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THE MILITANT

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DELEGATES DEMAND UAW RETREATS END

Stalin Policy Leads USSR To Disaster

By HENRY COLLINS

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

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

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

Supplies Only Trickle In

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

Moreover they were confronted with the problem of running the Nazi blockade lying athwart the northern supply lanes around the North Cape of Norway to Murmansk and Archangel. To protect the convoys against a combination of land-based German planes, submarines and combat ships, it would have been necessary for the allies to place a considerable section of their navies at the disposal of these convoys. That is, they had to be prepared to sacrifice an important section of their fleets to keep the supply lanes open. Facts have shown they were not at all inclined to make any such sacrifices - the largest proportion of merchant ships sunk in any sector have been those en route to Murmansk.

The Cry for a Second Front

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on page 2)

Yet Deny Wage Rises

'equality of sacrifice" - directed exclusively towards the workappears that the gentlemen who Soviet Union. fought the justified demand of the steel workers for an increase of \$1 a day are doing very nicely the United States are dischargfor themselves.

Eugene G. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Steel Corp., was year 1941, an increase of \$59,580

The workers of Bethlehem PRAISE RUSSIAN MORALE Steel, who have to be satisfied with a raise of only 44c a day for a long time according to the decision of the War Labor Board, will be glad to learn that at least some "employees" of Bethlehem will be able to tide themselves over in the hard days ahead.

That Grace is no isolated example among the steel executives can be seen from the salaries paid in 1940 and 1941, which appear in the accompaning table:

These figures show that 12 executives, representing only 4 companies, received an average increase of \$28,850 a year for 1941, or more than \$500 a week. WANTS NO "TROUBLE"

Nor are these huge salaries Press reports show that this is the rule in all war industries. (Continued on page 4)

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

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

Survivors of the Murmansk run arrived last Monday tell-In the midst of the clamor for ing stories of conditions in the Soviet Union. Those ships that managed to get through the German blockade go either to Murmansk or Archangel where they lay for a period of approximers — comes the news that the ately one month. Although many people estimate this an exsteel trust executives are paying cessively long time it is nothing compared to the time wasted themselves fabulous salaries. It en route from the United States to the Northern Front in the

of twenty-one days to load in lines in an army sector. ed in the Soviet Union in nine and one-half days time. Murpaid a salary of \$537,724 for the mansk, which has never been more than a frontier port lying over 1940. This represents a raise within the Arctic Circle, has of more than \$1000 a week, an adequate equipment for handamount which will certainly make ling cargo. Docks have tracks up for the rise in the cost of liv- on them; steamcranes are in all likelihood, leave something evidence; and an electric railroad runs into the town itself.

> usually a large number of survivors from ships sunk while to the front lines. running the blockade between North Cape and Bear Island. Few American seamen will be found who haven't the highest praise for the spirit and morale of the Russian workers and soldiers.

Survivors are taken into camp -those needing hospitalization are taken to hospitals where cases are serious. The majority of men living in survivors camps were specially impressed by the consideration shown them and the complete absence of any distinction made among survivors. All commented on the fact that in confined to the steel executives. the Soviet Union all men are surboard ship before it was sunk. All rebuild while under fire. riting in PM. Harold Lavine are accorded the same considerate treatment within the means that

Ships taking on an average the Russians have on the front

Those working on board ship during discharge of cargo lauded the will of the Russian workers where everyone seems to engage in the effort to get as many ships discharged in the least possible time. Stories are told of longshoremen taking off deck-lashings and technicians coming right aboard ships to start tanks and drive them over the side onto the docks without even bothering about hooking on with the ship's cargo gear. Percussion caps and fixed Remnants of convoys arriving ammunition are discharged directin Murmansk carry with them ly into box cars and no sooner is a car loaded than it begins to roll

MOST OF CITY DESTROYED

Greatest handicap under which he Russians are working is of course the continual bombing raids from the German base in Petsamo, less than a hundred miles away. Although the Russians have every hill bristling with anti-aircraft guns and an airbase in Murmansk two-thirds of level and incendiary bombs during the month of June. Everyone who has been in Murmansk has commented upon the Russian ability vivors regardless of position on to continue and even attempt to

> Long ago practically the entire (Continued on page 4)

Contribute to CRDC

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

The seamen discussed the issues involved in the Minneapolis labor case, and the prosecution against the Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Local 544-CIO, on their trip home. Fourteen seamen made contributions toward an appeal of the convictions to the

United States Supreme Court. The appeal of the convictions; is expected to be heard before; the Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis in October, after which it will go before the U.S. Supreme Court. The appeal will test the constitutionality of the Smith "Gag" Act for the first

Tank Strike

NLRB VictoryFollows Militant Struggle by CIO Auto Workers

By JOHN THORNE

FLINT, Mich., Aug. 2. -Notwithstanding wartime obstacles the militancy of auto workers won a week-long strike against chain-gang discipline in the city was destroyed by high the new Fisher Body Tank plant of General Motors, near Flint, and topped it off by voting nearly 7 to 1 for the UAW-CIO in an NLRB election.

Only by a demonstration of rank and file independence were the workers able to force the union crowded, sweltering ball-room of the Hotel Sherman. officials to aid the strike even a little bit, in spite of the official CIO, 1,001; UAW-AFL, 146; no union, 11. It was a victory against GM and a warning to the top UAW-CIO officialdom.

The strike won bargaining by the bosses' war program 9rights in this new \$35,000,000 government-built plant where GM had refused to bargain at all and had instituted a policy of continual

will be small. SUSPENDED FOR SMOKING

The strike was precipitated by the three-day disciplinary suspension of 37 men for taking a fivewith going "outside the plant to smoke" (only bosses having the surdity of the no-smoking rule is obvious. Most of the work is heavy welding with sparks flying far and wide and heat so intense many have to wear asbestos suits.

