# Next Week: **Trotsky Memorial Issue**

Strikes In Britain -- See Page 3

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# THE MULITANT

Those working on board ship

men taking off deck-lashings and

technicians coming right aboard

course the continual bombing

raids from the German base in

Petsamo, less than a hundred

miles away. Although the Rus-

sians have every hill bristling

with anti-aircraft guns and an

airbase in Murmansk two-thirds of

level and incendiary bombs during

the month of June. Everyone who

the city was destroyed by high the new Fisher Body Tank

MOST OF CITY

DESTROYED

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# **DELEGATES DEMAND UAW RETREATS END**

# **Stalin Policy** Leads USSR **To Disaster**

#### By HENRY COLLINS

The Nazi armies continue to push relentlessly forward in the Caucasus and each day brings them closer to their objective of conquering the great Soviet oil fields and refineries supplying 80 percent of the fuel required for keeping a mechanized Red Army in the field. Red soldiers are yielding ground slowly, they are making the Germans pay a high price in men, tanks and planes; they are fighting with the same heroism that has characterized their resistance to Hitler's armies from the very beginning of the invasion. Yet the sombre fact is that these dauntless soldiers are yielding ground, they are retreating. Hitler is advancing closer to his goal.

The situation is desperate, so critical that it is beyond question that the great masses of the Soviet Union have comprehended its full significance. The Stalinist bureaucrats, who have bungled the military front, who have isolated the Soviet Union from the workers of the world and particularly from the German workers, can no longer conceal the stark truth from the masses, they can no longer hide behind the mountain of corpses the Russian workers have sacrificed to block Hitler's road.

With each passing month the Soviet population feels the economic inferiority of Soviet industry as compared with the German industrial plant which has since been augmented by the factories and plants of the occupied nations. It is not so much the scarcity of foodstuffs and consumers goods - the Russian workers have long been accustomed to pulling in their belts. It is above all at the front that inferiority of tanks, planes and guns cuts them like a sharp knife thrust into the groin.

#### **Supplies Only Trickle In**

Stalin promised the Russian soldiers that the big holes in war material would be filled in by aid coming from the United Nations, and once the industrial might of England and America, offered by Roosevelt and Churchill, were thrown onto the scales they would be tipped in favor of the Soviet Union. But as usual the promises were far more rosy than their fulfillment.

Moreover they were confronted with the problem of running the Nazi blockade lying athwart the northern supply lanes around the North Cape of Norway to Murmansk and Archangel. To protect the convoys against a combination of land-based Ger-

# No Ceiling On U.S. Seamen Praise Torpedoed Seamen **Boss Income** Soviet Workers

## Corporation Officers Workers Carry On In Spite of Terrific Pay Selves Big Sums Aerial Bombardment of Murmansk Port

Yet Deny Wage Rises Survivors of the Murmansk run arrived last Monday tell-In the midst of the clamor for ing stories of conditions in the Soviet Union. Those ships that managed to get through the German blockade go either to Mur-'equality of sacrifice" - directmansk or Archangel where they lay for a period of approximed exclusively towards the workately one month. Although many people estimate this an exers — comes the news that the steel trust executives are paying cessively long time it is nothing compared to the time wasted themselves fabulous salaries. It en route from the United States to the Northern Front in the appears that the gentlemen who Soviet Union.

fought the justified demand of Ships taking on an average | the Russians have on the front of twenty-one days to load in lines in an army sector. the steel workers for an increase of \$1 a day are doing very nicely the United States are discharg-

for themselves. ed in the Soviet Union in nine Eugene G. Grace, president of and one-half days time. Murthe Bethlehem Steel Corp., was paid a salary of \$537,724 for the mansk, which has never been year 1941, an increase of \$59,580 more than a frontier port lying over 1940. This represents a raise within the Arctic Circle, has of more than \$1000 a week, an adequate equipment for handamount which will certainly make ling cargo. Docks have tracks up for the rise in the cost of liv- on them; steamcranes are in

ing during the past year, and in evidence; and an electric railall likelihood, leave something road runs into the town itself. over. The workers of Bethlehem PRAISE RUSSIAN MORALE

Steel, who have to be satisfied Remnants of convoys arriving ammunition are discharged directwith a raise of only 44c a day in Murmansk carry with them ly into box cars and no sooner is for a long time according to the usually a large number of sur- | a car loaded than it begins to roll decision of the War Labor Board, vivors from ships sunk while to the front lines. will be glad to learn that at least running the blockade between some "employees" of Bethlehem North Cape and Bear Island. Few will be able to tide themselves American seamen will be found

over in the hard days ahead. who haven't the highest praise That Grace is no isolated examfor the spirit and morale of the ple among the steel executives Russian workers and soldiers. can be seen from the salaries paid Survivors are taken into camp in 1940 and 1941, which appear -those needing hospitalization in the accompaning table: are taken to hospitals where cases These figures show that 12 ex-

are serious. The majority of men ecutives, representing only 4 comliving in survivors camps were panies, received an average inspecially impressed by the concrease of \$28,850 a year for 1941, sideration shown them and the or more than \$500 a week. complete absence of any distinct

WANTS NO "TROUBLE" tion made among survivors. All Nor are these huge salaries

commented on the fact that in has been in Murmansk has comconfined to the steel executives. the Soviet Union all men are surmented upon the Russian ability Press reports' show that this is vivors regardless of position on to continue and even attempt to the rule in all war industries. board ship before it was sunk. All rebuild while under fire. riting in PM, Harold Lavine are accorded the same considerate Long ago practically the entir

Contribute to CRDC The Civil Rights Defense Committee announced this week that it had received contribution of \$34.00 collected from survivors of two mer chant ships which recently were torpedoed.

The seamen discussed the issues involved in the Minneapolis labor case, and the prosecution against the Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Local 544-CIO, on their trip home. Fourteen seamen made contributions toward an appeal of the convictions to the United States Supreme Court The appeal of the convictions is expected to be heard before the Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis in October, after which it will go before the U.S.

during discharge of cargo lauded the will of the Russian workers Supreme Court. The appeal will where everyone seems to engage test the constitutionality of the in the effort to get as many ships Smith "Gag" Act for the first discharged in the least possible time. Stories are told of longshoretime.

# **Overtime And Strike Weapon Are Key Convention Issues**

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Leaders Program of "Equal Sacrifice" Howled Down by Aroused Delegates

#### - BULLETIN -

Special to THE MILITANT

CHICAGO, Aug. 4.- A rank and file revolt swept the United Automobile Workers convention here today against the fraudulent "Equality of Sacrifice" program of the union officials which calls for the surrender of overtime pay for week-ends and holidays.

Stamping, shouting delegates forced the War Policy committee (headed by Addes, Reuther and Frankensteen) to withdraw a resolution endorsing the sacrifice of overtime pay. This was done in spite of the fact that the resolution included as a concession to the militant delegates complaints that the AFL and the employers were not complying with the "Equal Sacrifice" program, and a threat to end the agreement of the UAW to make sacrifices if the government does not enforce "sacrifices" universally.

Militant delegates denounced the surrender of the right to strike, overtime pay, and the general policy of retreat of the union officials, amid cheers. Rank and file spokesmen rose to demand a resolution calling for the immediate halt of the sacrifice of labor's rights.

Stalinist speakers who supported the committee's resolution were roundly booed by the delegates. Richard T. Frankensteen, International Board Member, was prevented for 20 minutes from speaking as delegates kept up a constant clamor for a vote in view of the prolonged debate that had already taken place. Three votes were taken on the committee's resolution, with each showing an obvious majority against the International officers' proposed resolution.

R. J. Thomas, UAW President, declared the vote "in doubt," but the protests of the delegates forced the committee to agree to withdraw the resolution for "amendment according to the sentiments of the delegates." The committee also agreed to bring in a resolution on the no-strike policy.

#### By ART PREIS (Special to THE MILITANT)

CHICAGO, August 3-Stormy sessions are in prospect for the Seventh Annual Convention of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers, CIO, which began its scheduled five days of deliberations here this morning in the

**Tank Strike** ships to start tanks and drive them over the side onto the docks without even bothering about hooking on with the ship's cargo gear. Percussion caps and fixed gear. Percussion caps and fixed **NLRB** VictoryFollows Militant Struggle by **CIO Auto Workers** Greatest handicap under which By JOHN THORNE he Russians are working is of

FLINT, Mich., Aug. 2. -

Notwithstanding wartime ob-

stacles the militancy of auto

workers won a week-long strike

against chain-gang discipline in

plant of General Motors, near

Flint, and topped it off by vot-

ing nearly 7 to 1 for the UAW-

Only by a demonstration of

CIO in an NLRB election.

man planes, submarines and combat ships, it would have been necessary for the allies to place a considerable section of their navies at the disposal of these convoys. That is, they had to be prepared to sacrifice an important section of their fleets to keep the supply lanes open. Facts have shown they were not at all inclined to make any such sacrifices - the largest proportion of merchant ships sunk in any sector have been those en route to Murmansk.

#### The Cry for a Second Front

Having failed so miserably to supply the Red Army with tanks and planes, Stalin once again turned to his dubious allies in the White House and on Downing Street, this time begging them to perform a much more unwelcome and difficult task than running convoys to Murmansk. Open a Second Front! In a most shameful wail the Stalinist bureaucracy is imploring the imperialists to open a second front to relieve the Red Army by diverting a section of the German troops to the west. They plead with them that above all in the name of imperialist selfinterest this front must be opened. They are mobilizing their organizations to bring pressure on Roosevelt and Churchill by passing resolutions, circulating petitions and holding demonstrations. But each time the noise of the stage-thunder dies down sufficiently for responsible military and civil officials of the British and U. S. government to make themselves heard it is obvious that the "democracies" are basing their military strategy on reasons that only incidentally concern the fate of the Soviet Union.

The full impact of Stalin's criminal course of relying solely on the "democratic" imperialists for aid must now be crashing down on the Soviet masses. They are fighting the Nazi armies, fighting against tremendous odds, fighting alone, without adequate equipment, without allies. If the stories from the Soviet press and news agencies are to be trusted - and if they are not part of a propaganda campaign by which Stalin is preparing to shunt the blame for his defeats onto his "allies" and then make a shameful peace with Hitler - Nazi leaflets are already taunting Soviet soldiers with the questions: "Where is your second front?"; "Where are your allies?"

What can Stalin now offer the Red Army soldiers? His bankruptcy was once again glaringly demonstrated by Stalin's order to the Red Army. As quoted in the capitalist press the order reads:

"Not one step back! The execution of this task means the preservation of our country, the destruction of the hated enemy and a guarantee of victory.

