

CONGRESS PLANNING ANTI-STRIKE LAWS

Labor Defends Minn. Educator

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 7.—Governor Stassen's attempt to oust Minnesota's Commissioner of Education, Dr. John G. Rockwell, has turned into a battle in which the trade unions, the teachers of this state, the American Federation of Teachers, and the Negroes, are solidly arrayed against Stassen and the reactionaries.

The next session of the public hearing into the suspension of Dr. Rockwell from his post will take place January 13, and there will be plenty of fireworks.

Governor Stassen and his four-man majority on the state board of education, at the first sessions of the hearing on Dec. 26-27, revealed their strategy. Dr. Rockwell was to be ousted by being labeled a "red."

To "connect" Dr. Rockwell with "reds," the Stassenites put on the witness stand a clerk from the secretary of state's office who introduced a copy of the official 1940 election ballot showing Grace Carlson listed as the U. S. Senatorial candidate of the Trotskyist Anti-War Party (Socialist Workers Party). Dr. Carlson had been a member of the staff of the state department of education until she resigned last September to take up full-time work for the party.

Dr. Rockwell readily admitted he and his wife were friends of Grace Carlson, that they were familiar with her political beliefs and had known her for ten years. It was in the Stassenites' attempt to establish political links between Grace Carlson and the Rockwells that the inquisition backfired.

Was it true that, in 1935, Dr. Rockwell had opened his home to a party where funds were raised to aid the hosiery strikers at the Strutwear plant? The board's attorney asked Dr. Rockwell.

Dr. Rockwell readily agreed that was so, and that Mrs. Grace Carlson was among the guests.

Then the board's attorney asked a question that caused the audience to gasp at the brazen anti-Negro attitude it revealed: "Were there colored people at your home?"

Dr. Rockwell, deeply indignant, replied:

"Yes, there have been colored people in my home. I am proud

Grace Carlson Speaks In Your Vicinity

TOLEDO, Ohio: Friday, Jan. 10, 8 p.m., at the Indiana Avenue Y.M.C.A. on "The Negro and 'National Defense.'" Auspices: The Toledo Discussion Group, an organization of colored and white workers.

CLEVELAND, Ohio: Sunday, Jan. 12 8 p.m., at the Alerton Hotel, 13th and Chester. On "The Right to Life."

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio: Wednesday, Jan. 15, 8 p.m., at the Central Auditorium, 225 W. Boardman St. On "Can Unions Survive the War?"

BUFFALO, New York: Thursday, Jan. 16, 8 p.m., at 569 Clinton. On "The Negroes and the War." Auspices: Joint meeting of Buffalo branch, S.W.P., and a group of Negroes.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.: Friday, Jan. 17, 8 p.m., at the Labor Lyceum, 580 St. Paul St. On "The Right to Life."

BOSTON, Mass. (Two lectures): Sunday, Jan. 19, 8 p.m. at the Workers Center, 158 Broadway. On "South America." Monday, Jan. 20, 8 p.m., at the Aurora Club, 42 Maverick Sq., East Boston. On "The Right to Life."

of it. I never draw the color line. I am proud that the state department of education, under my administration, has employed both Negroes and Indians."

The board's attorney then asked about a vacation trip the Rockwells had made to Mexico in 1939, asking his questions in such a way as to leave the innuendo that Rockwell had conferred with Trotsky, who was still alive then.

The net result of this red-baiting drive has been to make the trade unionists and the Negroes of Minnesota realize that red-baiting is not merely aimed at the Trotskyists but at all the workers and Negroes.

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

The war is the supreme expression of the total bankruptcy of the capitalist world. It is the avowal that capitalism can no longer function without insane slaughter of peoples and the complete dislocation of the planet.

War tears away many fig leaves. Few are discovered to be more contemptible in their nakedness than the bourgeois intellectuals, the professors, the writers, the "theorists" of the capitalist order. And among these the most pitiable are the "sociologists"—the pundits who have purported to reduce the study of society to a science, a safe, secure, and sound capitalist science.

Last week's sociological fig leaf fluttered to the ground. The occasion, appropriately enough, was the conference of the American Sociological Society. Before this body came Dr. Pitirim A. Sorokin, chairman of the Department of Sociology of Harvard University. Said Dr. Sorokin:

"Social science has become increasingly more uninspired more uncreative, and more incapable of foreseeing future trends or of serving efficiently the practical needs of our society and our culture.

form; the more sociologists have tampered with the family, the more the family has disintegrated.

"Likewise all the social sciences have failed correctly to foresee the trends of important socio-cultural processes. On the eve of war they were forecasting peace; on the eve of economic crash and impoverishment, they were predicting bigger and better prosperity."

Our learned confessing professor speaks broadly of "social science" in this sorrowful avowal of impotence. He means bourgeois social science. One wonders whether it would be a surprise to him to pick up the works of Marx and Engels and to find in them predictions of "socio-cultural processes" which have come true with startling accuracy although the predictions were made sixty and seventy years ago. One wonders what surprises might await him in the writings of Lenin and Trotsky. We might even be permitted to wonder whether the professor might not learn of matters to his benefit if he should pick up a file of the humble Socialist Appeal, and become it of the Militant and the New Militant.

Perhaps research along these lines might soften his indictments of the social sciences and only leave exposed the "social scientists" hired out to the capitalist order.

What Will The Trade Unions Do For The Workers In Uniform?

AN EDITORIAL

Who is going to represent the interests of the workers drafted into the armed forces?

So far the trade union leaders, both AFL and CIO, have made a detour around this question, the key question of this new military epoch in America and the world.

The union movement recognizes its responsibility to organize, not only all workers in private industry, but also all categories of government workers. Whether WPA workers, postal employees or clerks in the government bureaus, the trade unions have correctly insisted that government workers need and shall have union organization to bargain collectively with the government in exactly the same way as with a private boss.

In this traditional policy of the labor movement there is an implicit recognition that the government is a boss, and must be dealt with as such.

The most compelling fact of our time, however, is that the largest number of government "employees" are those to be "employed" in the armed forces.

Yet it is precisely at this point, that the trade union leaders fall down. They draw a line between the rights of the workers in civil governmental employment and those in governmental military service.

Yet, to thus abandon this decisive sphere of the military departments to the exclusive jurisdiction of the ruling class, is to surrender the entire fate of labor into the "impartial" hands of the irreconcilable enemies of labor.

Both the AFL and CIO protest against the composition of the draft boards; but abandon the workers and unionists as soon as they enter the gates of the training camps.

The unions do demand the restoration of jobs to the draftees when—and if—they return from army service. The unions make special provisions to keep their drafted members in good standing and to prevent their insurance from lapsing. All good and necessary measures. But the AFL and CIO leaders shun as a plague the here and now question of the working and living conditions of the worker-soldier INSIDE the armed forces.

After the last war, the labor movement paid a bitter price for its indifference to the conditions of the workers in the army. The orgy of strike-breaking, mob violence against union and working class political party meetings, and repressive acts against organized labor, found no little support among returning soldiers. Organized labor had done nothing for the soldiers during the war, and the soldiers, therefore, felt no ties of loyalty to organized labor when the war was over. The veterans' organizations formed at the close of the war were used by the bosses against the workers.

Who will represent the interests of the workers in the armed forces? If the unions won't, fascist reaction will organize the embittered soldiers and use them to destroy the labor movement. Organized labor's answer to this life and death question will well determine whether the American working class is to face decades of slavery or a new age of emancipation from exploitation.

FDR Talks Lay Basis For Ban

All Legislators Need To Do Is To Enact Into Law AFL Metal Trades Proposal; But Such Laws Cannot Be Enforced

By FELIX MORROW

The legislative mill of the 77th Congress has begun to turn, and it is already clear that it will grind out an even more vicious product than did its predecessor.

Shortly after Roosevelt had delivered his Message, Hoffman of Michigan introduced a House bill to repeal the National Labor Relations Act, and Senator Holman of Oregon re-introduced the Smith Committee amendments. These amendments were adopted by the House last session but died in the Senate Labor Committee. They will not die so easily this time.

These anti-labor moves are but the first. It is certain, in fact, that before this session of Congress is over, it will have adopted new anti-labor legislation, particularly anti-strike legislation.

That is the main item on the program of the ultra-reactionary bi-partisan bloc which dominates both houses. Roosevelt will make no move to stop them; on the contrary, he has given them sufficient encouragement in his fireside speech and his Message. They will merely be enacting into law Roosevelt's declaration that the war arms drive "will proceed without interruption by strikes or lockouts" and his threat to "use the sovereignty of government" against "trouble-makers."

The AFL leadership has just given the reactionary bloc in Congress a perfect formula under which to enact anti-strike legislation. All Congress has to do is to enact into law the "Defense Plan" adopted last Sunday by the AFL Metal Trades Department.

"There must be no stoppage of work." This sentence from the statement issued by (Major) John P. Frey, the metal trades department president, sums up the "plan." All Frey asks in return is the establishment of arbitration machinery. This "plan" is equivalent to the National War Labor Board enacted into law by agreement between President Wilson and Samuel Gompers in 1918. (A description of that board appears on page 2 of this issue.)

By this step, by William Green's "no strike" pledge at the AFL convention and other similar moves, the AFL tops have outstripped even Hillman—for the moment only, he'll catch up with them soon enough!—leaving the trade unions helpless before the coming onslaught by Congress and the employers.

Two lines of "strategy" motivate these moves of the AFL leadership:

1. By showing how far "labor" is willing to go in cooperating to end strikes, they will take away from the reactionaries any pretexts for enacting anti-labor legislation. This strategy is on a par with lifting a siege on a fortress by enticing the besiegers to come inside.

2. Green, Woll, Frey & Co. will in this way prove how much more respectable they are than is the CIO, so that anti-union capitalists will accept the AFL as a "lesser evil."

