## **Roosevelt Offers Helping Hand To Fascist Franco**

By Milton Alvin

Some new light was shed on the character of the second "war for democracy" when President Roosevelt announced last week a plan to strengthen the regime of the fascist dictator of Spain, General Francisco Franco, by "an important step" to put the government "on its feet economically." Along with this spoken pledge of financial aid and blessings to Franco if he remains neutral in the war - the only condition Roosevelt laid down in return for his offer - goes the implied assurance that no efforts will be made by the "democracies" to establish in Spain any of the "freedoms" which Roosevelt so often proclaims and which were abolished by Franco through the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39. Plainly. Roosevelt sees nothing wrong with fascists who are on his side or neutral.

The offer to aid Spanish fascism took the form of "a plan to rehabilitate the art treasures, the manuscripts, literature and famous buildings of Spain and to encourage the movement of tourists from the 21 American republics to Spain after the war," with the money to be raised "by contributions from individuals, groups and foundations within the Americas, under the sponsorship of the individual governments." (N. Y. Times, Aug. 29.) The repairs on the art treasures, etc., should begin soon, Roosevelt added in an obvious bid for a speedy deal with the Spanish fascists.

#### **Denunciations and Collaboration**

Almost every week Roosevelt makes a speech or a statement denouncing the criminal cruelty or inhumanity of the Axis chiefs, but apparently he is quite satisfied to collaborate with a government headed by the butcher of tens of thousands of Spanish workers and many heroic fighters of other lands, including the United States, who went to Spain to help the Loyalists in the Civil War. By his offer of such collaboration, Roosevelt gives the lie to all those of his supporters who have, since the outbreak of the present war in Europe, tried to paint the role of the United States government in the Spanish Civil War as some kind of "mistake."

At that time the government passed special legislation at Roosevelt's request, the so-called Neutrality Act, which prevented the Loyalists from purchasing arms here. Meanwhile Franco was able to obtain all the aid he could use from the Nazis and Fastists. American imperialism was thus a factor in helping Franco strangle the Loyalists and behead the Spanish Revolution. The present plans of Roosevelt can therefore be seen as a direct continuation of his previous policy, which was no mistake of any kind from his point of view. The basic class line of imperialism which is to seek alliances with all reactionary forces attempting to crush the working class - is the same as it was before, and has not changed because of the war.

## **Continuation of Previous Policy**

That Roosevelt is not worried by possible protests from his liberal supporters was indicated by his reply to a reporter who asked if his plan might not produce some opposition in this country. He cynically replied that he didenot anticipate any opposition because after all, "a very ancient culture, such as that of Spain, transcended the government of any particular period."

This was a warning to the liberals not to begin mumbling in their beards about this matter; that if it is necessary to appease the fascist Franco in order to win his neutrality, it is all in the interests of the "Four Freedoms." Even if the liberals do whine a bit, the government will pay no attention to them whatever, just as it ignored the hue and cry that went up from these gentry when the Loyalists were prevented from buying arms here in 1936. Liberal pretenses for democratic niceties are all very well in their way, but they are "transcended" by the class policy of the imperialists.

The Roosevelt plan to aid Franco can have a further demoralizing effect upon the Spanish workers who fought so bravely to put down the slave-holders' rebellion which he led. This will be especially true if the labor movement here gives one ounce of support to the policies of the government towards Spain. Hundreds of thousands of heroic fighters in the Civil War who were driven out of Spain by a combination of Fascist attack and Stalinist-Social Democratic-Anarchist treachery have suffered for more than three years in French concentration camps. Since the advent of the Petain regime many of the best elements have been handed over to Franco to be murdered. Despite everything, they still retain the hope that aid will come to them from the workers of the world. The American workers must not let them down! No help to the butcher of the Spanish workers, Franco'

## Whom U. S. Workers Should Support

The American labor movement must support only such a program as will rehabilitate those parts of Spanish "culture" that Roosevelt has not mentioned so far, and which, in fact, he is only too glad to ignore. This includes the great trade unions, political parties and workers' organizations of Spain which have all been destroyed by Franco.

The present American government is not interested in reviving these institutions as their re-birth will guarantee not only the extermination of Franco but make it possible for the Spanish workers to finish the job they set out to do in 1936. Only a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States will take a real interest in the fate of the Spanish workers and give them aid in removing their present oppressors. Such a government would concern itself first with the revival of the Spanish working class movement and under no possible circumstances would give the Franco murderers any aid.

The example of Spain in the present war should be a lesson to all sincere anti-fascist workers in the United States. The "democratic" imperialists are not fighting to destroy fascism, they are only fighting to defeat certain fascists who threaten the interests of the "democratic" rulers; that is why they can collaborate with one fascist government while fighting another. Labor should take steps to organize its own party and form its own government here; this alone will guarantee the defeat of fascism.

# U.S. Bosses In Shanghai Still Do 'Business As Usual' With Japanese

## State Department Tried To Suppress Information

By Anthony Massini

American and British businessmen in Japanese-held Shanghai are collaborating in the most friendly fashion with Japanese imperialism, and "business as usual" goes on "to an extent inconceivable to anyone who hasn't been there." This informationtogether with the fact that the U. S. State Department and the British Foreign Office suppressed the story — was revealed on August 28 by the N. Y. Post reporter, Edward Hunter, after he had interviewed a number of American repatriates arriving here on the S. S. Gripsholm. Chinese officials have charged that American and British business interests are carrying on the same practices in Hong Kong, also captured by the Japanese.

According to Hunter, "Department stores. liquor stores, haberdasheries, textile mills all operate 'normally' with American or British owners or managers, and Japanese supervisors, in charge. "In the Americanowned telephone system, the electric plants and street-car system the American executives and engineers are at their desks, again with Jap supervisors. . . The police still have American and British inspectors and sergeants, but the heads of the service have been displaced by Japanese. The ousted officials have been given comfortable

The American and British "communities of Shanghai take easily to collaboration," Hunter continues. "Many years of cocktails and dancing atop luxurious hotel roofs. while Chinese fought and died within sight and earshot, have made them oblivious to the fact that this concerns them."

### Attitude Of State Department

"Business as usual" goes on with the full knowledge and evident approval of the United States and British governments. Hunter was told, "No disapproval has been expressed by the American consular authorities, or their home offices back in the U. S., for example, to impress on them that

in an important military center, they are aiding and abetting the enemy."

It was the opinion of one of the informants of Hunter-who was obviously trying to cover up for his friends still in Shanghai -that "If the State Department were to an nounce that such activities were forbidden, the overwhelming majority would give them up. But with the State Department seeming to follow an appeasement line itself in these matters, they feel that they are doing the only thing possible."

But the only thing that the State Department disapproves is letting out the truth about what is going on. Passengers on the Gripsholm "are still bewildered by the behavior of the State Department and the British Foreign Office at Lourenco Marques, where the vessel first docked. Strict instructions were issued that they keep quiet."

It is not surprising that government officials don't want the American people to have this information. For it conclusively demonstrates what the capitalists are fighting for. Their basic perspective is to continue as exploiters of China, regardless of who wins the war. Naturally, they would prefer to have the United States win, for then American capitalism would be in the number one position as exploiter of China, with British and Japanese capitalists reduced to secondary positions. But even if the United States loses, they figure on remaining members of the consortium of foreign powers which has sucked China dry for so many years. That is why they continue to do "business as usual"—with the permission of the Japanese forces, who realize that their own economic base is too limited to permit them by themselves to organize the exploitation of China and the

Washington continues to talk about a "war for democracy" and struggle to the death against fascism and imperialism, but the activities of American capitalists are

by helping to make life normal for the Japs not determined or affected by such talk. The bosses understand that this talk is for consumption by the masses. As for themselves, their perspective is-as it was before the war, and as it will be after the war-continued participation in the exploitation of the colonies.

### How. China Is Treated

Directly paralleling the imperialist outlook of American and British big business firms in Shanghai and Hongkong is the treatment accorded China by the American and British governments.

For despite the war with Japan, China is still regarded as an "inferior," treated not as an equal among equals in the high councils of the "United Nations"-but as a semi-colonial country which is to be tolerated but not given a voice in deciding questions of important policy and strategy, which is to be given a little material aid now and then but never in preference to the imperialist powers.

Although the Chinese have been handed many compliments and promises in recent months, they are thoroughly dissatisfied with the attitude and policy of Washington and London, which they know have not undergone any real change since Pearl Harbor. The Chinese case has been voiced in this country through its unofficial spokesman, Lin Yutang.

China's complaints, as expressed in a letter by Lin Yutang to the N. Y. Times of July 19, fall into two main categories:

1. China is not getting the supplies which it was promised; delivery of these supplies to China is being "sabotaged."

The letter says: "The English and the American public must realize that China is no longer satisfied with bouquets such as those so graciously thrown out to the Chinese nation on the fifth anniversary (of the Sino-Japanese war). The only bouquet that China will appreciate now is to stop

## (Continued on page 3)

# In Spartansburg, S. C., Pri-

soldier, was "attacked and beaten for going into a drug store to get an ice cream cone? Courier.

an ice cream cone in a so-called white drug store — that a decision to punish workers solely because they went on

## FDR Speech Will Set New Drastic Wage Controls

## Nature of Plan Is Foreshadowed by Latest Anti-Labor Moves of Government Agencies

By JOSEPH ANDREWS

Sept. 2—Although President Roosevelt was still putting the finishing touches on the "wage control" speech he is scheduled to make on Labor Day, the nature of the main points of his new proposals could already be seen this week from recent statements and actions by the administration and its agencies.

1. At a press conference, after 3 his meeting with William Green santo Chemical Company and and Philip Murray last week, New England Company workers Roosevelt said that "the wage stabilization to be incorporated in his program would be flexible and would not amount to a flat WLB ruled that it will not grant freezing of wages and salaries." (N. Y. Times, Aug. 29.)

It is evident from this that the policy probably agreed to between Roosevelt and the leaders of the AFL and CIO would provide something similar to the "Little Steel" formula, by which wages are "frozen" to the purchasing power of January 1941, but allowed "flexibility" up to that point.

#### FORMULA PEGS WAGES TO LOW LEVEL

This formula pegs wages to the low point prevailing before the big strike wave in the spring of 1941; it would mean virtually no wage increases for the great ADMINISTRATION MOVES majority of the workers. It is expected that Roosevelt will seek to apply this formula to all cases whether they come before the WLB or not.