"Let us be inspired in this war by the images of our great ancestors, Nevsky, Donsky, Minin, Pozharsky, Suvoroff and Kotuzoff. Be inspired by the victorious banner of the great Lenin."

What does Stalin mean when he orders Soviet soldiers to stop the retreat? Is he thereby inferring that fear or cowardice has caused the retreats thus far? What an ignominious slander against soldiers whose heroism is without parallel in this war, whose bravery has aroused the admiration even of the arrogant Nazis! It is not the first time that this wretched creature has boasted strength he never possessed and then pursued policies that led to the most disastrous defeats. We have only to recall his statements that he coveted not an inch of foreign territory but would not yield an inch of Soviet soil. Close to 600,000 square miles have already been lost to the Nazis. One wonders why, (Continued on page 2)

(Continued on page 4) treatment within the means that (Continued on page 4)

# **Boss Press Lies About** Indian Independence

#### By FELIX MORROW

The American capitalist press campaign against India grows ever more venomous as August 7 nears - the day the All-India Congress Committee will meet and pass on the resolution on independence adopted July 14 by the 15-man Working Committee of the Congress.

The leading editorial in the August 3rd New York Times is typical of this vile campaign. It accuses Gandhi of believing "that the Japanese might be easier to deal with than the British" and then it approvingly declares that "Britain cannot tolerate anarchy in India. . . nor can we in this country urge her to do so." Those last words are nothing less than a threat that the United States government — and the regiments it has already landed in India - will back Churchill in repressing the Indian independence movement.

#### **Pave Way for Repressions**

The Times attempts to justify this threat by picturing the Cripps proposals of last April as an offer of 'post-war independence' which the Indian Congress rejected "mainly on the ground that they did not insure Indian Unity" because the proposals permitted Moslem-majority provinces to secede. In previous editorials the Times described the Cripps proposals as immediately providing 'self-government' pending post-war independence. Similar endorsements of the Cripps proposals as the genuine article and similar "explanations" of the Congress rejection of it are being published by the entire American press - including the liberal Nation, New Republic, PM, etc. Thus American public opinion is being educated' to accept future repressions in India by the British (and American) governments.

It is easily proven, however, that both the press description of the Cripps proposal and the explanation of the Congress rejection are completely false — and what is more, the editors who print those stories know, or could easily ascertain, that they are false.

#### The Truth About Cripps' Mission

We can prove this from the White Paper published in April by the British government, entitled "India (Lord Privy Seal's Mission)." This

30-page document, containing the correspondence between Cripps and the Congress leadership | driving, bullying and nagging. during the negotiations (as well as the official' | Wages are also subject to negotiaresolutions), can be secured in this country at tions but it is assured this plant tablishes:

1. Cripps' proposals did not offer actual selfgovernment. It offered the Congress and the other political parties of India seats on the Vicerov's Council - excluding the War Ministry minute rest period/to which they which would remain in British hands. But this had been accustomed in other Council of Indian ministers would not be a Na- Flint plants. They were charged tional Government or a cabinet with full powers. Over it would be (1) the Viceroy, with far-reaching powers to overrule the Council and (2) the right to smoke in the plant). Ab-Indian Office in London which has supreme power | over India. In other words, the Indian ministers would be just so many puppets in the control of the Viceroy and the India Office.

2. The Congress leadership was prepared to put aside the questions involved in the post-war proposals of Cripps. They were ready to join with other Indian groups in setting up a government, on condition that the government would have a free hand - free of the Viceroy and the India Office. If this was done, the Congress leaders were ready to accept General Wavell not only as Commander-in-Chief of the Allied and Indian forces in India, but also as War Minister in the cabinet, on condition that there should also be an Indian Defense Ministry which could mobilize the Egyptian desert. a large Indian army and train it.

3. Cripps' answer was a flat refusal to consider the formation of a National Government in India. In his April 10th letter to Maulana Azad, Congress President, Cripps wrote:

"You suggest 'a truly National Government' be formed which must be 'Cabinet Government with full power.'

"Without constitutional changes of a most complicated character and on a very large scale this would not be possible as you realise. (Earlier in the letter Cripps had declared "the practical impossibility of any such legislative change in the middle of a war.")

"Were such a system to be introduced. . . the (Continued on page 2)

ank and file independence were the workers able to force the union crowded, sweltering ball-room of the Hotel Sherman.

little bit, in spite of the official no-strike policy. Election results noon as the formal deliberations got under way, when the 1700 announced yesterday were: UAW- delegates noisily voiced their disapproval of the international CIO, 1,001; UAW-AFL, 146; no leadership's proposed plans to establish a bureaucratic strangleunion, 11. It was a victory against GM and a warning to the hold on the traditionally most democratic and militant industrial union in America. Using the reactionary atmosphere generated top UAW-CIO officialdom.

The strike won bargaining by the bosses' war program Orights in this new \$35,000,000 government-built plant where GM had the demagogic slogan for a refused to bargain at all and had

"Second Front," the internainstituted a policy of continual tional officers are hoping to push through a series of conthe British Library of Information, Rockefeller | will come under the blanket CIO | entrenching themselves in office | and sit-downs could not be Center, New York City. This correspondence es- contract with GM. Raises, if any, and limiting the powers of the crowded out. From the ranks on will be small. rank and file.

#### SUSPENDED FOR SMOKING RANK AND FILE

The strike was precipitated by WILL NOT BE COWED the three-day disciplinary suspen-But from the opening gun of sion of 37 men for taking a fivehis convention, it was clear that with going "outside the plant to not going to be suppressed without cheer. smoke" (only bosses having the a struggle.

surdity of the no-smoking rule is obvious. Most of the work is heavy welding with sparks flying far and wide and heat so intense many have to wear asbestos suits.

delegates and for the attendance Practically all the workers immediately rallied to support of the of thousands of visiting unionists 37 and closed the plant down who could observe the proceedright. Only token picket lines ings. This time, the convention is

were necessary, so unanimous was being held in a stifling, badly the workers' disgust with the Si- lighted hall, too small even for mon Legree discipline. Strikers the official delegates. Only a few included many who do not smoke, visitors can be seated in the thin but the management tried to make it appear that the mere question of smoke was holding up the gates sent at great expense by the brief, polite, desultory handwhole war effort, as far away as locals are crowded completely out of the hall. It is clear that the

#### AFL MAKES BID

Strike organization was hurried mainly of Stalinists, are intended and loose, but militancy made up to prevent the rank and file visitfor inexperience of leaders and ing members from observing what over to me and confided, "If it lack of plans. Immediately the is going on at this convention. AFL-UAW made a bid for these As was to be expected, the few hundred workers, whom the opening session was devoted to CIO-UAW had neglected to organ- stirring up a completely jingo, patriotic atmosphere. There was ize.

Eventually there will be 11.000 the mass singing of the "Star were restless and uneasy, and workers in the tank plant. The Snangled Banner," and "God AFL offered "autonomy" in a new Save The King." The Soviet whispering and chair-shiftings local 800, conjured up over night. anthem — "The International"-But nearly all the men were CIO- was skipped by the ardent ad-

(Continued on page 2)

and hiding their designs behind the dominant theme of labor sacrifice for the war. "SOLIDARITY FOREVER" But the songs dearest to the hearts of the fighters from the stitutional amendments aimed at great auto workers picket lines the floor the militant tune of "Solidarity Forever" began to swell. Delegation after delegation took up the refrain, until the whole convention was on its feet.

Then, finally, the band joined in. the democratic traditions and and for good measure, the delesound class instinct of the rank gates hit the ceiling for three full and file which built the UAW are stanzas ending with a mighty

> The temper of the delegates was not to be really determined until the preliminary speeches of welcome, including a patriotic appeal by Mayor Kelly, of Memorial Day Massacre infamy, were concluded. Then UAW President R. J. Thomas marched in with his

#### "BIG SHOT" GETS SMALL OVATION

What was to be a tremendous ovation, as planned by the international leadership, fizzled rim of gallery with two rows of like a wet fire-cracker. Thomas' seats. Most of the alternate dele-reception by the delegates was claps and not a few out-right boos. From the big Ford Local arrangements, which were made 600 delegation next to the press table could be heard derisive by a local committee composed

comments, "Big Shot," "Big Wind," etc. One delegate leaned wasn't for the war, he wouldn't be president of this outfit long." Thomas' keynote speech was a wash-out, so far as the delegates were concerned. The delegates

there was an under-current of throughout his remarks.

These were compounded of patrio-UAW members from other plants, vocates of the "Second Front." It tic demagogy, appeals for sacrimostly from Fisher No. 1, where appeared as if every bit of union fice, complaints because Congress Fisher Local 581 UAW-CIO has a consciousness was going to be ex- hadn't accepted his "equality of l cluded from the convention, with (Continued on page 2)

The delegates knew what was in the wind as soon as they came into the convention hall. The arrangements at former conventions had always provided for the complete physical comfort of the retinue.

The warning thunder claps were sounded early this after-

officials to aid the strike even a

#### AUGUST 8, 1942



This week witnessed still an- regulations, have been discrimother of the so-called "riots" in- inated against in defense indusvolving Negro soldiers stationed tries. at Southern Army camps and

POLL TAX BARS SOLDIER

Last week's MILITANT re-

for soldiers and sailors who hail

VOTE IN SOUTH

white civilian and military police. According to the AP dispatch printed in the August 2 N. Y. Times, "Military police, ported that the House of Duval County road patrolmen, Representatives had passed a Sheriff's deputies and city police bill establishing the procedure armed with sub-machine guns by which the men in the armed and service weapons were sum. forces would be able to vote in moned to restore order after the November elections. THE Negro soldiers attempted to take MILITANT said this bill was a soldier prisoner away from two passed "over the opposition of policemen (in the Negro section some die-hard poll-taxers," and of Jacksonville, Fla.) ... Several some readers might have conbricks were hurled by Negro cluded from this that the bill soldiers and onlookers after abolished payment of the poll tax police reinforcements arrived." According to the chief of from the one-sixth of the 48

police, "The soldier was arrested states where payment of such after he had threatened to cut a as the paper it was printed on. Negro soldiers in the South are meted out to them when they cause.

were killed in this one. Of tax before he can vote. course, six Negro soldiers who

arrested on charges of "attempting to incite a riot."

What will probably happen to them was indicated by the an-Arizona, will soon be brought to court martial. Readers of this arrested last month for resisting ute to jump to action against the attacks of civilian police, who all threats to Jim Crow rule. shot one Negro soldier dead and More and more are we reading were exonerated for having about politicians and journal-"acted in pursuit of duty." Many ists in the South issuing fiery a soldier who faced such courts. calls to arms against the Negro martial in the last war is still in people. Most recent was the dea federal prison.

