

How To Destroy One Of Hitler's Chief Weapons

An Editorial

The United States government has been greatly aided in its conduct of the war by the propaganda use it has been able to make of the crimes committed by the enemy governments. Hitler's extermination of the trade unions, his oppression of the Jewish people, his seizure of Poland, etc. — all these undoubtedly made it easier to convince large sections of the population of the necessity for supporting the war program and making all kinds of sacrifices to ensure its victory.

But this powerful weapon can be and is used on both sides in this war. An examination of Hitler's speech on Jan. 30, at a celebration in Berlin of the ninth anniversary of Nazi rule, shows that the fascists too know how to try to justify their policies and seek popular support for them by pointing to the reactionary acts and policies of the enemy.

In fact, the greater part of Hitler's speech was devoted to such demagoguery as a denunciation of the British government because it "subdued country after country, by force," because it seized India, because it "did not care about the self-determination of the Arabs, of the Indians," because "they did not care about the carrying out of their promises," etc.

We are not in a position to state authoritatively what effect such denunciations of the British government have on the German masses. We doubt that many of them are persuaded thereby that Hitler's criminal acts against them and the other people of Europe are any the less criminal.

But although Hitler's speech is filled with lies, it nevertheless remains a fact that the British government has been guilty of the crimes referred to above, and the German masses know that it has been guilty of them. And so while the recitation by Hitler of these crimes of British imperialism may not convince the German masses that Hitler is any better than the British government, at least it does have the effect of repelling them from the British government and a British victory.

The Versailles Treaty

But Hitler has an even more effective propaganda weapon than the recitation of the crimes of British imperialism in general or against the colonial people — and he did not fail to use it last week any more than he or Goebbels have failed to use it on every possible occasion since the war began.

That weapon is the Versailles Treaty and the effects it had on the German people themselves. With this weapon Hitler can do more than neutralize the German masses — he frightens many of them with the prospect of a victory by the allied nations into support of his own war program.

From beginning to end Hitler hammered away at this question in his speech. Recalling Wilson and the promises he made "that secret diplomacy would be abolished and that a new era of peace, equality and reason would arise," Hitler declared that "the peace treaty which followed (the armistice) completed the looting of Germany and the deprivation of all her rights. . . Germany was deprived of her colonies, her merchant fleet was taken away from her. . . In short, all promises made by Wilson were broken shamelessly."

And then, he reminds the German people, "Germany did not get in the economic field what she was promised at Versailles." Instead, she got ruin from inflation, her unemployment grew, complete financial disintegration, etc.

What the Masses Fear

His purpose in repeating all this was to remind the German masses that if Hitler is defeated in this war, they will get the same thing all over again, if not worse. While on the other hand, he says: "The German people must know that so long as I live there will not be another 1918."

This kind of argument is peculiarly effective for two reasons: 1. The German people still remember very sharply the suffering imposed on them by the Versailles Treaty. 2. In spite of the talk about "democracy" and "four freedoms", the leaders of the "United Nations" have made it clear that when they win the war, they intend to disarm "the aggressors" and place Germany in such a position that it will be unable to threaten their interests "for the next 100 years."

The German masses have known for nine years now how terrible it is to live under Hitlerism, but to many of them the prospect of another Versailles must seem no better.

And although the opportunities for revolutionary struggle against Hitler may have increased in Germany since his reverses on the Soviet front, the masses have not yet dared to attempt such struggles because of their fear that even if they overthrow Hitler and set up a socialist government, the allied powers would still hold them responsible for the war and still impose on them a peace treaty that would crush them and their revolution.

It is clear from this that every reactionary policy of the democratic capitalist governments lends aid and comfort and strength to Hitler.

How to Defeat Hitler

But there is a way to destroy this weapon of Hitler. There is a way to arouse the German masses to revolutionary struggle against their fascist oppressors. That way is by the establishment of Workers' and Farmers' Governments in Britain and the United States.

Hitler then would have no success with attempts to justify his own crimes by pointing to British oppression of India, because one of the first acts of a Workers' and Farmers' Government in Britain would be to grant independence to the people of India and all the other nations now in the British Empire.

Hitler then would have no success in holding the threat of another Versailles over the German people, because one of the first acts of a Workers' and Farmers' Government in this country would be to renounce all policies or agreements aimed at oppressing or penalizing the German masses.

Hitler then would have no success in repressing the revolutionary action of the German masses for one of the first acts of Workers' and Farmers' Governments in Britain and this country would be to call on — and to aid — the German masses to overthrow Hitler, establish their own government representing their own interests, and join with them in the creation of a World Socialist Federation which by abolishing the economic basis for national antagonisms would be able to build a world of security and peace for all.

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NEW PRICE BILL IS A FRAUD

Nelson Makes Plaintive Plea For \$1-A-Year Men

Says Corporation Agents Can't Be Expected To Work for a Mere \$15,000 Govt. Salary

Army draftees getting \$21 and \$30 a month, and workers whose subsistence wages have been reduced 20 per cent by price rises no doubt have been touched by the plaintive appeal for the dollar-a-year men made by Donald M. Nelson, "czar" of the new War Production Board, in his statement before the Truman Senate Investigating Committee on Jan. 28.

Not only did Nelson berate the committee for its disclosures about the corporation agents running the war production program — "You are making good men afraid to come down here and work for the defense program" — but he exploded over the idea, put forth by the committee, that the dollar-a-year men should be forced to sever their business connections and struggle along on a government salary, with a top pittance of \$18,000 annually.

Patriotism, service, self-sacrifice are all very nice sentiments indeed, Nelson indicated, but men who are accustomed to living off the fat of the land — the "good men" needed to make things hum — "won't serve on a regular government salary."

ALL BUSINESS MEN HAVE "UNCONSCIOUS BIAS"

Besides, Nelson pointed out, forcing the dollar-a-year men to waste away on salaries of \$8,000, \$10,000 and \$15,000 a year isn't going to change their big business mentalities any.

When Senator Ball asked if it were not true that the type of "good men" wanted by Nelson

didn't have "an unconscious bias toward maintaining the present industrial set-up," Nelson shot back:

"Isn't that a criticism of all business men? Wouldn't that be true whether or not they are on a salary basis?"

The committee members figuratively scratched their heads and opined that that was a way of looking at it and "whether you are right or wrong the Committee is going to back you up," as Senator Truman hastened to assure Mr. Nelson.

None of the committee members was so downright offensive as to suggest that perhaps, maybe, not all at once, but in due course, the government should dispense altogether with the dollar-a-year men and their "unconscious bias."

AN "INDISPENSABLE" ADJUNCT

Nelson let it be known from the start that he'd not tolerate such nonsense. Dollar-a-year men, he told the committee, are "an extremely useful adjunct —

COST NO OBJECT

"To hell with stopping to count the cost," declared Donald Nelson, war production chief, to a private gathering on Jan. 30 of some 250 principal holders of war contracts. "Start turning the stuff out and we can argue the terms at our leisure."

The monopoly owners and big corporation agents lapped this up like a cat goes for cream. The workers are paying the costs of the war and the bosses are making the profits. The corporation owners can afford to snap their fingers at the costs, particularly since Nelson's "we can argue the terms at our leisure" is reassurance that the industrialists need have no concern about their profits. They'll be well taken care of in due course.

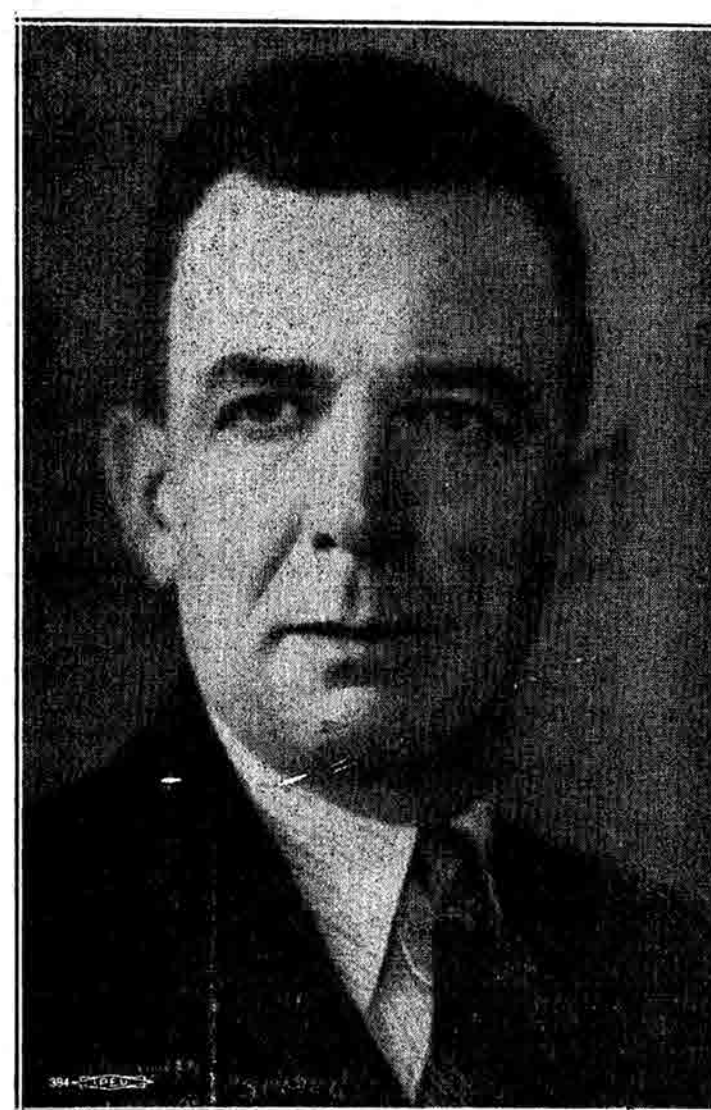
"Turn it out by inefficient methods if necessary. . . but get the stuff moving," Nelson added.

