

Subscribe to Labor Action and New International - - Six Months \$1

Now One Cent

LABOR ACTION

We Say— Conscript War Industries Under Workers' Control!

MARCH 16, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

CHURCHILL'S OFFER TO INDIA A FRAUD!

Brewster Caught in War Profits Skulduggery!

A revealing story of skulduggery and chicanery by the Brewster Aeronautical Corp. of New York in war profiteering was told last week by Representative Engel of Michigan in the House of Representatives.

The Brewster corporation, which works on a cost-plus basis, was accused of figuring in the cost of commissions paid by its sub-contractors as part of the cost of production which is used to calculate its profit.

Mr. Engel asserted that the prime contractor (Brewster) figures his percentage of profit on total cost of his sub-contracts and that these costs to him include commissions paid by the sub-contractor; in other words, "the taxpayer is paying not only a commission on the sub-contract, but a profit on commissions."

Thus Brewster has given a sub-contract of \$5,000,000 to the Hayes Mfg. Corp. of Grand Rapids, Mich., which contract is now completed.

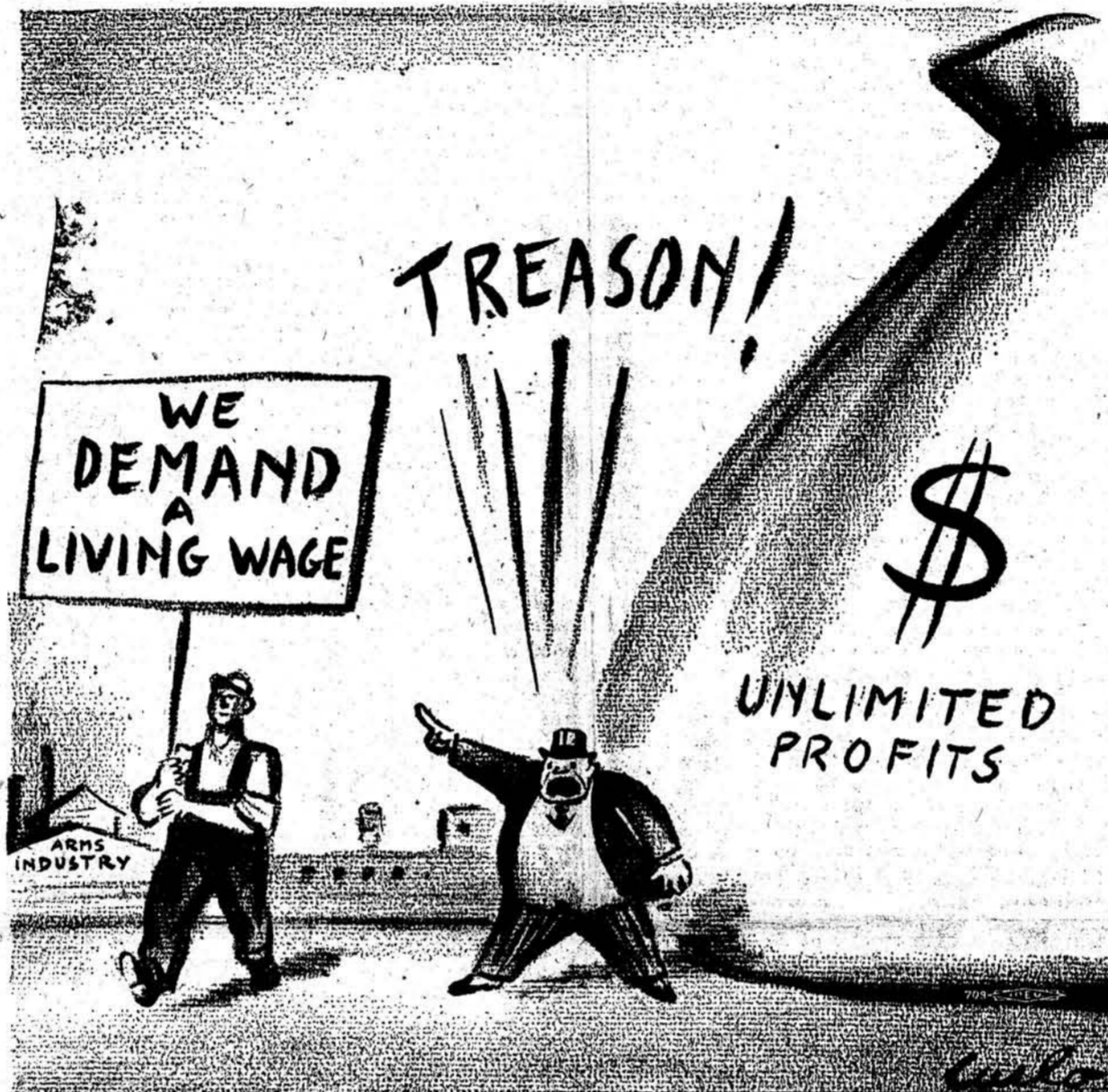
A special company, called Hayes Aircraft Accessories, has been organized. This company produces nothing but is a "sales company" holding the exclusive right to sell Hayes Mfg. Corp. products at a 5 to 10 per cent commission.

Hayes Aircraft Accessories received about \$250,000 commission for obtaining the \$5,000,000 sub-contract from Brewster for the Hayes Mfg. Corp.

In other words, the same people owned both of the Hayes companies, one of which was set up as a dummy corporation in order to rake in the \$250,000 commission for a sub-contract (which could, of course, have been given directly to Hayes Mfg. Corp. without ANY commission) and then Brewster added this \$250,000 to its "cost of production" and received profits on it.

Sure looks like a real good "war for democracy" to us!

IN THE NAME OF PAY-TRITISM



Stalinists Against Labor "Sharing War Profits"

By JACK WILSON

Notorious for their weasel-worded articles when they change their line, the Stalinists overdid themselves last week in a huge editorial spread in the Daily Worker entitled, "A War Labor Policy."

This editorial is the tip-off on the kind of arguments and the aim of the Communist Party in hog-tying the labor movement to the war machine, if it is possible, and of selling labor's interests down the river.

Take the vital question of war profiteers, and the huge profits all the corporations are making while labor can't get decent raises to meet the higher cost of living. Here's what the Daily Worker says:

"When short-sighted men and groups speak of labor seeking to 'profit' or 'share in the war profits' or 'take advantage of the war,' every intelligent and honest trade unionist has to reply: We don't talk their language."

Naturally, labor unionists don't speak in terms of "seeking profit," only in terms of wages. And also, labor unionists never speak about "taking advantage of the war," because there isn't any to be taken.

But, by combining those two obvious facts with another—"share in the war profits"—the Stalinists perform a neat little trick to slander any worker who believes labor should share in the huge war profits by obtaining higher wages.

The Stalinists actually will try to get the phoney idea across that anyone who talks or thinks that the big corporations shouldn't get away with their fabulous profits, isn't a good union man! Even though it is obvious that fighting against the war

profiteers is the duty of every union man.

Now, a few years ago, if we made such a statement there would be some doubts among the workers. But, fortunately, everyone has seen the somersaults of the Stalinists so often that the labor movement knows anything can be expected from Stalin's hatchmen in the American labor movement.

Against Higher Wages

How will the Stalinists argue against labor getting higher wages? Or defending its interests during wartime, when everyone knows that the big corporations, Bethlehem, etc., are trying to smash the labor movement.

Here's the key to their line on that point: "We have no doubt that the working class will in the future even more than at present, view every question from the standpoint of the needs of the war!"

What does this mean? Exactly the same thing that the bosses mean when they shout about the "needs of the war" when labor asks for a half-way decent pay increase to meet the rising cost of living.

The Stalinists will foam and fret and yell and scream in the union meetings: "Yes, we are for higher wages, but the needs of the war come first!" Which means they

(Continued on page 2)

Dutch Empire Falls in the Far East Colonial People Were Indifferent to Imperialist Struggle

The rich and populous island of Java—prize colony of the Dutch East Indies—has fallen to the Japanese.

The defense of Java appears to have been even more of a military fiasco than that of Malaya and other Pacific regions.

The navy and air force of the "indomitable Dutch" were wiped out in short order by the superior Japanese. On land, the 100,000 Dutch soldiers (if we are to believe the Allied reports about the size of this army) were cut up, surrounded and defeated with an amazing speed.

Efforts of the United Nations to aid Java seem to have been feeble and futile. It was a matter not merely of "too little, too late," but "almost nothing, never!"

And most important of all was the question of the people—the 45,000,000 Javanese colonials.

They appear to have been EVEN more indifferent, more "neutral" than were the Malaysians and the Chinese at Singapore. To all intents and purposes, they stayed in their homes or hid in the hills while the rival imperialists battled it out in a few short days.

None of the Allied propaganda reports or communiques say what happened to the native army. It appears to have dissolved—despite the fact that it received better treatment than the rest of the population.