Practically all the workers immediately rallied to support of the of thousands of visiting unionists 37 and closed the plant down who could observe the proceedright. Only token picket lines ings. This time, the convention is were necessary, so unanimous was the workers' disgust with the Si- lighted hall, too small even for mon Legree discipline. Strikers the official delegates. Only a few included many who do not smoke. but the management tried to make it appear that the mere question of smoke was holding up the gates sent at great expense by the brief, polite, desultory handwhole war effort, as far away as locals are crowded completely out

AFL MAKES BID

Strike organization was hurried and loose, but militancy made up to prevent the rank and file visitfor inexperience of leaders and ing members from observing what over to me and confided, "If it AFL-UAW made a bid for these few hundred workers, whom the opening session was devoted to CIO-UAW had neglected to organ- stirring up a completely jingo,

workers in the tank plant. The Spangled Banner," and "God AFL offered "autonomy" in a new Save . The King." The Soviet whispering and chair-shiftings local 800, conjured up over night, anthem - "The International"- throughout his remarks. But nearly all the men were CIO- was skipped by the ardent ad-Fisher Local 581 UAW-CIO has a consciousness was going to be ex- hadn't accepted his "equality of

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

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

- BULLETIN -

Special to THE MILITANT

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

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

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

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

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

> By ART PREIS (Special to THE MILITANT)

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

The warning thunder claps were sounded early this afterno-strike policy. Election results noon as the formal deliberations got under way, when the 1700 announced yesterday were: UAW- delegates noisily voiced their disapproval of the international leadership's proposed plans to establish a bureaucratic stranglehold on the traditionally most democratic and militant industrial union in America. Using the reactionary atmosphere generated

> and hiding their designs behind | the dominant theme of labor the demagogic slogan for a "Second Front," the international officers are hoping to push through a series of conrank and file.

RANK AND FILE WILL NOT BE COWED

But from the opening gun of his convention, it was clear that not going to be suppressed without | cheer. a struggle.

The delegates knew what was

in the wind as soon as they came into the convention hall. The arrangements at former conventions had always provided for the complete physical comfort of the delegates and for the attendance being held in a stifling, badly visitors can be seated in the thin rim of gallery with two rows of like a wet fire-cracker. Thomas' seats. Most of the alternate dele- reception by the delegates was of the hall. It is clear that the arrangements, which were made by a local committee composed mainly of Stalinists, are intended lack of plans. Immediately the is going on at this convention.

As was to be expected, the patriotic atmosphere. There was cluded from the convention, with

sacrifice for the war.

"SOLIDARITY FOREVER" But the songs dearest to the

hearts of the fighters from the stitutional amendments aimed at great auto workers picket lines entrenching themselves in office and sit-downs could not be contract with GM. Raises, if any, and limiting the powers of the crowded out. From the ranks on the floor the militant tune of "Solidarity Forever" began to swell. Delegation after delegation took up the refrain, until the whole convention was on its feet. Then, finally, the band joined in. the democratic traditions and and for good measure, the delesound class instinct of the rank gates hit the ceiling for three full and file which built the UAW are stanzas ending with a mighty

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

"BIG SHOT" GETS SMALL OVATION

What was to be a tremendous ovation, as planned by the international leadership, fizzled claps and not a few out-right boos. From the big Ford Local 600 delegation next to the press table could be heard derisive comments, "Big Shot," Wind," etc. One delegate leaned wasn't for the war, he wouldn't

be president of this outfit long." Thomas' keynote speech was a wash-out, so far as the delegates were concerned. The delegates Eventually there will be 11.000 the mass singing of the "Star were restless and uneasy, and there was an under-current of

These were compounded of patrio-UAW members from other plants, vocates of the "Second Front." It tic demagogy, appeals for sacrimostly from Fisher No. 1, where appeared as if every bit of union fice, complaints because Congress

(Continued on page 2)

Boss Press Lies About Indian Independence

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

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

Pave Way for Repressions

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

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

The Truth About Cripps' Mission We can prove this from the White Paper pub-

lished in April by the British government, entitled "India (Lord Privy Seal's Mission)." This

30-page document, containing the correspondence between Cripps and the Congress leadership driving, bullying and nagging. during the negotiations (as well as the official Wages are also subject to negotiaresolutions), can be secured in this country at tions but it is assured this plant the British Library of Information, Rockefeller | will come under the blanket CIO Center, New York City. This correspondence es-

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

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

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

"You suggest 'a truly National Government' be formed which must be 'Cabinet Government with full power.' "Without constitutional changes of a most com-

plicated character and on a very large scale this would not be possible as you realise. (Earlier in the letter Cripps had declared "the practical impossibility of any such legislative change in the middle of a war.") "Were such a system to be introduced. . . the

(Continued on page 2)

(Continued on page 2)

Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

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

police, "The soldier was arrested states where payment of such after he had threatened to cut a Negro woman with a knife" That explanation sounds as thin misunderstandings let us say as the paper it was printed on. Negro soldiers in the South are well enough acquainted with to the bill that was passed; they "Southern justice" to know what were also opposed to another kind of punishment is usually measure abolishing the poll tax meted out to them when they resist the brutality of "the law." forces; on this second measure The fact that they resisted just their colleagues, the northern the same would seem to indicate Republicans and Democrats that they felt they had plenty of joined them, and it was voted

this so-called "riot" and the of Representatives as a whole scores of similar outbreaks that goes, the soldier, who is being have occurred in the last year or prepared to die for the "four so was that no Negro soldiers freedoms," still has to pay a were killed in this one. Of tax before he can vote. course, six Negro soldiers who happened to be available were ANTI-NEGRO DRIVE arrested on charges of "attempting to incite a riot."