Strange words coming from Nelson, who a few days previously had told the Truman Senate Investigating Committee that it was not feasible to give war orders to small manufacturers because they were "too inefficient."

possibly even an indispensable one — to the war program."

And Senator Truman, horrified at the idea that Nelson might think the committee wanted to

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V. R. DUNNE

Dunne Starts On National Tour

To Seek Support for Eighteen Convicted In Minneapolis Trial

Feb. 2. — V. R. Dunne, well-known leader of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO and one of the 18 members of 544 and of the Socialist Workers Party who were convicted in the recent Minneapolis labor trial, today began a tour of 21 cities to speak on the significance of the Minneapolis convictions.

The tour is being conducted under the auspices of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, the organization mobilizing public support for the 18 and preparing the appeal of the convictions to a higher court.

Known throughout the labor movement as a militant unionist and as one of the founders of Local 544, Dunne was sentenced under the 1940 Smith "Gag" Act to a prison term of 16 months

because of his union activities and opinions. He is now out on bail pending the appeal. This case is the first conviction under the notorious Smith Act, which was sponsored by the same Congressmen who introduced the recent Smith Slave Labor Bill.

On his tour Dunne will outline the background of the case and explain the importance of the trial and convictions to the labor movement as a whole.

The tour, beginning in Milwaukee, will take Dunne on a swing through the major industrial cities of the midwest and east. The announcement of the tour has already aroused considerable interest in the labor movement. In Cleveland, the meeting at which he will speak has been endorsed by the United Auto Workers Council of the CIO.

(On Page 3 of this paper is printed the schedule of Dunne's tour as released by the Civil Rights Defense Committee. For further information, write the committee at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City.)

Will Not Halt Or Control Rising Prices

Problem of War-Time Scarcity Is Unsolved In "Control" Bill

Fraud is the only word to describe the War-Time Price Control Bill signed last week by President Roosevelt.

Instead of halting price inflation, this measure will induce further price rises and protect the price-fixing practices of the big monopolies. It will give a legal cover to price-gouging.

Not even its sponsors have been able to say an unconditionally kind word for it. Roosevelt had to admit that he has "doubts as to the wisdom and adequacy of certain sections of the act." His Price Administrator, Leon Henderson, had previously confessed the bill would prove ineffective.

The capitalist press of every political hue sneered at the bill. Said the Feb. 2 New York Post, "The inflationary fires were stoked by this precious legislation which compels government to set arbitrarily high ceilings," the New York Herald-Tribune, Feb. 2, spoke of "the fallacy of 'selective' price control," and the New York Times, Jan. 28, denounced the bill as "a thoroughly bungled and discreditable job, a mere mockery of its own declared purposes."

Why, if this measure is so fraudulent, did Congress pass it, Roosevelt sign it, and the Administration put into motion an elaborate machinery to carry out its provisions?

The Office of Price Administration on Jan. 30 stated that it expected "nothing sweeping or radical" from the measure, but that it might have a "psychological" effect on manufacturers and merchants to curb their prices. The real "psychological" effect intended, however, is to deceive the workers and poor farmers into the belief that "something is being done" to protect them from inflation and its attendant war profiteering.

BASIC CAUSE OF THE PRICE RISES

Inflation is inherent in the war production economy. More than

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Irish Government Makes Protest Against A. E. F.

FDR's Failure to Consult Eire Branded a Blow to Irish Independence and Neutrality

Affecting an air of amazement, President Roosevelt last week asked "on what grounds" the government of Eire had protested the landing of American troops in Northern Ireland.

The protest was made, in the words of Eire's Prime Minister Eamon de Valera, because "The Irish government has not been consulted either by the British or the American governments with regard to the coming of American troops to the six counties." Roosevelt had consulted only with the British government which rules the six northern counties partitioned from the rest of Ireland against the will of the Irish people.

This step by Roosevelt amounted to recognition of the British partition of Ireland in violation of the Irish people's right of self-determination.

HOW GREAT BRITAIN PARTITIONED IRELAND Britain's partition of Ireland after the last war was a reactionary move to frustrate complete Irish independence by maintaining a base in Ireland from which the British could extend their influence and control over the whole country.

When, in 1921, the bitter struggle for national independence resulted in the establishment of the Irish Free State, the British government seized upon the six northern counties, four of which had anti-independence majorities, and set them up as a separate province maintained by direct British rule.

The crudeness of Britain's pretext was made evident by the fact that two of these very six counties had pro-independence majorities, and it was only by arbitrarily lumping them together with the other four counties that the British were able to claim that the entire six counties, taken together, had an anti-independence majority. They totally disregarded the fact that the forces opposing Irish independence were a small minority in Ireland as a whole.

The British carried through the partition, but the whole world — including the President of the United States — knows very well that they did it in the face of bitter popular opposition

THE QUESTION OF NEUTRALITY IN THE WAR

Eire has attempted to maintain a policy of neutrality in the war, in the hope that this will save the country from attack.

Such a policy, as the experiences of most of the large and small European nations have shown, will not keep Eire out of the war. Neutrality is impossible when the great nations are engaged in bitter struggle to determine which of them shall rule the world, and Ireland, like all small nations, becomes the victim of world forces too powerful for it to resist by herself.

Nevertheless, advanced workers everywhere will recognize the right of the Irish people to decide for themselves the policies they wish to pursue toward the war and in their relations with other nations. It is an abrogation

of the right of self-determination for America or any other powerful nation to impose its own policies on the Irish people.

FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND WORLD SOCIALISM!

Only world socialism — by replacing imperialism with the economic co-operation and solidarity of all nations, and by abolishing the causes of war — will permanently safeguard the independence of the small nations and bring them lasting freedom from war and invasion. The centuries-long struggle for Irish independence will be finally assured and guaranteed by the victory of world socialism.

Until that time, however, it is the duty of all who sincerely believe in the rights of self-determination to protest every infringement of that right in Ireland and everywhere else in the world.

Dope -- "Western Civilization's" First And Greatest Gift To The Orient

By MARC LORIS

The New York Times of Jan. 27 published the statement of a spokesman of the Treasury Department, denouncing the Japanese government as a trafficker in narcotics. Why does this denunciation come suddenly now, when all the facts cited could have been produced many years ago?

The answer is simple. The present denunciation has nothing to do with the evil effects of the narcotics traffic itself, but is put forth solely as moral ammunition for the war in the Pacific.

However, the Treasury Department might well take care before expressing such noble indignation!

In the realm of narcotics, as in others, Japan is only following its teachers, the great capitalist powers, that is to say, those that are conveniently called "Western civilization."

Opium was introduced into China by the East India Compa-

ny, which had the monopoly on the cultivation of the opium poppy in India. The opium trade had for its immediate end the enrichment of the English planters and traders, but it had another more profound economic function.

When England, in search of markets, stood before the doors of China, she had nothing to offer the Chinese. The common people were much too poor to buy the products of British industry. As for the ruling classes, they had their own traditional luxury industries and had no need of what the Occident was able to offer them.

"Western civilization", that is to say, capitalist England, had its eyes on exactly these luxury products: silk, porcelain. It also desired tea. To induce the Chinese to trade, it had to create an artificial need. Thus it was that opium became the means for the penetration by "Western civilization", that is to say, by capitalism, of China.

During the last century, importation of opium into China assumed greater and greater proportions and became a danger to the entire race. The Chinese government became alarmed. Let us consult a source which cannot be accused of partiality for the Chinese. We read in the Encyclopedia Britannica:

"The conflict came to a head over the question of the importation of opium. This had long been prohibited by the Chinese government, but foreign merchants brought it in ever-increasing quantities. . . After many futile attempts at enforcement, Peking at last took vigorous action. . . Foreign merchants were compelled to surrender their stocks of opium for destruction and pressure was put upon them to give bond not to engage further in the importation of the drug. The British objected to what seemed to them high-handed measures and in November 1839, hostilities broke out."