Nor is it hard to understand why they acted this way. The Dutch Empire (or, more accurately, the ex-Dutch Empire) was built upon the exploitation of these Javanese people. The Dutch plantation masters, bankers and imperialists waxed rich on the tin, rubber, rice, quinine, oil

and spices produced by the East Indies. In their colonial domains they set up a system which ranked with that of the British in India in degree of ruthlessness and tyranny. Now they pay the prices for their totalitarian slave rule over the peoples of the East Indies.

Van Mook, the governor-general for Her Majesty, Queen Wilhelmina, gave the show away with his cynical remarks about "freedom and democracy" in the Indies. He said that "after the war" the Dutch would give "freedom" to the people—with the exception of matters relating to military defense and foreign affairs.

Note what he says: AFTER the war (pie in the sky); and note the not unimportant "exceptions." A Javanese worker or peasant would not lift a finger—let alone fight—for

(Continued on page 3)

India's Freedom Can Be Won Only by Independent Action

March 11—After weeks of debate and secret discussion, with the crisis in India growing more acute by the hour, Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of England and head of the crumbling British Empire, has finally come out with his "solution" and "proposal" to the people of India.

What does he offer to that nation's 385 million people? Nothing, literally and absolutely nothing!

The declaration on India made by Churchill today to the House of Commons is a piece of fakery from start to finish.

Churchill promises that India shall be granted "Dominion Status" after the war. He promises that the people of India shall then be permitted to draw up—with the approval of Great Britain—a new Constitution for their country.

Why is all this a fake?

First, because that very same promise (of Dominion status) has been made a dozen times, beginning as far back as 1915, during the last war. Nothing was ever done to fulfill it in the past. The people of India will not believe it today any more than they believed it before.

Secondly, the proposal about a new Constitution is—so far as India is concerned—as old as the hills. A new Constitution was drawn up (in 1935) and submitted to the people. They overwhelmingly rejected it because under its terms the British and their allies (the native princes) would remain in real power. They denounced this Constitution as a "Slave Constitution" and forced its withdrawal by the British government. What is there that is "new" in Churchill's latest "proposal"? Nothing!

Churchill announces that Sir Stafford Cripps—his most recent stooge—is going to India immediately to attempt to gain acceptance for this sham proposal.

So far as the workers and peasants are concerned, Sir Stafford might as well save the carfare! He doesn't have a chance—except maybe with some stooges and paid agents of the British government who don't have any mass influence.

Churchill's proposition is so shameful, so hypocritical, that even Nehru, conservative Nationalist that he is, will probably be forced to reject it out of hand. If he were to accept this scheme for perpetuating British enslavement and imperialist rule in India indefinitely, Nehru would find it impossible to represent himself as the spokesman for the people.

The meaning is clear. The solution of the "Indian Question" now, more than ever before, rests entirely in the hands of the 385 million workers and peasants of India.

Behind the Struggle for Indian Independence

By HENRY JUDD

"As we write we are told that the Cabinet has failed to arrive at the agreed solution. The Cabinet need not worry. The matter is out of their hands. No half measures have any value now. The Indian revolution is on. There is only one possible chance to make up a little of the lost time..."

"Nehru must be asked to become Prime Minister and Minister of Defense with full powers and with a provisional All-Indian Legislative Assembly to act as the representative organ of the state."

"Make no mistake. This is not opportunity knocking at our door—it is history battering it down." (The Tribune, weekly magazine of Sir Stafford Cripps.)

Rangeon, port of entry for the Burma Road, has fallen. The Japanese forces are now conquering the remainder of the former British crown colony of Burma. Their forces are gathering in the Indian Ocean in preparation for a land, air and sea attack on Ceylon and the shores of the Indian coast. Submarines have already been reported off of Bombay.

And it is announced in London that the British Cabinet is not yet prepared to make a statement on the question of India and the war. The debate which was supposed to take place in the House of Commons this week is reported postponed indefinitely.

It is clear what is wrong. A bitter struggle is on between various groups in the British Tory ruling class. This struggle is not over the question of "Freedom for India" versus continued enslavement, but over the question: How little can

we give? Churchill against Cripps; Tory against so-called "Liberal." It is clear that the British Cabinet is being torn to pieces and may fall as a result of the "Indian Question."

The press is filled with rumors about India and "concessions" to it. "Dominion Status Immediately"; "Dominion Status After the War is Over"; "Indianization of the Viceroy's Executive Council"; "Provisional Government," etc. These are some of the rumored propositions. Meanwhile, reflecting the mortal crisis—

(Continued on page 3)

Let the Admiral Swim in It!

"The (Truman) committee wonders why Rear Admiral John H. Hoover, commandant of the 10th Naval District, has palatial quarters at San Juan. Three homes, costing from \$20,000 to \$40,000, were built for Hoover and two aides last year.

"The committee plans some blunt questions about the new naval airfield at San Juan, built at a huge cost-plus fee. It sits in the middle and is overrun with water. Investigators learned it was constructed on a site so swampy that the pile, driven into the foundation as work began, disappeared."

"NOTE: It will be interesting to see how far the Truman committee goes in its report on Puerto Rico contracts, with censorship, etc."

—From the column, "Washington Merry-Go-Round," by Pearson and Allen of March 9.

The Anti-Negro Riots in Detroit

An Editorial

The entire country has for the last several weeks watched the situation in Detroit, where a bitter struggle has taken place between a group of Negro workers who were scheduled to move into a federal housing project, Sojourner Truth, and a variety of Negro-haters ranging from Congressman Tenerowicz to the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion. For weeks the struggle has ebbed back and forth until it burst into a furious riot last week in which 105 Negroes were arrested and 20 of them injured when police sided with those white people who were trying to prevent the Negroes from occupying Sojourner Truth.

The federal government, which originally built this project for these Negro workers, has played a miserable and cowardly role in this entire business. The housing authorities have issued conflicting state-

ments every other day, contradicting each other and themselves, in accordance with whichever side put the most pressure on them.

The President has not seen fit—as on so many previous occasions!—to intervene in behalf of the Negro people. While the government was more than prompt in its readiness to intervene against labor when it smashed the North American Aviation strike in California, it has not dared to back up the Negro workers—and the union movement of Detroit, which supports these Negro workers—against the attempts of the reactionary Congressman Tenerowicz and his cronies in the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion.

If there were any final incident, if there were any final straw to convince the Negro people of what a bitter mockery and lie all the talk about a "war for democracy" is, it is this disgraceful and cowardly behavior

of the government and its officials.

So bitter has this resentment become that Negroes who participated in the Detroit riots openly tore up their draft cards, according to a report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. According to the NAACP report: "One man got up in a public meeting and said he was of draft age and would probably be called to fight in Asia or Europe, 'but I will take my fighting and dying, if necessary, right here on the streets of Detroit for some democracy for my own people.'"

Nor has the attitude of Detroit's Mayor Jeffries been any better. He has slyly tried to ride the crests of both waves and has failed to take the simple steps of insuring adequate police protection so that the Negro workers might move into the project. Instead, this mayor, elected as a

(Continued on page 3)

Labor Martyr Dead



TOM MOONEY

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Third Camp

FRANCE UNDER THE NAZI HEEL—A FIRST-HAND REPORT

The report we have just received on conditions in France, the latest to arrive in this country, strikes a rather hopeful note. A rather thorough "politicalization" has taken place in the last few months. Whereas before many people grumbled, many were also somewhat resigned to their fate. Now opposition to the Petain regime as well as to the Nazis is much more outspoken. Discussions in street cars, on breadlines, etc., go on openly. The police are afraid to intervene.

Some months ago Petain personally still retained some popularity; people applauded slightly when he was shown in the movies, while remaining completely quiet when Darlan's picture was flashed. Now they remain quiet for Petain and hiss Darlan. All this according to our reliable informant with first-hand contact with the scene.

Some time ago the Stalinist illegal press dominated the field almost entirely, but now a whole series of illegal papers have sprung up. They are even printed, instead of being mimeographed; and they are read by almost everyone. Their political attitudes vary; they are all more or less pro-Allies but with different shades of allegiance; all are favorable to de Gaulle but most are not directly connected to his movement. The nationalist and anti-German note dominates completely and very little is said about the state of things to come.

THE ROLE OF THE STALINISTS

The Stalinist press is more than ordinarily reactionary. They are more nationalist than the nationalists, and more reformist than the reformists. Their phraseology goes even further right than what they said during the Peoples Front period. L'Humanité carried an official article in which it was stated that "the French people were cheated of the fruits of the Versailles Treaty."

The Stalinists have formed a National Front in which they want all anti-Germans from right to left, addressing themselves to the Catholic and Protestant churches as well as to right and left wing bourgeois nationalists.

In this general revival of political life even the socialists who had completely disappeared now show some signs of activity in certain big towns. They also put forward nationalist slogans, leaving specific working class demands for a dim future after the liberation from the Nazis.