2. In the "Big Steel" decision, made on August 25, the WLB automatically applied the "Little Steel" formula, rejecting the last week," according to a re-cent issue of the Pittsburgh for the dollar-a-day increase, steel workers' original demand and granting only a 51/2% increase. This gives advance notice of what is coming for the Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler workers who are asking for a dollar-a-day increase.

3. Similarly following the The next m o r n i n g, the Courier story continues, Carrish was tried in police court and sentenced to 30 days on "Little Steel" formula, the WLB to grant them any increase

> 4. The WLB has handed down strike. In the case of the Mon-

of Everett, Massachusetts, who staged a five day strike demanding a maintenance of membership clause in their contract, the "a maintenance of membership protection to this or any other union which resorts to economic force." Thus the WLB is now being used to outlaw strikes. although the workers still have the legal right to employ this

5. After a short strike at the Buick Aluminum Foundry in Flint, Michigan, precipitated by the company's firing of union members, the Army Air Force plant protection office, working with the company, forced two union leaders out of the plant, on the charge that they had appeared on the picket line and that they were therefore "aiding the enemy knowingly." To walk on a picket line, by this reasoning,

TO CONTROL UNIONS With wages to be frozen to the purchasing power level of Jan., 1941, and with the WLB and Army agencies utilized to terrorize and intimidate the unions. the administration is moving rapidly toward drastic control both of the income of the work-

ers, and of their organizations.

The practical outlawing of the right to strike, as indicated by the Flint and Everett, Massachusetts cases, flows from the administration determination to curb and control wages. Roosevelt knows very well that to enforce the "Little Steel" formula, more than promises of "flexibility" is needed to prevent outbreaks of protest from the rank and file of the unions, whose living standards are under attack.

#### UNION MOVEMENT IS IN DANGER

The union movement is in danger of having its basic rights destroyed. The top leadership has thus far countenanced the increasingly vicious administration acts of intimidation. After their meeting wth Roosevelt, Murray and Green publicly stated that they agreed in principle with Roosevelt's "flexible" wage control proposals. In the Everett case, all labor representatives on the WLB voted with the rest of the board to punish the workers for their strike. No top union official has protested the Army's blacklisting of two union leaders in the Buick plant, for the "crime" of picketing.

Roosevelt's Labor Day speech will undoubtedly stress the "flexibility" of wage control included in his proposals. But the workers must let it be known that they are not deceived by this, and that they will not stand for what amounts to wage freezing in effect and the curtailment and abrogation of the union movement's right to use its economic strength to enforce its demands.

The OPA surrendered to the

## All India Opposes British A FIFTH FREEDOM? Rule, Reporter Admits

## Conservative Elements Find Themselves Forced to Support Independence Demand

By Felix Morrow

That all India is unanimous in demanding independence and opposing the British is revealed by one was shortly to go there too. one tiny glimpse provided in the first dispatch of Herbert L. Matthews, just sent there by the N. Y. Times. He writes from Karachi, Sind Province:

"An American entering this gate of India finds himself caught between two fires—British and Indian." Note that he does not say British and Con- all India demands immediate ingress, but British and INDIAN.

"Since this is true of Sind agitation, it should be much more Province, which is relatively so elsewhere. Sind is about three-

## Postal Defense Motions Are Denied By Judge

24. Postal was convicted last a transfer. April on framed-up charges of embezzlement. The CRDC is planning now to appeal the conviction to the higher courts.

The new trial was not granted in spite of the fact that Postal's conviction was based on evidence almost identical to evidence in a previous prosecution against the union leader, in which he was freed on a directed verdict. In the second trial, Judge Selover practically instructed the jury to find Postal guilty in spite of the fact that nothing new had been ntroduced in evidence.

The embezzlement charges a-Skoglund, grew out of the fight of | New York City.

Committee announced this week of Daniel J. Tobin, President of that the defense motion for a the AFL Teamsters International. The Postal case and other cases new trial for Kelly Postal, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 544
Reard members involve the right CIO, was turned down by Judge of a union to change affiliation Selover in Minneapolis on Aug. and to use its local funds in such

other Local 544-CIO officers who face charges in Minnesota district

The CRDC is aiding the Postal defense in addition to its work in providing the means necessary to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court the conviction of the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers the duration of the war if it Party and Local 544-CIO.

All labor and liberal organizations, as well as individuals, are asked to send contributions for

quarters Moslem and the All-India Congress has made little progress here." (N. Y. Times, August 29.) Matthews was able to talk to

only one Congressman in Karachi the rest were in jail and this In addition he talked to the Premier of Sind Province, who is a Moslem; to several Indian businessmen and eight Indian newspapermen. And he reports: "Despite the diversity of types all presented virtually identical cases." Or, in plainer English,

## remote from the real political A SIGNIFICANT STAND

The stand taken for indepenlence by the Premier of Sind, Allah Bakhsh, is especially significant. He took office under particularly reprehensible circumstances. In September 1939, Sind was being governed by a Congress-coalition ministry (it was one of the four provinces in which The Civil Rights Defense Local 544 against the dictator-rule the Congress did not secure a 1937). In protest against India's the people's consent, the seven Board members involve the right | Congress provincial ministries | in certain localities, which arise resigned and the Congress ministers withdrew from the coalition ministries in Sind and The CRDC is organizing a fund-Orissa provinces. Allah Bakhsh raising campaign to finance the insisted on re-establishing a appeal of the Postal conviction, provincial ministry-an act of and to provide a defense for the scabbery against the nationalist protest. For him now to echo Congress views, therefore, can only mean irresistible pressure from the masses—and this in a predominantly Moslem province. Matthews quotes the Congress position as ready to "support a complete Moslem government for

> meant Indian independence.' the Times correspondent, consti-

vate Albert Carrish, Negro

After Carrish had been beaten by the white store clerk and other Jim Crow elements standing around, the cops came — and threw Carrish

the chain gang or a \$50 fine. to grant
The right of a Negro to get whatever.

## Meat To Be Rationed **As Shortage Continues** The food situation is daily | milk to the consumers were

becoming more acute. Meat will be rationed starting in about four months. This was announced on Sept. 1 by the majority in the elections of Food Requirements Committee, which pointed out that the rationbeing drawn into the war without | ing measure was not designed to relieve present meat shortages because the packers are sending the major percentage of their meat to those areas where prices are higher and curtailing the supply to the districts where prices, and profits, are lower.

At the same time food prices are soaring. For example, potatoes are selling at wholesale on the Chicago market at the highest prices of more than a decade. The milk dealers of New York are threatening to halt deliveries unless milk prices will be allowed to rise. Candy manufacturers are

Because the price on raw milk These few facts, testified to by had been raised from \$3.10 to weapon that was used by the spoil on the ground unharvested. \$3.30 a hundred-weight, the milk tute an annihilating refutation of distributors of New York City new being used by the meat manufacturers. gainst Postal, as well as against these two important labor cases the mountains of pro-British lies demand the right to pass on this packers. Miles Dunne, Moe Hork and Carl to the CRDC, 160 Fifth Avenue, published by the American press. increase to the consumers in the form of higher prices. Prices or of some 400 to 500 items, the bosses.

placed under a ceiling by the QPA on August 7, The distributors are predicting that milk deliveries may be halted

unless they secure their demand. The larger companies like Borden's and Sheffield are remaining in the background to make it appear as if the demanded rise in the price of milk was only in the interest of the small distributor. The large concerns have been receiving nuge profits. .

Outlook in regard to peanut candies of all types is for higher prices or marked scarcity as the candy companies are trying to pass along an increase in the price of peanuts to the consumers by raising the price on

Both the milk distributors and candy companies are placing grocery manufacturers withheld higher prices by using the same grocery manufacturers and is

pressing for higher prices, etc. pressure on the OPA to secure these items from the retail stores and threatened to let the food

Profits, not the needs of the To secure a rise in the ceiling people, are what interest the

I notice that articles in THE for us, a genuine ALP candidate

respondents how they expect to

Here is how Pravda reported

"At the speaker's stand the

representatives of Soviet youth

took the oath to their people, to

their leader. Comrade Stalin, to

spare no efforts nor life itself in

order to make the year 1942 the

year of the annihilation of Ger-

man Fascist plunderers, the year

of emancipation of Soviet land

An extract from a typical

"Comrades The hour of deci-

sive battles has come. To crush

the enemy in 1942—this is the

task which Comrade Stalin has

set before the Red Army, before

the whole Soviet people. Let us

whole Soviet youth to fulfill this

order of Comrade Stalin" (idem).

meetings is to send a letter to

Stalin. The communication ad-

dressed to Stalin in this case

"Comrades: The hour of deci-

shining memory of the great

At the same time, the second

gathering, like the first, issued

a "World Manifesto." The Daily

this document. The dispatch from

Moscow carried in the Daily

Worker states: "To the German

A glance at the text of the

Manifesto reveals the reasons for

the rigid censorship. It is couched

in the language of an arrogant

conqueror to a defeated enemy

has no recourse other than to

MONSTROUS STATEMENTS

This monstrous Manifesto be-

The Fascist army has become

weaker; the manpower and

material reserves of Hitlerite

that this declaration is not an

particular occasion. No, it re-

presents the official line of the

Kremlin in its domestic propa-

Thus, on June 8, Pravda

ganda since last December.

DEFENSE

**MINNEAPOLIS** 

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This pamphlet will be of especial inter-

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and Albert Goldman's "In Defense of

**POLICY** 

in the

TRIAL

Germany are on the verge of ex-

haustion." (Pravda, Jan. 9.)

surrender unconditionally.

One of the rituals at such

from the Hitlerite scum."

defeat the Nazis."

(Pravda, June 9.)

THE RITUAL

speech follows:

reads as follows:

June 9.)

the sessions:

Soviet Youth Duped by Stalin's Boast of Victory in 1942

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The arrival in this country of issues of Pravda for the first have become better organized part of June makes it clear that the official campaign of boast- and many times stronger." ing about Hitler's defeat in 1942 reached its heights on the very eve of the Nazi drive against Stalingrad and the Caucasus.

As is well known, on May 1 Stalin issued his "Order" claiming, among other things, that Hitler would and could be defeated in 1942. Thereupon the Stalinist press threw all caution | Worker goes on to add: "For two | to the wind, pretending that this hours the group told foreign cor-

boast was already the reality. All war time activity was centered around the "fulfillment" of this "world-historic order." Enterprises in industry and the collective farms were set tasks the attainment of which the Soviet people were told would guarantee victory in 1942. It makes gruesome reading to see featured in the columns of Pravda reports of successes in precisely those areas which have been since overrun by the Nazis.

