automobile they could make no headway a-Workers to organize the Buick 113 is still asking for bargain-Aviation Engine Plant in Chi- ing rights for the tool room only, cago is going ahead full speed In spite of the fact that one of the process Constant Material but there is no question that the UAW will get bargaining rights for the whole plant. the reasons General Motors The union men from Michigan built their plant in the Chicago and Wisconsin who have come to area was to get cheap labor and Chicago have tremendously helpto get away from the strong CIO ed the organization drive by conmovement in Michigan and Wis- cretely pointing out to the new consin, the men in Chicago are union men, the glaring difference flocking into the union every day. in wage rates between the strong-Together with their more experi- ly organized plants in Michigan enced brothers from Wisconsin and Wisconsin and the rates paid and Michigan, the Chicago men here. For example, a drill press have organized Buick to the point operator in the engine plant at where the union estimates that it Ford receives \$1.37 an hour while will have an 80 to 85% majority at Buick the same operator re in the coming National Labor ceives 90c. Relations Board elections.

which General Motors consented, seasoned Michigan and Wisconsin for an election in the Aviation unionists. The Chicago men have Engine Plant of Buick and the not only solidarized themselves date for the election is set for with their older brothers but in charter and start an organizing, some time in April. Four or five many instances, have taken the AFL Machinist locals originally initiative in the organization It is clear that the company sought to contest the election, drive.

CHICAGO. III. - The drive | but they soon withdrew because gainst the CIO. Machinist Local

The militancy of the newer Chi-The local filed a petition, to cago men has in turn gratified the

such a task unless one feels there is a chance for success and improvement of conditions. "If we which by and large probably holds in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which by and large probably holds in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which by and large probably holds in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which by and large probably holds in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which by and large probably holds in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which by and large probably holds in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which by and large probably holds in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which by and large probably holds in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which by and large probably holds in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which by and large probably holds in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which by and large probably holds in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which by and large probably holds in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which by and large probably holds in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which by and large probably holds in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which by and large probably holds in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which by an discount in the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which is the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which is the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which is the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which is the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which is the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which is the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which is the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which is the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which is the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which is the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which is the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which is the lattitude of German prisoners in Cairo, which is the lattitude of Germ Jersey, Arkansas, Texas

possession of ammunition against April 4 report of the affair is ture. Isaac W. Brown, shot and killed Burns says, "The German peo- Strouth, whereupon Brown was

WHY WERE THE

A gun fight followed, in which ready have undergone a lot of the capitalist press estimates taken to the hopital, and the Negro regiment stationed near the him over to the Military Police, Sports Palace was confined to its regimental area.

Woldike announced that "a pre liminary investigation indicated all of the dead and injured were struck by .30 caliber rifle bullets. Military police are equipped with .45 caliber pistols." But if this is an attempt to whitewash the M.P.'s. the authorities will have to explain how it is that eyewit nesses are supposed to have seen the M.P. Hayhoe shoot the Negro soldier Brown. Did he perhaps night. shoot him with Brown's own .30 caliber rifle? Such a tale would be going too far, even for the

whitewash business. But even more important, the authorities will have to try to exany routine inspection would a pension? have revealed it.

Soldiers are not in the habit of arming themselves in such large numbers against orders punished — unless they have a very good reason, unless they feel selves from something that is threatening them.

(PM of April 5 reports that dead. anti-Negro feeling had been deliberately whipped up at times" Negro troops, particularly the Southern soldiers.")

If the boards of inquiry at Fort Dix really want to know

them find out why these soldiers will get "a fair and impartial was occupied by a number of Ne. felt it necessary to arm them- trial," and he has invited Negro gro soldiers who, if this is true, selves. If they overlook this asmust have had their rifles very pect of the question, then it can Whatever else happens at the be taken for granted that nothing | trial, one thing is sure: they will fundamental will be done to pre- not try to analyze the reason why vent similar tragedies of this na- Jackson was in jail; nor will they

> PLAIN AND BRUTAL MURDER

The Little Rock case is simpler, and an even more vicious example of brutality against Negro soldiers. A Negro soldier in the Negro section of the city was accused of being drunk. White policemen came along and began to beat him un

Sergeant Thomas P. Foster of Company D. 92nd Engineers at Camp Robinson, Ark., inquired of the police why they did not turn who are supposed to have jurisdiction over all soldiers accused of misconduct.

attacked Foster. He tried to resist but was outnumbered and at all - such incidents occur beaten helpless on the ground.

One of the white cops, named A. J. Hay or Hayes, took out his gun. A by-stander, Walter Johnson, pleaded with him not to shoot. Hay fired five bullets into from President Roosevelt to the Foster's body; he died later that Fraternal Council of Negro

tion. It rushed trucks into town, Negro soldiers!

"Sweeping investigations were ordered by military and civilian plain why it is that an estimated authorities. A preliminary report forty Negro soldiers were armed, issued by the chief of police was steps to open opportunities for and why they opened fire imme an outright whitewash. The mili- Negroes in the armed forces of diately after the M.P.'s fired, and tary boards have been ordered to our country, and they are giving why the ammunition they were decide the following question: not supposed to have was already Did Foster die in line of duty? plans which will increase that loaded into their rifles where Are his parents entitled to receive

> "FAIR AND IMPARTIAL" In Houston, Texas, Private

Tyree Jackson was fighting with for which they could be strongly another soldier. Private Frank Covey, who was in charge of the two men, working near the Fort Sam Houston prison, ordered people or the labor movement. them to halt. They didn't. He fired his gun, and Jackson fell

at the time, awaiting trial on and "there have been frequent three charges of violations of the fist fights between the white and Articles of War: disobeying a superior officer, being absent without leave and damaging a government truck.

The post public relations officer what caused the gun battle, let has assured the press that Covey

discuss the rights and wrongs of the orders given soldiers guarding prisoners to be on the safe side and shoot when trouble arises; nor will they discuss the hundred and one subtle ways in which white soldiers are trained to look down on Negro soldiers as "inferior." Maybe it will be

a trial fair and impartial to Co-

vey; but it won't be fair and im-

partial to Jackson. The Georgia story is shortest and simplest of all. Private Enoch Earle made a bad mistake. He was seen talking to white soldiers on the street. The white cops who saw this didn't like it. So they beat him up. White M. P.'s did nothing to stop it. The White M.P.'s standing by then only unusual thing about this story is that it got into the press all the time.