That was the first opium war. Another followed a little later and by the treaty of Tientsin, in 1858, the importation of the drug was legalized. Thus, in the diplomatic-military as well as the economic sense, opium was the open door for "Western civilization" in China.

Later, when China was opened for imperialist exploitation and when the use of opium proved troublesome to this exploitation, several international congresses were held to restrain the use of opium and each expressed its "moral" condemnation of narcotics.

The Treasury Department now accuses Japan of using narcotics as "an instrument of national policy against the Manchurians and the Chinese." But its indignation will not sound very convincing to us until it denounces at the same time the dope peddlers of "Western civilization" whose methods the Japanese imperialists have adopted.

Nelson Pleads Plaintively For \$1-A-Year Men

(Continued from page 1)

"hamper" the war program, quickly assured Nelson that "if you need dollar-a-year men to win the war, this committee feels that you should have dollar-a-year men."

HARD ADJUSTMENT

Nelson, former OPM dollar-a-year man who resigned his corporation job with Sears-Roebuck three weeks ago to work for the government at the pitiful salary of \$15,000 annually, spoke feelingly of the plight of the big business men trying to get along on what the government pays.

"You can't get all the help you need of the kind you need on that basis. The reason is simple; most of these men, many of them specialists, have been getting salaries much higher than those which can be paid government employees. Since they have been getting such salaries, they naturally have incurred extensive financial obligations over the years — mortgages, life insurance, income taxes, and so on — so that it is extremely hard for them to adjust themselves abruptly to a much lower income."

Now you try and pull that one on your draft board, son. Tell

them you've been making \$30 a week, you owe \$20 on a radio, \$75 on a second-hand car and there's a \$500 mortgage on your ma's house. Just see whether the board will "naturally" agree that it would be "extremely hard" for you to adjust yourself "abruptly" to a much lower income — say \$21 a month.

So, the dollar-a-year men with their big business bias — and not so "unconscious" either — will continue to rule the roost in Washington. They'll be keeping their corporation connections, steering their business pals and partners to the juiciest contracts, greasing the way all along the line to aid the war profiteers and monopolies.

INTEGRITY, CAPACITY AND ZEAL NEEDED

"In the last analysis," said Nelson, "it is the integrity, capacity and zeal of men which should govern their position, and not the incident of their financial position and need."

Like the "integrity" of the OPM officials who concealed impending materials shortages to protect the monopoly advantages of U. S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, Aluminum Co. of America, Anaconda Copper, etc. Like the "ca-

pacit" of Knudsen, et al, who denied that the automobile industry could be converted and offered the auto barons new plants as a gift. Like the "zeal" of all the corporation agents who "won't serve on a regular government salary."

Nelson is right when he says that putting these men on a government salary won't change their "unconscious bias" for running the war production program in the interests of the profiteering owners of industry. But when he says they're "indispensable," that's the old Sears-Roebuck executive talking.

The corporation owners and agents can be dispensed with, together with their "unconscious bias", with benefit to all. Let the government take over and operate the war industries under the control and management of the workers. Production can get along without the dollar-a-year men, like a neck can get along without a boil.

Kentish Miners Strike Despite Prison Threats

An A. P. dispatch from London on Jan. 25 gave evidence that the workers of Great Britain have by no means surrendered their right to struggle in defense of their own living standards.

"Ignoring prison threats, 1,017 Kentish coal miners voted unanimously today to continue their strike for higher wages for which three of their leaders already are in jail for failing to give the required twenty-one-day notice of strike."

"At the largest miners' meeting ever held at Deal, the coal workers ignored requests of the colliery management to return to work. The Ministry of Labor had filed summons against the men on charges of conducting an illegal strike, and it was understood that these would be acted upon if the walkout continued."

"The spokesman said the miners were being paid the equivalent of \$1.40 a shift instead of their demand for \$2.05 plus a war bonus of 23 cents for each ton of coal mined. The company said the miners were being paid \$1.40 a day, plus allowances, with an additional 21 cents for each ton mined."

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By ALBERT GOLDMAN

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3 Statements On The War

The Jan. 24 issue of THE MILITANT contained two news stories reporting statements on the war written by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, in the Jan. issue of the monthly magazine, *Fourth International*.

national, and by Travers Clement and Norman Thomas, members of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and spokesmen for the two factions on that committee, in the Jan. 17 issue of *The Call*, official organ of the S.P.

In response to numerous requests from our readers who were interested in these news stories, we are here printing in full the statements referred to above.

JAMES P. CANNON'S "STATEMENT ON THE WAR"

The considerations which determined our attitude toward the war up to the outbreak of hostilities between the United States, and the Axis powers retain their validity in the new situation.

We considered the war upon the part of all the capitalist powers involved — Germany and France, Italy and Great Britain — as an imperialist war.

This characterization of the war was determined for us by the character of the state powers involved in it. They were all capitalist states in the epoch of imperialism; themselves imperialist — oppressing other nations or peoples — or satellites of imperialist powers. The extension of the war to the Pacific and the formal entry of the United States and Japan change nothing in this basic analysis.

Following Lenin, it made no difference to us which imperialist bandit fired the first shot; every imperialist power has for a quarter of a century been "attacking" every other imperialist power by economic and political means; the resort to arms is but the culmination of this process, which will continue as long as capitalism endures.

THE WAR OF THE USSR AND CHINA

This characterization of the war does not apply to the war of the Soviet Union against German imperialism. We make a fundamental distinction between the Soviet Union and its "democratic" allies. We defend the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a workers' state, although degenerated under the totalitarian-political rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Only traitors can deny support to the Soviet workers' state in its war against fascist Germany. To defend the Soviet Union, in spite of Stalin and

against Stalin, is to defend the nationalized property established by the October revolution. That is a progressive war.

The war of China against Japan we likewise characterize as a progressive war. We support China. China is a colonial country, battling for national independence against an imperialist power. A victory for China would be a tremendous blow against all imperialism, inspiring all colonial peoples to throw off the imperialist yoke. The reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-Shek, subservient to the "democracies", has hampered China's ability to conduct a bold war for independence; but that does not alter for us the essential fact that China is an oppressed nation fighting against an imperialist oppressor. We are proud of the fact that the Fourth Internationalists of China are fighting in the front ranks against Japanese imperialism.

DO NOT DEFEND DYING CAPITALIST ORDER

None of the reasons which oblige us to support the Soviet Union and China against their enemies can be said to apply to France or Britain. These imperialist "democracies" entered the war to maintain their lordship over the hundreds of millions of subject peoples in the British and French empires; to defend these "democracies" means to defend their oppression of the masses of Africa and Asia. Above all it

means to defend the decaying capitalist social order. We do not defend that, either in Italy and Germany, or in France and Britain — or in the United States.

The Marxist analysis which determined our attitude toward the war up to December 8, 1941 continues to determine our attitude now. We were internationalists before December 8; we still are. We believe that the most fundamental bond of loyalty of all the workers of the world is the bond of international solidarity of the workers against their exploiters. We cannot assume the slightest responsibility for this war. No imperialist regime can conduct a just war. We cannot support it for one moment.

We are the most irreconcilable enemies of the fascist dictatorships of Germany and Italy and the military dictatorship of Japan. Our co-thinkers of the Fourth International in the Axis nations and the conquered countries are fighting and dying in the struggle to organize the coming revolutions against Hitler and Mussolini.

PROGRAM FOR THE OVERTHROW OF HITLERISM

We are doing all in our power to speed those revolutions. But those ex-socialists, intellectuals and labor leaders, who in the name of "democracy" support the war of United States imperialism against its imperialist foes and rivals, far from aiding the German and Italian anti-fascists, only hamper their work and betray their struggle. The Allied imperialists, as every German worker knows, aim to impose a second and worse Versailles; the fear of that is Hitler's greatest asset in keeping the masses of

Germany in subjection. The fear of the foreign yoke holds back the development of the German revolution against Hitler.

Our program to aid the German masses to overthrow Hitler demands, first of all, that they be guaranteed against a second Versailles. When the people of Germany can feel assured that military defeat will not be followed by the destruction of Germany's economic power and the imposition of unbearable burdens by the victors, Hitler will be overthrown from within Germany. But such guarantees against a second Versailles cannot be given by Germany's imperialist foes; nor, if given, would they be accepted by the German people. Wilson's 14 points are still remembered in Germany, and his promise that the United States was conducting a war against the Kaiser and not against the German people. Yet the victors' peace, and the way in which the victors "organized" the world from 1918 to 1933, constituted war against the German people. The German people will not accept any new promises from those who made that peace and conducted that war.