Even some Catholics issue an illegal anti-German newspaper. Other papers appear with quotations from Petain or Clemenceau on their mastheads. The food situation has not changed much—a crisis is feared by spring since it is believed that by then graft and the black market will have completely exhausted the existing stocks.

The black market is assuming greater and greater proportions. There is hardly anyone who does not get at least part of his food from this source. Prices there are high but still people pay gladly in order to get something at all.

The Petain regime is weaker than ever before. Scores of young men from the former rightist associations have quickly advanced in the state apparatus but even they are not completely reliable. Even among these new state functionaries it is only jokingly that reference is made to governmental decrees and other state measures.

The police forces have grown tremendously. It is said that in Marseille alone there are some 20,000 policemen. But even among them it is not rare to find outright adversaries of the Petain regime.

TRADE UNION ACTIVITY REVIVED

Activity in the trade unions is also revived, at least in certain trades. While the top officials are mostly pro-Vichy appointees, there is considerable open criticism of the regime among the rank and file and even lower union officials. There are also many trade union papers, which while working under the cover of loyal obedience to Vichy, manage to attack each anti-union measure rather sharply. Not only the Stalinists but even old socialist union officials have gotten some new life and vitality.

Sympathy for Russia has been fashionable in the most reactionary circles. But what is much more dangerous, the Stalinists completely dominate the working class movement. Terrorist activity and sabotage are mostly organized by them.

Our Trotskyist comrades are very active and their paper appears regularly twice a month, very well printed, but still their influence continues to be rather limited.

Attacks against the occupying forces are much more frequent than one is led to believe by newspaper reports. Whereas in the beginning these attacks were made indiscriminately against soldiers and officers, now only German officers are shot at.

Under the apparent calm of France tremendous energies are smoldering; the apathy of the masses has changed into political interest and in many cases political activity and thinking. But the channels in which their political thinking flows are still mostly nationalistic and Stalinist. Thus, great hopes are combined with great dangers when one considers the political future of France.

Europaeus.

American Labor in the Last World War

Epidemic of Strike Struggles Followed the War Armistice

By SYLVIA MERRILL

The frenzied crowds that surged through the streets on November 11, 1918, were less moved by the thrill of victory than by the immense feeling of relief that "it was all over at last."

Ever since the summer of 1914 they had lived under the black shadow, which touched every phase of life. Now the pall had been lifted and all the pent-up hopes, hates, ambitions, broke loose like a flood-tide.

Labor had found itself more and more ham-strung by the War Labor Boards and the whole war-making machinery of the government. It was forced to accept an occasional hand-out in the form of a wage increase while prices sky-rocketed. Labor had only one desire: To make up for its sacrifices, to win something for itself out of the victory for which it had paid so dearly. Walk into any labor hall during those hectic post-war months. The air was filled with talk of strikes, closed shop, the Plumb Plan, government ownership, general strike, syndicalism, Russia and a new day for the working man.

The hard-boiled employers who formed the policy making bodies of the National Association of Manufacturers, the Iron and Steel Institute and the National Chamber of Commerce had likewise chafed under the restraints made necessary by the war. To avoid "trouble" with labor they had been forced to handle it with silk gloves. Here and there they had to make concessions. Worst of all was the fact that the AFL had greatly increased its membership.

With the war over, the employers were impatient to do away with all the clap-trap about collective bargaining, mediation, etc.

Walk into any rich men's club at the time and the air was heavy with denunciations of Bolshevism, unionism, IWWism, Wilson liberalism and the need of "putting labor, Negroes and Jews in their place." In the smaller towns their views were put into action by the growing legions of the Ku Klux Klan.

Attempt to Salvage

The American workers attempted to salvage something from the war, but the attitude of the "brass hats" and industrialists was hostile. The hostility with which they fought labor can only be present in a group of people who fear something. They feared a labor movement that might seek to emulate the specter of Europe, Bolshevism.

The workers struck. They wanted a 48-hour-week, eight-hour-day and collective bargaining. But the great open shop offensive was on. The employers were out to smash the unions.

In January, 1919, New York harbor workers, 17,000 strong, struck for the eight-hour day. Wilson was at the Versailles Peace Conference and he asked the War Labor Board to intervene. Union officials told the workers to go back to work. Once

at work the board offered them even less than the bosses had been ready to give. They struck a second time but again the union officials forgot that "united we stand, divided we fall." One section was urged to make a separate agreement. They did, and in actuality returned to work as scabs. That was the end of waterfront organization for quite a time.

Lawrence, Mass., was the scene of a bloody battle. The workers asked for a 48-hour week. The American Woolen Co. said: sure, but six hours less pay. The slogan of a 48-hour week with 64 hours pay was adopted and 32,000 went out on strike.

The American Labor Year Book said:

"The strikers, the general strike committee (which we will deal with later) and the leaders who came to help, suffered from every form of vilification and persecution. Newspaper hostility, citizen committees, police brutalities, denial of open air meetings even on private property, paid spies in the strike committee and among the people, attempts to frame up the leaders and finally the use of lynch law by masked vigilantes upon two of the strike leaders."

The whole labor movement, however, backed up the strikers, and after sixteen weeks they won.

How many workers must have remembered the war for democracy in those years of the Palmer raids and the brutal policy of the capitalists out to break labor?

The Great Steel Strike

Then came the great strike in steel—that citadel of the open shop. "The failure of this strike," boasted G. B. Clarkson, spokesman for employers, in his "Industrial America in the World War," "was the death blow to Bolshevism in America and stimulated chauvinism among employees."

The steel workers asked only the most elementary human rights achieved by other unions. Their strike vote was almost unanimous and the organizing committee requested a conference with U.S. Steel. Judge Gary, who sat on Baruch's War Industries Board, and who had no great love for labor, was the head of U.S. Steel. He openly stated that "our corporations and subsidiaries decline to discuss business with them (the unions)."

Gompers asked Wilson to call a conference of both sides. But Wilson did nothing and the steel companies began to discharge people. The unions had to do something. They told Wilson this, but he said he couldn't get a joint conference and that they must hold off the strike. They struck after several delays and a bloody battle ensued.

One of America's most powerful industries was out to teach the labor movement a "lesson." By relying on its treasury, swollen with war

profits, steel used every known device to break the strike. It was a decisive defeat for the labor movement and called forth a renewed offensive against labor by the open shoppers.

Miners Pitted In, Too

The United Mine Workers struck during the course of the steel strike. This strike was smashed by a most vicious injunction. On the eve of the strike the courts issued a temporary restraining order against all officers of the UMW. The injunction restricted the UMW officials from in any way counseling, aiding or being in any way connected with the strike. The labor fakers were no longer needed by the government and they were slightly bewildered by what was happening. Gompers issued a statement saying:

"It is almost inconceivable that a government which is proud of its participation in a great war to liberate suppressed people should now undertake to suppress the legitimate aims, hopes and aspirations of a group of its own people."

Despite the injunction, nearly half a million workers went on strike. This was answered by a permanent injunction. It gave the union officers 72 hours to rescind the strike order. The strike was lost. The forces against the strike were great and included the union officialdom, who declared: "You can't strike against the government."

The big strikes in coal and steel found their repercussions in numerous industries and crafts, among them the railway shopmen's strike, which was broken by one of the most vicious injunctions in labor history.

We see from the foregoing that labor, during the war, was exhorted to stay on the job, not to fight for higher wages, not to worry about union recognition and the closed shop. When the war was over, reaction ruled and the worker now felt the brute force of the American ruling class which was determined that the unions should not gain a foothold. One can echo Gompers on this score by asking why is it that whenever this capitalist nation sets out to "save democracy" somewhere it begins and ends by suppressing the rights of the workers at home?

Aircraft Workers, Attention!

The reports of profiteering by the aircraft companies keep rolling in. Latest to report its profits for 1941 is Consolidated Aircraft of San Diego, Cal., which lists a net profit of \$8,024,882, after reductions for federal taxes and contingency and amortization reserves.

Clamor for an Offensive Seen As an Allied Admission of Political Bankruptcy

By SENTINEL

For weeks now the capitalist press has been carrying on what amounts to a clamor for a military offensive by the United Nations. A new book, "Defense Will Not Win the War," by Lieut.-Col. Kernan, USA, has overnight become the Bible of a growing army of "strategists" of the offensive, armchair and otherwise.

No doubt this increasingly blatant sentiment has some purpose. For one thing, behind it all is the effort to prepare the mind of the American people to accept the participation in combat of a large AEF in at least one of the decisive sectors of the war. The word "offense" has also become a magic word. It is as though all the United Nations defeats so far will be redeemed if only the Allies will start thinking along the lines of offense instead of defense.

Allied Plans Collapse

The fact is that the Allies started out in World War II with plans for encirclement and blockade of the Axis powers while maintaining for themselves fixed and supposedly impregnable positions. Essentially this is defensive warfare. But something went wrong with this plan. Airplanes and tanks made rubble out of concrete fortifications and pill-boxes. Motorized divisions outflanked the defenders. In short, the blitzkrieg made a farce of the blockade and the would-be blockaders are themselves in danger of being blockaded.

