DECEMBER 22, 1941

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

WE PROPOSE: A 100 PER CENT TAX ON ALL PROFITS OF WAR INDUSTRY!

Bosses Try to Blackmail Labor at Washington Confab

By JACK WILSON

The conference of labor and industry called by President Roosevelt this week in Washington meets in an atmosphere surcharged with antagonisms arising from the conflicting interests of the participating forces.

Roosevelt seeks to obtain by voluntary agreement a "truce" between the labor movement of the employers of America, which , in effect, will hogtie the union movement completely to the war machine.

The National Association of Manufacturers denounced even the calling of a conference between union representatives and themselves or their representatives, since they desire to see the Smith slave labor act passed and become a law.

The NAM seeks cleverly to bludgeon the labor movement into surrender by saying in so many words: "Don't antagonize us by any serious proposals or we'll walk out of the conference.'

AFL Blind Sheep

The AFL representatives, headed by William Green, will participate in the conference as blind sheep, having adopted by formal vote of the AFL executive board a peace at any price policy, which appeasement is certainly welcomed by the NAM and by Roosevelt.

The CIO delegation, headed by Phillip Murray, has as its major aim to press for the adoption of the socalled Murray Industrial Council Plan to settle production and labor

Inclusion of John L. Lewis in this delegation is considered especially significant and everyone is watching closely to see what role Lewis has cut out for himself in the near fu-

Having Julius Emspack of the Electrical Workers Union and Joe Curran of the Maritime Union on the committee likewise created a surprise since they indicate how closely the Stalinists are now working with the Roosevelt Administration, and what prominence is attached to their role!

Out of such a conglomeration of figures and conflicting interests, only a patchwork program can be expected, but one which may operate against labor's interests.

Most ominous proposal before the conference is one which will receive both AFL and the manufacturers' support, and the CIO has to be on guard against it.

The proposal is to freeze present union relations and organization in all industries. This means that the CIO would promise to give up organ-

izing the unorganized, especially in the South. And would also give up

This freezing order wouldn't bother the AFL as much since it already has closed shop agreements in fields vital to its present form of existence. Labor unity proposals, too, if from the AFL, also will be made only to put the CIO behind the eight-ball.

its efforts to obtain a union shop in

the war industries.

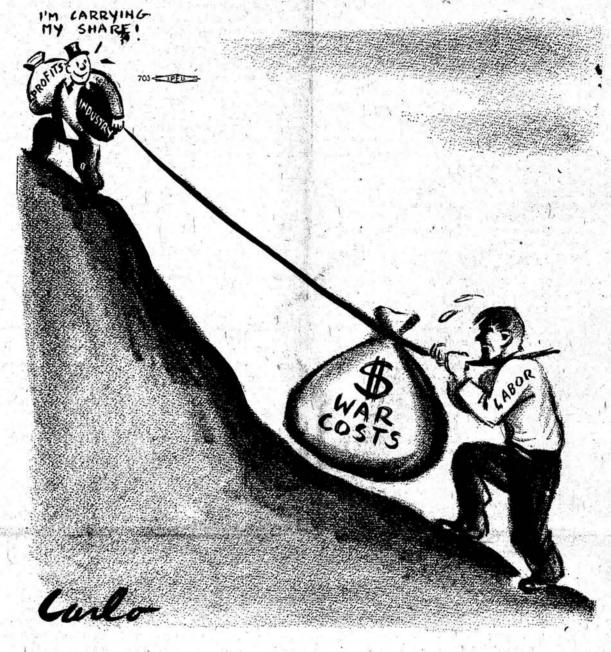
NAACP Demands End of Jim Crow In the Navy

The United States Navy is continuing its policy of refusing to accept enlistments of Negroes in any branch of service except that of messboy, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People charged this week.

The NAACP sent a telegram to Secretary of the Navy Knox protesting against this Jim Crow policy and demanding that Negroes be given equal rights with whites in the Navy.

Knox, it may be remembered, is the gentleman who recently endorsed a statement of Rear Admiral Blandy which urged that union organizers be run out of town

"WE MUST ALL PULL TOGETHER"



—A First Hand, Exclusive Interview-

What Is Happening Inside Hitlerland?

Editor's Note: Continuing its policy of publishing exclusive news dealing with the effects of the war, LABOR ACTION presents this interview describing real conditions in Hitler Germany. This interview is based upon information supplied by refugees from Nazi terror who left Germany as recently as Octo-

What are the German people thinking about

the war! This is particularly true among the workers who detest the war and wish only that it would end. Since the beginning of the war against Russia they dislike the war more than ever before. This is because they have great sympathy the Nazis visited all Jewish homes at 8 o'clock and for the sufferings of the Russian people and also because of the fact that every single family is mourning at least one dead or wounded man.

What has happened to those Jews who remain inside Germany?

Answer: Since the beginning of the war against Russia the persecutions of the Jews have been worse than ever before. These Nazi acts are directed particularly against the 70,000 Jews who still live in Berlin.

They are sent by the hundreds in freight trains Answer: There is absolutely no enthusiasm for, to Poland, to distant towns and villages. They are not allowed to take along more than a suitcase. Those who still live in Berlin have to be home each night at 8 o'clock. For a long time, this order was not strictly enforced but one evening recently

sent to a concentration camp all those whom they did not find at home at this time.

-By Henry Judd-

The Jews are forbidden to eat any fruits. The remains of an apple found in the home of a Jew are sufficient cause for his arrest. All Jews able to do any kind of work are obliged to carry out forced labor for 12 hours a day. If they still have a little money left, they are not paid. If they are paid, the wages are far below the lowest standard of living.

How do the German people behave toward the

Jewish people? Answer: Most of the people-workers especially -are not anti-semitic! On the contrary, they attempt to help the Jews whenever they can do so. (Continued on page 3)

SALEM, Mass: - The congressional seat of the Seventh District left vacant by the death of Congressman Lawrence J. Connery is being fought for by 15 candidates. Nation - wide interest is focused on the election, as

Most of the candidates have come out for Roosevelt's policies except for the America First candidate, who is now for the war but against FDR's policies. The test will be in the size of the vote the Administration's candidate, State Senator T. J. Lane, re-

A month ago, Labor's Non Partisan League of the Seventh District held a meeting to decide on policy for this election. The North Shore CIO Council delegation pointed out that a Labor Party was not only an immediate necessity, but that in this particular case it could even win the election. The district always elects a Democrat by tremendous majorities, therefore the Democratic Party primary decides the election. There are 12 Democrats running against each other. The voters in each city will vote for the "local boy" unless there is a Labor Party in the field which will rally all the workers' votes around its program and candidate. A few textile delegates wanted the America First candidate endorsed, while the handful of Stalinists present were interested in only one question, to be shown the candidate who was "all out" for immediate entry into the war and they would support him. The meeting adjourned by passing a motion to en-

But the State CIO Council, headed by J. Salerno, international vicepresident of the Textile Union, made a deal with FDR's Administration candidate, Senator Lane, and announced that the CIO would support Lane 100 per cent.

Lane's Record

Senator T. J. Lane has represented the Lawrence area in the State Senate for years. On February 20, 1935, he voted AGAINST the Child Labor. Amendment and on February 12, 1936, he voted AGAINST the bill raising the compulsory school attendance age for minors from fourteen to sixteen years. At one other time he very carefully absented himself when the vote was being taken on the question of a state fund for

The war is here. It is a fact which cannot be denied. The problem which the American people—and especially its largest and most important section, the workers-face, is: How will the war be conducted and how will it affect us?

And one of the burning, concrete forms which that question takes is: WHO IS GOING TO PAY FOR THE WAR?

LABOR ACTION wishes here to present some facts. These facts are taken from official government reports.

Since 1939, profits of American corporations have jumped

profits!

War Doesn't Hurt THEM!

The New York Times of December 10 announces that the aggregate net income of 137 Class 1 railroads showed an increase of 492 per cent in the first nine months of the year, compared with the same period last year. This was the first time these profits had shown such a sharp increase.

Aggregate net profits in the nine months of this year were \$359,-710,000 as against \$60,713,000 in the same period last year.

Some weeks ago, when negotiating with the rail workers' union, the companies declared that their profits were insufficient to warrant

It may be inquired as to exactly what the companies would consider sufficient profits warranting a raise for their workers. Or do they consider such a thing impossible?

Mass. Election Shows Need of **Labor Party**

it is the first since the war.

dorse no one.

the protection of those persons en-

(Continued on page 2)

169 per cent! In manufactured goods, prices have jumped 17 per cent. But costs of manufacturing goods have increased only 7 per cent. That means that the other 10 per cent went into

The copper industry, which has increased prices about 12 per cent, is tripling its profits this year. Even after payment of taxes, it is showing more than double its pre-war profits.

Corporations handling more than 85 per cent of the nation's steel output multiplied their pre-war profits 13 times during the third quarter of this year.

And the railroads, which were whining that they couldn't afford to grant increased wages, have increased their profits by 492 per cent during the last nine months!

Increased labor costs have hardly figured in the picture. For industry as a whole, a 3 per cent increase in labor costs (as part of total costs) has been more than covered by a 3.6 per cent decrease in overhead

While wages have gone up 32 per cent, most of it was not in wage increases, but in payment for additional services to men who are working longer hours or who were not working before.

These figures mean that, while labor has been just keeping pace with its increased productivity and higher living costs, profits have neartaxes they have doubled!

When the big industrialists and coupon clippers talk about patriotism, all they mean is a chance to make a lot of profits. When they talk about defending democracy, all they mean is getting richer quicker!

The American people are going to suffer a lot in the coming months and years. They will be asked to sacrifice their money, their comfort,

If the people can make these kinds of sacrifices, we think that the bosses ought at least be made to sacrifice every penny of profit they make on

The thousands of lads who have already sacrificed themselves in the Far East, what do you think they would say if they learned that the same bloody tragedy as in 1917-the tragedy of war profiteering-has begun again?