FOR THE WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT

In the midst of the war against Hitler, it is necessary to extend the hand of fraternity to the German people. This can be done honestly and convincingly only by a Workers' and Farmers' Government. We advocate the Workers' and Farmers' Government. Such a government, and only such a government, can conduct a war against Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado in cooperation with the

oppressed peoples of Germany, Italy and Japan.

Our program against Hitlerism and for a Workers' and Farmers' Government is today the program of only a small minority. The great majority actively or passively supports the war program of the Roosevelt administration. As a minority we must submit to that majority in action. We do not sabotage the war or obstruct the military forces in any way. The Trotskyists go with their generation into the armed forces. We abide by the decisions of the majority. But we retain our opinions and insist on our right to express them.

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM

Our aim is to convince the majority that our program is the only one which can put an end to war, fascism and economic convulsions. In this process of education the terrible facts speak loudly for our contention. Twice in twenty-five years world wars have wrought destruction. The instigators and leaders of those wars do not offer, and cannot offer, a plausible promise that a third, fourth and fifth world war will not follow, if they and their social system remain dominant. Capitalism can offer no prospect but the slaughter of millions who will not hear us now. The war-torn masses will adopt our program and liberate the people of all countries from war and fascism. In this dark hour we clearly see the socialist future and prepare the way for it. Against the mad chorus of national hatreds we advance once more the old slogan of socialist internationalism: Workers of the World Unite! New York, Dec. 22, 1941.

TRAVERS CLEMENT'S STATEMENT ON THE S.P. RESOLUTION

The statement on war issued by the National Executive Committee (of the Socialist Party) seems to me to be so ambiguous in relation to the nature of the war and the NEC majority's attitude toward it that it may be interpreted any way one sees fit. This in itself is a matter for serious concern. But more important is the fact that in a great historic crisis, the party is left with no clear position in relation to the war itself — except perhaps that we don't like the way the Administration is running it.

THE AMENDMENT

An attempt was made at our NEC meeting to amend this statement in order to make it clear that as a political party, we have a political and ideological attitude on the war. The gist of that amendment lies in its first paragraph: "The basic issues involved in the present world conflict are the same today as they were before America formally entered the war. The essential nature of that conflict has been obscured for many people by the brutality of

to any war conducted for imperialist aims."

The last sentence would have introduced at least one clear-cut note into the NEC document.

Having carefully limited the area of our non-support to the political or ideological field, the amendment went on to make it clear that we in no way advocate resistance of any Socialist to armed service, or non-participation in civilian defense and similar activities — though we defend the rights of individual conscientious objection.

This amendment was defeated by a vote of 6 to 5, leaving the present ambiguous statement the official position of the party until our national convention in May.

As editor of *The Call*, I might take advantage of this ambiguity and evasiveness to interpret the present statement in line with my own convictions — were I not aware of the position of the NEC

majority on this subject, as expressed verbally at the NEC meeting. That attitude is one which I do not support and could not possibly interpret satisfactorily in *The Call*. In the absence of a clearly defined position in our official statement, the party's line and emphasis on the war will obviously be set by the speeches and attitudes of its leading NEC members.

REASON FOR RESIGNATION

For the simple reason that I cannot, editorially, reflect faithfully the majority opinion of the NEC and at the same time write in conformity with my own convictions, I am resigning as editor of *The Call* with this issue. At the same time, however, I shall be glad to continue to write for *The Call* as a contributor rather than as editor and will certainly continue to give the paper my wholehearted support. Also I shall be glad to carry out

other duties in the national office, functioning as National Secretary of the party and member of the National Executive Committee.

As a final word as editor, I urge our members, *Call* readers, and sympathizers to give all possible support to *The Call* and to the new editor or editorial committee that will succeed me. (Incidentally, of course, I shall stick at the routine job of getting out *The Call* until these arrangements have been completed). Today, perhaps more than ever before in our history, a paper which will tell the people the simple, unadulterated truth, as those who write from deep socialist conviction can tell it, is not merely a need but a crying necessity unless all values which make human existence tolerable are to be swept away in the carnage of this war which we did everything in our power to prevent.

NORMAN THOMAS' STATEMENT ON THE S.P. RESOLUTION

It is unfortunate that the close vote on the Symes' Amendment and Travers Clement's resignation, as editor of *The Call*, tend to obscure the general agreement of the National Executive Committee on what should be the Party's stand with regard to war.

Every one of us would be satisfied with the way Clement would edit *The Call*. One or two members of the committee were tempted to change their votes simply to keep him as editor. I should be inconsolable except that as National Secretary of the Party, and contributor and adviser to *The Call* he can do as valuable work for us all in a field where we desperately need him especially since the illness of Robert Parker.

AGREED ON PROGRAM OF IMMEDIATE ACTION

The NEC was unanimously agreed on the program of immediate action already outlined in *The Call*. It was almost unanimously agreed on its analysis of the situation. The Party has been and is struggling against all forms of totalitarianism and the capitalism which breeds totalitarianism; against the war system tied up with totalitarianism, and against all imperialism. We specifically condemn the Administration's policy which brought us to this crisis, and restate our conviction that our own program for staying out of war offered far more hope to America and

the whole world. We oppose a truce in political criticism and a political united front behind the Administration. We sharply criticize the Charter of the Atlantic, and denounce Anglo-American imperialism as the guarantor of a desirable or enduring peace. We seek a unity of the masses of the people of the world in support of a true peace, but

most of us believe that it is romantic to think that Hitler and the Japanese can be stopped today by some mass rising of the peoples outside of the organized military forces which are locked in combat.

"DEEPEST PIT OF HELL"

All of us recognize that the war which might have been

avoided by our program is upon us inescapably. We are in a literal hell, but the deepest pit of hell out of which the climb would be hardest, would be a victory by Hitler and the Japanese militarists. That must be prevented even while we struggle against the spread of Hitlerism at home — a task which others' neglect may make peculiarly our own.

Therefore Socialists (except if they are individual conscientious objectors whose rights we all respect and would defend) are accepting the draft. They pay taxes; they take part wherever they can constructively do so in civilian defense, always working for sanity and community service.

Politically, the NEC was unanimously convinced that under present conditions the demand that the government stop fighting now and at once begin peace negotiations would do more harm than good. We want the earliest possible peace, but we want a peace that will be more than a truce, and certainly more than the docile submission of slaves to a conqueror.

All this adds up to something which the Symes' Amendment indicates as political non-support of the war. As Lillian Symes explained her full meaning to the Committee, I could substantially agree. But I think that the phrase would add not clarity, but confusion, to an understanding of our position within and without the Party. (I think that has been the effect of the I.L.P. statement

in England). It is too easy to make political non-support equal an ill-considered opposition, or to use the phrase as a means of purely verbal escape.

I am completely convinced that a responsible political Party which speaks of political non-support or opposition at so critical a moment owes it to itself and the country to have a political alternative to offer. In the First World War so nearly similar was the culture on both sides of the war line, and so nearly equal in strength was the organized movement of Socialists and workers, that it was entirely realistic to talk about stopping the war or negotiating a peace.

SEES NO PRACTICAL POLITICAL ALTERNATIVE

As long as this great country was out of war it was entirely realistic to assert that its own great security to its sons and mankind could best be rendered by keeping it out of war. The basic character of the war was not changed on Dec. 7, but the objective situation was. Try as I may, I can see no practical political alternative today to the war as a means of stopping the worldwide triumph of fascist totalitarianism. I watch for a practical political alternative more eagerly than "they that watch for the morning." Meanwhile, we have real work to do which we have already outlined, and which no Party will do if we neglect it. Upon our fidelity to our program depends much of the ultimate hope of ever obtaining true peace, true democracy or true Socialism.

(See next week's MILITANT for an article analyzing the above statement by Norman Thomas).

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The Negro Struggle

By Ernest Williams

"Lynching Could Have Been Prevented!"

The Call, a leading Negro weekly newspaper of Kansas City, Missouri, sent two reporters to Sikeston to investigate the recent lynching of Cleo Wright. Many startling facts and circumstances were uncovered. The following is part of the report sent back by the investigators.

"The lynching of Cleo Wright could have been prevented. The plan to drag him over the streets in the Negro community and then burn him alive was known beforehand and could have been stopped had the officers of the law used the resources at their command. There was plenty of time to call for state troops. There was plenty of time and opportunity to spirit Wright away."

"Two hours before Wright was lynched, . . . a city policeman and a state patrolman drove through the Negro community ordering Negroes seen on the street to go indoors and stay there. 'There's going to be a little demonstration down here and we don't want you to get hurt,' the officers told the Negroes. One of them was heard to say, 'We're going to have a little fun. You'd better get inside.'"

"Some of the Negro citizens went indoors, particularly those with children. But others stayed where they were and saw the whole disgraceful procedure."

"Had the 'peace' officers used half as much effort and spent as much time in trying to protect Cleo Wright as they did paying the way for the mob, there would have been no lynching."