BOASTS ROOSEVELT

In the face of all this, a letter Churches, released on April 5. The army then swept into ac- takes on a most ironic character. In effect, Roosevelt in this letter and began rounding up .- all the takes credit for what has been happening to the Negroes in the armed forces:

"At my direction, the armed services have taken numerous active consideration to other participation."

What these other plans may be, we do not know. But unless they provide for the complete elimination of the present system of segregation and discrimination in the armed forces, they cannot prove satisfactory to the Negro

What they want, if Fort Dix tragedies are to be prevented from happening over and over again, is:

Democratic rights in the Army! The abolition of military Jim

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PIONEER PUBLISHERS

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NEW YORK

Negro Struggle By Albert Parker

Congressman Threatens

Negro People Last week in this column I pointed out that the Negro people in the South will not automatically get the right to vote with the passage of the Pepper bill abolishing payment of poll taxes for federal elections. I predicted that even if the

Pepper bill were passed, the reactionary ruling class in the South would try to utilize other legal means to prevent Negroes from voting, and that if it ran out of legal schemes, it would not hesitate to resort to violence, to the use of lynch mobs and organized terrorist groups.

On practically the same day that I wrote to this effect, a Southern poll taxer speaking in the House of Representatives made a speech as though he was trying to prove everything that

The speech is entitled "Stop Nagging the South" and it is reprinted on Page A1806 of the Congressional Record of March 26. The author of this not-at-all veiled threat against the Negro people and their rights is John E. Rankin, Representative from Mississippi. He says:

"Certain radicals in the CIO, certain Negro agitators, and a few white demagogs (are) going before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate and trying to stir up race trouble throughout the Southern States by attacking our election laws.

"We are getting along pretty well with the Negroes in the South, and will continue to do so if these agitators will leave us alone. The Negroes know their places and we know ours. Any man who goes around now and directly or indirectly tries to create race trouble is simply aiding and abetting the enemies of our country. The good Negroes of the South know they will be protected when any trouble arises and the bad ones know they will be looked after. . .

"If they (the so-called radicals in the CIO, etc.) could get control of the South, the horrors of reconstruction would seem like a Sunday-school picnic in comparison. But they will never get such control. The white people of the South are on the alert, and the better elements of the Negro race refuse to join in any such movement. They know it would simply mean the death of thousands of their own race. . ."

Do not make the mistake of assuming that this is the ranting of an irresponsible individual, to be dismissed as a man who represents no one but himself. No mistake could be greater. Rankin is speaking for the southern ruling class, and the proof of it is that not a single one of his Democratic Party brothers from the South rose to repudiate or disassociate himself from these remarks, not even Pepper.

War for What?

Do you recall how a couple of weeks ago a Negro in Philadelphia was arrested and almost brought to trial for "sedition" because he said that this was a "white man's war"? Well, listen to what, in the course of the speech mentioned above, Rankin had to say about the war:

"There are no more patriotic people under the shining sun than the white people of the South. They are bending every effort to aid their country in these perilous hours; their sons are in the service, thousands of them are at the front, many of them are giving their lives, the last full measure of devotion, in order that our country may live, that our way of life and our sacred institutions may be perpetuated, and that the white man's civilization may not perish from the

The first American Negro troops to be sent abroad in this war have wound up in Australia. Australia is an ail-out Jim Crow country, where Negroes are not permitted to come in time of. peace. The country's war minister, Francis M. Forde, gallantly greeted them as follows: "We look upon the Negro troops as part of the United States Army and we would not be so presumptuous as to place any bar against any form of assistance to the defense of this country." Oliver Harrington cleverly summed up the situation in a People's Voice cartoon showing a Negro soldier being greeted by an Australian official standing in front of a sign which reads, "Colored persons not allowed in Australia." The official is saying to the Negro soldier: "Jolly glad to see you, old boy. Just ignore these bloody signs around here - for the duration." The final payoff is that the Negro troops are not to be used for combat but only as work-gangs to do the dirty work.

Last week the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People released a story about Walla Walla, Washington, telling how the Negro soldiers of the 25th Infantry had been ordered by their officers to stay out of 20 public places in the town because the proprietors of these places did not want to serve Negroes. This week the NAACP Press Service carries a letter from one of the Walla Walla soldiers, charging that he knows the proprietors of many of these places did not ask that Negroes be barred, that on the contrary they are quite willing to serve Negroes on the same basis as anyone else. The letter declares that these Jim Crow regulations were instigated wholly on the initiative of the army officers themselves.

Recently, the press carried stories about how the Japanese in the Philippines had ordered the people to surrender their native weapons. This was widely interpreted as a sign of the hostility of the natives to the Japanese. Now comes a story from Johannesburg, South Africa, that according to a new proclamation issued by Captain Reitz, Minister of Native Affairs, the natives must give up their weapons, battle axes, bludgeons, axes, etc. What does that signify?

The CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELL Standard Oil Bosses Lie

conspiracy and its monopoly mo-

Thus, for two days last week the American people witnessed W. S. Farish and Frank Howard, president and vice-president respectively of the \$2,000,000,000 Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, arrogantly wave aside the government's documentary evidence and blandly deny every charge against their corporation. They had the gall to go so far as to insist that the Standard-Nazi deal was to the "interests of the United States."

Principally, their statement declared that there was not "a shadow of foundation" to the charge that Standard had "'delayed' or 'retarded' or 'stifled' synthetic rubber in this country." They ous" to advance synthetic rubber production.

It was brought out, however, that in 1939 an official of the Navy's Bureau of Construction and Repair had sought "firsthand information on the compounding" of butyl rubber, ac- | an "experimental" stage and was cording to a letter from Stand- too costly for large scale producard's files. This letter, from a tion. But, here again, the docu-Standard employe to the Stand- mentary record from Standard's ard officials, goes on to state files showed that Standard was that: "You (Standard officials) will recall that I took up this which it admitted itself to be suquestion with you before his ar- perior in most respects to natrival. As agreed upon I took Mr. ural rubber, for 6.6 cents a Werkethin over to see the K pound to a 14.4 cents cost for the

mentary evidence from its own terest away from the process. rubber. files which conclusively prove its However, I am quite certain that he left with no picture of the operation. . .