We say: If the Roosevelt government is to prove itself in earnest about its claims about this war, the very least it should do is to impose immediately a 100 per cent profits tax on all war industries!

No profiteering on the war! Fortunes must not rise on the mountains of skeletons!

Workers Party War Meetings

An enthusiastic audience of Negro and white workers attended a meeting held December 12 by the South Side (Chicago) Branch of the Workers Party to analyze the meaning of the war between the U.S. and the Axis. Michael Holman, speaker at the meeting, explained the nature of the war and pointed out the necessity for the working class to continue its fight here at home to extend and maintain democratic and civil rights for the right to organize and strike. and to eliminate Jim-Crow discrim-

PHILADELPHIA - Over 60 persons attended a public forum last Sunday night here at which Jack Wilson spoke for the Workers Party on the subject, "Labor and the War."

You Had Better Read This - - It Tells You How The War Is Going To Affect Your Pocketbook! air raids while the big bosses retired to well constructed bomb

By FRANK DEMBY

If you own an airplane factory or some other factory producing materials needed for the prosecution of war, you may make a lot of money. If you own a lot of stocks and bonds, you may also make a lot of money. If you own some choice real estate, you may find it going up in value. In short, if you are a capitalist you may find that war CAN be profitable to some. But you must be a big capitalist. The small capitalists-thelittle business men and farmers-probably are going to be wiped out. Since, however, the vast majority of the population of these United States are workers, people who work for a living, let us examine, on the basis of past experience, what has been happening in other countries and what seems most likely to happen here: how your pocketbook will be affected by the entry of America into World War II.

GUNS. NOT BUTTER

"Guns-not butter." This is the slogan that Hitler used to launch his so-called four-year plan in 1936. This was, in reality, his declaration of war to the world-a declaration that German imperialism was dissatisfied with its secondary position and was going to demand its "real place in the sun." For the German workers, who already had had their trade unions smashed, their democratic rights violated, their leaders slaughtered and tortured in the concentration camps, there now began a period of unimaginable slavery. Hours of work were lengthened to at least 10 hours a day, and in many armament industries to 14

Wages remained stationary while prices began to creep up

them, but still enough in the case of essential products, like potatoes, to hurt. Then came the taxes and the "voluntary" contributions. On top of these came the ration cards, which meant one egg a week, when you were lucky, a half pound of meat and similar starvation rations. To make matters worse, most of the commodities that could be obtained were more and more of the "ersatz" variety-miserable substitutes that didn't even take away the pangs of hunger or protect the body or the home against cold winters.

LABOR CONSCRIPTED

Malnutrition, disease, poverty became the daily lot of the German worker. Finally, the insatiable war machine demanded not only cannon fodder in various parts of Europe and Africa, but it demanded workers. Even Hitler, powerful as he is, cannot ignore the fact that without workers nothing can be produced -not even armaments. So the German workers were conscripted to work in any part of the country. And not only the German workers, but a recent estimate shows that at least 2,000,000 foreign workers, French, Spanish, Italian, etc., have been conscripted to work in German war factories. Forced labor is slavery, as the German workers and the workers of the countries conquered by Germany have discovered.

But war is still profitable for some. While the German workers have been starving, they have been watching the big bosses, the Nazi bureaucrats, government officials and leading manufacturers still getting fat on rich foods while the workers have been living in homes calculated to give pneumonia even to the strongest, they have had to watch their leaders living in palaces and thriving in relative opulence.

Pretty much the same story has been true in England. There -not very much because the totalitarian government controlled the workers not only had to shiver in the subways during the

while the rich lived off the fat of the land. Our returning travelers from England, the congressmen and college professors, love to expatiate on the new spirit of "equality" in England, of how everybody is made equal by the ration card and huge taxes, but they always forget to mention or slide over in silence the scandalous fact that if you have a large pocketbook, you can still get all the good things in life. For there still flourishes the "black market," the illegal paradise of the speculator and profiteer, where, for a price, you can buy as many chickens as you want. VERY LOW LIVING STANDARDS

shelters that took on the appearance of night clubs, but they also

had to suffer the indignity of working and slaving and starving

It has been estimated—and these are very, very conservative estimates-that the standard of living of the average German worker today is well below what it was in 1932 at the worst point of the depression. In England, it has been estimated that the standard of living of the average British worker has declined by one-third since the outbreak of the war. The chances are it is nearer one-half. This is the picture of every country at war. It is as true of Japan or Russia as it is of Germany and England. Will it also be true of the United States?

Judging by what has happened under the defense program and by what the new Victory program calls for, there can be no doubt that the answer is "yes." That is, as long as the industrialists and bankers are allowed to run the war, it is bound to be the same in this country as in every other country. The masses will suffer-a few will profit. After all, if everybody suffered from war, what sense would there be in having war?

(Continued on page 4)

With the Labor Unions———

On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

KEEP YOUR EYES ON THE PROFITEERS

One aspect of the war that work- done nothing about this racket. No ers need to pay more attention to is more has been done up to now than the millions of dollars going to the was done during the last war. "profiteers" and war contract "brokers." First we want to talk about the "profiteers" because Leon Henderson, price administrator, has been having some rather harsh things to say on this subject and he ought to know what the facts are. Henderson says that "profiteering has cost the governent \$50,000,000 extra since the war preparations began." That is, preparations up to now for participating in the Second World Imperialist War have cost the government \$50,000,000 in what virtually amounts to graft. The speculators got busy and have made a killing. Congress dawdled around for four months but finally, got busy with plans to have labor make more and more sacrifices.

While Congress was preparing to manacle labor, the "profiteers" raised food stocks in cold storage far above the average for the past five years. Butter stocks were increased 40 per cent, cheese 47 per cent, poultry 34 per cent, beef 38 per cent, eggs 13 per cent, frozen fruits, 58 per cent, lard 86 per cent, pork 18 per cent and mutton 47 per cent. What this means is that the "profiteers" packed huge amounts of foodstuffs away in cold storage in order to create a "shortage" and jack up the price. Therefore, the higher prices that labor is forced to pay for food is the result of hoarding, speculating, gambling and graft. The government has

SOME STERLING PATRIOTS: DEFENSE BROKERS

The "defense brokers," sterling paid out by Remington to a "conpatriots, are getting theirs also. By "defense brokers" we are not referring to the "dollar a year men" in the various government bureaus such as OPM. They are a "higher order" than the fellows we are talking about right now. We are talking about the fellows who prowl around the government departments in Washington who let the billions in contracts to private firms for war material and supplies. Their job is to use the prestige that comes from former connection with the government for the purpose of getting fat contracts for the private nrm employing them; usually on a commission basis. If the "contact man" himself isn't a former government official or employee, he knows someone who was.

Not only are these "brokers" operating with companies which get contracts directly from the government, but also with companies which are sub-contractors and do work for the companies that deal directly with the government. One machine company received \$65,000 from the Remington Arms Co. for shell dies. This company deducted 5 per cent of the \$65,000 for its "services" and sent the palance to a company that actually had dies to sell. The second company (the one which made the dies) took out payment for the dies and then

gave up to 30 per cent of the \$65,000

HERE'S A STORY THAT'S EVEN BETTER

The above however is small potatoes in the "brokerage" fees for getting "defense" contracts. The best story concerns one Charles West. who at one time was a big shot in the New Deal. In fact, in 1935 West was a "contact man" for President Roosevelt: He has also been a member of Congress, under Secretary of the Interior and a member of the Treasury Department's processing tax board of review. In all these

pany would "accept" during the year. The question arises just why this big ordnance company needed the services of West in dealing with the government. Why couldn't the officers of the company negotiate contracts with the government? What wink.

are these "profiteers" and specu-

A question to be asked is: who lators? Virtually all of the items in the list named are products that are controlled by the big packing companies: Armour, Swift, Wilson, Cudahy and a few others. Armour and Swift are by far the biggest. This hoarding job isn't being done by little fellows. They don't have the capital necessary to buy up huge supplies and neither can they pay for the extremely high price of cold storage. It's the big fellows that are doing this robbing and stealing and grafting on the government and the public. They control the packing houses and the cold storage plants.

This organization for the wholesale robbery of the working class has been going on right under the nose of Congress while the windiammers on Capitol Hill were busy thinking up new ways to strangle labor and break up the unions.

The capitalist press has been blaming rising prices on the farmers, while the manufacturers of food products say that the high wages paid to city workers are responsible. And so, business goes on as usual: the tax burden on labor is increased by the government, while the "profiteers" hoard food to create a shortage so that the "law" of supply and demand can operate to raise prices.

tract broker."

Now let's see what this means in hard cash. Remington Arms Co. put out \$65,000 for shell dies for "national defense." An alleged machine company which made no dies and was therefore only a "broker," took \$3,250 of this money. This company then sent the balance, \$61,750, to a company which actually made dies. But the company which actually had a plant to make dies evidently couldn't get the contract from the "machine company" without assistance. There was a man named Leon K. Shanack standing in the way whose mitt had to be greased. Shanack got around \$18,000 for getting the contract for the company that made the dies. Now let's see where we are. The dies necessary to make shells "for the fight against Hitler and to save democracy," cost the Remington Arms Co. \$65,000, but the cost of the dies themselves was only around \$43,000. The other \$21,000 was brokers' fees: \$3,250 to one brokerage firm and \$18,525 to

an individual "broker." We assure any worker who reads IN DANGER OF DESTRUCTION this that none of this came out of "investigation" begun by the House Military Committee on December 2 and reported on the front page of the New York Times of December 3.

jobs West received a salary of from

\$7,500 to \$10,000 a year. Evidently West saw a chance to get fat off the spending the government was doing in preparation for war entry. He got himself a job as the "representative" of the Empire Ordnance Corp. This firm, according to West, has received \$70,000,000 in war orders from the government since November, 1940. Now West has brought suit against the company for \$700,000 which he claims is due him as a fee for helping get the \$70,000,-000 contract through. (West began "working" for the company in November, 1940.) He claims in his suit in a New York federal court that he agreed to serve as a "business consultant and adviser" for a fee of 1 per cent of any orders that the cominfluence could West wield that was denied to the officers of the Empire Ordnance Corp.? Who were West's "contacts" in Washington?

