

CORPORATION PROFITS

(From the AFL Weekly News Service, Mar. 17, 1942)
Net Income After All Taxes and Costs

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| Last War . . . 1916 | 6.4 billion dollars |
| 1940 | 5.5 |
| 1941 | 7.2 |
| 1917 | 6.7 |
| 1918 | 4.6 |
| 1929 | 7.2 |
| This War . . . 1939 | 4.2 |

THE MILITANT

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UNION LEADERS YIELD TO FDR THREAT

THE BOSSES ADVANCE WHEN THE LEADERS OF THE UNION RETREAT

An Editorial

The union leaders have yielded without a struggle one position after another to the bosses. If they hope by this policy to induce the bosses in turn to suspend their war against the unions, they are duping themselves and the workers. This is confirmed once more by the events of this week.

The union leaders had agreed to surrender the right to strike. They had shunted the workers' demands into the hands of the War Labor Board, where they are being stalled and delayed and kicked around. They had backed the administration's speed-up schemes. In this fashion they sought to get around the bosses' pretenses for anti-labor legislation.

But the bosses just cooked up others. When the issue of strikes did not suffice for their game, the bosses seized on the 40-hour week and over-time pay. The monopoly corporations, showing no gratitude for the concessions of the union leaders, began brazenly demanding conditions in union contracts they would not have dared to suggest six months ago. General Motors, Bethlehem Steel and the others are boldly attempting to wipe out every important gain won by the workers in their past bitter union struggles.

Now the union officialdom has retreated once again. In the face of the boss offensive and the administration's threats, they have surrendered another traditional right of labor — over-time pay for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays.

But this latest capitulation will not quiet the bosses and Congressional reactionaries any more than previous ones did. Seeing that their campaign gets some results, this new retreat of the labor leaders will merely incite the bosses to more audacious efforts. The taste of blood which the administration has given the reactionaries is already exciting the capitalist wolf pack into louder yelps for the flesh and blood of the workers.

The only way the union leaders have tried to "fight" back at the bosses' anti-labor offensive is by crawling cap-in-hand to Roosevelt and begging him to get the bosses to "go easy." And Roosevelt has always responded by "persuading" the union officials themselves to give up just "one more" right of the workers.

In giving up these rights, the union leaders have not been carrying out the will of the workers. Every one of their successive capitulations — from agreeing to surrender the right to strike to tossing away over-time pay for week-ends and holidays — has been made behind the backs of the workers. The union ranks have not even been consulted on these vital issues.

The latest backward crawl has been made despite the fact that hundreds of recently negotiated union contracts specifically provide for double-time pay on week-ends and holidays. This retreat was made while scores of other important union contracts including these provisions were in the midst of negotiations. These are facts demonstrating that the workers in general do not desire to give up this traditional right. The desire of the workers, however, cut no ice with the union leaders. They have meekly accepted the demands of the bosses and administration and are helping to impose them on the betrayed ranks.

By their cringing and retreating, the union leaders have only made it easier for the bosses to strike more blows at the workers. By their reliance on the administration to protect the interests of the workers, the union leaders are paving the way for the complete betrayal of those interests.

The organized workers can save themselves from being pushed back to intolerable living standards in the coming period only by refusing to retreat another inch. They must refuse to yield a single right. They must repudiate the policy of servile dependence on the administration and the boss politicians. Relying on their own organized strength alone, they must defend themselves militantly against every attack of the boss class.

Dunne Tour Extended To Include West Coast Cities

Speaks In Behalf Of 18 Defendants

The tour of 22 cities by V. R. Dunne, sponsored by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, has been so successful that the CRDC has made plans to continue the tour throughout the middle west and along the west coast.

Dunne has been speaking on behalf of the 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO who were convicted in the Minneapolis labor trial last December of violating the Smith "Gag" Act. Everywhere trade union, labor and liberal groups of all kinds have shown interest and extended support of the work of the CRDC in support of the 18 defendants.

CITIES IN TOUR

Dunne, one of the outstanding labor leaders of the northwest, will leave St. Louis this week, go through a number of Southern Illinois mining towns, and proceed by the northern route from the Twin Cities to Seattle, then down to California.

Following is a list of cities to be visited on the second half of the Dunne tour:

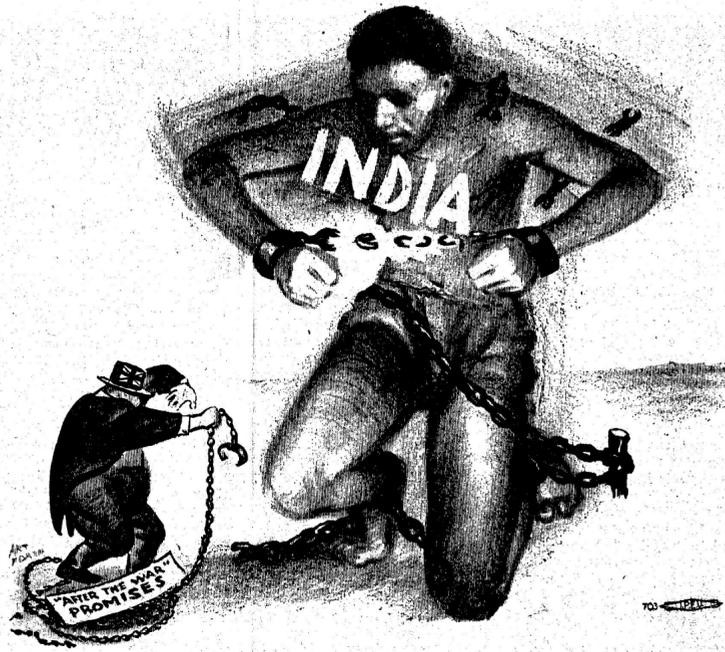
VISITS ILLINOIS TOWNS

- Southern Illinois, March 26, 27.
- Twin Cities, Minn., Mar. 28.
- Fargo, N. D., April 10.
- Plentywood, Mont., April 11, 12.
- Butte, Montana, April 13.
- Spokane, Wash., April 15.
- Seattle, Wash., April 17 to 19.
- Tacoma, Ore., April 20.
- Portland, Ore., April 22.
- San Francisco, Cal., April 24 to 26.
- Los Angeles, Cal., April 27 through May 10.

Mr. M. J. Myer, one of the attorneys for the 18 defendants, is preparing the record of the case to be filed in the District Court in Minneapolis in preparation for an appeal against the convictions in the higher courts.

The cost of carrying through the appeal is expected to run into thousands of dollars. The Civil Rights Defense Committee is appealing to all progressives to send funds at once to aid in the fight to free the Minneapolis defendants. The address of the CRDC is 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Bringing More Chains



Joint Committees Have Power Only To 'Advise'

And All They Can Advise the Bosses About Is New Ways of Speeding Up the Workers

NEW YORK — The administration's program for establishing management-labor committees to speed up the workers and production is going into high gear. A number of conferences between the bosses and the union representatives have been held in the past week, and more are scheduled within the next week or two.

From the discussions and results at the conferences already held it is clear that the plan has nothing to do with giving the workers a greater "share" in the control of the operations of industry, despite what the trade union leaders and Stalinists have been falsely implying to the union ranks.

One of the first of these meetings was held on March 17 in New York City, with 300 spokesmen for the unions and the bosses in attendance. They represented principally plants manufacturing guns, ships, aircraft and machine tools.

The only concern of the committees to be set up, it was pointed out by administration spokesmen, is to speed up production.

BOSSES STILL TO RETAIN FULL CONTROL

It was stressed that these committees were entirely "voluntary," that they were "distinct from any committees having to do with the application of collective bargaining agreements affecting wages, hours and working conditions" and that they were "not designed to encroach in any way upon the rights of management." (New York Times, March 18).

Thus, these committees will in no way be concerned with the problems of the workers and their conditions. They will serve exclusively to devise ways and means to get more production at reduced costs — and greater profits — for the bosses. But these committees will have no power to compel management to carry out any ideas, regardless of their merit.

The bosses, naturally, will be free as in the past to control and operate the industries in accordance with their own interests and profit motives. If an idea put forth by the committees appears profitable, the bosses may accept it. If another idea even sounder from the standpoint of efficient production, but not profitable, is offered, the bosses can and undoubtedly will reject it.

The only reason the bosses support this plan is that it will help them get more "efficiency" by speeding up the workers. These committees, explained the March 13 United States News,

less and less attention and energy will be directed toward solving the problems of the worker. Such a program can only help to divert the unions from their real task, to defend the interests of the workers.

The root of the waste, inefficiency and anarchy of production under capitalism is its inability to organize and plan production on a national and international scale. Capitalism today can have no program for increasing production which does not include greater speed-up and long hours. That is why any program to speed-up production which fails to break the private bosses' stranglehold on industry must achieve its results at the expense of the workers.

Maximum production can be achieved and industry can be operated for the benefit of the masses only when the handful of monopoly owners no longer control the basic productive facilities.