Farish and Howard tried to make it appear that they had sought to interest the government in the German buna rubber process; but it turned out, according to Standard's own documents that Standard had no knowledge of this process and had not received information on it for eight years.

read into the records that "the gram for producing Buna rubber," he was forced to hand to the press a revised version excluding this assertion and admitting that as I. G. fell "more and given "full information" to the German Government there was ber production. government agencies about butyl an apparent reluctance to rerubber and were, in fact, "anxi- spond to further request for information." That "reluctance", however, did not apply to Standard itself which in 1938 turned over its butyl rubber process to

Farish and Howard sought to show that butyl rubber was in prepared to produce butyl rubber, plant when it appeared that I German buna rubber and the 21

Local Proposes Contract For The Steel Industry

Reflecting the rank - and - file their profits and incomes after and safeguard union standards determing what their real wages and working conditions, a proposed model contract has been for a flat general wage increase adopted for the consideration over present pay of 121/2 cents of the Steel Workers Organizing per hour and provides that there Committee, CIO, by the Ohio shall be "no incentives, bonuses, Works Local 1330 of the Carnegie-ods" to establish a competitive Works Local 1950 of the Carloss to establish to Steel Corporation, chief speedup among the workers that U. S. Steel subsidiary. The local can be used as a cover for wageis circulating the contract in printed form to the other SWOC locals and is urging its adoption as a basis for the forthcoming FORTY-HOUR WEEK Big Steel negotiations.

TAXES INCLUDED

considered as a part of the rising on holidays.

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio - | cost of living." The bosses figure all taxes are paid, and the steel steel workers' desire to defend workers similarly want their their interests during the war taxes to be taken into account in

In addition, the contract calls slashing and creating dissension among the union workers.

Of particular importance are Oustanding in the model con- the provisions covering hours of tract is a section providing for work. The contract calls for the a rising scale of wages to meet forty-hour week, 8-hour day and rising prices. This includes "an five day week. It further reautomatic increase in the wages" quires time-and-a-half overtime handled last night by an organized group of about 20 men every three months, the percent- pay for work beyond the standard age of increase to be based on work hours - and for meals at the amount of increased living company expense when a worker costs over the previous three engages in more than two hours months period, and to be determ- overtime in any day. The overined by the CIO's own research time work is to be equally divided among all the workers.

Showing what the workers A particularly splendid feature really think about giving up the of this section provides that "any established wage standards for taxes that are added to the bur- week-ends and holidays, the con- pose reactionary Stalinism, was den of the workers . . . shall be tract calls for double time pay made under cover of a resolution

brazenly denies the very docu could not very well steer his in- cents a pound price on natural

BRITISH, DUTCH INTERESTS This information, incidentally, brought out the fact that Standard was not alone in desiring to frustrate synthetic rubber pro duction. The British and Dutch rubber interests were just as eager to do so in order to maintain their market for crude rubber at a high monopoly price.

A memorandum in Standard's files, dated Feb. 21, 1941, stated that: "Also Sir John Hay, rep-On this point, after Farish had resentative of the British Rubber Control, has been very persuaonly thing I. G. Farbenindustrie sive that the production of synwas withholding was the detail of thetic rubber is uneconomic. . its government-sponsored pro- will impose a drain on the American productive power. . .

Significant light was shed on the role of the government's Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the big rubber companies in lyingly asserted that they had more under the control of the helping to block synthetic rub-

> It was brought out that the RFC had given Standard contracts for a small gov't-financed plant, also agreed to give Standard a three percent royalty on all synthetic rubber produced under the government program. This agreement was partially engineered by R. R. Deupree, president of the Proctor & Gamble Soap Co., which had a "limited partnership" in the Standard-I. G. cartel arrangement. Deupree had been head of the rubber di-

cial rubber adviser to the RFC. Standard tried to get plants 'to be financed 75 per cent by its patent monopolies.

RUBBER INTERESTS

But most of Standard's plans

sued between the agents of these files the complete documentary armies. evidence it had held for nearly a year about Standard's conspiracy and forced Standard to rethe duration of the war.

Having obtained these patents - the complete details of which make the Tea Pot Dome scandal look almost like a Sunday School picnic. The administration has demonstratively called for the cessation of all anti-trust prosecutions which "interfere with war production" and the Defense Plants Corporation has announced a program of government-financed synthetic rubber plants to be divided up principally among the rubber corporations and Standard Oil.

STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS IMPLICATED

In their testimony about supplying the South American airlines of the Nazi and Italian Fascists, the Standard officials arpolicy laid out by the State Department. This, according to a subsequent State Department vision of the OPM and later spe- statement, appears to be true to a degree.

While Secretary Hull had urged Standard not to supply these the RFC", not, however, to get lines from its American stocks for democracy against fascism." production, but to go into limited and tried to discourage the prac- They prove that in war as in manufacturing in order to es- tice, the State Department did peace, the capitalists hold their tablish a stronger legal claim to permit Standard to continue giv- profits and monopoly advantages to get free plants were balked which the State Department has own interests. And this entire afby the big rubber corporations not denied, after October, 1941 fair shows, finally, how unwilling which opposed expansion of syn- when the government had threat- the government is to take effecthetic rubber to be controlled by ened to black-list Standard's tive action against the powerful Standard because this would Brazilian company, "limited de- financial groups which dominate compete with the natural rubber liveries to Condor (Nazi line) the economic and political life of industry and force down prices. | continued under the instructions | the country.