\* \* \* JOB DISCRIMINATION CONTINUES

talk about how effective Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 has Negroes. The rank and file of the Negro people, walking the streets every day trying to get jobs, are not fooled by this talk how little effect the Order has

taxes is a qualification - for Negro woman with a knife." voting. To clear up any possible That explanation sounds as thin misunderstandings let us say here that such was not the case. The poll-taxers were opposed well enough acquainted with to the bill that was passed; they "Southern justice" to know what were also opposed to another kind of punishment is usually measure abolishing the poll tax for members of the armed resist the brutality of "the law." forces; on this second measure The fact that they resisted just their colleagues, the northern the same would seem to indicate Republicans and Democrats that they felt they had plenty of joined them, and it was voted down by an overwhelming The only difference between majority. So far as the House this so-called "riot" and the of Representatives as a whole scores of similar outbreaks that goes, the soldier, who is being have occurred in the last year or prepared to die for the "four so was that no Negro soldiers freedoms," still has to pay a happened to be available were ANTI-NEGRO DRIVE STEPPED UP While some Negroes are hesitant about organizing an allnouncement last week that five out militant struggle against Negro soldiers in Flagstaff, Jim Crow because it "might interfere with the conduct of the war," the enemies of the Negro paper will recall that they were people don't hesitate for a min-

> mand by Horace Wilkinson, Alabama lawyer and Democrat, for the organization of a League to Maintain White Supremacy.

What is needed, he declared, is There has been a lot of lying an organization "so strong, so powerful and so efficient that this menace to our national sebeen in getting employment for curity and our local way of life will rapidly disappear.'

And almost simultaneous with this veiled call to lynch action, - they know from experience A. Philip Randolph announced in Los Angeles, according to the August 1 Pittsburgh Courier

# Class Struggles In Britain

## British Trotskyists Active in Strikes; Advance Military Program

#### By L. LAWRENCE

(This is the second of a series of articles on prevailing conditions in the British working class movement. The author recently returned from England where he had the opportunity to observe factory in the Midlands employ press. Only when the strike takes the conditions and struggles of the British workers at first hand | ing thousands has already passed | on proportions and has found its and to have discussions with leading militants in the trade unions a motion for Workers' Control of and political parties active in these struggles.-THE EDITOR)

The most heartening thing about the recent strike struggles in Britain has been the active supporting and participating role of the Workers International League (known as WIL), adherent of the ideas of Socialist Appeal supthe program of the Fourth International.

The WIL group fully accepts the program of the Fourth International although not affiliated 9

with the Fourth International. In note that the stock of the Trot-1938 all Trotskyist groups in Great skvists in the East Midlands has Britain with the exception of the risen tremendously as a result of WIL united and became part of their honest class approach on the more responsive to the Trotskyist the Fourth International. Bequestion of compulsory transfer of answer to production chaos. The cause of strong personal friction labor.

existing between the then leaders WORKERS' CONTROL of the WIL and some of the lead-**OF PRODUCTION** ers of the other Trotskyist groups

But the WIL has an even more no power in production. These of that time, the WIL refused to join the united party, a tactic potent weapon than its instinctive committees leave the capitalists in severely condemned by the conclass support of the recent strike control of industry and haven't ference of the Fourth Internastruggles. The WIL has the class settled any of the problems of tional. Efforts which will unprogram that fits the moods, aspirdoubtedly be crowned with sucations and daily experiences of cess are now being made to iron the British working people. And out all difficulties in the way of it is this timely program, above having the WIL become part of all else, that is responsible for the the official Trotskyist movement growing support of the WIL among wider layers of the organized workers.

What is this program? It is

the Transitional Program of the

massacre of Chinese com-

by Chiang Kai-shek, in April

1927, the Central Committee

the leader of the war of resistance

but also of the reconstruction of

"It must be a democratic state,"

post-war China."

nor socialist."

LEADING UNIONISTS SUPPORT WIL The WIL, including in its ranks

Fourth International. dozens upon dozens of shop stewards throughout England and To end chaos and mismanage-Scotland, has gained the admirament in industry, says the WIL. tion and support of wide layers we must have Workers' Control of workers because of its role in of Production. The government the recent strike struggles in the must take industry out of the mines, at Roval Ordnance factohands of the capitalist mis-manries and at the docks. In many of agers and operate it under conthese struggles the Socialist Appeal, WIL's paper, has been treat-

ed as the strike bible of the workers involved.

in Britain.

ly went out on an "illegal" strike, has ordered 1,000 copies per shortage.

The Stalinist leadership of the Electrical Trades Union in Liverpool has gone to court to sue the Appeal for a hard hitting article which appeared on the Electrical Trades situation in Liverpool. Many electrical trades workers, especially those working in shipbuilding, have been buying the Appeal and the Stalinist fear of of the Chinese Stalinist Party, its growing influence has driven in a statement issued July 20 to them in desperation to the capital commemorate five years of the

Sino-Japanese war, calls upon the ist courts. Chinese people to give unqualified The shop steward leaders of the support to Chiang Kai-shek, and important Royal Ordnance factoto work for "a people's governry district in Nottingham have ment led by a democratic coalirecently sent a long communication of capitalists, workers and tion to the Appeal outlining their farmers.' just grievances in the fight a-The Stalinists demand that gainst compulsory transfer of labor. For our readers to under- Chiang be supported "not only as

Everywhere this slogan is meet- don't even hear a rumor that a ing with favorable response. One strike is in existence through the way to the ears of the nation's Production. At the recent na- workers by word of mouth does tional conference of the Indepenthe capitalist press speak of it. dent' Labor Party many delegates. And of course in /a continuous definitely under the influence of strike wave as during these past months, the press is forced to ported the slogan of "Workers' speak of strikes going on without Control of Production." Many mentioning the place. other I.L.P. branches have passed Our comrades of the WIL jump

resolutions supporting this slogan. into a strike situation as soon as they hear of it. They've got hosts Present day experiences of the of contacts among the workers workers have made them even who let them know if something breaks in their district. Then a committee is assigned, either from Joint Production Committees of London, Liverpool, Scotland or management and labor have other centers, to go down with proven to be reactionary institu-SOCIALIST APPEALS and other tions that give labor a voice but literature to cover the strike. These comrades also act as reporters for the APPEAL and in almost all cases are very well received by the local militant leadership and by the workers who How could they, says the WIL,

In two strikes mentioned previ-

when they refuse to take up the known to the working class and just grievances of the workers find some avenue of publicity. with regard to their regimentation under the Essential Works Order? ously, in Betteshanger and Black-How can they settle anything says hall, our comrades worked this the WIL, when they refuse to way and came away with big presopen up the books of industry? tige and a permanent foothold for. THE WIL IN ACTION

production.

I would now like to give our readers a picture of the way the WIL participates in strike situations where none of their members are involved.

Our comrades wrote this strike You don't learn of the location up, sold lots of APPEALS and of strikes in Britain through the gained respect and support from

month of the Socialist Appeal. The WIL can only supply them with 500 because of the paper Repeating 1927 Betrayal

#### By JAMES GILBERT

Fifteen years after the bloody | working class party was subor-| Chinese masses. The Communist dinated to the bourgeois-dominat- movement was reduced to "peasant ed Kuo Min Tang, and the leadersoviets" fighting sporadic wars in munist workers and peasants ship of the revolutionary struggle the interior. The 13th Plenum of placed in the hands of Chiang the Comintern in 1933, during the Kai-shek, agent of the landlords, adventuristic "Third Period" of native capitalists and certain im-Stalinism, proclaimed, "The overperialist interests in China. throw of the Kuo Min Tang

The workers were told to postregime is a condition of the sucpone the class struggle; the cessful prosecution of the napeasants were forbidden to seize tional-revolutionary war against the land; the Communist Party the Japanese and other placed its trust not in the Chinese | perialists."

proletariat, but in the native capitalists, not in the tens of mil-**Policy Changed** lions of peasants, but in the land-**Once** Again

lords.

It was this fatal policy, being From this it may have been repeated today, which brought mistakenly concluded that the

# Do The German Masses **Support Hitler?**

By M. MORRISON

The experiences of a few sym- and work by virtue of the terrific pathizers have led them to doubt pressure of the State. We know

pressed this sentiment. The point involved is a very

cratic imperialists because of industrial power; and industrial are eager to make their case their fear of Hitler that a work- mobilization made necessary by ers' government will be able by the desperate situation of Gerpropaganda to rouse the German man capitalism; a careful premasses, one of our most power- paration for war ever since Hitful arguments for such a government is lost.

### WHO SUPPORTS HITLER?

future activity. In the strike of It is first necessary to answer Durham miners at the Scottishthe question: Do the German masses support Hitler? We can English border they worked similarly. Here the strike was called take it for granted that the vast to protest the forcible sending of majority of the 13 million people two young lads into the mines who cast their votes for the Socialist and Communist parties THE FEAR OF DEFEAT in 1932 do not now. after 10 years of experience with the Hitler regime, support that regime. It is inconceivable that the masses of workers whose hours have been lengthened, who have been compelled to work at a much speedier tempo, whose organizations have been destroyed, whose leaders have been killed or placed in a concentration camp, and who have been suffer-

> is responsible for all this. It is also safe to assume that workers and middle-class people social demagogy have lost their illusions. Undoubtedly a large volution in Germany. proportion of the youth raised been completely infected with Nazi ideas and are ready to die for that regime. The power of a totalitarian state to inculcate ideas in the youth is very great, especially when these ideas are

the proposition that we have that the government of the been constantly emphasizing to United States could not raise any the effect that a workers' govern- kind of an army on a voluntary ment in this country or in basis. The same is true of Ger-England could and would turn many. Masses of people do not the German masses against Hit- resist the pressure of the capiler and thus assure his defeat. talist state unless conditions be-These sympathizers have come absolutely unbearable or if either talked with some Nazi there exists a powerful organizaprisoners of war or have heard tion to give them leadership. The people who have conversed with German masses were left comthem and on the basis of these pletely leaderless and helpless conversations have concluded when the Social Democratic and that no propaganda can possibly Communist parties capitulated affect the German masses, that at the time Hitler assumed only a military defeat will crush power. Under these circumthem. A letter to the MILITANT stances the situation must bepublished some time ago ex- come desperate before the masses are set into motion.

German victories cannot be eximportant one and it is worth plained by any alleged enwhile discussing it thoroughly. thusiasm for the war on the part If we cannot convince militant of the German masses. There workers who support the demo- is no such enthusiasm. German ler took control; the necessity, because of the restriction of the Versailles treaty, to make use of new weapons; plus the complacency of the wealthy democratic imperialist countries-

these are the main factors responsible for the German victories.