Only when the government takes over the basic industries and runs them under the control and management of the workers, will it be possible to so coordinate and plan production that maximum efficiency will be achieved, not at the expense of the workers, but for their benefit.

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Waller Gets Executive Stay

Odell Waller, Virginia Negro sharecropper sentenced to die March 20, has been granted a stay of execution until May 19 by Governor C. W. Darden, the Workers Defense League announced this week.

Waller's case is being appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1940 he was convicted for shooting his planter landlord to death in a dispute over crop shares, of which the landlord was trying to cheat the Waller family. The jury disregarded the plea of self-defense; it was composed only of landlord and poll-tax payers.

The Waller defense movement has correctly pointed out that Waller did not receive a trial by jury of his peers, because his peers, the sharecroppers and destitute workers, are unable to pay the state poll tax and are deprived not only of the right to vote, but also the right to serve on juries. The Virginia Supreme Court has twice turned down appeals of the case.

Give Up Fight For Week-End, Holiday Pay

Administration Pushes Step-By-Step Drive To Chisel Away Workers' Union Standards

Taking advantage of the anti-labor atmosphere being generated by a reactionary Congress and the capitalist press, the Roosevelt administration — under cover of opposing anti-labor laws — is pushing its own step-by-step campaign to chisel down labor's rights and standards. This week it put over the first move in the direction of abolishing over-time pay.

While expressing opposition to present Congressional demands to abolish the 40-hour week, the administration served a virtual ultimatum on labor demanding that it agree to straight time instead of time-and-a-half and double-time pay for holidays and for Saturdays and Sundays when these are not the sixth and seventh consecutive work days, and laid the basis for the bosses to refuse to pay double-time on any seventh consecutive work-day.

In the face of a declared threat

CP Attempts to Halt Distribution Of the 'Militant'

CLEVELAND, Ohio. — Stalinist goons made several cowardly attacks upon MILITANT distributors in front of their "Free Earl Browder Rally" on St. Patrick's Day, without, however, preventing distribution of the issue which answered the contemptible lies and slanders issued in a C.P. leaflet here several weeks ago.

A friend of THE MILITANT who attended the meeting reported overhearing several Stalinists express their fury at seeing the paper read in their hall by workers before the meeting started. They discussed the possibility of getting the cops to stop the distribution with no regard to the fact that their own meeting was held for the express purpose of protesting the imprisonment of Browder for his political convictions. Evidently they abandoned this project, not knowing how to explain that while they talked about democratic rights and political freedom inside the meeting, they wanted it stopped outside.

At the meeting the Stalinists linked up Browder with St. Patrick, Debs and Tom Mooney. They hoped Roosevelt would not forget Browder next Christmas as he did last, for they said that Browder's pardon depended entirely upon FDR. This with the proper note of patriotism was all the C.P. had to offer for freeing Browder.

hat the administration itself would push anti-labor legislation if the unions did not accept its ultimatum, the leaders of the AFL and CIO once more retreated without a struggle. They have agreed to accept straight-time pay for Saturday, Sunday and holiday work when these fall within the regular work week. They are still asking for time-and-a-half for all work over eight hours in any one day and for the sixth consecutive day. The CIO is also insisting on double-time pay for the seventh day of work.

Having made this much headway in its strategy of nibbling away bit by bit at union standards and rights, the next move of the administration may be for the general reinstatement of the hated "incentive system" — the piece-work method of pay that divides and speeds up the workers and enables the bosses to slice away at their pay scales. Nelson indicated this move when he boosted the "incentive system" last week before a congressional committee.

WHY ROOSEVELT OPPOSES SMITH-VINSON BILL

Roosevelt opposed the formal abolition of the wage-hour laws and the 40-hour week at this time, solely because he does not think such a drastic move is expedient. Roosevelt is fairly well satisfied with the present labor situation. Open labor struggles are at a low point. The union leaders are anxious to avoid any conflicts. A clearly hostile move on the part of the administration might precipitate widespread militant opposition from the rank-and-file of organized labor, whose potential strength the administration recognizes.

Roosevelt, therefore, does not want to risk upsetting the applecart, so to speak, when he feels that with the aid of the "responsible" labor leaders he can by methods of "gradualism" achieve the subjugation of labor more economically and with less "disturbance."

This is the motive indicated by Donald Nelson, War Production Board head, in his statement to the House Naval Affairs Committee last Tuesday. Nelson advised the committee that to abolish the 40-hour week by law would "create a widespread demand for increases in wage rates" and that "changing the law will cause a disturbance that may interfere with production and we cannot have that at this time."

Both Roosevelt and Nelson have made it clear, however, that they do not oppose such legislation in principle. Roosevelt has stated that he would support anti-labor laws if "necessary." Last week, Nelson said only that there is "no need" for such laws "at this time." And Nelson himself told the House committee Tuesday that if the unions did not accept the administration's demand on Saturday, Sunday and holiday pay within 30 days, he would personally support legislative compulsion, a statement which one New York daily called a "velvet-gloved ultimatum" to labor.

Nelson based his demand for a abolition of established pay (Continued on page 4)

Flint Workers Denounce New Speed-Up Campaign

FLINT, Mich. — The alert militants in the Flint auto plants, have come out with a sharp attack against the vicious speed-up campaign of the GM corporation which has been endorsed by the UAW tops and Philip Murray.

Pointing out that there are still 25,000 unemployed auto workers in Flint, the Buick Local 599, Fisher Body Local 581, and Chevrolet Local 659 — representing 40,000 members — have passed a resolution demanding that the 40 hour week be retained, and that hours be maintained "that will keep all workers on the job."

"We recommend that the International Executive Board go on record as opposed to speed-up as advocated by industry's dollar-a-year men and that the productive capacity of individuals remain constant until every man and woman who is available for work is put to work," said the Flint resolution. It continued:

"Labor has seen the seniority lists junked, the wage structure in the auto industry go out with the end of auto production, and grievance machinery badly crippled because management is taking advantage of labor's no-strike pledge.

"Lack of planning and inefficiency of government agencies have added greatly to the general confusion and have been a contributing factor in making plant facilities unusable and throwing thousands of Americans out of work."

Sharply differing with the Reuthers, Thomases and Murays, the Flint resolution demanded that "The automobile union must take a firm stand against speed-up and unemployment, and all doubts as to our stand must be cleared up in the minds of our membership and in the minds of the general public."

The widening gulf between the

union top officialdom and the militant rank and file of the UAW is clearly shown by this militant resolution. While the UAW tops and national CIO leaders have been echoing the slogans of the National Association of Manufacturers for "speedup" and "work, work, work," the auto workers have been pressed to this wall by the corporations.

The Flint workers — who have gone through months of unemployment because of the companies' profits-as-usual program, and who are then rehired at lower living costs must face the war against conditions in the plants, due to the deliberate provocations of the company, and the piling up of unsettled grievances. They are losing patience with the stupid and treacherous policies of their top leaders who beg favors in Washington, and then fly back to the auto centers only long enough to put out fires.

General Motors Want To Cut Heart Out Of UAW

By JOE ANDREWS

DETROIT, Mich. — The General Motors Corporation, stuffed with increased profits and made bold by the nationwide anti-labor campaign being waged under cover of patriotic slogans, has unfurled a union-busting program intended to wipe out all the basic gains achieved by the UAW since the 1937 sit-down victories.

In a statement issued as a counter-proposal to the UAW demands, General Motors opened the new contract negotiations March 20, by issuing a 9-point program. Every point is a hammer blow at the fundamental rights and conditions established by the auto workers after years of fierce struggle. The program as a whole is designed to cut off the arms and legs of the union. Not one of the union's demands for the new contract are favorably received by GM.

1. Stating that the union's demand for a dollar-a-day wage increase would "have to be paid by the taxpayers," GM President C. E. Wilson made it clear that the demand would be referred to the War Labor Board. The threat to pass on any wage increases to the people in the form of increased costs of war products, is a threat therefore to the government not to grant the union's demand.

This means that the auto moguls announce in advance: "If you grant the UAW a wage increase, we will get out and take it back by arbitrarily jacking up armament prices!"

ALMOST A HALF BILLION PROFITS FOR GM

Not for a moment would the corporation think of paying for the wage increase out of profits. General Motors reaped a net profit in 1941 of \$489,644,851 which is 53% above the 1940 net profit! The union's demand for a dollar-a-day increase would amount to an estimated 60 to 90 million dollars, which could easily be met out of these huge profits. But the GM bosses have made it clear that their profits must not be touched.

The union proposal for 90 day readjustment of wages in accordance with rises in living costs, was likewise brushed aside by the corporation. This issue along with other important questions will no doubt be put before the WLB, which will have to decide whether it will allow corporations to freeze wages in spite of huge profiteering and spiralling prices.