L.A. Stalinists Assault

Also Attack 'Labor Action' Salesgirl and

LOS ÁNGELES, April 1 — While engaged in their cus-

tomary sale of papers on the street in front of the CIO building

here, two young women workers, distributors respectively of

THE MILITANT and Labor Action, were assaulted and man-

led by known Stalinists. Their papers were taken by force and

Severely Beat Up a Young Male Worker

Woman Selling 'Militant'

A battle royal, it appears, en- of Ambassador Caffery in Rio.' The indisputable documentary contending interests. It was not evidence proves that Standard until the Far East defeats cut off Oil - and all the big trusts, acvirtually all supplies of crude rub- cording to Thurman Arnold's own ber that the government, under admission - have deliberately pressure of the rubber corpora- curtailed war production and givtions in particular, two weeks en the Nazis exclusive industrial ago finally extracted from its processes literally worth whole

ROLE OF CAPITALIST PRESS But most of the big capitalist lease its patents royalty-free for papers, fearful lest the masses get a real picture of the "patriotism" represented by the Amerthe administration has since tried ican monopoly capitalists who to play down the Standard affair run and control the war program, have joined in a frantic whitewash campaign of Standard Oil Papers like the New York Times and New York Herald Tribune deliberately played down Arnold's testimony and played up the lies of the Standard officials.

Both of these papers - giving the lead to the rest of the capital ist press which followed suit avoided all editorial comment on the Standard Conspiracy, and then, as soon as the Standard agents had testified, came out with long editorials giving full credence to the Standard statements. Thus, the Times, April 2 asserts that: "In the light of this evidence (Standard's) Mr. Arnold's charges that the Standard Oil Company is responsible for gued that they had followed the the shortage of synthetic rubber simply evaporate.'

Far from "evaporating", however, the demonstrable lies of the Standard officials serve to prove these charges to the hilt. They prove that the monopolies don't give a tinker's dam about a "war ing these supplies to the fascists above everything else, not hesitwith the approval of the Amer- ating to strike blows at their ican ambassador in Brazil. Ac- own government's interests and cording to Farish's statement, to aid the Nazis if this is to their

deliberate attack was obvious. It

was conducted swiftly and sys-

tematically, none of the group

speaking a word to the victims.

While the attack was taking

place, a number of young women

some of whom were recognized

as Young Communist League fol-

lowers, occupied themselves ex-

Representatives of THE MILI-

fense of civil liberties to expose

and halt these Stalinist attacks.

any person or group to come be-

fore any responsible commis-

sion or meeting of bona-fide labor

or liberal organizations to present

proof of the GPU slanders that

the papers which the Stalinists

seek to ban are "fascist" or "se-

ditious." From past experience,

They have issued a challenge to

The New Leader, The Dies Committee And Civil Liberties

Attitude to Dies' Witch Hunts

The New Leader takes the Dies Committee to task for "erring" in denouncing certain employees of the EWB in Washington as communists. The spokesman for social democracy takes up the records of the men involved and shows how wrong Martin Dies was in picking on them.

The matter that interests us is not so much the attempt of the New Leader to keep the record straight, but rather its attitude to the whole issue of witch-hunting by the Dies Committee. Thus the column written by Robert Trevor called "Inside and Out" remarks: "Very strange it is that while perfectly guiltless people are catching the tar-and-feathers, well known Communist liners hold office in other government agencies. For example, the Donovan office, Coordinator of Information, has been harboring Dan S. Gillmor. You will remember him as the barefoot boy who allegedly sank his fortune in Friday, the anti-British, anti-war, and 100% Stalinist

The general news article on the Dies "blunder" makes the statement that "Undoubtedly one of the dangers in a democracy comes from public servants who hew to a party line; their loyalty to their country is transcended by the fanatical adherents to the partei."

The New Leader shows its loyalty impartially by denouncing all "totalitarians" to the government. One week it points to fascists who have found their way into the army, navy or government work of one kind or another. The next week it puts the finger on Stalinists who have done the same thing. Doesn't this prove that these democrats are real honest brokers?

In a principled sense there is no difference between these social democrats and the very Stalinists they denounce. The Stalinists also feel quite free to demand that the government act against various elements whom they lump into one amalgam as "Fifth Columnists", not excluding the social democrats of the left.

What Dies Committee Represents

Both these groups play into the hands of capitalist reaction. The Dies Committee is a useful instrument to the extreme right wing of the bourgeoisie, that wing which seeks to stifle every striving, every movement of labor tending towards its emancipation. The Dies Committee knows precisely what it wants in this regard. Its "errors" are purposeful errors. It calls everything communist which takes a liberal attitude towards the working class, just as Hitler calls everything that is anti-fascist Jewish. What Dies calls patriotism and loyalty to country is loyalty to the party of extreme capitalist reaction. When the New Leader calls on the Dies Committee to take action against the Stalinists, it is calling on the capitalists who placed Dies in Congress

But these capitalists are quite ready to take action not only against Stalinists, but also against all labor unions, radicals, the labor press. working class organizations of all kinds. That is why main questions should come first, the bigger problems ahead of the lesser ones. To grant to a section of the government, the capitalist government, the right to fire someone not for some act but for his or her political opinions, is to strike a blow at civil liberties. Blows of this type - all history proves it over and over again - strike inevitably at the working class. Thus when we denounce the Dies Committee, it is not because that Committee picks on the wrong people, but because its witch-hunts are meant fundamentally to strike at and weaken the workers and their movement. Our denunciation of the Dies Committee is therefore for the purpose of guarding the rights of workers. This is the only principle involved and it determines our attitude toward the activities of the reactionary Congressional Committee.

The Special Features Of India's Agrarian Problem

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The agrarian problem in India assumes especially aggravated and peculiar forms owing to the preservation and reinforcement of feudal and semi-feudal conditions and regimes in the coun-

In this respect India differs sharply from contemporary European countries like Rumania. Spain and others where vestiges of feudalism still survive and the agrarian problem still remains largely unsolved.

In these countries the landowning classes and the bourgeoisie are closely integrated and an equilibrium of class rule is established through a bloc of two classes. India is ruled by a bloc of three classes - the English imperialists, the feudal princes, the native bourgeoisie. This combination is far more unstable and far less flexi-

What is equally important is that in the backward European countries there is a degree of differentiation among the peasantry: their rural areas contain layers of middle-peasants side by side with an agricultural proletariat. Large scale agricultural enterprises while rare nevertheless do exist. Essentially the same thing was true of the former Czarist empire, just as it is true today of Japan. Even in a semi-colonial country like China the dissolution of feudal and semifeudal relations, the integration of the landowners with the native bourgeoisie, and the differentiation among the peasantry long ago reached stages far beyond the conditions surviving in

Large scale farming is virtually unknown on this subcontinent. There are only the beginnings of an agricultural proletariat. As for a stratum of landowning peasants, the English did for a

time play around with the idea of fostering such a formation but nothing ever came of it.

destroyed.

nation-wide lynch campaign a-

In Czarist Russia the ruling classes (under the Minister Stolypin) attempted to forestall the agrarian revolution by the introduction of reforms which would permit the development of small-landowners, and thus provide a social base for the regime in the countryside. Although the serfs had been emancipated and although only vestiges of feudal conditions actually remained in Russia, the attempt proved abortive. The very same phenomenon is to be observed today in

However, the measures applied in Czarist Russia and in Mikado's Japan are revolutionary by comparison with the "reforms" instituted by the English or those advocated by the native Indian bourgeoisie. These "reforms" come down in all cases to nothing more than promises to alleviate the burdens of the Indian peasants through slight lowering of taxes, rent, usury rates, etc.