There is one other question that must be asked. West began his connection as "business' consultant and adviser" to the Empire Ordnance Corp., a private business, in-November, 1940, but in March. 1941, according to the New York Times, "he received his latest appointment, being named to a three man board to study and report on the nation's existing rail, water and truck facilities. His salary againwas reported at \$10,000 a year." The Times doesn't reveal from whom he received the appointment nor who or what was paying the salary. If it was a government board, and this is probably the case, then West was drawing a salary from the government at the same time he was representing a private

firm as a "contract broker." These revelations made in Congress and in the capitalist press don't show much "sacrifice" on the part of the bosses and their stooges. It's only labor that gets a demand from the bosses and Congress to bend its back and pay for the war. They want a "ceiling" on wages, but not on profits. They are ready to outlaw the closed shop for labor but the closed shop for the war profiteers and "defense brokers" is passed by with a

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

Dear Friends:

I am interested in learning more about the things your paper stands for.

Address:

Big Rally Hits Minneapolis Convictions

The Bill of Rights and the **Minneapolis Convictions**

By Max Shachtman-

(The following is the text of a speech delivered at a mass meeting in the Hotel Diplomat, New York City, on December 15.)

Within less than one month the calendar has recorded three events of great importance to us, and each of them is intimately and symbolically connected with

The first was the conviction of the 18 militants of the CIO and the SWP in the Minneapolis case. A. very few days later, the United States found itself up to its chin in the Second World War. And today, we have the 150th anniversary of the adoption of the Bill of Rights.

The Bill of Rights is the show-piece of American democracy.

It is aimed at guaranteeing a whole series of fundamental and irrevocable democratic rights of the American people. It was adopted, we were taught in the public schools, as an unconquerable bulwark against the encroachments of tyrannous and arbitrary rule over the

That was 150 years ago, and since then a lot of water has gone over the dam. In the eyes of the authorities, the Bill of Rights has become a venerable and precious antique, a document of priceless value.

A PRICELESS ANTIQUE

And as is the case with all priceless antiques, it is kept under lock and key all year around, and taken out for public inspection once a year, or even less often. On such ceremonial occasions, you can examine it under heavy plate glass, and with a strong guard around it. And, again, as is the case with precious things, there is a big sign saying: Do not handle. This is not for public use. Take one quick look, and pass on.

The war in which the United States now finds itself is connected with the Bill of Rights. It too is aimed, or so we are reliably informed, at guaranteeing and preserving a whole series of fundamental democratic rights of the people, not only in this country, but throughout

the entire world. It is true that these rights, expressed in Mr. Roosevelt's four freedoms, and in the Atlantic Charter of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, are not meant to apply literally to every single man, woman and child throughout the world. There must be a few minor exceptions to every good rule, and so there are here, too.

There are more than four hundred million Indian subjects of the British Empire who have been officially notified that the "freedoms" do not apply to them. There are several dozen million East Indian subjects of Dutch oil and robber barons-excuse me, I meant rubber barons-who have not even been given such an official notification because it is taken for granted that the "freedoms" do not apply to them. There is more than 10 per cent of the population of the U.S.A.—the Negroes—who are generously exempted from the benefits of any one of the freedoms or all of them put together. And there are millions more like them throughout the globe.

But, after all, they are not more than 75 per cent of the population of the world. So I suppose it can still be said that the war we are now engaged in is being fought to guarantee the Bill of Rights or its equivalent to the entire world-with the insignificant exceptions already

Brooklyn gained a "union shop" and

wage increases ranging from a flat

10 cents an hour to 121/2 per cent

when the company signed a new

contract with Local 475 of the United

Electrical, Radio and Machine Work-

In view of the rapidly increasing

cost of living, the wage raise is dis-

appointing. Only workers receiving

under 80 cents an hour, exclusive of

trainees, get the 10 cent increase.

with the trainees and skilled work-

ers getting 121/2 per cent. This is de-

cidedly against the lower paid train-

ees, especially as it will be deducted

from their regularly scheduled tri-

The original demands of the shop

were: (1) The closed shop. (2) A 10

cent general increase for the entire

shop. (3) Nine paid holidays. (4)

Two weeks vacation with pay. These

demands could not be considered ex-

cessive by the Bliss Company, loaded

down as it is with juicy war con-

tracts. In comparison with gains

already won by other UERMW shops

in the New York area (notably at

Ford Instrument) the original de-

mands were moderate indeed. When

it is remembered that only last Oc-

tober Local 425 won for its members

in Ford Instrument Co. the closed

shop, wage increases ranging from

10 to 25 cents an hour, nine paid

holidays, sick leave, vacations, etc.

(see LABOR ACTION, Oct. 6), it is

easy to understand why many Bliss

workers are puzzled and dismayed

by the weak agreement their leader-

Local 475, unlike the Ford Local

425, is under the control of the Sta-

linists. As Stalinists, they are op-

posed to any form of militant action

in the war industries. To avoid this

they proposed original demands so

weak-kneed that they hoped to get

the company to accept, without ac-

tion by the workers. When the com-

ship urged them to accept.

monthly 5 cent raise.

ers (CIO).

But there is another problem faced by the ancient our head. It was all bared in the and venerable Bill of Rights. Like all precious thingspaintings, works of art and the like-it is in danger of destruction in the course of the war. Modern warfare is total warfare, and there is no longer a distinction, for artillery and bombing planes, between military targets and civilian targets, including public buildings which house works of art and priceless documents like the Bill

> This afternoon, an editorial in the New York Post called attention to the need of preserving the liberties

guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. It is proud of the American government's record in this field, and also insists on this record being maintained. It wants the Bill of Rights protected during the war.

Well, there is every reason to believe that the government is going to give the Bill of Rights all the protection within its power. From all we can see, it is going to protect the Bill in a thoroughgoing way. Like a work of art endangered by bombing, the Bill is being taken out of the showcase and buried deep in some underground vault, at least for the duration of the war. No one will be able to get at it, above all, no one among the people whose rights it is sup-

The first people to find out that the Bill of Rights is being protected in this thoroughgoing way are the members of the most militant, the cleanest and most honorable union in the United States, Local 544 of the CIO, and the members of the Socialist Workers Party.

FIRST VICTIMS OF BURIAL

The 18 leaders of these two organizations who were convicted in the Minneapolis trial are the first victims of the burial-for its own protection, you understand-of the Bill of Rights in the United States. They are the first living evidence of the fact that the primary sacrifice we are called upon to make in the war for democracy throughout the world, is our democratic rights here at home, in the Nnited States itself.

You can't help admiring the efficiency of Roosevelt's government in the war crisis, how well it has prepared the struggle for democracy, how far-sighted it has been, how alive it has been to every possibility and every

Of course there are some defects and shortcomings in its work, but nobody can be perfect..

It's true that Mr. Frank Knox was really a little previous when he declared that the Navy is ready, just about a week before the attack in the Pacificbut then again, he didn't say what it was ready for.

It is true that New York is ready, too, even though it may not have any anti-aircraft guns to speak of, and no air raid shelters and not even an air warning siren that you can hear a block away.

But there is one thing the government IS on the alert about, for which it is fully prepared, on which it acted even before the formal declaration of war.

And that's the labor front at home. It wants to make absolutely sure-and with the aid of the reactionary labor bureaucracy, it believes it will have an easy job-that labor gives up its rights, its standards of living, its just aspirations and ideals, during the

And the first step in this direction, organized and taken before the war broke out, was the indictment and conviction of the militants of the CIO and the SWP in Minneapolis.

A CYNICAL, BARE-FACED FRAME-UP

They had to be put out of the way-in one of the most cynical and bare-faced frame-ups in modern times -in order to break off the spearhead of the American working class, to deprive it of its defensive weapons, to blunt its fighting power.

These men are revolutionary socialists, and they proudly avowed their views duirng the trial.

But the attack on them is not merely an attack on revolutionary socialism, it is an attack on the whole working class. By imprisoning these militants and setting the precedent with their imprisonment of depriving all others of the rights they should and must have, the government hopes to achieve the aim of reducing the working class in this country to a docile, unquestioning, obedient mass, ready to follow

All our experience, especially in modern times, shows that the ruling class almost always starts its attack on the working class as a whole by attacking first the vanguard elements in the working class movement. Once (Continued on page 3)

no action was taken.

Closed Shop Is Stumbling Block In Projector Cont.

The Negotiations Committee of seven representing the 700 employees of the International Projector Corporation organized in the United Electrical & Radio Workers Union are, after six weeks, still negotiating with the management. The stumbling block seems to be the "formulation" of the clause dealing with the closed shop.

The original contract presented to the management included a 10 cent general increase, closed shop, 2 weeks vacation with pay, 60 cent minimum hiring rate. About a week ago, when the 30 day period after the end of the contract had been exhausted, the management finally presented the union with a tentative contract consisting of a compromise when the Union had already set a day for the strike and amassed a strike fund.

The compromise was greeted as a victory by the union leadership and their only objection was over certain formulations. On the matter of a general raise the union leaders were very vague, stating that the Company had not granted a general 10cent raise but had granted "substantially that." The 60-cent minimum was granted, as well as 2 weeks' vacation with pay for men employed longer than two years, 1 week for men with 1 to 2 years, and 3 days for those with less than a year's employment.

The Union's demands were modest enough to begin with. A tough attitude was displayed by the boss, despite the fact that the Union is well established and has some 95% of the employees signed up. This was due to three factors: Congressional action against labor and the sanction of the administration for anti-labor agitation; the attitude of the Union that strikes should be avoided even when decent gains cannot be made without them, and lastly, the failure on the part of the Union leadership to educate the membership on the matter of the closed shop.

