

British Suppress Far Eastern Revolutionists

Outlaw Fourth Internationalist Party In Ceylon

Move Aimed Against Trotskyist Struggle for National Liberation of India and Ceylon

The policy of repression of the masses that British imperialism intends to continue in India was indicated on March 13 when Governor Sir Andrew Caldecott of Ceylon decreed the suppression of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Ceylon Socialist Party), adherent of the Fourth International.

A UP dispatch of March 13 from Colombo, capital of Ceylon, reports that "A defense decree set up rigid control of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party until it could wind up its affairs." It added that "it was presumed that the Governor aimed to crush any possible source of friction during the crisis."

This repressive move is undoubtedly connected, with the growing political crisis in India, with whose fate that of Ceylon is intimately bound up. The Lanka Sama Samaja is a source of "infection" of major significance for the coming revolutionary developments in the fight for Indian independence.

The numerous successes of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party in mobilizing the workers and peasants in political and economic struggles against the Ceylon Planters Association and the Crown Colony government has been a source of inspiration to the revolutionists of India. Founded as recently as 1935, the L.S.S.P. had a phenomenal growth, soon becoming the authoritative leadership of the nearly 7,000,000 workers and peasants of Ceylon. Combining electoral and mass activity with Bolshevik flexibility, the party won two seats in the State Council in the very first election in which it participated, forced through an act limiting the working day to 10 hours instead of the previous 12 and 16, and led numerous strikes to victory.

The British imperialists took both "legal" and extra-legal means to crush the party when the war broke out. The L.S.S.P. stood by the revolutionary position of the Fourth International, declaring the war between Britain and Germany was nothing but a war between two imperialist robbers for the re-division of the world. The British Governor had the party members in the State Council arrested, violating their parliamentary immunity, and other party members were also jailed, the party papers and press confiscated. Thereafter the Ceylon Planters Association — which has its own armed Rifle Corps and other vigilante groups — carried on a terrorist campaign against the party and the workers, and a futile man-hunt to round up the remaining party leaders.

Those arrested are kept in jail without charges or a trial. Despite these repressions, the L.S.S.P. since the war has

British Fight Indian Strikers, Murder Eight

Eight workers were killed and 21 seriously wounded when the British-controlled police in Madras, India, opened fire on strikers at two textile mills on Wednesday, March 11, according to Reuters, the British news agency.

Most textile mills in India are owned by Hindu and Moslem capitalists. These native exploiters of the masses of India are as ruthless as the British imperialists. The kind of "independence" they want is merely a better share of the booty that the three parasitic classes of India — the British imperialists, the native capitalists, and the landlords and landlord-princes — squeeze from the masses.

But against the masses the Indian capitalists join with the British imperialists. British bullets shoot down Indian workers with the warm approval of the Indian capitalists. The latest massacre serves to remind us again that real national liberation for India means also liberation from Britain's junior partners, the Indian capitalists and landlords.

achieved its most significant success — the bulk of its activity during the last two years has been directed among the tea-plantation laborers, the main element in the island's proletarian population and who come from the southern province of India. Forming more than a tenth of the population, these workers were originally imported from India as a deliberate "divide and rule" move. They are aliens without legal status, deportable whenever discharged or unemployed, and the government had hoped to create a permanent division be-

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LABOR'S RIGHTS MENACED BY OPEN-SHOP SMITH BILL

Joint Conferences Will Result Only In Speed-Up

Workers Will Be Limited to "Advising"; Bosses Still to Run Things Their Own Way

By DON DORE

Donald Nelson, War Production Board head, has set into motion the administration's scheme to speed-up production through joint management-labor committees. Last Sunday he announced the calling of 31 management-labor regional conferences to be held during the next two weeks.

The union leaders and the Stalinists are hailing this move as a great "victory" for labor. They are claiming that the management-labor committees are going to give the workers a "real share" in the control of production. Such claims are a conscious fraud and deception.

Why are these committees being set up? Why have the Administration and bosses agreed to establish them?

The employers themselves give the answer. That authoritative voice for big business, the weekly *United States News*, in its March 13 issue explains:

"The official plan places within the proper scope of the study such subjects as: taking care of tools, preventing breakdowns, reducing accidents, good lighting, maintenance and repair, adapting old machines to new uses, cutting waste, breaking production bottlenecks, and using every machine to the fullest extent. In other words, any ideas for operating the plant that will speed up production. There is no requirement, however, that management accept any efficiency proposals that it does not believe feasible."

common denominator, is "also" the real purpose of these committees. They are to help the bosses put the squeeze on the workers for more work and more profits.