One of the high points of this campaign was the convocation on June 7 of the "Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth." This Committee is one of the hasty wartime creations of the Kremlin, designed primarily to cover up the fact that none of the official Soviet organizations have been permitted to meet since the

outbreak of the war. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has not met a single | then swear in the name of the time. Neither has the Komsomol (the Russian YCL), nor the Russian trade unions. The Supreme Council of the Soviets has not held a single session. No elections to this body have been held although they are long overdue. The Communist International and its "helmsman," Dimitrov, have ordered the complete destruction simply disappeared from the of the German Fascist troops and scene. The only official gather- the freeing of Soviet soil from ings have been those of "commit- the Hitlerite scum. Comrade tees" of youth, housewives, etc. Stalin, we swear to You by the In this way an appearance of mass activity and agitation is Lenin to fulfill this order"

being maintained. The "Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth" held its first meeting last September. It issued "World-Manifesto" which did not contain single word of internationalism nor a single reference to socialism or the defense of the socialist conquests of the Soviet Union. This document, utterly permeated with nacionalist demagogy, has never been referred to again in the Soviet press.

The second gathering of this handpicked body was staged as a "Win the War in 1942" Convention. "The sole topic for the second meeting of the fighting youth organization will be How to assure the Defeat of Hitler in 1942'." (Daily Worker, June 7.) The same dispatch to the Daily

\$1-A-Year Men Resign; Replaced By \$1-A-Year Men

Steel and Iron Branch of the War Production Board, resigned from that post on August 28. The resignation followed Frederick Libbey's exposure of the domination of the Branch by the large steel cor-

Libbey, WPB engineering consultant, was fired summarily by Donald Nelson on the ground that his mildly critical report of conditions in the Steel and Iron Branch had been allowed to leak out to a newspaper.

Taylor was a dollar-a-year man. Until 1938 he had been president of the Consolidated Steel Company. At present he is president of the Union Oil Company of California.

On August 31, David F. Austin was appointed successor to Reese Taylor. Like his predecessor, the new head of the Branch comes from a large corporation. He is vice-president of the Carnegie-

Illinois Steel Corporation. Another dollar-a-year man, the WPB's director of operations, Amery Houghton, has also resigned. Houghton is a leading official in the Corning Works which was recently convicted of being a trust. Donald Nelson, his superior, accepted the resignation

'with regret." Meanwhile, the WPB policy of concentrating the profitable war orders in the hands of the large corporations and of hampering any expansion not under the control of those corporations, has resulted in a steel shortage which is responsible for many layoffs and the shutdown of such plants as the Higgins Shipyard.

A few notorious agents of the corporations are gone from the WPB, but the appointment of Austin and the regret Nelson expresses at Houghton's resignation indicate that the WPB heads do not intend to change their promonopoly policies.

Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

The Stalinist appeal issued in the "World Manifesto" to the German youth is very brief and its language is pointed and unmistakable. After assuring the German youth that the "Red Army fights not against the German people but against the German occupiers," the Manifesto continues:

"So long as you continue to conduct yourselves like murderers on our soil, so long as you continue to tie your fate to Hitler-death awaits you. The fate of Hitler and his clique has been decided. Why should you perish with them? You can save your-(Pravda, January 9, selves." 1942.)

It is on this assumption of vicask but issues an ultimatum that the German soldiers refuse to fulfill the orders of Hitler and his generals and surrender to the Red Army!

What effect can such propaganda have on the German soldiers? Far from weakening their morale it plays directly into the hands of the Nazis. It is one of the basic reasons for the latest military success of the Nazis against the Red Army. At the same time it can only serve to demoralize the Soviet youth, who have been so deluded with hoasts and promises of early victory.

LENINIST POLICY NEEDED

The only appeal that will meet with a response on the part of the German masses and above all, the German youth, is the kind of appeal that was issued by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky, namely, a summons to revolutionary struggle for the establishment of socialism and the creation of the Socialist United States of Europe. This is the only policy that can maintain Worker was permitted to reprint the morale of the Soviet masses only carefully edited sections of and of the Soviet youth.

The continuation of Stalinist policies of which the "World Manifesto" is such a glaring exyouth the Conference appealed ample can lead only to the downfor refusal to obey the orders of fall of the Soviet Union. There Nazi officers and revolt against is still time to avert disaster the Hitler rule." (Daily Worker, by returning to Bolshevism, to the policies of Lenin and Trotsky which guaranteed victory in October 1917 and enabled the Red Army to defeat the combined onslaught of the White Guards and of the imperialist intervention in the Civil War of 1918who need expect no mercy and

Wright Speaks On gins by declaring:
"In stubborn battles the Red India at Harlem Army has chewed up Hitler's best divisions. Today his army is not the same as it was a year ago.

NEW YORK - Speaking in defense of India's struggle for independence. John G. Wright addressed a forum of the Harlem Workers Club on Friday, August It must be clearly understood 28, at 72 West 125th Street. Wright explained why the present struggle in India must be supported by all workers and oppressed, despite the unreliable

episodic excess evinced on this Gandhi leadership; and emphasized that India's struggle for independence would begin unfolding fully only when the program "Hitlerite Germany, her army, of the agrarian revolution was ner rear have become many times | linked up with the overthrow of weaker than was the case 11 British rule.

months ago. At the same time A lengthy and interesting disour country, our army, our rear cussion followed.

48 PAGES

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last year that the struggle for na- be nominated. Declarations such tional liberation should be defer- as this brought forth enthusiastic red; I also recall statements inti- cheers. mating that those who sought to Then came the climax. The continue the struggle for inde- dark horse Tammany Democrat, tory that the Kremlin does not pendence are "fifth columnists," Alfange, was to be our very own etc. Then last spring the CP supported the Cripps mission and knew or cared who Alfange was.

plan. Workers should be remind- This Tammany Hall wonder boy ed of these facts. In the present situation their convention by the worst steamposition is that they are "for" na- roller tactics. A delegate next to tional independence, but are op- me remarked that while the leadposed to all struggle for it. They ership blared loud against fascism, attack the civil disobedience move- they never hesitated to practice ment, place the blame on the All- dictatorial methods in their own India Congress for "provoking" | conventions! violence, interfering with the war

Stalinist Stand

India,

On Indian Struggle

effort, etc., and at the same time places as Seneca Falls, Schenectcriticize the British Government ady, Plattsburg, Saratoga, Syrafor using force, but only because cuse and Albany, from rural areas it has proved ineffective and is and towns, returned bitterly disdriving the Indian masses further appointed. They felt betrayed by away from support of the Allied the rosy promises of the leaderwar effort.

The August 18 New Masses has an editorial which gives a good this fall. illustration of the Stalinist position. First it attacks the civil disserts "the Congress Party does not represent as much of India as it claims to." Then it adds: "But the fact that remains that the slogan: 'karenges ya marenges' - liberty or death - which tries against the common enemy. It expresses India's desire to help

win the war as an equal rather than a servant." Thus, according to the Stalin-British imperialism, but to be in

And the editorial continues: 'Now it is all very well for the would be suicide to turn India alibis of Amery and Cripps. over to the Congress leadership. position to mobilize India. Will Cripps "offer." this policy work to win the war? That is the pragmatic yardstick the negotiations appeared in the

is that it will not work," Fundamentally, the Stalinists of their own mouths."

On the Recent **ALP** Convention Editor:

I read your recent editorial 'What's Wrong With The ALP,' with interest and attention. With your attitude toward the ALP I am particularly interested as I have been engaged in active ALP work over a period of time.

My main criticism of your statement is not with the substance of what you say. Rather I would like to call your attention to the significant but little known developments proceeding amongst rank and file ALP members. To be sure such developments do not make the editorial pages of the N. Y.

I can frankly say that upstate ALP members were disgusted cil. with the recent party convention. Many of them rejoiced when the Democrats nominated the reacionary Bennett.

Now, said the ALP members.

DETROIT CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

PICNIC

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13 10:00 A. M.

RIVER ROUGE PARK Take Joy Road to West

Parkway, continue on West Parkway to West Chicago

Games - Entertainment Free Lunch - Refreshments DONATIONS TO CRDC FIFTY CENTS

our party will stand on its feet Weeks in advance we repudiated Bennett: there is but once choice

MILITANT continue to repeat the must be selected. Delegate after delegate from flat assertion that the Stalinists are opposed to national independ- upstate uttered this theme - now ence in India. That's true enough, the ALP is independent. As evibut constitutes no convincing ar- dence of this sentiment it is ingument for those who merely look teresting to note that the party at the CP's present slogans for leadership at a special upstate caucus meeting were forced to I do not have any files of the bring in their best spell-binders Daily Worker on hand but I plain- to assure upstate representatives ly recall that paper's argument that labor's own candidate would

> candidate. No upstate delegate was thrust down the throat of the

But unstate delegates from such ship made the day before. Not a few threatened to bolt the ALP

of disillusionment lies the hope obedience campaign as "unques- of the ALP. Once this sentiment projects. tionably unfortunate," playing is channelized in the correct into the hands of Japan, and as- paths and honest leadership is provided, I believe the ALP can become what so many hoped it would — the nucleus of a national

To those workers now outside ts ranks, I say enter the party desire of India's millions for part- and I would be willing to wager nership with the democratic coun- that the recent disgraceful convention will not occur again.

D. A.

# ORKERS' Detroit Housing Project Blocked By Auto Bosses

## Workers Given Plenty of Housing Survey But A Place to Live In Is Hard to Find

By LARISSA REED

DETROIT, Mich.—Good weather is slipping away, hour by hour, day by day, week by week, protests the Detroit Free Press of August 8, while 96,000 more war workers, drawn from all parts of the country, will be tramping the streets vainly seeking permanent shelter this winter unless immediate action is taken. Commenting ironically on "another survey" made this month by Federal, State and 9-

"That must be great news for fusion"? thousands of distracted war workers and their families desperately in need of homes NOW. They ask decent places to live. They are given another survey. . . What our homeless war workers want is not more surveys but more ACTION."

Last fall, long before the present crisis developed, the CIO United Auto Workers presented an excellent program for government-subsidized housing action. It could have been completed by now, and instead of "hot air." the war workers would have had some houses. President Roosevelt. in approving the plan, declared: "I am interested in making this housing proposal a reality." What has happened to it?