A capacity crowd that filled the ballroom of the Hotel Diplomat heard defendants of the Minneapolis trial and other speakers at the first mass protest meeting held in New York since the conviction of 18 trade unionists and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party under the notorious Smith gag law.

Held on the 150th anniversary of the adoption of the Bill of Rights, the meeting gave convincing proof that labor is not only interested in honoring. the Bill of Rights but in preserving these rights against the pressure of present-day reaction.

Chief speakers of the evening were James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and leading defendant of the Minneapolis trial; Albert Goldman, defendant and chief defense counsel at the trial, and Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party. Roger Baldwin, national director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Dr. Carl Raushenbush, chairman of the Workers Defense League, and Dorothy Schultz, one of the ten acquitted defendants, were other speakers.

The chairman of the meeting, George Novack, secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, briefly reviewed the history of the Bill of Rights and the bitter opposition to it by reaction, beginning with the Alien and Sedition

Laws passed in 1798 and leading up to the present with the Smith Act of 1941, under which the Minneapolis militants have been convicted and sentenced to as much as 16 months in prison.

As Cannon, now under sentence of 16 months in prison pointed out, one of the superb ironies of the trial is the fact that the chief prosecutor, U. S. Attorney Schweinhaut, was originally appointed to the Department of Justice as head of the "civil liberties" division.

Symbolic Coincidence

"It was a symbolic coincidence," said Cannon, "that the day of judgment for us was the day of declaration of war by Congress," for much of the trial revolved about the attitude toward war carried on by capitalist governments. He declared that the defendants still held firmly the convictions that they held before the trial, during the trial and since the

Shachtman declared that the conviction of the Minneapolis defendants was the first blow of a government well prepared to go into action on the "labor" front, and if it were not repulsed, ever-widening attacks against labor and liberal organizations of all kinds were sure to follow.

Albert Goldman spoke on the salient points at issue in the trial and reminded the audience that the chieffactor in the prosecution was the denial by the government of the Brandeis and Holmes doctrine of "clear and present danger" in cases alleging "advocacy of forceful and violent overthrow of the government."

James T. Farrell, well known author scheduled to speak, was unable to attend because of illness but sent a message in which he stated that the Minneapolis convictions had instituted the theory of the Japanese law of "dangerous thought," making "all thinking dangerous."

FURNISHED ROOM, new building shower, hardwood floors, venetian blinds, large clothes closet: \$16. Apply a.m. or after 7 p.m. J. FOX, Apt. 11, 85 East 7th Street, N.Y.C.

Fund Drive Past Half Way Mark!

By ALBERT GATES Director of Party Building Fund

There was quite a spurt in the last week in payments to the Workers Party Building Fund. We received \$7.90.06 during the week, bringing our total to \$3,504.22, or 62.8 per cent of our goal. We are in the home stretch now, and if every branch and every friend digs in we should certainly make our goal. It is true that our quota is close to \$5,600, but that should not make too great a difference with the splendid spirit which pervades the whole

This is the week to do it in, too. Some of you may recall the plan of the Akron branch to make a special Christmas donation to the drive. This is the plan which should be adopted by every branch and by all our friends. A SPECIAL CHRISTMAS DONA-TION TO THE DRIVE! LET'S PUT THE PARTY BUILDING FUND OVER!

Quota

Raised Percentage

| YPSL | 000.00 | 357.20 | |
|-----------------|--|----------|--------|
| Nevada | | 15.00 | |
| Akron | 15.550.21 15.320 | 160.56 | 160.56 |
| Rochester | | 40.00 | 160 |
| Youngstown | 30.00 | 48.00 | 1.43.6 |
| Buffalo' | and the state of t | 317.25 | 105.7 |
| Washington | 200.00 | 162.50 | 81.2 |
| Boston | | 40.00 | 80 |
| Los Angeles | | 227.00 | 75.6 |
| Philadelphia | | 140.00 | 70 |
| Chicago | the second days the second | 186.00 | 69.8 |
| National Office | | 262.25 | 52.4 |
| New York | | 1,412.71 | 47.09 |
| Worcester | | 20.00 | 40 |
| Cleveland | | 20.00 | 40 |
| Lynn | 75.00 | 19.50 | 26.9 |
| San Francisco | 150.00 | 40.00 | 26.6 |
| St. Louis | 150.00 | 41.25 | 25.5 |
| Columbus | 100.00 | 00.00 | _ 0 |
| Detroit | 20.00 | 00.00 | 0, |
| Totals | 5,575.00 | 2,714.16 | 62.8 |

Elections In Mass.--

(Continued from page 1)

gaged in extra-hazardous employ-

New Bliss Contract Seen as Inadequate

arbitration.

Workers at E. W. Bliss Co. in pany refused even those moderate contract found the company firmly

demands they proposed a strike vote

-a phony strike vote. This strike

vote was taken to force the com-

pany to submit the closed shop to

Not a strike to win decent wages;

paid holidays, vacations or any of

the other pressing demands of the

union membership! And that it was

a phony strike vote even then was

proved when expiration of the old

As one newspaper puts it: "Child labor in Lawrence fattened the gravevards of the Merrimac Vallev. Child labor filled the tuberculosis hospitals with its helpless, hapless and hopeless victims." The mill owners and overseers have a real friend in Lane.

Lane has consistently voted against all birth control bills, so that today Massachusetts stands as the only state in the country where a physician is not permitted to give advice or take any action if birth of a child means the life of its mother.

The campaign manager for Lane in the city of Lynn is Judge Kiely. who six years ago indicted for the grand jury a score of union men for alleged violence while on strike.

Passing up the opportunity to create a Labor Party at this time and one that could have won is a tragic

uine anti-war trade unionists who

The main reasons for this were (1)

became members of America First.

Most Disturbing Aspect But the most disturbing aspect of this campaign is the number of gen-

will win them over.

the State CIO for endorsing Lane a paid advertisement by his union appears in the newspapers the following day repudiating the support.

The North Shore CIO Council at its membership meeting voted unanimously to "go on record as protesting the action of the State CIO in endorsing the candidacy of Thomas the State CIO insisting on endorsing J. Lane.'

an out and out war candidate; (2) the belief that America First was only organization powerful enough to keep America out of war: (3) the candidate of America First, J. Harrington, had a really brilliant labor record. The Japanese attack and the folding up of America First have split

opposed to the closed shop . . . and

duced dissatisfaction within the

membership. Most of them are find-

ing out for the first time that their

union leadership is Stalinist and the

fuller meaning of Stalinist control is

just now being understood. The

agreement just concluded is a good

All this royal run-around has pro-

these unionists, but they are sticking by Harrington. Some of them feel that Britain forced us into the war, but now we must fight, while others feel that Wheeler and Nye deserted them and are groping for an answer. Unless these workers are brought into the socialist movement they will flounder about and after the first phase of the war Coughlin or future fascist movements

Unions Repudiate Lane

All the unions are up in arms at and whenever a union leader speaks at a rally or over the radio for Lane

A Tragic Story Of Life Down **South America**

-By Susan Green

BROAD AND ALIEN IS THE WORLD By CIRO ALEGRIA, Winner of Latin American Prize Novel Contest

We have heard a lot lately about the "democracies to the south of us," about "our good neighbors of the Western Hemisphere." Therefore very timely indeed is this sincerely written story of how Peruvian "democracy" is applied to the native Indians, the workers and the poor of that country.

The community of Rumi is the hero of the story, so to speak. Living peacefully, cultivating their fields and grazing their cattle in common, building their first school house for their children, these Indians of an Andes plateau become victims of the greed of the rich rancher, Don Alvaro Amenabar y Roldan.

To force free, soil-loving Indians to become slaveworkers in his mine, Don Alvaro, descendant of the Spanish conquistadores, adopts the simple expedient of robbing them of their land. He falsely claims to have legal title. Against the machinations of swindling lawyers, against witnesses paid or intimidated to testify dishonestly, against judges and politicians owing their jobs and allegiance to the rich, the poor Indians are helpless. They are altogether unable to cope with such "civilized" practices. Their own lawyer betrays them -after taking their money. Neither can their machetes, supplemented by a few rifles, serve them against the machine guns and mounted ruffians of Don Alvaro Amenabar y Roldan.

So these unhappy people are called together by their Mayor, Rosendo Maqui, to decide in their communal assembly, what to do. They agree that they will gain nothing by resisting but must take their movable belongings nd settle in the bleak mountainous land still

There the unfavorable climate, the rocky soil, the scorcity of pasture land, make living so hard that the community begins to disintegrate. To revenge themselves on the rich, some of the men join a bandit, whose exploits are interwoven in the story. A few Indians go to the coca plantations to become peons under the overseer's whip; to sicken of malaria, to die of poisonous viper bites-and to be systematically robbed of their miserble wgeas.

The Mayor's young son departs to work at tapping rubber in the jungle. There he witnesses Indians tied to trees and lashed into senseless bleeding pulp because they do not bring in enough rubber to please the boss. He himself is blinded by boiling rubber, against which he has no protection-not even a warning as to its

But none of the Indians go into Don Alvaro's mine,

HE DIES OF "HEART FAILURE" To break their morale, he has his underlings steal

their cattle. Finally, when they find their most valued bull gone, the aged Mayor himself travels to the corrals of Don Alvaro to claim it. By the dictates of Peruvian justice, the bull remains with the thief while Rosendo Maqui is clapped into jail for stealing cattle. Here one day the old man is beaten to death. Officially, he has died of heart failure.

Finally a ray of hope comes to the Rumi Indians. A new leader appears, the adopted son of their beloved old Mayor. In his contacts with the outside world he has lost many of his superstitions and has acquired knowledge for improving the soil, for building better houses, for communal education. He fights for his ideas against the fears and superstitions of the Indians-and

But their prosperity in their mountain retreat does not please Don Alvaro. His ambition still is to get peons for his mine. So he files an appeal to the Supreme Court to deprive the Indians of their newly built and now prospering village. Once again the swindlers have it their way.