Frey's metal trades statement was obviously designed to show the superior respectability of the AFL. Frey had previously participated, together with the CIO shipbuilding workers' union, employers and government representatives, in forming the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee which, at its Dec. 5 meeting, issued a policy statement pledging exhaustion of all other methods rather than strikes and lockouts.

Now Frey gleefully announces: "Because of the emergency we make our policy even more emphatic than that proposed by the (shipbuilding stabilization) committee."

The CIO union's leaders are not, however, very far behind Frey. On the very same Sunday that the AFL metal trades department is meeting and rushing into print with its plan, the executive board of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, is also meeting, also acts, and also rushes into print. The board (1) bars "Communists" from national or local office in the union and (2) provides for expulsion from the union of "any member proven guilty of... using the privilege of membership for propagating or furthering the cause of communism." Any worker handing a shomate a copy of the Daily Worker or the Socialist Appeal can be driven out of the union or the industry, under this broad provision. This CIO executive board may not be abreast of Frey yet, but it is trying hard!

In this vile game, however, Frey has a major advantage over the CIO union. The metal trades unions of the AFL are craft organizations. In the shipyards, for example, they cover but a part of the men engaged in the industry. Hence Frey has something tangible to offer the shipyard bosses and the Navy Department. They can play ball with his craft organizations and, in return, Frey and his associates will turn their backs on the men—usually the majority—in the shipyards, scab if a strike breaks out, etc.

But there have been too many instances in which AFL craft unions have refused to play this kind of game and have demonstrated their solidarity with their fellow-workers who are in CIO unions. Frey therefore proposes to take all policy-making powers out of the hands of the AFL locals and their rank and file members:

GRACE CARLSON Worker Reports Chaos In New Training Camp

By GRACE CARLSON

CHICAGO, January 4.—The Windy City! No longer the windy section of the Party, however. Since the departure of the windbags of the Minority into the so-called Workers Party, the whole tone of the Chicago Branch has changed.

Now one hears comrades talking about their shops, their union work, their contacts among the workers on the job, the distribution of the Appeal at factories, etc. It is even possible to give a speech now in Chicago without having eighteen supplementary speeches made from the floor. All of these changes in the character of the Chicago Party have helped to erase the lines of care from the faces of the older Chicago comrades who have been through very trying years. They are to be congratulated for having stuck it out.

To them as well as to the new organizer, Dave Stevens, goes credit for the improvement of the Chicago Branch.

I was especially pleased to see what a fine group of women comrades we have in Chicago. Most of them are working at stenographic or factory jobs. They belong to unions and appear to be eager to carry out the Party program in their trade unions. In a word, they think of themselves and act as equals of men in the Party. I think that we're getting somoplace!

The meeting held in Milwaukee on January 2 also represented a long step forward. Although the Milwaukee Branch of the Party was only established a few short months ago, and is consequently very small, they brought twenty people together for this open meeting. The subject of the speech was *The Road To Socialism*.

The audience was composed of workers from CIO unions and students from the trades courses of the Technical High School. From the questions, it was clear that they have become disgusted with the Daniel Hoan—Norman Thomas type of "Socialism" and glad to hear of a revolutionary Socialist program.

With the good work which our Milwaukee comrades are doing on distribution of the Appeal at factory gates and in working class neighborhoods, together with their contact work, I am sure that we shall see a very healthy growth in the Milwaukee Branch in the coming months.

The following letter from a correspondent employed on construction work at one of the new military training camps cites conditions which are typical in all parts of the country.)

JACKSONVILLE, Florida, Jan. 5—I am working at Camp Blanding, about 50 miles from Jacksonville. Many of the construction workers must cover about 100 miles per day to work and back, on the most crowded road in the country. This takes about five hours per day. We have been working nine hours per day, including Saturdays and Sundays.

One example of the overcrowded condition will give you the picture. Starke is a small town of 1500 inhabitants, about 10 miles from Camp Blanding. This town is now jammed with 5500 and the sanitation facilities are breaking down, threatening the health of the inhabitants.

But the plight of the workmen here is as nothing compared to that of the soldiers. The workers, those who are skilled, have the financial compensation for their misery and long hours. Of course many of them have suffered illness and a surprising number have lost their lives in auto accidents, rushing to and from work in an exhausted condition on narrow overcrowded roads.

But what is the compensation of the soldiers? They have been brought into the camp before the facilities were ready. They were brought in during the rainy season when the whole camp was nothing but an immense swamp. The soldiers were wading in mud knee-deep, to get to the tents.

No wonder the medical corps has been the most active branch of the service around here.

Yesterday was pay day for the 31st (Dixie) Division at the camp. Those who had their leave took to the road to get to Jacksonville for a bit of relaxation. The road was mobbed with hitch-hiking soldiers. But many of those who managed to get to town had to turn on their heels and head back to camp, because they could not get any accommodations at hotels and rooming houses for love or money. Whether it is due to the overcrowded conditions alone, or because soldiers aren't wanted, I do not know.

along with Hillman.

Dorothy Thompson, who is currently growing hoarse from war-mongering, and no friend of the CIO, was so impressed with the complete reform of the former Socialist Reuther, that she devoted a whole column to patting him on the back, as befits a renegade from the ranks of militant labor.

President Roosevelt, who refused to listen to the insistent demands of the UAW-CIO that the government cancel a two million dollar contract with the anti-union Ford, listened to Reuther's plan with more favor. In fact, he patted Reuther on the head and gave him a serious consideration. And if it is accepted, you can bet he won't overlook the most important clause, which sets up a board of three labor representatives, three business representatives, and three government representatives. Reuther will get his cushy job.

LEVITON STRIKE HOLDS FIRM IN 19th WEEK

BROOKLYN, N. Y., Jan. 6.—

The strike of 1,600 workers against the Isadore Leviton plant entered its nineteenth week with picket lines solid and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Brooklyn Division of Local 3, pledged to continue the militant tactics until the strikers' demands are won 100 percent.

Despite freezing weather, members of the IBEW are maintaining a 24-hour picket line, with every member of the union in Brooklyn scheduled to take his turn until the boss concedes defeat.

The strikers demand a union shop, a minimum wage of 40c hourly or \$16 a week and that every employe receive an increase of not less than 10c an hour.

Strike captain is a young woman who started work as a child in the Leviton plant fourteen years ago. She leads the march of the pickets in step to the tune of "Scab! Scab! Scab!" as the buses arrive with about 70 scabbers to replace the 1,600 workers, 1,000 of whom are women. More than 140 police have been detailed for protection for the scabs.

The suffering of the strikers has become more intense with each week. Many families have gone without heat, gas and electric light. Some have lost their furniture. Others have been evicted. Many children are suffering from insufficient milk and warmth. Illness has increased generally. Despite all this the strikers have remained firm, morale is surprisingly good.

Leviton, who boasted that he made \$12,000,000 without a union in his plant and that he will spend this ill-gotten fortune in fighting unionization of his plant, has persistently refused to negotiate with the union.

Two years ago the company was found guilty of unfair labor practices by the National Labor Relations Board. The Board's action was affirmed by the United States Circuit Court of Appeal, April 29, 1940. Eight weeks after the strike began, an NLRB election was held, with 95 percent of the workers voting the IBEW. Despite this overwhelming victory for the union, Leviton declared that he would "starve out the strikers as long as necessary and make them crawl back on their bellies begging for their jobs."

He has even declined to submit the controversy or any part of it to arbitration.

Reuther Plan Is Swell---For Him

DETROIT, Mich.—The latest phenomenon to hit the auto industry is the already famous "Reuther Plan" proposed by Walter Reuther, taken up by Phillip Murray, and passed on to the President of the United States. It has the country agog.

In brief, it can be described as follows: "A plan to land a nice cushy job for Walter Reuther. Simple and clear and guaranteed to get results or your money back."

The plan contains detailed advice on how Knudsen can get around the bottlenecks in the aircraft industry by utilizing to the fullest extent the now idle auto plants, and by coordinating all auto factories. It contains nothing about the low wage scales in the aircraft industry.

More than one boss and labor hater is happy to see that this former problem child is now reformed and ready to take his place at the head of the class

Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, is also meeting, also acts, and also rushes into print. The board (1) bars "Communists" from national or local office in the union and (2) provides for expulsion from the union of "any member proven guilty of... using the privilege of membership for propagating or furthering the cause of communism." Any worker handing a shomate a copy of the Daily Worker or the Socialist Appeal can be driven out of the union or the industry, under this broad provision. This CIO executive board may not be abreast of Frey yet, but it is trying hard!

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"As explained by Mr. Frey, the jointly associated metal trades union representatives would seek to negotiate agreements by regions and industries. For example, they would meet with employers in the shipbuilding industry on the Atlantic, Gulf, Great Lakes and Pacific Coast and negotiate single agreements in these areas for all the unions." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 6)

SPEEDS ANTI-STRIKE LAWS

Far from forestalling anti-strike action by Congress, these AFL and CIO moves are grist to the legislative mill. They serve to create an atmosphere in which it appears that any union which strikes for its demands is a "saboteur" or "communist-led." The simple fact that no union conducts a strike unless it has absolutely no other alternative, is being buried under these whining statements from AFL and CIO leaders.

With the trade union leaders thus retreating, it is to be feared that anti-strike legislation by Congress is a foregone conclusion.

It is one thing to pass such legislation. It is something else, however, to enforce it! That's what happened in 1918. The National War Labor Board was set up by law, because the boards which preceded it weren't able to stop the strikes. But neither did that "super-board" succeed.

The inexhaustible vitality of the organized workers breaks through, in spite of the strangling machinery created by the government and the bosses with the connivance of the Freys and Hillmans. It happened in 1918. It will happen again now!

WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

War Production Means A Daily Blackout In Pittsburgh

Towards the end of the summer, when Uncle Sam began to go to town on war production, the workers of Pittsburgh began to notice how much less and less they were seeing of the sun. A mass of black soot settles over the city and covers every house and street with its dirt. The particles of soot hold the dampness in the air and the whole dirty cloud is like a black fog. The workers walk along the street coughing and choking. Every mill and every furnace is now in operation. Some of the furnaces have been idle for over ten years. Now, all through the city one hears the giant furnace coughing and belching. It sounds like the distant rumble of cannon on a movie screen. But nobody notices it unless he's a stranger visiting the city. To the workers who feel the strain of keeping the furnaces roaring is a comforting sound. It means that now there are plenty of jobs. And there are so many things they have been wanting to buy for their kids and the house for such a long time. Now they will be able to do it, if the prices don't start going up too fast. So they drink more beer to kill the feel of the soot in their lungs, and because they are in a state of nervous excitement. They know what happened in the last war. The belly wrinkles from the depression are not yet ironed out. So every place their thoughts run to the same thing. Whether you listen to the conversation in the mill, on the street, in the house or in a saloon over a glass of beer, it is the same thing: "This won't last, you better make it while the making is good."

"Wait till this war is over. There will be bread lines a mile long." "If you don't get it now you never will." Whether they are speaking Polish, Croatian, Slavic or American, they are saying the same thing. Strikes occur almost daily in one plant or another. The strikes have different complexions. Sometimes it is to get a fink off the job, sometimes to make the slackers pay up their dues, but whatever the grievance for the strike the workers refuse to settle unless they get more wages and a brake on the speed up. People who have flown over the city at night say that one can see the flames of the furnaces bursting out along the river like man-made suns in the night. While the furnaces were idle there used to be spots in the city where the radicals gathered every night to discuss world events. As the furnaces were put into operation one by one, accompanied by yards of Jingo national defense propaganda, these spots were deserted. The whole city is now a beehive of workers going in to the plants and mills in different shifts and trudging home at the end of them. During the holiday shopping period the workers thronged into the city in bigger crowds than ever before. The streets were so jammed with pedestrian traffic that the whole reserve police force was used to direct traffic. The workers were spending everything they could possibly afford to squeeze out a good time. All these years they had nothing to spend and now war days are ahead. In the mills the F.B.I. men are posted in uniforms and on the mill property in special slacks to guard the defense orders. The workers are keeping a tight lip and thinking of their own defenses. And when they have thought enough they put on little actions to show how they feel. Pittsburgh, Pa. JAMES COOK

Ford Pays Millions For Lying Ads To Conceal His Vile Labor Policy

Ford's Claim To High Wages Is Exposed As A Flagrant Lie

Henry Ford published a full-page advertisement in hundreds of leading newspapers throughout the country last week. This ad makes a desperate attempt to conceal the fact that Ford pays the lowest wages in the entire automobile industry. You may search the Ford blurb with a microscope and you will find no figures on his average daily or hourly wage. And for good reason! In an earlier ad, which appeared in the *New York Times* January 28, 1940, Ford claimed to pay an average daily wage of \$7.25, or 90.6 cents per hour. But the average hourly wage for the entire automobile industry is 95.5 cents (U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics). And in the unorganized General Motors and Chrysler plants, it is over \$1.00. Ford "proves" that he pays the best wages in the automobile industry by asserting that he pays an average annual wage of \$1,629.05. He compares this figure not with comparable figures for the automobile industry, but with the "latest" government figures for the average yearly wage of all American wage-earners covered by the old-age insurance law, which the ad says "was \$841.00." What Ford "neglects" to point out is that this figure was for 1938, a very depressed year, and included, moreover, wages paid to part-time and seasonal workers. On the same basis on which Ford computes his admitted average annual wage of \$1,629.05, General Motors and Chrysler—unorganized—pay over \$1,900. In his latest ad, Ford does cite hourly minimum wages for different classifications of workers, unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled. For unskilled, it is 75 cents; semi-skilled, 80 cents; skilled, 90 cents. When one considers that in the feudal domain of Henry Ford the minimum and maximum wage for the vast majority of the Ford employees is the same thing; then we get an even clearer picture of what the real average hourly and daily pay-rates are for the workers. Take out the wages paid foremen, supervisors, and Ford's private army of spies, gun-men and strike-breakers, and we find that Ford pays not the highest, but by far the lowest wages in the automobile industry. Observe the definitions employed

er who gets "funny" finds himself fired. His creditors pile down on him. His landlord appears with a dispossession notice. And in addition, a couple of tough-looking gents may approach him on the street and give him some "friendly" advice. If he should still be so bold as to press his claim, there are company lawyers, company doctors and company judges plus company assets of close to a billion dollars, to convince him of his "mistake." Ford makes one further claim for his industrial paradise: That he attempts, as a matter of deliberate policy, to keep his older workers employed. Aside from the fact that this is a lie on the face of it, because it would be impossible to maintain the man-killing, nerve-shattering speed-up at the Ford plants with older men, we need only study the figures which Ford publishes and compare them with some others which Ford does not publish. The Ford ad states: "A recent check-up shows that nearly one-half the workers at these Ford plants were 40 or over..." He then gives figures totaling 44,356 Ford employees 40 years or over. The records of Hamtramck, Mich., where many Ford workers live, disclose that of all the former Ford employees on their relief rolls, 45 out of every 100 fired were between the ages of 41 to 50; 31 out of every 100 kicked on the industrial scrap-heap by Henry Ford were between the ages of 51 and 60. That means that 76 percent of the fired Ford workers on relief were over 40 years old. There is one single fact, however, which we can glean from this ad, a fact which is incontrovertible: **FORD IS SCARED!** The years of physical terror by which Henry Ford has ruled his industrial slave kingdom are drawing to an end. Not all Ford's "Service Men," his gangsters, gunmen, bruisers, stool-pigeons and ambitious college-boys, can give him his former accustomed feeling of security. In the eyes of every worker on the Ford assembly line he reads the long-awaited accounting. Ford is deathly afraid. Where will all his yellow-bellied stool-pigeons, his muscle-men be, when the hour of reckoning comes? They will hang on to the pay roll as long as it is safe, as long as the Ford workers are still too disorganized to deal with them properly. But when the hour strikes, most of these "loyal" Service Men will run like scared jack-rabbits.

New York Plans Banquet For Grace Carlson

NEW YORK, Jan. 6.—"Grace Carlson, Trotskyist candidate for Senator from Minnesota, who polled more votes than the Socialist and Communist Party combined, will be greeted in New York on her nation-wide tour with a mass meeting and a banquet," Murray Weiss, organizer of the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party announced today. "If the reception accorded her by the workers in other cities can be taken as an indication, her scheduled speech at the Lenin Memorial meeting in New York on January 24 will be one of the best attended in recent years. With the widening of World War II and the increasing realization that Roosevelt will plunge us into the blood bath, the workers are beginning to seek a way out—a way to end capitalist war forever. "The Second and Third Internationals are bankrupt, only Trotskyism, the program of the Fourth International, has the revolutionary answer to capitalist crises, hunger, war. That our party is not alone in understanding this is clearly shown by the large vote accorded comrade Carlson in the Minnesota election. Inquiries from workers in New York sympathetic to our party as to our plans for her appearance here show the keen interest her impressive showing in Minnesota as Trotskyist candidate has aroused." Comrade Carlson will speak at Irving Plaza, Irving Pl. and 15th St. on January 24 at 8:30 p. m. The banquet is scheduled for February 1 at Germania Hall.

TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND We're On The Last Lap; Minneapolis Is In Front

By JAMES P. CANNON
January 1st was the time set by the Chicago Conference for completion of the Trotsky Memorial Fund. As can be seen from the score board below, the branches came mighty close to the goal on the average, and some of them went over. In order to give the backward branches a final chance to catch up with and outstrip the fast starters, the Political Committee has extended the deadline for one month, to February 1st. Those branches which are not under the wire by that time are down in the black book for good. As the campaign reached its climax, a vicious competitive struggle broke out between the New York and Twin Cities locals. This was precipitated by the following telegram from New York: "NEW YORK IS UP 44% ON MEMORIAL FUND QUOTA. INTENDS TO BEAT TWIN CITIES TO GOAL." This was immediately responded to by the Twin Cities comrades as follows: "WHAT A MERE 44%? YOU CAN'T BEAT MINNESOTA." For one week New York held the lead by .1 of 1%. However, this was a bit of a fluke, as a contribution of \$100 from the Twin Cities was delayed in the mail during the holidays and was not credited to them. More than that, the New Yorkers were accused of slick work in putting in an extra dollar to gain a small lead of .1 of 1%. This week the Twin Cities comrades reached the goal and sent \$1 extra for good measure, to give them a score of 100.1%. A check for \$371 was received from them, with the following letter: "Here she is. We're 48 hours late but we have the organization and give us due credit for that .1 of 1% over the quota and see that there's no cheating by those New York City slickers. They might tie Minnesota after the excellent reports of N. Y. City Convention but they can't beat us yet. "Fraternal greetings to the N. Y. comrades and better luck next time." It is now up to New York. They asked for the fight. The question is: Do they intend to go through with it? The up and coming branch at Detroit, which completed its quota 100% before the deadline, greeted the extension of the campaign for another month by pledging another \$50. Under the democratic principles of our organization other branches have full right to do likewise if they see fit.

