

July 1940

Fourth International

The Monthly Magazine of the Socialist Workers Party

“NATIONAL UNITY”

Editorial Comment

JAPAN AND AMERICA in the PACIFIC

By JACK WEBER

THE UNIONS AND POLITICS

By FARRELL DOBBS

AFRICAN SLAVES OF IMPERIALISM

By SP

THE AMERICAN TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH CO.

By C. CURTISS

Twenty Cents

Manager's Column

On the masthead of the June issue you probably noticed the phrase "2nd class mailing rights applied for." The same phrase is there again on this issue. All of which means that the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL is again being mailed to you at the all but prohibitive 3rd class mailing rates. It is impossible, of course, to judge when the Post Office department will act upon our application, or even if their decision will be favorable to us. We can only hope that by the time the August issue is off the press we will have obtained our 2nd class permit. And in the meantime? We are desperately short of postage money.

A great majority of our foreign comrades are now unable to contribute to the support of our magazine. And yet it is our duty to continue getting to them each issue where there is any possibility of it reaching them. And, be assured, we find ways and the support of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL falls now, more than ever before, upon the shoulders of the American comrades and friends.

Evidence of insufficient support is the fact that this issue is only 16 pages instead of the regular 32. This must be only a temporary retreat. Whether the warring imperialists strike a bargain or not, America is in for a period of reaction. The FOURTH INTERNATIONAL has work to do; work that cannot be delayed or postponed.

The most efficient way to meet this crisis is by paying all bundle-order bills promptly and in full. Every branch *must* square its account if we are to continue publishing. Some branches have bills totaling \$100. If these comrades make no effort to pay off their indebtedness the time will come when we shall be forced to close their accounts. Don't allow this to happen! Every single copy of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL must reach a worker.

If the number on your wrapper reads:

N 44, or F 3,

your subscription expires with this issue. In order to avoid missing a single issue of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, be sure to send in your renewal order immediately. \$2.00 for one year, \$3.00 for one year in combination with the SOCIALIST APPEAL.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Published by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

Volume I July 1940 No. 3 (Whole No. 3)

Published monthly by the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547. Subscription rates: \$2.00 per year; bundles, 14c for 5 copies and up. Canada and Foreign: \$2.50 per year; bundles 16c for 5 copies and up. 2nd class mailing rights applied for.

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Make this possible by paying up. It's not too much to ask!

* * *

Now that we've gotten that off our chest, a few pats on the back are in order. With the third issue off the press, it is possible to take a more objective view of the recent subscription drive. The drive was definitely a success. The party responded with discipline and enthusiasm (and a little anger at the theft of the NEW INTERNATIONAL, which was an undeniable blow, but also a shot-in-the-arm). The comrades knew how the columns of the NEW INTERNATIONAL would be corrupted by the abductors; they knew that its honored career as a true organ of revolutionary Marxism was at a close; and they knew that a successor (not a competitor) had to be established without the loss of a single month. Directives from the National Office were hardly needed, for the branches spontaneously mobilized and flooded this office with subscriptions. Well done! We all deserve a little self-congratulation . . . but no relaxation.

* * *

FLINT is the answer to a Business Manager's prayer. While the branch is small, it is extremely aggressive. Last week a note came from Henrietta G. which read, "We think that the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL is splendid and the best way that we can show it is to send in subs. Enclosed is \$10 for 10 subs. More will follow." And not only that, but Flint comrades keep their bundle order paid up. What more can be said?

ALLENTOWN will lose Ruth Q. as literature agent for the summer and the party will miss her fine services. She has contributed to the success of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL and she enters the hospital with all the thoughts and wishes of her comrades for a speedy recovery.

* * *

ROCHESTER and K.S. should receive special mention. Immediately after the split there were very few comrades left to carry on the work of selling and distributing the magazine. Far from being discouraged, this branch actually became more active and militant. K.S. has increased his bundle order twice and keeps his accounts balanced. He receives many extra copies of the magazine and uses them to make contact with the workers. There is no question but that the Rochester branch will grow and widen its influence among the workers.

* * *

No summer slump in NEW HAVEN either. Nick L. realizes that prompt bundle payments are vital necessary. And I.L. of YOUNGSTOWN keeps a steady stream of new subscriptions coming into this office. He doesn't let them collect in his pocket, but sends in a few each week. That's the proper way to handle it.

* * *

There is a new branch in MILWAUKEE and we expect big results on the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL sales out there. It's a fine proletarian center and the magazine should be most welcome. BUFFALO is gaining speed in party activity. We hope to re-

port soon that this branch is among the F.I. activists also.

* * *

A final word about local FOURTH INTERNATIONAL parties and promotions. We have on hand a great many bound volumes of '38 and '39 NEW INTERNATIONALS. They are a necessity for every Marxist and you can have both volumes for \$3.50. Used as prizes, or raffled off, they will create great interest and enthusiasm. Conduct local subscription contests, parties and benefits and use these volumes as prizes.

If you want any suggestions and help in planing your affairs, drop us a line. We're full of merchandising ideas.

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NEW YORK, N. Y.**

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Monthly Magazine of the Socialist Workers Party

VOLUME I

JULY 1940

NUMBER 3

Editorial Comment

The Burning of the Books

TO CONDEMN to the flames the cultural creation of the fifteen years of the Weimar republic—that for many people bared for the first time the utter barbarism of Nazism. There is little likelihood of seeing that particular spectacle in this country in the next few years. But the attempt is already being made to wipe out from our minds the most thoughtful and creative contributions which literary men and historians have made in America during the period since the last war—and we are not thinking here of Marxist writing. We have had the spectacle of an Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress, addressing the American Library Association to deplore the creative writing of the last twenty years—he mentioned Hemingway, Remarque and a few others, but his remarks really applied to practically every worthwhile poet and novelist—which, by inculcating skepticism and distrust of fine phrases, had ill-prepared a generation to realize that there were things really worth fighting for, i.e., American capitalism. But MacLeish was merely a bit clumsy in blurting out what is quietly being done systematically: the schools and colleges, the liberal magazines, the press, the radio, the movies, are speedily divesting themselves of every particle of critical intelligence which may have adhered to them during the quarter-century since the last war. They are getting down to fighting trim by throwing away everything they once knew.

Nor is this process an unnecessary one. Who can read the novels of a Hemingway or a Remarque about the effects of the last war and willingly go through another war of the same kind? They must get rid of even the better text-books. Consider, for example, the eminent and respectable, the late Professor Parker T. Moon's, "Imperialism," a book used for courses at many universities since it was published in 1925. That book is dynamite today as we approach the threshold of war. For any intelligent young lad can get enough out of it to establish conclusively that this war is but a continuation of the last war, both imperialist wars for re-division of the earth, that the decline of the British and French empires was envisaged on the basis of economic analysis, and that it was a foregone conclusion that the new challenger for world dominion would have to clash with the United States.

Professor Moon and hundreds of others explained to their classes, year in year out, the particular difficulties of Germany. Having failed to achieve the national unification of Germany before 1870, that power appeared on the international arena after the world had been parcelled out by the other great powers. Germany could get nothing remotely

resembling the great empires which Britain and France had carved out by peaceful means, i.e., by subjugation of non-European peoples. There was not even left for Germany what the smaller powers, Belgium, Holland and Portugal, had managed to grab. Germany therefore preoccupied itself with creating a first-rate industrial machine which, under the laws of capitalism, had to find new markets, new sources of raw materials and new fields for investment. Since there were none left, she had to try to take those which others had, a process which led to the first world war. Instead of solving her problems by that war, Germany was defeated, thanks to American intervention, and driven back into even narrower confines than before.

So much all the more intelligent professors told. Some of them also added that the constricting confines in which German industry found itself after Versailles led to the desperate resort to fascism as a means of atomizing the German working class and re-arming Germany. From that point the intelligent lad could finish the story for himself. MacLeish is perfectly right. If the American people are to fight this war with any morale at all, the elementary findings of American education must be abandoned.

The Difference Between Germany and the "Democracies"

There is a certain note of sincerity in the insistence that, for America, England and France are different than Germany. The real distinction of course has nothing to do with the "democracy" of the British and French empires. The genuinely friendly feeling for them felt by American financial and industrial interests is based on the inferiority of these empires in competition with American imperialism. Especially since the first world war, they were never a serious problem in any of the world's markets. Living primarily off their colonies and with no driving need to transform their rather archaic technology, their industrial development lagged far behind America's, which had not really come of age until 1914-18 when it expanded all the more quickly. But the dynamics of German development took a different course. Just because it had no empire from which to draw riches, German capitalism has been driven since 1870 to develop a technological plant far superior to that of England and France. Applying this plant to a Europe from which it has forcibly removed the main national barriers—the United States of Europe had to come, if not created by the workers whose slogan it was, then by the most reactionary nationalism!—Germany if it had time to organize on a continental scale would surpass the United States in indus-

trial plant and, hence, outstrip it in the world's markets.