It is of course true that the German masses prefer the victory of Hitler rather than the victory of the democratic imperialists. They know the fate that awaits them as a result of a Hitler defeat by English and American imperialism. It is this attitude of the German masses that rules out a revolt against Whitler so long as they have sufficient to eat and so long as the ing untold privations as a result German armies are not defeated of the war support a regime that on the field of battle. Only the

most class-conscious and farsighted German workers want by this time a great many of the Hitler defeated by the English and American imperialists bewho were deceived by Hitler's cause such a defeat would un-'doubtedly bring a workers' re-

It is this fear of the victory under the Hitler regime have of the democratic imperialists on the part of the German workers that makes us confident that a real workers' government in England or in the United States would make Hitler's position far more difficult because the workforeign conquest affording the ers would then want his defeat. opportunity of participation in mediately upon taking of power the spoils of victory. Though by the workers in England or the United States the German

capitalist press. Very often you | the workers. trol of the workers. one miners union, which recent-y went out on an "illegal" strike, Chinese Stalinists Advise

## THE MILITANT



had. And if anyone thinks the employers are fooled by this talk, read this from the June issue of the Washington letter of the Linen Supply Association of America, Inc.:

"Labor Shortage. Many members (of the Association) are gro." facing critical labor situations. The draft, and competition from It often seems to us that the defense factories, have made it greatest need of the Negro difficult to obtain and retain masses today is a leadership help. . . Members might also that will exhibit the same deconsider the advisability of em- termination, clear-sightedness ploying more colored help, many and vigor that the enemies of of whom, despite Government the Negro people show.

Now Published as a Pamphlet THEIR: MO AND OURS **By Leon Trotsky** His famous polemic

an

against the 'moralist' critics of Bolshevism

#### 48 pages — 20c per copy

The pamphlet includes Trotsky's article, "The Moralists and Sycophants Against Marxism," which Trotsky considered the second part of "Their Morals and Ours."



stand the significance of this, it that he has abandoned plans for is analogous for example to hav-"immediate" March on ing leading CIO workers in De-Washington and instead will troit using THE MILITANT in concentrate on a "pressure campreference to their official union paign to force the government paper to make some drastic changes in the treatment of the Ne-

strv.

FIGHTS FOR WORKER'S INTERESTS

What Is This The WIL participates in these battles against compulsory trans-New State? fer of labor ,for overtime pay. etc..

The Stalinists pose the post as honest defenders of the interests of the workers involved. The war problem as one which demands a "new and higher form Labor Party and the Communist Party, on the other hand, always of democratic state." What is this invoke the sanctity of the "no-"new" state? According to the Stalinists it will be a state strike" agreement and do not wish to embarrass the government "neither socialist nor capitalist. Nor will it be a state dominated they support.

by a combination of feudal land-At the Berkenhead docks near owners and foreign imperialist in-Liverpool we had an example of terests." It will be a state, in this: The longshoremen struck for higher overtime pay. The Stalinother words, the like of which the world has never seen. sts called upon the workers to

This "new" state is merely an return to work as the first step old lie dressed in new words. So in fighting for their demands! long as the landlords and capital-The Stalinists were completely exists have not been expropriated, posed as bosses' agents. After all the Chinese people will be opthe workers had struck as a last pressed and exploited. A "coaliresort. The Appeal on the other hand was very well received and tion" of the classes in China, means in actuality, the suppressold like hotcakes.

sion of the oppressed to the ad-Another example: In my prevantage of the ruling classes. vious article I mentioned a strike This is a repetition of the at the important Royal Ordnance policy that led to the betrayal of factories in the midlands, in Notthe Chinese revolution of 1925-27. tingham, against the compulsory It is a repitition of the classtransfer of labor to private inducollaboration that led to the The Government, which "popular front" betrayai of the runs and operates these Royal French and Spanish workingclass Ordnance factories, wanted to by Stalinism.

shift skilled engineers to private With this theory of the "New plants, hundreds of miles away State" the Stalin bureaucracy has from their homes, where the conin reality announced in advance ditions of work and wages were that it will support the butcher far worse than conditions at the Chiang Kai-shek in his attempts R.O.F. factories. The workers to suppress the oppressed rose in uproar against this atmasses of China should they tack by the government. They attempt to fight for a Soviet prepared to strike. The C.P. is-China, either during or after the sued a statement in the factory war.

asking "Does the transference of This pronouncement of the labour in a people's war justify Chinese agents of the Comintern strike action"? is only the latest addition to the

As one shop steward put it annals of Stalinist crimes against after this leaflet was issued: the Chinese revolution. "The result of the leaflet has

The "Bloc" been to almost completely destroy the C.P. in the factory.

#### of Four Classes

It is commonly assumed by the In the years 1925-27, during the ordinary workers here that the period of the revolutionary up-C.P. has completely sold out and surge of the Chinese workers and that these leaflets were paid for peasants, the Stalin-Bukharin Tang were forced to sign a pledge by the management! I have not leadership of the Comintern imseen such a fall in stock (of the posed upon the Chinese Com-C.P.) since the collapse of Wall munist Party the policy of a "bloc. On the other hand, we should of four classes" by which the massacre solved nothing for the cated itself to this task.

about the terrible defeat in April | Stalin regime had at last learne 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek the hitter lessons of the Chinese events. But less than two years staged his coup d'etat, massacred tens of thousands of communist later, at the Seventh World Conthe statement said, speaking of the post-war regime, "neither, militants, outlawed the Comgress of the Comintern in August dictatorial, semifeudal, nor soviet | munist Party, and turned back 1935 a new change in line was the tide of revolution. initiated, and the Chinese Stalinist

leaders made speeches appealing The result of this blow was to set back the world proletariat, to "all parties and all prominent weaken the position of the Soviet political and social leaders to or-Union, prolong the oppression of ganize an all-Chinese United the Chinese masses by native and Anti-Japanese National defense army, and an all Chinese United foreign exploiters, and make it People's Government of National possible for the Japanese imperialists to invade and subjugate Defense."

large sections of the country. From Opportunism

the Kuo Min Tang and "fight for

the formation of Soviets." The

Stalinists replied: "We must carry

on a minimum of class struggle."

blanket support of Chiang Kai-

shek and the Kuo Min Tang

violated the elementary principles

of Marxism, and the lessons of

the Russian Revolution. Lenin

had reiterated time and again

that there can be no unity be-

tween exploiters and exploited,

that the working class movement

must maintain its independence.

So far did Stalinism retreat from

the Chinese Communist Party

members entering the Kuo Min

not to criticize Chiang Kai-shek.

The adventuristic policy of the

The Stalin leadership by its

#### to Adventurism

nese Revolution, Chiang Kai-shek, The Stalin-Bukharin leadership, which had led the workers to this defeat, did not learn from the terrible errors. In August, 1927,

ed. The Chinese Communist Party land and in the factory.

The Struggle Stalinist leadership of the Comin-

of the German population the masses will revolt. That may no fanatical Nazi youth play an important role.

#### WHAT EXPLAINS THE VICTORIES

But if, as we believe, the vast sistent revolutionary propamajority of the German workers ganda will, in the course of a do not support Hitler what ex. comparatively short period make plains the victories of the Ger. the German masses conscious of man army?

It must in the first place be is the best possible solution for taken into consideration that the them. The more class-conscious workers who were opposed to workers will immedately begin Hitler in 1932 are now ten years to sabotage and the masses will older and most of them are now rise at the very first opportunity too old to be in the army. They and not wait until a complete are working in the factories military defeat of the German rather than fighting at the front. armies or until made desperate

One is far more likely to meet by lack of food. a fanatical young Nazi in the

democratic imperialists can have It is a mistake to attribute the no effect whatever, the revoluattitude of a young Nazi prisoner tionary propaganda of a workto the German masses or even ers' government can have enormto all of the German soldiers. It ous effect. A change in the atso happens that the Nazi prison- titude of the German masses so ers with whom our sympathizers that, instead of prefering Hithave had some experience were ler's victory, they would want captured in Northern Africa and his defeat, would undoubtedly from submarines. They came become the decisive factor in the from the sections of the armed war against Hitler. Such a forces where fanatical young change cannot take place with-Nazis are most likely to be out a change from a capitalist to a socialist government in Eng-

By and large the masses fight land or the United States.



follow even if leaflets reach every German soldier

and worker. What we are confident of is that a sustained and conthe fact that a defeat of Hitler.

Whereas the propaganda of the

Today the Chinese Stalinists, under orders from the Kremlin, are once again the lackeys of the betrayer and butcher of the Chiarmy than in the factory.

found.

They once again call for a bloc between the workers, peasants, small merchants and capitalists of China; and more than that, they openly denounce efforts to establish a Soviet China, and hold up as the solution of China's problems, the democratic "people's government of all classes."

The Stalinist leadership in China, as throughout the world, is only preparing a new betraval of the oppressed millions. The masses of China can be inspired to crush the Japanese imperialists and maintain their national existence only by a program that at the same time offers a solution to their pressing problems on the

ing of a Soviet China.

tern, had demanded in 1927 that Against Japan the Communist Party resign from

when the masses were already in full retreat, the Stalinists called for insurrections in China, and plunged the remaining communist workers into abortive struggles doomed in advance to defeat. The Communist movement was crush-

reported that while in 1927 hefore the massacre by Chiang Kaishek, the C.P. had 60,000 in; dustrial workers in its ranks. On November 8, 1928, the Central Committee of the Chinese C. P. stated, "The Party does not have a single healthy party nucleus among the industrial workers." Trotsky, in opposition to the

#### THE MILITANT

tional.

## **Slug Food Union Militant; Opposes Stalinist Sell-Out**

#### Stalinists Turn Meeting Into Riot After Steamrolling Agreement Over Majority Vote

The contract provides for only

very inadequate wage increases

mainly for skilled workers. No

on the wage question to readjust

costs, was made. The contract

Those who opposed the Stalinist

leadership were deprived of their

the meeting in typical Stalinist

Riding roughshod over the

membershin's, 5 to 1 vote to the

contrary the chairman brazenly

right thing (toward the British

colonies) now because it is the

right thing, or be compelled later

Thus Maxton included himself

as the American colonists did.

runs for one year.

An attempt by the Stalinist violates the rights of women workof the Hotel and Restaurant Em- who replace men at work shall ployees Union, AFL, to cram a receive only \$21 weekly, and the rotten agreement down the throats remaining \$9 of their weekly pay of the membership in violation of shall be turned oven to the union democratic union procedure, re- tops to do with as they wish. It sulted in a riot at the union's last also provides that a 6-day week meeting, July 30, at Manhattan shall be worked in a five-day solve all the problems of the period making it possible for the Center.