The following are the additional payments made to the Trotsky Memorial Fund this week:

Akron	\$ 7.00
Boston	16.00
Buffalo	7.00
Cleveland	10.00
Detroit	10.00
Los Angeles	27.75
Lynn	5.00
Minneapolis and St. Paul	371.00
New Haven	2.00
New York	100.00
Philadelphia	11.00
Quakertown	5.00
Rochester	5.00
San Francisco	15.00
Williston	10.00
Individual Contribution	1.00
TOTAL	\$602.75

Branch	Quota	Amount paid	%
BOSTON	\$ 100.00	\$ 147.00	147
QUAKERTOWN	7.00	7.50	107
BUFFALO	25.00	26.15	105
DETROIT	200.00	210.00	105
PORTLAND	10.00	10.50	105
TOLEDO	50.00	51.00	102
LOS ANGELES	150.00	151.45	101
Minneapolis & St. Paul	1000.00	1001.00	100.1
Pittsburgh	10.00	10.00	100
Allentown	15.00	15.00	100
Chicago & Indiana Harbor	200.00	200.00	100
Milwaukee	5.10	5.10	100
Reading	5.00	5.00	100
Baltimore	10.00	10.00	100
San Diego	8.50	8.50	100
Rockville	7.00	7.00	100
Texas	5.00	5.00	100
Newark	150.00	150.00	100
Hutchinson	10.00	10.00	100
St. Louis	5.00	5.00	100
Akron	10.00	10.00	100
Philadelphia	30.00	30.00	100
Rochester	15.00	15.00	100
San Francisco	100.00	100.00	100
Williston	10.00	10.00	100
Flint	150.00	138.00	92
Lynn	100.00	90.00	90
New Haven	20.00	18.00	90
New York	1000.00	656.00	66
Cleveland	70.00	10.00	14
Youngstown	50.00	6.00	12
Individual Contributions		3.30	
TOTAL	\$3527.60	\$3121.57	88%

as well as under the War and Navy Departments, the Shipping Board, the Railroad Administration and all other Government agencies." The second paragraph of Wilson's proclamation setting up the Board reads: "The National War Labor Board shall appoint subordinate boards to sit in various parts of the country." During the first few months of its life the Board was swamped with workers' complaints. Involving the above paragraph, 50 field examiners—i. e. regular government agents—were assigned to travel about the country to make investigations. The Board then empowered the field examiners to make awards and itself sat only as an appeal body. The 1921 report of the Department of Labor reveals that these examiners heard and decided over 10,000 cases in a brief 12 month period. The slim chance the workers had of getting beyond these examiners to the Board itself is revealed by the fact that the Board heard, during its entire existence, only 1,251 cases. In other words, the workers had one chance in ten in getting an examiner's decision even reviewed by the Board. And if they did beat the 10 to 1 odds, then there was still less than a 50% chance that the Board would reach a decision upon their case; for the records show that the Board made decisions in only 39% (488) of the cases it heard. There is no adequate record of the thousands of decisions handed down by the field examiners, but we do know the contents of the 488 handed down by the Board itself, and these cases were the important ones... the ones that established union-busting precedents that the government enforced for the next ten years. These cases will be reviewed and analyzed next week.



REGULARITY OF APPEAL ARMY
It was gratifying, during the past seven or eight months, to follow the trend in the party toward tremendously increased volume and REGULARITY of APPEAL work. We weren't prepared to find it one day catching up with U. S. It has. Admonitions are pouring in regarding our failure to present this column REGULARLY each week. This proof that the column is carefully followed gives us a new appreciation of its potential value in the advancement of our work. We humbly promise hereafter the strict regularity that the comrades desire and merit. Here are some suggestions for expanded column content from Minneapolis: "... Plans for nation-wide sub drives, information about special sub offers, news about local sub drives and mass APPEAL work, comments from readers and from comrades assigned to the mass work, little items about the role of the labor press, its history, etc. In short, ALL the inside information about the paper that would tend to stimulate readers and distributors in their efforts to spread its influence. "Some of the older comrades in our branch have referred on several occasions to the old Appeal To Reason, socialist publication of twenty-five years ago, concerning its phenomenal circulation and the promotion methods it used. It was suggested in our committee meeting that we might be able to learn a great deal about promotion of sales and circulation of the SOCIALIST APPEAL if a study was made of the methods used by the Appeal to Reason." We promise to dig around until we uncover some of the inside dope on the old Appeal to Reason—but do feel that in proportion our party has attained rather a phenomenal success in recent expansion of the APPEAL'S circulation. ST. PAUL APPEAL BOOSTERS We very much enjoyed another

War Labor Board Of 1918

Green, Hillman, Murray Following Gompers' Policy

By MICHAEL CORT
II.
During the closing days of 1917, after various government-sponsored labor boards had been functioning—one covering maritime, another clothing, another for workers employed on War Department orders, another for the Navy Department, etc.—strikes reached such a point that the bosses, through the National Industrial Conference, called frantically for a super-board with complete authority over all workers. Samuel Gompers responded with complete agreement to this proposal, for he had experienced considerable difficulty in keeping the unions in line. At the very opening of the war he had pledged the government "no strikes in defense industries." His attitude toward those locals which failed to respect his pledge is best exemplified by the following excerpt from a letter sent a local that disregarded a War Department ukase and struck for higher wages. "... and while you may not agree with our course (cooperation with the boards) the great majority of your brothers have chosen the road and you can not now scab." To the head of the AFL, it was the striker who was the scab! Actually, of course, the workers had received no opportunity to vote on either the war or the union-busting labor boards. Once Gompers indicated his agreement with the National Industrial Conference on the question of a superboard, Wilson invited him to confer. Pausing on the White House steps long enough to say, "There is a disposition among officers of the government to deal fairly with labor," he disappeared through the sacred portals to collaborate in the creation of the most monstrous anti-labor machinery that had ever existed in this country. A proclamation was issued by Wilson in February, 1918, organizing the super board: The National War Labor Board. The Board's Membership
The Board was composed of 12 members; five of whom were appointed by Gompers, seven by Wilson. The Gompers' nominees were as follows: Frank J. Hayes, President, United Mine Workers; William Hutchison, President, Brotherhood of Carpenters; Thomas J. Savage, member of the board, International Association of Machinists; Victor A. Olander, representative, Seamen's Union of America; and T. A. Rickett, President, United Garment Workers. The seven boss representatives were headed by the co-chairmen of the Board, ex-President of the United States, William Howard Taft, and Frank P. Walsh. The names of the five industrialists on the board mean little to us now, but their positions in industry at that time is important. They were, respectively, Vice-president, Westinghouse Electric Company; President, Delaware and Hudson Company; President, Root and Van Dervoort Engineering Company; President of Virginia Bridge Company; and President, Lackawanna Bridge Company. According to the 1921 report of the Department of Labor, only one of these five had ever had any dealings whatsoever with organized labor. So much for the composition of the Board. Now to its philosophy. The opening paragraph of the Wilson proclamation read: "The functions of the National War Labor Board shall be to settle by mediation and conciliation, controversies arising between employers and workers in fields of production necessary for the conduct of the war, or in other fields of national activity, delays and obstructions in which might, in the opinion of the Board, affect detrimentally such production."

How the Board Worked
The Board, through this paragraph, was prepared to dragoon every worker in the country, and it did. There was hardly an industry that escaped the Board's jurisdiction. During the entire history of the NWLB only 50 cases were dismissed because of lack of jurisdiction. And these cases involved luxury consumer goods and affected a very small number of workers. The opening paragraph was phrased in such a manner as to give labor the impression that all of its disputes with the bosses would receive a hearing. The practice of the Board was, however, to keep the cases that it heard to a minimum and to use its few decisions as precedents to force arbitrary settlements down the workers' throats in all other disputes. The Board developed a slight-of-hand trick that baffled the workers for some time. It was this; a law was enacted which required the board to reach a decision enforceable by law, only when both parties to a controversy joined in filing an appeal. If only one side appealed to the Board, the Board could hand down only a "recommendation." With the pressure of the bourgeois press and all other agencies of "public opinion" and the apparatus of the State on their side, it was seldom necessary for the bosses to go to the Board. According to Department of Labor records, 12% of the NWLB cases were complaints of the employers, while the remainder were worker complaints; 36% from those not organized in the AFL and 50% from those that were. In 86% of the cases then, the Board's decision was merely a recommendation and if the Board found for the workers (as conditions sometimes forced it to), the bosses were at liberty to disregard the decision entirely. If, on the other hand, the Board was about to find for the boss, on an appeal filed by workers, it was a simple matter to tip him off, let him participate in the appeal by an amendment to the complaint, and thus make the Board's award binding upon all involved. In other words, when the Board found for the workers it was usually an empty gesture; when it found for the bosses there were bayonets to back up the order. Wilson Invents a New Weapon
And what happened to the workers if they (imitating the bosses) took it into their heads to regard the Board's decisions as only a recommendation? The bayonet was used, of course; but in addition Wilson evolved a new weapon... starvation! The workers at the Remington Arms plant in Bridgeport, Conn., revolted against a Board decision in 1918 and went out on strike. Within two days they, and the press of the country, received a letter from President Wilson which read, in part: "I desire that you return to work and abide by the award. If you refuse, each of you will be barred from employment in any war industry in the community in which the strike occurs for a period of one year. During that time the United States Employment Service will decline to obtain employment for you in any war industry elsewhere in the United States,

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The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

The Struggle Against Jim Crow

Two of the most important questions facing the masses of Negroes today are (1) winning equal rights in the armed forces of the nation, where they are being Jim Crowed by the government, and (2) getting jobs in the rapidly expanding war industries, from which they have been generally excluded by the bosses.

The first is as important as the second, if only because what is involved here is governmental endorsement of the principles of Jim Crowism, which can then be pointed to by the advocates of "white supremacy" as a pattern for all spheres of American life. But in an immediate sense, the second is more important in that today this question is agitating more of the Negro people.

And after all, look at what is going on: The whole economy of the nation is being shifted to a war basis. Production of all the great and important industries is being reorganized and expanded. The factories and machinery which the bosses kept idle for over ten years when people were starving are now being opened and put to use to produce the instruments of war. The bosses and their corporations are rolling in profits. The cost of living is going up for everyone, but so far most of the unions have managed to boost wages along accordingly, so that the standard of living of many of the white workers is no worse than it was before.

But where are the Negroes in this busy picture?

One industry after another bars them altogether from jobs that pay even a half-decent wage. They occupy only two kinds of jobs in the vast majority of the war industries that do hire them: in the menial, non-productive positions, or at the hardest and worst paid laboring jobs. The cost of living is going up for them as well as others, but because they are excluded from the better-paying jobs in the strategic industries, their income isn't able to keep up with it. The hullabaloo about the "end of unemployment" is being used as a good pretext in each state to slash the relief budget and the relief rolls far more sharply than ever before. Negroes who want to work and can't get jobs suffer from this more than white workers, because at least some of the white workers are able to escape from the need of getting relief for the time being.