The other union demands, now in negotiation to replace the old contract which expires April 28, are: a closed shop, which will go to the War Labor Board, retention of time and a half and double time pay, 10% and 15% premiums for the night shifts, 8 days' pay for draftees, steward system, 30 minute paid lunch periods, etc.

9 UNION-SMASHING POINTS

In reply to these demands, the company touched off the following 9-point salvo at auto unionism:

1. "Discontinue in official union papers, handbills and other literature, attacks and accusations of 'speedup' on management's efforts to increase production of

partments or plants of a union representative. At present, every shift must have a committeeman working as long as anyone else is working.

As can be seen from this list of counter-proposals, the General Motors Corporation is out not merely to resist the demands of the union and prevent any gains, but to cut the very heart out of the UAW.

There is no question that the corporation means business on these anti-labor schemes. They are part of the nationwide union-busting campaign, which is threatening to result in drastic congressional curbs on labor.

With the unions told by their own top leaders that they cannot use their strongest defensive weapon, the right to strike, the big industrialists are taking the offensive and are out to smash the CIO.

A FIGHT FOR THE UNION'S LIFE

The militant UAW rank and file and progressive local union leaders, who have felt the full brunt of the auto barons' campaign to wreck their standards, are keenly aware of the crucial nature of the current negotiations with GM. Already the corporation has instituted wage cuts all along the line by rehiring workers laid off during the change-over at a 15 or 20% wage decrease. Many workers, getting a dollar an hour before the lay offs, have been reemployed at 80 cents. Not satisfied with this wage cut, the corporation is pounding away in every plant in every department, with a speed-up campaign.

The public anti-union blast of GM sounds the warning loud and far. The union can now not afford to drop its defenses. Among the militants in auto, many rumblings of dissatisfaction with the top leadership and their program of speed-up and surrender have been heard.

These rank and file fighters remember that they are facing the same employers who in 1937 organized vigilante gangs to destroy the UAW. They are aware that the high-sounding slogans for speed-up are a smokescreen for the Duponts, whose one aim is to build up their mountainous profits.

The showdown battle is coming in auto. It will be a battle against both the auto barons and the cowards and traitors who advise the workers to surrender the fort without a fight.

More Unions Give Support to CRDC

NEW YORK, Mar. 24. — The Civil Rights Defense Committee announced today that its work in defense of the 18 convicted in the Minneapolis "sedition" trial had been endorsed by the Steel City Industrial Union Council, which embraces the CIO unions of Pittsburgh.

The Committee also reported additional donations in support of its work from several more local unions.

Local 856 of the United Auto Workers, of Goodyear Aircraft, Akron, Ohio, sent a donation of \$50. Half of this sum came from the union treasury, the other half came from a collection taken among the members.

From Trenton, N. J., came contributions from four more CIO locals, thus further increasing the number of the scores of New Jersey unions which have expressed their sympathy with the 18 defendants in a material way.

These unions were Locals 107 and 205 of the United Rubber Workers and Locals 225 and 226 of the Doll and Toy Workers.

Local 4 of the Brewery Workers in Buffalo, N. Y., also sent a donation.

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Bethlehem Corp. Launches Union-Smashing Campaign

Union Must Educate New Workers to Meaning of Unionism and Take Offensive Against Slanders of Profiteering Corporation

SAN PEDRO, Cal., Mar. 20. — The present negotiations between Local 9 of the International Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation at San Pedro are being closely watched by both the local labor movement, CIO and AFL, and all employers in the Harbor District. Since the introduction of the war program, shipbuilding has moved rapidly forward to the position of major industry in Los Angeles Harbor, employing an estimated 40,000 workers. Bethlehem Steel, part of the huge national monopoly in steel and shipbuilding, employs over 5,000 and is a CIO stronghold.

Steel is evidently their spearhead in the attack on militant unionism in the yards. The present agreement with Bethlehem was arrived at verbally, granting the union a closed shop and accepting the provisions of the Pacific Coast Shipbuilding Stabilization Board in relation to wages and working conditions. These include a closed shop, a wage scale, the eight hour day, and stipulations on the rising cost of living and wage adjustments. The agreement stipulated that one year after it went into effect negotiations would be opened for upward revision of wages in proportion to the increased cost of living.

Having won an NLRB election a few months ago by 95%, the union is now demanding an increase in wages, the closed shop, union hiring (which is now in effect), and a written contract. The contract also includes a demand for seniority from the first working day, vacations with pay, and provisions for the allotment of helpers and improvers to a minimum of mechanics. This contract was virtually drawn up on the union floor by the membership. By and large it reflects the needs of the workers at this time and is an accurate expression of union sentiment.

PROBLEMS ARISING FROM PLANT EXPANSION
Since the establishment of the last contract, the yard has under-

gone a tremendous expansion. Less than 1,000 workers have increased to over 5,000; the trained and experienced core of unionists are outnumbered by newer and inexperienced workers. Many are fresh from farms and small towns and are totally unaware of the role of the union in establishing the wage scale and working conditions which they are now receiving. To them the weekly pay check represents company generosity rather than benefits-won through years of struggle and sacrifice by militant and loyal union men; the fear of conscription and the pressure of war propaganda adds to their indifference or hostility to the union.

As a result there has arisen a menace to the union in the form of newly trained anti-union workers who stand ready to replace the previously indispensable pro-union old timers. Only the influx of the new workers with a CIO background in auto, longshore, electrical, rubber, etc., has prevented the expansion from overbalancing the union's position in the yard.

The company also employs various provocative measures calculated to weaken and discourage the morale of the union-conscious men. Continuous attempts to hire through the company office, firing and discrimination against shopstewards, open attacks on the union by foremen and company stooges have been made since the opening of negotiations. At this point the company felt ready to show of strength. Without previously consulting the union, it announced the establishment of the ten-hour day.

WHY THE BOSSES PICKED TEN HOUR ISSUE
The selection of the ten hour day as a trial issue was neither accidental nor of purely local significance. Legislation for the repeal of the eight hour day has been introduced in Congress and efforts were being made throughout the country in various industries to obtain the assent of the workers on the pretext that it was necessary for war production purposes. As indicated by the fact that the bill in Congress specifically called for the abolition of overtime pay over forty hours and over eight hours in a day opposition to the eight hour day could only have meant the destruction of the basic right of organized labor to a living wage for eight hours work and a five day week. Raising the hypocritical claim of "defense production needs," the company established two ten-hour shifts.

While serving the needs of the reactionary attempts in Congress, the ten hour shift served even more directly to bolster an anti-union attitude. More or less content with their newly found jobs, the great mass of inexperienced workers eyed with relish the prospects of overtime work and overtime pay. Eager to replenish the empty pockets drained by varying periods of unemployment, they were willing to sacrifice good union standards in return for overtime work. The fact that the union had just opened negotiations, and that included were the issues of wage rates and adjustments to the rising cost of living, seemed unimportant when overtime work and pay was combined with a well-organized slander campaign, against the union.

THE REFERENDUM
Although the union at a large membership meeting at the Wilmington Bowl had voted overwhelmingly for the eight hour day, large numbers of workers who had not been present expressed their opposition in the yard. The meeting voted to enforce the eight hour day, and the union ordered the men to leave

their jobs after eight hours. This was an important test of strength. It is extremely encouraging that the walkout after eight hours of work was 100% effective, showing a loyalty to the union on the part of a large majority of the men.

After two days of walking off the job at the end of eight hours, the union agreed to a proposal by Secretary of the Navy Knox that a referendum be held in the yard. Excluded from the vote were about 1,000 men who had been hired within the previous few weeks, and the vote was conducted in such a way that hundreds of night shift men, who are solidly for eight hours, were excluded from voting. Out of over 3,000 votes cast, the vote revealed a majority in favor of ten hours of only 45. The additional votes of the excluded workers (who faced layoffs) and a full vote of the swing shift would have undoubtedly swung the vote considerably in favor of the eight hour day. It is significant to note that the greatest pressure on the part of the company resulted in no more than a deadlock. Although very few men were laid off before the vote, in the last few weeks three to four hundred men have been laid off due to the introduction of two ten hour shifts instead of three eight hour shifts.

Accepting even this as progress, the company immediately got tough in negotiations. Absolutely refusing to grant the union the continuation of its hiring hall, it barred the way for negotiations on any but the minor questions without, however, committing themselves to a single concession. With April 1st not far off, the company is still stalling, while continuing its provocations. In the past weeks scores of men have been dismissed, including many union militants. The atmosphere is one of concealed terrorization of pro-union men. The tide of union resentment is rising high — union men are asking themselves how this situation can be solved.

Throughout these past months the union has watched the infiltration of new workers with an uneasy eye. A great deal of discussion occurred at local meetings on ways and means of bringing the lessons of unionism to these new members. Because of inexperience on the part of the leadership this important task was not fulfilled. The union issued no literature and did not carry on a campaign of education on the basic union program. As a result many inexperienced workers fell easy prey to slanders against the union.