In other words, the agrarian problem is far more acute in India than in any other major sector of world economy in the epoch of imperialist decay. This distinguishing feature of the Indian revolution will undoubtedly play a vital role in the development of events. What will be the general trend of these events?

The closest approximation to the condition of the Indian peasantry is to be found not in such countries as Czarist Russia, or Rumania, or Japan or even China but rather in a country like France of 1789, i.e., on the eve of the Great French Revolution. The likelihood therefore is that the unfolding Indian revolution will combine in a complex way the features of the Great French Revolution (1789-93) with those of the Russian Revolution (1905, February, 1917 and October, 1917).

trace of the torn papers to remove all evidence of the attack Two young male companions of on March 30 succeeded in slipthe distributors were also seized ping over in the Los Angeles and the reason for it. and one of them was severely CIO Industrial Union Council. TANT and Labor Action are seek This resolution called for dising the aid of the American Civil This attack, part of a general couraging the distribution before Liberties Union and other organ the CIO building of THE MILIizations concerned with the degainst Trotskyists and all other TANT, Labor Action and the So-

cialist Party Call. working-class militants who op-The resolution included an attack on "trade unionism as uswhich the Stalinist union leaders ual," that is militant independent union defense of the workers' rights and conditions, thereby demonstrating that the attack on the Trotskvists is really part of a broader campaign to victimize all union militants and help put over the Stalinists' program for surrender of union rights, speedup and wage-slashing. As usual, the Stalinists pushed through their attack on free speech and free press for labor militants under the guise of "patriotism" and

> "agents of Hitler." TYPICAL C. P. MOVE

That this resolution does not reflect the sentiments of the majority of CIO workers here is shown by the fact that the Stal-

defending the unions from

tribution of the named papers. | ton, Cleveland or Los Angeles: However, as THE MILITANT subsequent attack has proved, the ever we sell our papers at their tical opponents in particular and they do not succeed but we are against labor militants in gen- sometimes hard pressed.

The attack against the MILIdistribution had begun and with- occasion, sympathetic soldiers. out warning seized, pinned down and severely beat one of the two male companions of the women distributors. Some of them then

That this was an organized and manding that they be stopped."

it is certain that no one will dare to accept this challenge. British C. P.'ers **Employ the Same**

Hoodlum Tactics Stalinist attacks against distribution of newspapers preinists did not introduce their re- senting a militant point of view solution into the CIO Council un- are the same the world over. til late in the evening, when most Following is a report, dated of the rank-and-file delegates had March 6, received from a Trotalready left. This is a typical skyist group functioning in the area of Liverpool, England, which The Council's motion merely sounds word for word like a recalled for "discouraging" the dis- port that could be given for Bos

"The Stalinists here are of a predicted last week and as the particularly vicious type, whenreal purpose of the resolution is public meetings they organize to provide a "union cover" for their bands of hooligans in an the Stalinists' own lynch assaults attempt to prevent us from sellagainst their working-class poli- ing. It goes without saying that

"Several of our sellers have been brutally attacked, papers TANT and Labor Action distri- torn, and have only been saved butors was made by an estimated from being beaten up by inter-20 men, who came out of the vention of members of the crowd. CIO building shortly after the our own comrades, or, as on one

"The displays of hooliganism however, do the Stalinists more harm than good, and we actually benefit by it by increasing our seized the women, twisting the literature sales. It is significant arm of one and injuring the hand that in a local C. P. branch, a of the other, and tore the papers resolution was passed protesting against these methods and de-

No Real Class Point of View

It is quite well known that we hold no brief for the Stalinists. It is equally well known that we are enemies to the death of the Fascists. If we do not wax enthusiastic when the capitalist government aims its wartime blows even at the despicable Fascists, it is because we have seen so often in the past how such blows to the right precede far greater blows to the left, at the working class movement, particularly at its most militant wing.

The New Leader is totally unable to draw proper distinctions as to its conduct - even while showing up the similar conduct of the Stalinists - because it has no real class point of view. It attempts to draw a line not between capitalists and workers, but between liberal capitalists and reactionary capitalists. It identifies itself with liberal capitalism, with the New Deal. That is why it feels no contradiction at all in taking the liberal capitalist attitude towards democracy and civil liberties. As a defender of bourgeois democracy it feels perfectly free to denounce individuals to the government who might be a menace to capitalist democracy. It does not matter much which camp the menace comes from.

But this is emphatically not the road to working class democracy and emancipation from wage slavery. Those who wish to travel that road must not permit the capitalist class or any of its organs to decide what opinions it is permissible or impermissible for a worker to hold. The matter of opinions can be fought out within the ranks of the workers. That is the wisdom taught by all the great teachers of Marxism. It is a wisdom that cost the movement too much for it to be forgotten.

THE MILITANT

Working People.

Saturday, April 11, 1942 VOL. VI-No. 15

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"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1841 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

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' Govern-

Profits Limitation

Donald Nelson, War Production Board chief, opposes war profits limitations by law. Before a Senate committee last week he proposed his own "better" idea - which the Senate accepted last

His proposal was that the matter of war contracts profits be left to the "discretion" of the WPB. The WPB, he promised, would see to it that the corporations receive no more than a "fair" profit.

The "discretion" of the WPB, however, is virtually synonymous with the "discretion" of the monopoly corporations themselves. It is the corporation dollar-a-year men who are running the war production program. It is the monopoly corporations themselves which dictate contract terms

What kind of discretion about war profits limitations can we expect from the corporation-dominated government procurement agencies? The AFL Monthly Survey last month issued a report on corporation profits after all taxes and costs which gives us a vivid example of how that "discretion" has operated up to now.