A Negro who witnessed the entire lynching reported: "A state policeman led the mob through Sunset (the Negro community of Sikeston). . . The officers must have been in on it because a state police car was in front. Then came the truck dragging Cleo's body. Then there were four cars of state policemen. I don't know how many cars came afterward."

There was absolutely no proof that Wright's intent was rape. Mrs. Sturgeon, the white woman whose home was entered and who was stabbed in the side, said that no demand was made of her.

Her husband, an Army sergeant in California, was sent \$160, contributed by citizens and the city council, to enable him to fly home.

No funds were collected for Wright's widow, who is an expectant mother. Because of her condition, she was not able to visit her husband as he lay semi-conscious in the basement of the General Hospital a few hours before the lynching. Although he was dying from bullet wounds inflicted by a policeman, he was put in the basement because there were "no beds for Negroes."

Two large mills, the Sikeston Cotton Oil Mill Co. and the Sikeston Cotton Compress and Wholesale Co., which employ mostly Negro labor, did not operate Monday, the day after the lynching. Negro workers did not report for work, feeling it necessary to stay home to protect their families.

The school in front of which the lynching took place did not hold classes either, also because the children did not report. Many of them had been sent to relatives and friends in nearby towns for safe-keeping in case of further trouble.

All too often, the Negro people of the South have seen a lynching start off a series of widespread attacks and atrocities against anyone and everyone with a dark skin.

Not Yet the Last Word

This question of blood for wounded soldiers and sailors has still not been satisfactorily settled by any means. The Red Cross has finally retreated under pressure, and announced that it will accept donations from Negro blood donors.

But — and there seems to be some but — the blood plasma of Negroes, after it is dried and stored, will be segregated! Although even the Red Cross admits that there is absolutely no scientific difference, the cans of plasma will be labeled "white" and "colored." Plasma from whites will be given to wounded whites, and plasma from Negroes will be given to wounded Negroes.

According to the Pittsburgh Courier, this Jim Crow policy was insisted on by the Army Surgeon General, Major General James Magee. This is the same Magee who is responsible for the Jim Crow policy applied to nurses.

Although trained nurses are desperately needed, and a call has been issued by the Army for 10,000 additional nurses, the quota for Negro nurses is 56. These colored nurses will be allowed only two camps, both in the South — Fort Bragg in North Carolina, and Camp Livingston in Louisiana. In addition, they will be permitted to treat only Negro soldiers!

There are approximately 8,000 registered Negro nurses who would be eligible for service, if it were not for this policy of segregation. Yet as the Courier says: "It would seem that the army high command would prefer to have soldiers die from lack of adequate nursing care rather than discard its Jim-Crowism."

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GPU Continues

Assassinations of Anti-Fascist Refugees Are Feared As GPU Forces Are Mobilized

The Communist Party and the GPU apparatus in Mexico are intensifying their terrorist campaign against the anti-Stalinist refugees from the fascist countries. Stalinist clamor is growing for their imprisonment, deportation to certain death or assassination.

Already, the present GPU terror drive has claimed its first victim, through the murder of Tina Modotti, former GPU agent and ex-wife of Carlos Contreras, head of the GPU machine in Mexico.

This latest campaign to wipe out the working-class opponents of Stalinism was opened by a declaration of the Mexican CP calling for the formation of "Vigilante Committee" to deal with anti-Stalinist "spies" and "shock troops of the Fifth Column." The GPU plans to destroy those it has selected for death by disguising its murder gangs as secret bands of irate citizens.

Just such a GPU "Vigilante Committee" invaded Leon Trotsky's house in May 1940, raked it with machine gun bullets, and kidnapped and murdered Sheldon Harte, one of Trotsky's American guards.

VICTIMS SELECTED

Among those on whom the Stalinists have put the "finger" now are Victor Serge, former French representative on the Executive Committee of the Communist International; Julian Gorkin, leader of the Spanish POUM; Marc Pivert, once secretary to Leon Blum and later head of the left wing of the French Socialist Party that formed the PSOP; Gustave Regier, former commander of the Stalinist International Brigade in Spain; and Grandizo Munis, Spanish Trotskyist refugee from the Franco terror.

Serge, Gorkin, Pivert and Munis were attacked on Jan. 13 by seven Mexican deputies, led by the Stalinist Deputy Carlos Zapata Vela, who called for their deportation along with all other "well known traitors" and "anarcho-Trotskyist gangsters." The charge was made that these anti-fascist refugees, who had fled death at the hands of Franco, Hitler and Petain, were "Nazi agents."

TYPICAL CAMPAIGN

It is the typical campaign of character assassination that precedes and accompanies the GPU's physical assassinations. It follows the pattern of the Stalinist press campaign prior to Trotsky's assassination, except that Trotsky was denounced then — the Stalin-Hitler pact was in effect.

On The Defense Front

CIO, AFL Unions Contribute to Defense of 18

NEW YORK, Feb. 3. — The Civil Rights Defense Committee this week announced the receipt of a donation of \$100 from Briggs Local 212 of the United Auto Workers, CIO, of Detroit, Mich. The money was contributed by the local to aid the defense of the 18 members of the CIO and the Socialist Workers Party who were convicted in Minneapolis last December for violation of the Smith "Gag" Law.

The C.R.D.C. also announced the receipt of a donation from Local 60 of the Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Makers Union, AFL, of New York City, and a letter from the New England Joint Board of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees of America, CIO, protesting the "court action taken in Minneapolis as destructive of all things American."

Signed by Harry Tuvim, Regional Director, and Betty Weiner, Secretary-Treasurer, the letter of the Joint Board called on the C.R.D.C. to "exert every effort and use every avenue of activity to change this ruthless attack upon our American principles."

James P. Cannon was the guest of honor and principal speaker at a banquet arranged by the Los Angeles Branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, Saturday, Jan. 31.

Close to 125 supporters of the Minneapolis defendants came to enjoy a fried chicken

dinner and to hear one of the leading figures of the trial of CIO and Socialist Workers Party members speak on the significance of the prosecution.

Cannon sketched the background of the trial, described the federal method of handpicking jury panels which loaded the dice against the defendants right at the start, and developed the course of the six-weeks trial up to the verdicts and sentences.

He emphasized the uniqueness of this trial: a trial in which the "Communist Manifesto" together with Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky were being tried; a trial in which the defendants, rather than the prosecutors, were on the offensive.

"Our defense," Cannon said, "consisted in an offensive which, by giving the most complete and understandable exposition of Socialism heard in the American labor movement, challenged the jury to deny our right to these ideas."

State Assemblyman Paul Richie also spoke. He condemned the Minneapolis indictment and a strongly expressed support of the work of the C.R.D.C.

Motion pictures of the defendants, accompanied by a running commentary by Rose Karsner, followed the speeches. The movies, taken in Minneapolis at the time of the trial, showed many of the defendants and their families dining in the commissary, relaxing at games, and preparing for the following day's session in court.

After a spot collection among the banqueters which netted about \$60, the affair was wound up by general dancing.

Terror Drive In Mexico

CONGRESSMEN TRY TO TAKE DETROIT HOUSING PROJECT AWAY FROM NEGROES

Using a direct threat to hold up a \$300,000,000 housing bill, Jim-Crow members of the House Public Buildings and Grounds Committee have forced the Federal Works Agency to agree to turn over to white families a Detroit housing development specifically built for Negro war industry workers.

In addition, according to the *New York Post* of Jan. 28, the committee members compelled the FWA to fire Clark Foreman, director of the division of defense housing, for opposing the move to deprive the Negro workers of the housing intended for them.

The orders diverting the use of the new homes from the Negroes and firing Foreman came from Baird Snyder, acting FWA director. The day before, Snyder had been called before members of the House committee who told him bluntly that unless he issued the orders, they would hold up new housing appropriations.

Representative Frank Boykin, Alabama poll-tax Democrat issued the ultimatum to Snyder. Boykin has since boasted of his "good deed" to his friends.

Just a few weeks earlier, Boykin had tried to get his brother-in-law appointed manager of a

the *Daily Worker* of Jan. 28 was that he was helping "to split the United Nations by slandering Hitler's most difficult enemy, the Soviet Union." Reminding Winchell of the recent victories of the Red Army and the Nazis' torture of the Jewish people, Gold went on:

"And now I would like to ask Walter Winchell, son of Jewish parents, a simple question: 'What hope is there left to these Jews of Poland but the Red Army?'"

"What can they be praying for in their synagogues but the rapid approach of the Soviet liberators?"

"If you told them that some smug American Jews still sneer at the Soviets, would they be grateful to such stupid and heartless people?"

Gold and his poison-pen brethren are trying to claim that because the Red Army is fighting a progressive war, the GPU terrorism against working-class militants and anti-fascist refugees is also progressive. The truth is that the criminal acts of Stalinism repel the sympathy of the world masses for the Soviet Union and the Red Army, and thus weaken the defense of the first workers' state.