WHY BOSSES BALKED

It has taken some time and a great deal of pressure to make the bosses agree to accept even this set-up. "Up to now," says the *United States News*, "most employers have been reluctant to set up any committees which might serve as vehicles for union interference in management affairs. . . . Some fear has been expressed that the new joint committees will be used by the unions to gather technical knowledge of management techniques — a prerequisite to successful operation of Mr. Philip Murray's plan for management of industry by national and local councils."

The bosses certainly don't want the workers to get any "knowledge of management techniques" (Continued on page 2)

Imperialist Etiquette

When Singapore fell last month, the terms of the British capitulation called for 1,000 armed British soldiers to remain in Singapore City to "maintain order" until the Japanese army completed occupation. A day or two later the Japanese troops entered Singapore, relieved the British of their obligation to "maintain order" and immediately began "cleaning up seditious elements."

But it must not be supposed that the British have a monopoly on such imperialistic etiquette. War Commentary, the British semi-monthly periodical, presents evidence to show that the Axis forces, too, know how to act like slave-holding gentlemen:

"There appeared in the evening papers towards the end of January, a photograph taken in a town in Lybia, which had been captured by the British. It showed Italian policemen, with loaded rifles, searching a car, and the explanation underneath said that 'these Italian police are cooperating with the British forces in helping to keep the local population under control.'"

Would Prohibit Union Shop And Overtime Pay

Congressmen Aiming New Blows at Workers Under Cover of Clamor for More Production

The Congressional anti-labor offensive drove forward this week with intensified fury:

Climaxing a flood of unrestrained tirades against labor in the House last Monday, poll-tax Representative Smith of Virginia introduced two bills to outlaw the union or closed shop and to prohibit over-time pay for workers on Army and Navy orders, and to suspend all minimum wage and maximum hour laws "for the duration."

Georgia's poll-tax Representative Vinson, chairman of the powerful House Naval Affairs Committee, announced himself as a co-sponsor of the Smith proposals. He stated that the bill covering work for the Navy would be given a hearing during the week by his committee.

The new reactionary drive in Congress, coming on the heels of the announcement of a disastrous naval defeat off Java, is a sign that to the bosses the main enemy at all times is the enemy at home, the working class and particularly its organized section. Seeking to utilize the dissatisfaction, alarm and confusion that have arisen as a result of the defeats, the bosses are directing a further blow at labor.

PROFITS LIMITATIONS

To make the bill more palatable and disguise its completely anti-labor character, its sponsors have included a section covering profits limitations on naval contracts. This would permit a maximum of six per cent profit on the cost of a contract.

But, even if this six per cent profits limitation section were passed by Congress, the present huge volume of production would still permit the corporations to make billions in war profits, not counting the hidden profits they sink into padded tax and depreciation reserves, etc. What the Smith-Vinson bill proposes for the bosses might mean a little less for them to salt away in the banks; but what it proposes for the workers would mean less food to go into their bellies.

UNION LEADERS' ANSWER

Instead of standing up to the reactionaries and mobilizing the unions for a militant struggle in defense of the workers' rights, Philip Murray, William Green and the other CIO and AFL national leaders are trying to beg off the anti-labor laws by whining that they have already agreed to a no-strike policy and that they are giving full support to the drive to speed up labor.

Such was the substance of the discussion of the so-called "War Labor Victory Board," composed of Murray, Green and four other union leaders, with Roosevelt on Tuesday. It was agreed, stated Murray afterwards, that "voluntary action on the part of labor to yield the right to strike was a more satisfactory solution to the problem" than anti-labor laws.

This is simply stating that it is more "satisfactory" for the workers to surrender their rights without a struggle and for the union leaders to police the workers for the bosses, than for the bosses to attain the same practical end of shackling the workers by legislative decrees.

Instead of appealing the bosses and reactionaries by this cringing attitude, Murray, Green and the other union bureaucrats are merely encouraging them to become bolder in their attacks on labor. In the final analysis, the bosses don't want just "tame" unions. They want no unions at all. It is precisely when the union leaders retreat and demonstrate timidity, that the bosses always seize the occasion to give the workers a further blow.

