Negro Struggle

In an interesting series of articles in The Pittsburgh Courier, W. Robert Ming, Jr., Professor in the School of Law at Howard University, has dealt with the legal and technical aspects of the case of the S. S. Philadelphia sailors who were kicked out of the U. S. Navy because they signed a letter protesting intolerable Jim Crow

After demonstrating that the Philadelphia case shows how freedom of speech has been stolen from those in the Army and Navy, Professor Ming goes on to point out how much power this puts in the hands of the "brass hats." If the public outside can't get information about conditions in the armed forces from the only possible source-that is, from those inside-how can it possibly do anything to correct or improve those conditions? This means that if the soldiers can't speak about conditions to the public, the officer caste can do just about anything it wants.

Professor Ming goes on to show that the officer caste has still another weapon to keep the mouths of conscripted soldiers shut, in addition to the power to discharge those who speak up. The right ("ephemeral though it be") of a conscript to his former job depends on his getting a certificate from the Army "indicating satisfactory completion of the training course." Under the present conscription set-up, a worker who would protest to the world outside, would certainly not get such a certificate. "This possibility of dual punishment places in the hands of the officers of this great peace-time army tremendous power without adequate controls and safeguards for the protection of the selectees."

Where the Criticism Falls Down

But these articles in the Pittsburgh Courier are at their weakest point when the writer attempts to indicate how full rights for Negroes may be obtained and the right of freedom of speech and other civil libertles restored. For in his discussion of this, which is the key question, he 'Hmits himself to legal procedure and ignores the actual character of the courts and other institutions of the government.

How is the power of the officer caste to be limited? Operating under the Articles of War, they do just what they please, replying to criticism from the ranks with arrests and discharges, and to criticism from the outside with haughty contempt (the Philadelphia mess attendants were kicked out "in the best interests" of the Navy and themselves, says Rear Admiral Nimitz).

Says Professor Ming: "Practical solution of this problem created by the conflict between Army regimentation and civil liberty is possible. One simple device to secure the desired end would be to provide for review by civil courts of actions by court martials or punishments inflicted on members of the armed forces by officers ... "

What are these civil courts anyhow? Fair and impartial; or the instrument of the ruling capitalist class? If Professor Ming doesn't know from his own personal experience, let him ask workers who have been out on strike. Let him ask a poor man who has tried to sue a rich corporation. Or let him look up the decisions of the courts with regard to the Negro people, the courts' approval of segregation in education and on trolley cars, their approval of the poll tax and the white primary laws and the other legislation aimed at maintaining "white supremacy."

If we consider here not the words about "justice" that are written into the laws, but really understand how they work, then we can understand that workers in the armed forces, colored or white, would get no better treatment from the civil courts than they do from the military. In fact, the consistent refusal of the civil courts to interfere with military decisions, is proof that they approve segregation, discrimination and denial of freedom of speech as practiced by the officer caste, and don't want to interfere with it.

If you really want to abolish Jim Crowism, if you really want to protect the rights and improve the conditions of the soldiers and sailors, there can be no half-way measures: the officers will either have the power to do what they want, or they won't. Either you go the whole hog and take control of military training away from the officer caste completely-or you waste your time and bat your head against a stone wall. Any program which falls short of military training under control of the workers themselves is one which leaves the reactionary officers with full power, and is therefore completely ineffective and

A Correction

In our pamphlet on the Philadelphia men, issued before their discharge, we feared because of the silence that surrounded the case that the boys would be framed-up in a court martial. We said, "The court martial, when it takes place, will be conducted behind closed doors. (The men) will not be permitted to use lawyers from the

According to Professor Ming, however, this is not legally correct. His explanation not only clears up this point, but shows why the boys escaped court martial and even worse punishment than

"Public opinion was aroused (after news of the arrests leaked out) . . . You know what the Navy did in the face of this public outcry. They turned down the recommendation (of court martial) of the captain of the Philadelphia. That was dangerous-if these men had been subjected to a general court martial they would have been entitled to the assistance of outside counsel, and a public hearing, a statement of charges, and the other protections which our legal system has devised for the safeguard of the defendants, even if they are members of the armed forces.