In short, the Negroes are being left out in the cold. The old saying about "the last to be hired" is still true.

A Correct Understanding Necessary

There are many obstacles that must be faced and overcome if this situation is to be corrected and the doors of the war industries thrown open to the Negro workers.

First of all, there is the opposition of the bosses, of the ruling class that owns and controls industry, who want to keep the workers divided along racial lines: "divide and rule." Included as part of this is the government; acting in the interests of the bosses, it does nothing to interfere with their exclusion of Negroes from the important industries, but endorses it by its own treatment of the Negroes in the armed forces and civil service. Secondly, there is the antagonism on the part of some, not all, white workers, who have been badly miseducated and have fallen for the propaganda of the bosses, and have thus permitted themselves to be used to weaken the strength of labor as a whole, including themselves. And thirdly, there is the misunderstanding among many Negro workers themselves, expressed in an incorrect attitude toward the trade unions. We intend, in coming issues, to devote ourselves to a discussion of the entire problem. But here we want to touch briefly on one aspect of the third question, about which we have been asked to comment by some comrades who have run into it in the course of their distribution of the *Appeal* to Negro workers.

Especially in the smaller industrial cities, some Negroes have come to feel a hostility toward the entire labor movement. We say to them: "The unions belong to the working class, they belong to you; true, they must be reformed, and the scissorbill leadership of some of the unions must give way to a truly representative, progressive, rank-and-file leadership—but the unions belong to the workers and they themselves must make these changes." But these Negroes reply as follows:

"We don't see how the trade unions are our organizations. They ignore us and in some cases they even kick us out of our jobs. Why should we even try to reform something that is so harmful to us? What reason have we to believe any good can come out of them for us?" And on more than one occasion we have heard Negro workers say, "We might just as well try to reform the Ku Klux Klan."

It is very difficult to convince these workers that they must be in the union movement, and must even fight to get into it. As Horace Cayton, the prominent Negro labor expert said recently, it is hard for a Negro worker to assume the role of a "lily white angel," "making sacrifices for a principle which allows him nothing but unemployment and starvation."

Before these Negroes can be convinced, they must be shown in action and through experience that they need unions to improve their conditions. Abstract arguments are not enough.

Already there exists some literature on the events of recent years showing the gains made by Negro labor on all fronts: their improved working conditions, the improved relations inside the unions between white and colored workers. Outstanding among these is the book dealing with the CIO, "Black Workers In The New Unions" by Horace R. Cayton and George S. Mitchell. We recommend its study and use by our distributors of the *Appeal* who reach workers interested in this question.

The Kremlin's Child Labor System

"Soviet Russia Today" Pretends It's "Socialist" Schooling---

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Stalin issued last October a set of ukases whereby: 1) Soviet children of 14-17 were made subject to draft into a conscript labor force; 2) the right to education so solemnly "guaranteed" by the Stalin Constitution was abolished without a formal constitutional amendment, or consultation of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. On November 10, 1940, three days after they had celebrated the Twenty Third Anniversary of the October revolution, 350,000 children of 14 and 15, and 250,000 youngsters of 16 and 17 were drafted as the first contingent.

Under Lenin: "All school children must be supplied with food, clothing, footwear, textbooks and other school accessories at the expense of the state." (Section IV Paragraph 80, Program of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) adopted at the Eighth Party Congress March 18-23, 1919.) Under Stalin: Tuitions have been introduced into Soviet schools—to drive the children from the school rooms into the factories.

No official news of this has appeared in the *Daily Worker*, "Unofficial" periodicals like *Soviet Russia Today* have been assigned the task of covering up in this country the exploitation of child labor outlawed under Lenin and Trotsky and reestablished under Stalin. "The first 600,000 Soviet youth," writes Jessica Smith, "enrolled in the newly organized State Labor Reserves schools began their period of training and study..." (*Soviet Russia Today*, January 1941).

This opening sentence with its vista of "schools," "training," "study," "enrollment" is of a piece with the rest of the article—a web of impudent and cynical lies. Most of these children have already been thrown into industry and are "studying" in coal and iron mines, in basic plants and large-scale industries, in the heaviest and most dangerous occupations.

WHAT THIS "SCHOOLING" REALLY IS

On the very first day of the draft, P. Moskatov, head of the special Labor Reserves Administration wrote a special article.

"It is very important," he warned, "to assign in advance work places and to prepare the

New Year Message To Natalia Trotsky From Chicago

The following telegram was sent from the New Years celebration in Chicago: Natalia and Seva Trotsky Coyacan, D. F. Mexico

Our heartiest comradely greetings at the New Year with the firmest conviction that in 1941 we shall make great strides toward the goal for which our leader laid down his life.

Chicago Local Socialist Workers Party

have been "enrolled" in the F. Z. O. for six months, i.e. 26 weeks (and who then will be required to work four years as conscript laborers) will receive during their training less than five hours a week "instruction at place of work" (118 divided by 26). The rest of the time must be spent in "productive work." As is well known, it actually takes about 5 hours a week to instruct a child—or any new worker for that matter—how to function productively in a mine or plant.

Just how many of the 315,000 boys of 14 and 15—only males have been drafted as yet—who come under the other category of "Trade School Students" (and who are "enrolled" for 1-2 years before serving 4 years more) will be assigned at once to industry remains one of the Kremlin's dark secrets. As Moskatov clearly states, however, the plan is to do precisely that. Their "schooling" is fixed at 7 hours—"5 hours productive training and 2 hours for general education and special discipline" (*Pravda*, October 5, 1940).

A 5-hour working day for children of 14 and 15 in coal mines, and metallurgical industries! An 8-hour day for those 16

and 17! Those not sent directly into large-scale industry will produce in "special" workshops.

HOW THESE CHILDREN WILL BE ROBBED

But that is not all. The Kremlin parasites intend not only to exploit child labor but to underpay these children and thus drive still lower the wages of adult workers. "Students" will receive one-third of the prevailing wages.

Article 19 of Order No. 1 issued by the Labor Reserves Administration reads: "Trade Schools, Railroad Schools, and the F.Z.O. are permitted to fulfill elementary productive orders for the state. It is hereby established that one-third of the revenues accruing from the fulfillment of these orders as well as for the work done by the students during their training in industry is assigned to the state budget; one-third remains at the disposal of the Director for expanding the schools and the F. Z. O. and for supplying the cultural and living needs of students, master-workmen (foremen) and instructors; and one-third is to be given into the hands of the students fulfilling the work." (*Pravda*, October 5).

Even the "Railroad Students" will be assigned to perform "elementary" productive tasks—at one-third the wages!

Stalin's pen-prostitutes of both sexes, who try to throw sand in the eyes of American workers, feel so immune as to boast that the Soviet children (who have been driven from the real schools and institutions by the introduction of tuitions) are not asked to pay for this "education!" "The students in those schools are supported wholly by the government. Tuition and maintenance including housing, bedding equipment, food and transportation are free..." (*Soviet Russia Today*, January 1941).

But the editors of *Soviet Russia Today* dare not quote the official decrees to substantiate these vile boasts. Let us juxtapose to their lies the Kremlin's legal text.

WHAT THE "STUDENTS" WILL GET

Article 12 of Order Number 1 of the Labor Reserves Administration follows: "The students (F.Z.O) are provided at the expense of the state with their food, bedding, *spetz-odezhda* (specialists-clothing); and those from rural regions and out of town are also provided with housing." (*Pravda*, October 5.)

Note that Stalin did not even make a pretence of listing "school accessories" or "equipment." Let us examine the three items which are designated: 1) *spetz-odezhda*; 2) food; 3) bedding and housing. What is "specialists-clothing" (*spetz odezhda*)? This high-faluting label is intended to evoke visions of hats, shoes, gloves, socks, coats, overcoats, etc. To be precise, it means work-clothes. To be still more precise, it is nothing but a miserable pair of overalls, or an ordinary apron.

Food—that is indeed free—if and when supplied in dining rooms and kitchens. This, as we shall presently see, cannot be taken for granted. As for housing and bedding only out-of-towners, it will be observed, are assured of lodgings—on paper. The "natives" must shift for themselves. And not they alone.

In Moscow, for example, 74,600 children were drafted, but only 25,000 will be housed at government expense. Report of the Moscow City Committee (five days before the draft): "Out of the required 25,000 beds, only 9,000 have been prepared." (*Pravda*, Nov. 5).

Report from Yaroslavl: "Preparations for opening of the schools proceeding poorly... Not a single place for housing has been prepared or arranged for... There are not enough beds or bedding... One doesn't even hear any discussion about providing fire-wood for the schools, equipping the dining rooms and kitchens." (*idem*)

Report from the city of Ridder (during the draft itself): "Nobody knows what trades will be taught in the schools. Workshops are not being prepared; there are no lodgings, either." (*Pravda*, Nov. 12)

Report from Leningrad (Nov. 12): "However, the schools and institutions have not yet been completely equipped with living quarters." Comment by P. Moskatov: "Certain Executive Committees of local Soviets are likewise approaching very lightly the selection of buildings for the new schools. In Podolsk, for example, it was planned to use a grain bin for housing." (*Pravda*, Nov. 10)

A PICTURE OF CHAOS AND OF BUREAUCRACY

Report from Chita: "It was decided to select an apartment house that is being built for the school building. But as yet only the walls of the first story have been raised. The second story is being completed poorly and will hardly be ready by December 1. And where will the students live? Who will be the director of the school? What equipment must the schools have? There is nobody who can even answer these questions." (*Pravda*, Nov. 12)

Pravda, November 13: "We have received a telegram from Voronezh that the leaders of *Glavnebelprom* have proposed to the Borsk combine that it take over for the school a building which is threatening to cave in." *Pravda's* comment: "These managers apparently think that laws are not written for them. Will it really be necessary for the prosecutors to teach these people how to fulfill Soviet laws?" (*Pravda*, Nov. 13)

This is how the children are being lodged, fed and maintained "wholly by the government"! Similar data could be adduced at will. Suffice it to quote in conclusion *Pravda's* own summary of the situation: "In a number of places housing is lacking and suitable buildings are not even being looked for. These signals testify to this, that in a number of places the enormous state importance of preparing labor reserves is not being appreciated, and that certain workers are obviously violating discipline and not fulfilling government directives." (*Pravda*, November 12.)