It is now evident to everyone that with the passive consent of the President, the big capitalist But what kind of "efficient warinterests of Detroit, the real-es-, time action" has developed? tate owners and operators, the banks and insurance companies. Yet I insist that in this feeling have sabotaged the UAW-CIO and all other public housing

Since last November, the UAW by government officials on its private funds guaranteed by the proposed "Defense City" to be Federal Housing Authority, has months after the President ap- area by John B. Blandford, Jr.' proved the plan, R. J. Thomas, Leon K. Keyserling, Public of men and their families will be is now echoing in front of India's and build it. Join forces with president of the UAW, was com- Housing Commissioner, was aupolice stations, expresses the deep those militants now in the ALP pelled to request the President thorized to proceed immediately to personally intervene in the with plans for the first 15,000 "confused situation regarding units, at a cost of about \$60,000,the Willow Run housing for 75,- 000, while private funds were Schenectday, N. Y. their families." What was the build the larger 30,000 unit pro-

local officials, this paper says: source of this sudden "con-

President Roosevelt declared

Willow Run to date has been that a half dozen communities, two or three counties, the state government, and various agencies of the Federal government are all involved with no one to pull their work together." He thereupon dispatched representatives to sent his uncle, Frederick A. Delano, Chairman of the National Run housing project. Parks & Planning Commission, as his personal representative to "coordinate all these agencies and get something started quickly." In line with recommendations by the UAW-CIO, Roosevelt telescoped some 16 Federal housing agencies into one, "streamlining it for efficient wartime action.' John B. Blandford, Jr. became administrator of the newly formed National Housing Agency replacing the 'inefficient' housing coordinator, Charles F. Palmer.

On March 6 there came the awaited announcement: "The biggest single defense housing program ever undertaken by the Government, involving 15,000 units to be constructed from has been given the run-around Federal funds and 30,000 from located in Willow Run. Three been approved for the Detroit capitalists already foresee a post-000 to 100,000 war workers and solicited through the FHA to

ject at an approximate cost of \$120,000,000.

Everything was set for large -scale action-on paper!

THE OPPOSITION ACTS This Federal authorization brought out into the open the undercover struggle of private profit interests headed by Henry Ford who, from the first, had been hostile to this and all other

public housing projects. "Opposition to the construction of a 'bomber city' in Washtenau County, adjacent to the Ford bomber plant at Willow on Feb. 14, "that the trouble at Run grew, to hurricane proporreported the Detroit tions. News of May 7. All of Ford's hirelings, "two city councils, the county board of supervisors, chamber of commerce, citizen groups and Ford officials" Washington to stop the Willow

One Ford stooge, Henry E. Riggs, honorary Professor of Civil Engineering of the University of Michigan, said that the houses would be small and far from adequate. He failed to point out that without them the workers had no houses at all! He said that thousands of men would be required who might better be employed in war work. Obviously, war workers do not need shelter -they can sleep in the rat-infested alleys of Detroit!

Ford and his opposition allies manufactured all kinds of fake excuses for preventing the construction of the bomber city. Chief among them was the complaint that a "ghost city" would be left after the war when "the workers" moved away, and the houses would then become vacant or occupied by "least desirable elements." (Evidently Detroit's war depression crisis when hordes wandering around, not only without homes, but without work.) These "least desirable elements" will be the same workers who are today being urged to double their efforts and sacrifice to the limit for war production. In wartime they are forced to live in shacks, tents, trailers and vacant stores; afterwards they will be forced back into the gutters, if the capitalists have their way.

UNDERLYING MOTIVES FOR OPPOSITION

The opposition forces are motivated by various reasons. Chairman Nicholas of the UAW-CIO Housing Committee has stated that private real estate corporations and builders are more interested in building profit. The UAW-CIO government houses are principally for rental. Both sale prices and rentals on the government houses would have been much cheaper than prevailing private construction. Moreover, the government housing, Nicholas declared, would says: "A temporary compromise available, for example, in the his business was only to try to have been more comfortable, was necessary. . . When I speak White Paper published by the secure an agreement on the Draft livable, better-constructed and easily, accessible to the plants. The workers would have benefited enormously from the construction of this project, but the capitalists'

pocket-books would have suf-Although Henry Ford has been compelled to recognize and deal with the UAW-CIO in his plant, he is fearful of their further enown responsibility, is specifically croachment upon his domain. A dissent from the majority opinion of workers and their families living in a model settlement, whereby the safety, tranquility, built and actually dominated by the workers' own organization,

> Moreover, such a model comprofit. The conveniences of its munity dining rooms, club rooms, laundries and nurseries would teach the workers the great lesson that a planned way of life under workers' control is not only possible, but easy to attain and

costs much less money. Harry C. Mack, Ford spokesman, condemned the proposed city of Willow Run as "a CIO plan." Some adjacent farm owners lined is no question that, since the Matthews' first dispatch in the UAW-CIO would control a solid N. Y. Times has brought out this bloc of tens of thousands of the political complexion of this

the UAW Housing Plan.

## inists, the struggle in India, so far as the masses are concerned. is not for independence from British imperialism, but to be in a better position to help Anglo-American imperialism win the war. And the editorial continues: And the editorial continues: Amery, and the American press clash between Congress and Brit-

(Continued from page 1)

the British government is now in with the Congress against the indignation here. Cripps' latest lying account of

by which to judge it. The answer N. Y. Times of August 23. Cripps ous conspiracy. The facts are are absolutely opposed to the of compromise I do not refer only British government in April, con- Declaration. The Vicercy alone struggle for Indian national inde- or mainly to the agreement be- taining all the documents. Not a could determine the composition pendence. The best way to demon- tween the British government single American paper has pub- of a Council with which he would strate this is by proving it "out and the various Indian parties, lished, or even summarized, the have to work.

> Indian people." Cripps "offer."

India is ruled provides the Vice- ports" — very short cables roy with the following sweeping powers:

members of his Executive Coun-

2. He presides over it as its Prime Minister. 3. He can, against the will of

the entire Executive Council, decree laws in the name of the Government of India. And whatever powers may not

be indicated under these three in America as well as England, points can be wielded in addition by Amery in the India Office in by R. Coupland, an Oxford All that Cripps proposed to the

Indian political parties was that pletely British bias, it is suf- And because this is the real board of supervisors of Washthey should agree to have their representatives appointed to the the main facts. The book has since raised by Cripps and re- under Ford's thumb, declared Viceroy's Executive Council. They been widely reviewed. Not a peated by the American press that "dumping 60,000 persons dictatorial powers of the Viceroy and the India Office would remain as before. In short, they would called attention to these facts. become puppets of Britain. This is what Cripps tries to palm off friction prevented formation of important truth. He himself may, votes, it would completely change as "self-government."

"Plan" — this fact Cripps and factor, as has been seen, was the given a bit of the truth.

The silence of the American press and radio about the key facts is a deliberate and conscibut to accomodation among the letters written by the Congress

Indians themselves." Then he to Cripps during the negotiations. Chicago, III. | proceeds to "prove" by arithmetic | On April 28, Cripps reported that the Congress is opposed by to the House of Commons. It was "more than half the total popula- a long and detailed speech. Since tion." The Times obligingly under it was made publicly, it containlines this alibi with a running ed many ambiguous formulas and head: "Cripps explains the com- was silent on many aspects, but entitled by the Act of 1935 to community of tens of thousands plexity of India's problem in as a speech to the body which terms of the diversity of the formally rules England it also had to tell the main facts. It Cripps talks about everything admitted that the question of

except the real issue on which Hindu-Moslem "friction" had negotiations broke down: the never been discussed during the dictatorial powers of the Viceroy negotiations. It admitted that the and the India Office in London-breakdown of the negotiations powers which were to remain came over the question of the completely untouched under the powers of the Viceroy and the The 1935 Act under which out in the American press "reof this speech.

The full text of the speech is, 1. He chooses and dismisses all of course, available in Hansard (the equivalent of our Congressional Record). Not a single American commentator—the Thompsons who are denouncing the Indians as "unreasonable" and worse—has ever commented on that crucially-important Cripps speech.

Now a book has been published, entitled "The Cripps Mission," professor who was on Cripps' staff in India. Despite its comwould be Ministers—but the single reviewer in the bourgeois and radio, all India stands to into Washtenau County would Social Democratic as well) has agents.

The lie that Hindu-Moslem

British spokesmen to say that it They give the lie direct to the and radio in cooperation with ish views as to the character of them, are moving heaven and the proposed National Govern-The British falsehoods may earth to conceal. For if the ment. If agreement had been Agreed. Agreed that a provision- sound plausible to uninformed American public knew this fact achieved on that point, not only houses for sale rather than for al government with Gandhi at its American readers, but all India and understood that Cripps and Congress, but most, if not all, rent as this yields them a larger need might have negotiated with knows what really happened in the British cabinet never offered the other parties—with protests Japan. But let us be under no the negotiations with Cripps, and "self-government," there would and reservations, no doubt, as to illusion that by this show of force the great masses of India stand be a tidal wave of anti-British the future—would have come

in." (P. 77) The lie that Cripps offered self-government is refuted by Professor Coupland's own words; "As Cripps repeatedly declared,

" . . . Whereas a Provincial Governor is bound as a rule to fered. accept his Ministers' advice, the Viceroy, apart from certain special matters on which he is required to act entirely on his of his Council as to any measure or interest of British India or any part thereof are or may be' would be a powerful stronghold in his judgment 'essentially af- | for the workers in their struggle feeted.' Thus if a Governor of against the auto barons. a Province cannot legally concede full power to his Council, still munity would stand in sharp conless can the Governor-General. trast to the inadequate, remotely Indian Office. None of this came In either case, an undertaking located, poorly constructed and not to use the overriding power expensive houses built for private would be a breach of the law.' (Pp. 78-79.) And Cripps-Chur- parks, recreation rooms, com-

chill would not change the law. Finally, Professor Coupland puts the whole issue into one sentence. "The real question was, then: Who was to have the Walter Lippmanns and Dorothy last word—the Viceroy or the majority of the India party leaders?" Note well—not the Congress, but the Indian party leaders as a whole!

That is the question in India. Shall British imperialism, operat- up behind Ford branded the CIO ing through the totalitarian as "a pressure group" which was powers of the Viceroy and the pushing the bomber city project India Office, continue to oppress because it saw an opportunity to India, or shall India be permitted gain political control of Washto set up its own government? | tenau County. A member of the ficiently conscientious to record question, and not the fake issues | tenau County, which is directly press (and the Stalinist and gether against Britain and its make a lot of difference." There

an All-India government should once he gets to see the "right" That the Viceroy and the India be forever silenced by these au people, tell a different story. But county, now controlled by Ford. Office would remain the supreme | thoritative words of this member | for once, amid the mountains of power in India under the Cripps of Cripps' staff: "The decisive lying propaganda, we have been Next Week: What happened to

HISTORY

REPEATS

By MILTON ALVIN

The great lessons of history

have apparently had no effect

upon the British ruling class.

to those who will wield the

power in the interests of the

toiling majority of humanity.

stormed the palace at Versailles,

King Louis XVI's queen, Marie

Antoinette, is reported to have

sarcastically suggested cake in

bread. The French court did not

take the rebellion seriously in

1789. Just some local rioting.

that's all. Spectacular entertain-

ment of the royal courtesans con-

tinued. The nobility of France

tried not to see the hand-writing

on the wall. Everything remained

as before for them; it was only

TWO GREAT REVOLUTIONS

But the Great French Revolu-

tion had begun. The "rioting" of

the masses of Paris was the

herald of a new day in history.