All this is on the military level. The political factors which are even more important are only recognized after the defeats. However, the military and imperialist mind is incapable of coping with political factors. Pro-fascism is in their very bones and only confused fools and charlatans expect from them a positive political program for the masses and the colonial peoples.

It is not at all accidental that the cry for the offensive comes forward when Japan is taking over completely the British, Dutch and American colonies in the South-west Pacific. The imperialists are hard put to explain how it is that Japan with a few hundred thousand troops could conquer areas inhabited by over 90,000,000 people. Clearly the passivity of the colonial peoples in the face of the Japanese invasion is a political problem.

And yet the only answer that the United Nations have for what remains—Burma, Ceylon, India, the Near and Middle East—is the military offensive. To win the war by military means alone—is that not in itself a confession of the imperialist character of the war? The British ruling class, even when counseled by the inimitable Sir Stafford Cripps, cannot decide on dominion status for India. Nothing can be expected from a British victory. The Ethiopians

found out that their "victory" brought them British instead of Italian masters.

Admission of Bankruptcy

All this talk about taking the offensive militarily is an admission of political bankruptcy and on the military plane most of it is plain fakery. One would think that the Allies were losing up to now because all their generals were tied to the teachings of Liddle Hart. Too many lessons have come out of the two and a half years that this war has been going on for them to be that stupid.

The truth of the matter is that the Allies have never since the fall of France been in a position where they could have taken the offensive. Everybody knows that they were just lucky enough to hold on. That the Allies are still fighting is no fault of theirs. This, they owe to Hitler's colossal blunder in attacking Russia.

Even with Russia in the camp of the Allies the Axis forces in the field today are superior to those of the Allies. Nor can anyone say that the trouble with the Allies has been that they spread their forces too widely and thinly for any effective concentrated attack. Certainly the forces of Germany and Japan are no less widespread. What else can the Allies do but meet the attacks of the Axis powers wherever they are made?

The "offensive" that the Allies have in mind is no offensive at all. It may be psychologically feasible to call it that but it is nothing more than a reinforcement of defensive positions that are in danger of being overwhelmed. If the people of the United States are being propagandized with the idea of the offensive it is because American manpower alone must be thrown into the defensive breaches.

The manpower of Great Britain and her dominions is practically at the point of exhaustion. Australia looks not to the British Isles but to the United States for support against the Japanese invader. For the present the American military leaders will be well satisfied if they can get a sufficiently large AEF to Australia in time to hold it. They do not even dream yet of an offensive against Japan launched from Australia.

Invasion of Italy?

The same thing is true of the Near and Middle East. The Allies are jittery about the coming German offensive in that region. "When are the Americans coming?" they ask. Lieut.-Col. Kernan may speak boldly of an offensive against Italy to be launched from Africa and the Near East, but the Allied generals will be satisfied if in the near future American troops are available just to hold the lines in that sector.

Stalin and Litvinov may also call for an Allied offensive at this time but they too are doomed to disappointment. The British Commandos, for all their hitting and running, are not the same thing as an allied offensive against the European continent.

However you look at it, this business of the offensive adds up to one thing. The United States must supply the forces for a defensive stand. General Marshall, chief of staff of the United States Army, has put it briefly and cold-bloodedly. "The time has come," he said, "when we must proceed with the business of carrying the war to the enemy and not permitting the greater portion of our armed forces and our valuable material to be immobilized within the continental United States."

If General Marshall was more talkative he would say: "The enemy is no longer blockaded, if ever he was, and does not permit us to wait until we can organize the tremendous army that we hoped would suffice for the knockout blow. Now the millions of American youth have got to take their places on the bloody battlefields across the oceans. With their bodies they have to hold the Allied lines. As for the offensive, that can come only when millions more are trained and we have achieved absolute military preponderance. When that will be I don't know. In any case it will be a long war."

"As for a political solution, something that can cut the war short, that is positively out of our line. The kind of war that we are fighting can only be won through a blood bath. That's where you, the American youth, come in. You will be fighting for capitalist profits and the greater glory of imperialism."

Such frankness, if it were possible, would tell us more about the Allied plans than all the present befuddling around the question of an Allied offensive. Naturally we don't expect the American brass hats to give away the game.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Ford Worker Tells Of Stalinist Attack On LABOR ACTION

We have been informed that the Communist Party has issued a leaflet at a New York factory attacking LABOR ACTION as a "poison peddler" and as a "Hitler envoy." We have received a letter from a

worker in this factory which we print below. This letter, we believe, says about everything necessary to cover the subject.—Editor.)

Dear Editor:

Some of Uncle Joe Stalin's boys were sent over last week to our plant, Ford Instrument Co., to give out a handbill which attacked your

paper as a "poison peddler" and said you were in alliance with Hitler.

This didn't go over at all with the boys in the shop.

Now I don't agree with a lot of things in your paper but I can see from reading it pretty regularly every week that you fellows are honest and are certainly against Hitler.

Whatever else anyone can say about LABOR ACTION, you've got to be blind not to see that it fights for labor's rights.

And coming from these guys who only yesterday were singing a different tune when Uncle Joe was warming up to Adolf during the

well known "non-aggression pact"—don't they think we have memories at all?

It's funny but they criticize LABOR ACTION for just those things which makes it most interesting and popular. For example, all the stuff you print about these war profiteers who are chiseling the dough while our boys may soon be sent to the battlefields. And all the stuff about how the bosses are the ones who are really holding up production.

Sure, the Communist Party talks about "production and efficiency." But they seem to "forget" to mention anything in their handout about

labor's rights and the 40-hour week and higher pay to meet the rising cost of living and things like that. We're ready to produce—but that doesn't mean we have to give up our rights which the union won.

We know the Combies can't stand anyone who disagrees with them. They talk about "democracy" but they're ready to cut anyone's throat who disagrees with them. That's why they're trying to smear your paper. Now I can't see some of the things you people stand for. So what? It's a free country, isn't it? Why shouldn't everyone have the right to say what they want? That's what the war is supposed to be about. So I say: Let everyone speak his piece, including LABOR ACTION. There's plenty of worse papers around.

That's the way plenty of the boys feel about it and we'll keep reading whatever you have to say.

A. T.

The Army won't take him!" The personnel officer replied: "The Army will fix him a plate. All they care about is that he have a strong heart. I cannot give him the job of guard."

T. J.

St. Louis.

"Lights the Way To Freedom"

Dear Editor:

Your paper was read with much interest. Keep up the good work. Your paper certainly lights the way to freedom. The true way out of the wilderness of misery. Would be pleased to do anything to its success.

C. L.

Newburg, Mo.

Aircraft Workers, Attention!

The Douglas Aircraft Co. is known as one of the most viciously anti-union throughout the country. If you want to know what's behind it just take a look at the profit figures of Douglas for 1941. Douglas made \$18,176,690 in net profit last year. This figure is reached after all tax deductions and the deduction of a contingency fund of \$1,000,000, which should really be counted as part of the profits of the company.

This profit figure compares with \$10,831,971 made in 1940, thus representing an increase of about 75 per cent in the company's profits. We'd bet a plugged nickel that the reason Douglas is so viciously anti-union is that he fears a union contract might mean taking some of these profits away in the form of increased wages for the workers of Douglas.

Stalinists and War Profits--

(Continued on page 4)

won't fight for higher wages... and, most important of all, accuse workers who demand higher wages of "hindering the war effort." An argument picked up from the Wall Street Journal.

That's the argument they'll use on unions which they don't control. Where the Stalinists are powerful, they'll use cruder and slanderous arguments. Anyone who opposes them becomes a "Hitler agent," a "poison peddler," etc., etc.

A Little Variety

Of course, in all the unions and in all situations, the Stalinists aren't going to act exactly the same. But they'll have just enough variety in their arguments to suit the occasions. This is indicated in the Daily Worker statement on real wages, from the same editorial.

"The whole question of real wages as distinguished from money wages must be approached the same way. This means assuring that the wages of the very low income groups must in the interests of the war program be adjusted upward. That is to say, they must have a higher living standard in

order to assure their efficiency and productivity."

The lowest paid workers must be paid more, NOT because they deserve it for their labor, NOT because the corporations are rolling in wealth, but because they can't work as good if they are under-fed, and ill-clothed, and ill-housed, says the Daily Worker.

It would be difficult to show more contempt for the workers than the Daily Worker does in this statement. It's the old farm argument about horses and mules: "If you don't feed the animals, they can't work as much."

The Daily Worker admits it speaks "in the interests of the war program" in this approach to the problem of wages. A good union man, however, approaches the problem of wages from the interests of the workers as a class, from the interests of the labor movement.

The role of the Stalinists in the labor movement, for the next period, as clearly outlined in their "war labor policy," is to become "efficiency experts" in the plants, apologists for the big corporations' policies and profits, and a drag on all unions seeking to defend themselves from the employers' onslaughts.