"Instead the 'brass hats' decided that these men should be discharged from the Navy-not 'honorably' . . . but rather, they were to be given 'undesirable discharges'."

The War And Coming Revolutions

The Germs Of Workers' Uprisings Infect All Warring Nations

By ART PREIS

The first symptoms of a new wave of workers' revolutions supposed to uphold. are appearing in Europe and, in the first instance, in Italy, Churchill and the "democratic" ruling class have been quick to label it the "Italian disease"—as if this penetrating germ can be exorcised by incantation and prevented from spreading.

The hasty reassurances exchanged among the "democratic" capitalists concerning the peculiarly Italian character of the coming revolution remind one of nothing so much as what hap- ficers and common soldiers. Vir- he indicated, were due to a 'setpened in Europe when, in the 14th and 15th centuries, the ray- tually all the officers profess con- tled policy of the Communists." ages of syphilis spread. The French termed it the "Italian dis- fidence in and loyalty to Mussoease"; the Spanish, the "French disease"; while the Italians were | lini, and most of them attempt to | 844,000 workdays lost in the first absolutely certain that it was the "Spanish disease." No coun-

try would claim it! The capitalists in each countion as one which can strike ahead, stated: elsewhere but not in their own country. But in their hearts they know differently. Proletarian revolution was no "Ruswas drowned in blood.

to expose the basic weakness of gotten." the fascist grip on Italy.

as yet been able to seep through the war so wide-spread among the "Italian disease." the totalitarian prison walls of Italian masses. The same Il Po-Italy, the admissions and protest- polo di Roma on December 13 that this is not an exclusively set the enormous price increases. ations of the official Italian press cries against the defeatists: and spokesmen are revelatory.

It is quite clear that the Italwar, have suffered a standard of make them swallow all their sin- against the entire ruling class of ployment of a non-union worker; living as low as any in Europe, ister prophecies, all stupid antici- Italy. Churchill calls for the but the fact that it was conducted are now launching an irreconcil- pations of their idiotic defeatism spread in Italy of a "mild" "non- in defiance of a law exacting peable struggle against conditions which has not and never will infectious" form of the revolution- nal sentences, shows that the which the present war has have any hold on the granite mass ary "disease," one which would source of the strike was much

FASCISTS TRY TO APPEASE MASSES

Mussolini's regime, unable to gloss over the appalling living conditions, makes haste to lament with the masses. A campaign is the reflection of a much more danger of spreading beyond the suddenly blossoms forth against serious condition in the Italian ltalian borders into the British the "hoarders and profiteers." Not armed forces. the fascist regime and the capitalists it serves, but anonymous ratic" capitalist press to attribute presence had up to this time el- in Greece and Albania to the land also indicate no great imuded the all-seeing eyes of the "brave fighting qualities" of the munity to this contagion. The secret police, are held responsible Greek and British forces and the British ruling class fears this for the plight of the Italian peo- "cowardice" of the Italian fightple. Regime Fascista, newspaper ers. A few commentators, howedited by Roberto Farinacci, for ever, know better. Thus Hanson mer secretary of the Fascist par- W. Baldwin, writing about the STRIKE STRUGGLES ty, declares-but without naming Italo-Greek war in the New York IN BRITAIN names — that these profiteers Times on November 26, says, "And

should be shot. cessity. With things increasing illusions of the glory." their feelings.

Leland Stowe, in a dispatch to

spirit of defeatism which preoc- higher ranking professional mili- -in a nation in which Sir Walter broadcast from London, December cupies the ruling regime. On Dec- tarists show obedience to the re- Citrine, speaking before the AFL 12, stated that Liverpool shipownember 10 the leading fascist news- gime and unquestioned patriotism. convention last month, declared ers "complain that the young paper. Il Popolo di Roma, admit- Young lieutenants, aggressively the workers had "voluntarily" dockworkers have been drafted try today likewise label the ting heavy Italian losses, increas- fascist, are frequently defiant and given up the right to strike. 'disease" of proletarian revolu- ing vicissitudes and hard days arrogant, sometimes sneering and The New York Post, December discourteous.