Carlson Vote Highest In Workers' Neighborhoods

One of Every 30 Voters Supported Her; Plan Write-In Drive for April 28 Election

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The official returns on the St. Paul primary election, made public March 12 by the canvassing board, give Grace Carlson 1185 votes, or 3 per cent of the 35,958 votes cast. The official returns vary but slightly from those reported in last week's MILITANT.

Carlson received votes in all but two of the city's 154 precincts, the two being precincts in the Eleventh Ward, the city's "Silk Stocking" neighborhood. The heaviest vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidate was polled in the First, Eighth and Ninth Wards, where white and colored workers are concentrated.

STALINIST LYNCH CAMPAIGN

Just as in Cleveland and other cities, the Communist Party frame-up artists in St. Paul are trying to launch a lynch campaign against the Socialist Workers Party and Comrade Carlson. In a pre-election statement, Rose Tillotson, Stalinist candidate for city council, attacked Comrade Carlson's candidacy and charged that "to refuse to support the war is treason."

The day after the election, Martin Maki, self-styled "sergeant" in the Abraham Lincoln battalion in Spain, a well-known Stalinist hack and Communist Party write-in candidate for governor in 1940, charged in a letter to the press that the Trotskyists are "pro-fascists," that they "sabotaged" the Spanish revolution, etc., etc.

The decline in the vote cast for the Stalinists over what they received two years ago showed that they have not made much headway among the workers since they dropped their "anti-war" propaganda last June and substituted for it a jingo war line that tries to prove its "sincerity" by viciously slandering the militant and honest forces in the working class.

The Carlson Campaign Committee, which announced last week that it was going to conduct a write-in campaign for Grace Carlson for Mayor in the April 28 regular election, was proceeding this week with preparations for the drive. The Committee is under no illusions about the difficulties of

conducting such a campaign. Write-in campaigns are always difficult, and in St. Paul the use of voting machines aggravates the situation. For workers must either ask for a ballot or hand their vote to the clerk; in either case, they leave themselves open to suspicion and attack from reactionary officials.

While the Committee has no exaggerated expectations so far as the vote is concerned, it feels that the vote in the primaries was a very encouraging indication that the workers of St. Paul are ready to listen to the Trotskyist program advocating the socialist alternative to capitalist war and reaction.

'Pittsburgh Courier' Tells 'Times' About New Guinea

New Guinea was invaded by the Japanese last week in their drive toward Australia, which is directly south of New Guinea. The *New York Times*, March 15, reports that "they met little opposition from the shore." One would find it hard, from the *Times*' report, to understand why there was little opposition; it says:

"It is a thinly settled land, of liana-locked jungles unexplored and inhabited by little known 'bush Kanakas'; of 15,000-foot peaks; of birds-of-paradise, climbing kangaroos and three-foot-long rats; of a handful of white men prospecting for gold, and a few coastal towns."

A paragraph by George Schuyler in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 14, sheds much more light on the situation:

"One of the most profitable British investments is the Anglo-Saxon end of New Guinea. . . . All native labor is under 'contract service,' being forced into it by necessity of paying head tax which amounts to over \$100,000 yearly. These black slaves numbered 41,675 in 1939, the rest of the 627,283 natives being as yet uncatchable. Over 25% of the white planters violated the working agreements in 1938-39. 'Crimes' for which the natives were convicted were 'disobeying a reasonable order,' 'failing to show reasonable diligence,' 'absence from quarters between 9 p. m. and 6 a. m.,' 'being within the town boundaries within those hours without permission,' 'wearing clothes on the upper part of the body without permission,' 'remaining in Raboul (the capital) for more than four days without permission.' It is reported that less than 500 native children receive any form of government-aided education. Half the indentured serfs work on plantations; the remainder work in the gold mines."

Another Negro Lynched; More Soldiers In 'Riot'

New Lynching In Texas As Missouri Jury Whitewashes the Lynching of Cleo Wright

By ALBERT PARKER

In this war, as in 1917, the Negro people have been promised that their reward for fighting and dying will be equal treatment — after the war. The Negroes had to wait until the first war was over to find out what a lie this was, to find that their "reward" was more lynchings, "race riots", segregation, discrimination and insult than they had received before the war.

The chief difference between World War II and World War I, so far as the Negro people in this country are concerned, is that they don't have to wait until after the war is over to find out what lies they have been told by the capitalist press and their own misleaders — they can see what lies they are already!