In the last war, according to official sources, the corporations made 6.4 billion dollars in 1916; 6.7 billions in 1917; and 4.6 billions in 1918.

In the boom year, 1929, the corporations made 7.2 billions.

In this war, corporation profits have been as follows: 4.2 billions in 1939; 5.5 billions in 1940;

7.2 BILLIONS IN 1941. In short, according to these official figures the corporations made as much profit last year as they did in 1929, despite the fact that taxes were six

and one-half times higher! Actually, they made more profits in 1941 than in 1929. It is now the standard corporation practice to put large chunks of profits into so-called contingency reserves for "future uncertainties.' A special study of 30 big corporations, printed in

last Sunday's New York Times, showed that in 1941 they had set aside \$72,000,000 as "reserves" as compared to \$41,000,000 in 1940 and just \$2,000,000 in 1936. Neither the "discretion" exemplified by these

profits figures nor the phony Congressional proposals will "take the profits out of war." The one sure way to put a halt to war profiteering is for the government to take over the war industries and operate them under the control and management of the workers.

FDR's Court On Maritime Strikes

The Supreme Court ruling this week that a seamen's strike aboard a ship tied up in any port - domestic or foreign - constitutes "mutiny" is the most reactionary decision ever handed down by this particular body.

Although issued to decide a case that arose out of a sit-down strike, this ruling virtually outlaws the right of seamen to strike under all circumstances once they have signed their articles for a particular ship. Under maritime regulations, a seaman cannot even leave ship except by expressed

The ruling was based on an appeal by the South-

ern Steamship Company of Philadelphia against a National Labor Relations Board decision, sustained by the Third Federal Circuit Court, ordering the company to re-instate five National Maritime Union members fired for participation in a sit-down strike, July 18, 1938, while their ship was tied to a dock at Houston, Texas.

In making its five to four ruling, the Supreme Court majority brushed aside the plain facts of

The company had deliberately provoked the strike by refusing to recognize the union after it had won a collective-bargaining election. The ship was not at sea and was, in fact, tied up in an American port. There were no criminal acts charged against the strikers. And there was no question of the safety of passengers and ship involved.

The very language of the majority ruling indicates its anti-labor bias and animus. It places a strike of maritime workers in the category of "a rebellion by seamen against their officers." This is no different than the typical contention of the bosses that any strike of workers for better conditions constitutes "rebellion", "revolution", etc.

The ruling declares: "Ever since men have gone to sea the relationship of master to seaman has been entirely different from that of employer and employee on land."

It is precisely this that the seamen have been fighting against for decades. The reward of seamen for daily risking their lives at sea is a Supreme Court decision upholding maritime feudalism.

This ruling places in the hands of the shipping corporations a powerful weapon for framing up union seamen and railroading them to prison on "mutiny" charges. It can be used to terrorize seamen into submitting to all kinds of abuses by the ship-owners and their agents.

As a reflection of administration war labor policy, this "mutiny" ruling is further indication of a growing anti-labor offensive designed to slice away piece by piece the workers' rights and conditions. Wall Street's hue and cry several years ago against Roosevelt's Supreme Court "reorganization" finds no echo today. Roosevelt's "New Deal" court has put its "liberalism" in cold storage. There is a "war for democracy" to be fought.

Why We Demand Browder's Freedom

We stand for the freedom of Earl Browder. We have always raised the demand for his immediate release from prison, where he was sent over a year ago under the pretext that he had violated a passport regulation. We recognize that the Roosevelt administration prosecuted Browder and "threw the book"at him solely because he headed a working-class politcal party expressing views which the administration didn't like.

Our reasons for demanding Browder's release, it must be pointed out, have nothing in common with those advanced by Browder's own party.

A year ago, the Communist Party claimed that Browder was prosecuted and sentenced because of his "opposition to imperialist war." That was a lie. Browder and the Stalinists did not oppose imperialist war. Under a pseudo "anti-imperialist" cloak, they carried out the Kremlin's line, flowing from the Stalin-Hitler pact, of aiding Stalin's Nazi ally by attacking the Anglo-American bloc of

What is true is that the administration prosecuted the fake "anti-imperialist", Browder, in an attempt to intimidate and silence all who opposed the war, including the genuine anti-imperialist

Today, however, Hitler's assault on the Soviet Union has caused the Stalinists to shift camps. Now they are mum about Browder's "opposition to imperialist war." They dare not even state that it is the Roosevelt administration which jailed Browder and still keeps him in jail. Today, the Stalinists spread a different lie.

They claim Browder should be freed because he is "needed for the fight against fascism." But Browder is no more a fighter against fascism than he was against imperialist war. His program the program of the Communist Party - is to support the administration's war policies in return for the crumbs of aid the American government is sending, or may send, the Soviet Union. The Stalinist "fight against fascism" consists of aiding the "democratic" capitalists to silence and suppress militant labor, force the workers to surrender their rights and submit to speedup and wage

The Stalinists also claim — the biggest lie of all - that they are for Browder's release in the name of civil liberties, particularly the protection of the rights of political minorities. But the Stalinists themselves are virulent enemies of the rights of all working-class parties opposed to their policies. At this very moment, they are taking the lead in inciting a lynch campaign against the Socialist Workers Party and other anti-Stalinist groups and calling for their suppression.

Regardless of the Stalinist reasons and motives for defending Browder, we continue to call for his release. We defend Browder as a victim of boss class persecution and fight for his freedom as part of the general battle to protect the workers' civil rights, without which they would find it extremely difficult to conduct an effective struggle in defense of their interests.

Browder has committed crimes. But they are crimes against the working-class. They are crimes which the workers alone, in their own time and in their own way, will judge, and for which they alone have the right to exact a penalty.

American capitalism did not jail Browder for his real crimes. It prosecuted him as a means of striking a blow at the civil rights of all labor. That is why the workers, while rejecting every political idea which Browder represents, must nevertheless defend him from their class enemies.