In the next few years the entire

structure of the old feudal order

was swept out of France, taking

with it the rotten regime of the

Bourbons. The replacement of

feudal society by capitalist so-

ciety in France was in its time

the most progressive act in the

words about his disappointment

in one of his ministers who was

fool enough to bother him with

such trifles. But once again, great

historical events were on the

threshold. Before the year had

passed, Russia had gone through

two revolutions, the second of

which firmly established the work-

ers in power for the first time in

History does not repeat itself

in exactly the same way but news

from India clearly indicates that

the British rulers there are play-

ing the parts of the Bourbons

and Romanovs of yester-year.

Culled from one day's news dis-

patches in the N. Y. Times (Aug.

THEY DANCE AND BET AS

Bombay. The Friday night caba

ret dance at the fashionable but

outmoded Tai Mahal Hotel is so

nomilar that it is necessary to

make bookings days in advance

to attend. The Poona racing sea-

son also is proving one of the

most successful of recent years."

And meanwhile:

"Stores and hotels are open in

30) are the following items

THE LIGHTNING SHOWS

Similarly more than one hun-

history of mankind.

When the Parisian masses

# Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

## The Effect of Racial Epithets

A white worker, member of an fact, it can be put down as a AFL union, recently told us of an incident in his plant, which we would like to pass along especially for the consideration and benefit of white workers who may read this.

The union is in a plant employing about 200 workers, of whom almost half are Negroes. The union has a fairly good contract with the boss, and until recently practically all the Negroes were good members, paying their dues, attending meetings and supporting their officers in all disputes with the boss. Two Negroes were members of the union executive board, one of them as a vice-president. The Negro union members were generally satisfied with most of the white officers, who handled their grievances on the same basis that they handled those of the

white workers. But recently a number of Negro workers heard one of the minor white officials of the union using the term "nigger." Angered — and with justification - they went to the Negro vice-president of the union and demanded that he make an issue of this, and get action against the official who had used the offensive term. The vice-president did this, but the executive board, while deploring the incident, was not willing to undertake any action.

A bitter dispute followed, and ended with the two Negroes resigning from the executive board. Since then, the Negro workers have stopped attending meetings and paying dues. As a result, the union is in a terribly weakened condition, the boss's hand has been strengthened, and grievances are beginning to pile up instead of being settled as they were previously.

Our friend who told us this story says that he has been trying to convince the Negroes that they have been following the wrong course - that he agrees with them steps must be taken to put an end to the use of offensive racial terms, but that the way to do it is inside the union, as good members, where they will be able to get the support of such white members as our

Lately, he says, some of them have begun to express agreement for this point of view, and he says there is hope that the situation may be corrected, with the result that the justified comj plaints of the Negroes will he attended to, and the union as a ment of all the workers against their common enemy.

Now of course our friend was completely correct in urging this course upon his Negro brothers. But that isn't the point we wish to stress in commenting on this situation, which takes on acute significance today when Negroes are turning in greater numbers than ever before to the labor movement and to a militant program for the solution of their problems.

Here we wish only to try to impress on white members of the labor movement the meaning and effect of the use of such terms as "nigger," "chink," "greaser." etc.

The effect, as our incident shows, can be completely disastrous for the interests of the white workers themselves. In

Stalinist Lies About Our Pamphlet

In Newark, N. J., the Communist Party has been distribut ing leaflets attacking our recent pamphlet, "The March on Washington-One Year After," which has received a certain amount of interest from Negroes living

as all who read it know, was by of the Negro people to show the need for a militant fight against all those who protect and foster Jim Crowism. The Stalinists. however, charge that it was issued because "they (the Trotskyists) hope to have us lose the war." This is what their leaflet says:

"Anyone who separates the fight for Negro rights from the fight against Hitlerism, harms Negro Americans and all Americans. That is what the Trotskyist Albert Parker does. . . Parker is the enemy of the Negro people for he separates the two struggles. . ." And as proof of this contention, they quote a part of a sentence from our pamphlet, namely, "the Negro people have no interest in interfering with the prosecution of the war," which they call "a negative half-truth, vicious in its implication."

paragraph from which the Stalinists quoted a part. We leave it to our readers to judge for Uncle Toms.

best interests of the working class as a whole. Only the capitalist ruling class is benefited by practices which divide workers along racial lines.

rule that anything which tends

How much stronger the labor movement would be today if it tention to the Negro workers profit; and tried to organize them into its ranks! The failure to do so in the past aided only the employers — and was a result of coal kings; the propaganda of the employ-

And it does not make much difference in the final analysis such terms unintentionally, all der workers' control! that he is saying is that he did not mean to speak them out loud. But the very fact that he even capitalist propaganda, tradition ary press; and education.

must be shown how it is against | miners. his own interests to discriminate against Negro workers, or even to use the language of the slaveholders.

But this is not enough. The second step is to really educate him, to get him to understand the nature of the problem. For as long as he thinks in the terms of racial superiority, there is always the danger that he may sometimes act in that way. He must shown why he was trained to look down on the Negro, and who was behind this training He must be taught the history of the Negroes, their contribu tions to society, their part in the labor movement. While this educational campaign is going on, the white worker will also be learning important lessons in the course of the joint struggle with the Negroes against the

This is an all-important question for every workers' organization, the revolutionary party as well as the trade unions. Negro workers are not going to be attracted to any organization, even with the best and most militant program, if that organization tolerate "white supremacy" tricked and cheated by so many next 15 years! of what they consider "white The White Paper outlining gov-

should always be on the alert to were. Says the White Paper: show the Negro people that they practice what they preach Their members who bring discredit to the organization on this question must be censured, and they must be educated: have no place in a workers' or owners. . " ganization. Any other course will be suicidal in the long run for those organizations which white workers for action a gainst their exploiters.

The purpose of this pamphlet,

reviewing the present conditions

Below is reprinted the full

themselves whether it is "v

"The conditions of the Negro people are fully as bad as they were a year ago, and the Negro masses are fully aware of the (when the March on Washingerness for action, indeed, is so great that the Negro misleaders dare not openly counsel them to give up the struggle for equal rights, but have to confine themselves to repeating the refrain that 'winning the war must come first, and we must not do anything to interfere with the prosecution of the war.' The Negro masses are not interested in interfering with the prosecution of the war, but for them winning the struggle against Jim Crowism comes 'first' because they know what is going to be their lot if the

The Stalinists don't like to

Crowism is lost."

# The Story Behind A Frameup

## British Coal Kings Sabotage Coal Production; Trotskyists Alone Fight for Miners' Interests

By GEORGE COLLINS

We are now in a position to and owners. tell the full story behind the poisonous charges made against British Trotskyists who were accused in July of "sabotaging" the to weaken the unity of all races mines and carrying on "subverin the labor movement hurts the sive" propaganda with the aid of a Nazi subsidy."

Far from substantiating these 'charges" the detailed information we have just received from England decisively proves:

1. That British coal kings are deliberately sabotaging produchad from the beginning paid at- tion to maintain high rates of 2. That the Churchill govern-

> ment and its Labor Party lackeys are in open alliance with the 3. That widespread discontent resulting in sporadic strikes pre-

vails in the minefields; whether white workers use of is the only workers' paper to acfensive racial terms deliberately tively support the miners' strugand maliciously or whether they gles and provide them with a use them "unintentionally." fighting program: Nationalize When someone says he used the mines and operate them un-

5. That as a result of the exposures carried by the "Socialist Appeal" a frameup was trumped thinks such terms shows that he up against it and widely featured is still under the influence of in a campaign by the reaction-

6. Stalinists and liberals joined Negroes, and advanced white in the frameup campaign; only workers who understand the the ILP has declared solidarity problem, must make their ap- with the "Appeal" which is vigpeal to the average backward orously continuing the fight white worker first of all on the against the treacherous miners' basis of his own self-interests. leaders and finding support The backward white worker among important sections of

> ARTIFICIAL COAL SHORTAGE

After the fall of France, the British market for coal in Europe disappeared and the best producing pits in South Wales and Durham were closed. Throughout the mine field the coal kings closed up the most productive seams and at the same time sabotaged the proposal to ration coal. They were determined to

maintain their profits at all costs. Stocks of coal which were accumulated during the production peak were eaten up. An artificial shortage was introduced to force the selling price of coal up to the maximum. Their aim was to preserve the same dividends on the basis of lower output

The government has met the problem of the chaos in the mine industry by proposals that preserve intact the present crisis of capitalist mismanagement and sabotage. Profits are to be maintained at least on their present

Coal royalty owners are to be bought out for the sum of 66,-450,000 pounds, a gift equivalent to the amount which would expressions on the part of any paid out in royalties on the basis of its members. Having been of a high level production for the

organizations," it is only natural ernment policy proposes certain for them to be skeptical about restrictions on the present capthe sincerity of white workers. italist management but in es-Every workers' organization sence matters are left where they

"It is undesirable that the controllers (the government's representatives) should be burdened with the details of day-to-day management of the pits. This will be left, as it is today in the those who persist in undermin- hands of the managers who will ing the unity of Negro and white continue to be servants of the

A joint board of miners, government and owners is to be set up to "control" the industry, seek to organize Negro and leaving the miners not only in a minority but represented by trade union leaders who work hand in glove with the mine operators and the government.

> MINERS LOT WORSENED Meanwhile England's coal diggers have been paying with low wages, unemployment and wretch ed conditions for capitalist mis-

management and swollen profits fact. They are ready to take to stockholders. Over 100,000 up the militant struggle where miners were cast on the dole or it was discontinued a year ago driven out of the industry. So low are the wages in the coal ton was called off.) Their eag-industry that between April 1940 and April 1941 62,000 young miners joined the armed forces in preference to living on the dole or working in the mines.

> Casualties among miners have reports admit these dreadful con- missions. ditions but turn away from them with a shrug: "Nothing can be done."