You don't have to go back even a year ago to prove that Negroes are still considered second-class citizens. You don't have to remember that Negroes are discriminated against in the army, segregated in the navy and air corps, barred completely from the marines. You don't have to remember that one Negro soldier in a southern camp was lynched on an army reservation, and that another was shot dead for protecting himself from a vicious M. P. attack. You don't have to remember the "riot" of Alexandria, Louisiana. You don't have to remember the lynching of Cleo Wright in Sikeston, Missouri. You don't even have to remember the housing fight in Detroit, which took place less than a month ago.

Even if you forgot all those things, you would still know that

and knocked the constable's gun out of his hand. An armed lynch mob was quickly formed, surrounded Wilpitz in the toilet behind a Negro lodge building, and riddled it with bullets until the victim fell out. They then stood over him and shot him till he was dead.

The Negroes in the town were threatened into silence. The body was held for a week and then buried secretly. Wilpitz's wife never even saw the body.

The lynching took place on Feb. 21. No word of it was printed until the *Call* learned the story last week. How many other such cases there are which are hushed up, we do not know. But we have no doubt that there are many of them.

In the same issue of the *Call* is the report of the action by the Scott County, Missouri, Grand Jury on the lynching of Cleo Wright in Sikeston. Although everyone in Sikeston knows the names of the people who led and participated in the Wright lynching, the Grand Jury, meeting for less than two days, found no one to blame, and announced it had insufficient evidence to return a true bill. The jury was composed almost exclusively of merchants, bankers and "retired" farmers. The judge, J. C. McDowell, accepted the report without comment. Apparently he was satisfied that they had obeyed his warning, given just before they opened their hearings, not to pay any attention to "outside agitation" and "radical talk."

ANOTHER LYNCHING
The Kansas City *Call*, Mar. 13, reveals some of the facts in the "secret lynching" in Brookshire, Texas, of Howard Wilpitz, "which never reached publication in the daily newspapers."

Wilpitz was ordered out of Brookshire, which is 35 miles from Houston, by a local constable. In the argument that followed, the constable hit Wilpitz over the head with his pistol and shot him in the leg when he tried to run away. Wilpitz shot back,

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The Negro Struggle

“LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT ORGANIZE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS ‘BRANDED’ — EARL MARK”

Another Negro Lynched; More Soldiers in ‘Riot’

(Continued from page 1)

Everybody knows who lynched Cleo Wright; the guilty parties are walking the streets of that town free and easy. Everybody knows that if anybody talks, he'll join Cleo Wright, and nothing will happen to the men who murder him either. The people who lynched Cleo Wright are all-out supporters of the “second war for democracy. . .”

NEW ARMY ‘RIOT’

The California Eagle, Mar. 5, reports another army “riot” in Merced, Calif., on Mar. 2. It all began when the Negro soldiers were refused service at a tavern on the fair grounds on which they are camped. The report says:

“Negro soldiers attacked the discriminatory tavern twice. Both times they were ‘calmed’ by Military Police.

“Colored troops were armed only with sticks and clubs.

“Military police are still patrolling the business section, whether to prevent riots or prevent Negro patronage is not clear.”

NAVY JIM CROW

The name of the Negro sailor who was hailed as hero on the U. S. S. Arizona has finally been revealed. He is Dorie Miller, 22 year old Texan. At Pearl Harbor he seized a machine gun — although he had never handled one before — and manned it under enemy fire until his ammunition ran out and the ship was sinking. The Negro press is singing his praises this week — but he is still in the mess kitchen somewhere, not permitted by Navy Jim Crow rules from doing anything but serve food and wash dishes.

HOUSING

In Rhode Island, “home of Roger Williams and tolerance”, there is a housing project at Newport at which it was decided that some Negro as well as white families could live. Among the whites assigned to the project it was felt equality for the Negro people was a threat to “the maintenance of the morale and prestige of the white race”, so they sent a petition to their Senator in Washington asking him to have the Negroes barred.

This is pretty much the way the Detroit “riot” began; so far Washington has refused to do anything about the situation, but the Detroit experience showed that when Jim Crow forces put on a little pressure, they are only too willing to give in — against equality for the Negroes.

And that housing Jim Crowism is not an evil peculiar to Detroit or Rhode Island, shown in last week’s People Voice, the front page of which shows a large picture of a Washington Heights, New York, Negro man and woman, standing by a window, the pane of which was shattered by a milk bottle thrown by hoodlums who don’t want Negroes living on the same block as whites.