Special Combination Offer!

(Good Until April 30 ONLY)

LABOR ACTION and
The New International

114 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.

BOTH: Six Months for \$1.00

(\$1.25 in New York City)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

Credit to: _____ Branch _____

Riot at Detroit Negro Houses



Anti-Negro Riots in Detroit

(Continued from page 1)

"friend of labor" and with the votes of the strong CIO movement in Detroit, has allowed the police to brutally beat up and attack the Negro workers involved.

Let the Negro workers learn a lesson from this; let them learn how little they can trust the politicians of the two capitalist parties, even those "liberals" who so eagerly solicit their votes at election time. Let them learn that the entire capitalist structure can offer them nothing, that it discriminates even more violently than ever against them during wartime in order to teach them "their place."

The one bright spot in the situation, however, is that the struggle in Detroit is not—as some demagogues of both colors would attempt to put it—a "race struggle." For solidly behind the Negro workers stand their white and Negro brothers of the CIO movement in Detroit. The United Automobile Workers, strongest union in the powerful Detroit CIO, has taken its stand unequivocally behind the Negroes and demanded that they have the right to occupy Sojourner Truth. The tremendous Ford local has passed a resolution, for instance, to that effect.

In this direction lies the hope for a real solution to the problem. Just as the white and Negro workers answered the attempts of Ford, during the strike to break King Henry, to provoke disunity among them; by standing together firmly and winning the strike; so now too must white and Negro workers stand firmly together in the common cause of equality and freedom.

Who are the forces opposing the Negroes? The most reactionary elements in American life today: the Ku Klux Klan (which even dared to burn a cross in front of the houses), the Black Legion gangsters, the fascists of the so-called "National Workers League." Every fascist, every reactionary Negro-hater and labor-hater looks to Detroit with glee when the news of this slugging and beating of Negroes comes out. (And how ironic it is that many of these misguided whites come from national origins which are now themselves suffering under the Nazi heel in Europe!)

That is why the labor movement must take a firm and unequivocal stand: FOR THE RIGHT OF THE NEGROES TO MOVE INTO SOJOURNER TRUTH.

It is a matter for President Murray of the CIO to take a firm stand, for the CIO Executive Council to throw its energies into. **Because the elements that are opposing the Negroes in Sojourner Truth are the ones who are opposing the labor movement and trying to destroy it. And if the CIO really wants to organize the workers in the South, it can now give a wonderful earnest of its intentions toward the Southern Negro workers by fighting for the rights of their Detroit brothers.**

And to the Negro workers of Detroit, we say: **NO COMPROMISE!** Do not be deflected from your main purpose: the occupancy of Sojourner Truth. Do not let anyone fool you. You have the right to occupy these houses.

Together with your white brothers of the union movement, fight for your right to live where and how you please!

Accidents Hit War Workers

An appalling and dangerous increase in accidents in war production plants was revealed last week by a report of Secretary of Labor Perkins. From 1940 to 1941 accidents rose 29 per cent.

Not only did the total number of injuries rise sharply from 1940 to 1941, but the accident increase rate was nearly three times the employment increase rate. According to Miss Perkins: "Each temporary disabling injury, according to workmen's compensation records, causes an average loss of 23 days away from work. In the aggregate these non-fatal injuries cost millions of man-hours that are vital to production."

What is most interesting and important about these facts is, of course, not discussed by Miss Perkins. She fails to note the effects of the speed-up on the increase in accidents, even though every worker in the war plants is keenly aware of that fact.

And she fails to note that all the reactionary blow-hards who preach so glibly about the man-hours lost to production by strikes, suddenly get as tight as a clam when it comes to discussing the millions of man-hours lost to production by accidents.

Of course, when they attack strikes what they are really interested in is smearing and weakening the labor movement. And if they were to discuss time lost by accidents it would immediately bring to the fore the problem of cutting down the speed-up and providing accident compensation—which is the last thing in the world these congressmen and bosses would want.

But there's one purpose a worker can put these facts to. Next time some blow-hard walls about strikes and production, just remind him about... accidents.

PRESS ACTION

The LABOR ACTION and The New International subscription drives have gotten off to a fair start. In the first week of the campaign we have received 21 special \$1.00 combination subs! We expect to double this by next week, with the cooperation of all our LABOR ACTION agents.

Our agent in Los Angeles writes us that he is busy at work visiting various friends and sympathizers of LABOR ACTION and speaking to everyone about the \$1.00 combination offer.

This week we are preparing a printed circular to be attached to all copies of LABOR ACTION that are distributed at factories and plants. These circulars will be mailed out to our agents just as soon as they are ready and we promise that it will be an especially attractive leaflet. It will ask worker-readers to help support their paper, LABOR ACTION, by subscribing at the \$1.00 combination rate.

Here is the first list of new combination subscribers:

- New York City _____ 11
- Akron _____ 3
- Rochester _____ 2
- St. Louis _____ 1
- Syracuse _____ 1
- Sent in by Mail _____ 3
- Total _____ 21

In addition, we received seven regular LABOR ACTION subs, making a total of 28 for the entire week—a good beginning.

BUT WE WANT \$1.00 COMBINATIONS RIGHT NOW!

Sugar, Sugar-- Who's Got That Sugar?

Leon Henderson, federal price administrator, is daily bursting verbal blood vessels about how housewives are hoarding sugar. We'll put you in jail, he screams, for ten or twenty years if you have four extra pounds of sugar.

But Leon Henderson becomes as timid as a lamb and as quiet as a mouse when it comes to real, big-time sugar hoarding. And we don't mean the housewife next door; we mean the real big shots.

We quote from a weekly news letter, In Fact:

"A New York broker's office in sending out its confidential market letter with suggestions for buying and selling stock—we cannot give its name or quote it directly—concludes with the advice that now is the time to buy the stocks of companies depressed by the sugar shortage scare. It lists American Chicle, Canada Dry, Coca Cola, Nehi Corp., Pepsi Cola, William Wrigley as good buys. All of the companies now have great stocks of sugar on hand.

"The most interesting case is that of Coca Cola, a Georgia corporation, which contributes to the campaign expenses of congressmen..."

It is clear of course that the only possible reason for the expectation that the stocks of these companies will rise is that the companies must have sugar on hand to continue production.

As a matter of fact, Coca Cola had enough sugar on hand to sell back 90,000,000 pounds to the government while Pepsi Cola had enough to sell back 80,000,000 pounds.

So you can just imagine how much they have left—if their stocks will rise. And when you start cutting down on your use of sugar, you can always have the consolation of knowing that Pepsi Cola and Coca Cola have it all piled away.

You Have to Be Rich to Know How To Avoid Paying Your Income Taxes

By SUSAN GREEN

When the readers of LABOR ACTION get this issue, they will just have filed their income tax returns and paid the piper. That is, if they are among the "wealthy" workers earning \$15 a week if single or \$30 a week if married.

They, like all the little people on whom rest the burdens of the war, will not have employed any lawyers or accountants to figure out their tax. So much earned, so much left to be taxed. It's as simple as all that for the Jimmie Higgines of the country whose income tax payments will deprive them of necessities of life.

The income tax law which every Jimmie Higgins was obeying on March 15th is supposed to play no favorites. Everyone is supposed to be taxed on the same basis as everyone else—all equal before the law. Says who?

The government has reached into the pockets of the poorest workers by this income tax law—which reach will go even deeper next year. At the same time it has eased up on the biggest money makers and war profiteers.

The newspaper PM recently published an eye-opening comparison between the excess profits taxes today and those of the First World War. Today, for instance, a corporation with \$10,000,000 invested and making \$2,000,000, or 20 per cent profit, pays a normal excess profits tax of only \$39,250. In 1918 the excess profits tax under similar circumstances was almost ten times as much—\$359,100.

The war profiteers who are presumably taxed at the highest rate, nevertheless get away with more loot now than in the last war. Profiteering profits taxable at \$797,600 during the last war, in 1942 are taxable at only \$701,000—or 11 per cent less.

On the other hand, workers earning \$15 or \$30 a week, in 1918 considered too poor to be taxed, are now given the dubious honor of being income taxpayers. Thus have the "democratic processes" expressed themselves in the tax law.

Outwitting the Tax Law. A worker has no way of outwitting the law. He earns so much and the boss reports it to the government. But the boss corporation has its standard tricks, and corporation lawyers and accountants constantly think up new ones.

A good old stand-by is to pass taxable excess profits over to the corporation big shots in the form of increased salaries. For instance, in 1940 W. B. Jarvis Co. handed one officer a "small" increase from \$17,540 a year to \$80,000. Again, the biggest salary paid by Bethlehem Steel jumped from \$271,000 a year to \$478,000. American Rolling Mill Co. raised a \$76,000 salary to \$106,000. Of course, these salaries are taxable—but not at the excess profits tax rate. So the law gets the run-around by those very bloated corporations which it handles with kid gloves.