What Germany's Victory Means To American Imperialism

The reorganization of Europe under German mastery unquestionably means a sharp drop in American exports to Europe itself—and that area has been accounting for 40-50% of American exports. Hitler, indeed, will bar American products from Europe as completely as possible, converting the continent into a private preserve. The loss of markets in Europe is however, the least of the penalties that American imperialism will pay for a Germanized Europe. In South America, important not merely for what imports and capital investment it has been taking, but for the far-greater market it can be if firmly organized by a great power, and even more important as a source of vital raw materials, a Nazi-dominated Europe will confront the United States on at least equal terms and will not submit to being shouldered aside. Meanwhile, on the basis of an understanding with Germany, Japan will wreak havoc with American trade and sources of raw material in the Far East; everything that Japan did not dare to do but was tempted to do against American interests she will now do, for now American imperialism cannot stop Japan so long as Germany is triumphant in Europe. A Japanized Asia will loom over the Pacific as a Germanized Europe will appear everywhere in the Atlantic. The liberal economists who used to scoffingly explain to Marxists that we did not understand the minor role that foreign trade played in American economy—a “mere” 10% or so of the home trade—and that therein lay the root error of our bugaboo tales about the dynamics of American imperialism, will now write books explaining that American economy cannot live confined to the Western Hemisphere.

Roosevelt's New Authority

To prevent this, Germany must not be given time to consolidate the organization of Europe. Roosevelt has undoubtedly always understood this task of American imperialism; he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy during the last war, which America entered to prevent the subjugation of Europe by Germany and a consequent German challenge to the new role of America as the premier world power. That America would very soon be called upon to attempt to repeat its crushing of Germany, Roosevelt has understood and has been making clear at least since his “collective security” speech of October 5, 1937.

But, as the Administration spokesmen, Alsop and Kintner, complain in the “American White Paper,” Roosevelt has been forced to limit his activities because of the “lag” of “public opinion.” It would be comforting at this point to say that by “public opinion” they mean the deep-seated hatred of war felt by the American masses. Accuracy, however, necessitates reporting that what they and Roosevelt were concerned about was the public opinion of the capitalist class. During most of the two and a half years that Roosevelt has been striving to organize for war, he has not had the backing of a united capitalist class, and that was his concern. Given that, he was not, it must be said in all honesty, particularly worried about lining up the masses.

Given the support of the capitalist class, of its press, radio, movies and spokesmen, he could be sure of driving the masses into the war. That will be the case as long as the capitalist class remains in control of the economy of the country.

The most significant new fact about the situation in America is that now Roosevelt has the backing of a united capitalist class. That means that we are now on the road to war.

Basis of Capitalist Unity

The unity of the capitalist class has shown itself strikingly in the extraordinary majorities rolled up in both houses of Congress for every one of Roosevelt's proposals since the Nazis overran the Low Countries. Armament appropriation bills, comprising astronomical figures, have been adopted by Congress with such rapidity that the average citizen, even if he closely followed the press, cannot for the life of him tell you how many bills, each for not less than a billion dollars, have been adopted. Congressional debate has been less than perfunctory; the few hours spent on each bill as a matter of form have found the House and Senate half-empty while speakers droned about everything under the sun except the major issues presented by the bills, then the members have trooped in and voted, with at most only a handful of mavericks casting nay ballots. One who gathered his information from the Congressional Record about the opinion prevalent in the country would be at a loss to explain the fact that the latest Gallup poll found 93% of the people opposed to American involvement in the war; but he would be naive. Congress is a forum for the capitalist class and not for the people.

The most formidable opposition during the last two years to Roosevelt's orientation had come from that section of the capitalist class whose holdings were mainly bound up with this continent, with Australia and with the Far East. The “peaceful” nature of their “isolationism” was perhaps most glaringly revealed when their most vociferous spokesman, Senator Vandenburg, last July successfully sponsored the resolution to abrogate the commercial treaty with Japan and thereby plunged Japanese-American relations into a day-to-day crisis. Their “isolationism” consisted in a sharp difference of opinion over which war America would have to wage first. The liquidation of the differences between the “isolationists” and the imperialists represented by Roosevelt was signaled on June 9, when the same Vandenburg came out for signing a new pact with the Japanese because of “our new vicissitudes.” The pact with Japan, he said, would be worth “half a navy”—meaning, of course, that most of the naval forces based in the Pacific could then be transferred to the Atlantic, facing Germany.

Why No Coalition Government

Pulses leaped and hearts beat high when it became clear that the capitalist class now stood united. The idea of a coalition government and an end to two-party politics came to the fore. It is scarcely a secret that at that exhilarating moment Colonel Knox and other Republican leaders came to a tentative agreement with Roosevelt for the entry of Knox into the cabinet and others into government service. But after the first thrill of the embraces of comradeship had

worn off, sober second thoughts brought forward very cogent objections to the entry of Republican leaders into the cabinet.

Too much has still to be done in breaking down the people's opposition to involvement in war. That Gallup figure of 93% must be driven way down. A national atmosphere must be created in which it will be well-nigh impossible for so many trade unions to adopt anti-war resolutions—not to speak of such a spectacle as the Harvard senior class booing and hissing a class day speaker for telling the boys to “go out there and do the job again.” This very difficult task of pushing the people over the brink would not be facilitated by a coalition government. The danger is too great that the stark picture might be all too apparent: *the people versus the parties that are supposed to represent them.*

Having decided against a coalition government, all participants in the discussion proceeded to deny that the question had been discussed (Roosevelt, Knox) or to denounce the idea (Landon).

Then came the announcement on the eve of the Republican convention that Stimson was to be Secretary of War and Colonel Knox Secretary of the Navy. The flabbergasted delegates gathering in Philadelphia for the convention could only congratulate the president on picking two of the most eminent Republicans, and bitterly complain that it wrecked the party. The first draft of a platform criticising Roosevelt's conduct of the preparedness program went into the wastebasket. Whatever the professional politicians might still do in the way of organizing a Republican campaign for the elections, a powerful section of the big bourgeoisie of the Republican party were certain to back the coalition, which would in one form or another endure into the coming war.

Why They Chanced the Coalition

Why was the coalition resorted to, after it had been abandoned? Its dangerous consequences remain: the spectacle of a united capitalist class, symbolized by a coalition government harmoniously working to drag this country into war, is the most outrageous provocation to the masses; hardly any other single act would be more likely to drive the working class into outspoken opposition to war policies of the government, and into great strikes and demonstrations to back up its anti-war feelings.

Two main factors account, we believe, for the final decision to go through with the coalition:

1. *There is no time for maneuvering.* The speediness of Hitler's victory in Europe forces an acceleration of the American pace. Considerations which were weighty two weeks before are now outweighed by the punctuality of the Nazi *blitzkrieg* timetable. If Hitler keeps to his timetable and is through with England by August 15, and if Roosevelt's determination to give Hitler the least possible time to organize his European empire, is adhered to, then all secondary considerations must give way to the single aim of producing a war machine more powerful than Hitler's. Then it is more important to mollify the remaining reactionary die-hards, to center all possible power in the government, to secure the most authoritative cabinet conceivable, than it is to worry about the sentiments of the people.

2. *The vast sentiment against American involvement in the war is leaderless.*

The cold truth is that the coalition government has about as much to fear from the masses today as a powerful employer whose employees, despite their many grievances, have no union to oppose to the strength of their employer.

Since the coalition idea was first discussed, Roosevelt has had an opportunity to convince himself how completely leaderless the anti-war sentiment is. One has to take Gallup polls to find it, or carefully gather incidents here and there in trade union meetings and weigh their total meaning. No strong organization of any kind, no popular spokesmen express that vast but formless and chaotic opposition to the war perspective.

Those politicians in the two major parties who, like Senator Wheeler, voted for all Roosevelt's major proposals but then made a few sharp speeches against the government's orientation, have hastened to make clear how limited their criticism is. They would love nothing better than to go on drawing to themselves the attention of the great masses through anti-war demagogy; but the times simply do not permit it. The crisis of American capitalism is too deep, too near to an attempted solution by force of arms. Wheeler's voice dies away in his throat . . . he objects to sending armament to the Allies because . . . the American armed forces need everything possible.