POLICE BRUTALITY

New York is supposed to be the most “liberal” city in the country, but as City Councilman Adam Clayton Powell points out in a People’s Voice editorial: “. . . during the past few days, one man was horribly beaten, teeth knocked out, leg broken and then arrested, although he first came to the police station to make a complaint. Another severe beating was administered to a 15-year-old school boy by a special subway officer and three strong courageous police protectors of the peace,” etc.

WHAT GOVERNMENT IS DOING

And what about the government while all this is going on? What are the government officials doing about lynchings and riots and brutality?

The answer is: They are out investigating the Negro newspaper editors and publishers who print the truth about conditions and have the courage to protest against them!

The Pittsburgh Courier, Mar. 14, in an editorial, “Cowing the Negro Press,” reports that “the Negro press is being closely watched and investigated by government agents.

“Offices of at least two of the largest Negro newspapers have been visited by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation since Pearl Harbor.

“Mrs. Charlotte A. Bass, editor and publisher of the militant California Eagle, states that FBI agents have visited her office and interrogated her about possible receipt of Japanese or German funds because her paper courageously condemned color discrimination and segregation in National Defense.

“This sort of thing is an obvious effort to cow the Negro press into soft-pedaling its criticism and ending its forthright exposure of the outrageous discriminations to which Negroes have been subjected. . .”

In other words, instead of going after the enemies of the Negro people, the government is going after the defenders of equality for the Negroes. This is the typical “police mind” reaction to complaints against injustice: if somebody complains, shut him up and expect him to keep quiet even though the cause of his complaint goes untouched.

It does not take a prophet to predict that the Negro people, dissatisfied today, are going to become increasingly dissatisfied as the war goes on and conditions become worse. The government may try to cow the press into silence, it may try to explain Negro dissatisfaction as the work of “agitators” — but it will never be able to convince the Negro masses that this is a “war for democracy” as long as it is fought by a Jim Crow Army and Navy, as long as Negroes are lynched and their lynchings white-washed, as long as cops beat up Negroes and protect the fascists, — as long, in short, as the Jim Crow ruling class continues to run things in this country.

British Miners Continue Strike, Win Demands, Free Jailed Leaders

Refusing to end their strike until the government agreed to release their imprisoned leaders and to grant them their legal minimum wages, 1600 workers of the Betteshanger coal mine, Kent County, England, have scored the “first really important victory to be won by the workers since the outbreak of the war,” reports the February Socialist Appeal, organ of the Workers International League, a British Trotskyist group.

This is the first on-the-scene report received here of this significant struggle, news of which has been limited to a couple of brief and unintelligible dispatches in the capitalist press.

“The widespread anger which swept the labor movement at the savage sentences under the Essential Works Order,” states the Socialist Appeal, “and the movement of solidarity which was sweeping the mining areas in particular was sufficient to force the government to beat a hasty retreat.”

The strike was called on January 19 over the demand that the company pay the minimum county wages. On Nov. 8, 1941, the company had “closed a highly productive wall and opened up a new wall” where it was impossible for the men “to extract the minimum quantity of coal to make up the average wage in spite of more strenuous efforts.”

1017 SUMMONED

A ferocious attack was almost immediately launched against the strikers and their leaders, the company issuing 1,017 summonses against the men for breach of contract, and the government following with additional summonses, issued by the Ministry of Labor, charging violation of the Essential Works Order.

On January 23, the case was heard before three magistrates of the Kent County Court. In order to prevent a public hearing of the conditions which provoked the strike, the company’s solicitor withdrew the breach of contract summons and the case was tried entirely on the basis of the Essential Works Order, which makes strikes without previously filed 21 days notice illegal and subject to prison penalties.

After a farcical trial, in which the local strike leaders made a courageous and militant defense, while the representative of the national mine union leadership agreed to their victimization, three of the leaders were given heavy fines and hard labor sentences.

WORKERS SENTENCED, WORKERS FINED

Describing the sentencing of these militant workers, and the reaction that followed among the miners, the Socialist Appeal said: “Lord Howden, the chief magistrate then passed the sentences. Two months hard labor for William Powell, the secretary. One month hard labor for Tudor Davis, the chairman, one month for Isaac Methuen, member of the Branch Committee. Three pounds or one month for the 35 men who were working on No. 2 face, and one pound or 14 days for all the others, making a grand total of 1,017 miners who were framed.