But this time the Indians decide to resist dispossess. They prepare to defend their land. Their courage fires to revolt the robbed and impoverished Indians of the whole region. On the eve of combat their leader, Benito Castor, makes a stirring speech:

"The fate of the poor is the same everywhere, and we ask all the poor to join us. That's the only way we'll ever win. For years, for centuries, many have rebelled and lost. Have no fear of defeat, for it is better to die than be a slave."

But despite their bravery the crude weapons of the Indians cannot compete against the machine guns and mausers used by the henchmen of Don Alvaro. Nor are they a match for the truckloads of trained soldiers that the "democratic" government of Peru sends to assist its most worthy citizen, Don Alvaro Amenabar y Roldan, despoiler of Indian villages. So this realistic story ends with the defeat of its hero-the peaceful community of Rumi Nndians.

A BOOK TO BE HIGHLY RECOMMENDED

Ciro Alegria's book is highly recommended to the working people of the United States. It will help them understand that they, as working people, have nothing in common with the South American governments run for the rich against the poor. Washington clasps these ruling classes to its bosom as brothers. But the South American brothers of the working class are not in the seats of the mighty. They are in the sacked Indian villages, on the plantations, in the mines.

It is interesting to note that a rival rich rancher who for his own purposes is at first willing to assist the Rumi villagers against Don Alvaro, rapidly changes his mind when he perceives they are starting a revolt. The rich never help the poor when they are fighting for their

freedom. An American reader may find the story a bit overwritten and the style perhaps florid. But these characteristic are quite consistent with the author's background and with his subject matter. The publisher states that Ciro Alegria was born on his grandfather's hacienda in northern Peru, but has lived most of his 32 years in

He has written a valuable story, exposing in one of its most violent forms the rule of might over right.

One for the Record

(Editor's Note: We reprint the following item from an article by Ferdinand Lundberg, appearing in the December 13 issue of the Social-Democratic New Leader. If anyone can find anything else as weird, we shall also reprint it.)

". . . Sexual potency, as demonstrated by a large family, indicates more than mere power . . . throughout the history of humanity, men have preferred chiefs, especially in periods of great dearth, who have had numerous progeny. The hold of Franklin Roosevelt on the American people in a period of great adversity has been in part at least aided by his large family. It is hardly an accident that in three elections Roosevelt, the big family man, has beaten three rivals, two of which have had only one child each. . . .

Is There Freedom of the Press in Britain?

A Dozen British Lords Who Decide What 30 Million People Shall Read

Editor's Note: The following abridged article is reprinted from the British New Leader of November 8. The New Leader is the organ of the Independent Labor Party. We believe that this article will be of great interest to our readers in demonstrating how the "free" press is run in a capitalist country like England.)

In Britain today a dozen press lords have almost complete control over every important newspaper which is published. They it is who decide what is good for the millions of readers to know.

Their names? Best known is Lord Beaverbrook, who controls the Daily Express, the Sunday Express and the Evening Standard. Lord Camrose directs the policy of the Daily Telegraph and also owns the Financial Times. His brother, Lord Kemsley, controls one national daily and three-Sunday papers: the Daily Sketch, Sunday Times, Sunday Graphic and Sunday Chronicle. Viscount Astor owns the very influential Observer and his brother, Major the Hon. J. J. Astor, is principal owner and virtual controller of the Times. Lord Rothermere has handed over his newspaper interests to his son, the Hon, Esmond Harmsworth, who is now in control of the Daily Mail, the Evening News and the Sunday Dispatch. A nephew of Rothermere's is one of the directors of the Daily Mirror and the Sunday Pictorial.

LARGEST CIRCULATION IN THE WORLD

Lord Southworth is head of Odhams Press, owners of the People, and the company under whose ownership the Daily Herald has deteriorated from an organ of working class opinion to a commercial concern. Sir Walter Layton is effective controller of the News Chronicle and the Star. Until the recent death of Sir Emsley Carr, he was

in control of the News of the World with its other words, a handful of "press lords" have a diworld record circulation of four millions; now that he is dead there is no reason to suppose the control has become more democratic.

These, then, are the men who form the "newspaper ring." These are the men who decide what the public shall know and what is best for them that the public shall not know.

They are all capitalists par excellence. Take the owner of the Times as an example: he is the son of the Earl of Minto and brother of Viscount Astor. As MP for Dover he is one of several MP's who look after press interests in Parliament. He inherited a huge fortune, over 1,300.000 pounds of which he paid for his control of the Times. He is a director of Hambro's Bank and of the Phoenix

Assurance Co. This handful of men have obtained a monopoly of the national press. They need fear no competition, for it is now recognized that it would be almost a financial impossibility to successfully establish a new national daily paper in the face of the opposition of the going concerns.

NOW DOMINATES REUTERS

Now the "newspaper ring" has extended its influence. It has secured domination in one of the world's greatest news agencies, Reuters. By the recent transfer of shares to the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, the lords of Fleet Street secured a 50 per cent direct control of Reuters. Already they had partial control through the Press Association.

The Press Association is an agency for home news, owned co-operatively by the provincial newspapers. Many of the leading provincial newspapers, however, are owned by companies associated with those owning the national press. In reet control not only of the London papers, but of many of the provincial dailies as well.

Through their London and provincial holdings the "newspaper ring" now controls Reuters. As, asmokescreen they have decided to set up a Reuters Trust, which is to guard against the agency passing under the control of any one interest and to ensure freedom from bias!

CAPITALISTS IN CONTROL

The members of this trust are: Lord Rothermere, Lord Camrose, Lord Kemsley, Lord Southwood, the Hon, Rupert Beckett and Messrs J. R. Scott, Allan Jeans and W. T. Bailey.

Lord Rothermere, who used the Daily Mail. to propagate fascism in this country, the man who has been one of the greatest speculators of newspaper properties who ever lived.

Lord Kemsley, whose newspapers are today the most reactionary in the country.

Lord Camrose, who guides the Telegraph within the narrow limits of Tory orthodoxy. Lord Southwood, who has devitalized the Daily Herald.

Hon. Rupert Beckett, who is the chairman of the Westminster Bank and a director of the Yorkshire Penny Bank.

W. T. Bailey, a director of nine different companies, J. R. Scott, a director of five different companies, and Allan Jeans, a director of

These are the men who are to guard against bias in Reuter's news service. Imagine them seeing that we get the truth from India, for example! There is not one working journalist represented in this trust.

Inside Nazi Germany Today - -

(Continued from page 1)

The grocers, for instance, often sell the Jews more than the rations that are prescribed to them. My grocer in Berlin, for example, would secretly put aside good vegetables and fruits for his Jewish customers. One day he was ordered to come to the Gestapo office and was threatened and warned that he would be sent into a concentration camp unless he discontinued helping his Jewish cus-

A friend of mine remembers once when his butcher secretly slipped him a sausage as he was leaving the store and would not take any money for it. This butcher always sold him more meat than he was entitled to buy. These merchants do these things in order to show their dislike of the Gestapo and its regime.

Has the general behavior toward the Jews changed since all Jews have been forced to wear a yellow star of identification on their clothing?

Answer: This order has made the task of helping the Jews more difficult, but the sentiment of the German people as a whole has not changed. For instance, in all the means of transportation the Jews are supposed to remain standing until all the "Aryans' are seated. But very often "Aryans" give up their seats to Jews.

Which Came First: Chicken or the Egg?

What is the behavior of workers toward those Jews who are sent into the factories?

Answer: The workers are forbidden to talk with the Jewish workers. The Jews are forced to work in separate rooms which have their own special entrance. However, many workers seek an oportunity to talk with them and attempt to help them at their work. Those workers who do not do this really have nothing against the Jews, but they are afraid of being punished by the Nazis.

Frequently, workers are sent for weeks into a concentration camp for some little offense such as being late to work, or absent without permission having been granted.

Why is there no rebellion and revolution against Hitler's dictatorship if the majority of the German people do not want it?

Answer: The Gestapo is too watchful. As a result every man is afraid and distrusts his neighbor out of fear that he may be an agent of the Gestapo. Therefore, at present, it is very difficult to form any organization to fight the Nazis.

Here and there, on the walls of a factory, you can read slogans like "Neider mit Hitler, Neider mit dem Krieg" (Down with Hitler! Down with the war!) If there is an air raid warning during the night and people are forced to descend into cellars, you can hear them grumble and denounce this hated war.

However, there is something else which restrains the people in their opposition to the war. That is the terrible fear of the consequences of a German defeat-the fear of a new "Versailles" that will be a thousand times worse and will crush the German people once more. While the middle classes are afraid of losing the money they were forced to invest in state loans, the workers feel very uneasy about their belief that Germany will obtain a peace worse than the former peace and that they will be once more forced to bear all the burdens of such a "treaty."

When the German workers understand that they have friends among the workers of England and America who are against imposing a new Versailles by the capitalist democracies on a defeated Germany, then they will have a different attitude toward opposing their own government. That is why I am glad to learn that the Workers Party, through its publication, LABOR ACTION, has a socialist viewpoint on the war.

"Unexamined Life is Not Worth Living"

By James T. Farrell

(Editor's Note: LABOR ACTION takes great pleasure in reprinting the following brilliant message which the world-famous nevelist, James T. Farrell, sent to the mass meeting held on December 15 in Hotel Diplomat, New York, protesting against the conviction of the defendants in the Minneapolis

On the 150th anniversary of the Bill of Rights, the defense and preservation of civil liberties have become a paramount issue. Now more than ever, the priceless political rights guaranteed in the First Amendment of the American Constitution must remain operative. In peace or in war, when the right of free speech is destroyed, public life becomes rigid. Thinking turns into sheer routine. Artistic creation is driven into feeble channels of escapism. The rich spiritual, intellectual and artistic resources of the human spirit are dried up at their very source. These are truisms: but they are truisms that cannot now be repeated too often.