HOW TO COUNTER THE COMPANY'S OFFENSIVE
But the greatest weakness of all which the union leadership has exhibited has been its failure to publicize the union's demands in the negotiations and to report openly and regularly on their progress. The net result is the complete failure to arm the membership with issues on which union sentiment can be bolstered in the yard, the real arena of battle. The success of the negotiations depends on the successful organization of the fight in the yard itself.

It is by no means too late for this to be achieved. The overwhelming profits of Bethlehem Steel are only too well known. The company's crocodile tears shed over union unreasonableness can be blasted wide open by public exposure of greedy profiteering. The union demands must be broadcast openly and militantly. The membership must be mobilized for action. Forty thousand shipyard workers in the Harbor District are anxiously awaiting the result of this struggle, knowing full well their own interests are at stake. By a correct policy and decisive action, Local 9 can mobilize the support of every shipyard worker in the Harbor area for a CIO victory.

CP Joins Government In Hiding Truth About The Browder Case

Wants Masses to Forget Who Railroaded Browder to Jail and Keeps Him There

By ANTHONY MASSINI

A National Free Browder Congress is being held in New York this week. It is expected that the Congress will be well attended, with representatives from many trade unions. Its purpose is to dramatize the case of the secretary of the Communist Party, who has already served a full year of a four-year sentence.

The issues in the Browder case are very simple. He was given a severe sentence for a trifling technical irregularity in a passport case; everyone knows that the only reason he was ever brought to court on it at all was because of his political views. This is the reason why many organizations and people who have little or no sympathy for Browder's politics have denounced the prosecution and endorsed the demand for a pardon by Roosevelt.

the only one with the power to grant it.

But while the issues are so simple, they are not presented in this manner by the official defense movement, the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder, controlled by the Stalinists, which has conducted a defense campaign unique in the history of the American labor movement. For since Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union last summer, the defense committee has systematically and deliberately distorted and suppressed the truth about the Browder case, misrepresented the motive for the trial and done everything in its power to conceal the identity of the forces which instigated and carried through the frame-up.

CURRENT C. P. VERSION
The current Stalinist version of the case is that Browder was imprisoned because he was "a consistent opponent of fascism" ("The Case of Earl Browder," issued by the Citizens' Committee, March, 1942). To prove this, they quote at length from many of his articles and speeches advocating action against Germany and Japan and an alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union.

This is all cock-and-bull, intended to cover up the true facts and to make people forget the role of the Communist Party during the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. Browder was not convicted because he wanted to fight fascism, or because he advocated support of Britain and France in the war, but because he and the Stalinist movement as a whole expressed opposition to the Roosevelt war preparation program.

During the four years before the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the Communist Party agitated for "collective security" and a holy war for democracy against Hitler. During the period of the Pact and during the first stage of the second World War, they dropped that line, ceased all their denunciations of Hitlerism and sharply attacked Churchill, Roosevelt and the "democracies." Anyone who goes back to their literature of that period will see at a glance how false are the Stalinist stories of today.

In fact, Browder himself dis-

cussed this very question on the day on which he was sentenced. In the courtroom on Jan. 22, 1940, just before he was sentenced, he tried during his summation to explain to the jury why he was being framed up. As he said later, "What was it that the judge wanted above all to prevent me from speaking about in that court? The one thing above all that was prohibited from even being whispered there was the motive of the prosecution."

BROWDER'S EXPLANATION

That same night, at a Lenin Memorial Meeting of the Communist Party in Madison Square Garden, he was finally able to discuss the real motive for the trial. He said: "We must warn the people that this verdict of this case is only one incident in the drive of the American ruling class toward war. . . . The motive of this prosecution lies in the general campaign of our ruling class to prepare our country for war."

This was not his personal view, it was the position of the Communist Party at that time. The Madison Square Garden speech was issued in a pamphlet, "Earl Browder Takes His Case to the People," and distributed by the Defense Committee for Civil Rights for Communists, predecessor of the present Citizens' Committee. The Defense Committee stated on the last page of the pamphlet: "It is the first step in the drive of Wall Street and the Roosevelt Administration to outlaw the Communist Party — the most determined fighter against imperialist slaughter — and to plunge the United States into war."

Thus, by their own words of two years ago, the current Stalinist version of the Browder case is shown to be false. The interesting thing is not of course that they spit in the face of what they said yesterday — they have done this too often for it to be news — but that they have joined with the prosecution in suppressing the truth about the reason for the trial.

FDR OR THE "APPEASERS"?

The Stalinists are also trying to make people forget what they had to say about the responsibility of the Roosevelt administration for the prosecution; according to their present story, it is the "appeasers" who want to keep Browder in jail. "The Cliveden Set is the only group in the country whose purposes are served by keeping Browder in jail; the appeasers and the friends of Hitler fear him and move heaven and earth to prevent his liberation." ("The Case of Earl Browder.")

Roosevelt who had Browder put in jail, and it is Roosevelt who keeps him there. It is not necessary for the "appeasers" to move heaven and earth — Roosevelt doesn't show the slightest inclination to release Browder.

Why do the Stalinists lie about their own case this way? Because they no longer criticize any of Roosevelt's policies, and they would find it most embarrassing to admit that the administrator they support so wholeheartedly in his "war for democracy" is an enemy of civil liberties.

C. P. AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

The Stalinist appeal to the public for support of the Browder defense movement is on the basis of the need for defending civil liberties. Their appeal to Roosevelt is that Browder, free, would "strengthen the war effort," that he would have something to add to the successful prosecution of the war.

It is easy to understand what they mean by both these appeals when you analyze their record on the most important civil liberties case in many years. Last summer the government indicted and brought to trial 29 members of the Socialist Workers Party; the prosecution was denounced by many of the same organizations which have denounced the Browder trial. But the Stalinists, who plead for civil liberties for themselves, refused to support the defendants; their only complaint was that the government had indicted the Trotskyists as revolutionaries instead of trying to frame them up as "Nazi agents."

Since Pearl Harbor they have attempted to launch lynch campaigns against all their working class opponents, denouncing as supporters of Hitlerism all those who oppose Stalinism — and who opposed Hitlerism even during the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. The chief thing Browder will add to the war effort would be to act as finger-man and lynch inciter against working class militants in all kinds of slanderous campaigns which the government is not at this time prepared to undertake on its own.

But the Stalinist violations of the most elementary principles in the defense of civil liberties must not blind the workers to the necessity for defending these rights even for those with whom they sharply disagree. Despite the reactionary role of Stalinism, Browder was convicted only because of his views and his prosecution was an attack on civil liberties. It is the duty of the workers to clearly recognize the real issues in this case and — without associating themselves for a moment with the lies and confusion spread by the Communist Party — to demand that Browder be freed.

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The Negro Struggle
By Albert Parker

Housing Question In Washington

Washington is supposed to be the "headquarters of the democracies." If you want to know what they mean by democracy in Washington, you ought to read the judgment handed down by District Court Justice McDonoghue early this month.

It seems that a colored woman was living in a part of the city where Negroes are not wanted. It also seems that they have some kind of law against this in the nation's capital. The judge handed down a ruling ordering her to move in 60 days because she is a Negro. He also issued a permanent injunction against the owners of the building in which the woman lived to prevent them from selling or leasing the property to Negroes in the future.

In Washington, you see, they don't need a Ku Klux Klan to segregate the Negroes in housing — the government does it for them!

N. J. CIO Sets Up a Committee

The New Jersey CIO took a very wise and important step last week when it established a special state committee, made up of Negro and white members, to investigate and take action on cases of anti-Negro discrimination in New Jersey plants.

Such a committee has the possibility of doing much more to wipe out industrial Jim Crow than most other organizations set up for the purpose in the past. It has the prestige and authority of the powerful state CIO movement behind it; it has the confidence of large masses of Negro workers in and out of the CIO who have seen the state leaders of the CIO speak out boldly against Jim Crow on every possible occasion; it is in a good position to help to educate white as well as colored workers as to the meaning of Jim Crowism and to the need for racial solidarity in the fight against the employers' offensive.

Furthermore, the committee does not intend to restrict its activities to job discrimination or the CIO members alone — it intends to take up other problems of discrimination and segregation as well and to cooperate wherever possible with AFL unions and other organizations that have similar objectives.

Workers in other parts of the country will watch the development of this committee with interest; if it acts militantly and involves the rank-and-file members of the CIO in its work, similar committees will undoubtedly be set up elsewhere and it may prove to be the first step toward the creation of a national organization of Negro trade-unionists fighting Jim Crow which has been so long awaited and is so urgently needed.

Two Ways of Not Skinning the Cat

The American ruling class seems to have two ways of approaching the problem of the growing dissatisfaction and anger of the Negro people with the way they are being treated today.

One way is that of the reactionary poll-tax Congressmen who charge that the Negroes are satisfied and happy, and there wouldn't be any problem if people would just stop bothering them. Their attitude is expressed by the speech made by Rankin of Missouri in the House of Representatives on March 5:

"Japanese fifth columnists have been stirring race trouble in this country for a long time. . . ."