“There they sat — those three comfortable, well-dressed, well-fed country gentlemen, their hands covered with woollen mittens; they had never known a hard day’s toil, much less a shift in the foul atmosphere of a mine; they had never suffered the pangs of an empty stomach — and they passed their sentence without blinking an eyelid.

“Before being taken away in the police car to the County Jail, Bro. Powell shouted ‘Don’t go back until I come out!’ The men were absolutely furious at the decision and there was a determination that they would not go back to work until their demands had been fully satisfied and until their leaders were released.”

WORKERS VOTE

Two days later a meeting of about 900 strikers, jammed into the Miners’ Welfare Hall, Deal, unanimously voted to continue the strike. Their resolution added “that we do not return to work until the wages deducted from certain of our members’ pay packets are refunded; and that in the meantime we use every means at our disposal to get our three members released from prison.”

“Immediately the news got out,” reports the Appeal, “there was a widespread movement of support among the other miners in Kent, in Wales and in Yorkshire. In the latter areas, where friction had been sharp between the miners and coal owners on similar questions to these at Betteshanger, miners struck work as a gesture of sympathy. Indeed the movement became so widespread that the Government was forced to beat a retreat.

“Accompanied by Ebby Edwards, Secretary of the National Mineworkers’ Federation, Mr. Grenfel, Minister of Mines, jour-

Tasks of the Indian Revolution

The Role Of Democratic Demands In India Today

Such Demands Are Necessary Part of the Struggle to Unite the Masses for the Successful Carrying Out of Agrarian Revolution

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

(This is the third of a series of articles dealing with the problems facing the Indian masses today. The first, dealing with the agrarian revolution and the struggle for India’s independence, appeared in THE MILITANT of March 7. Last week’s article discussed the slogan of the Constituent Assembly.)

The emancipation of India will be achieved only by those who base themselves on the national and the agrarian movements; by those who mobilize the Indian workers and provide them with the opportunity to play their destined role as the leaders of both these movements.

The Indian bourgeoisie cannot provide this leadership. They fear the masses and the agrarian revolution as much as do the native princes and the English imperialists.

In July 1934 Gandhi expressed the real position of the Indian bourgeoisie when in his speech at Cawnpore he flatly stated that he was “never in favor of abolition of the talukdari (feudal tax-gathering) or zamindari (feudal land-owning) system, and those who thought that it should be abolished did not know their own minds.” The opposition of the Indian bourgeoisie to the agrarian revolution will become more and more pronounced as the crisis unfolds.

The Indian proletariat can rise to its role as leader of the nation only by becoming the standard-bearer of its revolutionary democratic tasks.

A campaign for the convocation of the Constituent (or National) Assembly provides, as we have already pointed out, the best opportunities for advancing the basic demands of the first stage of the Indian revolution, i.e. the revolutionary-parliamentary stage. What are these demands for India?

First and foremost is, of course, the slogan for India’s independence. The Indian workers are the only ones who can consistently advocate this slogan, linking it up not only with the abolition of British rule but also with a guarantee of the right of self-determination for all nationalities in India.

Land to the Landless

Inseparable from this struggle for independence is the struggle for the immediate abolition of all feudal rights, titles and land registers.

MINES. Due to their families having been evacuated from the area, most of the miners were compelled to keep up two separate living establishments, for themselves in Kent and their families in other sections.

SIGNIFICANCE OF FIGHT

Summing up the significance of this struggle the Appeal declares: “In a period of ‘national’ danger, and when the Government and owners are combining to de-

mand from the workers more and more production, the management of Betteshanger close a rich and productive seam of coal and open up another wall which produces much less. . . But the Essential Works Order is not used against the coal owners!

“Even when the management violate the County minimum wage agreement and cause industrial strife, the EWO is not used against them. It is only when the workers use the last weapon

they have to defend their standards — the strike, that Mr. Bevin, backed up by the full weight of the Government steps in and uses this reactionary law against the workers.

“While the workers relied upon the Trade Union bureaucrats who had sold out to the Government and temporized with the bosses they gained nothing. But where they took the traditional militant stand of the fighting miners they gained a success.”