We know what *Pravda* means by "a number of places" and "certain workers." It means everywhere; it means every bureaucrat—from the satraps in Moscow and Leningrad to the pettiest scoundrel in the provinces. It means that the children are being subjected to working and living conditions even more inhuman than those endured by the adult workers.

"Nation" Weeps Crocodile Tears For The Refugees

Scratch a "liberal" these days, and you will inevitably uncover a nauseous hypocrite and Uriah Heep.

These are the elements who most ably gild the lily of the imperialist war aims of the "democratic" ruling class, and cloak the sordid motives of the Allied war lords in the dainty gossamer of democratic fictions.

True to type is the *Nation*, leading liberal weekly, and its editor-in-chief, Freda Kirchwey. It seems that the State Department is clamping down ever more heavily on the admission of anti-fascist refugees into this country, while paving the way for the entrance of rich and well-born foreign reactionaries, dispossessed members of the nobility and others of similar ilk.

The *Nation* and Freda Kirchwey are shocked, outraged, overwhelmed, stunned. They have been beating the anvil for a good, noble, democratic, idealistic, untainted, purely-motivated war against the Axis powers. And now the handling of the refugee problem by the government is adding a trace of tattle-tale gray to the virginal robes of the "democratic" champions.

Freda Kirchwey says as much in an article in the *Nation* of December 28, bewailing the short-sighted policy of the administration, as expressed in a recent State Department statement "designed to silence the mounting protest against the handling of the emergency refugee problem created by the Nazi conquest of Western Europe."

This statement, charges the article, "cited figures which... told lies of monstrous proportions when published without explanation."

And "the statement as a whole only increased justifiable fears that the refugee problem will in the end be left to the harsh mercies of the most reactionary, anti-alien elements in the State Department."

Strong language, with stronger to follow: "The record is one which must sicken any person of ordinarily humane instincts. It is as if we were to examine laboriously the *curricula vitae* of flood victims clinging to a piece of floating wreckage and finally to decide that, no matter what their virtues, all but a few had better be allowed to drown."

Outraged virtue then gets down to the nub of the question: "But politically the behavior of the State Department is even more shocking. It betrays the profound failure of leading officials of the department to understand even the elements of the conflict in which the United States is inextricably engaged. Has the preservation of democracy anything to do with the conflict? If it has, surely the leaders of democratic thought and action in Europe will not be deliberately sacrificed to their—and our—fascist opponents. This position should determine every act of every official charged with the conduct of our foreign affairs."

It thus seems, according to Freda Kirchwey, that the "democratic" motivation of the war for which she has been beating the drums is not "understood" by the State Department,—that is, the department which has most to do with American foreign policy and is the most direct agency for the promulgation of this policy.

The State Department understands full well what it is doing and why. It leaves the blather about democratic ideals to the Freda Kirchweys, who also "understands," but like the whore in the fable cries, "It's love I'm really after."

Why the behavior of these liberals "must sicken any person of ordinarily humane instincts," is forcefully demonstrated by one of the concluding sentences of this scandalized lady:

"It is difficult to believe that the President himself would knowingly countenance such a change."

According to this outraged female, frantically rubbing among the scrap heaps for a "democratic" rag to throw over the suddenly denuded paunch of the American ruling class, the policy of the government toward the refugees is something alien to the real motives of the war-mongers, a ravishment accomplished in the dead of night behind lock doors, and hidden from the eyes of noble men like Roosevelt.

On the contrary, as Freda Kirchwey well knows, this is Roosevelt's policy, as it is the policy of the whole boss class of America which Roosevelt represents, as it is the policy which most truly reflects the actual motives for the American war preparations.

This picture of a Roosevelt deceived, kept in the dark, surrounded by secret enemies in the guise of friends is the only fig-leaf left to the liberals whereby they can still cover up the nakedly reactionary character of the war.

Scratch a liberal these days, indeed, and you will find a cowardly, yellow-bellied, hypocritical apologist for capitalist war and plunder decked in the garments of a vestal virgin. But a white robe can't hide her smell!

There's Only One Road For India

A Ceylonese Tells Why Only The Masses Can Free India

(The author of this article is a comrade from Ceylon who is now in England.)

By J. V. P. de SILVA

LONDON (By Mail) — A few weeks ago, Pandit Nehru, chief disciple of Mahatama Gandhi, was sentenced to four years imprisonment, for asking his white masters for a little more of the pie: more opportunity for the black capitalist to exploit India.

Let us not weep or laugh, but try to understand, for while we support every move against British imperialism in India, we know at the same time that it is not the India bourgeoisie which is going to solve the problem of India. Ever since Nehru was sentenced, middle-class intellectuals, democrats and the lackeys of Moscow in Great Britain have each in their own style emptied buckets full of sentiment on the cultured, ex-Cambridge Pandit. That Nehru has taken as his symbol in the struggle against British imperialism the pious goat of Gandhi, and not the hammer and sickle, seems to delight them.

Of course nothing has been said of the 4,000 militant workers and peasants who have been jailed in rat holes of prisons during the past few months. "Release Nehru and Britain stands to gain more," is the policy of the bourgeoisie lackeys. "First Nehru then we" is the policy of the Communist Party.

SIMPLE FIGURES REVEAL THE TASK IN INDIA

India, with a population of 353 millions, has an area of 1,808,000 square miles. The workers are distributed as follows: 66% in agriculture, 18% in trade, transport and industry, 7% in domestic service, 3% in public administration, 5% in unproductive occupations. Thus we are able to visualize the structure of India society. A small class at the top (about a million consisting of wealthy land owners, and others living on private incomes). Below them is the middle-class (15 millions composed of clerks, teachers and small businessmen, traders, students, and others). Then come the vast bulk of the hungry masses, in two categories: (a) 70 million peasant-cultivators and (b) workers of all other occupations. 90% of the people live in villages, of which there are 700,000. Each village is a muddle of mud huts. Needless to say, the

basis of the social structure is agriculture.

The total area of British India is 687 million acres. 22% of this land is totally unfit for cultivation, 13% is covered with forests (state owned), and 7% in current fallow. The land used for arable farming is 232 million acres, i. e. 35 per cent of the whole. 80% of the land cultivated is given to cereals, pulses (leguminous plants), and sugar (the latter chiefly for export). Dividing the total area of land cultivated by the number of cultivators, we get an average of about 2½ acres per agriculturist. These holdings consist of isolated fragments.

LIFE UNDER THE BRITISH "DEMOCRATS"

The cardinal disability of the peasant is the existing division and distribution of land, along with the tremendous taxation imposed. The peasant is burdened with enormous taxes; one to the state, and the other to the landlord. Therefore the peasant who gets a salary of about eight shillings month pays about four shillings in the form of tax. As a result, all of them are heavily in debt, and the debt was estimated at about \$900 millions in 1937.

On the other hand are the landlords, who between them hold about 75% of the agricultural land. There are two types: (1) Those who were put in possession of vast estates by the British as a matter of political expediency; (2) Those who have acquired ownership by purchase or otherwise during the last 100 years. More than five-sevenths of the cultivatable land is today in the hands of one-third of the landlords.

The industrial workers are composed of expropriated peasants. Nearly 50% of them work in the textile factories where the wages are 4 to 5 pence a day, for 12 to 14 hours work. In the mines they are paid 7 to 8 pence a day for 14 to 15 hours work. In industries like the TATA Works the wages are the same, and in the plantations they are no better. These low wages have put the workers, like the peasants, into heavy debt to the tune of several hundred millions of dollars. With the exception of an insignificant minority composed of the landlords, the princes and the white bourgeoisie, the average per capita income of the remainder of the population—nearly 348 millions out of 353—works out at £4-16

shillings a year, i. e. £24 per family of five.

With this despotic rule imposed on India by Britain, the Government of Churchill dares to speak of the loyalty of India to the Crown. On the other hand the Stalinists speak of a free India under Nehru and Gandhi, two marionettes who dangle from the strings of the mill owners. While we could ignore the wishful thinking of the fast-crumbing ruling clique in Britain, the treacher of the Comintern must be unmasked, if we are to avoid a more bloody massacre of the masses than in Spain.

CONGRESS REPRESENTS THE BOURGEOISIE

The Indian National Congress which Nehru represents was from its inception a bourgeois movement. The expansion of British capital created in the process a class of Indian middlemen who grew rather rapidly and invested their wealth first in land, and later in industrial enterprises. The economic conflict arose between the imperialists and the rich landowning class with regard to revenue, and the policy of the British in heavily taxing the young native industries and upholding the monopoly of foreign capital. This resulted in the forming of the Indian National Congress.

The Congress knew that if they were to get any concessions from their British masters, they had to have the support of the masses: Therefore they maneuvered and struggled ceaselessly for two ultimately incompatible ends: (1) To gain ascendancy over the mass movement and (2) To win the revolutionary elements among both the workers and peasants over for Congress aims, and divert them from the economic struggle.

Thus the policy of Congress—(a) non-violent, non-cooperation; (b) boycott of British goods; (c) civil disobedience. The advocacy of non-violence was a method of holding back any revolutionary tendency of the masses, and protecting the property interests of the landowners. The boycott of British goods was of very great financial advantage to the mill owners, and as long as it remained a passive resistance movement no harm could come to the India bourgeoisie; but it was a powerful lever to use against the British. The outcome of this criminal policy has been, as is well known, a

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Arm London Police

The London "bobbies" are to be armed with fire-arms for the first time in their history. The British Purchasing Commission has placed an order for 25,000 revolvers for the London police with the Harrington & Richardson Arms Company of Worcester, Massachusetts.