The names of Holmes and Brandeis are among the most honored in American legal history: but their words are not as respected as are their names. For it is clear that they had in mind a period such as the present one when they enunciated their theory of "a clear and present danger." In the Minneapolis case, this theory was abandoned: for it, the prosecution substituted one of indirect causation. Such a theory is a paralled to the Japanese notion of "dangerous thoughts." Once this is established as the law of the land, all thinking will become dangerous. In place of thinking, we will only be allowed to quote; and even quotation will be dangerous.

The convictions obtained at Minneapolis are, to my mind, a clear and present danger to the Bill of Rights. On this issue, the liberal magazine, The Nation, has already sounded an alarm. In an editorial appearing after the outbreak of war between this country and Japan, it declared: "We believe that all progressives of whatever political orientation must join in the defense of the Minneapolis defendants or permit the establishment of a precedent that may some day be used against them." The Minneapolis convictions were based on the Smith Act. It is a law in open contradiction to the Bill of Rights which proclaims that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging freedom of speech. . . . " In consequence, the Minneapolis case has today become the crucial one in the struggle which we must make for the preservation

AN ELITE OR CONFIDENCE

To destroy freedom of speech is to admit implicitly that one has lost faith in the great mass of the people. Instead of confidence in the masses of the common people-whose ancestors were responsible for the Bill, of Rights-one substitutes an elite. On them is placed all responsibility for continuing the succession of ideas which alone can give us the intellectual resources for the creation of a civilization, a culture, that is truly human. On December 15, 1941, I am not prepared to sacrifice this faith. That is why I assert that the question of civil liberties is of such paramount importance now. Many years ago, the courageous French novelist Emile Zola, boldly and confidently proclaimed that the truth is on the march. Since then, oppression has spread over nation after nation. But in the face of every oppression, it is our duty to do what Zola tried to do-to keep the truth on the march. That, we cannot do unless men are allowed publicly, honestly, seriously to think, to express their ideas, to defend their convictions.

When Socrates stood on trial for his life, he told his judges that "the unexamined life is not worth living." These words of Socrates are as profoundly significant today as they were when he uttered them. Allow me to repeat: ". . . the unexamined life is not worth living."

Shachtman Speech--

(Continued from page 2)

they are disposed of, the working of bridling and curbing the labor movement as a whole is a hundred times easier. That is how Hitler started in 1933; that is how reaction always starts its triumphal procession.

That is why this is no mere case of a comparatively small organization, of the SWP itself. It is a case for the whole labor movement, for every workingman and every workingman's organization. Today it is James P. Cannon, Albert Goldman and Vincent R. Dunne and their 15 comrades; tomorrow it will be other representatives of the working class and then the working class

That is why elementary self-interest, as well as the dictates of working-class solidarity, demand of every worker, of every supporter of the labor movement to organize and help the movement to smash. the Minneapolis convictions, to reverse the Minneapolis decision, to fight tooth and nail for preserving and extending every right we now enjoy and a dozen others that we should enjoy; and to fight for the Minneapolis militants not only in spite of the war hysteria that the government is trying to build up but precisely because of it.

I have no doubt about the eventual outcome, because I have unbounded confidence in the powers of the work-

The Roosevelt government is not showing itself to be one whit more intelligent or more courageous and self-confident than any reactionary regime ever was

LESSON OF HISTORY

If there is one thing that human history shows, and human history is the history of the struggle for human liberation, for the ideas of freedom-it is that these ideas cannot long be suppressed. If history gives no other lesson, it gives this one.

Man is very ingenious, and science very fertile and impressive in its discoveries and inventions. They may perfect bombs that will go through the thickest steel; they may invent steel that will resist the heaviest bomb, They may build the most forbidding prisons and, as in Germany, concentration camps and firing squads.

But only stupid rulers, rulers whose doom is als. ready visible on the historical horizon, can believe that the ideas of socialist freedom can be put in prison, that they can be interned, that they can be shot out of existence.

These ideas, representing the most sacred yearnings of the oppressed and exploited everywhere have triumphed before. They will triumph again, and this time

It is in order to speed the day of this sure triumph that we must join all our forces—the forces and determination of all of us-and not yield an inch of ground until the conviction of the Minneapolis comrades has been reversed by the irrevocable decision, the irrevocable verdict of a united American working class.

Who Grabbed Hawaiian Islands First?

of the Pacific Ocean, some 2,100 miles from San

The Philippine Islands are right off the coast of Asia, much more than twice that distance from

In his message to Congress on December 8th, asking for the declaration of a state of war between Japan and the United States, President Roosevelt stated: "There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in-

It is fitting at this juncture in American history to turn back the pages and read a prior chapter.

THE HAWAHAN ISLANDS

From merely a stopping place for Chinese traders, New England whalers and others on long ocean voyages in the latter 1700s and early 1800s, these islands soon rose to strategic importance for the control of trade in the Pacific and Far East. Not only the Americans, but the Germans and English as well, vied for domination.

The Americans proved more adept at squeezing out the natives than the other nationals of their ilk. After a hundred years of foreign economic pressure, intrigue, whiskey and religion, the Hawaiians found themselves owning less than onethird of their land and only 6 per cent of the capital invested in commerce and industry on their islands. The Yankees claimed ownership of twothirds of the sugar business. Incidentally, many of the new owners were sons of missionaries.

Charles A. Beard, noted historian, in his distinguished history, "The Rise of American Civilization," summarizes the economic penetration of Hawaii up to the end of the 19th century as fol-

"In spite of the royal government maintained in the 'palace' at Honolulu, approximately 5,000 whites, mainly Americans, were the real masters of 80,000 natives, Chinese and Japanese. In short, the fate of the Hawaiian Islands was already sealed. They were to become an imperial province inhabited by Orientals and directed by white capitalists operating under a contract labor system more efficient than the old plantation methods of Virginia and South Carolina. It was equally manifest that the American flag would soon follow American economic supremacy."

These days every expose of Hitler's methods lays stress upon how he seeks by economic domination to force political alliance from his victims. That is an old play-only the actors are different. Back in 1875 American economic supremacy forced from the "independent" Hawaiian government a pledge not to transfer any of its territory except to the United States. Some years later it

The Hawaiian Islands lie way out in the middle wangled a treaty for the exclusive use of Pearl the Far East, both for commercial and military Harbor-which the Japanese today covet for their

When Queen Liliuokalani came to the throne in 1891, she tried to curb the power of the foreign usurpers. But she was too late. The Americans in Honolulu promptly maneuvered a "revolution.." It was very bravely fought and won by marines landed from an American warship "accidentally" in Pearl Harbor. The flag of free America was hoisted over an island of slaves. And it was not taken down even though for a few years Hawaii was permitted to exist as "a republic and sovereign state"-under the control of the Yankee eco-

DEPENDENT "INDEPENDENCE"

When the United States took over the Philippines in 1898, however, Washington could no longer tolerate even this type of dependent "independence." The Hawaiian Islands became necessary for the defense of the Philippine Islands which in turn, you must understand, were necessary for the "defense of American interests in the

Far East." So by a joint resolution requiring only a majority vote in both houses, the "republic" of Hawaii-now sought to be annexed by Japan-was annexed by the Republic of the United States.

By this annexation not only were the interests of American capitalism well served, but-as then claimed by the opponents of annexation-American speculators holding Hawaiian bonds worth 30 cents on the dollar, were due to receive face

value from the United States Treasury. These islands in the Asiatic/ region were wrenched from declining Spanish imperialism by expanding American imperialism at the same time the latter made itself heir to Cuba and other islands in the Caribbean. For these territorial trophies the United States went to war with Spain. Thus America acquired much desired bases in

A Touch of Irony

Mr. U. Saw, Prime Minister of Burma, a British colony in the Far East, recently visited England in order to find out if the Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Charter would be applied to his country in the form of granting it independence.

At the time of his visit, the London Times carried a lengthy letter telling why Burma, due to its "primitive" civilization was not fit for self-govern-

Mr. Saw replied: "Present conditions in Europe might well suggest to the Burmese people that, viewed by results, no country in Europe is at present fit for full self-government.'

purposes. In earlier days the American flag had once been hoisted over the Japanese island of Formosa, and Commodore Perry had ambitiously seized the Bonin Islands, quite close to Japan. But now success had crowned American efforts in the Philippines.

The 1898 clamorers for "living space" were eager for immediate annexation of the islands by the United States. However, the "democratic ideals" for which the Spanish-American war was fought were still very fresh in the public mind. This placed President McKinley in something of a tight spot.

How McKinley finally arrived at a decision is described by Charles A. Beard in the following satirical vein:

"The intellectual and moral methods by

which he resolved his perplexity the President later explained to some of his Methodist brethren in a brief address: I walked the floor of the White House night after night,' he said, 'and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed-Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way-I/don't know how it was, but it came. . . . There was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them as our fellow-men for whom Christ also died. And then I went to bed, and went to sleep and slept soundly."

This same McKinley, however, who was guided by divine visitation to annex the Philippines for the noblest reasons-had previously spoken of "the commercial opportunity to which American statesmanship cannot be indifferent." And he had already expressed the belief-not induced by a miracle—that "It is just to use every legitimate means for the enlargement of American trade.' Still, to appease "democratic ideals," \$20,000,000 was paid to Spain for the whole Philippine archipelago.

And in what manner did the God-fearing President educate, uplift, civilize and Christianize the Filipinos?

Before the Spanish-American war broke out, there was a native insurgent movement against the Spanish masters, rapidly reaching the stage of armed revolt for freedom. Aguinaldo was the leader. When the war came, the Americans prevailed upon Aguinaldo to join them in ousting the Spaniards. Aguinaldo fought with the Americans to drive out the Spaniards, understanding all along that the Filipinos would have their independence when the Spaniards were vanquished. Instead they were given new masters for old.