TWO-

Larry Phillips, former General management to reduce crews. Organizer of the local, and a well-known militant leader, was severely injured by Stalinist goons. The Stalinists precipitated the battle, by announcing that a motion to accept the agreement was carried, in spite of the fact that the members turned the motion down by at least five to one, in an oral vote. Phillips, who

in Beth Israel Hospital: the seriousness of his injuries will strong-arm manner. not be known until Xrays have been studied.

SELL-OUT CONTRACT

announced that the motion to ac-The two thousand workers ascept the agreement was carried. sembled at the meeting were in- When this announcement was censed at the provisions of the made, a riot broke out. The meet proposed contract. The agreement ing ended in a general melee.



#### **Protests** Segregation of Negro Soldiers

to surrender to an uprising of Editor: I am a soldier who reads your force which will create a situation which intelligent people do paper. Of course, I've read a lot of your stories about the raw not wish to see." deal the colored soldiers have been getting. The other day I among the "intelligent people" picked up a copy of our camp who do not want to see the newspaper and there was an colonial peoples, sick of afterarticle that said-Service Club the-war promises, take their infor Colored Troops; Plans Ela- dependence by force if necessary, borate. It was in the July 29th issue of Shot 'n Shell-published Maxton fights for "the third

at Camp San Luis Obispo, Califront" by pleading with the British imperialists to do "the fornia. That looked all right to me. I | right thing." But Maxton had still another thought that maybe your paper was exaggerating things a bit. contribution to make to the Then I began to think about it debate on the colonial question: and I changed my mind. We have "I hope that the Government a Service Club now and both will not assume that when peace colored and white soldiers use it. comes there will not be a lot of Some of the guys I know don't | re-arrangement in the world and like colored people, but they that every nation's possessions don't say anything because we will not come under review. I

take this idea of democracy interrupted the speech of Mr. serious But now the Big Shots Macmillan because he seemed to must see the great aims and ideals of their war against the are stepping in and want to set | suggest that the Government had Nazis perverted and prostituted by Stalin. The masses fighting up a separate place for colored already made up its mind that whatever territorial readjustsoldiers. That article is just like a Keep ments and reallocations there Out sign. They tell the colored might be after the war, the soldier-You're alright in your present British Empire is going place-in your own Service Club to remain." At this point Maxton was inbut don't be hanging around here same system. terrupted by one Sir P. Hannon, anymore. That doesn't look like demo- who said: "Please God. That is cracy to me. If I was a colored my complete conviction." And soldier I'd boycott this elaborate | Maxton answered him as follows: joint they're planning to build MAXTON PLUGS FOR U.S. As long as we all wear the same "If you are to re-draw the map uniform let's all use the same of the world, and if you are service club and get acquainted. honest with your Allies, you can-I think we'll get along O. K. if the Big Shots will only stay out not start by saying that there is to be no change in the red bits. I of it.

would like to see a United States

of Africa, for instance, run and

controlled by the Africans, the

natives of the soil; but if the

white races are to have a say as

to how the wealth of that great

continent is to be developed, l

would like to see the United

## **UAW Delegates Oppose Retreats** ] in a body, the delegates demanded | These include the unpopular, and told them to put the heat on | convention has been completed, | unity question.

is being done to warrant such in-

The whole conflict came to a

head when delegates, amidst great

applause, took the floor and

charged the leadership with plant-

ing large numbers of paid or-

ganizers and international repre-

A clamor arose in opposition to

he organizers and international

representatives being seated

among the delegates. One speaker

charged, "They are used for

putting over deals in these con-

ventions." Another pointed out

that elected alternates sent at

great expense by their locals

"don't even have room to sit in

It had been reported about the

convention that Thomas had

called in all his paid functionaries

**Tank Strike** 

**Won At Flint** 

(Continued from page 1)

long record of militancy. Auto-

on the convention."

GOON PRESSURE

ON DELEGATES

sentatives in the convention.

(Continued from page 1) sacrifice" program, and a call for to discuss them one at a time. proposals, to hold conventions the delegates to pass the measures and all the basic issues are yet to

unity."

plained by Thomas.

"Open a Second Front."

as a word his first point. How to rules were passed depriving them organize workers with a program of their rights. The first clash came over the of retreat and capitulation to the

proposal to elect the officers on the cost of living is rising and no door button-holing a delegate and bosses, a no-strike policy, support leadership of New York Local 302 ers by a provision that women of speedup, and a failure to fight the third day of the convention, instead of the last, as is custofor the wage increases demanded mary. No sooner was this read, by the auto workers, was not exthan it was greeted with resound-

Instead, he went directly to the ing boos and cat-calls. Thomas, when he commanded "Order, second point, with the one formula answer that is supposed to Order," was himself booed. A delegate got the floor mike and stated, "I don't know how we

workers in lieu of a real struggle can vote intelligently on our offor their rights and conditions, ficers until we see what kind of Not a word did, he have to say stand is taken by the candidates on the important issues before on the key problems of the auto provision to reopen the contract workers, the \$1 a day wage in- this convention." The purpose of rushing the elections in this crease demand, the loss of elecwages with the rise in living tions in key aircraft plants, the manner was to head off the growth of any opposition candimounting plant grievances.

dates to the present leaders, and Above all, anxious to put over one of the measures proposed for the leadership's program of conthe constitution is to hold eleccentrating more power in its own opposed this steamrolling, is now right to speak. The chairman ran hands, he begged: "I want to see tions on the second day of the conventions hereafter. some sort of unity in this con-

But a motion was put to hold vention, not such knock-down. the elections on the last day, and drag-out fights that we have had in conventions before." But the was unanimously carried.

During this and subsequent delegates were aware that such debates, the meeting became more 'lack of unity"-readiness to resist bureaucratic dictation and disorderly. Thomas antagonized the delegates more and more by freely discuss all issues-was the his clumsy, bureaucratic handling source of the strength and growth

of the chair, raging at delegates, of the UAW. shouting them down, calling "out Thomas wound up his talk by leclaring that the "theme of this of order" in harsh words. Booing convention is: What sort of and Bronx cheers increased.

> OFFICIALS' PROGRAM IS UNPOPULAR

Behind this obvious disrespect for Thomas and the other international officers, was the aware

nomy sounded good to the menthey did want to be shackled by the no-strike give-away policy of the CIO bureaucrats. But they had their fill of the AFL long ago. BIG-SHOTS WON'T HELP

So they maneuvered between AFL and CIO, hoping for some help. Neither AFL nor CIO quite dared sanction the strike or support it openly. Much less did they dare "outlaw" it. Militants

from other CIO plants in Flint joined picket lines and showed solidarity. CIO officials conducted the negotiations for the strike eaders.

This confusion puzzled even the corporation, the boss press and

government labor boards, so that there was little agreement on formulas to scare the workers who dared to demand ordinary human treatment just when GM was beginning to reap war tank profits.

**REJECT "NO-STRIKE"** POLICY

They were suspicious and wanted every two years, instead of an- he and his board were backing. come before the convention. It can out with a proposal to achieve He did not elaborate by so much to make sure that no convention nually; to raise substantially the A Lansing, Michigan, delegate be expected that the officers- organic unity at the expense of salaries of the officers who are took the floor and testified to Thomas, Reuther, Addes, Franken- industrial unionism, this may becalling on the members to "sacri- witnessing international represen- steen, etc.-are going to be work- come the key issue of the convenfice"; and to raise the dues when tatives outside the convention

really effective organization work intimidating him with the threat, "If you don't vote right, we'll creased income to the interna- break your neck." The delegate BALLYHOOED

added: "I'm going to "see that goons aren't going to come in here subordinate all the demands and critical eyes. and try to tell the delegates of our local how to vote." Thomas then tried to pass off the union membership up as comthe situation by asserting ponder- pletely docile supporters of the leaders last April in order to get ously, "I personally think there policy of retreats in the face of are no goons in this convention." This was met with laughter and Street and the government. The voiced by many delegates around boos, and cries, "You ought to know!

The demand that the non-delegate paid machine-men be excluded from the convention was only silenced when Thomas shoved across the ruling that they were entitled by the constitution to sit in the convention with voice and no vote, and if that were to although there was a lot of obbe changed, it could only be done in the voting on the report of the constitution committee.

The motion was passed narrowly. It is clear that if Thomas is QUESTION OF UNITY re-elected at this convention it The principal development may will be only because of "unity" come in tomorrow's session when pleas on the basis of supporting CIO President Philip Murray 4s scheduled to speak. His demon- is over. The leaders are going to the war. There are reported move ments under way to nominate strative pronouncement on the other candidates, and the present eve of the convention regarding top leadership is jittery at the approaching the AFL for organic mere idea. But it is too early to unity negotiations has led many determine just how far such opposition will get in this convention.

Meanwhile, the first day of the announcement on the AFL-CIO TANT.)

If, as some suspect, he comes ing over-time to high-pressure the tion. The recent experiences of the UAW members in aircraft delegates into line. with the successful invasions of

"SECOND FRONT" Primarily, their purpose is to any such proposal with extremely,

needs of the workers, to squelch Another big issue may develop any militant tendencies, and line over the "equality of sacrifice" program put forth by the UAW the members to give up week-end the reactionary demands or Wall and holiday double-time pay. As issue they have chosen to use as the convention, the auto workers the cloak for this program is the are getting wise to the trick that call for a "Second Front."

was pulled over on them last At the last moment, just before April. They were asked to sacrifice adjournment, a motion was sud- and give up their hard won rights denly introduced to place first on | at once and without a quibble: but the agenda tomorrow the resolu- the "equality of sacrifice" promises tion on the "Second Front." The have proved to be just demagogy hot and disgusted delegates did used in the interests of the bosses. not care to debate this procedure. Particularly, the workers in Ford, General Motors and Chrysler are jection, as indicated by the congetting impatient with the runsiderable hand vote in opposition. around they are getting from the profiteering corporations and the government on their \$1-a-day pay

the AFL is bound to make a great

number of the delegates look on

increase demands. The delegates are going to be heard from before this convention

have to pull every trick out of the

bag in order to shove their

policies over. (A complete report and analysis competent observers to believe of the convention will appear in that he may make some startling the next issue of THE MILI-

**Boss Press Lies About** Indian Independence

(Continued from page 1) nominated cabinet, responsible to no one but itself, could not be removed and would in fact constitute an absolute dictatorship of the major-

". . . Until such time as the Indian peoples frame their new Constitution (i.e., after the war) His Majesty's Government must continue to carry out its duties to those large sections of the Indian people to whom it has given its pledges."