The Labor Movement Lines Up

Nor need the official leadership of the trade unions be taken into consideration by Roosevelt—except as recruiting sergeants. The AFL leadership is a sheep-dog which automatically leads the flock to its capitalist master. Scarcely less docile is the CIO leadership, including John L. Lewis.

He played longer the game of anti-war demagogy and as a result has more words to eat, but he is eating them. Hitler's victory in the battle of Flanders put an end to the dramatic anti-war speeches of Lewis; forgotten was his resolution at the February convention of the United Mine Workers demanding that the government “withhold the lending of any money, or the participation either directly or indirectly in the wars now going on in Europe and Asia”; his defense of the American Youth Congress “peace” resolutions against Roosevelt's scolding, etc. Lewis cancelled the anti-war speech he was scheduled to make at the SWOC convention and instead his lieutenant, Phil Murray, put through the convention a jingo resolution built around the slogan “Our country right or wrong.” Lewis personally came to heel on May 17 at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention where he whiningly insisted that “It is publicly known that labor is fully in accord with the necessity of national defense,” and raised but one demand: “If the country wants the cooperation of labor to do the work of preparing for war, and in the event of war to do the necessary dying in the war, what is wrong with a little cooperation on policies?” This “demand” for labor representation was acceded to with alacrity by Roosevelt when he named Hillman to the Defense Council; the CIO executive board by resolution gave “appreciative notice” to the appointment. Then, in a sullen effort to show Roosevelt that he could still snarl, Lewis made that unbelievably fantastic speech in

Philadelphia on June 18, denouncing Roosevelt as responsible for the depression and . . . defending Hoover!

The Stalinists Begin the Turn

If anything could be more absurd than Lewis' pro-Hoover speech, it was its handling in the Stalinist *Daily Worker*. It got a front-page headline: "Lewis Hits Involvement in War; Demands Useful Jobs for All." Sub-heads: "Makes Stirring Call for Negro Equality at NAACP Parley; Receives Ovation from (Negro) Convention at Philadelphia." The startling statements on Hoover? They could be found in the *Daily Worker* account, uncommented upon even by a sub-head, in the fourth column of the story!

At about the point that keeping one foot in Lewis' camp and one in Stalin's field of German orientation became well-nigh impossible even for acrobats like Browder, Moscow ordered a re-orientation which, by degrees, will enable Browder to put his feet together again—in the camp not merely of Lewis, but of the coalition government. The pact which was to make impossible a Nazi war on the Soviet Union had played its role in the Nazi conquest of Europe, Stalin's partner was now free to turn his attention toward the Soviet Union and, with his policy in ruins, Stalin frenziedly prepared for a new turn. Whereupon Israel Amter told the Young Communist League convention that Russia's move into the Baltic was "objective aid to France"; and William Z. Foster recalled suddenly that "The Communists always vote to furnish arms to such (genuine) democratic governments, as in the case of the first popular front government in France, and the democratic people's governments of Spain, China, Mexico, Chile and Cuba." (*Daily Worker*, June 20, 1940). Foster forbore to add the Roosevelt government of a year or so ago, but he will recall that too in a week or two. In a word, the problem which the Communist party is shortly to present the American government is the same one which they presented Roosevelt with in the last presidential election: the embarrassment of their support.

By the time this editorial appears the government's war program may also count among its official supporters Norman Thomas' Socialist party. Wisconsin, Massachusetts and other party sections are calling for a formal pro-Ally declaration by their National Committee. Thomas' co-partners in the "Keep America Out of War Committee," the Lovestoneites, have already come out for an Allied victory. In any event Thomas does not have to travel far. He has

already adopted the slogan, "Rational, not hysterical defense." Roosevelt could endorse that with both hands.

It is not a pretty picture we have drawn of the labor movement, but it is a true one. And we expected it. War, like revolution, burns away all ambiguities. It draws the line with utter clarity between the capitalist class and its labor lieutenants and choir boys on the one side, and on the other the real Marxists, the revolutionists, small though they be in number when the war begins, but authentically expressing the real interests of the masses and certain to find the way to organize the masses' opposition to the war in the course of the war.

We Do Not Fear This War!

We stand alone today. Our isolation is painfully apparent. The demagogy of Roosevelt, and of his labor lieutenants, has disoriented the masses and the process of their regroupment is a difficult task. But let there be no misunderstanding. Though irreconcilable enemies of imperialist war, we have no fear of this war. We accept battle on the arena chosen by the class enemy. The Fourth International is the only organization which correctly predicted the general course of world events, which anticipated the inevitability of a new imperialist catastrophe and prepared its cadres for it. We are welded together by iron discipline, a movement of tested revolutionists ready for anything and with an unconquerable will to victory. The overwhelming majority of our comrades in the different countries have withstood the first test of the war. In all the major countries the coming convulsions will find us ready.

Here as elsewhere the war will burn away the last vestiges of workers' illusions and the passivity engendered by previous defeats. Our proletarian armies are soon to be mobilized by Roosevelt; the millions of youth hitherto locked out of industry and hence dispersed, will be organized into regiments and brought together in the armament factories. Inexorable historical necessity drives them in our direction, as it did during the last war. Then there was only the small emigre group around Lenin to begin the struggle for world revolution. Today, possessing in numbers and especially in preparation infinite advantages over its predecessors at the beginning of the last war, the Fourth International exists. As our comrades are firmly united across the national barriers and battle-fronts, so we shall unite the soldiers and workers on the opposite sides of the war. We shall bring peace to the cottages, war to the palaces.

Japan and America in the Pacific

By JACK WEBER

THE JAPANESE face a momentous decision in their imperialist looting of the Far East. Shall they begin their long-awaited expansion southwards or is the time not yet opportune? The notorious Tanaka memorandum to the Mikado set forth the innermost urges of Japanese capitalism and laid down a long-range plan of conquest. Manchuria was to be the first victim, to be seized, if necessary,

even at the risk of war with Soviet Russia. In the course of this war, if it occurred, the Maritime Provinces of Siberia were to become the next prey. From Manchuria, Japan would then proceed at its leisure to swallow up all of China. But the ambitions of nationalist imperialism, of whatever country, are boundless. Hence after landing China in her net, Japan would then fish in the troubled waters of the

South Pacific. Faithfully the militarists of Nippon have adhered to this plan. Their intention is clear. The "New Order" in Asia, the Monroe Doctrine of the Far East, means complete domination by Japan and the ousting of all rivals.

The present situation seems as if created by destiny for the fulfillment of Japanese aims. With the European imperialists bleeding each other to death, the coast is left clear for Japanese capitalism. The tremendous strain on her economic and human resources entailed by the invasion of China, did not deter Japan from seizing Hainan Island, which dominates the coast of Indo-China, with the obvious purpose of making ready to oust France at the earliest opportunity. England is engaged in a life and death struggle in which her entire empire is at stake. The English imperialists are completely helpless to counter any blow delivered against their interests by the Japanese in the Far East. So the latter have succeeded in all but taking Hongkong, which has been made more or less useless as a naval base by the disposition of Japanese forces around it. Now comes the seizure of Holland by Germany which leaves the most important equatorial country in the world, the largest insular empire, the Dutch East Indies, suspended, politically speaking, in mid-air. The temptation for the unappeasable appetites of the expansionists—on both sides of the Pacific—may be gauged by a brief survey of these islands.

Economic Importance of East Indies

Dutch Borneo alone is as large as France and it is less than one-third the total area of the islands. Sumatra is larger than California. The eight million Dutch in Holland ruled over sixty-five million slaves in the East Indies, of whom forty million inhabit the Island of Java, perhaps the most densely populated country in the world. The economic importance of the East Indies has risen by leaps and bounds in the twentieth century. Besides their status in supplying sugar and rubber, these isles produce 95% of the world's quinine, 50% of its tobacco, 20% of its tin, 10% of its petroleum, 50% of the world's coconut oil, 70% of its pepper, 60% of its sisal. Add to these products, rice, tea, coffee, iron, silver, gold, teakwood, ebony, sandalwood—and one begins to understand the stakes of imperialism in this one section of the Pacific area alone. The Dutch had over four billion florins invested in this portion of their empire and they squeezed each year half a billion florins of profit (at an average rate well over twenty percent) out of their Indonesian slaves. The Netherlands received a yearly tribute of some one hundred and fifty millions of dollars from the Dutch East Indies.