But the most maddening instances of inequality in the tax law are contained in some of the "innocent" provisions that are more or less taken for granted.

Such a one is the right of the corporation to deduct "deficits." The

law provides for the payment of excess profits taxes on the basis of average earnings over a period of years. But if the corporation had "deficits"—real or imagined—during that period, deductions are made, taxable income is thereby reduced, and the corporation's taxes are slashed accordingly.

Our Deficits and Their But what about the "deficits" of the workers? What about the weeks, months and years of unemployment! Workers have been "in the red" ever since the depression. Why should they not be credited with their loss

of employment over a period of years!

The tax law makes no allowances for "deficits" in wages as it does for "deficits" in profits. Here we see revealed the real kernel of the capitalist system. The law stands on the capitalists' inalienable right to continuous profits. But it does not even recognize the workers' right to earn the means of life day by day, week by week, year by year.

Another "innocent" provision of the tax law allows corporations to deduct huge amounts from profits

for depreciation, obsolescence, depletion, repairs and replacements. Profits are thus further artificially reduced for tax purposes.

A corporation may take off for wear and tear up to 20 per cent of the value of machinery as well as amounts for buildings, trucks, etc. Additional deductions are made for obsolescence when new inventions make old machinery no longer "stylish." A mining corporation may deduct from profits the value of the "using up" of the natural resources. And repairs and replacements are thrown in for good measure.

And the Worker? What about the worker! There is plenty of wear and tear on the human machine. Steadily the worker is depleted of his power to labor. As he gets older he is threatened with "obsolescence" and is finally supplanted by a younger worker. Why should allowances not be made for the using up of the only "property" the worker possesses—his power to labor!

Nor does the income tax blank provide deductions for doctors' bills for "repairs" in the form of illnesses and operations; nor for "replacements" in the form of such things as eye-glasses, dental work, etc.

None of these items of vital value to the workers are deductible from his wages for income tax purposes. Why not? Because the law—along with so many other laws of the land—adhere to the basic capitalist principle that property is sacred and workers' lives cheap.

ALL equal before the law—Says who!

A Soldier Boy Writes:

'I Told Them I Have a Cold and Athletes Foot'

LABOR ACTION reprints the following letter from The Ivy Leaf, the newspaper of the Fourth Motorized Division of the U.S. Army, for the interest and amusement it may have for its readers:

Dear Bud:

Do you remember how we would often talk about how wonderful we thought Chapel Hill was? Why, I'll never forget the night I told you that when I died I didn't want to go to heaven, I wanted to stay in Chapel Hill. I was mistaken. When I die I don't want to go to heaven or Chapel Hill, I want to stay here at Camp Croft. To put it mildly, it is pretty wonderful here.

We just lie around in bed every morning until five o'clock. This, of course, gives us plenty of time to get washed, dressed, make the bunks, etc. by 5:10. At 5:15 we stand outside and shiver as we enjoy the nice, freezing air. After we are reasonably chilled, we grope our way through the darkness to the mess hall. Here we have a hearty breakfast consisting of some nice muddy, unidentifiable liquid and a choice of beans, either red or white.

After breakfast at 5:30 we loaf slowly back to the barracks. We have nothing to do until 5:35, so we just sit around and scrub the toilets, mop the floors, wash the windows and pick up all the cigarette butts and match sticks within a radius of 150 feet from the barracks.

Around 6:30, with a quarter of the day already loafed away, the sergeant comes in and says: "Come on out in the sun, kids!" So we go out and bask in the wonderful sunshine. Of course, it's been raining for three weeks, but the way the sergeant talked, it might be clear today. To limber up, we do a few simple calisthenics. Not like the hard ones we had to do in compulsory physical education at Chapel Hill. Definitely not. These consist of simple exercise such as touching your toes with both feet off the ground and grabbing yourself by the hair and holding yourself out at arm's length.

At eight o'clock, the time you unlucky guys are getting out of bed, we put on our light packs and start walking. The light pack is very light and consists of only a gun, bayonet, canteen, fork, knife, spoon, cup, meat can, shaving kit, pup tent, raincoat, cartridge belt, first aid kit, fire extinguishers, tent pins, and a few other negligible items. The light pack also has a blanket. Carrying a light pack I weigh only 293 pounds. (Note: I weighed 136 pounds when I left.) So you can see how easy it is to romp and play while marching. An observation car follows us while we march, playing "God Bless America," and picks up the fellows who faint. The boys who pass out are treated very well. They are given six months in the guardhouse but they don't have to face court martial.

At 12:00, those who can, limp to the infirmary. At the infirmary, patients are divided into two classes. Those who have colds and those who have athletes foot. If you have a cold, you get your throat swabbed with iodine. If you have athletes foot, you get your feet swabbed with iodine. Anyone who claims he has neither a cold nor athletes foot is sent to the guardhouse for impersonating an officer. I am very popular at the infirmary. I told them I have both a cold and athletes foot. What I really have is gastric ulcers, but I know when to keep my mouth shut.

Oh, yes, there are other advantages. It's almost impossible to find a beautiful girl out here. Why, things have come to such a lovely state that I've forgotten what the Carolina co-ed ducks like. To state the facts, I've seen no women. Now isn't that just too lucky! What, may I ask, would a man between the ages of 21 and 35 want with a woman? Nothing! Absolutely nothing!

Well, that's all I have time to write now. I've got to rush to the mess hall and beat the chow-hounds to the meat. We're having grits tonight. Oh, Boy!

Johnny.

The Case for a Socialist Britain

We print below an excerpt from a speech made in the British House of Commons by John McGovern of the British Independent Labor Party, as an interesting expression of the case for socialism. While not agreeing with certain ILP policies, LABOR ACTION believes that what McGovern says below will be agreed to by all militant workers.—Editor.

We are demanding in this House and in the country a socialist Britain as the way to impress the common people of the world that we have

something real to offer them instead of only blood, sweat and toil for rent, interest and profit.

The bondholders of Malaya, with their tin mines, oil wells and rubber estates, have robbed and beaten the natives in the most merciless manner, and we have no right to expect those natives to respond to our call. They have known very little else in the whole of their lives but blood and sweat and toil, which means no change to them.

Our opposition does not arise from passing circumstances. Ours is a principled opposition of a small num-

ber of men who are trying to enlarge their party and their adherents in the country. We are pointing out that the way to achieve the new order is to provide something really worth while in this country and in every part of the world where this country has control...

Our voices are raised for humanity, for social change, for the new order, for a socialist Britain that will give every human being in this country a stake in that order, something that he will feel it is worth while to defend, to stand up for, and to be proud of.

Therefore, as socialists, we clash with this government of national interests which has been formed for the purpose of waging war and killing men.

We exist for the purpose of bringing relief to humanity throughout the world and of ending disease, poverty, unemployment and war.

That can be done only by changing those ghoulis interests, those bond-holding interests throughout the empire which are using the bodies of men to defend their possessions and profits.

We demand that a recognition shall dawn in the hearts and intelligences of men that the world is pressing forward to, is gasping for, and is in dire need of this new order.

Nature has given in abundance all the materials and resources that every human being needs, but they are held by a few to the exclusion of the many in order that they shall live a life of luxury and pomp upon the poverty and servitude of the masses. This is determined to end.

Dutch Empire--

(Continued from page 1)

such worthless promises. He wants his freedom now—without any phoney "exceptions" attached to it.

Furthermore, Van Mook explained his refusal to arm the people by saying that the Japanese were trained soldiers and the people would be "slaughtered" against them. What a hypocrite! He would not arm the people because he feared that they would use the arms against the Dutch imperialists as well as against the Japanese imperialists.

This is why Java was lost. Because the colonial people refuse to fight for any imperialist power. They will fight only for themselves; when they have something to fight for. They will fight only for their own independence and freedom.

American Way of Life in Akron

According to a recently released census survey, over one-half (52.1 per cent) of the people of the war boom town of Akron do not own their own homes. Of the 48.9 who are home owners, considerably more than half—63.5 per cent—have mortgages on their homes. This leaves only 17.9 per cent of the population of this industrial city having clear title to their homes.

Almost one-fourth of the dwelling units in Akron and environs—23.3 per cent—do not have bath tubs, and 16.3 per cent are in need of major repairs. In the same metropolitan district, 2.5 per cent of the housing units have more than one and one-half persons per room.

What is this "American Way of Life" we're supposed to defend?

Editorials

LABOR ACTION'S PLATFORM

Against Both Imperialist War Camps! For the Victory of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory of the Third Camp of Socialism!

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars the minimum wage; time and a half for overtime! Rehire the jobless millions by a six-hour shift!
- Wage increases which meet rising costs! No sales tax on consumer goods; no taxes on wages! Freeze rents and food and clothing prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living!
- No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
- Maintain and increase all government social services!

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

- A government levy on capital to cover the costs of the imperialist war! Confiscate all war profits!
- Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
- Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3 per cent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

- The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces!
- Sixty dollars a month minimum for draftees!