Confiscation of the land — Land to the landless! It is precisely in the struggle against feudalism that the slogan for universal suffrage — the right to vote, for all men and women over the age of eighteen — will play a central role. The chief strength of the peasantry lies in its vast numbers. In periods of upsurge, the most backward peasants gravitate toward those measures which translate their numerical preponderance into elementary political terms. Their economic need for land is instinctively linked up in their minds with the democratic right to vote and thus to legalize the partition of the landlords’ estates. That is why the demand for universal suffrage cannot fail to meet with an immediate response on their part.

Centralizing the Peasant Movement

These democratic slogans become imbued with a profoundly revolutionary content above all because they provide the indispensable means for mobilizing the Indian masses. There is no way of centralizing the peasant movement except through these slogans. Unless this centralization is achieved, the peasant movement will become dissipated in the innumerable provincial areas. No graver blow can be dealt to the unfolding agrarian revolution than the one which it will suffer if any attempt is made to skip over this stage of political education of the peasantry.

This applies not only to the peasantry but to the mass of the Indian workers themselves. They too must pass through the experience of a revolutionary democratic stage. The chief slogans for the mobilization of the Indian workers in the next period are contained in the immediate demands for the 8-hour working day, better working conditions, higher wages, the right to organize, etc.

A campaign for the convocation of the National (or Constituent) Assembly with the content outlined above will be reinforced in the consciousness of the masses by the events themselves. And if the workers and peasants pass through this experience under the leadership of the Indian vanguard, no power on earth can prevent the existing revolutionary situation in the country from terminating in a victorious revolution.

(Next week: The Native Princes)

BRITISH LORDS EXPRESS VIEWS ON STRUMA TRAGEDY

The British Parliament in both its Houses — the House of Lords and the House of Commons — had the opportunity last week to express its sentiment on the tragic catastrophe in which 768 Jews, refugees from the terror of the Nazi-dominated Rumanian anti-Semites, lost their lives. The members of Parliament indicated in no uncertain terms where the responsibility

in vain. Here at last was a chance for the British authorities to show a firm hand and unwavering determination. The ship with the refugees aboard was forced to put out to sea, despite the warning that it would go to pieces. The destination? Back to the hell which the unfortunate refugees thought they had left behind. They did not even have a glimpse of the “promised land.”

ONLY ONE CAN TELL THE TAIL

One can easily surmise the agony of the 769 men, women and children — the agony of a tortured spirit, crushed hope, cruelly shattered illusions. But there is only one of the 769 left who could ever possibly tell the ghastly tale; 768 perished when the ship exploded on February 24 in the mine-infested Black Sea, seven miles north of the Bosphorus.

Two ships with Jewish refugees aboard previously suffered the fate of the Struma. On Dec. 12, 1940, another small vessel carrying 380 Jewish refugees from Bulgaria, went down in the sea of Marmora with a loss of 223 persons, after striking a reef during a storm. On Nov. 25, 1940 only eighteen days prior to this disaster, the steamer Patria with 1904 homeless Jews from central Europe aboard, exploded and capsized in the harbor of Haifa, Palestine. The Patria suffered the same fate as the Struma, except that it had been turned back after

it had reached its destination, and the unfortunate refugees had had their glimpse of the “promised land.”

Let no one say that the British ruling class is entirely devoid of human feelings. Two Lords, Lord Davies and Lord Wedgwood, bestirred themselves and made the charge in the House of Lords that the British authorities in Palestine are biased against the Jews. Perhaps these two Lords thought it good politics to place responsibility on the authorities in Palestine and thus absolve the home government. This, however, was not the opinion of Viscount Cranborne, Colonial Secretary. Here is how the New York Times, March 11, reports the speech of the Viscount in reply to the critical two Lords:

“Amid cheers Lord Cranborne asserted that the Palestine High Commissioner and those assisting him were carrying out a policy approved by the British Government and added:

“They have done it and are doing it with complete integrity and great courage in circumstances of extraordinary difficulty and to suggest anything else is both undesirable and dangerous because we can thus only injure the authority of the administration and than can only lead to disaffection and unrest.”