But the problem of these islands of the Malayan Archipelago is bound up with all the economic and strategic problems of the Pacific. Once the East Indies are in the hands of the Japanese, the innumerable islands that dot the South Pacific would pass under Japanese control one after the other. The Philippines, also part of the Malay Archipelago, would be flanked on both sides and could be taken at will. From the Dutch East Indies the way would be open for an assault on the entire British Empire in the East. The great naval base at Singapore lies at the eastern end of the long Strait of Malacca between the English Straits Settlement

and the Dutch Sumatra. At Malacca and Sunda Strait (between Sumatar and Java) all the trade routes from East to West converge, the routes from India, from all of East Africa, from Australia, from the China Seas, Japan and Malaya. Here the English built Singapore to defend their colonial loot, including Hongkong, Malaya and, more distantly, Australia. In a world of capitalist robbery and exploitation, the fate of Singapore determines the fate of Malaya first of all. Acre for acre British Malaya is the richest English possession on the face of the globe. Its annual foreign trade is over one-half billion dollars. It produces half the world's rubber, a third of its tin. Japan takes a million tons of iron ore a year from this possession. In all these islands of the Pacific and on the mainland of Asia, Japan seeks raw materials and also a vast market for cotton goods. No wonder the Japanese imperialists covet the Dutch East Indies! They would be a cornerstone for an empire in the South Pacific to include all of the Malay Archipelago, British Malaya—and at a later stage, Australia and India!

Japanese Imperial Ambitions

It was the first World War that set Japan on her path of empire in China. In 1913, just before that war broke out, Edward Grey bargained with Ambassador Kato for Japanese support in the coming struggle. The price demanded by Kato so alarmed Grey that he did his best to prevent Japan from entering the war at all. But in the end he was forced to give Japan a free hand in China. In the second World War Japan need no longer seek British support. On the contrary the Mikado is on the other side of the fence threatening to cut off vast slices of the French and British empires. In the period between the two wars, England prepared to defend her colonial loot by building tremendous naval bases at Colombo, Singapore and Hongkong. But these bases cannot be manned by the English fleet which is entirely occupied in the Atlantic. In the first World War, England paid a price for assigning to Japan the defense of her empire in the East. Since the break with Japan, England has had to seek new political alliances to try to find a new defender for her empire in the Pacific. Naturally she turned to the United States. The more Japan encroached on the mainland of Asia, elbowing aside all competitors, the closer England and the United States were driven on the world arena. Thus when Singapore base was formally opened in January, 1938, the only other country invited to participate was the United States. Three American cruisers not only participated in the exercises but, following them, in joint maneuvers with the British forces in the Pacific under British command. Shortly afterwards it was stated openly in the House of Commons that in the event of war England would "lease" her bases in the East to the United States.

This is one of the prices necessarily demanded by the United States for aid to the British Empire. It is the entire situation in the stormy Pacific that determines the major policies of American imperialism. For generations the United States had cast its eyes towards China and the East, preparing to lay the foundations of empire across the Pacific. Now, when more than ever before, the country with the

greatest forces of production in the world seeks more outlets, when these forces clamor for expanded markets and fields for investment, the American capitalists see themselves frustrated by Japan. Short of actual war, United States diplomacy has done everything possible to hinder and thwart the Japanese. In the most recent period loans and supplies have gone to Chiang Kai-shek to encourage his resistance to the Japanese war lords. The cancellation of the trade agreement was a clear threat of a complete embargo against any trade with Japan. So largely dependent is Japan on this country for her raw materials and for her markets, that such an embargo would tend to strangle Japanese economy. For that very reason it would result in the briefest time in open hostilities.

American and Japanese Rivalry

The preparations for the coming war in the Pacific have made of that ocean a tremendous battlefield. Feverishly the United States prepares defenses along the route over which it expects to transport men and supplies. The Pacific is now dotted with airplane bases, including Midway and Wake Islands on the direct route to Japan and to the Philippines. The myth of Philippine independence will be quickly dispelled the moment hostilities commence. The discussion over the fortification of Guam has to do not in the slightest with any opposition to the oncoming war, but with a difference in judgment as to whether Japan would permit its fortifying without at once acting to seize it as well as the Philippines, or as to whether once fortified, it could be defended from attack. The Panama Canal has vast strategic importance for war purposes. Hence the vast sums allocated to its defense. But since Panama cannot be safely used to pass through battleships of forty-five thousand tons, shortly to become commonplace, preparations are under way for building a new and wider canal through Nicaragua.

But as was stated, the United States lacks the greatest essential of all to conduct war against Japan for the conquest of vast spoils. In the Far East she has no main bases without which a navy would be helpless. Because England needs United States help in Europe, as well as in Asia, Singapore, perhaps Hongkong, may go to the United States. For that very reason Japan would like to seize these bases before they can fall into the hands of America. The temptation for her to swallow the Dutch East Indies is therefore all the greater. Fearful that Japan would act in Blitzkrieg fashion with respect to this rich plum, Roosevelt dispatched the entire fleet post-haste to Hawaii, and perhaps also to Guam, to act as a Pacific Maginot Line against any Japanese fleet movement. It seems fairly certain that war will result in this fundamental imperialist clash of interests if either fleet moves towards seizure of the Dutch eastern empire. Perhaps the only declaration of war will have been Hull's warning to Japan to keep hands off.

Stalin's Role

The United States has made little pretense of being neutral in the second imperialist World War. Her imperialist stakes in the Pacific bring her temporarily together with England on the world arena. For that reason Germany,

anxious lest America enter the European struggle quickly and weigh the scales in favor of the Allies, encourages Japan to take the Dutch East Indies. That would keep America too busy to exert a preponderant influence in Europe. Hitler has also attempted to act as the broker between Russia and Japan. Stalin would not mind seeing Japan involved in war with the United States since Japan could not then attack Siberia. It is an interesting speculation whether Stalin would not try to play the same role in a war of the Pacific that he played in Europe; namely, giving Japan assurance of benevolent neutrality. Certainly without such assurance the Japanese militarists would hesitate to become involved in war with the United States. The war in China has tended also to exhaust Japan economically. It is doubtful therefore whether the Mikado's generals would dare to take the risk of immediate war by trying to annex the Dutch East Indies, considering that the United States will probably not now take the initiative for such annexation herself. The situation may thus develop a temporary "stalemate" as on the Western Front before the "real" war opened.

What then of the Dutch East Indies? There is one factor that the imperialists do not take into account: the natives of the Indies. A strong many-millioned nationalist movement exists in the Dutch colonies. Just after the first World War this movement was not only proletarian in composition, but it was in close alliance with the communist movement. A communist party was organized in Java in 1919, before that of the United States. In January of 1927 there occurred an uprising under the leadership of the Red Proletarian League. The revolt was put down with bloody suppression and several hundred leaders were deported to the wilderness in New Guinea. Since then the nationalist movement has taken the road of reformism. It is, however, closely in touch with the Hindu nationalist movement, sending delegates to the Hindu Congress. It was closely in touch with the Chinese nationalist movement in the revolutionary phase of its development. The first World War saw the tremendous growth of the East Indian nationalist movement. The second World War will have a similar influence, particularly in view of the threat made by both Japan and America to establish domination over these colonies in place of the Dutch. It is to be expected that the compact population of Java (with as many people as England or France) with a proletariat, fearfully exploited, organized into trade unions of considerable power, and with a nationalist movement one wing of which demands complete independence, will not remain quiescent under new threats of enslavement. A movement towards independence, for throwing off the imperialist yoke, in any section of the Far East, will have profound repercussions everywhere else in the colonies. This is the factor that the imperialists will have to take into account before their war for spoils is over. The imperialists who hope to profit in the break-up of English, French, Dutch empires, will have first of all to prolong their war into one of suppression of vast colonial revolts. This will be no easy task, particularly if the working class movement at home revives in one or more of the great capitalist countries in Europe, or in the United States. A revolt in the colonies would aid in bringing such a revival, particularly in the defeated imperialist countries.

The Unions and Politics

By FARRELL DOBBS

SEATED ON ONE SIDE of the conference table are worker representatives of a trade union. Handicapped by lack of academic training, laboriously computing figures with the stub of a pencil, they make their arguments for higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions. They must depend almost entirely upon their own personal experiences and observations for the facts which support their arguments.

They know what they have to pay the landlord, the grocer, the clothiers for the necessities of life. And how hard it is to make ends meet on the wages they are getting. They know the haunting fear of unemployment. But their knowledge of economic trends beyond the scope of their own direct experiences is more or less limited.