Controversy Over The Jewish Question

The Case Against Milton Mayer and His Critics, Ingersoll and Hook

By M. STEIN

When people are under a strain, sighing sometimes sounds to them like jeering and the faint sound of a distant fire cracker can create the alarm that would be caused by an exploding bomb. This is why one must be particularly careful with provocative noises in an atmosphere charged with great tension, such as the atmosphere surrounding the Jewish question.

The tension of close to sixteen million Jews the world over is far from imaginary. The wrecked lives, the shattered homes of half their number who had lived in the countries overrun by the fascists, is only too real. Real also is the relentless Nazi drive to throw the surviving Jews into medieval ghettoes, to cut them off from contact with the outside world. There they live crowded together, deprived of proper sanitary facilities, starved, dying a slow death at a rapidly mounting

Very real indeed is the spread of anti-Semitism in this country too. Is there anyone who is bold enough to say that "it cannot happen here"? The Jew feels that the last refuge of his people is threatened. He is losing hope!

Incidents like the sinking of the Struma in the Black Sea with the loss of 765 Jewish men, women and children, only serves to emphasize the hopeless plight of the Jews. The story of these Jews - fleeing the Nazi terror machine, denied refuge by the British administration in Palestine -- epitomizes the treatment afforded to the Jews by the fascists on the one hand, and by the "humanitarian democracies" on the

The Case Against Mayer

Milton Mayer's article in the March 28 issue of the Saturday Evening Post under the provocative title, "The Case Against the Jew," falls into the category of a sigh that sounds like a jeer, of a firecracker set off by a mischievous lad in a very tense atmosphere. "The Case Against the Jew" is no more than a case against Milton Mayer and his group of petty bourgeois Jewish intellectuals who see the world which they had taken for granted, the world of bourgeois democracy, collapsing before their very eyes and dragging down with it the democratic rights of the Jews and their chance for equality with other citizens. We shall presently return to Milton Mayer, his diagnosis and proposed remedy. But first a word about some of his critics.

The editor of PM, Ralph Ingersoll, belated Don Quixote of bourgeois democracy, denned his suit of armor; mounted his horse and, brandishing his lance, set out the morning after the Mayer article appeared, to tilt at it. At least that's what he thought he was doing. The trouble with Mr. Ingersolf must be that he suffers from faulty vision. He cannot distinguish between the front of bourgeois democracy and

He rises solemnly to the defense of

Auto Workers On

Guard Over War

(Continued from page 1)

our members are fighting abroad

We must protect their rights at

home. On the West Coast we

have declared our willingness to

work for just living expenses if

the management give up profits.

But they won't give up any of

misleading us - Congress won't

treat us any better, no matter

program reflected many of the

demands of the rank and file

workers. It called for: an end to

all war profiteering, and a 3 per

cent profit ceiling; no war mil-

lionaires; stop rising costs; dem-

ocratic control of rationing of

available consumers goods; the

adjustment of wages to meet the

increased living costs and to in-

sure a decent standard of living;

security for dependents of those

in the armed services; a mora-

torium on debts for those unem-

ployed through conversion of in-

dustry and of all debts of those

in the armed forces; greater la-

bor participation in the war pro-

duction agencies; planning for

The convention will continue

Next week's MILITANT will

contain an eye-witness report

and an analysis of the proceed-

ings of both days of the con-

post-war adjustments.

and conclude today.

THE PROGRAM ADOPTED

"These men are deliberately

"equality of sacrifice"

their profits."

what we give up."

Pay-Cut Issue

Nathan Hale and Abraham Lincoln; he sounds as profound as my little niece returning from a history lesson in Junior high school when he speaks about the constitution, equal opportunity, etc. But what of the heart of the question, the fact that the same system which was so progressive only yesteryear breeds war and fascism in its death agony, and cannot any longer find a place for the Jew, cannot assimilate him, cannot tolerate him and tries to

Sidney Hook, the not unknown professor of philosophy, leads the assault on Mayer's article for the New Leader. But he fails to display the zeal one would expect of a new convert when he comes to the defense of bourgeois democracy - his most recent creed.

Hook confines his jabs to Mayers' manner of presenting the problem, which feeds the Coughlinite arguments, and to Mayer's conclusions, which propose a withdrawal of the Jew into a religious shell. But Hook has little to say about his own proposed solution to the Jewish problem. He begs the real issue, just as Ingersoll does.

Both Ingersoll and Hook are exercised over the idea, implicit throughout Mayer's article, that this "war for democracy" is not going to solve the Jewish question. It angers them, it infuriates them - but it does not draw from them any arguments to show that the Jewish problem will be solved if the "United Nations" win the war, or to demonstrate that the defeat of Hitler in Germany will eradicate anti-Semitism in the United States.

A Distorted Picture

Mayer's article presents a thoroughly distorted view of the American Jew. Not altogether because of commission, but also because of his omission of an extremely important and weighty element in the Jewish community. Mayer makes no mention whatever of the Jew-

Even if we weren't informed by the Saturday Evening Post that he is a former Chicago reporter, or by the New Leader, that he is at present an assistant to the President of the University of Chicago, one could have surmised this or something similar. His writing is reportorial. His style is that of a yellow journalist interested in a sensational presentation of the problem rather than the truth. His subject matter is the immediate circle of his bourgeois friends, Jewish intellectuals and business men. The result is a caricature of the Jews.

We know of a different type of Jew. built powerful unions, who have been in the vanguard of the struggle for higher wages and shorter hours. We know of the Jewish workers and intellectuals who have been among the most sacrificing soldiers of the movement for a better world built on the foundations of socialism. But Mayer's beat as a reporter did not include this territory

- it lay on the other side of the tracks. Another omission which is likewise typical of a reporter who does not care to look below the surface, is the total lack of reference to the economic basis of anti-Semitism. This by the way, applies also to the other reporter and interviewer, Ralph Ingersoll, and even to the professor who used to call himself a Marxist. This is one thing they share in common. Even the most casual reference to the economic basis underlying anti-Semitism would expose the decaying capitalist system as the cause of this evil, as well as the evil of fascism and wars.

An analysis of the economic roots of anti-Semitism, might furthermore suggest the solution. But that would not suit the Jewish bourgeois of Mayer's circle, nor the Gentile bourgeois of Ingersoll's circle, and it would not even suit Hook, who finds himself perfectly at home in the petty-bourgeois social democratic circle.