Walter Winchell recently wrote that "GPU assassins have arrived in Mexico, and a commission of American Communists has gone down to confer with them." Mike Gold's "answer" to Winchell in

diverted at the request of the Navy, and the Negro section of the Maritime Commission's project at Pascagoula, Mississippi.

So-called "leaders" of the Negro people have tried to get the Negro masses to abandon the struggle against the policy of segregation in federal housing on the grounds that such a policy — while it is of course not desirable — at least makes it certain that the Negro people will get some of the benefits of the housing program.

But the Detroit incident proves just the opposite. It proves that a policy of segregation is no guarantee at all that the Negro people will get their share of the homes.

It goes without saying that the Negro people must take advantage of every chance to get improved housing conditions. But the only way to guarantee that they will get the proportion of federal homes they require is by winning the struggle to eliminate segregation and by making it possible for Negroes to live in the federal projects with and on the same basis as all other sections of the population.

Housing Officials Reverse Detroit Decision

FEB. 3. — The *New York Post* today reported that the Sojourner Truth Houses in Detroit are now to be used for the housing of Negro war industry workers, as originally intended, following "one of the fastest about-faces on record."

Although in this instance vigorous pressure and public exposure has secured their homes for 200 Negro families, this does not invalidate the chief point raised in the above article about the necessity for Negro and white workers to fight against segregation and for the right of the Negro people to live anywhere on the basis of equality with the rest of the population. For as long as segregation remains the policy of the housing administration, the danger continues that other and perhaps more successful incidents of this nature will occur.

544-CIO ON ELECTION BALLOT IN NLRB VOTE

Bulletin

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Feb. 3. — A decisive majority was recorded here for Local 544-CIO over the AFL in the election held under the auspices of the NLRB to determine the union to represent the men in the Waterman-Waterbury Company. The vote between Local 1140 of the U.E.R.M.A., CIO, and Local 357 of the AFL Warehousemen, in the same plant, also resulted in a substantial majority for the CIO.

The significance of the vote lies not so much in the number of men involved as in the fact that in the first teamsters' election in Minneapolis where the name of Local 544-CIO was permitted on the ballot, the workers chose it over the Tobin-dominated outfit.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — Local 544-CIO of the United Construction Workers has finally won the right from the NLRB to appear on the ballot for a collective bargaining election among sixty employees of the Waterman-Waterbury furnace manufacturing company.

The election will mark the first time since last June that any Minneapolis drivers and warehousemen have had the chance to express themselves in a labor board election as to their choice between Local 544-CIO and Tobin's AFL set-up.

Last summer Local 544-CIO and the CIO Machinists Union Local 1140 conducted a successful joint organizing campaign at Waterman's. All fifteen employees in the shipping department, including receiving clerks, drivers and helpers, signed up with 544-CIO. The production workers signed up with Local 1140-CIO. Previously, the production men had been forced to work under a company-union contract, and the shipping department was covered by a 544 contract, both pacts expiring February 1, 1942.

The election will be held shortly. Opposing the CIO on the ballot will be AFL "544" and AFL Warehouse Union Local 359.

At the NLRB hearing the Tobin gang opposed permitting Local 544-CIO to appear on the ballot, even though all shipping-room workers had signed cards indicating they desired 544-CIO to represent them. The AFL argued that Stassen's labor conciliator, Blair, had acted last September 18th to certify Tobin's union "as the exclusive representative" of the employees of some 900 companies in Minneapolis, and that therefore Local 544-CIO should be denied any rights.

The NLRB examiner noted in his order for an election at the Waterman-Waterbury plant that "It does not appear that an election was held (by State Labor Conciliator Blair) to determine which representative was desired by the employees."

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Hawaii-The Island Where Democracy Is Hard To Locate

By RUTH JEFFREY

Half way between Japan and the United States there is an island empire comprising 400,000 inhabitants virtually all reduced to the status of serfs. Their imperial rulers are known as the "Big Five", and when these gentlemen pass, the humble people are frequently seen to remove their hats. Yet the ruled as well as the rulers are citizens of the United States, and are presumably equally free men under the Bill of Rights. This strange outpost of the Four Freedoms is the Island Paradise of Hawaii, annexed as American territory nearly half a century ago.

The United States Government has considered democracy on this valuable portion of American soil so much worth defending that to date it has spent nearly one hundred million dollars on the naval base at Pearl Harbor alone. Yet the democracy to be defended is difficult to locate.

Fortune magazine six months ago quoted Ray Stannard Baker as writing, "I have rarely visited any place where there is so little Democracy as in Hawaii." And E. J. Eagen, an NLRB representative, wrote back, scandalized, in a report to his superior in 1937, made public only eight months ago, "If there is any truer picture of Fascism anywhere in the world than in the Hawaiian Islands, then I do not know a definition of it."

As Fortune (August, 1940) put it: "Legally, there is no serfdom; practically speaking however, a laborer who is fired by one Big Five employer must eke out a living fishing or go as a suppliant to one of the other enterprises."

Economic Power of the Big Five

To understand the reason for the oppression and grinding poverty under which Hawaii's working masses live, it is necessary to have an idea of the economic power wielded by the Big Five.

Hawaiian economy is based on the growing and marketing of two highly profitable crops — sugar and pineapple. Both crops are raised on vast plantations controlled by the Big Five — Alexander and Baldwin, American Factors, C. Brew and Company, Castle and Cooke, and Theo H. Davies Co.

The relationship between man and "master" in Hawaii may appear feudalistic, but there is nothing feudalistic about the grand pyramid of corporations by which the Big Five extends its control into every corner of island economy. The neat technique of the interlocking directorate enables the same handful of men to gather around every important conference table in the islands, presenting a picture of monopoly capitalism at the zenith of its development.

The Big Five start out as buying and selling "agents" for thirty-six of the territory's thirty-eight sugar plantations, and as "agents" for Hawaii's gigantic pineapple industry, which provides the world with 80% of its canned supply of the fruit.

The executives of the Big Five are also the officers of the plantation companies, cutting themselves another piece of profit. And not only are the Big Five stockholders of the plantations, but the plantations are stock-holders of the Big Five.

Further, twenty-nine of the plantations (83% of the total production), own the Hawaiian Sugar Refining Corporation, the largest sugar refinery in the world, at Crockett, California. Big Five executives are on the refinery board.

They are steamship "agents" for the freight lines, collecting commission on a \$200,000,000 annual business. They also control the Matson Line.

Other Fields for the Big Five

To profit from consumers' needs on the Islands, the Big Five engage in extensive merchandising. They stock the plantation-owned stores (from which the workers must buy); and several thousand independently owned stores. Moreover, they own outright a chain of wholesale and retail stores, and the largest department store in Hawaii, which they also stock.

They are agents for hundreds of mainland corporations releasing products, ranging from sardines to locomotives, exclusively through the Big Five.

They are agents, too, for scores of insurance companies, dealing in all types of coverage.

They not only are financial and purchasing agents for island companies supplying transportation, electric power, gas, water, ice and so on, but are their actual officers and stockholders.

In addition, Big Five executives sit as controlling interests on boards of the luxury tourist hotels, banks, trust companies, theatre syndicates, newspapers and radio stations.

They are also on the boards of the YMCA, the YWCA, the Community Chest, the Salvation Army, on university and school boards, on the Chambers of Commerce, and on numerous educational and welfare committees.

Finally, they control the political life of the territory, members of the legislature being linked with the Big Five either through former association, or as in the case of the Speaker of the Lower House through legal counsel for the sugar industry, or through actual blood ties.

(Next Week: Hawaii's Workers)

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Thursday thru Saturday, Feb. 12, 13, 14, Cleveland, O.
Sunday, Monday, Feb. 15, 16, Akron, O.
Tuesday, Wednesday, Feb. 17, 18, Youngstown, O.
Thursday thru Saturday, Feb. 19, 20, 21, Buffalo, N. Y.
Monday, Feb. 22, Rochester, N. Y.
Tuesday, Feb. 24, Syracuse, N. Y.
Thursday, Friday, Feb. 26, 27, Boston, Mass.
Saturday, Feb. 28, Newark, N. J.
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speaks in Youngstown

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17

at 8 P. M.

at the

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6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
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Churchill Explains About Pacific War

In its efforts to pin the responsibility on Kimmel and Short for the success of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the report of the Roberts Commission showed in detail that Washington had fully expected the outbreak of war in the Pacific. The report stated further that Washington had believed that the war was "inevitable" because "the policy of the United States as to affairs in the Pacific was in conflict with the policies of other governments."

From this we concluded last week that the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was not the cause of the war, but merely the first military step of the war.

Since then Winston Churchill's speech in the House of Commons debate on Jan. 27 has furnished additional material for consideration of this important question.