Seated across the table are the employers and their skilled aids—trained lawyers, accountants, statisticians. Better educated than the workers, well informed on local, regional and national economic conditions, they argue glibly, using a slide-rule instead of the worker's pencil stub and paper. They are armed with imposing statistics obtained through the service of the employers' vast national organizations created to combat labor. All the tested methods of beating down the workers have been previously studied by them. They juggle the figures to support their claim that they have lost money since the first day that the business was launched. They hold the workers responsible for conditions elsewhere. The workers cannot ask for a raise in a St. Louis plant they contend because the employer is already paying more than is received by the workers in a similar plant in Birmingham, Alabama or even in Bombay, India.

The workers know that if they are forced to go on strike they will have to depend largely on their own resourcefulness to find means of subsistence. They are aware of the fact that many other trade unionists will make every possible effort to aid them. But experience has also shown that the trade union movement has not found a way to gear itself to present a solid front in these strike struggles against the employers.

The boss, on the other hand, is assured in advance not only of the solid support of the boss class itself, but also of the police and the lackeys of the employers in the apparatus of government. He will eat regularly while the government does his fighting for him. If he is a big boss he may hire his own private thugs to help. If he is a little boss he will merely hire scabs to do the work and leave the rough stuff in exclusive charge of the police.

The foregoing is symbolic of the relative position of the workers and the employers in the day to day class struggle. Sometimes the workers are at less disadvantage. Again, they may be under even greater handicaps. Taken in its entirety, this is an accurate reflection of the relation of forces.

In general the bosses are much better prepared than the workers in employer-union conflicts. The reasons do not

lie in any inherent weakness in the working class. Actually the workers are much more powerful than the bosses. The weakness of the workers lies in a leadership which has failed to recognize the class struggle in its real significance and to prepare the fight accordingly. To put it more accurately, the official trade union leadership has subordinated itself to the leadership of the political agents of the employers.

Beginning with the vast majority of the national leaders of the trade unions, reaching far down into the secondary stratum of the union leadership and including a section of the more privileged trade union membership, there exists a portion of the working class which looks with favor upon the system of individual enterprise. Compared with the conditions of the many poorly-paid and unemployed workers, they find themselves in fairly comfortable circumstances. They see a bright side to things as they are. They are capable of viewing social and economic problems from the general point of view of the employers. Sincerely deploring the plight of the less-fortunate workers, they are mentally incapable of taking decisive action to aid them. They decline to risk their own privileged position in the interests of this struggle.

The employers, understanding this, have pursued a conscious policy of nurturing a contented section in the official trade union movement. There are comparatively few communities in the country, including the smallest, that do not have a trade union group, based on the relatively better-paid skilled workers, which enjoys very good relations with the local Chamber of Commerce. These groups extend themselves into the gradually thinning ranks of the small minorities of skilled workers in the mass production industries.

AF of L Policy

The American Federation of Labor was built up into a substantial national organization primarily on this foundation. Its officialdom is dominated by those whose ideology and outlook is that of the individual who enjoys a certain degree of comfort and who therefore finds no serious fault with the present social structure.

This leadership continually reminds the workers that they "must learn to crawl before they can walk." Main emphasis is placed on lobbying for "liberal" legislation as a means of struggle for improved wages and working conditions. Direct struggles against the employers through strike actions are subordinated to this program and, in general, discouraged if not sabotaged.

The traditional political policy of the AFL in promoting favorable legislation is to reward political "friends" and punish political "enemies"—by votes. The term "friends" does not mean representatives of the workers. The "friends"

do not always vote for the bills endorsed by the unions. They are considered "friendly" if they vote for the majority of them.

The AFL officialdom rejects independent working class political action. They advise the workers to confine themselves solely to trade union activity and let the bosses organize the political parties and run the government. The "friends" may be Republicans, Democrats or so-called "Independents."

Now that the mass production workers have broken the strangle-hold of the craft unions and have successfully established their industrial unions, a new pressure has developed on the political front. The bosses have few crumbs to offer to these great layers of the working class. The membership of the industrial unions find themselves in constant conflict with the bosses. They have the grave problems of low wages, poor housing, unemployment, industrial diseases in the most aggravated form. They are little impressed by the time-worn dictum about the "long road" to the realization of their aims. Especially when those "aims" are only a few cents more an hour or a few hours less work per week. There is little satisfaction in "progressing" from starvation to mere malnutrition. They want action. And on the political as well as the economic front.

CIO and Labor's Non-Partisan League

The leadership of the Congress of Industrial Organizations pretended to give the industrial workers a vehicle for independent working class political action through Labor's Non-Partisan League. But it is only a pretense. The LNPL is not an independent working-class political party. It is nothing but a new method of applying the hoary AFL "reward your friends and punish your enemies" policy.

A typical example of the policies of the LNPL is found in the record of the *Labor Voter*, a publication issued by the LNPL of Illinois. This publication was launched during the 1936 presidential campaign. Seven issues appeared, giving unqualified endorsement and support to Roosevelt and the New Deal. Publication was then suspended for a period of two years. It was revived again during the 1938 election campaign with the publication of issue No. 8. This time the paper endorsed 94 Democrats and 33 Republicans for seats in the United States Congress and the Illinois legislature. The publication was again suspended.

An examination of the record does not speak well for these political "friends" who are backed by the officialdom of the AFL and CIO. Few workers can remember a time when one of these "friends" appeared before a union meeting to urge the workers to go on strike and use their economic power in the struggle for their rights. But many workers can recall incidents where the "friends" have gone before meetings of the workers urging them not to go on strike, or to call off a strike already in progress, to say nothing about statements issued by them against the workers. They have many, many times helped the bosses to cram an unfair contract down the workers' throats or to force the workers to accept an insincere boss promise and no contract at all.

When the time comes for a show-down these "friends" of labor show that their real allegiance is to the bosses. Their promises to the workers were not made in good faith.

In fact, the record shows that the policy of supporting "friendly" politicians is in reality a matter of supporting those who are *least hostile*.

Some of the most serious defeats have been suffered where the unions depended on "friendly" government officials instead of militant class struggle policy. For example, in Little Steel, the CIO workers got a large scale demonstration of betrayal by the very people they had worked so hard to elect into posts in the government.

When a politician takes a more or less bold course in opposition to the workers or piles up too long a record of anti-labor actions the workers turn sharply against him. The alibi-artists in the trade union movement find it difficult to apologize for him and sometimes he does not survive the next election.

However, he is replaced not by a workers' representative, but by another slick politician who is also subservient to the bosses. He, too, is palmed off on the workers as their "friend." The union leadership must be put on record as approving or disapproving *all* action of these "friendly" politicians. Nothing must remain unmentioned or covered up.

They will try to evade this responsibility, claiming that there is danger of embarrassing the "friends" and risking the election of "enemies." The workers must insist upon an end to such "friends" and the election of government officials from the workers' ranks by the workers' own party.

The workers do not elect bosses or boss stooges to lead the unions. Such an action would be patently foolish. It is done only in company unions. It is just as ridiculous for them to elect such people to political office. The theory that the workers are not capable of governing themselves is false to the core. Unthinking people in the trade unions who repeat this prevarication do an injustice to their class. Every worker who has participated in trade union life knows that the working class has a tremendous capacity for efficient administration.

Those parties which have represented themselves as labor parties are only substitutes for the real article. They confine themselves to competition for political posts of the lower rank. They do not seriously challenge the boss' political parties for the key positions in the government. Occasionally they elect a mayor; very rarely a governor or a congressman. They avoid putting up workers as candidates. Lawyers, drug store proprietors and professional politicians have been more popular with them as standard bearers. They buckle under just like the Republicans and the Democrats when the bosses really turn on the heat.

For an Independent Labor Party

An independent labor party, sponsored and launched by the trade unions, will represent the political power, not only of the organized workers, but also of a broad strata of the unorganized industrial and agricultural workers who will give it their support.

Farmers, small merchants, professional people and other middle-class elements will also in large numbers follow the independent political leadership of a dynamic working class as opposed to the present leadership of a decaying boss class.

Class collaborationist leaders of the workers have been,

and will continue to be, in political offices as timid before the bosses as they are in the unions. The independent labor party will no doubt elect to political office, among others, many class collaborationists. Their performance in office will help show them up in their true colors before the eyes of the workers. They can thus be compelled to change their policies or be eliminated entirely from leadership in the working class movement in any capacity.

The class conscious working class leaders will fight as

militantly in political office for the rights of the workers as they do in the unions. They will give a new meaning to the struggle of the workers for their rights. The workers will find powerful new weapons at their command.