Issuance of revolvers to the "bobbies," it is claimed, is to enable them to help repel any invader.

If the arms ordered were rifles, machine guns, grenades and similar ordinance, this claim might appear plausible. But not revolvers. These are going to be used for an opposite purpose; not against invaders, but against the British workers. These arms are ordered for the not-too-distant time when the British masses begin open protest actions against the abominable air-raid shelter "protection afforded them," in contrast with the safe, swank and luxurious under-earth playgrounds in which the rich disport themselves.

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FIGHT WITH THE
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions.
2. The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
6. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces—Down with Jim Crowism.
7. An end to secret diplomacy.
8. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.

AT HOME:

For:

1. A job and decent living for every worker.
2. Thirty-thirty—\$30 weekly minimum wage—\$30 hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
3. \$30 weekly old age and disability pension.
4. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.
5. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
6. A twenty-billion dollar Federal public works and housing program to provide jobs for the unemployed.
7. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Organize Ford!

Henry Ford possesses the greatest individual fortune in the world. And the extent of his wealth is an index to the intensity with which he exploits labor.

The rule of his realm is a rule of violence. Not intelligence, nor mental adroitness, nor mechanical creativeness, nor administrative genius, but sheer brute force and physical terror are the stock-in-trade of Ford's rise to wealth and power.

He has at his disposal a private army, a ruthless and mercenary gang of professional thugs, gunmen, paroled gangsters and similar degenerate scum. The black-jack, the brass-knuckle, the club and the gun are the symbols on the Ford coat-of-arms.

Ford stands today as THE challenge to the CIO and all organized labor.

What every boss and corporation executive in the country is asking himself these days is: Can Henry Ford get away with it? And if he can, they quite logically reason, so can they. And they too can copy Ford's methods.

Unorganized workers everywhere are watching the Ford union drive with breathless attention. The workers in the aircrafts industry, in Little Steel, are asking: Can the Ford workers do it? If they can, so can we.

The gigantic strikes which won union conditions for the General Motors and Chrysler workers in the Spring of 1937 paved the way for tremendous organizational advances in other industries. Those strike victories forced such viciously anti-union corporations as U. S. Steel and Westinghouse Electric to grant union contracts in fear of strikes. In the same way, a clean-cut victory now for the Ford workers will give a nation-wide impetus to the organization of all the unorganized workers and, in addition, will force every reactionary employer in the country to put back into his files any illusory plans he may have for smashing the union in his industry.

The supreme danger to the Ford union drive is that the union leadership may permit or encourage the notion that Ford can be brought to heel through legal decree, court order or government pressure. To place any hope in a possible favorable court decision means, at the least, months of disastrous and demoralizing delay, during which Ford can undermine and beat down the union drive bit by bit.

And in the end, what hope is there that the government will enforce any pro-labor decision of any board or court? None whatsoever. The bosses' government knows that a victory for the Ford workers means an unparalleled expansion of industrial unionism, it means possible strikes and demands in Bethlehem Steel, DuPont and elsewhere.

And the bosses and their government are dead set against this.

The awarding of the bulk of the war orders to open-shop, non-union corporations, including the Ford Motor Co.; the demonstrative fashion in which the War Department slapped down the feeble protest of Sidney Hillman against the latest contract to Ford—every evidence exists and cries out: The government will stand with Henry Ford against the workers!

But all this should not daunt the Ford workers. They can lick Ford and lick him to a frazzle if they are willing and ready, and seriously prepare to utilize their one decisive weapon, strike action.

On that day when the word "Strike!" sweeps like a hurricane down the miles of assembly lines, the Ford workers will learn the real might and solidarity of labor.

It will be the greatest picket line this or any other nation has ever seen. By the hundreds of thousands, the auto workers of Detroit, Flint, Pontiac, Saginaw, Toledo, Cleveland will pour into the lines. From a thousand miles away, by old jalopy or by freight, union men will come, rubber workers, glass workers, steel workers, AFL teamsters and machinists, Negro workers, women workers and housewives—the whole outpouring of the concentrated power and wrath of the working class will swell the picket line against Ford.

Ford's finks and stool-pigeons and thugs will not avail him.

And with trembling hands, Ford will sign a union contract and be goddam glad he has not suffered worse.

"Good Neighbor"

Workers in the British colonies in the Western Hemisphere are receiving an impressive lesson on the true meaning of President Roosevelt's policy of "aid to Britain short of war," as well as on his "Good Neighbor" program.

On January 3, a presidential order suspended the eight-hour day for workers employed in the construction of naval and air base sites leased by the United States from Great Britain.

This abrogation of the law—which requires the eight-hour day for all workers employed "upon any public works of the United States"—was justified on the grounds of "extraordinary emergency."

Just how extraordinary, is explained in the following section of Roosevelt's order:

"The application to these projects of the eight-hour limitation would involve such a departure from local labor practices and regulations as would be likely to adversely affect the local (colonial) labor situation."

In a word, "aid to Britain short of war" is to include the full assistance of United States imperialism in enforcing the continued brutal exploitation of the native peoples in the British colonies.

But there is more to this move than simple expedient co-operation with the British exploiters, by affording no example of better working conditions to inflame the native workers with ideas of improved standards.

The workers in the United States can see in this move one step further to break down the conditions of labor in the United States. Roosevelt thus encourages the drive of the National Association of Manufacturers to destroy the eight-hour day under the pretext of an "extraordinary emergency" in the interests of "national defense."

Months ago the Navy Department suspended the eight-hour day for government work in Alaska and the Pacific island bases of the U. S. In August, when the number of unemployed still exceeded ten millions, the War Department instituted the 48 hour week in place of the 40 hour week in the government arsenals.

This latest action of Roosevelt is not merely a clue to the real purposes of American imperialism with respect to the colonial peoples. It is one more ominous forecast of what the boss class is planning for the American working class in the immediate future.

Class Is Class

The ruling caste of the British Army doesn't permit the idea of class superiority to be overlooked for one instance, even in the distinction it makes between dead Italian soldiers and dead fascist commanding officers.

In reporting the capture by the British Egyptian forces of the Italian desert fortress at Nibiewa, Egypt, the *New York Times* of December 16 reports:

"Many of the men (Italian soldiers) jumped into the refuse trenches," said an Italian surgeon who is still here caring for the wounded. "They did not know it but they were jumping into their own graves because the shells came pouring into the trenches after them."

The following choice bit appears later in the *Times* story: "The refuse trenches provided graves for the dead. General Maletti was laid out in state in front of his tent before burial."

Workers and peasants in uniform are just so much garbage to be buried in offal pits. But a fascist general, well, that's something different to the British ruling-class officers!

Class must be respected at all cost, and particularly since Churchill's plea to the fascist generals, Italian royal family and the rest of the ruling Italian regime to make a "revolution" against Mussolini. Churchill does not intend to put any ideas in the heads of the Italian masses. Class is class, as the saying goes, and Churchill and the British officer caste want even the British soldiers to understand this.

Industrial Insurance
Racket Robs The Poor

SEC Investigation Shows Workers Swindled Out Of Hundreds Of Millions Yearly By Big Insurance Outfits; No Remedy Proposed

By DON DORE

"He's so low he'd steal the pennies off a dead man's eyes."

That, in a manner of speaking, characterizes the life insurance companies who last year alone sold \$3,676,466,446 worth of "industrial insurance" policies to new millions of duped workers.

For 95 percent of all these policies, as the past ten year record proves, will lapse before they are paid out.

Last year 66 life insurance companies held active industrial policies amounting to \$21,140,150,492. According to the past records, only five percent of these policies will ever be paid out at face value for deaths or by maturity.

Hundreds of millions of dollars are paid yearly, in weekly dime and quarter installments, as premiums on the small \$100 to \$1000 life or "old age" insurance policies sold under the "industrial insurance" plan. These policies are deliberately pushed upon the poorest strata of the workers by high-pressure salesmen who know in advance that sooner or later, by virtue of unemployment or inadequate income, 95 out of every 100 policy holders will lose all or most of their investment through lapsed policies or surrendering them for a fraction of the amount paid out in premiums. And this is also the most expensive form of insurance.

This is the dirtiest racket, among many, described in a monumental three-volume report of the Securities and Exchange Commission, which has just completed a study of the life insurance companies. The study, begun in July 1938, covers the practices of the 306 legal reserve life insurance companies now in operation. A summary of its findings has already been given to the Temporary National Economic Commission.

This summary describes the methods of selling industrial insurance through playing on the fears of poor workers. Unable to save a penny ahead, most workers are frightened at the thought of

dying and leaving their dependents without even funeral expenses. Most of these policies are sold on this basis.

The section on industrial insurance is but one of the highlights of the report, particularly revealing because this racket is directed at the poorest sector of the working class. The Metropolitan, Prudential and John Hancock insurance companies carried over three-fourths of the total of outstanding industrial insurance in 1939.

These companies, and other leading firms, according to the SEC findings, have also perfected means of eliminating all real competition and have been able to fix high premium rates, regardless of costs involved in the companies' operations. Section 11 of the report states: "The principle life insurance companies have for several years undertaken to eliminate rate competition by means of inter-company agreements and 'gentlemen's understandings'."

The officers and directors of the companies use their offices for their own gain, employing the funds paid in on premiums for personal deals and investments. The report outlines the innumerable ways this may and has been done:

"He may borrow money (from the insurance fund) directly or in the name of a corporation he owns or controls; he may sell goods, or services to the insurance company, possibly at a premium; he may cause the insurance company to purchase his own securities or to provide money for financing a speculative business venture he is promoting; he may place friends or business associates on the payroll of the insurance company at exorbitant salaries; he may pad expense accounts or draw compensation in advance with no contemplation of repayment; he may direct the depositing of company funds to his advantage; he may cause preferential contracts to be executed in his favor, or, if he

acts in concert with at least some of his fellow directors, he may even change the form of the company from mutual to stock or stock to mutual, which ever best serves his private purposes."