"They are working through such organizations as this Civil Liberties Union and Associations for the Advancement of Colored People. In my opinion, they are behind this drive to try to stir up trouble between the whites and the Negroes here in Washington by trying to force Negroes into hotels, restaurants, picture shows, and other public places.

"They know that if they can start race riots in Washington and throughout the country, it will aid them in their nefarious designs against the people of the United States. . . ."

"If these agitators will let the Negroes alone, we will have no trouble with them.

"The white people of the South who have always been the Negroes' best friends, and who know the Negro problem, will have no trouble with the colored race if these fifth columnists and the flannel-mouthed agitators throughout the country will let them alone."

The other method is the one used by the "liberals". Instead of shutting up the Negroes at a time they are boiling over with resentment, the "liberals" prefer to let the Negro leaders shoot off some steam. An example of this is the calling of a conference in Washington on March 20 by Archibald MacLeish, director of the Office of Facts and Figures. The conference, to which representatives of all the big Negro newspapers and organizations have been invited, will discuss the "wartime problems" of the Negro people, and develop an information program in connection with it.

When the conference is finished, MacLeish will probably hire a few more Negroes to work in his propaganda office. The "information program" they will develop will be used in an effort to convince the rank and file Negro people that everything is fine and dandy, that they are making progress even if they can't see it, that they would be even worse off if Hitler wins the war, etc.

In short, the difference between these two methods is very superficial. The only way to eradicate the resentment of the Negro people is by wiping out the discrimination, segregation, insult and brutality which create that wholly justified resentment. Both the reactionaries and the "liberals" are united in opposing any steps that would accomplish that.

Economist Advocates Junking Of British 'Democracy' For Duration

Says the 'War for Democracy' Can Be Won Only If the Trade Unions Are Dissolved

By LARISSA REED

Too much democracy is responsible for the British failures in the present war, declares Sir William Beveridge, former Minister of Munitions, in the *London Times* of March 18. This well-known spokesman for the British plutocrats frankly admits that democracy is no longer possible in this epoch of capitalist crisis. He therefore proposes to scrap parliamentary government and to crush the trade unions.

This arch-reactionary confirms what the Trotskyists have been saying for years: that the capitalists can no longer afford the overhead expense of democratic institutions and are utilizing the war crisis to try to rob the workers of whatever gains they have achieved through decades of bitter struggle.

Sir Beveridge outlines his program for suppressing democracy and setting up in its place a naked capitalist dictatorship. He said, according to the *New York Times*: "It was a misfortune . . . when Prime Minister Churchill accepted leadership of the Conservative party . . . the 'misfortune' could have been redeemed if the Prime Minister had resigned his office and the party leadership as well, and 'being invited' formed a fresh government free of all party trammels."

Obviously, the workers and farmers are not the classes which Sir Beveridge expects to "invite" Churchill to head the proposed government; Beveridge is speaking for the class of monopoly capitalists, who are driven toward dictatorship in their final effort to save this outlived system from collapse. His call for a "national" government and Hitler's call for a "National Socialist" government are in essence the same.

FULL POWER FOR BOSSES

Sir Beveridge blames the crisis of the British empire upon "individual capitalism with its accompanying machinery of wage bargaining." He wants to replace this with a more ruthless type of capitalist institution: "for the State to take direct responsibility for the control of vital industries and for the distribution of income." Thus, Beveridge proposes to invest the monopoly capitalists with absolute state power, so that they may "destroy 'wage bargaining' between organized capital and organized labor and in its place 'distribute' a dole to labor — precisely on the Nazi pattern."

This former director of the London School of Economics complains: "We have generally, against the advice of economists, treated our work people as if they were 'economic men,' not amenable even in war to any stronger motive than personal gain." Sir Beveridge favors treating the workers as slaves and leaving the "motive of gain" in the hands of the war profiteers.

"THE MAIN EVIL"

Although Sir Beveridge approves of the fact that "the State has set out on the direct employment of all men," he is opposed to giving labor any voice whatever in the conduct of the government. He declares: "The main evil of this economic policy is not . . . the bores of inflation, nor is it that a few people may make large profits . . . it is in the indefensible and dangerous inequalities that have resulted between civilians and members of the fighting forces." His solution for this inequality is not to raise soldier's pay to the level of the trade-union wage workers, but to crush the trade unions and force down the workers' standard of living to cooie levels. Moreover, he hopes to divide workers from soldiers, the better to subjugate both for the benefit of the capitalist rulers.

After this open attack upon the rights of the workers, how does Sir Beveridge expect to persuade them into believing that they are fighting for "democracy" against fascism? Here Stalin's alliance with British imperialism comes to his aid.

He declares: "Trade unions are an essential element in British democracy and for peace I at least want trade unions . . . rather than the Russian model, associations organized from above to serve the purposes of the State. But is it too much to suggest that in the war and for the war only, our trade unions should become, after the Russian model, conscious agents of national policy?"

This British reactionary is quite willing to use Stalin's methods of destroying trade union democracy. The Stalinists, in the name of socialism, perverted trade-unionism into a tool to serve their bureaucratic purposes. Sir Beveridge proposes to give the British workers an equally empty form of trade unionism, in the name of "democracy" — and even this, only in peace time!

Sir Beveridge is forced into a reluctant admission regarding the class instinct of the British workers, which is expressing itself in their eagerness to provide extensive aid for the defense of the first workers' state, no matter

These cynical capitalist rulers and their spokesmen dare to propose that the workers give up everything, including their lives, in a war against fascism — for which their only reward will be dictatorship and enslavement at home.

Natalia Trotsky's Views On Malamuth's Editing

In his introduction to Trotsky's biography of Stalin, Chas. Malamuth, designated as "editor" by Harper and Brothers, of Trotsky has read his interpolations and found no reason to object. The following letter gives the reader an accurate picture of what Natalia Trotsky thinks of co-operation. He thereby wants readers to infer that the widow

A LETTER TO ALBERT GOLDMAN

Dear Friend, I request you to assume complete authority in conducting the case relating to the publication of Leon Trotsky's biography of Stalin; and I also ask you to assume the obligation to take the most energetic measures not to permit the printing of the notes and interpolations of the translator, Mr. Malamuth.

The prerogatives of the latter are in the nature of things limited to the task of translation, and nothing more. A translator has no right to include a single word of his own, not even an exclamation mark, without the author's permission. He had not been authorized to do so either by L. D. Trotsky nor by myself. Not a single line of Mr. Malamuth's translation was allowed to pass without a painstaking examination on the part of the author of the book.

The unheard-of violence committed by the translator on the author's rights is equivalent to violence against his life. Mr. Malamuth must be brought into court. The position taken by you in this case as a cothinker and defender of the interests of Leon Trotsky is wholly shared by me.

So far as the publishers are concerned you are the sole person competent to pass judgment on the character of the publication. You are duty bound to insist that everything written by the pen of Mr. Malamuth must be expunged from the book.

Once again, I ask you, dear friend, to take all the necessary steps and act as I have above indicated, unwaveringly maintaining the position you have taken. Mr. Malamuth and the publishers must be brought to account for having exceeded their rights, for their gross violation of the rights of the deceased author, and for their disloyal attempt to profit by his death.

With friendliest greetings,
SEPTEMBER 23, 1941. NATALIA SEDOV TROTSKY.

TASKS OF THE INDIAN REVOLUTION

British Bayonets Uphold Rule Of Native Princes

The Brutal Exploitation of the Indian Peasants By the Native Princes and Landlords Is Maintained By British Imperialism

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

To insure their domination and exploitation of India, the English have done everything in their power to preserve and reinforce feudalism there. The Asiatic system still flourishes virtually in its archaic forms throughout the so-called native states whose number is variously estimated from 600 to 700. They range in size from domains as large in area as the state of Minnesota to tracts of a few hundred acres.

These Rajahs, Maharajahs and Nizams include in their ranks the wealthiest men in the world. The Nizam of Hyderabad, Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan, is reported to possess \$150,000,000 in jewels and \$250,000,000 in gold bars alone. He rules over 20,000,000 peasants (about equal to the combined populations of Texas and New York State). Another fabulously rich prince is the Nizam of Mysore who lords it over an area as large as South Carolina, with about four times the latter's population. A third — the Maharajah of Gwalior has a domain approximating in size that of Mysore, but with half the latter's population.

Burdens On the Peasant

They constitute the summits of an outlived barbarous structure. In addition to these bloated parasites there is a host of lesser ones feeding upon the living bodies of more than 280,000,000 peasants. These are the zamindari, or landlords, who number about one million; with their families, eight million, i.e., not more than 2 per cent of the population. Most of them live in the cities; many did not inherit but bought the old feudal titles to the land, or own mortgages on it.