The electing of workers' representatives to political offices will surely not solve the basic problems of the working class. But when the workers begin to participate in politics as a class, through an independent party of their own, they will have taken a long step forward toward their goal.

African Slaves of Imperialism

By SP

THE NEGRO in the United States knows little about the Bantu in South Africa, but the Bantu knows still less about his black brother in the New World. There are many reasons for this. The South African natives are, incredible as it may sound, much more oppressed than the American Negroes. There is no daily press in the native language, and even if there were, only a tiny minority could afford to buy it, and not many more could read it, for education is deliberately denied to a great majority of the Bantu. The backwardness of life in the Reserves (the so-called native territories) is artificially maintained, the conditions in the mine compounds are prison conditions, and the black workers on the white men's farms are slaves in all but name. And in any case all the information about the American Negro that the Bantu gets in "his" weeklies (all of course belonging to an imperialist publishing concern) is about the successes of Joe Louis or Paul Robeson, with an occasional article in this strain:

"Within forty-five years of his emancipation he had risen to the highest level that America could afford its inhabitants. Negro development is now at par with that of other sections of the American community."

The problems confronting the Negro in the States and the Bantu in South Africa are the same. Compare the urbanised Bantu to the lowest strata of the Negro in the North, and the rural Bantu to the Negro in the South, and you have the essence of these problems.

Let us look first of all at the statistical aspect of the Bantu problem. The latest census of 1936 gives the population of the Union of South Africa as 9,588,665, made up of 6,597,241 Bantu, 2,003,512 Europeans, 767,984 mixed Colored, and 219,928 Asiatics. Of the Europeans 1,307,000 live in urban areas and 696,000 in rural areas. Of the Bantu 1,150,000 live in urban areas (town locations) and 5,448,000 in rural areas. (The scope of this article does not permit us to deal with the other non-Europeans.) If we consider the million urban Bantu as permanent or casual workers, domestic servants and some petty-bourgeois, we are left with nearly 5½ million peasants. But most of these peasants are without land. According to statistics 3 million of them are crammed into the Reserves, and the remainder are altogether landless, living as farm laborers, labor tenants and squatters on the European-owned farms. The actual position becomes clear when we place beside these figures the corresponding distribution of land. Out of the

total area of 143 million morgen* the Europeans have seized 126 million, and the Bantu are left with 17 million, which is partly individual property and partly in communal tribal ownership. While the density of the rural population in the Union is 14.07 per square mile, in the Transkei (Reserves) it is 71.46 per square mile. Today the Reserves are denuded territories in which only the women, children and old people live, because at any one time 60 per cent of all able-bodied men are absent, either in the mines or on the farms of the white men. The Reserves export only one commodity—labor power.

Comparison: Bantu and Negro in South

The Negro reader will find nothing new in an article on the struggles of the Bantu. He need only turn to his South to find all the familiar features—slavery, peonage, segregation, color barriers, and terror against the blacks. In both countries the life of a black man is worth next to nothing. The periodical lynchings may attract more attention and arouse more "liberal" indignation than the periodical shootings in South Africa, but there is no essential difference between them. They arise from the same cause—the black man's helpless position; they are both intended to teach the "Nigger" or the "Kaffir" where his place is; and in both cases the results are the same—the black man loses his life, and the white assailant escapes with a fine of a few dollars or a few pounds. Class justice is class justice, whether it is in Alabama or in Vereeniging. Aren't they both democratic states? Haven't we the same western capitalist civilization?

Slavery is supposed to have been abolished in South Africa as far back as 1834. But it still exists, though it is not becoming to say so, as the Speaker in Parliament remarked. You may call it "*adscripti glebae*." It doesn't sound so bad. But in spite of the industrial revolution that has taken place since the Great Trek, in spite of the discovery of gold and diamonds, in spite of the Boer War, in which feudalism was defeated by capitalism, the Voortrekker who refused to accept the Abolition of Slavery Act of 1834 is still the major force confronting the Bantu in South Africa. The gigantic centenary celebrations of the Voortrekkers, lasting a whole year (1938), show how the decaying, cowardly capitalism of the 20th century is ready, here as else-

*A morgen is equivalent to 2 1/9 English acres.

where, for any foul compromise with feudalism at the expense of the exploited and oppressed.

Policy of Segregation

The history of South Africa since 1834 is the history of struggles and rotten compromises between capitalism and feudalism, in which the Bantu were invariably the pawns, for the struggles centered chiefly around the question of cheap native labor. It may be briefly characterized as the history of Segregation. The question of Segregation, more than any other question, has dominated the political arena and exercised the ingenuity of white South Africa. The term has various meanings, depending on the economic interests of the several social strata of the population. Some would like to have it both ways, to have their cake and eat it; they would like to have a "pure white South Africa" and at the same time to live on the labor of the black man.

It is from the university professors and students, from the poor whites and from the predicants (clergymen of the Dutch Reformed Church) that the cry comes for complete segregation—"South Africa must be made safe forever as a white man's country." It is those who do not live *directly* on the profits and super-profits derived from native labor who are demanding that the Bantu be completely segregated, driven out of the country somewhere, north to the Kalahari Desert, where he could "lead his own life and work out his own destiny"! The South African Labour Party, the party of the white labor aristocracy, joins the Stellenbosch professors in this demand for complete segregation, or complete separation, as the party program puts it. The idea has also taken root in certain sections of the Bantu intelligentsia as a logical reaction to the "total absence of any community of interest between black and white."

On the other hand the industrial capitalists, who need a free labor force and a developed internal market, are opposed to the extension of segregation beyond the social sphere. A white South Africa is all very well, but it must not interfere with the supply of cheap native labor and the accumulation of super-profits.

Midway between these two is the feudal class of the white landowners, who would like to have it both ways. The white farmer hates the Bantu with the hatred of the slave-owner for the slave. He hates his presence on the land, reminding him always of who is the rightful owner. And because he knows that the hatred is mutual, he fears the Bantu. He therefore concentrates all his activities on devising ways and means to keep the "Kaffir" in his place, to perpetuate and ensure the enslavement of the Bantu. The legislation of South Africa since the Union was founded in 1910, and especially during the last five years, the reign of the Fusion Government,* marks the victory of these feudal landowners, and the capitulation of capitalism in *this sphere*, or what Hertzog called the "final solution of the native question in South Africa."

If the extreme segregation policy of the Stellenbosch professors, the predicants of the Dutch Reformed Church, the white Labour Party, etc., has not been adopted, it is not be-

cause the majority of the white ruling class think it too extreme—they have no moral objections to the policy of complete extermination adopted by the conquistadors 300 years ago—but because it is utopian, because life proves it to be impossible. They hate the natives, but they must have him. Without him they cannot work the fields and orchards, the mines and factories. This cheap native labor—it costs next to nothing!—is the foundation of the whole of South African agriculture, the whole of the mining industry (the personnel includes only 10 percent of whites, who are employed as supervisors and skilled workers), 60 percent of industry and 40 percent of transport. Can the capitalists and landowners think of complete segregation when 400,000 native miners receive three-quarters of the amount paid to 47,000 European miners, when some farmers pay a native laborer *three shillings per month*, and ten shillings per month is considered by them to be a decent wage, worth boasting about in Parliament?

Break-up of Bantu Tribal System

The first invaders could not be satisfied with defeating the Bantu, robbing him of his land and pushing him further north into Reserves, but had to subjugate and enslave him, and compel him to work the land for the benefit of the conquerors. The following generations had to pursue more and more this policy of enslavement to secure cheap native labor, for presently a powerful competitor came into the field. The discovery of diamonds and gold, and the industrial revolution which followed it, the development of railway transport, of coal mining and engineering, upset the pastoral-agricultural economy of South Africa. The resulting rush from the country to the fast-growing towns, and the ever-growing and insatiable demand for cheap native labor threatened the very existence of the white landowners, who until then had been the sole masters and employers of Bantu slave and serf labor. The farmers came into conflict with the mining and industrial capitalists, with whom they have ever since been struggling for control of native labor. The Bantu could no longer be enticed to the farms by the pretense of satisfying his hunger for land, and so other methods had to be adopted to teach him the "dignity of labor." Taxation proved the most successful, and this was strongly supplemented by the forcing of industrial products on the natives, and by a mighty recruiting system to eliminate individual competition and prevent wages from rising. The results were highly successful for imperialism and the land-owning class. The ruling classes became richer; their standard of living rose higher and higher. On the other hand it resulted in a breaking up of the old Bantu life. The tribal system with all the old Bantu traditions and customs (good and bad) has disintegrated. The Bantu has been uprooted from his old tribal and family life, from his economy, without receiving in compensation any of the benefits of the so-called European system and civilization.