"These gentlemen who smell of thing, incorrigible rumor-mongers few have a vestige of self-assur- lassitude." sian disease" in 1917—it spread who always have something to ance left. Again and again, they This same dispatch reveals that

It seems to us the hour has come The first military defeats sus- to beat them up so it will leave over having thrown down their states. Two of the largest British tained by Mussolini have sufficed a mark that will not soon be for weapons. They want nothing ex- trade unions, the Confederation The violence of this campaign and to get back to Italy."

of the crumbling fascist rule have admission of the discontent with when the Churchills brand it an ing Union, with 400,000 members.

"Italian disease" which brought "We know them. We have iden- forth Churchill's recent incite- ment workers in Lancashire, Engtified them for some time now. ment of the Italians against Mus- land, ended on December 27. The ian masses who, since the last Soon we shall catch them and solini-against Mussolini and not strike was ostensibly over the embrought to the intolerable stage. of the Italian people gathered leave intact the Italian Royal fam- more deep-rooted. ily, the army generals, the police apparatus, the fascist machine, the profiteers and capitalists and the hunger and misery of the This defeatism, and it grows Italian masses. Above all, a "dis-

For while Italy at the present hoarders and profiteers, whose the defeats of the Italian army to revolution, conditions in Engmoment appears most susceptible more than a thousand military

One of the indicative symptoms the heart of the Italians is not that the workers of England are "We do not live by bread alone," in it-except for officers and a not too ready to "sacrifice" in the have been permitted a much larger says La Vita Italiana, "There are few picked Fascist troops, the interests of British imperialism, allowance than civilians, many other things of prime ne- Italian army seems to have no is the persistence of strikes in vital British industries. The news ing class is introducing those ex- the feeling of security. It is easy at this rate, are wages and sal- Not courage but morale, is the of these strikes has managed to tremes of exploitation which they there to forget the hundreds of aries to remain unaltered?" La decisive factor in the Italian mili- trickle through the rigid British have hitherto condemned on the thousands cramped in their chill. Vita of course offers no answer tary defeats. The Italian soldier censorship. And they are partipart of the Nazi and fascist re- Anderson shelters, the millions - the direct descendant of the cularly significant because they gimes. mollify the masses by echoing magnificent fighters under Gari- are waged in defiance of the dicbaldi-doesn't want to fight in tatorial law against strikes.

following tiny item:

"LONDON, Dec. 19 (UP)-Minthe New York Post of December ister of Labor Ernest Bevin told tural production up to present 26 describing an interview with the House of Commons today that standards, Minister of Agriculture Italian prisoners of war in Greece, there had been stoppages of work Hudson said today. There are in British munitions factories con- now 9,000 British women land "There is an enormous differ- trary to the legal procedure of workers." ence between the attitude of of j settling disputes. Some of these,

Bevin, on December 17, reported justify the invasion of Greece. The ten months of 1940 due to strikes,

17, in a London dispatch quotes "On the other hand, the Italian the London Daily Express as aldefeatism are those who read our soldiers are mostly a spiritless, leging that the "Liverpool docks discipline, war bulletins with the air of being pitiful assortment. They are rag- were working at two-thirds capafed up, those who know every- ged and miserable, and only a city due to labor agitation and

across Europe, even though it add when a communique is read. say frankly, 'We've had enough.' the English workers are not so "They seem to have no shame willing to "sacrifice" as Citrine cept food and for the war to end of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, with 450,000 members, While no direct manifestations against defeatism is in itself an But it is mere wish-thinking, and the Amalgamated Engineerare both making insistent de-It is precisely the knowledge mands for wage increases to off-

A six-day strike of 5,000 gar-

BRITISH "DEMOCRACY" PUTS THE SQUEEZE ON

We can expect that Churchill, like Mussolini, will shortly be forced to denounce the "hoarders and profiteers." On December 26. the British press announced that today." Lord Woolton, Food Minister, is January, 1941. Even the cheapest, tioned, under the new regulations. ors and airmen, who up to now the comforts of home and aristoc-

More and more, the British rul-

The following item appeared in the N. Y. Post, December 19: But most of all, it is the increasing this war. He does not believe The New York Times, December "LONDON, Dec. 19 (AP) -Be-

in the cause which his arms are 120, inconspicuously carries the tween 30,000 and 40,000 British women will have to work in the fields next year to keep agricul-

> The compulsory toil in the fields invoked against the working women of Nazi Germany is here forecast for "democratic" England.