Britain Maintains Its Rule

Or, in plain English, the Churchill government retained its right, through continuing the Viceroy and India Office's powers, to dismiss the Indian ministers whenever London felt like it. Ministers taking office under such conditions would be nothing but stooges for Churchill.

These facts - which anybody can ascertain for himself by reading the British White Paper prove that the American press "description"

well what would happen under universal suffrage that it has set up such high property qualifications that the eligible electorate, at the last (1934) elections for the Central Legislative Assembly, consisted according to official figures of 1,416,000 out of a population of nearly 300,000,-000 in British India!

#### **PM's Foul Slander**

2. Another foul argument of PM is the insinuating question, in its July 29 issue, "why is it that the Japanese radio is so delighted with the demands of the Congress. Ever since the middle of July Japanese radio propaganda in Asia has been praising the Indian Congress." The innuendo of PM is that the Congress is serving Japan.

This type of slander is scarcely new. Every imperialist government has praised the political opponents of its imperialist rival, and in turn the imperialist rival has adduced that praise as proof that its political opponents are in the service of the enemy. The German government of the Kaiser "praised" Lenin and Trotsky, whereupon the Kerenskys tried to frame up Lenin and Trotsky as German agents. The French chauvinists "praised" Liebknecht and Luxemburg, whereupon the German government tried to brand them as aiding the enemy.



#### (Continued from page 1)

if by a summary order from Stalin a retreat can be stopped, he did not issue the order a year ago.

The Mysterious Phone Call

The bureaucrat wants to take credit only for victories. Where there are defeats he shoulders responsibility onto sub-ordinates or on the masses themselves. Thus it suddenly appeared - after the event - that a mysterious phone call from Stalin to the General Staff was responsible for driving the Nazis out of Rostov last winter and stopping them in their tracks before Leningrad and Moscow. In reality, it was the armed workers' population breaking out of the bureaucratic harness in the great cities of the October Revolution that turned the tide. Had the masses proceeded from that beginning to rid themselves of the bureaucratic millstone around their necks, to restore Soviet democracy and embarked upon a policy of revolutionary war against the Nazis, the military situation would undoubtedly have been infinitely more favorable for them today.

Instead the Soviet workers must not only suffer defeats

sacrifice are we willing to make for victory?" He didn't get much of a hand. FIRST CLASH ON ELECTION OF OFFICERS When the Rules Committee ness that they were trying to put sought to push its proposals over over something on the delegates

A White Soldier Los Angeles, Calif.

#### The British I.L.P. and the Colonies Editor:

Those who read Marc Loris' States of America have a part very fine article on the British in it. I believe that America Independent Labor Party in the | could teach us some things about June issue of Fourth Interna- the handling of colonial people, tional must already have a and I am more certain still that pretty good picture of the con- the Soviet Union and China could fusion and contradictions which teach both of us things." characterize that centrist organization. I want here to add but gestion that United States imone more example of how that perialism get its share in the exparty's leadership functions.

The July 4 isue of the LP.'s paper, The New Leader, prominently features the recent | A less polite word would probably speech made by James Maxton, be uttered by those African I.L.P. leader, in the House of revolutionists who know how Parliament. Among other things | America oppresses and exploits Maxton said:

"I associate myself with Mr. example. Creech Jones in the view that this House can either do the

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with their backs to the wall for all the conquests of the revolution that overthrew Czarism and its hated system of oppression are instructed by Stalin to make a new stand against the invader in the name of Czarist generals - Nevsky, Donsky. Minin, Pozharsky, Suvoroff - who fought to preserve this self-

#### Capitalist Press Appreciates Stalin

The capitalist press is not slow to appreciate and applaud the monstrous significance of this example of Stalin's reactionary policy. Says the St. Paul Dispatch (Aug. 1, 1942):

"In listing Russian military heroes to inspire the people of the Soviet Union to ever greater resistance against the Nazi, Joseph Stalin would certainly never include Leon Trotsky. Trotsky, who was the war minister under Lenin and created the Red Army, has been called a civilian of extraordinary military genius - but he was also Stalin's foremost rival for the mantle of power after Lenin's death.

"One might expect Stalin, however, to mention other Bolshevik heroes of the period of military consolidation of the Soviet regime. Galen, Chapayev, though again perhaps not Tukhachevsky. Instead of calling up the memory of these Communist heroes, however he invoked the names of. . . military leaders of the Tsarist or pre-Tsarist era of Russian history; they have nothing in common with communism. . . Again in this invocation by Stalin there is evidence of a shifting of the Soviet leader to the appeal of old-fashioned nationalist patriotism and away from the appeal of international communism. Forgotten are the days when the Red Army was urged to fight for the freeing of the world proletariat. . ."

What is involved here is of far more significance than the mere historical fact that Stalin has abandoned the principles of internationalism and socialism. He did that long ago. The policy involved in this reactionary invocation lies at the very heart of the terrible defeats of the Red Army.

Stalin does not include Trotsky's name because he drove Trotsky from the Soviet Union and ordered his murder by a GPU assassin.

Stalin does not include the names of the Red Commanders in the civil war because they were too closely associated with the entire staff that Stalin purged long before the Nazi attack.

Stalin does not appeal to the revolutionary traditions of the Soviet masses for fear that they will utilize that tradition to rid themselves of the Stalin regime.

Stalin does not appeal to the international traditions because he fears the international revolution as a threat to his bureaucratic nationalist regime.

Thus to preserve his regime Stalin must follow a policy, reactionary nationally and internationally, that is undermining and will eventually destroy the Soviet Union.

To preserve the Soviet Union the Soviet masses must rid themselves of Stalin, they must convert this war into a revolutionary war, they must restore Soviet democracy.

The "democratic" imperialists are not at all interested in winning the war for the Soviet Union.

The proletarians of the world in struggle against the imperialist oppressors are the only real allies of the Soviet masses. Heroism and morale alone will not win the war. Above all

a correct policy is necessary. It is not yet too late!

In meetings leaders the strikes made it plain of the Cripps proposal is false, and equally false is its description of the reason for its rejection they would not let "higher ups cram anything down our throats.' by the Congress leaders. They rejected it beicy of the UAW-CIO, insisting on cause, far from being even a step toward independence, it meant becoming helpless servants of defending the gains made through the Viceroy and the India Office. With the great years of struggle. They also repudiated Stalinist patriotic and masses of India surging forward to fight for peals, saying they were just as independence, the Congress dared not capitulate anxious as anyone to fight Hitler- to the British, for that certainly would have led to repudiation of Congress by the people of Inism - especially GM's brand in the plant where they work. dia.

After such warnings they let To Cripps' argument that constitutional chang-CIO leaders do most of their neges were impossible "in the middle of a war," the otiating. For seven days GM re-Congress leaders had a crushing retort. They refused to agree to anything the state or federal mediators propos- minded him that, just before the fall of France ed. But the usual pressures were and in an effort to prevent it, Churchill had pronot scaring the strikers back to posed to the French government the formation work. Such "friends of labor" as of an Anglo-French Government - the end of French and British sovereignty and their joining Gov. Murray D. Van Wagoner headlined the strike as "a crime" in a new sovereignty certainly would have requir-(and the CIO and UAW will spend ed constitutional changes! many thousands of dollars again

If anything is more venomous than the New this fall to re-elect him). GM was getting nowhere, despite the anti- York Times' campaign against Indian independence, it is the campaign in that ostensibly 'left' union statement of Van Wagoner Finally, about 1:30 a.m. on the liberal daily, PM. It has been publishing a series of articles by its staff member, Herbert Agar, whose lies are, if that were possible, even more outrageous than those of the Times. In available space we can deal with only one or two of them.

1. Britain in the Cripps negotiations tacitly recognized that the Congress speaks today for rights are none too successful, but the great majority in India, and everybody knows this to be a fact. But not PM. An article in its at least are negotiated. The rest July 31 issue is entitled "All-India Congress Doesn't Really Represent All India." Then follows some weird statistics. The 90 million Moslems are credited to the pro-British Moslem leader Jinnah. The 80 million (in reality 93 million) in the Indian "Native" States ruled by the princes are credited to the opposition to Congress - despite the fact that PM had to admit in a column on India two days earlier that "the citizens of these states do not for the most part have a chance to express their opinions freely" because Britain's puppet princes won't let them. And more statistics of the same quality.

The answer to this crooked argument is simple: PM, instead of falsely claiming that the Congress does not speak for India, should demand that the British government permit the election, by universal suffrage, of a Constituent Assembly. Any honest democrat must certainly agree to such an election. But neither PM nor any of the American papers which have been attacking the Congress have proposed such a de-

As for the British government, it knows so

As a matter of fact, all imperialist governments are not averse to revolts in the empires of the enemy. During the last war Britain encouraged a revolt of the Arabs against the Turkish ally of German. On the other hand Germany gladly offered arms to the Irish revolutionists.

But only conscious liars like the writers of the PM and New York Times articles could draw from these facts the "proof" that Lenin and Trotsky, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the Arab and Irish revolutionists, were hirelings of enemy, powers.

#### What Does Japan Want?

For the moment Japan is not at all averse to seeing a conflict between the British and India. Of course Japan prefers such a conflict to seeing the Indian peoples buckle down to serve Britain! But Japan's preference is in no way an explanation of the coming struggle of India for independence, as the American press is so falsely insinuating. India wants independence for itself, and not to serve any imperialist power, whether "democratic" or Axis.

The fact is that a Free India would be a mortal blow to Japanese imperialism. With a common frontier with China for over 2,000 miles, with common interests for the free development of both countries, with sympathy for China's struggle already widespread in India, a Free India would unite with Free China to resist Japanese imperialist domination of Asia. The Congress is pledged to that, and reflects in this pledge the sentiment of India's masses.

If the issue, then, were to secure the most efficient resistance to Japanese domination of Asia, the obvious solution is Indian independence. But that is not the real issue for British - and American — imperialism. For a Free India would be a mortal blow to all imperialist domination of Asia - both "democratic" and Axis imperialism. That is the root of the American press campaign against Indian independence.

The workers of America and England, however, have no interest in preserving imperialist rule over India. Not one British or American soldier shall die in the attempt to crush India's movement for independence! We must carry this thought to the workers - and carry it quickly, for the showdown between the Indian masses and Britain is speedily coming.