Indeed it took “integrity and great courage” to send the defenseless refugees to their doom. When Hitler does anything similar, the sanctimonious hypocritical Lords who have made a profession of deceit and chicanery, call it uncivilized and barbarous. And why the cheers at this gruesome tragedy? Is it because the Lords have had so little to cheer about that they have lost their balance like that village fool who made it a practice to cheer at fun-

Guthrie Resignation Shows Bosses Can’t Plan Production

By A. ROLAND

The resignation of the head of the textile division of the War Production Board, Guthrie, and a couple of his assistants, will result in some sort of investigation and lots of talk. Its real significance will be glossed over by the capitalist press and the government experts. In fact Guthrie himself, former sewing machine monopolist, had no intention of spotlighting the actual situation.

Guthrie resigned in protest over the fact that he could not get any honest cooperation from the owners of the textile mills and leather goods makers. With all its paper-work on priorities and allocations of strategic raw materials, the government depends in final analysis on the cooperation of the bosses to make its planning of war production effective. And there’s the rub! The government will get cooperation fast enough from the big outfits that are benefiting from the war production and are piling up enormous profits. But it will get every kind of sabotage and hidden opposition from those capitalists who are being or are threatened with being squeezed out of industry because of material shortages.

The man in the street is made to think that the trouble is with this or that group of individual factory owners who prefer profits to patriotism. That is not the trouble, or it is just one phase of the trouble that modern capitalism experiences in wartime. Under capitalism it is the natural thing for each and every owner of the means of production to comb the market for his needs in raw materials. There is a keen competition between the war industries and the other sectors of American economy to lay hands on these materials. Remember, the government does not own these materials nor the plants in which they are used. It can only mediate to see that supplies flow into the proper factories.

What Guthrie Is Revealing

Guthrie was the representative of the government of the United States in wartime. The significance of his resignation lies in the fact that it is the clearest kind of admission that the government is helpless in the face of non-cooperating bosses. Guthrie is protesting not against his superiors, not against the government, but against the textile factory owners outside the government. Guthrie thinks he is showing up some unpatriotic, grasping men in one industry. Really he is once again revealing that planned production is impossible under capitalist anarchy.

Many union men, particularly union leaders who support Roosevelt and the war, think like Guthrie that the system could be made to work if only it weren’t for some selfish capitalists. These men propose various schemes to put the present factory machinery and the man-power to more efficient use. The greatest gain that comes from these ideas and plans is that it sets the unions to thinking along lines of planned production. Gradually workers will realize in thinking along these lines that the real trouble lies in the system of property relations, the system that produces first of all to bring profits to individual factory owners. Under such a system there is no way to prevent industries from pulling in opposite directions and working at cross-purposes.

The capitalist class, you may be sure, feels the greatest alarm when workers begin to think of taking a hand in the running of industry. One of the greatest reasons for the instant and unanimous boss opposition to the Reuther plan proposed for the auto industry long before that industry was shut down, had nothing to do with the merits of that plan. It was opposition by the bosses to the very idea that unions should think along these lines. How could manufacturers dare to admit that their workers knew better than they how to plan production more efficiently?

Boss Attitude to Joint Conferences

This attitude is shown quite clearly in an editorial in the magazine Business Week, Murray and the CIO unions have been demanding that the workers have some representation with the bosses on the planning boards. Here is the plain-spoken attitude of the employer class:

“Washington is wondering whether Nelson pulled a smart one or headed for trouble when he assigned his push-production propaganda drive to ‘management-labor committees’ in munitions plants. Intent was (1) to sell the scheme to labor, and (2) divert the unions from their demand for a bigger voice in management of industry (the Murray plan) to what Nelson considers their proper role — stimulation of the individual worker to greater effort. It looks as if the plan may backfire. The unions have accepted it whole-heartedly. Now CIO leaders, with a straight face, are publicly congratulating Nelson on having adopted the Murray plan, are promising a flow of valuable ideas for improved handling of war work in the plants.”

There is nothing that the employing class wants less than ideas, good or bad, from workers on how to run their business. Yes, some saving in producing small items, some different operation here or there — but leave the bigger things to the bigger men. But the unions will do well to take up more seriously than ever before the study of the larger running of industry. Capitalism is on the rocks of the world over. Its industry is running down. Sooner or later the workers will find it necessary to step in to keep production going in order not to starve.

Meantime, if the government seriously wants to plan production, it can do so in individual industries like the munitions, ship-building, steel-producing industries, only by taking over these industries from the owners, and running them under a system of workers’ control. The government will hardly do this willingly; it is something the workers must fight to achieve.

The resignation of Guthrie is a little straw in the wind. Real planned production can be accomplished only through socialized industry under workers’ control.