> A Columbia Broadcast correspondent, Larry Lesueur, in a into the army and they are asking that the workers return in the form of flying squads of soldiers to unload ships under military

"Ship owners also would like to have about 3,000 more workers around the ports to create a reserve of men and competition for iobs, but naturally the unions are against this."

These representatives of the British ruling class are asking, in other words, for slave workers, toiling at the point of a bayonet; and for permanent unemployed reserves to hold as a threat against the employed workers. In this is revealed the real "war aims" of the British capitalists,aims which differ not a whit in kind from those of the German capitalists.

GLARING EXTREMES

BETWEEN RICH AND POOR While the Lancashire garment strikers were whipped back to work with prison threats, the New York Times on December 22, published the following:

"MANCHESTER, England, Dec. 22 (UP)-Corporate profits of Lancashire's cotton spinners this year will be the largest since 1921. a United Press survey disclosed

Milo M. Thompson, chief of the expected to introduce a further Associated Press London Bureau, reduction in the food rations in who has just returned from Engpoorest meat scraps are to be ra- comforts of the bomb shelters for the rich in London, such as that and the present allowance of one of the Savoy Hotel, and contrasts shilling ten pence (about 35 cents) it with those for the ordinary peoworth of meat per person per ple. The rich sleep in "the beds week, is to be reduced to one shill of luxury you read about in the ling six pence (about 25 cents) mattress advertisements." They worth. This, for the first time. have dance floors, orchestras and will also affect the soldiers, sail bars. There is no crowding; all ratic club are there.

"The ever present nurses and physicians in such places add to who sleep in ordinary basements, and the great army of those who are glad to have concrete subway platforms or the cobblestones under the arches below them if only they are safe from the death and dismemberment rained from above," (New York Post, Dec. 23).

POVERTY FOR NOW: PROMISES FOR LATER

It is a sign of the complete degeneration and incapacity of the British ruling class that it permits this fantastic spectacle to go on. Future historians will rethe role they began to play in | more because she is secure. | things the housewife can do in cord that not all the previous contrasts between rich and poor drove the British masses toward revolution as much as did the luxurious underground play ground shelters of the rich.

> Nor is it that the British ruling class is unaware of the danger. Every week Harold J. Laski, Raymond Postgate and other "labor" supporters of the war wail 'n The Tribune: "We wonder if Mr. Churchill is aware that, in spite of all the talk, there is no . . . evacuation scheme . . . no improvements of shelters . . . The outcome of the war may well depend on the speed and efficiency of adequate sheltering . . . " But to no purpose. The ruling class continues to rhumba at the Savoy. However, the ruling class is perfectly willing to make prom-

Churchill, on December 18, speaking at Harrow, exclusive school for the British upper paper in 1845 called the "Voice take an active part in politics. about the welfare of the worker's the wives of miners during classes, declared that "the advantages and privileges which hitherto have been enjoyed only by the few shall be far more widely shared"-when the war is over.

Hitler, a few weeks ago, stated that he will introduce the "perfect socialist state"-when the war is

Thus it is, that each in turn. offers the benefits of a mild innowoman must learn. Tomorrow culation of "socialism," to offest Every wife should understand she will be the worker in the the dread "plague," the workers'

> But the innoculation will not work. The "Italian disease" will

WhyBrowder&Co. Now Yell For U.S.--USSR Amity

Stalin's general staff appears now to be convinced that Germany cannot successfully invade Britain. This is the conclusion to be drawn from the latest article estimating the military developments signed-like most of the previous onesby "Colonel Vasilyev," published in Trud, and cabled from Moscow to the Stalinist press here.

Had Germany launched an invasion last Sum mer, immediately after the French defeat, says the article, (Daily Worker, Dec. 29) "there is hardly any doubt that they (the Germans) would rout England's armed forces in comparatively short time. However, Germany at that time evidently considered herself unprepared for the operations against English territory with the aid of land forces . . . "

As for the present situation, the article_says: "Lately the question of invasion of England has again been the subject of lively discussions. Estimating the situation in the Anglo-German theater of military operations, one draws the conclusion that irrespective of the methods of conduct of the war by Germany, the struggle will retain a protracted character."