What will probably happen to them was indicated by the announcement last week that five out militant struggle against Negro soldiers in Flagstaff, Jim Crow because it "might in-Arizona, will soon be brought to court martial. Readers of this paper will recall that they were people don't hesitate for a minarrested last month for resisting ute to jump to action against the attacks of civilian police, who all threats to Jim Crow rule. shot one Negro soldier dead and More and more are we reading were exonerated for having about politicians and journal-"acted in pursuit of duty." Many ists in the South issuing fiery a soldier who faced such courts. calls to arms against the Negro martial in the last war is still in people. Most recent was the dea federal prison.

JOB DISCRIMINATION

talk about how effective Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 has been in getting employment for curity and our local way of life Negroes. The rank and file of the Negro people, walking the streets every day trying to get jobs, are not fooled by this talk they know from experience how little effect the Order has had. And if anyone thinks the employers are fooled by this talk, read this from the June issue of the Washington letter of the Linen Supply Association of America, Inc.:

"Labor Shortage. Many members (of the Association) are facing critical labor situations. The draft, and competition from defense factories, have made it greatest need of the Negro difficult to obtain and retain masses today is a leadership consider the advisability of em- termination, clear-sightedness ploying more colored help, many and vigor that the enemies of

This week witnessed still an- regulations, have been discrim-

POLL TAX BARS SOLDIER VOTE IN SOUTH

Last week's MILITANT refor soldiers and sailors who hail According to the chief of from the one-sixth of the 48 taxes is a qualification-for voting. To clear up any possible here that such was not the case.

The poll-taxers were opposed for members of the armed down by an overwhelming The only difference between majority. So far as the House

STEPPED UP

While some Negroes are hesitant about organizing an allterfere with the conduct of the war," the enemies of the Negro mand by Horace Wilkinson, Alabama lawver and Democrat. for the organization of a League to Maintain White Supremacy. What is needed, he declared, is There has been a lot of lying an organization "so strong, so powerful and so efficient that this menace to our national se-

> will rapidly disappear." And almost simultaneous with this veiled call to lynch action, A. Philip Randolph announced in Los Angeles, according to the August 1 Pittsburgh Courier that he has abandoned plans for "immediate" March on Washington and instead will concentrate on a "pressure campaign to force the government to make some drastic changes in the treatment of the Ne-

It often seems to us that the . . Members might also that will exhibit the same deof whom, despite Government the Negro people show.

Now Published as a Pamphlet

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His famous polemic against the 'moralist' critics of Bolshevism

48 pages — 20c per copy

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

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Class Struggles In Britain

British Trotskyists Active in Strikes; Advance Military Program

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

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

WORKERS' CONTROL

program that fits the moods, aspir-

ations and daily experiences of

the British working people. And

all else, that is responsible for the

growing support of the WIL

among wider layers of the organ-

What is this program? It is

the Transitional Program of the

To end chaos and mismanage-

ment in industry, says the WIL.

we must have Workers' Control

of Production. The government

must take industry out of the

hands of the capitalist mis-man-

agers and operate it under con-

Fourth International.

OF PRODUCTION

ized workers.

The WIL group fully accepts the program of the Fourth International although not affiliated 9 with the Fourth International. In note that the stock of the Trot-1938 all Trotskyist groups in Great Britain with the exception of the WIL united and became part of the Fourth International. Because of strong personal friction existing between the then leaders of the WIL and some of the leaders of the other Trotskyist groups of that time, the WIL refused to join the united party, a tactic severely condemned by the con-

ference of the Fourth International. Efforts which will undoubtedly be crowned with success are now being made to iron out all difficulties in the way of it is this timely program, above having the WIL become part of the official Trotskvist movement in Britain. LEADING UNIONISTS

SUPPORT WIL

The WIL, including in its ranks dozens upon dozens of shop stewards throughout England and Scotland, has gained the admiration and support of wide layers of workers because of its role in the recent strike struggles in the mines, at Royal Ordnance factories and at the docks. In many of these struggles the Socialist Appeal, WIL's paper, has been treated as the strike bible of the workers involved.

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

The Stalinist leadership of the Electrical Trades Union in Liverpool has gone to court to sue the Appeal for a hard hitting article which appeared on the Electrical Trades situation in Liverpool. Many electrical trades workers, especially those working in shipbuilding, have been buying the

The shop steward leaders of the important Royal Ordnance factory district in Nottingham have recently sent a long communication to the Appeal outlining their just grievances in the fight against compulsory transfer of labor. For our readers to understand the significance of this, it is analogous for example to having leading CIO workers in Detroit using THE MILITANT in preference to their official union

FIGHTS FOR WORKER'S INTERESTS

The WIL participates in these battles against compulsory transfer of labor ,for overtime pay, etc., as honest defenders of the interests of the workers involved. The Labor Party and the Communist Party, on the other hand, always invoke the sanctity of the "nostrike" agreement and do not wish to embarrass the government they support.

At the Berkenhead docks near Liverpool we had an example of this: The longshoremen struck for higher overtime pay. The Stalinists called upon the workers to return to work as the first step in fighting for their demands! The Stalinists were completely exposed as bosses' agents. After all the workers had struck as a last resort. The Appeal on the other hand was very well received and sold like hotcakes.