On the other hand they are en- achievement of final victory acting measures to fine or im- whereas in reality it will bring prison miners for taking time the Soviet Union closer to the States will be unable to defeat off from work as a result of sick- very brink of destruction. ness, minor accidents, etc. Yet war against the Axis is won the government reports are forc- justification, before the German while the war against Jim ed to admit that although this imperialist armies began their Hitler by "democratic" imso-called "absenteeism" has risen present campaign, in thinking during the war, "there has also that the Soviet armies could been a steady rise in the num- achieve victory even under have the Negro people told the ber of shifts worked per wage Stalin. The temporary set-back truth about the Negro leaders earner; and in the last week for suffered by Hitler due to the worker wants it saved, in the who don't dare to come out open- which statistics are available the fierce resistance of the Red ly and fully with their Uncle number of shifts worked was Army and the cold of the winter of socialism represented by the Tom policies. The reason is 5.66, the highest on record." Of weather gave the Stalinist leaderthat the Stalinists belong in the course, no similar measures are ship a chance to beast about the same category as these war-time being contemplated against the defeat of Hitler in 1942. They clamoring for a second front to

caused by capitalist managers | support from Hall and Jones, the | a declared willingness to face | the New Leader, organ of the

STRIKES IN MINEFIELDS Throughout the mining areas sporadic walkouts and stoppages have been taking place without sanction of the miners' leaders after the miners' patience was tried to the breaking point. In one three week period a few months ago there were 83 walkouts involving 30,000 miners. In Durham County, for example, 6000 miners downed tools in protest against the imprisonment of

to pay a 5 pound fine.

In Yorkshire the spark was ignited that sent mine owners and labor misleaders howling for the suppression of the Socialist Appeal. Payment of "dust" money (a bonus paid for over 8 years to those loading trucks at the end of the mechanical coal conveying belt where the coal drops several feet throwing up dense clouds of dust injuring health and causing frequent accidents) was stopped by the mineowners. After weeks of fruitless negotiabut after a few days decided to go back to work pending negotiations. The management replied claiming 5 pounds from each pounds of newsprint. They re- say against the attempted supworker for breach of contract. produced facsimiles of the front pression; they could only whine The management later withdrew all but 509 of these summonses. The young miners struck to a

The young miners received no exposition of their program and worth of free publicity. . ") Only cals.

leaders of the Yorkshire Miners any workers' investigation. Association, who branded the strike as "illegal and unconstitutional" and demanded that they return to work. In contrast to the strikebreaking policy of the Herbert Morrison, Home Secreminers' leaders, the Socialist Appeal, distributed to the young miners, came to their support

with friendly advice and support.

SUPPRESSION DEMANDED Faced for the first time in two young miners who refused part of a group with a serious the charge but later on in an-

> Miners Association, concocted Appeal, which does not "have aphis frameup against the Socialist Appeal.

Leading articles in all the reactionary and mineowners press measures would be taken.' took up the fraudulent charges of Hall and Will Lawthor, president of the Miners Union. Re-

MORRISON GOES HALF-WAY

Reactionary members of the House of Commons questioned tary and Labor Party leader, "regarding the distribution of sub versive literature among Yorkshire miners by young men between the ages of 25 and 30, who were being paid 10 pounds a week

to distribute this literature." years with a real challenge to Morrison replied that there was their treacherous policies on the no information available to prove program for the miners, Joseph | swer to a question from Gallach-Hall, president of the Yorkshire er, Stalinist M.P., said that if the preciable influence in the mining industry or elsewhere," becomes a "threat," then "appropriate

The Stalinists, while demanding that the ban against the "Daily Worker" be lifted, are porters were sent down to the secretly intriguing with the Tooffices of the Socialist Appeal to ries for the suppression of the "investigate." (They found, of Appeal. Along with the pack ran course, only the modest head- the sickly liberals. The New quarters of a working class or- Statesman and Nation quickly tions the young miners struck, ganization whose leaders live on forgot all about democratic the meager salaries provided by rights and accepted all the inworkers contributions.) They famous charges against the Applayed up the fact that the Ap- peal. The Tribune (Cripps' paby issuing 1388 summonses and peal had purchased so many per) had not a single word to page of the Appeal, etc. Scot- about the "irresponsible" manland Yard sent down a snooping ner in which the capitalist press crats in office for life. These party. The WIL leaders met these gave "a small sect of Trotskyist resolutions are meeting with a 'curious" gentlemen with an open supporters hundreds of pounds good reception among other lo-

Independent Labor Parcy, roundly condemned the frameup campaign against the Socialist Ap-

THE WIL FIGHTS BACK

The WIL is effectively and rigorously fighting the slanderous charges. A large meeting Like its predecessors, it refuses was held in Holborn Hall in Lon- to believe that its day has come, don, at which a representative of that it is time to depart and the ILP spoke, in protest against leave the management of affairs the suppression. A leaflet is being widely circulated throughout the minefields, entitled "An Open Letter to the Yorkshire Miners Association: our answer to the slanders of the president, Joseph Hall." The leaflet concludes with the following proposals:

1. That a special investigating ommittee be set up by the Mi- response to their demands for ners Council; 2. That the investigations be conducted in public; the WIL offers to place all its files and records before this committee; 3. That a report of the investigating committee be made to a mass meeting of Yorkshire miners at which Hall and the editors of the Appeal will speak.

Meanwhile militant miners are taking up the fight against the tions, Durham and Kent, resolutions have been presented demanding that paid officials come up for election every two years which will eliminate the present system which places the bureau-

#### U.S. Bosses In Shanghai Still Do dred years later, the Russian Czar Vicholas II, heading an absolutist egime based largely upon feudal Business As Usual with Japanese and semi-feudal privileges, was deaf to the rumbling of revolt. in Petrograd reached him at the front in February 1917, he replied about the weather plus a few

(Continued from page 1) that policy of sabotaging supplies to China, wherever it originates.'

Where The "Sabotage"

**Originates** Although Lin Yutang diplomatically does not mention names, he clearly implies where the "policy of sabotage" originates: "The greater part of the transport planes sent to China were held up and diverted before they reached China. The few bombers that did resch China and participated in the recent bombing of Hankow were taken out

again and diverted 'to Egypt'. . . "Unless an immediate order be given to divert planes from India to China, instead of diverting planes from China to India, it will be too late to send American planes to China before the Changsha battle is over...

be immediately diverted back to China. . . "There must be an assurance that supplies to China can go through India before there is any use of asking for and sending more help from the United States. . ."

Diverted to Egypt, to India-obviously this is a charge that the "sabotage" of supplies to China can be laid at the doors of the British. But who will believe that the British took such steps without the advance knowledge and approval of the United States officials in charge of supplies?

2. China is not being consulted or informed about the "grand strategy" of the United Nations in the war in the Far East. "Any Allied strategy affecting China's

own vital interests must be planned in con- forced to remain wholly subservient to the sultation with China," Lin Yutang warns. "The Mysterious Secrets"

"China must be let into the mysterious secrets of the 'Allied grand strategy' before efficient cooperation on the part of China can bring the most useful results. Chiang Kai-shek must not be kept guessing what the Allied strategists are or are not going to do. There has been exasperating

waste of China's strength."

As proof, Lin Yutang refers to the Burmese campaign, in which China wanted to participate so that it might keep the vital Burma Road open, but which it was not permitted to do because the British authorities in Burma refused to supply oil to China's mechanized forces or to let them cross the border until it was too late.

These should not be misconstrued as signs The transport planes diverted to India must that the American and British imperialists want Japan to win the war in China. The imperialist allies of China want Japan defeated, but they want it done in such a way that that their own position in China will not be endangered.

They do not look with favor on the growing spirit of national self-confidence which has been manifest since Pearl Harbor not only in India but also in China. Their policy of keeping China from becoming too independently "strong," and thus perhaps becoming an inspiration for all the oppressed colonial peoples, is not the result of "blundering" but of their coldly calculated desire to run the war in such a way that the Chinese government will become and be

dictates of the imperialist "democracies."

What the imperialists contemplate for China after this "war for democracy" is over is revealed not only by the news from Shanghai and the complaints from China, but also by an anniversary which was "observed" last week.

August 29 marked the one hundredth anniversary since the Treaty of Nanking, which ended the "Opium War" the British had launched for the purpose of opening China to foreign trade and exploitation. Five ports were opened to foreign trade by this treaty, and out of it too came the system of extra-territorial "rights" in these ports, under which, the N. Y. Times admits, "foreigners (Americans included) have now enjoyed for a full century special rights in China which have been humiliating to that

country and destructive to its sovereignty." On many occasions the Chinese people have demanded an end to extra-territoriality. Since December 7, 1941, these demands have increased. The United States and Britain have promised that they will "negotiate" the question after the war.

The point is that the areas where these "rights" were employed are no longer in the hands of either China or the "democracies." But the British and American governments refuse, even while the Japanese hold these areas, to give up their imperialist privileges in them. What an instructive commentary this is on the Allied claims that they are fighting for the independence of China!

"A government communique tolay reported that six Indians weré killed and thirty-eight injured when officers fired into a disorderly crowd around a police station in Patna Province." The police today fired at Brindahan, near Lucknow, on a mob

history.

tion there, it was announced tonight. One man was killed and three injured." "At Benares, a crowd of about a thousand was driven off by the police when they tried to attack

railway and police stations. Sixteen people were injured, fourteen of them seriously." "The Bihar government today

issued reports of disturbances in various parts of the province several days ago. On August 21 the police fired on a mob that was wrecking a railway station, killing two. Near the same place crowds trying to wreck a railway embankment were forcibly dispersed. Four persons were killed and three injured. There was one casualty during house searches at Mansi.

"Troops fired on demonstrators surrounding Paru police station on Aug. 23. Two people were killed and three wounded." "The Exchange Telegraph can-

the Soviet Union only if the celled today a dispatch from Inpolicies followed by their govern- dia it had issued earlier declarment are those pursued by Lenin ing 201 persons had been killed and others injured on Friday when police fired on a mob near The Stalingrad workers to- Gorakhpur." Although changing gether with the whole Soviet their story, they do not deny that population must place the blame police shoot into Indian gatherings. The N. Y. Times of September 2 blandly captions the story "Casualty List Drops 200."

Things are quieting down in India, say the British rulers. The favorable opportunity, without wish is father to the thought. Stalinist regime is unwilling and endangering the military strug- The people of India are knocking incapable of spreading revolu- gle against imperialism, rid at the door. The British rulers tionary socialist propaganda themselves of the bureaucrats don't hear any better than their responsible for the defeats. They predecessors, but the sounds are must re-establish their democratic growing louder, signalling the Soviets and just as they did in coming destruction of the despic-The Soviet workers are giving the Civil War, they must raise able rule of imperialism in India

## Only German Revolution Can Save Soviet Union

"If Stalingrad falls," writes the Daily Worker, "we will be tory. Revolutionary Marxists do further away from victory than we have ever been."