The fast breaking up of tribal life, and the increasing migration of the Bantu from the Reserves and the farms to the towns alarmed the slave-owners. At all costs must the Bantu be kept in subjection and slavery and ignorance. At all costs must he be excluded from town life, from European civilization, from knowledge of the class struggle,

*The Fusion Government resulted from an alliance between the old Nationalist Party, led by the then Prime Minister, General Hertzog, and the South African Party, led by the present Prime Minister, General Smuts. The Nationalist Party represented the interests of the feudal landowners, while the South African Party represented chiefly the interests of the Chamber of Mines, that is, British Imperialism.

from destructive Communism. Back to tribalism, back to the Reserves and farms, to "develop on his own lines." This became the battle cry of the landowners. Segregation acquired a new meaning.

Hertzog's Native Policy

Fusion represented a victory for the landowners on the question of native policy. Hertzog had his native Bills ready as early as 1925, but he had to wait for ten years before Fusion gave him the opportunity to see them through. The legislation that was passed during the last four years was not only the crowning of Hertzog's career (he was rightly celebrated and hailed by the ruling classes as the saviour of white South Africa, the guardian of white civilization), but it also dealt a shattering blow to the old Bantu organizations and leaders, who were leaning on the imperialists and the liberals, and relying on their promises of gradual reforms through the enlightenment of white public opinion. At the same time the attempted resistance of the "left" groupings and the All-African Convention was frustrated by the Stalinists, who at that time were desperately clinging to the People's Front with the white liberals and the white chauvinistic Labour Party—that same party which complained that Hertzog's Bills did not go far enough.

Hertzog's native policy, which was adopted by Parliament almost without opposition, is embodied in his Native Acts and rests on four corner stones: (1) political segregation, (2) territorial segregation, (3) economic and social segregation, and (4) educational segregation. The first three are secured by the three Acts, the fourth by an administrative measure.

Native Representation Act Destroys Political Rights of Bantu

The purpose of the Native Representation Act was to deprive the Bantu of the last vestiges of political rights that he still enjoyed in the Cape Province from the time when this was a Crown Colony. It is not only the Negro in the States who has a North and a South. Until recently the Bantu also had such a division, although perhaps it was not so sharply defined. Only here the South was the liberal, the North (Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal) the reactionary section. When the four provinces were united to form the Union of South Africa, the more "liberal" policy of the Cape had to give way to the undisguisedly brutal Native policy of the old Boer Republics. At least the theoretical principle of Rhodes—equality for all "civilized" men south of the Equator—came into conflict with the principle of the Boer Republics: "no equality between white and black in State and Church." Still, up until 1936 the Bantu in the Cape enjoyed some political rights, even if these rights were illusory. He had the right to vote for Parliament and the Provincial Council, provided he had certain educational and property qualifications. But such was the oppression under which the Bantu suffered that out of one and three-quarters million natives only 10,700 had the vote. Yet these 10,700 votes exercised a certain influence in ten or twelve constituencies, and moreover they were a source of inspiration and hope for the Bantu in the

other provinces. In addition to the franchise there was the *right* to buy land, to occupation of property in the towns, etc. It was these rights, together with the resistance of the Municipalities, that wrecked the old Land Act of 1913 and the old Urban Areas Act, and prevented the application of the Pass Laws to the Cape. No uniform segregation policy could be adopted as long as these rights and privileges remained. They had to be removed first, and they were removed by the first of Hertzog's measures, the Native Representation Act, which disfranchised the Bantu in the Cape, giving him instead indirect representation by three Europeans in the lower house and one in the upper house. The natives in the rest of the Union were given three European representatives in the upper house, one for each province. With the fall of this last bastion of the liberal Cape it was then easy to put through the Land Act, the Native Laws Amendment Act, etc. Segregation was complete. No loophole remained by which the Bantu could escape.

The idea behind this policy of "trusteeship" is simple. The Bantu must remain forever a minor. This can be achieved if he is outside of the law, if as a minor he has no political rights, if he has no other means of livelihood except by administering to the needs of the white man, and if he receives an education that is suitable only for a servant. Naturally "he must develop along his own lines," that is, he must live as little as possible in the towns, where he might be "transformed into a black proletariat" (!), where he might come into contact with dangerous subversive elements and acquire habits alien to a Bantu civilization. The old "beautiful" Bantu customs, the authority of the chiefs in tribal life, must be given full scope—to develop his own Bantu culture!

Bantu Driven from Land and Towns to Reserves

To this end it was imperative that the Bantu should be deprived of all rights and placed as a minor outside the ordinary law of the land. The Representation Act did this. It was necessary to drive all the Bantu still living on the land of their fathers as labor-tenants and squatters off this land. This was done by the Land Act, which provides (a) for a limitation in the number of labor-tenants (no more than five to a farm), with written contracts and fees to be paid for each, (b) for such a prohibitive tax on squatters that in a few years they must disappear, and (c) for an increase in the amount of free labor given by the tenant to the farmer from 90 days in the year to 180 days. The effect of these provisions will be that only laborers will be left on the farms, for when the squatters and labor-tenants who are smoked out from the farms go to the Reserves, they will discover that there is no new land for them. Hunger and taxation will do the rest, and they will be willing to go back to any farmer, even if it is only for a little mealie pap (corn).

The third Act completes the process by driving the Bantu out of the towns and into the Reserves. It gives the Minister for Native Affairs the power to proclaim any town a closed area. The municipality must inform the Native Affairs Department of the number of natives it requires. No native may live in town except on premises where accom-

modation is provided for him by his master. No native may live in a town location (the usual place where Bantu live) unless he ministers to the white man's needs. As soon as he loses employment he becomes in the eyes of the law an excess native, who must be "repatriated" back to the Reserves, even if he was born in the town.

Thus in a nutshell the meaning of this segregation policy is to turn back the stream of the natives from the land to the towns, and to transform the Reserves into a huge central recruiting reservoir and distributing center for native labor, with a quota for the towns, a quota for the mines, and the balance for the farms. The pass system, which requires the Bantu to carry on his person a poll-tax receipt, a certificate of labor or contract pass, an exemption pass, besides various special passes allowing him to travel, to be out at night, to work as a casual laborer, etc., will make it impossible for him to choose freely between town labor and farm labor. And the taxation system, which today results in 70,000 natives a year being sent to jail, together with the "modification" of the prison system, will complete the development of the Bantu "on his own lines."

Bantu Misleaders, Reformists and Stalinists Smash Militancy

The question will surely be put: Was there no opposition on the part of the Bantu, no support for them on the part of the white workers? At first a strong opposition movement developed among the Bantu masses in the urban areas and in the territories. The All-African Convention that came into being as a result of this movement was in its first session militant, full of will power, unanimity and decisiveness. But by left phraseology and fiery promises to "fight," the old Bantu misleaders managed to get a mandate from the delegates. And their "fight" consisted in negotiating behind the scenes for some crumbs, which they would show to the next conference as evidence of what they had done for the people. In the meantime they worked hard to sidetrack and break the Convention, which was menacing their own moribund organizations and challenging their leadership. With the help of the old traitors of the working class (the Kadalies and Champions) and the new traitors (the Stalinists) they succeeded in breaking up the All-African Convention.

The Government materially helped to break the opposition by offering a new bribe to the Bantu misleaders, and by holding out a bait for the land-hungry masses. They established a Native Representative Council, with advisory functions only, which was to meet once a year to listen to the Secretary for Native Affairs. This fine bribe was offered to 16 leaders, who got salaries and expenses for doing nothing, and for no responsibility whatsoever. But a much more audacious trick was performed with the bait for the masses—they were offered 7 1/4 million morgen of new land! And the poor landless Bantu did not realize, and does not realize even today, that the offer was a fake!