SMASH JIM CROW!

- Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy, or by employers in industry, must be made a criminal offense!

BE PREPARED!

- For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilante and fascist attacks!
- For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
- For Peace Through Socialism! For immediate independence of all colonies! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism. For a League of Socialist Nations!

Goebbels Reveals Hitler's "Secret Weapon"

Only a Workers Government Can Exterminate Hitlerism!

Every worker who is genuinely concerned with defeating fascism will be interested in an article which Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's propaganda minister, wrote last week. Let us center our attention on one paragraph, in which Goebbels writes:

"Every German knows that if Germany loses this war she loses everything—politically, militarily and economically; and if the nation loses everything this means that every individual German loses. It is well that this is remembered because it will serve to increase the resistance of the German people."

We urge everyone to read this paragraph carefully. What revealing light it sheds on the skillful, demagogic propaganda methods of the Hitlerites! And this is not merely an individual article; the Nazi propagandists have hammered away on it since the war began.

This is the most effective propaganda approach of the Nazis. They constantly repeat: if Germany loses the war, the German people will live through the hell of Versailles once more, only it will be worse.

Hitler's Speech

In his last speech, Hitler reiterated in a similar vein: "the peace treaty which followed (after the last war) completed the looting of Germany and the deprivation of her colonies."

And it is this one factor, we believe, more than almost any other, which allows Hitler to retain at least the passive support of the Ger-

man people in his war effort. Or if he does not have their passive support, he at least does not yet encounter any active mass resistance.

After the last war the German people went through a literal hell. They paid "war debts" in astronomical figures, they went through the misery of inflation, and they carried the victorious Allies on their backs through the revengeful Versailles Treaty. These things the German people remember quite vividly.

What awaits Germany if she is defeated at the hands of British and American imperialism? Obviously, a super-Versailles, a new treaty of subjugation. That is what the Allied politicians promise them. What else does all their talk about "disarming Germany" mean?

What else, again, is the meaning of the talk of those influential people in America and Britain who say that not only is Hitler responsible for the war, but the German people are also responsible and that they must be punished for their "crimes" after the war? All this means that these politicians are preparing, if they win, to subjugate Germany as never before, to make the German people pay for the crimes of Hitler (as if they haven't paid enough already!).

A Little Bit of Truth

Why does Hitler keep repeating this point about what a defeated Germany will mean? Because he knows that that is the one thing he

says that he can expect the German people to believe—precisely because of the fact that there is more than a grain of truth in it. He knows, as all skillful demagogues do, that the best way to get across his lying, reactionary program is to try to peddle it across with a little bit of truth.

When he rails against the British Empire he does not thereby increase his support among the German people. All he can possibly do is to make them suspicious of the many crimes of the British Empire which he demagogically attacks. But that doesn't make him any better in their eyes.

Dampens Ardor of Revolt

But when he tells them: If we lose this war, we will suffer as never before, because that is precisely what the Allies promise the German people—then he can effectively dampen any revolutionary, anti-Hitler ardor that may exist.

But not only can Hitler dampen opposition to his regime by the use of this tremendously effective propaganda weapon. He can even thereby gain the passive, grudging support of many Germans—at least for his war effort—who feel that it is the only way for them to continue national survival.

This, then, is Hitler's real "secret weapon": the skillful exploitation of a natural fear on the part of the German people and the skillful use of the real crimes of his opponents to lull the German people into passive support of his reactionary war.

Thus, we see that so long as the capitalist, imperialist regimes continue to exist in the Allied countries there is little possibility of an internal crack-up of the German regime. And that, in turn, means a long and horrible war, in which some form of fascism or dictatorship will probably be imposed on an exhausted world regardless of which side wins.

How can this dilemma be solved? By the establishment of workers' governments in the United States and Great Britain.

A Workers' Government

If that were done, Hitler could no longer point to the fear of a Versailles Treaty—because the German people would know that the workers' governments of America and Britain would proclaim to the world that they had no intention of imposing any restrictive or oppressive treaties on anyone, that they didn't want to make the long-suffering German people pay for the crimes of Hitler.

If that were done, Hitler couldn't point to the crimes of Britain (as for instance its oppression of its colonies) because the workers' government would immediately do away with those crimes.

This would give the German people an incentive to revolt. It would remove the last tie which they still have to the Hitler regime. It would knock the props from under his regime.

IN BRITAIN

Rations Are Cut But Black Market Stays

The fruits of imperialist war, it would appear, are pretty much the same everywhere. Much has been written of the price which those whose lives are sacrificed must pay; that of course is the supreme horror of an economic system that almost devours all of humanity in convulsive war. But the living pay their price too.

The daily press has worked itself into lathers of indignation at the economic conditions of the occupied countries under the Nazi heel. Those conditions of course are terrible. But they are not confined to any one side in this war. As the war grows longer, hunger and malnutrition spread to both sides; it becomes the universal brand of the imperialist war.

Recent reports from Britain illustrate this completely. According to the Associated Press of March 3, food rations in that country are scheduled to be cut even below their present inadequate level.

Meat rations will be cut from their present 23 cent level to an 18 cent level per week by the spring. Butter rations are to be cut from two ounces to one ounce per week, while tea rations are to be cut below their present two ounce level. And so on, right down the line.

What a terrible effect this will have on the living standards of the British workers can be seen by an Associated Press report of February 27, commenting on the situation before the rations cut, which states: "Sparrows, starlings, crows, larks, curlews and even swans—some of them counted inedible in peacetime or too small to bother with—are helping to feed Great Britain at war." And on January 18 the magazine This Week reported that "newly cut, tender young grass can now be bought in the shops of London."

DISEASE ON THE INCREASE

That this situation is not passing without a distressing effect on the health of the workers can be seen in a report of Dr. Hastings Somerville of the Hospitals and Medical County Council, who states that "the effect of the food deficiency on general health is only slight, there are already increases in some diseases: tuberculosis partly due to food deficiency, and rickets due to absence of fruit. The real danger lies in the future. The gradual undermining of the health of the nation may lead to epidemics as serious as the flu epidemic after the last war."

This prospect does not seem to disturb the rulers of Britain very much. They continue their course. According to Hugh Dalton, the then Minister of Economic Warfare, "in the last phases of the war we'll be learning a good deal from Nazi experience."

But does not this economic pinch, this food rationing, extend to all people in Britain? Apparently not. The very same reports that describe the existence of malnutrition and the prospect of rationing cuts, also speak of the continued growth of the Black Market.

OUT OF THE NIGHT CLUBS!

For instance, the Chicago Daily News London correspondent writes on February 26 that it is suggested "that public servants and high officers of the service might begin to absent themselves from London's night clubs and that the government might close some of those night clubs and let the waiters go to work in the munition factories."

And on March 4, the New York Times reports that the parliamentary secretary to the Food Ministry is considering regulations "to curb operations of the 'Black Market' which has grown to such a size that it is a danger to our cause."

While working class wives "stand daily in long lines before butcher shops, sometimes going home empty-handed," it is possible to get, on the Black Market, steaks at \$4.00, whiskey at \$7.00 a bottle and cigarettes at 50 cents a pack.

This is the state of affairs in "democratic" England. As the workers' rations are cut, the trade on the Black Market increases. But the worker can seldom afford to buy at the Black Market's exorbitant rates. That privilege remains in the hands of the rich.

A Correction

In last week's editorial defending a number of refugee socialists in Mexico from Stalinist slanders and attacks we pointed out that we do so despite the fact that we do not agree with them on many political issues. We said that we defended their right to free expression despite the fact that, with the exception of the Trotskyist, Muniz, "as far as we know they support the Allied side of the imperialist struggle."

This statement was inaccurate and we are anxious to correct any misimpressions it may have caused. With regard to Marceau Pivert and Julian Gorkin, the statement is inaccurate. While both Pivert and Gorkin are muddled centrists, incapable of revolutionary clarity and intransigence, and while Pivert even indulged in a recent flirtation with the reactionary de Gaulle, they apparently characterize the present war as imperialist on both sides. Their position is roughly analogous to that of the British ILP, which, while by no means an internationalist socialist position, is not, of course, one of support to Allied imperialism in the sense that, say, the Stalinists or social-democrats support Allied imperialism.

We regret the error and thank those comrades who brought it to our attention.

Tom Mooney

Tom Mooney's name has become a household word in the world labor movement. That he has now died, a sick and broken man suffering the effects of 23 years of imprisonment, is the occasion for a final tribute from the whole labor movement; but it does not in the slightest way end the "Mooney case."

So long as there are injustices and frame-ups in this world, so long as the members and leaders of the militant working class have to suffer the attacks and persecutions of the rulers of this world, so long will the Mooney case live.

It has become the classical example—together with the Sacco and Vanzetti case—of the martyrdom of militant labor. Mooney was framed on the flimsiest of all possible charges; he suffered for 23 years in San Quentin until the unceasing protests of the world labor movement finally forced his freedom.