Albert Parker New York City



the people in Puerto Rico, for

To this "revolutionary" sug-

ploitation of the present British colonial empire, America's Sixty Families would say only "Amen!"

eighth day, a compromise was sold by the "ace" mediator of the War Labor board and production res-

umed at 7 a.m. The consent election was held nine days later. Several hundred workers hired after the strike were allowed to vote, but did not seriously affect Lies of the "Liberals"

the results. The temporary bargaining a vast improvement. Grievances period is still denied but being bargained. GM has discovered army tanks and steel hoists are not inflammable. Smoking is allowed in the plant - but for workers only at lunch time; for bosses, all the time. The strike was a significant victory for the militant Flint workers. Had the UAW-CIO taken such militant action in the Curtiss-Wright plant in Buffalo, it

would have been possible there also to win a decisive victory over the AFL in the NLRB vote. The failure of the CIO to launch a militant program, lost the UAW-CIO that election.

While the circumstances under which the Fisher Tank strike occurred were not general, the desire of the ranks of the UAW-CIO for action to solve their grievances and defend union conditions was demonstrated in this termination of the question.

strike.

FOUR-

#### THE MILITANT

AUGUST 8, 1942

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"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

#### JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

- 1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
- Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
- **3.** Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries-Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
- 4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
- 5. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
- 6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- 7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
- 8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

## Indian Struggle **Nears Showdown**

On Friday, August 7 the Executive Committee of the All-India Congress Party will meet in Bombay in order to act on the resolution adopted on July 14 by the party's Working Committee. This resolution demands that "British rule in India must end immediately" and it proposes to achieve the country's independence through another campaign of "civil disobedience."

The passage of this resolution by the full party committee might well lead to an immediate showdown in India. The struggle once begun will not and cannot be restrained within the framework of non-violence. Gandhi, the pacifist, has already publicly announced that the proposed campaign would not be called off this time if it leads, as it inevitably must, to violent clashes. London, for its part, has promised in advance to crush in blood any and all manifestations of struggle for Indian independence. The American capitalist press has lined up solidly behind the British imperialists. All pretence of sympathy for India's struggle for independence. so piously professed in the past, has been dropped. Everything is being done to prepare public opinion in the United States for another bloody chapter in Britain's repression of the struggle of the Indian masses. The American liberals have naturally joined in the chorus, with PM and its Mr. Herbert Agar heading the pack. They are all agreed that to struggle for India's independence today is in reality to aid the Axis, above all Japan. The threats of the British imperialists and the campaign in the American press are of course also designed to cow the Indian bourgeoisie and force the Congress Party to withdraw its proposed campaign. Gandhi, Nehru and the other leaders of the Indian bourgeoisie have not changed their nature. They still prefer compromise to struggle. After the rejection of Cripps' proposals last April, the All-India Congress Party stalled around until July. There has been almost a month's delay since the projection of the "civil disobedience" campaign. All this was doubtlessly done in the hope that the British would agree to compromise. But London has refused. Meanwhile, the Indian masses are growing more and more restive.

sia, Belgium, etc., likewise revealed that they had long ceased to be parties of the socialist revolution. They all capitulated to their respective imperialist governments and supported the imperialist war which they had denounced up to the very outbreak of the hostilities. The war brought to the surface the corruption and disintegration of the Second International.

The cause of socialism appeared to be hopelessly discredited; the struggle for socialism seemed to be postponed to an indefinite future. A handful of internationalists alone refused to betray the banner of internationalism and the program of socialist reconstruction of society; Lenin and Trotsky in Russia, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany, Eugene Debs in the United States called for the continuation of the struggle. This heroic handful was completely isolated in the first years of the war. Lenin was scoffed and jeered at as a lunatic. But Lenin and the handful of internationalists remained firm. They based themselves on the scientific and revolutionary doctrines of Marxism.

The war crisis of world imperialism had been foretold long in advance. With the outbreak of the world war, the world bourgeoisie was plunged into the gravest crisis of its existence. The task for socialists was to prevent this criminal ruling class and its decayed system from emerging from this crisis. Should capitalism succeed in saving itself, other world conflagrations would of necessity follow. On the other hand, if the revolutionary workers utilized this war-crisis to rid their country of imperialist rule, then the socialist road was wide open to them.

The correctness of the position of Lenin and his followers was demonstrated in action by the victory of the proletarian revolution in Czarist Russia in October, 1917. The Russian workers under the Bolshevik party led by Lenin and Trotsky proved once and for all that the only realistic program for the masses is to continue the struggle for socialism precisely in the time of war. It was the continuation of this struggle that in reality terminated the first imperialist world war. It was the continuation of this struggle that guaranteed victory in the civil war of 1918-1920 in Russia. It was this struggle that pointed the road to the future.

But the Russian revolution remained isolated within the borders of the former Czarist empire. The capitalist rulers of the advanced countries succeeded in emerging from the post-war "crisis thanks to the continued treachery of the parties of the Second International. After Lenin's death, the Stalinist bureaucracy succeeded in usurping power in the Soviet Union and in the Communist International. Under Stalin, the Communist International suffered a degeneration which turned this great revolutionary organization into a body hardly to be differentiated in terms of policy from the traitors of the Second International.

In August 1942, the third-year of the second imperialist war, the pitiful remnants of the once powerful parties of the Second and Third Internationals are repeating the treachery of their predecessors in the first world war. Once again, traitors to the working class are trying to dupe the masses into forsaking the struggle for socialism in the name of the "defense of the fatherland." Once again the cause of socialism appears to be hopelessly discredited and the struggle for socialism seems to be postponed to an indefinite future. But these are only the appearances. The social-patriots in 1914 could pretend that capitalism had still something to offer in the way of progress for society. Behind them were the years of capitalist boom that preceded the outbreak of the war of 1914-1918. The social patriots of 1942 have behind them the record of imperialist decay since 1918 and especially ten years of catastrophic economic convulsions since 1929. The decay of imperialism is not a theory but a terrible reality suffered by the masses on their own backs. The social patriots of 1914 caught the masses unaware. Today finds the parties of the Second and Third Internationals discredited in the eyes of the masses in every country of the world. It is far easier for the masses of the world to find the socialist road today than was the case in 1914-1918.

# CHEN TU-HSIU

"For his steadfastness Chen

We salute a fallen comrade. We

know that our Chinese comrades

will close ranks; will carry the

memory of his idealism and

heroism as a banner on to vic-

tory. The future China of the

workers and peasants will realize

Chen's great dream of science and

democracy, culture and freedom

for the masses in a Chinese

socialist republic, part of the

socialist confederation of the

trickle into Murmansk.

The unlicensed merchant sea

men, being repatriated, report a

which they received in the land of

the Soviets. On an army transport

them to this port, men who had

been ship's officers were given the

best of treatment including state

rooms, shower-baths, service in a

first-class dining room which in-

cluded three meals a day and mess

The unlicensed men found them-

canvas and although there was

plenty of space on the upper

decks, their quarters were near

Merchant seamen are accus

tomed to hardship and are never

men, it was an almost unanimous

which they had risked their lives

CLASS DISTINCTIONS

world!

U.S. Seamen Praise

(Continued from page 1) the meagre food supplies that

women absolutely necessary to the far different story of their treat

Tu-hsiu will always remain an

honored figure in the gallery of

revolutionary fighters."

## **Pioneer Chinese Trotskyist Dies**

sonal renunciation. . . Had he

worst period of the Kuomintang

terror to disown his revolu-

tionary views and bend the knee

to the ruling despot, he could

have had anything within the

despot's gift. He preferred

prison-death, if need be-to

such dishonor and he remained

an exemplar of revolutionary

civilian population was evacuated

from the city, and in Murmansk

today there are only men and

conduct.

Chen Tu-hsiu, one of the found-T and the dangers of underground activity. Never was he known ers of the Chinese Fourth Internationalist movement and before to flinch or complain. His entire political life was one of perthat a founder of the Communist Party of China died on May 24 of this year. At the time of his been prepared, like many of the death he was 62 years old. Stalinist capitulators in the

Although not widely known abroad, within China Chen was an outstanding figure, first as a revolutionist, and secondly, for his contributions to the cultural progress of China.

The son of a well-to-do Mandarin family, early in life he became aroused to great social injustices, the oppression, ignorance, disease and poverty prevalent in China. He first thought that if he could bring knowledge to the masses these conditions would be eradicated.

Soviet Workers But Chen quickly saw that although he had removed one barrier to education of China's workers and peasants by simplyfying the language, another one, far more formidable, remained: poverty.

#### NO CULTURE WITHOUT RICE

conduct of the war. Longshoremen | ment at American hands than that How could a Chinese worker or work in split-shifts around the peasant hope to be able to pay clock and their job is confined to for the education of their children that. There is a building-and bringing nearly three hundred of when often they did not have repair brigade which seems to be enough rice to eat. Chen, whose on duty twenty-four hours a day major interest was culture, quickand hardly is a raid over than ly saw that if his ideal of the they are on the job fixing watercultural advancement of the Chi- mains. telephone lines, docks, nese masses was to be realized, it tracks and even repairing buildwould be necessary to come to ings. Some buildings even have attendants. grips with the economic problem scaffolding on them and masons

of the Chinese masses. Thus Chen | are at work building up walls and putting on roofs. was led to the socialist movement. Inspired by the Bolshevik revolu-FIRE-FIGHTERS tion he aided in the formation of

HINDER NAZIS the Communist Party of China in The fire-fighters are busy all the 1921. time because of the large number

#### THE MASSES MOVE

the water-line. Part of the trip of wooden buildings and wooden back they were given only two Three years later the Chinese docks. And when water mains are meals a day. They were served on revolution began. The Chinese destroyed so as to impair their tin plates which they carried masses moved against imperialwork fire-boats are brought up to through the galley to have filled ism, feudalism and the native pump water directly out of the and then filed into a mess-hall capitalist class. Victory was bay. Although the number of inwhere they stood eating and after within their grasp. But Stalin's cendiary bombs have practically finishing they took their messleadership led the Chinese masses destroyed all wooden buildings, the gear along to a garbage-can on one to place their faith in the Chinese firemen in every instance succeedside of the hall and cleaned it off capitalist class against the in- ed in keeping fires from spreadfor the stewards to wash. stinct and better judgment of the ing, so that it took the Germans revolutionary workers. At the more than a month to accomplish crucial moment, the Chinese a job that might have been done heard to complain about food or

capitalist class turned upon the in a day. living accomodations where necesworkers and peasants and to Add to the strain of constant sity demands such treatment as gether with the imperialists bombing the acute food shortage was accorded these survivors. began a reign of terror against in Murmansk and one has a fair However where there is no excuse picture of what seems to people | for this treatment and where such the militant workers and preasants. The revolution was crushed. in this country almost intolerable marked distinction is made between licensed and unlicensed

conditions. But they are condi-During these events Chen was tions which have failed to destroy the leader of the Communist the fighting spirit of the Russian demand by all unlicensed men Party of China and faithfully people who have something to carried out Stalin's line. After the that the greedy companies for fight for. defeat Stalin attempted to place

Men in American naval uniform compensate them in cash in the all blame for the tragedy on the head of Chen. Chen resisted his ashore in Murmansk were taken amount of the difference between being made the scapegoat and into community kitchens where a first-class transportation given oflarge part of the population eats ficers and the fourth manded that a real study be and were freely given a portion of transportation meted out to these made of the Chinese revolution and its lessons. For this he was the meagre fare that was available. men by army brass hats. The flagrant class distinction expelled from the Stalinized Com-CONTRAST IS GREAT under American rule was only a munist Party of China. Contrast this cooperative spirit small item in the minds of these



The capitalist class is developing the beggar's whine.