Another example: In my previous article I mentioned a strike at the important Royal Ordnance factories in the midlands, in Nottingham, against the compulsory transfer of labor to private indu-The Government, which runs and operates these Royal Ordnance factories, wanted to shift skilled engineers to private plants, hundreds of miles away from their homes, where the conditions of work and wages were far worse than conditions at the R.O.F. factories. The workers rose in uproar against this attack by the government. They prepared to strike. The C.P. issued a statement in the factory asking "Does the transference of labour in a people's war justify

As one shop steward put it after this leaflet was issued: "The result of the leaflet has been to almost completely destroy the C.P. in the factory. It is commonly assumed by the ordinary workers here that the C.P. has completely sold out and that these leaflets were paid for by the management! I have not seen such a fall in stock (of the C.P.) since the collapse of Wall

factory in the Midlands employtional conference of the Independent' Labor Party many delegates. ported the slogan of "Workers' Control of Production." Many other I.L.P. branches have passed resolutions supporting this slogan.

Present day experiences of the skyists in the East Midlands has risen tremendously as a result of workers have made them even their honest class approach on the more responsive to the Trotskyist question of compulsory transfer of answer to production chaos. The Joint Production Committees of management and labor have proven to be reactionary institutions that give labor a voice but But the WIL has an even more no power in production. These potent weapon than its instinctive committees leave the capitalists in class support of the recent strike | control of industry and haven't struggles. The WIL has the class settled any of the problems of production.

> How could they, says the WIL, when they refuse to take up the just grievances of the workers! with regard to their regimentation under the Essential Works Order? How can they settle anything says the WIL, when they refuse to open up the books of industry?

THE WIL IN ACTION

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

of strikes in Britain through the gained respect and support from capitalist press. Very often you the workers.

Everywhere this slogan is meet- don't even hear a rumor that a ing with favorable response. One strike is in existence through the press. Only when the strike takes way to the ears of the nation's Production. At the recent na- workers by word of mouth does the capitalist press speak of it. And of course in /a continuous definitely under the influence of strike wave as during these past months, the press is forced to speak of strikes going on without mentioning the place.

Our comrades of the WIL jump into a strike situation as soon as they hear of it. They've got hosts of contacts among the workers who let them know if something breaks in their district. Then a committee is assigned, either from London, Liverpool, Scotland or other centers, to go down with SOCIALIST APPEALS and other literature to cover the strike. These comrades also act as reporters for the APPEAL and in almost all cases are very well received by the local militant leadership and by the workers who are eager to make their case known to the working class and find some avenue of publicity.

In two strikes mentioned previously, in Betteshanger and Blackhall, our comrades worked this way and came away with big prestige and a permanent foothold for future activity. In the strike of Durham miners at the Scottish-English border they worked similarly. Here the strike was called to protest the forcible sending of two young lads into the mines Our comrades wrote this strike You don't learn of the location up, sold lots of APPEALS and

one miners union, which recents went out on an "illegal" strike, went out on an "illegal" strike, month of the Socialist Appeal. The WIL can only supply them with 500 because of the paper Repeating 1927 Betrayal

By JAMES GILBERT

perialist interests in China.

pone the class struggle: the

proletariat, but in the native

capitalists, not in the tens of mil-

lions of peasants, but in the land-

the tide of revolution.

large sections of the country.

Communist movement was crush-

ed. The Chinese Communist Party

reported that while in 1927 he-

fore the massacre by Chiang Kai-

shek, the C.P. had 60,000 in-

dustrial workers in its ranks. On

November 8, 1928, the Central

Committee of the Chinese C. P.

stated, "The Party does not have

a single healthy party nucleus

Trotsky, in opposition to the

Stalinist leadership of the Comin-

tern, had demanded in 1927 that

the Communist Party resign from

the Kuo Min Tang and "fight for

the formation of Soviets." The

Stalinists replied: "We must carry

on a minimum of class struggle."

The Stalin leadership by its

blanket support of Chiang Kai-

shek and the Kuo Min Tang

violated the elementary principles

of Marxism, and the lessons of

the Russian Revolution. Lenin

that there can be no unity be-

tween exploiters and exploited,

that the working class movement

must maintain its independence.

So far did Stalinism retreat from

the Chinese Communist Party

The adventuristic policy of the

among the industrial workers."

From Opportunism

to Adventurism

lords.

massacre of Chinese communist workers and peasants ship of the revolutionary struggle by Chiang Kai-shek, in April 1927, the Central Committee Appeal and the Stalinist fear of of the Chinese Stalinist Party, its growing influence has driven in a statement issued July 20 to them in desperation to the capital commemorate five years of the Sino-Japanese war, calls upon the Chinese people to give unqualified support to Chiang Kai-shek, and to work for "a people's government led by a democratic coalition of capitalists, workers and farmers.'

The Stalinists demand that Chiang be supported "not only as the leader of the war of resistance but also of the reconstruction of post-war China."

"It must be a democratic state." the statement said, speaking of the post-war regime, "neither, militants, outlawed the Comdictatorial, semifeudal, nor soviet nor socialist."

What Is This New State?

The Stalinists pose the post war problem as one which demands a "new and higher form of democratic state." What is this "new" state? According to the Stalinists it will be a state "neither socialist nor capitalist. Nor will it be a state dominated by a combination of feudal landowners and foreign imperialist interests." It will be a state, in other words, the like of which the world has never seen.

This "new" state is merely ar old lie dressed in new words. So long as the landlords and capitalists have not been expropriated, the Chinese people will be oppressed and exploited. A "coalition" of the classes in China. means in actuality, the suppression of the oppressed to the advantage of the ruling classes.