In defending the course of the British government in the Far East, and in justifying the decision of that government to concentrate its forces in Libya rather than disperse them between Libya, the Far East and other potential war fronts, Churchill explained that although he had been aware of the dangers inherent in such a policy, he had followed it because:

"On the other hand, the probability since the Atlantic conference, at which I discussed these matters with President Roosevelt, that the United States even if not herself attacked would come into the war in the Far East and thus make the final victory assured, seemed to allay some of these anxieties."

"It fortified our British decision to use our limited resources on the actual fighting front. As time went on we had the greater assurance that if Japan ran amok in the Pacific we would not find ourselves alone. It must also be remembered that over the whole of the Pacific seas brooded the powerful United States fleet concentrated at Hawaii."

In short, Churchill now claims he got assurances at the Atlantic conference from President Roosevelt before the attack on Pearl Harbor that "the United States even if not herself attacked would come into the war in the Far East."

If Churchill is to be believed, and if Roosevelt's assurances to Churchill were made in good faith, then this information reinforces the conclusion we drew from the Roberts report.

To understand the basic causes of this war, to understand why Japan launched the attack on Pearl Harbor, to understand why Roosevelt gave Churchill assurances that the United States would enter the war in the Pacific even if not herself attacked, workers must consider more than the first military acts of the war. They must also study and come to understand the conflicting policies, economic and political, as to affairs in the Pacific and elsewhere, which motivated the contending governments in their acts before the outbreak of military hostilities.

On Parasites

President Roosevelt last Friday jokingly invited the "parasites" to get out of Washington.

By parasites, Roosevelt meant only one particular species, wealthy idlers who take up living space needed for war workers in the over-crowded capitol.

We're for cleaning out such parasites, of course.

But that's only a beginning. We'd like all the parasites to be driven out. We're for giving Washington a major fumigation and de-lousing.

A particularly vicious parasitic breed is the dollar-a-year man. This insect swarms throughout the war production agencies. It thrives best in an atmosphere of government contracts, sucking profits out of the war.

Another nasty species is the Congressional Southern Democratic Poll-Taxer. This insect runs wild at the smell of Negro flesh or the blood of union men.

Then there are the brass hats, found usually around the War and Navy Departments, particularly in the procurement divisions. These have a peculiar generosity instinct and are always busily engaged in leading the dollar-a-year parasites to juicy morsels.

But the main type of parasite is the corporation monopolist, who can usually be found in consort with the dollar-a-year variety. This particular parasite thrives in all climates and is found everywhere. To rid Washington of parasites, it would be necessary to rid the whole country of this particular breed, for as long as it survives anywhere, it will creep back again into Washington.

Yes indeed, we're for cleaning out the parasites, big and little, all varieties, the whole blood-sucking swarm — starting in Washington and going right through the land.

And that's just what a Workers' and Farmers' Government will do.

It will take over and operate all the war industries under the control and management of the workers. It will drive the biggest parasites from their feeding places. And when these main parasites wither away from lack of nourishment, all the lesser parasites, who feed off the bigger ones, will also starve to death.

CIO Wage Demands

The CIO officials have called on their affiliated unions to demand wage increases and union security clauses in all forthcoming contract negotiations. CIO President Philip Murray backed up this call with the statement that the CIO will continue to fight for the demands of the industrial workers during the war.

This sounds determined and militant on the surface. But the only program suggested for realizing these demands is contained in Murray's insistence that the War Labor Board act upon them. In short, what Murray and his lieutenants really mean by "fight" is to throw the demands of the CIO workers into the lap of the War Labor Board.

It is no accident that the CIO's demands are raised only after the CIO leaders have agreed to a no-strike policy and the WLB has been established.

Now these leaders can appear to serve the workers' interests without risking governmental displeasure for becoming identified with strike actions.

In this way, the CIO leaders hope to reassure the ranks while yielding to the policy of surrender dictated by the Administration. Their call for wage increases is thus an attempt to cover up an actual betrayal of the workers' interests.

This is a conscious and deliberate policy. The workers have been permitted to say nothing about it. It is a policy contrived behind the backs of the rank-and-file and is now being imposed on them by the union officials, who have completely usurped the policy-making powers of the membership. It is a policy deliberately calculated to forestall militant expression by the workers.

These union officials, therefore, are not acting as leaders in trade union struggles. On the one hand, they have set themselves up simply as attorneys, who will appear before the WLB to beg crumbs for the workers. On the other, they will serve as agents of the government to restrain the workers from taking strike actions.

The workers can have no confidence in such officials. The union ranks want officers who will lead them in genuine struggle against the present serious threat to their rights and living standards.

In a relatively brief period, mounting prices and taxes have snatched back every wage gain won by the CIO in 1941 and have imposed additional reductions in real wages.

The workers' economic position is imperiled. It can be protected only through uncompromising struggle, struggle which makes use of every effective weapon possessed by labor. Above all, the strike weapon must not be surrendered.

This means that the workers must repudiate the policies of the union officialdom which are, in effect, a retreat and capitulation in the face of the boss offensive.

The rank-and-file owe it to themselves to elect as their leaders those who put the interests of the workers before everything else. Without such a leadership — a fighting leadership — the unions will degenerate from the status of independent organizations to defend the workers into instruments for binding the workers to the government and leaving them defenseless before the employers.

IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

(A Compilation — 1927-1937)

By LEON TROTSKY

40 page pamphlet 10c

Epidemics Of Typhus Are Dread By-Products Of War

War Supplies All Conditions for Disease: Exposure, Cold, Fatigue, Hunger, Lowered Resistance, Filth — and Lice

By EDITH KANE

The history of past wars indicate that more lives are lost through disease than in the fire of battle. Typhus and its related epidemics of plague, cholera, typhoid, and dysentery have always accompanied wars and taken the greatest toll of human life.

In one battle in the Thirty Years War typhus alone defeated both armies, killing 18,000 soldiers before they had begun to fight. Napoleon's army was decimated more by typhus than by his opponents. In the Crimean War, the disease spread from the Russians to the British and French. During a four month period the ranks were reduced by 48,000 men. Within two years, 200,000 French soldiers were hospitalized; 50,000 by wounds and 150,000 by diseases. Of these 20,000 died of wounds and 50,000 of typhus.

Before the first World War there were almost fifty years of comparative absence of typhus epidemic. Russia, Poland and parts of eastern Austria where typhus has long been present continued to have periodic epidemics. In Russia deaths averaged about 90,000 a year increasing to twice that number in years of famine. In China, Mexico and North Africa periodic localized epidemics occurred. Even in America typhus was present in a mild form known as Brill's disease. But epidemics on a large scale appeared to have vanished.

WORLD WAR I OPENED UP NEW EPIDEMICS

The World War ushered in a series of epidemics comparable to any in the past. The first cases appeared in Serbia, four months after the outbreak of war.

The whole territory after attacks and counter-attacks of both armies was in ruins and the unfortunate masses were trying desperately to escape. There were 70,000 Austrian prisoners, sick and wounded, for whom there was no adequate living quarters or medical facilities. Typhus first hit the prisoners, of whom at least half succumbed. It traveled with the wandering population, with prison trains and moving troops. In less than six months 150,000 persons had died of typhus.

During this entire period, although Serbia was helpless, Austria did not attack. Typhus more than any army was feared alike by the commanders and the soldiers. Epidemics broke out all along the Eastern front, occurring in Poland, Russia, Rumania, Lithuania. A noted biologist, Hans Zinsser, author of "Rats, Lice and History", said that "Typhus has at least as just a reason to claim that it 'won the war' as any of the contending nations."

It continued to scourge Europe after the end of the war. In the Balkan States eight million persons are reported to have died of typhus in the four years immediately following the war. In the Soviet Union and its territories there were 25 million cases and 3 million deaths during the same period.

CONDITIONS FOR TYPHUS

In times of peace, typhus quiets down to a normal existence of localized epidemics in sections known as the endemic or "home" centers. With the outbreak of war it spreads from these centers on an ever increasing scale, involving more countries and more people. For wars provide all the conditions needed for typhus growth when the virus of typhus is present: filth, overcrowding, cold, fatigue, disease, and most important—lice.

The horrible conditions of sub-human living which the masses of Europe have undergone in the period prior to the present world war has undermined their health and left them easy prey to the ravages of typhus. Although there has been considerable research in the field of typhus vaccine, it is still in the experimental stage and, when obtainable, used principally to lessen the severity of the attack. The New York Times, Dec. 19, 1941, writing of typhus in Poland, says, "There is no present hope that vaccines, even if they were available, would do much good."

Hans Zinsser, a recognized authority on typhus, stressed the need for conducting this research work internationally, and during his lifetime was able to establish the collaboration of scientists from every country on the problem of typhus. The war has certainly disrupted any continuance

of this necessary method of conducting such work.