We say the world labor movement forced his release and that is the literal truth. Mooney was originally sentenced to execution but so loud was the protest of the world working class that his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Demonstrations took place in every part of the world—America, England, France, Russia, China—which demanded his freedom. And these demonstrations kept on until Mooney was finally freed.

Tom Mooney was a martyr in the cause of freedom and working class liberation. The working class does not forget its sons who gave their best in its behalf; Tom Mooney will live in the memories of all who cherish freedom and who remember with bitterness that this man spent so many years in prison only because he stood for the most noble and just ideals humanity has yet known.

The Highest National Income

Figures released this week by the Department of Commerce show that the national income for 1941 was the highest in American history. It totalled \$94,500,000,000. This was 22 per cent more than 1940's and 13 per cent above the previous peak year, 1929.

There is food for thought in these interesting figures. They are, first of all, the result of the attempt of the American government to transform the economy of this country into a war economy, capable of producing such a vast quantity of war goods that even the vast war production machine of the Axis will be outproduced. This is what capitalism does in order to win a war. It strains every ounce of its energies (or, more accurately, of the PEOPLE'S energies) to produce for destruction and death. It reaches a national income previously unknown in this country.

Yet several years ago the people were going hungry or were on the verge of hunger; millions could get no work; requests for sums to help the unemployed which are

now considered insignificant in war production were condemned as incredibly extravagant.

It is a terrible condemnation of capitalism—this comparison is. Capitalism can produce for death; capitalism can produce for destruction, for war. But capitalism cannot satisfy the elementary needs of the people.

The replacement of this horse and buggy economic system is on the order of the day. Build an economic system that utilizes the great productive forces that are available in this country for constructive purposes, for life and not for death, for satisfaction of the peoples' needs and not the imperialists' greed.

That economic system is socialism. And socialism is the goal of LABOR ACTION.

On 'Taking The Offensive'

Since the President's last fireside chat one important government official spokesman after another has sounded off on the theme of "taking the offensive," "bringing the war to the enemy," etc.

In preparation for the equipping and launching of huge expeditionary force of American soldiers, the press and leading politicians have been playing up this theme for two weeks. They are deliberately preparing the American public for full realization that American imperialism means to fight this war—and on a big scale, too—in every corner and section of the globe, no matter what the price.

The March 7 issue of the New York Times gave a clear picture of what lies ahead of us. No less than six dispatches, all coming from American correspondents in various parts of the world, were printed. ALL spoke of the same thing: the need and dependency of the countries concerned for American soldiers, planes and munitions and the IMMEDIACY of this need. Look at the sources of these appeals for aid; that tells the story.

(1) Alaska and the Aleutian Islands. More men and material wanted in preparation for use in an air and naval offensive against Japan proper.

(2) North Ireland and England. More men and material wanted for Commando activity and for a possible invasion of the European continent itself in an effort to aid Stalin when Hitler launches his expected spring offensive.

(3) Australia. Men, more men; material, more material, to halt the expected Japanese invasion of that continent.

(4) India. Men and material to reinforce India against Japanese attack and prevent a joining of the Axis forces in India.

(5) New Zealand. Desperately requesting Americans and their support against impending Japanese invasion.

This is the Second World War so far as United States imperialism is concerned: tremendous expeditionary forces battling in remote areas to recover for the United Nations those territories and colonial areas lost to the Axis powers.

March New International Presents A Lively and Varied Issue

As LABOR ACTION goes to press, we receive the announcement that the March issue of The New International is making its appearance. Dressed in the same new, modern format which so strikingly characterized the February issue, the March issue contains as well a number of interesting articles. Among these are:

An Economic Review of 1941 by Albert Gates. The editor of the magazine casts the economic balance sheet for one of the most important years in American history, discusses problems of war economy and outlines possible courses for the future development of the war economy. A lengthy, detailed feature you can't afford to miss!

The British Conquest of India. Part I of a thesis of a group of Indian revolutionary socialists printed in this country for the first time, which outlines, with remarkable acuteness and penetration the development of one of the most important of all imperialist penetrations.

Plans for a German Defeat, by Henry Judd. An interesting article discussing the various plans of the Allied ideologists for the post-war subjugation of Germany and show-

ing that an Allied imperialist victory leads to the same tragic road as Versailles did after the last war.

Socialism and National Liberation, by J. W. Smith. A discussion article presenting an opinion on the relationship between the working class and bourgeois nationalist movements in Europe. This article initiates what is hoped to be a series of discussions on this vital topic.

The Social Roots of Opportunism, by Gregory Zinoviev. This Archives article is a classical but still topical treatment of the social basis on which opportunistic working class movements arise.

The Future of the War, by M. S. This editorial, comprising the Notes of the Month section of the NI, presents a novel and penetrating discussion of the most burning topic of our times.

A review of Gunther's Inside Latin America, by Jack Wilson.

This interesting and varied issue should be read by every LABOR ACTION reader. Take advantage of our special offer—get LABOR ACTION and The New International for six months for only \$1.00 (\$1.25 in New York City).

Workers Party Statement on China's Role in the War

The following resolution has been adopted by the Workers Party and is printed in LABOR ACTION for the information of its readers:

With the spread of the Second World War to Asia and the Pacific, the role of China and the struggle she has carried on against Japan for the past several years has undergone a radical change. The position of the Workers Party must consequently be reconsidered and altered in correspondence with the new situation that has developed.

Up to recently, the fight to defend China in her war with Japan was righteous and just because China was conducting a progressive war for national independence against imperialism. In view of the fact that China was led by the reactionary national bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek and the military dictatorship of the Kuomintang, the revolutionary movement was able to give only critical support to the Chinese struggle, that is, full material aid to China in the struggle against Japan combined with critical opposition to the political regime in China. If the revolutionary movement was able to give such support to China despite the reactionary bourgeois regime at its head, it was only because of the fact that in fighting Japanese aggression, China, as a semi-colonial country, was fighting a progressive war for national independence against imperialism.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'S WARNING

At the same time, the Fourth International warned, as far back as its Founding Conference, that "The imperialists of the West will intervene against Japan only to preserve their own robber interests in the Far East. If Japanese imperialism should be defeated in China by its imperialist rivals, and not by the revolutionary masses, this would signify the enslavement of China by Anglo-American capital."

Anglo-American imperialism has now not only intervened directly, formally and openly in the war in the Far East, but it has already drawn China completely and integrally into its own struggle for the imperialist domination of Asia and the Pacific against its Japanese and German imperialist rivals. The entire direction of the tactics and strategy of China is in the hands of Anglo-American imperialism. Under the domination of the reactionary Kuomintang bourgeoisie, the Chinese Army is being turned systematically into a fighting auxiliary of the imperialists, already fighting on Burmese soil to

maintain the imperialist rule of the British bourgeoisie and to assure the triumph of Anglo-American imperialism over its rival, Japan, so that it may continue to exploit the teeming millions of Asia.

In the person of Chiang Kai-shek, China has become a tool in the hands of Anglo-American imperialism, employed for the purpose of keeping the masses of India subjected to the interests and demands of their arch-enemy, Britain. China has thus been reduced, by the extension of the World War which has enveloped her, to the same position as that occupied by countries like Ethiopia and Libya, Slovakia and Norway, namely, subjected and integral parts of one imperialist camp or the other. To speak of China now as a politically or nationally independent country is a gross deception. To speak of the struggle of China against Japan as "progressive," now that it is completely subordinated to and part of the inter-imperialist war, is equivalent to giving objective support to one of the imperialist camps against the other. China's struggle against Japan was progressive when it was an anti-imperialist struggle; it loses that characteristic when it becomes a struggle against one imperialist power conducted and directed by another imperialist power and its interests.

FREEDOM FROM IMPERIALISM

The problem before the toiling masses of China, like the masses of all the colonial and semi-colonial countries, whose cause in struggle against imperialism and for national liberation is a just one, is the problem of freeing themselves from the domination of BOTH imperialist camps, the pre-condition for which in this World War is freeing themselves from the domination of their own reactionary national bourgeoisie which so zealously serves the interests of one imperialist power or the other. Only under the leadership of the reborn revolutionary proletarian movement, strangled by the perfidious national bourgeoisies, that the colonial and semi-colonial countries will once more be able to raise the banner of a progressive struggle for freedom and independence from all imperialist slavery, in alliance with the socialist proletariat of the big imperialist countries, fighting hand in hand with their colonial brothers to end all oppression and all class rule.

The colonial masses in this war have now only one clearly indicated way out: the establishment, organization and victory of the Third Camp, the camp of the workers, peasants, national minorities and oppressed peoples the world over.

LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Interests of Labor
Published Weekly by the
Labor Action Publishing Company
114 WEST 14TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.
(3rd Floor)

Vol. 6, No. 11 March 16, 1942

Managing Editor: Irving Howe

Subscription Rate: 60 Cents a Year

75 Cents for Canada, New York and Foreign

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