This is a repetition of the policy that led to the betrayal of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27. It is a repitition of the classcollaboration that led to the 'popular front" betrayai of the French and Spanish workingclass by Stalinism. With this theory of the "New

State" the Stalin bureaucracy has in reality announced in advance that it will support the butcher Chiang Kai-shek in his attempts to suppress the oppressed masses of China should they attempt to fight for a Soviet China, either during or after the

This pronouncement of the Chinese agents of the Comintern is only the latest addition to the annals of Stalinist crimes against the Chinese revolution.

The "Bloc" of Four Classes

In the years 1925-27, during the period of the revolutionary upsurge of the Chinese workers and peasants, the Stalin-Bukharin Tang were forced to sign a pledge leadership of the Comintern im- not to criticize Chiang Kai-shek. posed upon the Chinese Communist Party the policy of a "bloc On the other hand, we should of four classes" by which the massacre solved nothing for the cated itself to this task.

Fifteen years after the bloody | working class party was subor- | Chinese masses. The Communist dinated to the bourgeois-dominat- movement was reduced to "peasant ed Kuo Min Tang, and the leadersoviets" fighting sporadic wars in the interior. The 13th Plenum of placed in the hands of Chiang the Comintern in 1933, during the Kai-shek, agent of the landlords, adventuristic "Third Period" of native capitalists and certain im-Stalinism, proclaimed, "The overthrow of the Kuo Min Tang The workers were told to postregime is a condition of the successful prosecution of the napeasants were forbidden to seize tional-revolutionary war against the land; the Communist Party the Japanese and other placed its trust not in the Chinese

Policy Changed Once Again From this it may have been

It was this fatal policy, being repeated today, which brought mistakenly concluded that the 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek the hitter lessons of the Chinese events. But less than two years staged his coup d'etat, massacred tens of thousands of communist later, at the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in August munist Party, and turned back 1935 a new change in line was initiated, and the Chinese Stalinist The result of this blow was to leaders made speeches appealing to "all parties and all prominent set back the world proletariat, weaken the position of the Soviet political and social leaders to organize an all-Chinese Union, prolong the oppression of the Chinese masses by native and Anti-Japanese National defense army, and an all Chinese United foreign exploiters, and make it possible for the Japanese im-People's Government of National perialists to invade and subjugate Defense."

Today the Chinese Stalinists, inder orders from the Kremlin. are once again the lackeys of the betrayer and butcher of the Chinese Revolution, Chiang Kai-shek, The Stalin-Bukharin leadership, They once again call for a bloc which had led the workers to this between the workers, peasants defeat, did not learn from the small merchants and capitalists terrible errors. In August, 1927, of China; and more than that, when the masses were already in they openly denounce efforts to full retreat, the Stalinists called establish a Soviet China, and hold for insurrections in China, and up as the solution of China's plunged the remaining communist problems, the democratic "people's workers into abortive struggles government of all classes.' doomed in advance to defeat. The

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

The Struggle Against Japan

Chiang Kai-shek dares not arm the masses of China for fear they will seize the land and the factories and erect a Soviet system. In the national war against Japan, as well as in the post-war period. the Chinese workers must place no trust in Chiang Kai-shek, the landlords and capitalists of China.

The counter-revolutionary pollcy of Stalinism, which flies in had reiterated time and again the face of Marxism, can solve nothing for the Chinese people Only the independent struggle of the Chinese workers, supported by the peasantry, can bring about this class-position, that in 1926 a strong and powerful China, able to oust the Japanese invaders, and liberate the masses members entering the Kuo Min from all oppression by the building of a Soviet China.

The Chinese section of the Comintern following the April Fourth International has dedi-

Do The German Masses Support Hitler?

pressed this sentiment.

The point involved is a very ful arguments for such a government is lost.

WHO SUPPORTS HITLER?

It is first necessary to answer masses support Hitler? We can take it for granted that the vast majority of the 13 million people who cast their votes for the Socialist and Communist parties THE FEAR OF DEFEAT in 1932 do not now, after 10 years of experience with the Hitler regime, support that regime.

It is inconceivable that the masses of workers whose hours have been lengthened, who have been compelled to work at a much speedier tempo, whose organizations have been destroyed. whose leaders have been killed or placed in a concentration camp, and who have been suffering untold privations as a result of the war support a regime that is responsible for all this. It is also safe to assume that

workers and middle-class people who were deceived by Hitler's social demagogy have lost their illusions. Undoubtedly a large volution in Germany. proportion of the youth raised under the Hitler regime have of the democratic imperialists been completely infected with Nazi ideas and are ready to die for that regime. The power of a totalitarian state to inculcate ideas in the youth is very great, especially when these ideas are foreign conquest affording the ers would then want his defeat. opportunity of participation in mediately upon taking of power the spoils of victory. Though by the workers in England or of the German population the fanatical Nazi youth play an important role.

WHAT EXPLAINS

THE VICTORIES man army?

It must in the first place be One is far more likely to meet by lack of food. a fanatical young Nazi in the army than in the factory.

attitude of a young Nazi prisoner tionary propaganda of a workto the German masses or even ers' government can have enormto all of the German soldiers. It ous effect. A change in the atso happens that the Nazi prison- titude of the German masses so

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

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

German victories cannot be eximportant one and it is worth plained by any alleged enwhile discussing it thoroughly. thusiasm for the war on the part If we cannot convince militant of the German masses. There workers who support the demo- is no such enthusiasm. German cratic imperialists because of industrial power; and industrial their fear of Hitler that a work- mobilization made necessary by ers' government will be able by the desperate situation of Gerpropaganda to rouse the German man capitalism; a careful premasses, one of our most power- paration for war ever since Hitler took control; the necessity, because of the restriction of the Versailles treaty, to make use of new weapons; plus the comthe question: Do the German placency of the wealthy democratic imperialist countriesthese are the main factors responsible for the German vic-