Editorials

Thoughts for **Our Times**

I say discuss all and expose all—I am for every topic openly;

I say there can be no salvation for these United States without innovators-without free tongues, and ears willing to hear tongues:

And I announce as a glory of These States that they respectfully listen to propositions, reforms, fresh views and doctrines, from successions of men and women,

Each age with its own growth.

WALT WHITMAN.

No Longer WP Organ

Beginning with the current issue, LA-BOR ACTION will no longer appear as the official organ of the Workers Party.

It will continue to be published by the Labor Action Publishing Co. The Workers Party therefore is henceforth no longer responsible for the contents of LABOR AC-

Here's a Man Who Needs Help

In our news columns of this week, we report the indignant request which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People made of Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox that Negroes be permitted to enlist in the Navy in ranks other than that of messboy. The NAACP makes some heated remarks in its telegram about Jim Crowism.

We do not wish, at present, to discuss the NAACP demand. We do wish to raise, however, the problem of Secretary Knox.

Here, it would appear to us, that Secretary Knox is a very busy person, in fact an unusually busy person. He has the following problems at hand:

- 1) The request of the NAACP, a not unticklish problem.
- 2) His recent statement endorsing a speech of Rear Admiral Blandy, who urged that union organizers in defense industries be run out of town, wherever they should appear. This, in view of the existence of 10,000,000 workers organized in the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods, is also a rather difficult task.
- 3) His sudden airplane visit to Hawaii, in order to report to the President on what certain congressmen have charged was gross inefficiency in the battle of Pearl Harbor. Knox is to determine the responsibility for the Pearl Har-

Now then, we submit that any person burdened with such tasks is in an excessively difficult position. Especially, if he is as old as Secretary of the Navy Knox. While, since we lack such authority, we would not go as far as the New York Post, which is collecting funds to buy armbands for New York's air wardens, we can at least make the suggestion that Mr. Knox's secretarial help be greatly increased. A few brain trusters would also be useful.

And perhaps Westbrook Pegler would be willing to help form a flying wedge to help Mr. Knox on Point 2.

Indian Congress Socialist Party Reaffirms Its Stand on the War

The Congress Socialist Party of India held its annual convention during the early part of May in Patna, India. News of this convention has just arrived in the United States after being held up by the British censorship for many months.

The Congress lasted three days and reaffirmed its previous internationalist and socialist position with regard to the war.

This was contained in a statement replying to an appeal addressed by the British Labor Party to the workers of Germany.

"We have read with interest your appeal to the German workers in which you, the British Labor Party, emphasize that the Nazi dictatorship means not only slavery for the German workers, but that it is also a menace to freedom, international order and social justice throughout the entire world.

"Most of you have chosen to ignore events that have occurred in India where, during this so-called war of 'liberation and democracy,' civil liberties have disappeared."

A Story to Remember

There have undoubtedly been many interesting and exciting stories told about adventures of American citizens during the past week. Since the outbreak of the war there have been incidents ranging from great personal heroism, such as the justly admired courage of Captain Colin Kelly, to incidents of a rather ludicrous character. We doubt, however, if there was one incident with as much drama and irony and point as the story of what happened to a Negro friend of ours.

This man was going about his business, which requires frequent traveling in midtown New York. Suddenly he heard an air raid siren, warning that bombing planes might be overhead.

As so many other New Yorkers, he did not pay serious attention to the siren, and, being in a great hurry, decided to continue to his destination. He was stopped, however, by a policeman and an air raid warden and told to get off the streets.

Our friend obeyed this order and went to the nearest large apartment house to seek shelter. As he was about to enter the elevator of this apartment house, he was

"Sorry, you cannot enter here. We do not permit Negroes to use our elevators. You will have to seek shelter elsewhere."

Words to Remember

THOMAS PAINE:

Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom, must, like men, undergo the fatigues of supporting it.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN:

Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety.

THOMAS JEFFERSON:

. . . the only security of all is in a free press. The force of public opinion cannot be resisted, when permitted freely to be expressed. The agitation it produces must be submitted to. It is necessary, to keep the waters

Explain Things

People who are trying to figure out what is the cause of some recent events in connection with America's participation in the war, may be interested in the following, clipped from the Washington Merry-Go-Round of Pearson and Allen:

the morning sky at Hawaii, Sunday. . . .

services have been commanded by drawing-room experts. General Sherman Miles, in charge of military intelligenct, is a charming gentleman who surrounded himself with wealthy bluebloods. Only members of the best families can qualify for M.I., and what they know about life around a Japanese waterfront is questionable.

two delightful gentlemen, Capt. Alan Kirk and now Capt. Ted Wilkinson. Both are in the Social Register. Wilkinson has a mansion across the Potomac in Virginia, and entertains in the best manner.

"Capts. Kirk and Wilkinson are dinner assets, and like their young men to

We always thought you needed brains for such work; now we find that it's blood

LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

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The Country Where You Are Jailed for "Danger Thoughts"

Japan is a country completely lacking in the most elementary democratic and civil liberties.

In the last century Japan emerged from its Middle Ages and took—as its first "democratic" step-the restoration to full authority of the Emperor Meijii. Since that time the ruling imperialists of Japan have found it to their convenience to build up the myth and popular fairy-tale that the emperor represents - no, IS - God, and that all must obey him with blind obedience. The Emperor-Hirohito-is the symbol around which the Japanese rulers have attempted to build up public support for their adventures of conquest and expan-

In such an atmosphere it is hardly likely that many of those democratic liberties which the workers have won for themselves in the capitalist democracies - such as the United States-could flourish.

Instead, by combining the traditional religion of the people-Buddhism; by playing up a special section of that religion which never existed at the time of its origin-Bushido, or the code of the warrior; by inculcating the doctrine of Emperor worship and ancestral worship among the masses; the Japanese imperialists have attempted to teach the people that oligarchy, autarchy, blind obedience, totalitarianism, sacrifice, etc., are the best virtues.

The masses are taught that hard work, long hours, patience (no matter how bad the conditions), no complaints, etc., was the mark of a real member of the Japanese race. The imperialists never stopped promising that when half of Asia was conquered and the people of these areas

"Japanese" race - then they would receive rewards and blessings and Japan would become the Land of Cherry Blossoms. But all this was a lie-years of war in China and Manchuria passed and the people as a whole became poorer and poorer.

Reality Is Different

Instead, the reality of Japan is far

There is no such thing as free speech or free press. There are no labor or socialist publications-even those from foreign countries are not permitted entry.

Even the legal rights of Japanese citizens are - doubtful. A Japanese woman has no recourse or standing under the law; not even the right to vote or the right to get a divorce. As for the workers, they may be arrested at any time by the special secret police and held without trial or charge. Under the notorious "Thought Laws" Japanese may be arrested on the grounds of harboring "dangerous" thoughts-for thinking! (Even Hitler's Germany never went that far.) The policeman's word is all that is required to convict them before one of the special "Think" courts, and then they are placed in one of the dungeons that are a part of the numerous feudal castles in Tokyo. They never emerge from

Japanese labor has not the right to organize into free trade unions. That right was abolished by government decree during the war in China. The last Japanese trade unionthe sailors' union-was dissolved in 1940. Workers are organized into government unions which have no contracts but act simply as govern-

ers cannot negotiate or complain to their bosses. They are supposed to look upon the boss as a paternal friend of the family!

Naturally, under these conditions factory laws mean nothing, as is proved by the enormous number of children and women who toil in Japan's cotton, textile and manufacturing plants.

Political Structure

The political structure of the country is entirely totalitarian. The two old capitalist democratic parties went out of existence last year at the "request" of the Emperor. What actually exists now is a military dictatorship of the Army and Navy, doing the dirty work of Japan's leading industrialists and bankers.

Despite all this, the Japanese workers have consistently tried to break out of this fascist-like hold and tried to organize genuine democratic and even radical movements. For a period they had trade unions which achieved an enormous strength and popularity. There was formerly a Communist Party organization, created by and after the Russian Revolution; there were various socialist and left-wing political organizations. Anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist ideas are not unknown to the Japa anese people!

This is why the Workers Party denies the idea now being spread about that "democracy" can be brought to Japan at the point of American bayonets and guns. This is no more true than Hitler's claim that he brought "a new order" to those countries he occupied. The Japanese people know what their rulers brought to the territories they conquered (China, Manchuria, etc.). They brought not "democracy" but slavery and destruction; subjugation of a foreign people. The guns of the American imperialists cannot bring liberation to the Japanese people, but only conquest and military rule from abroad. The REAL job of overthrowing the Japanese militarists and imperialists must be done by the Japanese workers and farmers themselves if true deocracy-workers' and farmers' democracy-is to come about in Japan.

War and Pocketbook --

It is the fact that some profit and others hope to profit that makes war possible. Assuming, then, that the dollar-a-year men remain in charge of our war effort, that the brass hats keep making their incredibly stupid mistakes, let's see how the picture shapes up.

First of all this is going to long war. That we have already been warned about. Plans are now 'under way to build up an army of 7,500,000 men. It may easily reach 10,000,000 before the war is over. Fifty per cent of our production will go to the war. It may easily be 60 or 70 per cent before the war is over. All men between the ages of 18 and 64 are to be registered. This may easily be extended to include women. Shortages have already appeared in such key raw materials as rubber, tin, gasoline, etc. These will be rationed. It may be and will be extended to others. Prices in the vital wholesale markets have gone up more than 60 per cent since the beginning of the war. They will go up further.

Cost of Living Jumps Here, Too!

The cost of living has gone up, according to government estimates, 11 per cent since the outbreak of the war. It will go up much, much further. There is an acute shortage of labor, particularly semi-skilled and skilled labor for the war industries. Other countries have drafted labor. The probability is that along with the outlawing of strikes there will come the conscription of labor in the U.S.-in spite of the fact that conscripting labor to work for the gain of a private employer is outlawed by the 13th amendment to the Constitution as slavery.