The Land Act of 1913 fixed the area of the native Reserves at 10,410,290 morgen. The Land Act of 1936 fixed the area at 17,660,290 morgen. Isn't it obviously an addition of 7 1/4 million? The swindle consists in this: the 1913 Act set down a minimum figure for the area of the

Reserves, and provided for the setting aside of additional land for native occupation at a later stage. The Government then hoped to evict the natives and reduce the area actually occupied by them to the 10 million figure. But the outcry and revolts that followed the evictions forced the Government to suspend the working of the Act, the more so as the first World War intervened and the assistance of the Bantu was needed. In 1916 the Beaumont Commission found 17,803,455 morgen of land in native occupation, and recommended to include 8,365,744 morgen in the Reserves, adding in its report: "it will be found that most of them (the 8 million morgen) are already occupied by natives and there is not much room for more." After the war another commission was appointed—the Provincial Commission—but it could not reduce the Beaumont Commission's proposals below 7,521,233 morgen. The Parliamentary Select Committees fared no better. And because these areas are already in native occupation, the Fusion Government decided to include them as land "still to be bought"! It began to dawn on the Bantu that the promise of new land was a fraud when at the Native Conferences the Government officials could not answer questions as to how much land was still *not* in native occupation. And when the officials produced a map the delegates found that in point of fact there was no new land. The conference was closed in confusion. Also in parliamentary speeches some undiplomatic members let slip the information that all the land is already in native possession.

Yet this fraud achieved its results for the ruling classes. At the most vital moment it took the wind out of the sails of the opposition. For when the All-African Convention was called upon to defend the Cape franchise, there was many a Bantu delegate who replied: "The Government is going to give us land, and we need the land more than the vote."

During the three years of agitation, conferences and meetings, when Hertzog's infamous native policy was receiving legislative sanction, the white workers gave no assistance, not even moral support, to those who were being crushed by their exploiters. The Labour Party gave its full and wholehearted cooperation to the slaveowners and imperialists. The trade unions remained silent. Only those who have no voice either in the political or the economic wing of the movement were sympathetic to the equally voiceless Bantu—the colored and the Indians.

The white worker in South Africa silently accepts the crumbs of super-profits derived from his brother worker with a black skin. The war will change all this.

However dark the present may be for the Negro and the Bantu, however heavy the chains that weigh down the black man both in the "New World" and in "the land of his birth," the time is not far distant when the black man, together with all the nationally oppressed colonial people and all the exploited workers, will smash his chains and take his destiny in his own hands, contributing his rightful share to the building of a new World Order. Today imperialism is waging another World War. It will be the last one. Tomorrow is ours. The awakening must come and will come. This time the united effort of the exploited workers with the enslaved colonial people will smash all the chains to achieve victory in socialism.

The American Telephone and Telegraph Co.

By C. CURTISS

A. T. & T., The Story of Industrial Conquest; by N. R. Daniëlian; Vanguard Press; New York. 460 pp.

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company receives more income a year than do Chile, Finland, Norway, Hungary and Yugoslavia combined. The largest single corporation in the country, it has a total capital of more than \$5,000,000,000; in 1929 it employed 454,000 workers. It operates between 80 and 90 per cent of the nation's telephone system; controls 222 vassal corporations, including Western Electric which produces 90 per cent of the world's telephone equipment; owns over 9,000 United States patents and is licensed for 6,725 more. But even more important in the eyes of the bourgeois world—since 1880 A T & T and its forerunners have never paid a dividend of less than \$7 a share, and since 1921, it has paid even through the lean years of the depression, \$2.25 each quarter with astronomical regularity.

The corporation began with a total investment of less than \$200,000 in 1878 and by a process of accumulation and centralization has reached the gigantic status of today.

Management and ownership are completely separated. Control is vested in the hands of a virtually self-perpetuating board of directors, paid huge salaries, while the stockholders' only function is to clip dividend coupons.

The A T & T boasts of the democracy of its ownership, of the widespread distribution of stock. However, the figures revealed by U.S. government investigators show us the following as of September 16, 1935:

No. of Shares	Total Stock-holders	Total Shares	% Stock-holders	% Shares
1-5	244,566	702,365	36.8	3.8
6-25	279,981	3,609,391	42.2	19.3
26-99	105,610	4,933,820	15.9	26.4
100-999	32,904	6,319,362	5.0	33.9
1,000-9,999	991	2,121,336	0.1	11.4
10,000 and over	43	975,601	negligible	5.2

These figures are eloquent testimony of the "democracy," of the modern corporation. Each stockholder of the group owning 10,000 or more shares owns more than 9,000 times as much stock as each shareholder of the 1-5 group. Less than 0.1 percent of the shareholders own more shares than do two-thirds.

The House of Morgan has dominated A T & T since 1907. Since that time, Morgan has sold \$1,500,000,000 worth of shares, yielding a banker's commission of nearly \$40,000,000 for this service. As a result of the connection with Morgan, the Company loaned \$20,000,000 to the Allies in 1916.

In order to escape income tax payments, unfavorable publicity, etc., various subterfuges are used that make even this picture a distortion of the facts, as the actual concentration is undoubtedly even greater than that shown.

Yet, it is true that A T & T is the most "democratic" of the large corporations. One can only guess at the distribution of ownership in the other corporations. Study of the income tax statistics show that less than .5% of the nation receive 75 to 80% of the corporate dividends.

The high dividend rates which so arouse capitalist admiration are not due to any miracle. The maintenance of the rate of profit through the depression years can only be explained by the intensification of labor, which is in the final analysis a form of cutting wages and raising hours. In 1937, business was above the 1929 levels, profits rose from \$116,000,000 to \$168,000,000, but the number of employees decreased by 134,000.

It scarcely need be added that A T & T actively opposes unionism through participation in the Special Conference Committee, a company union supported by 11 other giant corporations.

The modern corporation has made a wage slave of the scientist, the engineer and the inventor. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in the Bell Laboratories, where research is carried on in both experimental and applied science. The labor power of the scientist is bought and sold on the labor market, the scientist-proletarian punches the time clock, receives wages, while the product of his toil belongs to the capitalists who hire him. That product is patents, the ownership of which becomes part of the capital of the corporation to be used either directly by it, or leased to other capitalists for use in the production of profits.

A discovery in one field of science will often find uses in many others, sometimes far removed from its original aim. For example, De Forest's vacuum tube is useful not only in telegraphy, but in long distance telephony, in radio, television and sound pictures. By control of this patent, as with others, the Bell System finds itself a factor in industries far removed from telephones.

The control of patents, resulting from the work of the Bell Laboratories, the accumulation of large surplus funds demanding investment, the fear of competition, as for instance, from the radio, explains the constant tendency of A T & T to invade other fields, particularly those connected with its patents. Here they come into contact and clash with other industries. Competition is no longer a struggle for the customer, waged by a host of small concerns, but a war of giants to see who shall dominate a monopolized field. The chief instrument used in this war, besides finances, is the control of patents. It is a struggle, not mainly at the point of consumption, but in the laboratory.

Two groups are dominant in the electrical communications and manufacturing field: the telephone group composed of A T & T

and its subsidiaries; and the radio group, consisting of RCA, General Electric and Westinghouse, with the addition of some minor groups. (The telegraph companies are sinking into relative unimportance.) After a period of war between the groups a peace treaty was signed on July 1, 1926 delimiting the zones of monopoly of each, with an exchange of patents for use in those zones.

Telephony, both wire and wireless, with the exception of broadcasting went to the telephone group; telegraphy and radio broadcasting was allocated to the radio group. Telephone equipment manufacturing went to the telephone group, while radio and communication household equipment is the domain of the radio group. Wire television and facsimile process went to the telephone group, while radio television and facsimile went to the radio group.

The manufacture of radio transmission equipment is shared between the two.

The only "no man's land" in the agreement is sound movies. In this field intense warfare has raged. For a long time, the movie-goer could see on the "title page" of the talkie, only the trade mark "Western Electric Sound System" or "Western Electric Microphonic Recording." But the radio group did not leave unchallenged the domination of the Western Electric.

In order to bolster its position, the subsidiary of Western Electric, ERPI (Electrical Research Products, Incorporated) loaned money to studios and movie houses to aid them in placing Western Electric recording and reproducing equipment. Having loaned millions, the crash of 1929 found the A T & T taking over studios and theaters, becoming at one time the second most important financial interest in the movie industry.

The Bell interests were not successful in maintaining a monopoly in the sound motion picture field. In June, 1936, Warner Brothers, Fox Film, and Columbia Pictures installed RCA recording equipment in their studios to supplement Western Electric equipment.

Capitalist economy has run its course: Its end result is the gigantic monopoly, in which the capitalist is a useless parasite. Of what use are the owners of the corporations? The picture which Mr. Daniëlian draws of a single company, is to a great extent, true of all corporations and companies and American economy as a whole. The workers are exploited by these concerns; the consuming public is victimized through monopoly prices. Mr. Daniëlian, writing in the style of Ferdinand Lundberg does not draw any conclusions from his study as to the future of industry. The class conscious worker, will draw the only correct one: the necessity of the transition to socialism!

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