It is of course true that the German masses prefer the victory of Hitler rather than the victory of the democratic imperialists. They know the fate that awaits them as a result of a Hitler defeat by English and American imperialism. It is this attitude of the German masses that rules out a revolt against Hitler so long as they have sufficient to eat and so long as the German armies are not defeated on the field of battle. Only the most class-conscious and farsighted German workers want by this time a great many of the Hitler defeated by the English and American imperialists because such a defeat would un-'doubtedly bring a workers' re-

It is this fear of the victory on the part of the German workers that makes us confident that a real workers' government in England or in the United States would make Hitler's position far more difficult because the work-

the United States the German German soldier worker. What we are confident of is that a sustained and con-But if, as we believe, the vast sistent revolutionary propamajority of the German workers ganda will, in the course of a do not support Hitler what ex- comparatively short period make plains the victories of the Ger. the German masses conscious of the fact that a defeat of Hitler is the best possible solution for taken into consideration that the them. The more class-conscious workers who were opposed to workers will immedately begin Hitler in 1932 are now ten years to sabotage and the masses will older and most of them are now rise at the very first opportunity too old to be in the army. They and not wait until a complete are working in the factories military defeat of the German rather than fighting at the front. armies or until made desperate

Whereas the propaganda of the democratic imperialists can have It is a mistake to attribute the no effect whatever, the revoluers with whom our sympathizers that, instead of prefering Hithave had some experience were ler's victory, they would want captured in Northern Africa and his defeat, would undoubtedly from submarines. They came become the decisive factor in the from the sections of the armed war against Hitler. Such a forces where fanatical young change cannot take place with-Nazis are most likely to be out a change from a capitalist to a socialist government in Eng-

TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING

FRIDAY, AUGUST 21, at 8:30 P. M. IRVING PLAZA 15th ST. and IRVING PLACE

Main Speaker:

ALBERT GOLDMAN

Defendant and Defense Attorney in the Minneapolis Trials

Commemorating the Second Anniversary of the Death of the Great Revolutionary Leader at the hands of Stalin's GPU.

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

Stalinists Turn Meeting Into Riot After Steamrolling Agreement Over Majority Vote

Center.

Organizer of the local, and a well-known militant leader, was severely injured by Stalinist goons. The Stalinists precipitated the battle, by announcing that a motion to accept the agreement was carried, in spite of the fact that the members turned the motion down by at least five to one, in an oral vote. Phillips, who in Beth Israel Hospital; the seriousness of his injuries will strong-arm manner. not be known until Xrays have been studied.

SELL-OUT CONTRACT

The two thousand workers as-

An attempt by the Stalinist | violates the rights of women workleadership of New York Local 302 ers by a provision that women of speedup, and a failure to fight of the Hotel and Restaurant Em- who replace men at work shall ployees Union, AFL, to cram a receive only \$21 weekly, and the rotten agreement down the throats remaining \$9 of their weekly pay of the membership in violation of shall be turned oven to the union democratic union procedure, re- tops to do with as they wish. It sulted in a riot at the union's last also provides that a 6-day week meeting, July 30, at Manhattan shall be worked in a five-day period making it possible for the Larry Phillips, former General management to reduce crews.

The contract provides for only very inadequate wage increases mainly for skilled workers. No provision to reopen the contract workers, the \$1 a day wage in- this convention." The purpose of on the wage question to readjust costs, was made. The contract runs for one year.

Those who opposed the Stalinist leadership were deprived of their opposed this steamrolling, is now right to speak. The chairman ran hands, he begged: "I want to see tions on the second day of the the meeting in typical Stalinist

Riding roughshod over the membership's, 5 to 1 vote to the contrary the chairman brazenly announced that the motion to accept the agreement was carried. sembled at the meeting were in- When this announcement was censed at the provisions of the made, a riot broke out. The meetproposed contract. The agreement ing ended in a general melee.

ORKERS'

Protests Segregation of Negro Soldiers

I am a soldier who reads your of your stories about the raw not wish to see." deal the colored soldiers have borate. It was in the July 29th fornia.

That looked all right to me. I | right thing." thought that maybe your paper was exaggerating things a bit. contribution to make to the Then I began to think about it debate on the colonial question: and I changed my mind. We have | "I hope that the Government a Service Club now and both will not assume that when peace

soldier-You're alright in your present British Empire is going place-in your own Service Club to remain." but don't be hanging around here anymore.

cracy to me. If I was a colored my complete conviction." And soldier I'd boycott this elaborate | Maxton answered him as follows: joint they're planning to build As long as we all wear the same uniform let's all use the same service club and get acquainted. I think we'll get along O. K. if the Big Shots will only stay out not start by saying that there is

> A White Soldier Los Angeles, Calif.

The British I.L.P. and the Colonies

Editor:

fusion and contradictions which teach both of us things." characterize that centrist organization. I want here to add but gestion that United States imone more example of how that perialism get its share in the exparty's leadership functions.