Product of Reactionary Period

Mayer, the superficial reporter, has strung together for the Saturday Evening Post a whole series of anecdotes about Jews, all of them obviously wealthy who have tried in every way possible to look like Gentiles. He says:

"They tried to adjust, this pitiful people who once were so proud. They tried to look like, talk like, be like everyone else. They tried to lose themselves in the crowd, like men who have picked a pocket on a busy street. They resorted to every dodge known to fugitive criminals, from changing their names to changing their faces. And for all their trying, they were strangers in Egypt still."

And then he concludes:

"Running away hasn't saved him. Resettlement hasn't saved him. Changing his name, his face, his clothes and his faith hasn't saved him. And the suddenly crowded temples won't save him. Denouncing Coughlin won't save him. The destruction of Hitler won't save him. All these fallacious faiths are based on the grand fallacy of adjustment. The Jew will be saved when he saves his own soul."

Here you have in two paragraphs his complete line of argument. All the rest are mere trimmings.

Every crisis in history, every period of defeats, has produced schools of Godseekers, those who sought escape in the supernatural; those who sought salvation in the purification of their own souls. These were particularly numerous in Russia after the defeat of the 1905 Revolution. Many radical intellectuals, having no real roots among the masses, saw in the defeat of the revolution a lasting triumph of Czarism. The revolutionists were persecuted mercilessly by the Czarist police, everything looked dark, hopeless. In this atmosphere the God-seekers and soul searchers got a hearing. Even mass suicide theorists had a following.

The arguments of Mayer have an im-

portance insofar as they emphasize the disorientation that flows from the present dark picture on a world scale, and show to what fantastic lengths this disorientation can go.

His attack against Jewish assimilation might just as well have been leveled against the steam engine and electricity or general human progress and development. His arguments are reactionary through and through. The Jew could no more continue a ghetto existence once the gates of the ghetto were flung open, than could the Negro be held on the plantation once slavery was abolished. The whole process of assimilation isn't something that somebody had wished, it was part and parcel of the general capitalist development. There is no return. The road lies before and not behind. A fascist triumph might for a while drive the Jews into a ghetto, but the Jew will never go there voluntarily, regardless of Mayer's counsel.

Mayer, were he to get a following, would do a great service to fascism. He is trying to get the Jew to voluntarily pin upon himself the yellow star of David which Hitler is trying to force upon him. He is trying to get him to submit when he should stand up and

The Russian Revolution

There is no single reference in the article of Mayer or his critic Hook to the Russian revolution. And yet that great movement of liberation is very germane to the discussion. How can anyone consider the Jewish problem and the problem of national minorities in general in this day and age without a mention of the country where this problem was once most acute - the country of pogroms and the "Black Hundreds," the forerunners of the fascists whose slogan was "Kill the Jews and save Russia." Doesn't the Russian Revolution suggest an answer to the Jewish problem?

Mayer thinks that "The Jew will be saved when he saves his own soul." But what will save the worker? Every worker, black, white, Jew, Catholic, Protestant - what will save their standard of living, their democratic rights, their trades unions, their parties? The fascists are pushing the Jew away from the Gentile for their own purposes. Mr. Mayer is pulling the Jew away from the Gentile, may we ask for what purpose? There seems to be a division of labor there.

As for us, the Russian Revolution is a good enough model for the solution of the problem of national minorities. In fact, it is so good, that all the years of Stalinist distortions and abominations haven't undone the basic job accomplished by the October Revolution. And if Mayer ever has the reporter's assignment of covering our political party rather than some exclusive Palm Beach club, he will find that the relations between Jew and Gentile, black and white bear even today the characteristics of the free society of to-

≈ A CASE FOR

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By JOHN CORBETT Minneapolis "sedition" case, itself was submitted as "evid-

those who advocate the views of democrat that he is, will prefer Trotskyism are not the only ones to call up these generals on the who have found this book of in- phone and tell them for God's terest. The March 1942 issue of sake to quit advertising this par-Infantry Journal, a monthly mili- ticular book until he gets those tary magazine, in advertising a Trotskyist defendants safely benew book on guerrilla warfare, hind bars. announces as an added attraction that it carries a "foreword by Tom Wintringham, author of New Ways of War." On page 70 The Progress of American an editorial speaks of "such exan editorial speaks of "such excellent volumes as New Ways of To Discuss War War by Tom Wintringham ... And upon still another page the magazine even carries an advertisement for this "subversive" book itself. For 25 cents you can gro and the Second World War obtain New Ways of War by or- will be dealt with by colored and dering "from your Post Exchange white speakers at the next meetor direct from the Infantry Jour- ing of the Harlem Workers Club, nal, Inc." at 1115 Seventeenth 72 West 125th Street, on Friday, St., N. W., Washington, D. C. April 10, 8:45 P. M. (You can also get it through Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York-J.C.)

definitely out to influence the will be discussed from the floor thinking of the armed forces following their speeches. A social whether for good or bad, this and refreshments will follow the case would seem to call for in- meeting. Admission will be free vestigation by the FBI.

make an open and shut case as As part of its "evidence" he attempted in Minneapolis, we against the 28 defendants in the suggest that Mr. Biddle either immediately drop a money order the FBI offered the book New ing this subversive outfit for a for 25 cents in the mail box ask-Ways of War by Tom Wintringham. This book was not subversive literature, or, if he written by a Trotskyist. Far prefers the melodramatic touch from it. But the press of the used in the notorious Minneapolis Socialist Workers Party had com- case, let Mr. Biddle roll up a mitted the "crime" of reviewing truck to the Washington office this book for the benefit of trade of Infantry Journal, raid their unionists interested in establish- book shelves, and arrest en masse ing military training at govern- the whole group of high ranking ment expense but under trade army officers who are peddling union control, and so the book this subversive literature to the American armed forces.

We rather think, however, that It now appears, however, that Mr. Biddle, true liberal and

> **Harlem Meeting** And Negro People

The timely subject of The Ne-

Bill Bran, a noted New Jersey Negro leader, and Lydia Beidel, of the staff of THE MILITANT. Since Infantry Journal is quite will present the subject, which and everyone interested in this

To secure his evidence and vital subject is invited to attend.