In Germany, a leading typhus authority, Rudolph Weigl, was exiled by Hitler and his death in Paris later reported. Fascism not only provides ideal breeding homes for the typhus louse in ghettos and concentration camps but persecutes to death men of science whose advice and training would today be invaluable.

This war will doubtless provide scientists with a great arena for further experimentation and improvement of typhus prevention which will greatly benefit future generations. Meanwhile, however, the task is still that of fighting the louse.

THE FIGHT AGAINST TYPHUS

The louse has been with man almost from the beginning of time and cannot be completely eliminated in a short period. The battle against typhus in war time requires the most efficient and constant delousing of bodies, fumigation and disinfecting of clothing, living quarters and equipment. That is a huge job, financially a nd scientifically, where large armies are concerned. It is practically impossible during active warfare.

To be really successful, international cooperation would be required. It is of course unlikely that nations will agree to armistice periods for the purpose of ridding their armies of vermin, but actually without some such strenuous measures the danger of typhus epidemic is always present during war.

Typhus can eventually be removed from the face of the earth. For that it is necessary not only to know what causes it and how to fight it, but to provide a world where the conditions for its development are absent. Modern society may do that for the individual, but as long as anywhere in the world masses of people still live in poverty and ignorance, typhus will be with us.

The living conditions in which typhus thrives are an integral part of capitalist society. It could, even under capitalism, be isolated to certain world areas and its toll of human life reduced if it were not for regular recurring periods of war. The battle against typhus goes hand in hand with the struggle against poverty and war and capitalism.

New 'Control' Bill Will Not Check Rising Prices

(Continued from page 1)

fifty per cent of the nation's productive capacity is being diverted from civilian to military purposes. Present war production plans will shortly result in the reduction of consumers goods to a lesser amount per person than was the case even in the worst days of the depression. The masses have more money, but less commodities to buy. This results in an automatic rise in prices.

In addition, scarcity is being deliberately fostered as a means of diverting mass purchasing power into paying the costs of the war. The manufacturers, merchants and commodities speculators see in this situation an opportunity to jack up prices and squeeze out more profits. The monopolies see the opportunity of intensifying the scarcity and forcing prices higher by withholding goods from the market.

Under these circumstances, the administrative machinery to enforce price "ceilings" would have to be extensive enough to police tens of thousands of items, with

tens of thousands of varying prices, in a myriad of daily transactions. The task would be so monumental as to swallow up all the forces and energies of the government.

PRICE "POLICING"

But even if "policing"—which is the essential mechanism of the present price control bill—were to take place on a wide-spread scale, it would still prove ineffective if those who do the "policing" are amenable to the pressure of the big corporate interests.

The Administration has been serving the interests of the big war monopolies like Bethlehem Steel, General Motors, Aluminum Co. of America, etc. It will be no less friendly to the interests of such gigantic consumers goods monopolies as General Foods Corp. and Standard Brands.

Capitalist price "control" in England has demonstrated that the mere establishment of so-called price ceilings means nothing. The monopolies answer such

measures by withholding their products from the open markets. If the government fails to raise the price ceilings, the goods are sold in the illegal "Black Market", where everything can be had in abundance — at the profiteers' prices.

Monopoly and scarcity, both fostered by the war economy, dictate the price rises. So long as these twin evils exist, any talk of administrative price control is futile or deceptive.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

Prices can be regulated only through the organized intervention of the masses of the people.

As an immediate measure of protection against price inflation, the workers must secure a rising scale of wages to automatically off-set continuing price rises.

The organizations of labor, poor farmers and lower-middle class elements must combine to form price-control committees, with access to the books of the corporations and capitalist speculators and the power to fix prices on the basis of actual production costs and without consideration for profiteering interests.

Similar committees must exercise control over the distribution of all scarce commodities, rationing out all available supplies to ensure the low-income earners of their share, while preventing the wealthy from buying up and hoarding the necessities of life.

And finally, genuine price control means eliminating monopoly-induced scarcity by placing the control of production and distribution in the hands of the working producers and consumers. The government must take over the operation of the basic industries, running them under the control and management of the workers. That is the only way to achieve a maximum output permitting the production of more consumers goods even while supplying military needs. That is the way to fight scarcity and price inflation.

The Court Clown

Some Reflections On Royalty
And the War

By M. STEIN

There was a time when all serious literature revolved around the royalty of the day. The crowned heads supplied the heroic characters for drama and tragedy. The plain folk were used only as characters for comedy. This was also the time of the court clown — the man who supplied the comic relief in the most tragic situations, who always managed to get a laugh by saying the wrong thing at the right time.

Today, however, while humanity is being bled white for the second time in our generation, the plain folk supply the elements of heroism and tragedy. The crowned heads on the other hand have assumed the role of court clown and supply whatever comic relief there is.

Crowned Heads of Both Camps

To prove the point let us make a brief survey of the fate of some of the crowned heads, demonstrating our impartiality by looking at both the camp of the Axis and the camp of the "United Nations."

Hirohito of Japan has an advantage over all the rest of them. He is not only emperor, but also the son of God. But although he is thus truly omnipotent, this advantage can quickly turn into its opposite at a future stage of the war when the Chinese soldiers will deliver even stiffer blows against his heavenly work than heretofore. When the Son of God cannot prevail over an "inferior" nation that has no God Emperor to guide it, there certainly will be cause for seditious thinking and agnostic conclusions.

Then there is Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy. After Ethiopia was overrun by Mussolini's blackshirted legions, he was proclaimed emperor with great fanfare and much trumpet-blowing. King Victor Emmanuel is diminutive in stature. In all ceremonial parades and in every other way he is overshadowed by Mussolini. His blue blood no doubt rushes to his face with a feeling of deep shame every time he thinks of himself as emperor now that he has lost his empire. Of course this feeling of shame is not unmingled with fear, the fear of a gambler who has experienced a change of luck and who cannot pull out of the game.

Outstanding on the Allied side is His Imperial Majesty, George VI, sovereign over a quarter of mankind, who has retained his privileges as a monarch without its powers. He has watched the resources of the Empire shrink from month to month in this costly war, as bases are traded for old destroyers, and he has seen the center of gravity shift to the new world, and the Soviet Union and China. He has heard members of his Parliament speak up and voice their fears "that the British Isles eventually might become merely an American outpost in Europe" or "a western outpost of totalitarian Europe." Who knows what George would say today, if he could afford himself the luxury of speaking out loud and telling how it feels to be king over an empire that is on the rocks? For, without the Empire the King becomes a "luxury" that Britain will no longer be able to afford.

The Royal Racketeer

We will skip going into detail about the humiliation of King Leopold of Belgium who is a prisoner of Hitler; or of King Haakon of Norway who is trying to assure a continuation of his dynasty by building an army on British soil out of recruits the British manage to snatch in their spectacular but not very fruitful raids on isolated Norwegian islands; or of Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands who manages to get her name into the papers by visits to the White House when the calendar is not too crowded.

We wish to confine the balance of our remarks to the supreme king-clown of them all, Carol, exiled monarch of the unfortunate Rumanian people.

Prior to the war, Carol was reputed to be one of the richest men in Europe in one of the poorest countries in Europe. He attained this distinction by the most ruthless exploitation of his people. He had a hand in all the more profitable business enterprises in the country, and he exacted tribute from those he did not control outright. In short, he was a racketeer on a royal scale.

He was so thoroughly hated by his people that even Hitler was unable to use him and preferred to place Carol's son, Michael, on the throne as a puppet monarch. Carol was permitted to flee the country, and subsequently after a prearranged comic-opera escape over the Spanish-Portuguese border, he finally landed in Mexico to settle down with his mistress and chamberlain. Hitler saved Carol's life from the angry Rumanian masses, but, ingrate that he is, Carol has again reappeared in the public prints.

The Declaration of "United Nations" was signed in Washington early last month, with the adherence of 26 governments and governments-in-exile. It was to serve as a bombshell exploded in the face of the Axis, and as pressure as well on those Latin-American countries who are not exactly toeing the mark. Everything was working per schedule when Carol jumped out of his Mexican obscurity and shouted, "Me too, I want to be in on the act."

Denying he has ever abdicated his throne and stating he was thinking of declaring himself regent and prime minister of Rumania, Carol, in his modest but royal way, insists on adhering to the "United Nations" pact and thus joining the "war for democracy."

Carol's act was a little embarrassing, and his pledge of adherence may not be accepted. For it revealed how many parasites of all calibers there are, plotting to return to their former places on the bleeding body of Europe just as soon as the super-parasite Hitler is removed; and there are others who had already signed the Declaration who felt it might attract too much attention to their own status if they let Carol in on it too.

But they are all making their calculations prematurely. Once the suffering masses of Europe get rid of Nazi oppression and terror, they will not want the Carols to come back and rule over them. Instead they will fight on toward a social order where there will be no room for the Carols, whether they be kings or commoners.

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