Every life insurance company without exception was found to be guilty of some or all of these practices.

The magnitude of the swindle, the enormity of the profits garnered by a handful of companies, can best be realized when we consider that in 1939 this one type of insurance company controlled total assets (admitted) of \$29,243,411,498. Their total income for one year, 1939, was \$5,453,133,586, or about \$2,000,000,000 less than the estimated total of federal governmental fiscal receipts.

The life insurance companies are the greatest single aggregate of wealth in the country. As the report states, "The life insurance companies are becoming the principle savings institutions of the country."

These institutions are directly linked with the most powerful capitalists and banks. "The five largest life insurance companies," reports the SEC, "have interlocking directorships with 100 other insurance companies, 145 banks or other financial institutions and 534 industrial, real estate or other corporations. The interlockings with commercial banks are particularly important, the five largest insurance companies having 40 common directors with commercial banks in New York."

All this is but a minute fraction of the SEC findings, which constitute one of the most damning indictments ever leveled at any capitalist institution by a government agency. What will be the upshot of this devastating exposure? Nothing!

For like all similar investigating committees (the oil trust, banks, utilities, etc., have been investigated in the past) this committee too winds up its hundreds of thousands of damning words by recommending—nothing!

Distrust Of Yankees
Revives In Argentina

By QUEBRACHO

BUEENOS AIRES — (By Mail) A few weeks ago it was hard to foresee that Argentine and Uruguayan public opinion would react the way it now has, on the question of ceding to the United States naval and air bases on the South American coast. The movement developing in that respect is very extensive and ardent and completely analogous to that produced in May, 1940, against the possibility of Argentina's entry into the world war. It is evident that the South American masses don't want to be dragged into the imperialist massacre no matter how much the "democratic" and liberal press which serve Anglo-American imperialism (that is the nature of almost the entire press here) try to coat the pill.

After my last report to the Socialist Appeal when it appeared that the masses were ready to docilely accept as a "lesser evil" the ceding of military bases to the United States, there arose an unexpected and growing clamor. That feeling spread not only among groups of the nationalist bourgeoisie and the liberal petty-bourgeoisie, but also to a good part of the trade unions and student organizations. They all issued manifestos and held heavily-attended public meetings against the "pretensions of Yankee imperialism."

It is necessary to recognize the fact that this was attained in good part as a result of the activity of the Stalinists who, since the Hitler-Stalin pact, concentrate their fire against England and the United States, after having for years supported the "democratic" imperialist nations. Tomorrow, Stalinism will probably again become the accomplice of the "democracies." But it is evident that if their present activity could find so much of an echo, it was so because that feeling, although as yet not openly manifested, was already in the spirit of the popular masses—a spirit which we Trotskyists have done our share in creating.

Secondly that activity bore fruit because of the patriotic sentiment of a people that always has considered itself the first in Latin America and one of the standard bearers of Western civilization in the world. That feeling impels

the Argentines to reject any perspective which will place them on the same level as the Central American republics. The reaction in the army and navy also has been particularly adverse. Hence, one can be certain that for the present it is improbable that the United States will obtain military bases in Argentina.

YANKEEES MORE SUCCESSFUL IN URUGUAY

However, the situation in Uruguay is different. It is the smallest country in South America without an army and navy which might put up any resistance. The cession of air and naval bases to the United States or their construction with a loan from Washington would give that country the opportunity to acquire a great importance in this continent which, besides bringing them many benefits would flatter the national vanity of the Uruguayan bourgeoisie. Therefore, and in spite of popular opposition and the resignation of the "Herrerista" ministers who are connected with nazi-fascism, President Baldomir announced that he is ready to go forward with the construction of the bases. It remains only to overcome the opposition of Argentina.

In a recent meeting held in the city of Colonia, the foreign ministers of Argentina and Uruguay considered this matter, but as yet it is hard to say what decisions were reached during the conversations because the agreements are kept a secret. However, it was decided to summon a new meeting attended by all the countries who have interests in the Plata River basin, namely Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, Argentina and Uruguay, because a cession of military bases on the Uruguayan coast at the mouth of the great river will affect the interests of all those countries. If Argentina aims to oppose the construction of that base at the new conference, that attitude will be overcome because U. S. influence predominates in the other nations mentioned.

Meanwhile a British mission headed by Lord Willington, ex-vice-roy of India, arrived in Buenos Aires, heralded with great publicity and "the compliance of Roosevelt." This mission, which plans to continue its tour through

out South America, came with the primary purpose of propagandizing for the British cause and at the same time, to try and salvage English interests in this country. The principal results of the visit have been a series of drastic measures, such as the pretended "nationalization" of the railroads, which will assure English stockholders a certain profit which they do not earn at present, and the granting of a large credit to England.

On the other hand, an Argentine mission, headed by Senor Prebisch, general manager of the Argentine Central Bank, went to the United States and has just obtained a 110 million dollar loan, after great efforts were exerted to make Argentina accept the principle of "continental defense," that is, the cession of air and naval bases in the South Atlantic. This loan, which I will deal with on another occasion, is a real attempt against Argentine economy, and will throw this country at the mercy of the Yankee wolf. It will only benefit the U. S. and England. The U. S. because that loan, and the closing of the European market, will enable Argentina to purchase American commodities which formerly were imported from Europe because of an unfavorable trade balance with the U. S.

And England will benefit because that money will serve as credit to finance English purchases of meats and cereals in Argentina, while English gold is reserved to buy commodities from the U. S. Credits are thus demanded from Argentina, the nation's favorable commercial balances are blocked in British pounds, and in exchange the country is offered paper on its foreign debt which cannot be placed here and which consequently must be financed in the U. S. In this way the financial center of this semi-colonial country shifts its seat from London to New York. And instead of utilizing the opportunity to obtain economic liberation since the old master Britain is weakening, Argentina is falling more and more under the heel of a new master, more exacting and many times more powerful: Wall Street.

Dec. 23, 1940

Valiant British
Brewers Expose
Fifth Columnists

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Some people argue that capitalists are not parasites. Others believe, however, that this is going a bit strong, especially in wartime. After starting the war, they maintain the capitalists continue to do their bit. Standing bravely at their posts at home and seeing that law and order function smoothly, the capitalists by their example inspire the soldiers to more heroic and self-sacrificing efforts on the battle front. Likewise the workers in the munitions industries feel better when the boss is right there to see that no saboteurs disturb the workers with disruptive talk about higher wages or shorter hours.

Only intolerant people would deny the weight of evidence in support of the latter view. Take, for instance, the public-minded stockholders of the Highgate-Walsall Brewery, whose annual general meeting was reported in the most recent issue of the *London Economist*. Despite bombs, convoy sinkings, destruction, and even loss of property, these stout-hearted British stockholders, aside from putting by enough reserves to take care of plant destruction by bombs, have carried right on as usual—so that the output of the brewery "has shown an increase notwithstanding the enforced advance in prices to our customers."

The public naturally appreciates that "this advance in prices has been forced on us by increased taxation imposed by the three Budgets." The cost of war must be footed by some one, and the stockholders are performing a patriotic duty in seeing to it that the cost is passed on to their customers. How can such patriots be termed parasites? Only a red unable to adjust himself to society could cavil at the pleasure of the Chairman in reporting that: "Notwithstanding continual rises in the cost of labour and materials, especially barley... the trading profit has shown a satisfactory increase."

Whoever loses his equilibrium enough to call these sturdy pillars of British capitalism parasites fails to take into consideration their role in guarding the home front, especially against Fifth Columnists. Stockholders possess an innate gift which permits them to recognize a genuine Fifth Columnist instantly. This is proved by the Chairman's exposure of an insidious campaign unleashed by organized propagandists against the British Government: "Using the war as a means to an end," he informs the company meeting, "they still persist in worrying the Government. Such conduct in exploiting the national emergency is reprehensible."

The Fifth Columnists Unmasked

Loyally defending his Government, the Chairman of the stockholders of Highgate-Walsall Brewery levels an accusing finger at the Fifth Columnist activity of the Oxford Temperance Council. The Chairman brings out into the blinding light of day the scurrilous tactics of this unholy crew: "At the moment these agitators are concentrating on bringing about a reduction of the use of materials for brewing, such as barley, and the shortening of the permitted hours of sale in licensed houses."

These agents of a foreign power boring from within, shall not succeed, however, in their sabotage of the defense program. The stockholders of the Highgate-Walsall Brewery stand in the breach! They defend the interests of the farmers: "It would be grossly unfair to farmers who grow malting barley to cut down supplies to brewers, for they would be forced to sell their malting barley at the price of feeding barley, which on this year's figures would have been about one-half of its value." The stockholders likewise champion the interests of the workers: "The Government know only too well the serious unrest, discontent, loss of working time and interference with the output of munitions which was caused in the last war by the too drastic curtailment of the supply of beer."

From the report of the Chairman, it is clear that the agitators of the Oxford Temperance Council are in communication with the foe. Only Nazis could disseminate propaganda of such virulent nature: "Not content with demanding that the quantity of beer brewed should be curtailed, these agitators go further, and still using the war as an argument, urge that also the sale in licensed houses should cease at an earlier hour in the evening."

In the welter of blood of the Second World War, it is a comfort to know that the British capitalists while increasing their profits are defending the ramparts of democracy and the interests of the poor even down to seeing that Fifth Columnists don't separate the working stiff from his mug of beer.

LENIN MEMORIAL
MEETING

Speaker

GRACE CARLSON
Trotskyist Candidate for U. S. Senator
from Minnesota. Member National
Executive Board of the Workers
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*Lenin's Ideas Are Stronger at the Beginning of
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Imperialist Conflict.*

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