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

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

right thing (toward the British colonies) now because it is the right thing, or be compelled later to surrender to an uprising of force which will create a situapaper. Of course, I've read a lot tion which intelligent people do

Thus Maxton included himself been getting. The other day I among the "intelligent people" picked up a copy of our camp who do not want to see the newspaper and there was an colonial peoples, sick of afterarticle that said-Service Club the-war promises, take their infor Colored Troops; Plans Ela- dependence by force if necessary, as the American colonists did. issue of Shot 'n Shell-published Maxton fights for "the third at Camp San Luis Obispo, Cali- front" by pleading with the British imperialists to do "the

But Maxton had still another

colored and white soldiers use it. 'comes there will not be a lot of Some of the guys I know don't re-arrangement in the world and like colored people, but they that every nation's possessions don't say anything because we will not come under review. I take this idea of democracy interrupted the speech of Mr. serious. But now the Big Shots | Macmillan because he seemed to are stepping in and want to set suggest that the Government had up a separate place for colored already made up its mind that whatever territorial readjust-That article is just like a Keep ments and reallocations there Out sign. They tell the colored might be after the war, the

At this point Maxton was interrupted by one Sir P. Hannon, That doesn't look like demo- who said: "Please God. That is

MAXTON PLUGS FOR U. S. "If you are to re-draw the map of the world, and if you are honest with your Allies, you canto be no change in the red bits. I would like to see a United States of Africa, for instance, run and controlled by the Africans, the natives of the soil; but if the white races are to have a say as to how the wealth of that great continent is to be developed, I would like to see the United Those who read Marc Loris' States of America have a part very fine article on the British in it. I believe that America Independent Labor Party in the | could teach us some things about June issue of Fourth Interna- the handling of colonial people, tional must already have a and I am more certain still that pretty good picture of the con- the Soviet Union and China could

To this "revolutionary" sugploitation of the present British colonial empire, America's Sixty Families would say only "Amen! speech made by James Maxton, be uttered by those African the people in Puerto Rico, for

> Albert Parker New York City

UAW Delegates Oppose Retreats

as a word his first point. How to rules were passed depriving them of retreat and canitulation to the bosses, a no-strike policy, support for the wage increases demanded by the auto workers, was not explained by Thomas.

"Open a Second Front."

on the key problems of the auto crease demand, the loss of elecwages with the rise in living tions in key aircraft plants, the mounting plant grievances. Above all, anxious to put over

the leadership's program of concentrating more power in its own some sort of unity in this convention, not such knock-down. drag-out fights that we have had in conventious before." But the was unanimously carried. delegates were aware that such 'lack of unity"-readiness to resist bureaucratic dictation and freely discuss all issues-was the

convention is: What sort of and Bronx cheers increased sacrifice are we willing to make for victory?" He didn't get much

did not issue the order a year ago.

The first clash came over the proposal to elect the officers on the third day of the convention, instead of the last, as is customary. No sooner was this read. than it was greeted with resounding boos and cat-calls. Thomas, when he commanded "Order, Order," was himself booed.

A delegate got the floor mike and stated, "I don't know how we can vote intelligently on our officers until we see what kind of Not a word did he have to say stand is taken by the candidates on the important issues before rushing the elections in this manner was to head off the growth of any opposition candidates to the present leaders, and one of the measures proposed for the constitution is to hold elecconventions hereafter.

But a motion was put to hold the elections on the last day, and

During this and subsequent debates, the meeting became more disorderly. Thomas antagonized the delegates more and more by source of the strength and growth his clumsy, bureaucratic handling of the chair, raging at delegates, shouting them down, calling "out leclaring that the "theme of this of order" in harsh words. Booing

OFFICIALS' PROGRAM IS UNPOPULAR

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

fice"; and to raise the dues when tatives outside the convention the cost of living is rising and no door button-holing a delegate and really effective organization work intimidating him with the threat is being done to warrant such increased income to the international.

The whole conflict came to a head when delegates, amidst great applause, took the floor and charged the leadership with planting large numbers of paid organizers and international representatives in the convention.

A clamor arose in opposition to he organizers and international representatives being seated among the delegates. One speaker charged, "They are used for putting over deals in these conventions." Another pointed out that elected alternates sent at great expense by their locals "don't even have room to sit in on the convention."

GOON PRESSURE ON DELEGATES

It had been reported about the convention that Thomas had called in all his paid functionaries

Tank Strike **Won At Flint**

(Continued from page 1)

long record of militancy. Autonomy sounded good to the menthey did want to be shackled by the no-strike give-away policy of the CIO bureaucrats. But they had their fill of the AFL long ago.

BIG-SHOTS WON'T HELP

So they maneuvered between AFL and CIO, hoping for some help. Neither AFL nor CIO quite dared sanction the strike or support it openly. Much less did they dare "outlaw" it. Militants from other CIO plants in Flint joined picket lines and showed the negotiations for the strike

This confusion puzzled even the corporation, the boss press and government labor boards, so that there was little agreement on formulas to scare the workers who dared to demand ordinary human treatment just when GM was beginning to reap war tank profits.

REJECT "NO-STRIKE" POLICY

In meetin leaders the strikes made it plain they would not let "higher ups cram anything down our throats." defending the gains made through years of struggle. They also reism - especially GM's brand in the plant where they work.

After such warnings they let CIO leaders do most of their negotiating. For seven days GM refused to agree to anything the state or federal mediators propos-Gov. Murray D. Van Wagoner headlined the strike as "a crime" (and the CIO and UAW will spend many thousands of dollars again this fall to re-elect him). GM was union statement of Van Wagoner.

Finally, about 1:30 a.m. on the eighth day, a compromise was sold by the "ace" mediator of the War Labor board and production resumed at 7 a.m. The consent election was held nine days later. Several hundred workers hired vote, but did not seriously affect | Lies of the "Liberals" after the strike were allowed to the results.

The temporary bargaining vast improvement. Grievances period is still denied but being bargained. GM has discovered army tanks and steel hoists are not inflammable. Smoking is allowed in the plant - but for workers only at lunch time; for bosses, all the time.

The strike was a significant victory for the militant Flint work-Had the UAW-CIO taken such militant action in the Curtiss-Wright plant in Buffalo, it would have been possible there also to win a decisive victory over the AFL in the NLRB vote. The failure of the CIO to launch a militant program, lost the UAW-CIO that election.