The zamindari rent out the land to tenants who in their turn sublease to others. Cases are not uncommon where this subleasing reaches as high as twelve (and even more!) stages before an Indian peasant is finally allowed to till the land for all these cannibals.

In order to perpetuate feudalism, the English apply what is known as the Torrence System in their colonies, especially India. According to this system, the old feudal titles remain and are entered into a land register; but the right is given to purchase feudal titles "by voluntary agreement." In short, a feudal lord can sell his right to a capitalist. In this way, the English have slipped underneath the rotten edifice of feudalism a modernized foundation and at the same time tied the native bourgeoisie to the chariot of the Rajahs, Maharajahs and Nizams. Any blow at the princes strikes also at the pockets of the bourgeoisie. To retain an important part of their capital and their profits, the Indian financiers must of necessity do all they can to retain the princes from whom in the last analysis all the land-titles flow — or, rather, to retain the princes who must hang on to the English without whom their power is so much chaff. And this is one of the reforms England has graciously bestowed on India!

There is still another important measure applied by the English to hold up the feudal system. Jawaharlal Nehru, the present leader of the In-

dian bourgeoisie, has explained it in his own polished style in his autobiography: **Nehru's Description**

"Most of the Indian states are well known for their backwardness and their semifeudal conditions. They are personal autocracies, devoid ever of competence or benevolence. . . . And yet their very inefficiency lessens the evils in some ways and lightens the burden of their unhappy people. For this is reflected in a weak executive, and it results in making even tyranny and injustice inefficient. That does not make tyranny more bearable, but it does make it less far-reaching and widespread. The assumption of direct British control over an Indian state has a curious (sic!) result in changing this equilibrium (!!). The semifeudal conditions are retained, autocracy is kept, the old laws and procedure are still supposed to function, all the restrictions on personal liberty and association and expression of opinion (and they are all-embracing) continue, but one change is made which alters the whole background. The executive becomes stronger, while a measure of efficiency is introduced, and this leads to a tightening-up of all the feudal and autocratic bonds. . . ."

"To begin with," continues Nehru, "they, the British, take full advantage of the archaic customs and methods to tighten their hold on the people, who have now to put up not only with feudalism and autocracy, but with an efficient enforcement of them by a strong executive."

So strong is this executive that, according to official figures, rent and interest charges absorb from 70 to 80 per cent of a peasant's harvest. After that he pays taxes. That peasant is indeed a favored son of fortune whose families have not died from hunger by the time the zamindar (landlord) and the *tolukdar* (tax-gatherer) and the usurer — all ably assisted by most modern efficiency — have got through squeezing his shriveled carcass. In 1918 there were six million hereditary debt-slaves in India. How many there are today nobody knows.

What the Princes Fear

The curtain is beginning to rise on the age-long "mystery of India", revealing: filth, squalor, degradation, bestiality, every abomination in the dictionary of English colonial rule. Meanwhile, in 700,000 Indian villages the peasants are weighing in their minds a way out of their centuries of grinding poverty, their centuries of living death. Small wonder, that a dispatch from Bombay issues alarm signals:

"There are 600 Indian Princes, ranging from the all-powerful Nizam of Hyderabad with immense wealth and territory as large as Italy, to small landowners with only (sic!) a few thousand subjects. The Princes fear that if the British-Indian link is broken, they will ultimately be swept away." (New York Times, Mar. 22, 1942.)

Every Indian worker and peasant will agree that nothing could serve their country better than to be rid of both the all-powerful princes and their contemptible "link." The sooner, the better.

Technocracy Evolves Openly Toward Fascism

New Agitation Timed to Take Advantage of Growing Discontent With Failures of Capitalist Production

By A. ROLAND

Technocracy has emerged from its seeming twilight and taken on a new lease on life. The entire press has taken note of this resurrection. It is taken for granted — quite correctly — that the new, streamlined movement has secured the financial backing of some big business interests. Why do they feel the need for this movement? What is its significance?

Technocracy takes pains to differentiate itself from fascism, just as it does from communism and from democracy. Fascism is not much favored in view of its history and the war alignment. Scott, leader of the technocrats, denounces Italian fascism as "the consolidation of all the minor rackets into one major monopoly." Nevertheless, the new movement emerges with all the outward symbols and trappings of a fascist grouping.

More important is the timing and the kind of appeal that technocracy makes to an America at war. The war demands the most sweeping concentration of power in the hands of the government. There is the greatest urgency to speed up war production and to utilize every element that enters into the productive process at its greatest efficiency. Every day there is new proof of the inability of capitalism to really plan production, even for its own war. The profit system works against the most effective carrying on of the war. The resignation of Guthrie throws this fact into relief once again.

PERFECT TIMING

But here is precisely the field in which Howard Scott and his technocrats claim to be right in their element. They offer what seems a bold program, and one that appeals to the masses in many ways. The masses are being conscripted to fight in the war. Their lives are at stake. Yet they see business carried on pretty much as usual. Scott demands the conscription, the total conscription, of all men and women, of all machines, material and money. He demands national service from all and profits to none. There could not have been a more perfect timing for such a movement!

TECHNOCRACY AND WAR

Up to the outbreak of the war, Scott was in the camp of the "isolationists." He said: "America has no war off this continent. America's war is here and now in this country and on this continent — a patriotic war against the peace of this Price System." A scientific veneer was added also in the statement: "Technocracy is not in favor of killing off our citizenry in either peace or war. Technology objects to military warfare not merely because death is involved — death is involved in all life — but because military warfare kills off the physically fit and permits the unfit to live and propagate."

But the war came and with it a vision of opportunity. Technocracy offers its best services to the government to win the war. It sends in ideas on super-tanks and super-airplanes. It urges the completely totalitarian state now, at once.

SCOTT'S DEMAGOGY

But a fascist movement does not come into existence overnight, by mere command on the part of those who so much desire it. Hitler took ten years to create his movement and then to take power. His appeal was to the despairing, impoverished middle class. His program seemed to be directed against both the workers and the big capitalists. Scott is beginning to modify his propaganda along these same lines. His movement also claims to be against the working class and against the owning class in the "Price System."

In the early period of the evolution of technocracy, Scott said he saw the rise of a new class, the class of technicians. The proletariat was disappearing with the growth of technology and with the coming into being of automatic factory production. The owning class stood in the way of the future development. Its whole money and price system was a dead weight keeping back the rise of the new society. But once they organized, the technicians would realize their nature as a new social class and would one fine day take over production and run it scientifically, — for the benefit of all, of course.

TECHNOCRACY AND POLITICS

Any group that seeks to take over state power, that seeks to gain control of the government to achieve its aims, is obviously a political movement. But Scott, like Hitler, for the longest time tried to make use of the contempt and hatred of the masses directed against corrupt capitalist politics and politi-

cians. Scott denounced all politics and said that "technology is the nemesis of political government and the precursor of technological social control." Government to Scott was nothing but a form of exploitation of their own people by a group of self-seeking individuals whose interest lay, as a result, in maintaining existing society just as it was.

This "radical" doctrine was empty of all real analysis and verged on anarchism. Scott never made clear just how he proposed to get rid of the present form of state. At most he visualized the taking of power by an organized minority which would execute a sudden seizure of industry and of the state apparatus.

Technocracy has now taken a leaf out of the Burnham notebook. It proposes to use an ideology which will mobilize the masses behind the clever engineers and technicians who will really get the power, though with the help of others.

Technocracy sees the rule over society by a minority, the technicians. Naturally, the technocrats cannot therefore believe in democracy. Scott has continually classed democracy with communism and fascism as useless and outworn.

What distinguishes the technocrats from other folk? How come that they form a class apart and are destined to become the ruling directorate? Scott does not point merely to social function as the answer, but to — heredity! After all there are those born with superior brains. It is not surprising that this view becomes quickly coupled with nationalism. Scott sees the United States as the dominant world power. He is an outright imperialist. He derides Roosevelt's namby-pamby "Good Neighbor" policies. Let us take all of Central and South America by force! Scott is interested in applying technocracy only to America, but to an extended America. Hence his talk in terms of the continent. His is an American scheme. All other races and lands be damned! The earlier writings of the Chief Technocrat in fact speak in the familiar terms of autarchy, of a self-contained United States.

Up to the outbreak of the war, Scott was in the camp of the "isolationists." He said: "America has no war off this continent. America's war is here and now in this country and on this continent — a patriotic war against the peace of this Price System." A scientific veneer was added also in the statement: "Technocracy is not in favor of killing off our citizenry in either peace or war. Technology objects to military warfare not merely because death is involved — death is involved in all life — but because military warfare kills off the physically fit and permits the unfit to live and propagate."

But the war came and with it a vision of opportunity. Technocracy offers its best services to the government to win the war. It sends in ideas on super-tanks and super-airplanes. It urges the completely totalitarian state now, at once.