Which is a cautious and diplomatic way of saying that Germany cannot succeed, in the estimation of Soviet military experts.

German aerial warfare, says the article, "did not achieve decisive results,"

Neither is Germany succeeding in her attack on British communications lines: "In spite of the fact that the losses of the British merchant fleet are 'severe,' the total tonnage of British merchant vessels nevertheless exceeds the required min-

"But British successes," the article concludes, "cannot yet be called the turning point in the course of the war." It is clear, however, that this Soviet article considers that that turning point is likely.

In this estimate of the war by Soviet military authorities we have the clue to the suddenlylaunched campaign of the Communist Party and its front-men for American "friendship with the Soviet Union." A letter by Corliss Lamont to the New York Times, urging a Soviet-U. S. rapprochement, speeches by Browder and Foster cautiously launching the same line-this is preparation for a new turn by Stalin back toward the "democracies." But as long as Hitler has his teeth, Stalin will remain respectfully ready for new deals like the partition of Poland.

Stalinist preparations for a possible new turn in the United States are already evident in the slogans raised here on military questions. In Britain and its colonies the Stalinists are ultraradical. For example, in Canada the Young Communist League recently issued a manifesto which says to drafted men: "Trainees, form camp committees, to protect your daily interests . . . Fight against the fascist officers' clique in the army" (Daily Worker, Dec. 15).

In the United States, however, no slogans remotely resembling this are raised. Here there is not a whisper of soldiers' committees from the Stalinists. After all, the United States is the unquestioned dominant figure among the "democracies," and the one which Stalin will have to court, if Germany loses the initiative in the war.

One Sabotage Case They're Not Pushing

There's been lots of talk about labor's "sabotage" of the war program, but here's one story of sabotage that they haven't been yelling about,

Fort Sill, Oklahoma, was for a few years the home of the Army's Field Artillery School. The site was considered unsatisfactory as the years went by. It was an area of subnormal rain fall, and the water shortage was getting worse with the years. But the school had a normal garrison of about 3,400 men, their water supply could be supplemented by bringing in water, and the usual inertia of the army kept the school there. But the situation was conceded to be bad.

Yet, in September, when the Forty-fifth National Guard Division, comprising Oklahoma, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico and Arkansas, was ordered to active duty, an astonishing thing happened. Fort Sill was selected as the site for the Division's tent camp! Every army officer who knew his business knew the trouble with Fort Sill-but nevertheless it became the site for the tent camp which was eventually to house some 30,000 to 40,000 men.

A total of 8,500 men and officers were sent into camp. Construction was started on hospital buildings, recreation halls, utilities, etc. The camp was prepared with much labor to house more than 21,000 men in short order. Work went on. Soon the number in camp reached 14,000 soldiers. To make a long story short, the tent camp-its cost is estimated at \$5,000,000-was well on the way to completion, and many additional projects connected with it were completed.

Finally, in mid-December ... i. e., nearly three and a half months after the camp was selectedthe water situation became so bad that the camp had to be abandoned. The Division will be transferred to Abilene, Texas-as soon as a tent camp has been constructed there.

A crew of Oklahoma businessmen are at the bottom of it. They stood to gain and did gain from the selection of Fort Sill. They had friends among the officers who had a say in it. They're not weeping about the "mistake," they made-

There are no indignant articles in the press about Fort Sill. Nobody is pointing the finger of indignation at those Oklahoma businessmen.

Can you imagine what would happen if a trade union made an honest mistake which cost one per cent of what this Fort Sill spree cost?

Women And The Class Struggle

They Play A Decisive Role In The Labor Movement

close around their Duce."

WILL NOT FIGHT

THE WORKER-SOLDIER

with each new military set-back,

It is the custom of the "democ-

who were engaged in union activities. He used every means available to create hostility between men and women workers. It was not long before women recognized the fact that they had a serious economic problem to solve. Some effective means of resisting the boss was necessary. The only answer was organized unions such as those the men had.