On July 28, 1942, The Conference Board issued a statement that claimed that profits and dividends were declining as compared to a year ago, and it is "likely that the proportion of income received in dividends will continue downward for some time."

High taxes and wages are blamed principally for the plight of the capitalists.

#### A Most Charitable Man

The sad situation of the capitalist class has aroused the pity of Senator W. F. George. And since he is a most kindhearted man - when it concerns the capitalist class - and head of the Senate Finance Committee, he is going to do something about it. He is proposing to exempt, in part, taxes on money spent by certain corporations in repaying debts and meeting other fixed obligations.

(Senator George last week refused to make even the feeble gesture of taxing the "special privileges" asked of his committee by Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau. At the same time when questioned as to the possible adoption of a general sales tax, Mr. George declared that "the sales tax and everything else is open" for discussion and action by his committee. The sales tax is a form of taxation that falls viciously on the lower paid incomes.)

The occasion that caused Mr. George's sympathy to well up like a fountain was the appearance of a number of so-called small business men before the committee he chairs. Among them was John W. Brooks, treasurer of Pass & Seymour of Syracuse. Mr. Brooks testified that his net profit for the year was only 2.6 per cent after paying taxes.

#### selves herded into troop quarters 2.6% — and a Free Plant where they slept on strips of

Senator Connally remarked: "You are getting a good plant out of it."

"Yes," Mr. Brooks replied.

In this little scene we have symbolized the entire status of the American capitalist class. They pose as martyrs, declaim about the "sacrifices" they make, shout about the apparently declining rate of profit. But all the time the "real" profits of the capitalist class, above all of the large corporations, is mounting.

What are "real" profits? "Real" profits are the money profits (which dropped only about 6.8 per cent in the last year) plus the free plants they are "getting out of it," plus swollen salaries for management that those who dominate the corporations vote for themselves, plus the results of financial chicaneries of assorted kinds.

#### **Capitalists** Get Free Plants And Machinery

It was brought out by the report of the House Truman Committee that as of January 1, 1942, before the present huge expenditures for war goods, \$7,500,000,000 was to be given by the government to the capitalist class in the form of new plants and machinerv.

These plants are built at the expense of the gov-

In the grave crisis of British imperialism, the Indian masses sense and see an unprecedented opportunity to gain their freedom. They want to seize this opportunity in order to realize their aspirations and dreams of the past two centuries.

## The Anniversary of A Great Betrayal

Twenty eight years ago, on August 4, 1914, the world working class received a staggering blow. The German Social-Democratic Party, the largest and most authoritative party of the Second International, sold out the struggle for socialism in the name of the "defense of the fatherland." On that day Hugo Haase arose in the Reichstag to cast the votes of the social democratic deputies for the war credits demanded by the Kaiser's government.

The socialist parties of France, England, Rus-

The only realistic program for the masses today remains the program of Lenin: CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM!

## **BOOK REVIEW**

#### .....

RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC FRONT. By A. Yugow. Harper & Brothers.

Here is a useful book for statistical and other information relevant to the economic development of the Soviet Union up to 1940. The author appears to be a left-wing Menshevik and his sympathies are obviously with the right-wing Bolshevik opponents of Stalin.

At a time when publishers refuse to accept manuscripts that are hostile to Stalin it is quite interesting to note that the book is not at all pro-Stalin. The anti-Stalinism in the book is, however, buried deep enough so that it is not too obvious and the publisher, we presume, hoped that the State Department will not interfere. Or, better, the manuscript was undoubtedly okayed by that Department.

In so far as the author criticizes Stalin's policies correctly the criticism coincides with that of the Trotskyists. The author manages however, in a book dealing with the economic development of the Soviet Union to omit entirely the controversies between Trotsky and the ruling bureaucracy of the Soviet Union.

The advantages of Soviet economy are recognized and fairly presented and the ruinous consequences of the Stalinist policies are made clear. It is a good book to place beside Trotsky's Revolution Betrayed for the purpose of getting later figures on Soviet economy. For a Marxist analysis and explanation of that economy The Revolution Betrayed remains the classic for all students.

#### JOINS TROTSKYISTS

He himself then came into contact with the Left Opposition under the leadership of Leon Trotsky. The Trotskyists had constantly opposed Stalin's policy, within the Communist International. Chen adopted the ideas of Trotsky and joined one of the Left Opposition groups. Later all the Left Opposition groups united to form the Chinese section of the Fourth International. He participated in the leadership.

#### FIVE YEARS IN PRISON

Chen spent five years in prison for his ideas. When on trial he conducted himself as a revolutionist. He became the accuser rather than the accused. He exposed the Chiang Kai-shek regime of capitalist terror. This man they could neither break nor buy!

When finally liberated from prison he was broken in health. He was not permitted to live in about the salaries and bonuses any of the large industrial cities paid to automobile executives, because the Chiang Kai-shek Levinson replied: regime feared his influence on the Chinese workers. Therefore he was forced to reside in a small

village in interior China. In the last years of his life Chen developed serious differences with the Chinese Fourth Internationalists. He advocated support of the democratic imperialists in the World War II. No one else in the Chinese section of the Fourth too mad.' International accepted his point of view. Chen loyally kept his differences within the organization.

#### A CO-WORKER'S TRIBUTE

Comrade Li Fu-jen, who worked with Chen for many years, in an article in the August number of the Fourth International, says;

"Despite his serious limitations, Chen Tu-hsiu displayed most of the personal qualities of a areat revolutionist. His single-minded devotion to the cause of the oppressed could not be questioned. He abandoned a comfortable and honored academic career for the life of a revolutionist and never looked backward. With his comrades he shared all the vicissitudes of that life, including drab poverty

under the most trying of war-time men compared to the utter lack of circumstances with the treatment | adequate convoy-escort during the accorded survivors returning from most dangerous and trying stretch the Murmansk run in British and of their run where they had been American territorial waters and sunk and where, many of their on American ships. American comrades had drowned. Merchant transports crossing the Atlantic seamen today have a right to under heavy escort were a far cry demand guarantees from the Navy from the inadequate escort service that they will be adequately accorded ships running the Arctic escorted through the German blockade. Also different was the blockade and if the Navy cannot amount of foodstuff carried by guarantee such escort then it is modern ships, that calls into port | clear to all that the unions must for provisions on an average of demand a voice in the planning not less than every ten days, from ' and operation of all convoy duty



(Continued from page 1) black markets, increased taxation reports a conversation with Edand wage-freezing on the other, ward Levinson, editor of the Uniis too glaring to be hidden. Deted Automobile Worker. Asked spite the efforts of the Levinsons why his paper never runs stories who are doing the bosses a great service by keeping vital information from the workers, the latter know what the real state of

"It would just provoke trouble. affairs is and they are beginning Someone would be sure to clip out to understand that it is necesthe stories and paste them up for sary to take steps to make a coreveryone in the plant to read. rection.

People would gather around to The workers should demand discuss them, and you know how that the large corporations open our boys feel. First thing you their books to inspection so that know you'd have the damnedest all can see just who is profiteeruproar in that plant. No one ing from the war. And they would do any work; they'd all be should further demand that the government take over all war in-

The great contrast between the | dustries and operate them under monopoly executives, living in workers' control. This will efluxury on tremendous incomes fectively put a stop to the capion the one hand, and the work- talist plunderers whose pockets ing people, facing rationing, are bulging with war profits.

#### TABLE OF SALARIES

	1941	increase over-1940
Tom M. Girdler, Republic	\$275,000	\$99,000
BF Fairless, U. S. Steel	156,000	16,400
Paul Mackall, Bethlehem	197,317	17,874
Quincy Bent, Bethlehem	197,317	17,874
Robt. E. MacGrath, Bethlehem	155,393	15,887
R. J. Wysor, Republic	146,000	46,000
N. J. Clarke, Republic	86,000	11,000
Enders M. Voorhees, U. S. Steel	107,410	690
Irvin S. Olds, U. S. Steel	107,320	26,076
L. N. Parsons, J & L Steel	110,375	19,990

ernment but turned over to the corporations for operation. After the war the government-financed plans can be bought by the corporation, if it so desires. However the plants are generally worthless if the corporation refuses to buy.

As an example we can cite the new plant being built for Bethlehem Steel at Sparrows Point. Marvland. If the government decides to take the plant over, it must remove it from Bethlehem's land. The right of the government to take the plant is, in the words of the Truman Commitee, "of dubious value as the cost of removing the facilities might well approximate, if not exceed the salvage value." In other words, it will cost more to junk the plant than it will be worth!

The Truman Committee report says:

"The (government) capital expenditures for plant improvements for defense purposes will ultimately provide the contracting corporations with some of the newest and finest machine tools and factory buildings practically free of charge."

#### Managers Salaries Hide Real Profits

Another method of hiding real profits is through the managers voting themselves huge salaries.

A few months ago a case revealed graphically how this takes place. The case was that of the corporation, Jack & Heintz. In the year ending January 1, 1942 the corporation earned \$1,000,000 in profits on \$10,000,000 worth of business. Besides this, however, the head of the company raised his salary from \$25,000 a year to \$100,000 in addition to rewarding himself for his excellent job as manager in the form of \$45,000 bonus. The other owners, William Jack, the son of the head of the firm, and Ralph Heintz also received \$100,000.

A few days later, Edmund Tolan, counsel of the House Naval Committee, revealed that the salaries of corporation officials of 15 companies chosen as samples, showed an increase from 22 to 1330 per cent over 1934 figures. Among the firms in the sampling were American Zinc Smelting, Bridgeport Brass, Union Carbide, duPont and New York Air Brakes.

Figures released in the last few days showed huge increase in the salaries of steel corporation heads. In another article in this issue Milton Alvin shows increases for steel executives reaching up to \$100,000 between 1940 and 1941.

## For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet

**Rising Living Costs**