Technocracy has a fundamental contempt for the lowly masses. But it has stepped beyond the chart and blueprint stage in its evolution. It now emerges as the American brand of National Socialism with more and more of its effort directed at enlisting in its ranks the middle class. It will resort more and more to demagoguery to achieve its aim. Its program will veer with every current to make use of every opportunity to win over one or another group that feels the heel of capitalist rule grinding it into the dust. No longer will it appeal only to the technicians "as a class." Its behind-the-scenes masters have other plans for it.

The working class must be wary of this movement. We know well that every movement which pretends to serve the interests of neither the capitalist class nor the working class, winds up as the henchman of the big bankers and capitalists. When such movements emerge, they are not accidental. They are symptoms of moods and currents existing in different groups and classes of society which seek organized expression. The growth of such movements would mean a threat to the existence of organized labor. That is why workers must consciously watch such movements, interpret them properly, and take the appropriate measures to counter their threat. Technocracy stands revealed today as a form of American fascism in the position of being groomed by big business to act in its behalf when the necessity arises. The very creation of such a movement tends to separate society into two camps, the camp of the bourgeoisie and the camp of the working class. The workers must be equally aware with the capitalists that this tendency exists. They must learn in time to defend their interests against capitalist reaction,

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6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
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8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

On Guard Against GPU Lynch Campaign

The GPU and Communist Party of Mexico encountered an unexpected obstacle to their lynch campaign against the anti-fascist refugees who oppose Stalinism. A strong statement was sent to the Mexican government by 225 leading American labor leaders, liberals, educators, writers and government officials, who denounced the attempts of the Stalinists to frame up well-known anti-fascists as "agents of Hitler" and to secure their deportation to certain death at the hands of Franco, Petain and Hitler.

This action, coupled with exposures of the Stalinist campaign in such publications as the liberal *Nation* and the Social-Democratic *New Leader*, undoubtedly has had an effect on the Mexican government and has helped to put labor and progressive circles in this country and Mexico on guard against the criminal attempts of the GPU.

In an effort to silence those who have dared to speak out against their murderous designs, the Stalinists now are trying to intimidate and blackmail the individuals, groups and publications who have protested their lynch drive.

The *Daily Worker*, March 20, in an editorial attack against the *New Leader* voices the threat that those who oppose the Stalinist lynch campaign will also be smeared with the "pro-Hitler" brush for aiding "fifth columnists" and "lending their names to defeatist propaganda and anti-American propaganda."

A letter signed by a group of individuals well known for their Stalinist connections and sympathies was sent to *The Nation* several weeks ago. This letter attempted to pressure *The Nation* into silence, repeating the typical slanders against the refugees, stating that an article in *The Nation* used "terms which do not differ from those employed by Nazi official agents," and generally implying that if *The Nation* didn't shut up, it too would be cast by the Stalinists into the camp of "Hitler agents."

The Stalinist weekly *New Masses*, March 24 issue, follows this up with a further statement on the attitude of *The Nation*, declaring that it had "retreated considerably" as a result of the Stalinist letter sent to it, and pressing it to retreat completely. It ends up with the ominous note: "We think it is time not only to recognize Hitler's agents in Mexico... we think it is also time... that the American wing of the Trotskyists and the left Clivedeneers of the Norman Thomas stripe be recognized for what they are."

It is clear that the GPU is preparing to extend its lynch drive into the United States, and that its blackmail attempts to impose a gag on *The Nation*, *New Leader* and signers of the statement to the Mexican government, are in the nature of an advance "preventive" to any opposition.

Naturally, the Stalinists are conducting their campaign in the name of patriotism. Their real purpose, however, as anyone who knows the methods of Stalinism is aware, is to wipe out every-

one — regardless of his position on the war question — who is actively opposed to Stalinist policies.

It would be folly for *The Nation* and *New Leader* to yield to the Stalinist threats under the impression that the Stalinists are after only the "Trotskyists". Should the GPU have any success with its lynch drive against the "Trotskyists" — both the genuine article and the numerous non-Trotskyists whom the Stalinists include under this name — it will turn its attentions to all the other liberal and labor opponents of Stalinism, among whom are counted *The Nation* and *New Leader* and the tendencies they represent.

On Sales Taxes

Unofficial press polls of the House Ways and Means and Senate Finance Committees indicate a powerful sentiment in Congress for enactment of a general sales tax to obtain the bulk of the proposed \$7,600,000,000 in new federal war taxes.

How would such a general sales tax affect the workers as compared with the bosses?

At the request of the House committee, the Treasury Department last week submitted an estimate of the potential yield of a 10 percent retail sales tax, including a report on how the tax would affect persons of various income strata.

These figures show that a person in the \$500 a year class would pay out four times as much of his income in sales taxes as an individual in the \$10,000 bracket "because persons with small incomes spend a larger proportion of their incomes than do persons with large incomes." The report did not show what percentage of a millionaire's income would go for sales taxes, since this would have required considerable calculation in fractions.

Congressional pretext for supporting this plan to make the low-income earners bear the overwhelming burden of the war costs is that this is the "easiest" and "fastest" way to raise war funds.

Apparently, none of the sales-tax Congressmen have heard of an even "easier" and "faster" way. That way is suggested by the recent report of the Federal Reserve Board, showing that just 629 large industrial corporations made \$2,181,000,000 in 1941 net profits — after all taxes — as compared to \$1,818,000,000 in 1940 and \$1,465,000,000 in 1939, or an average profits increase since the start of the war of 50 per cent.

Here is where the workers should demand that Congress secure the war taxes. Here is why the workers should demand: "Let the rich who profit from the war pay for the war."

Stalinists Innovations

Modern times require modern methods. Not content with the well-known techniques of betraying the workers used by the ordinary labor fakers, the Stalinist union leaders are introducing up-to-date, streamlined methods.

Take for instance the issue of time-and-a-half and double-time pay for week-ends and holidays. Like the other labor leaders, the Stalinists at first opposed eliminating the established pay rates for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. They argued that retention of these pay rates was no obstacle to production.

Then, again like the other labor leaders, when the administration put the prods to them a little, the Stalinists bent the well-oiled knee and agreed to give away another traditional standard of the workers.

But here is where the Stalinists offered a new twist, an innovation that the less "radical" labor skates — conservative, hide-bound! — never thought of.

The Stalinist-controlled leadership of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, in an advertisement in the *New York Times*, March 25, came out for straight time pay for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. But, although the Stalinists don't mind giving away a portion of the workers' pay, they still don't want the savings to be used just "as a means of swelling the already large profits" of the bosses. They propose that the over-time savings be given to the government to help pay for the war.

Of course, the bosses haven't been pressing for elimination of over-time pay just to see this savings go to the government — even if it will come back to them eventually in profits on war orders. They want their profits right away.

But the Stalinists have anticipated this attitude on the part of the employers — naturally — and are prepared to treat with it sympathetically. In the same advertisement mentioned above, they have a further proposal to compensate the bosses for their "sacrifice".

They propose "a Union Campaign to increase production by 15 percent — and this increase shall be by the direct additional expenditure of energy and effort, over and above such increases as will be effected through improved methods or techniques instituted by our war production councils."

That is, the Stalinists want to speedup the workers to a degree known only in the old days of the open shop in the industry. But will the profits from the 15 per cent more production ground out of the workers go to the workers — or, perhaps, the government? No. That's where the streamlining comes in. These profits will go to the bosses. You don't like that? What's the matter — are you against "national unity"?

Toledano Explains What 'National Unity' Means

In Speech to CTM He Advocates Unity of The Revolutionaries and Reactionaries

By JOHN CORBETT

The full meaning of the Stalinist cry for "national unity" was indicated in a recent speech of Lombardo Toledano, official figurehead of the Stalinist machine which dominates the CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers), who is now in the United States.

Toledano has long functioned as an indicator of Stalinist policy in the Western Hemisphere; his part in the GPU plot to murder Trotsky on May 24, 1941, has been fully exposed; his Mexican Labor School news bulletin plays a leading part in the lynch campaign being conducted by the Stalinists in Mexico against five anti-fascist refugees.

Mexico has long been the unhappy testing ground for the trial runs of Stalin's latest machinations in this part of the world. From the mouth of such a second-line but well-oiled puppet as Toledano often comes the latest line with less distortion and at an earlier date than is possible in the United States.

OPEN ADMISSION

Shortly before he left for this country, Toledano addressed the eighteenth congress of the CTM and laid down the Stalinist line for the war. His newspaper, *El Popular*, headlined Toledano's speech as follows in its March 1 edition:

"Mexico faces the most grave economic crisis since the French intervention — national unity, scientific formula for defending the economic and political integrity of the country — national unity, in this hour, is the union between the revolutionaries and the reactionaries and all the Mexican enemies of the Nazi-Fascist Axis powers."

These headlines, it is clear, indicate something new in the application of Stalin's policy in North and South America. What is new, is the open admission on the part of the Stalinists that under the slogan of "national unity" they have humbly bent the knee and reached unity with the reactionaries. Under the slogan of the "People's Front," it will be recalled, they still pretended to call for unity with only the "progressives" as opposed to the reactionaries.