So we have the daughters of native New England farmers in Dover, N. H., 1828, organizing one of the first walkouts by women, against wage reductions and monthly payments. These textile workers organized street parades and protest meetings to publicize their demands. Women textile workers of Lowell published a of Industry." This newspaper was devoted to publicizing conditions of women workers in the textile industry. The militant organization of textile workers gave an impetus to the women workers in the printing, shoe and by groups of organized women workers. These groups became and away from the "democratic" tacting workers' families. centers of hundreds of workers parties of the boss. where they spent their free time.

movement.

The ten hour day, then the cuts and working conditions of share of picket duty. eight hour day, labor legislation, her husband. higher wages and better conditions enjoyed by workers today, action during strikes.

Through such experience the a better life. working woman also began to working class political parties able to the boss to use in con-

For many years women were or- in the home to the working class striker is fighting for. Her place trying to earn a meagre living ganized into separate local unions movement, is no less than that is with him on the picket line while the boss squeezes every with no national or international of the woman in the factory, and at the union headquarters, ounce of energy from her. Be- spread. affiliations. This was only be- Marriage is no escape from the At strike headquarters there are cause tomorrow the men will be cause they were refused entry problem of earning a living. Gone any number of things the wives taken from their homes and inextricably connected in 1917. into the international unions of are the days-if they ever ex- can do. Arranging mass meet- families, thrown into the armed It took three years, the last the men workers. Recognizing the isted--when a woman can say ings, money-raising affairs, or- forces of the bosses government time, for the first rumblings of significance of the self-organiza- that she is going to be married ganizing food and clothing com- and sent out to die once again revolt. It will not take that long tion of the women workers and and will not have to worry any mittees, are only a few of the on the battlefields.

The role of the woman worker the labor movement, the Knights Whether as the wife of a worker a strike. has always been a decisive factor of Labor, in 1881, admitted or as a woman in the factory, in the history of the trade union women into their organization. she is just as much an integral movement. At first the boss util- Years later, 1918, the AFL ad- part of the working class. In it ing past strikes: In Passaic Texized her as a source of cheap mitted women into all their na- her interest lies and she must tile strike, 1926-7, the housewives labor and later to replace men tional and international unions. fight for its emancipation. More Women, united with men, have than ever, as a wife, she con- Working-class Housewives," to contributed their share of hard stantly finds herself affected which members belonged and conwork and sacrifice to the organ- directly or indirectly by the sucization of many unions, some of cesses and failures of the trade tion. These women set up childwhich today are among the union and labor movement as a ren's kitchens from which 500 strongest in the American labor whole. She and her children will children a day were fed. On the always be affected by the wage picket lines the wives took their

> During a strike in which her husband is involved her role is are the result of the militant doubly important. The morale of struggles of men and women the striker depends much on the workers. Women alongside of the understanding and cooperation of men faced tear gas and machine his wife. She must stand firm beguns of the bosses' police on the hind the striker-husband and picket lines. Others were sent to give him courage to carry on his groups to contact wives of these prison because of their militant struggle against the boss in order to give her and the children strike from many of their wives.

Increased exploitation, contin- wife and family. During a strike strikes. uous struggles with the boss, he will suddenly display a preseeing the armed forces of the tended interest in them in order government in action against the to persuade the wife to make wo: kers, opened her eyes to the her husband return to work, thus real meaning of this so-called using her as a means to break "democratic" system of govern- the strike. The movies, church, tobacco trades. Social and educa- ment. Such material forces as schools and even personal con- OMIC weapon of the workers. tional gatherings were initiated these impelled her toward the tact are the instruments avail-

The importance of the woman and have confidence in what the factory, supporting her family revolution.

Company of the Compan

We cite a few examples of the

militant work of housewives durorganized into the "Council of tributed from all over the na-

Gary Indiana, the wives and daughters of strikers organized and marched en masse to the steel mills and helped persuade the non-strikers to join the strike. They organized house-to-house men and gained sympathy for the ises. In Mother Jones' autobiography The boss doesn't care one bit she tells of the valiant work of

> In a society of class conflicts, women in the factories and in the homes must take their place in the ranks of the working-class. They must recognize the unions as the most effective ECON-

Tomorrow she will stand alone, that is why today the

In the great steel strike in