Goods are being standardized. This will continue and be extended to everything-that is, to everything except war materials. People are being urged to buy defense bonds and stamps. Soon they will be forced to buy them, as is already happening in some cases, "in the best interests of the workers," simply deducting a certain sum from each worker's pay check to go for this or some other type of forced savings. Substitutes are being introduced. This will be

This picture is not that of an alarmist. It is a very sober picture based on historical fact. The picture could be extended almost indefinitely to cover every last detail. The broad outlines are quite clear for anyone with eyes to see. But while the workers and masses are suffering a steadily declining standard of living, the same picture of the rich profiting by the war as exists in other countries will be duplicated here, only more so. Profits have gone up tremendously. They will still go up.

American Bankers See It As Only Hope

By PAUL TEMPLE-

Everybody-at least everybody who owns a big newspaper-is telling us now that we're fighting for civilization against treachery, or democracy against fascism, or something along those lines. Victory over the Forces of Evil is all we ought to think about right now, they say.

Now, personally, we like civilization and frown on treachery. But we've got to ask: What is victory going to mean when the shooting is over? What's going to be the reward to the American people for the war years of sacrifice, slaughter and

Ask the bankers; they know.

Before we ask them, it's useful to mention that their opinion has a certain weight in this case. The money-bag men are far and away the most CLASS-CONSCIOUS occupational group in these

Class-consciousness is best measured by class ORGANIZATION. When a worker joins a trade union, it is because he sees that he has to fight with other workers for the interests of ALL workers, in order to get what HE wants. Trade unionism is CLASS organization.

The bankers have their union too-the American Bankers Association. And where only 23 per cent of the workers belong to their unions, over 90 per cent of the bankers belong to the ABA and a full 100 per cent belong to some bankers' association or other. That gives the bankers the only national closed shop in the country.

Last month, the American Banker, unofficial organ of the ABA, reprinted a circular advertisement which is being spread around by the Nebraska bankers. It is a warning, and this is how it

"YOU CAN READ THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL!

"Make no mistake about it! You can now read 'the handwriting on the wall.' "WAR BOOM - INFLATION - DEFLA-

TION - DEPRESSION - DISTRESS. "So, there is just one thing for every sane man and woman to do. Put your house in or-

der. GET READY FOR THE WORST STORM AND COLLAPSE OF BUSINESS FOLLOW-ING THIS WAR WHICH THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN...."

These are the terms in which bankers and bankers' organizations all over the country are

In the boom days of Coolidge prosperity, the capitalists proclaimed that Utopia was at hand. In the war boom of 1917, they promised us a world of peace, security and prosperity, once Kaiserism was crushed. But TODAY the tycoons are going into this war boom with full expectation that a war-weary people will emerge from it INTO THE WORST ECONOMIC CRISIS IN HISTORY.

IN THE BALMY, PALMY DAYS

In the balmy, palmy boom days of the '20s, only the Marxist socialists predicted that it MUST end in the crash that was inevitable under capitalism. Now, for the first time, the whole capitalist class is predicting the direct of depressions and the blackest of futures following this war, "unless something is done about it."

This means more than merely that our economic overlords are getting wise to the facts of economic life. Looking ahead to the storm, they are preparing now to "put the house in order"bankers' order.

For they have only one way of preventing a post-war crash from sweeping the foundations of the profit system from under their feet. What's more, they know it as well as we.

That way is to put a fascist strait-jacket on the workers, and let THEM take the full battering of the post-war depression, while the bosses shelter themselves behind wage-cutting, speed-up and a fiercer exploitation of labor. They know this, and they SAY this.

To begin with, there's the recent article in Business Week, entitled "A Report on National Defense and the Future of Profits." Why don't big business and finance "face the future with confidence" in the midst of a boom? Because, says the article, they fear that AFTER THE WAR. when the bubble bursts, profits will be kept down especially by high wages, BACKED UP BY THE INCREASED UNIONIZATION OF THE AMER-ICAN WORKERS.

So the fat boys are pessimistic because of the threat that labor will refuse to be the fallguy in the coming collapse and will fight back THROUGH ITS ORGANIZATIONS. The cure is simple: get rid of the independent labor organizations. The means is at hand: HIT-LER'S WAY. .

BANKERS COME OUT WITH IT

Just to show that we are not putting any words in their mouths, the American Banker came out with it in an editorial on November 8. The editor "views with alarm" the prospect of inflation and its consequences and proposes a sure-fire remedy: a "point-blank refusal" by business and government to raise wages anymore. He goes on to sharpen the point: "On a national scale this would be a 'ceil-

ing' on wages and salaries; THE NAZIS GOT AROUND TO THAT EARLY. But with a ceiling on wages, government and business would still have the problem of keeping workers from skipping out to go to better paid job vacancies, and the cure for that would be 'freezing' the worker in his job; THE NAZIS FOUND THAT WAS THE NEXT STEP." (Our

The American Banker stops with that step. But it doesn't take much imagination to see that there are quite a few steps after this, all of which "the Nazis got around to" sooner or later.

Does that mean we are for fascist regimentation? asks the editorial. "Well," it answers, "we are not for it any more than you are," BUT "neither are we for inflation" and the consequences of a post-war blow-up. All of which means: Sorry, boys, but it looks as if fascism may just turn out to be NECESSARY.

This attitude does not differ by a whit from that of the German industrialists toward the Nazis when they called them to power.

The gentlemen of the Bankers Association are naturally super-duper war whoopers. But the dust

This May Help

"No alibis can explain how both Army and Navy Intelligence had their guard down when Jap planes swooped out of

"In recent years, both intelligence

"Naval intelligence was a charge of

which is colored blue.

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Declaration As A Desperate Gamble For Quick Victory

Commentator Sees Axis War

THE WORLD AT WAR —

By JOSEPH PHELPS

The German-Italian declaration of war against the United States is a confirmation of Hitler's hand in Japan's sudden attack on the United States. It was undoubtedly one of the conditions that Tokyo exacted from Germany for her taking the most fateful plunge in all her history. It is impossible to give any other meaning to the German declaration against the United States. The price that Tokyo exacted from Berlin was not a small

Hitler had little to gain from such

The German people had hoped that in this war at least they would not confront again the nightmare of war with the United States. They remembered only too well the weight of American intervention in the last World War. Germany always credited the United States with taking World War I away from them. Hence it can be assumed that one of the costs of the German-Japanese combined strategy is a greatly increased depression among the German péople. Hitler once hoped that it would never be necessary to tell the German people that Germany and America were at war. According to his original timetable, Europe was to be conquered before the United States could intervene. How many times in the past did Hitler boast "America is too late to be of any help to Brit-

Thus, by his declaration, Hitler is forced to admit that not only is America not too late but that in order to win the war he must still defeat Britain, Russia AND the United States. Besides the effect on the German people, the precipitation of the United States into the war has resulted in the complete unification of the American ruling class in the war effort and a tremendous speeding up of the nations arming. In fact nothing has made Roosevelt's task so easy as the German-Japanese plan to attack the United States. As a result, Roosevelt's political victory is complete.

What Did Hitler Get?

If these were the heavy costs to Hitler for pushing Japan into the ar, what indeed did he expect to get in return? Also, why the Japanese war with the United States NOW? Is it perhaps because the Germans are in. headlong retreat in Russia and that they count upon Japan to relieve them by a blow in the Far East? Obviously this is not the case. Relief to Germany in the Russian war is possible only by a Japanese attack on Siberia. However, the one thing that the Japanese have not done and

However the Russian offensive against the Germans may develop in the future, Germany did not at any rate push Japan into the war because of any disaster in Russia.

Hitler and the Japanese war-

lords are striking now because time

A Desperate Gamble

do not want to do as yet is to attack

weaker. The areas of oil, rubber and other essential war materials are still in the hands of their enemies. Japan finds herself encircled and Germany bogged down in Russia. It is necessary for them to break out of this fatal circle and at once. The main enemies had to be engaged and the life - sustaining areas conquered. Tokyo and Berlin have in common undertaken to man the sectors which divide the enemy and which promise them victory. Hence Japan lashed out in the Pacific against the two main The German move is yet to come.

is working rapidly against them.

Relative to the growing strength

of the Allies, they are growing

The direction of this move is clearly indicated. Hitler hopes to strike hard and very soon to the south, toward the Middle East, Africa, Suez, Gibraltar, the Caucasus, in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

Naturally this entire strategy can be upset if the Nazis fail to hold their defensive positions in Russia. At the first sign of such failure the Japanese will strike out at Siberia and the Russian Maritime Provinces. At the same time, Russian successes against Germany will make it possible for Stalin to risk a two front war and he will join his allies in the war

If Russia Stays Out

So long as Russia remains aloof from the Far Eastern struggle it may be assumed that her successes against the Germans are not decisive and that she still requires everything she has for the fight against Hitler.

It is perhaps wrong to speak of

Russia being aloof from the Far Eastern struggle. There is no doubt about her solidarity with Great Britain and the United States. This is clear enough from the expressions of sympathy from Russian spokesmen, the Russian press and also from the statements of the new ambassador to the United States, Litvinov, Russia's solidarity with her allies is deep-rooted. To speculate at this time regarding the possibility of a new switch by Russia toward the Axis is to misunderstand completely. Russia is an integral and stable part of the Allied camp and her fate is tied up with it.

This being the case, Russian participation in the war against Japan becomes a practical matter. It will be decided on the plane of military requirements and military possibilities. The Russian decision will not be based on narrow and purely Russian considerations. The broad world strategical outlook of the Axis powers will be countered by a similar Allied strategy. Russian entry in the Far Eastern war is therefore a matter of time. The Japanese must realize this and they may very well be the ones to repeat against the Maritime Provinces and Siberia those blitz tactics that took so heavy a toll