Toledano begins by explaining that as head of the Committee of Economic Defense for the CTM he has drawn up with the aid of certain "experts" an economic "study" to be adopted by the CTM and sent to President

Union Leaders Yield To Administration Threat

(Continued from page 1)

rates for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays as such, on the pretext that such overtime "has in many instances slowed up war production." Actually it is the bosses who have "slowed up war production" by their refusal to grant double time for Saturdays and holidays, just as many of them are refusing to pay any overtime.

Extra pay for Sundays and holidays is not simply a matter of compensation for work beyond the regular work week. By working their plants on Sundays and holidays, the bosses are making more than their "normal" rate of profit, because of the increased production in relation to their fixed costs. If the bosses are permitted to make extra profit by operating on Sundays and holidays, the workers are entitled to extra pay.

Furthermore, when a worker sacrifices his holidays for the sake of the boss, he is giving up his limited opportunities to get together with his family and friends, to enjoy a social life on the days generally set aside for that purpose.

Significantly, Nelson avoided mentioning double-time pay for the seventh consecutive day of work when he spoke before the House Naval Affairs Committee. The capitalist press generally interpreted this to mean he was for time-and-a-half instead. This may be a trick maneuver to help the bosses slice 25 per cent off the customary seventh day pay.

In his statement to the House committee and in his speech the day before to the emergency conference of the CIO in Washington, Nelson had a lot to say about the workers sacrificing for the war. He had nothing to say about bosses' sacrifice, except to voice opposition to limiting profits on naval contracts to six per cent. This is an important clue to the real attitude of the administration.

The anti-labor drive in Con-

gress has not been subdued as a result of the seeming opposition of the administration. Having gained one point in their efforts to eliminate over-time pay, the labor-haters are pressing more brazenly for additional advantages over labor. Even Speaker Rayburn, one of the leading administration voices in the House, has now come out for abolishing the 40-hour week in favor of the 48-hour week.

Camacho as a general plan for governing all of Mexico during war time. This plan pretends to provide a solution for the crisis facing all of the classes or sections of classes in Mexico. Actually the plan has a different purpose. As Toledano explains it, this present crisis although the "worst crisis in the history of Mexico" is different from all past crises in that it is "an artificial crisis provoked by the enemies of Mexico." It is not this crisis that really concerns Toledano but something else:

"What are these studies? What are they at bottom? Aren't they the scientific justification for national unity? They are. These analyses of the national and international economic situation of Mexico are the theoretic justification of the necessity for the political tactic of national unity at this time."

"National unity is not the unity of the revolutionaries with the exclusion of the reactionaries. Here we speak of the necessity of defending the economic interests of the Mexican nation, not of the revolutionaries in an exclusive form. . . National unity signifies the association of opposites. It is the unity of the revolutionaries with those who are not revolutionaries. It is necessary to understand this. . . We do not attack the bosses because they happen to be bosses; we are calling them to unity. We do not attack the landowners, no. Yes, we are saying that this is not the time to sharpen the class struggle, that it is the time to give in, to await another opportunity, to make sacrifices. . ."

Right here is expressed the very essence of what the imperialists and their agents such as the Stalinists mean by "national unity." They mean that the exploiters shall continue to exploit as before, shall continue to wring enormous profits and increase them monstrously during the war, shall even utilize the war to grind down the workers and poor people under still worse oppression, shall shed the blood of millions, devastate the earth and risk destroying civilization to safeguard and extend their markets, colonies, holdings of national resources. They mean by "national unity" that the poverty-stricken masses to whom war is the worst of calamities shall acquiesce meekly and humbly; starving, sweating, laying down their lives so that the rich may become richer.

These studies are not only investigations, but slogans, routes, ways out, solutions for the proletariat, for the peasants, for the middle class, for the industrialists, for the landowners, for the bankers, for the merchants, for

all Mexicans. . ."

Among these ways out, Toledano is careful to include, is the assurance that "no factory stops." That is, the workers shall give up all pretense to an independent policy and knuckle under to the bosses whose chief concern is wringing the maximum profits from the war.

"All the proposed solutions are solutions tending to associate in one platform of national unity the interests of the exploited class with the interests of the exploiting class. . ." he continues.

THIS IS NOT THE TIME

But the association of the interests of the exploited and the exploiting classes in "one platform" means precisely their association on the platform of the exploiting class. Far from attempting to deny this, Toledano comes still more brazenly into the open with the Stalinist theory of "national unity!"

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The Grand Illusion Sir Stafford Cripps And Indian Independence

By M. STEIN

"The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid." Thus spoke the prophet Isaiah some 28 centuries ago. "The lion shall eat straw like the ox", said Isaiah further, and the echo of these words is heard today throughout this vast country as well as the British Isles. This grand illusion which survived through the centuries in the prayer books only to be refuted in life, is now fostered very assiduously and very deliberately in the press and over the radio in connection with the problem of Indian independence.

It is indeed a very comforting illusion, especially to the liberals. Why get worked up over the problem of India? Why get agitated? The British have surely seen the error of their ways in Malaya. They have paid a great price with the fall of Singapore. It stands to reason that they would rather give India its freedom and give the 400 million natives a cause for which to fight the Japanese invaders.

"The lion shall eat straw like the ox." And why not? Is it not plausible? The British lion is bleeding from many wounds. His vitality has been sapped by old age and accumulation of fat. His fangs are worn off, he can neither roar nor bite. Eating straw might even be a lot healthier for him. In any case, isn't it more logical for the lion to let go of his prey rather than hold it down for his rival to snatch it away from him?

Fostering the Illusion

The grand illusion is systematically nurtured by the moves made at No. 10 Downing Street. For weeks after the fall of Singapore, Parliament was treated to the daily promise of a statement on India. Anxiety was growing great. The very delay gave promise of a deep-going and far-reaching decision. Those who make a practice of wishful thinking — and their name is legion — were sure that the Prime Minister's statement when it did come, would bring with it freedom for India in one form or another.

And that hour of expected delivery for the Indian people arrived. On the 11th of March Mr. Churchill appeared before the House of Commons to make the long heralded statement. He did not say much, but what he said was enough to further nurture the biblical illusion, and to give food to all wishful thinkers. The cabinet, you see, have got something up their collective sleeve, it cannot be made public, but. . .

"We propose to send a member of the War Cabinet to India to satisfy himself upon the spot by personal consultations that the conclusions upon which we are agreed and which we believe represent a just and final solution will achieve their purpose." (*New York Times*, March 12).

The Lord Privy Seal Volunteers

And who is this member of the war cabinet in the disguise of a friend of the Indian people, who is to carry the precious secret across the seas? Says Churchill: "The Lord Privy Seal, Leader of the House (Sir Stafford Cripps), has volunteered to undertake this task." And a chorus of Hallelujah rings through the press. Why, look at this wonder of wonders: ". . . the conservative Prime Minister of Great Britain despatches his ranking aid, an extreme Socialist, to win the acceptance of the divergent elements in the Indian world for a precise plan of full dominion status." (*New York Times* editorial, March 12).

Reams of paper have been used up since — there are special paper priorities for this purpose — to tell us all about this Sir Stafford Cripps, this new messiah who — like all his predecessors — came to the fore in a period of crisis growing out of defeats. Some enterprising publishing house is even working overtime to turn out in double quick time a biography of this man of wonders who is credited with bringing the Soviet Union into the war as an ally of England. (Poor Hitler, he doesn't even get credit for this).

This "extreme Socialist" is like the hero out of a fairy tale. A man of wealth, a prominent barrister, while no commoner himself, he has a heart that beats only for the poor and the down-trodden.

It is especially important to emphasize that he is an "extreme Socialist." The British rulers are masters of showmanship. They know when to dress their agents in silk stockings and breeches and when to dress them in tattered clothes. An empire that has maintained itself so long on deceit and chicanery must know all the tricks of the game, must know all about the effective use of camouflage.

Cripps' Sacrifices

Sir Stafford Cripps has made a magnificent display of loyalty. He is only too willing to serve his class in this hour of its greatest need. Isn't it wonderful! It is so touching it almost brings tears to one's eyes. There he is, an "extreme Socialist" kicking aside his own "socialism" in order to become the ranking aid of the Conservative Prime Minister, and as if this wasn't enough of a sacrifice on his part, he volunteered to go to India to try and tie those unwilling and rebellious slaves in new chains in place of the old and rusty ones which are breaking at so many links.

History will, no doubt, give a proper appreciation of Sir Stafford Cripps' sacrifices, of his endeavors in behalf of empire rule in India. His name will be engraved with the names of other "great socialists" who made similar sacrifices, the Kerenskys and that whole fraternity of Mensheviks who will be remembered as the little men who tried bravely, broom in hand, to sweep back the waves of an onrushing tide, and who were all swept away with the system they tried to save.

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