The Stalinist sheet tells us what the fall of the city would mean from a military point of view. Hitler will succeed, by capturing the city, "in separating the extreme southern Red Armies from their comrades in the north. He will have cornered

the Caucasus, with its rich oil 9and mineral deposits. He will be defeated in 1942; they no longer able to block the most important supply lines which now connect the Western allies with the Soviet Union." So serious is the situation that

the Stalinist press can no longer increased to 1,000 a year since conceal the whole truth. It is the war began. The government compelled to make partial ad-But the Stalinist flunkies speak as if the fall of Stalingrad will mean only a delay in the

There might have been some answer to that question. We only

say, however, that he will be Union. defeated this year.

With the passing of each day it becomes ever clearer that the Soviet Union will be saved only by a revolution in Germany.

WORKERS' STATE WILL NOT BE SAVED BY IMPERIALISM! of Churchill and Roosevelt. He

is leaning on a broken reed. Do we mean that the military might of England and the United Hitler? We do not know the know that a military defeat of perialists without a workers' revolution in Germany cannot save the Soviet Union in the sense that every revolutionary sense of saving the foundations

nationalized property. The Stalinist leadership is NOW AND THE LAST TIME

not support the war of the imperialist nations and therefore do not support any part of it. A second front may or may

not bring about the defeat of Hitler. But without a workers' revolution in Germany a defeat of Hitler by an imperialist second front cannot save the Soviet The situation has reached

stage where, because of the vast destruction wrought by the German armies in the Soviet Union. Stalin must depend upon capitalist England and the United States to save him and his bureaucracy. He depends upon Stalin depends upon the armies them for victory against Hitler; he depends upon them to rebuild the economy of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union cannot and will not be saved by capitalist England and the United States.

but only by a workers' revolution it belongs—on the shoulders of in Germany. The Stalinist bureaucracy is not interested in such a revolution; it is following policies that can only throttle the revolution in Germany. The among the German masses.

deliberate sabotage and delays still insist that Hitler must be save Stalingrad and achieve vic- everything they have to save the the banner of world socialism. and everywhere.

Soviet Union. In the city of Stalingrad the workers have left their shops and with arms in hand they are prepared to fight desperately to stem the onrushing tide of the German imperialist forces.

Just as the Red Army and the Soviet workers fought in the Civil War to save Tsaritsinduring Lenin's illness Stalin had the name of the city changed to Stalingrad—so will they fight now. With this difference, that in the Civil War they fought under a leadership that pursued a policy based on the struggle for socialism throughout the world while now the Stalinist bureaucracy is anxious only to preserve its own existence.

Heroism and self-sacrifice on the part of the Soviet masses can lead to victory and the saving of and Trotsky in the early days of the Soviet Republic.

The Soviet Union can be saved, | for their critical situation where the Stalinist bureaucracy.

> To defend the Soviet Union the Soviet masses must at the first

## THEIMILITANT

Working People.

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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.
- 2. 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' Govern-

## A Basic Truth

Every once in a while things slip out. Such was the case with a remark made last May by the British Stalinist hack, Harry Pollitt, and reprinted in this country by James S. Allen in the August 28 Daily Worker.

Arguing for a second front, Pollitt blurted out an undeniable truth, namely, that British strategy is confined to "helping Russia to survive."

Thus the Stalinists admit, in an unguarded moment and for their own reasons, a fact which we Trotskyists have been hammering away at ever since the beginning of the German-Soviet war. Churchill does not want a victory of the USSR over Hitler. He wants the workers' state to keep Hitler occupied until the "democratic" imperialists are in position to crush Germany, and he wants the workers' state bled so white in the process that it will be an easy prey for the "democratic" imperialists.

The irreconcilable antagonism between imperialism and the nationalized property of the Soviet Union has not been resolved by the war. The imperialists are as determined as ever to open the territories of the Soviet Union to capitalist exploitation. Only those who understand this are able to really defend the workers' state.

But it is precisely these truths which the Stalinist leaders hide from their members and supporters. In recent weeks our correspondents from New York and Chicago have remarked on a growing feeling of futility and demoralization on the part of rank and file Stalinists. If this is so, it need occasion no surprise. Told over and over that the USSR can be saved only by the "democratic" imperialists, and seeing with their own eyes that the imperialists are not at all interested in saving the USSR, it is no wonder that these rank and file workers are gloomy about the future of the work-

And if American rank and file Stalinists are demoralized by Stalin's policy, is it not reasonable to conclude that this policy has had the same disastrous effects, only multiplied many times, on large sections of the Soviet masses, who are so much more immediately affected by the Kremlin's

Stalin's course has led only to defeats. In time that course can lead to a general demoralization of the Soviet masses. Such a catastrophe can be prevented only if the Soviet masses are given a different program, which will show them that they have many real and powerful allies, the workers of the world, and which will arouse those allies to save the USSR. That is the program of Trot-

## **Vargas-Dictator** Ally Of U. S.

The entrance of Brazil into the war was the occasion for an orgy of hypocrisy which has not been matched in many months.

Brazil's action was asserted to have hastened the "victory of freedom over oppression." This

was said by President Roosevelt. In the chorus of acclaim the Stalinist voice

could also be heard. The Daily Worker editorially welcomed "the people and government (!) of Brazil as a belligerent ally in the peoples' war of liberation against Axis tyranny."

If Brazil is going to fight for freedom and against oppression and tyranny, an excellent place to start would be right within Brazil, against the dictator Getulio Vargas, who is the government of the country.

In 1930 Vargas became president of Brazil. He has been "president" ever since. He abolished the constitution. He dissolved the Congress. He declared himself president for life. He has even decreed who is to succeed him after his death.

Free speech is non-existent in Brazil; there is no free press; no elections—neither free nor otherwise. Above all, Vargas has crushed the trade union movement and the working class political parties, including the Stalinist party. The movement of the Fourth International, of course, exists under conditions of extreme terror.

Living conditions for the workers are among the worst in the world. An agrarian laborer earns as little as 5 cents a day. An unskilled industrial worker averages between 60 and 75 cents a day. Top wages for skilled workers are less than \$1.20

It can be easily seen that Brazil is a totalitarian dictatorship, not a democracy in any sense of the word. As a matter of fact, Vargas has the honesty not to call his country a "democracy" as do other South American dictators. He calls it a corporative state. Italy is also a corporative state.

When France fell in June 1940, and when he thought Hitler and Mussolini would be victorious, Vargas made a speech clearly lining himself up with the fascist powers. At the time many who now praise him as a fighter against oppression and tyranny denounced him as a fascist.

But England held out and the United States entered the war. The United States is Brazil's best customer. The United States is the source of huge sums of capital which are now flooding into the country, attracted by the super-profits to be derived from the exploitation of the oppressed Brazil-

The Brazilian ruling class upon the basis of this dollar and cents proposition decided to enter the war on the side of the United Nations.

These economic factors, not ideology, is what is decisive in the line-up of the capitalist powers in

When the government of Brazil, alias Getulio Vargas, entered the war on the side of the Allies on August 23, this was proved once again.

## **British Daily** Worker Ban Lifted

The British government last week finally lifted the ban on the Daily Worker, organ of the British

The paper was suppressed since January, 1941. Since then a considerable number of non-Stalinist trade unionists in Britain protested the ban, and called on the government to lift it. The recent Labor Party convention took the same position. For most of these workers' organizations, it was a question of the freedom of the press, and they raised it in that light.

But for the government — both the Tories and their Labor Party colleagues - no question of freedom of the press was involved. All that interested them was the answer to the simple question: Will our decision in this matter help or hinder our efforts to keep the British masses in line behind our policies?

It was in this spirit alone that the government decided to permit the Daily Worker to resume publication, just as it was in this spirit alone that they decided to suppress it last year.

In January 1941 the British Communist Party — following Stalin's line of covering up the crimes of his pact partner, Hitler — was calling on the masses to oppose Britain's imperialist war. Although the Stalinists were largely discredited as a result of their zig-zag policies, they were nevertheless able to crystallize a certain amount of opposition to the anti-labor crimes of the British government. It was for this reason that the ban was imposed.

Since then, since the German attack on the Soviet Union, the Stalinists have become the most servile supporters of Churchill and Co. During the period when the masses as a whole are moving leftward, the Stalinists have assumed the task of maintaining the government's prestige in the labor movement. Whenever militant strikers are to be attacked, whenever reactionary policies are to be defended in the unions, whenever Tory candidates for office need support against working class candidates, the Stalinists can be depended on to do the dirty work. It is for this reason that the ban has been lifted.

The government did not even pretend that its decision last week was motivated by considerations of democratic rights. Instead, it warned the Stalinist lackeys that the ban could be and would be reimposed if they again printed matter attacking the government or its policies.

Legalization of the Indian C.P., lifting the ban on the British Daily Worker, talk of legalizing the Canadian Stalinist party — the British government is willing to take even these steps if they will help to disorient and straitjacket the masses. But at the same time it cannot help expressing both its contempt for the Stalinists and its disregard of all concepts of democracy.

## **UAW Heads Ask FDR To** Force General Wage Cut

By JOSEPH ANDREWS

Top leaders of the UAW-CIO went to Washington on Aug. 28 to ask President Roosevelt to act to enforce by decree the abolition of overtime pay for weekends and holidays in all war industry. The union committee included R. J. Thomas, George F. Addes, Walter Reuther and Richard T. Frankensteen.

The UAW leaders based their 9demand upon the action of the In asking Roosevelt to arbitrarily UAW convention recently concluded in Chicago, which adopted a resolution demanding that the UAW agreement to waive the premium pay be nullified unless it was universally applied by September 7.

This resolution was proposed and supported by the leadership. and put across after a prolonged debate. The demand of many UAW delegates was that the over time pay waiver be immediately

The full implications of the resolution as passed have now become evident. It means that the UAW leadership gives endorse ment to, and asks for, government coercion of the labor movement.

apply the abolition of premium pay universally, they are proposing a forced wage cut.

These UAW officials, who today propose government enforcement of the overtime waiver, originally based their whole campaign to sell the overtime waiver to the rank and file on the proposition that unless the union voluntarily surrendered week-end and holiday pay, the government would take it away by law.

Now these same leaders are the exponents of just the kind of governmental compulsion they warned against in the past.

A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT This step sets a dangerous prec

edent which can be used by Roosevelt to make further inroads on the rights and independence of the union movement. By begging for government enforcement upon all unions of the premium pay waiver, the UAW officials are giving Roosevelt the best groundwork possible for government enforcement by decree of wage freezing, abolition of all overtime pay, extension of the work week, etc.

The argument used by the UAW leaders in demanding that Roosevelt abolish premium pay universally was that men were leaving UAW plants where no premium pay is paid to go to work in plants which still paid extra for week-end and holiday work, This same type of argument could be used by Roosevelt to arbitrarily freeze all wages at a low level to prevent workers from moving from one plant to another in search of decent wages.

The UAW leadership, moreover deliberately misled the UAW membership into believing that the sacrifice of premium pay would be followed by "equal sacri fices" by the employers of their profits and high salaries. This, it is obvious, has not been the case. Profits have been and still are in creasing, for all the big corporations engaged in war production.

This time the Thomas-Reuth er-Frankensteen-Addes leadership have not even demanded the fraud of "equal sacrifices." but that the government step in and take premium pay away from all workers. This is the end result of their 'equal sacrifice" program.

### IN DETROIT

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The London correspondent of the Pittsburgh Courier recently sent that paper a copy of an interesting statement adopted by leaders of the (white) Dutch Reformed Church in the Union of South Africa. In that country there has been some discussion about the advisability of arming the native people in the event of an invasion of South Africa by the Axis. The contribution of this church to this discussion was the following resolution:

That Old Time Religion

"The principle of arming non-Europeans is contrary to the constitution and principles of the Word of God, which is based on social separateness and the principles of trusteeship on the part of Europeans against non-Europeans.

"The arming of non-Europeans would be contrary to the best traditions of the Afrikaner people. The policy of Christian governments in the Union, when involved in war, has always been to use the services of natives and colored races in subordinate and menial capacities.

"This whole church admits that it is the duty of every Christian citizen to arm himself in defense of his country should there be unmistakable signs of threatened danger, but warns § the government against the proposal to arm non-Europeans.

"The unhappy results of the government's announcement are already to be discerned in the disrespectful attitude of natives toward Europeans and European women.

"The church urgently asks the government not to give any native or colored person control over firearms or of light or heavy artillery, and to make an early statement in this con-

"The government should see that non-Europeans will be used only in subordinate and menial capacities." 

**Geo-politics Offers** 

## From World War I To World War II

By HOWARD ALLEN

Britain In India-

Many workers think that when the war is over, England will give India its freedom if the Axis is beaten. Most of these workers, unfortunately, are not acquainted with the history of British rule in India. Wholeheartedly for India's independence themselves. they do not realize why British imperialism refuses to let go of India. They accept Churchill's "after-thewar promises" as good coin.

During World War I, many "after-the-war promises" were also made, but England did not surrender its political control over India. In spite of the fact that Indian nationalists of every shade of opinion rallied to the government in the belief that the war was being fought for freedom and democracy, their loyalty was repaid with an even harsher repression than they had suffered before. This first "war to save democracy" was followed by the Rowlatt Act of 1919 which empowered the British to lock up without trial anyone they disliked, and for as long as they pleased.

The history of the British in India since the first World War should offer convincing proof that the promises made by Churchill and Cripps are no basis for hoping that India will get its independence without fighting for it.

#### Post-War Repressions

After World War I there occurred wide-spread uprising against the unsupportable exploitation and starvation of the Indian masses. In Bengal there was a no-tax campaign among the peasantry of the Midnapore district; in the Punjab, the Sikh peasants rose; in South India the Moplah rebellion took place. The visits of the Duke of Connaught and of the Prince of Wales were everywhere boycotted. The non-cooperation movement started by Gandhi spread all over the country.

In spite of the fact that there was then no alibi of a threatened Japanese invasion the British not only did not grant India independence, they jailed thousands of demonstrators; Gandhi himself-although he had already called off the non-cooperation movement -was sentenced to six years. And with typical imperialist business acumen. . . the salt tax was doubled!

Again in 1930, processions, public meetings, demonstrations, picketing, boycotts and other peaceful manifestations of India's demand for independence occurred throughout the country. Again, the British attacked the demonstrators, suppressed newspapers, seized bank accounts, confiscated property. They arrested over 100,000 people and put them in concentration camps. Their police charged peaceful crowds of men, women and children beating them with long heavy iron-weighted clubs. Their troops fired point-blank into assemblies that did not disperse fast

In Peshawar hundreds of helpless persons were shot and killed at that time despite the heroic mutiny of the Garwhalis Rifles who said: "We will not shoot our unarmed brothers. You may blow us from the guns if you like"—a reference to the ancient British manner of dealing with rebellious Indians: tying them to the mouth of cannons.

Of this Peshawar massacre, the Indian Daily Mail of May 10, 1930 reported a British officer as saying: "We taught the blighters a lessons. . . Our fellows stood there shooting down the agitators and leaders who were pointed out to them by the police. . . It was a case of continuous shooting."

About a similar affair at Sholapur, a young English soldier said, "My Gawd, sir, our fellows didn't half torture them natives. They stripped 'em naked and burnt 'em all over with lighted cigarettes till they shouted like blue ruin. And they cracked open their heads as soon as look at you." (The White Sahibs in India, by Reginald Reynolds, pp. 344.)

## The 1935 Government Of India Act

In an effort to stem the rising tide of militancy, the British Parliament in 1935 passed the Government of India Act which embodied a constitution for India. Under this constitution 9 out of every 10 people are excluded from the franchise, based on property and educational qualifications -little more than 35 million out of about 400 million people have the right

"The most curious feature of all in the 1935 constitution is this," says K. S. Shelvankar in The Problem of India, "although the Federal Legislature is as undemocratic as one can imagine a legislature to be; although capitalists and landlors are in full control of one chamber, and form the predominant element in the other; although the representatives of the princes constitute the largest single bloc in both; although, in short, it is an eminently safe, respectable and reactionary body, it has yet very little power."

This constitution which was supposed to give Indians "self-government" doesn't permit the legislature to handle such matters as defense, foreign relations, regulation of credit, currency, exchange, railways, military expenditures, interest on public debt, salaries, pensions, etc.

The constitution is however calculated to stir up and maintain a maximum of religious and racial strife by dividing the electorate up into groups of Sikhs, Mohammedans, Hindus, etc. The constitution is also calculated to continue the power of the antidemocratic, autocratic Indian Princes and their 600 despotically ruled states.

"The situations of these feudatory States," said Professor Rushbrook Williams in the Evening Standard, May 28th, 1930, "checkerboarding all India as they do, are a great safeguard. It is like establishing a vast network of friendly fortresses in debatable territory. It would be difficult for a general rebellion against the British to sweep India because of this network of powerful, loyal Native States." (Quoted in Reynold's book.)

As true today as when he wrote them in the N. Y. Tribune of August 8, 1853, are the words of Karl Marx: "The Indians will not reap the fruits of the new elements of society scattered among them by the British bourgeoisie till in Great Britain itself the now ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or till the Indians themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether."

## TICS, by Nicholas John Spykman. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. 500 pages.

Recognizing that the "social myths" of bourgeois democracy "have lost much of their effectiveness," Professor Spykman believes that what is required is a "reinterpretation and reconstruction" of the myths. This the Sterling professor of international relations at Yale University aspires to create through his "geo-political study."

New Myths

AMERICA'S STRATEGY IN WORLD POLI-

Whereas Marxism (and all history) teaches that-the domestic and foreign policies of a nation are determined by the class relationships within the nation, Spykman's "geo-politics" teaches that physical environment and geography determine a nation's policies.

Thus, Spykman would hold, and he does hold, that the Soviet Union today has the same foreign policy as that pursued by Peter the Great-because, you see, of Russia's physical environment.

Geo-politics is no science at all, but only another literary device of the capitalist class, a concept and a vocabulary, with which they seek to mask and to justify imperialism and its wars. If we still consider this book merits attention,

it is because Spykman is much franker than the

State Department, and expresses several interest-

ing ideas held by high circles in Washington.

## Polemic Against Isolationists

America's Strategy In World Politics is in essence a polemic against the isolationist wing of the capitalists, calculated to prove that the New World could never survive a German-Japanese victory because of the many-sided conflict between South and North America, the dependency of the New World on Eurasia for strategic war materials and export markets, and the difficulty for the United States of defending that zone of South America falling below the bulge

The most valuable section of the book is that analyzing the economic relationships of the Latin American countries to each other, and to the United States. Here is no pretense that the military dictatorships to the South are "sister republics," but instead a recognition of the insoluble contradictions that exist between Yankee imperialism and its Latin American victims.

Spykman points out a geo-political contradiction in Washington's foreign policy: the government supports England, the island sea power which stands between the United States and

Europe, and is at present fighting Japan, the island sea power standing between the United States and Asia. Spykman believes that Washington will have to change this policy, and he states that American capitalism will soon have more to fear from a rejuvenated China than from Japan. Unquestionably a powerful segment of the American capitalist class believes the same thing, which helps to explain the State Department's "contradictory" policies in the Far East.

## Same Old World After the War

What sort of new world does the school of American geo-politics promise will emerge from the Second World War if only the United States is victorious? Is it a future worth labor's fighting for and dying for?

All that Spykman can envisage is the same old world of power politics, half-clothed in geopolitical verbiage. "It must be remembered that the end of a war is not the end of the power struggle. . . It will be immediately resumed by other means."

He considers the various patterns in which the world can fall after the war. World federation (which requires socialism as an economic base) he dismisses in one paragraph, because "the people who have the most progressive ideas about the problem of peace are seldom the ones in positions of political power."

American-British hegemony he rejects because "it would inevitably create a counter-

alliance by the great land powers." "A European federation," he frankly states, "is not a power constellation that the United States should encourage." He believes the United States should continue its policy of balkanizing Europe.

As to Asia, he fears that the real threat to Washington and Wall Street will come not from Japan but from "a modern, vitalized and mili-

The very best solution he can propose is a precarious balance of power between Europe, Asia and North America, a program which he admits "does not promise the end of international strife" but "accepts the fact that there will always be conflict, and that war will remain a necessary instrument in the preservation of power. An equilibrium of forces inherently unstable, always shifting, always changing, is certainly not an ideal power pattern for an international society. But . . . it is an indispensable element of an international order based on independent states (that is, on capitalism-J. R.)." The school of geo-politics is as bankrupt as are all the other programs to maintain the capitalist world.

Reviewed by Jack Ranger