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

sacrifice" program, and a call for to discuss them one at a time. proposals, to hold conventions the delegates to pass the measures and all the basic issues are yet to They were suspicious and wanted every two years, instead of an- he and his board were backing. come before the convention. It can out with a proposal to achieve to make sure that no convention | nually; to raise substantially the | A Lansing, Michigan, delegate | be expected that the officerssalaries of the officers who are took the floor and testified to Thomas, Reuther, Addes, Franken- industrial unionism, this may becalling on the members to "sacri- witnessing international represen- steen, etc.—are going to be work- come the key issue of the convendelegates into line.

> "If you don't vote right, we'll break your neck." The delegate BALLYHOOED added: "I'm going to see that goons aren't going to come in here and try to tell the delegates of our local how to vote."

ously, "I personally think there are no goons in this convention." boos, and cries, "You ought to The demand that the non-dele-

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

It is clear that if Thomas i re-elected at this convention it will be only because of "unity" pleas on the basis of supporting the war. There are reported move ments under way to nominate other candidates, and the present top leadership is jittery at the mere idea. But it is too early to determine just how far such opposition will get in this conven-

Meanwhile, the first day of the

"SECOND FRONT"

Primarily, their purpose is to subordinate all the demands and critical eyes. needs of the workers, to squelch Thomas then tried to pass off the union membership up as comthe situation by asserting ponder- pletely docile supporters of the leaders last April in order to get policy of retreats in the face of the reactionary demands of Wall and holiday double-time pay. As This was met with laughter and Street and the government. The voiced by many delegates around issue they have chosen to use as the convention, the auto workers the cloak for this program is the are getting wise to the trick that call for a "Second Front."

adjournment, a motion was sud- and give up their hard won rights hot and disgusted delegates did although there was a lot of objection, as indicated by the considerable hand vote in opposition. The motion was passed narrowly. QUESTION OF UNITY

The principal development may come in tomorrow's session when CIO President Philip Murray 4s scheduled to speak. His demonstrative pronouncement on the eve of the convention regarding approaching the AFL for organic unity negotiations has led many competent observers to believe of the convention will appear in that he may make some startling the next issue of THE MILIannouncement on the AFL-CIO | TANT.)

organic unity at the expense of ing over-time to high-pressure the tion. The recent experiences of the UAW members in aircraft with the successful invasions of the AFL is bound to make a great number of the delegates look on any such proposal with extremely,

Another big issue may develop any militant tendencies, and line over the "equality of sacrifice" program put forth by the UAW the members to give up week-end was pulled over on them last At the last moment, just before April. They were asked to sacrifice denly introduced to place first on at once and without a quibble: but the agenda tomorrow the resolu- the "equality of sacrifice" promises tion on the "Second Front." The have proved to be just demagogy used in the interests of the bosses. not care to debate this procedure. Particularly, the workers in Ford, General Motors and Chrysler are getting impatient with the runaround they are getting from the profiteering corporations and the government on their \$1-a-day pay increase demands.

The delegates are going to be heard from before this convention is over. The leaders are going to have to pull every trick out of the bag in order to shove their policies over.

(A complete report and analysis

Boss Press Lies About Indian Independence

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

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

Britain Maintains Its Rule Or, in plain English, the Churchill government retained its right, through continuing the Viceroy and India Office's powers, to dismiss the Indian ministers whenever London felt like it. Ministers taking office under such conditions

would be nothing but stooges for Churchill. These facts — which anybody can ascertain for himself by reading the British White Paper prove that the American press "description" of the Cripps proposal is false, and equally false is its description of the reason for its rejection by the Congress leaders. They rejected it beicy of the UAW-CIO, insisting on cause, far from being even a step toward independence, it meant becoming helpless servants of the Viceroy and the India Office. With the great pudiated Stalinist patriotic ap- masses of India surging forward to fight for peals, saying they were just as independence, the Congress dared not capitulate anxious as anyone to fight Hitler to the British, for that certainly would have led to repudiation of Congress by the people of In-

To Cripps' argument that constitutional changes were impossible "in the middle of a war," the Congress leaders had a crushing retort. They reminded him that, just before the fall of France ed. But the usual pressures were and in an effort to prevent it, Churchill had pronot scaring the strikers back to posed to the French government the formation work. Such "friends of labor" as of an Anglo-French Government - the end of French and British sovereignty and their joining in a new sovereignty certainly would have required constitutional changes!

If anything is more venomous than the New getting nowhere, despite the anti- York Times' campaign against Indian independence, it is the campaign in that ostensibly 'left' liberal daily, PM. It has been publishing a series of articles by its staff member, Herbert Agar, whose lies are, if that were possible, even more outrageous than those of the Times. In available space we can deal with only one or two of

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

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

As for the British government, it knows so

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

PM's Foul Slander

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

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

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

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

What Does Japan Want?

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

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

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

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

A Timely Political Document! IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION By LEON TROTSKY

(A Compilation - 1927-1937) 10 CENTS

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NEW YORK

organize workers with a program of their rights.

Instead, he went directly to the second point, with the one formula answer that is supposed to solve all the problems of the workers in lieu of a real struggle for their rights and conditions,

Thomas wound up his talk by

FIRST CLASH ON ELECTION OF OFFICERS

When the Rules Committee ness that they were trying to put sought to push its proposals over over something on the delegates

Stalin Policy Means Disaster

(Continued from page 1) if by a summary order from Stalin a retreat can be stopped, he

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

infinitely more favorable for them today. Instead the Soviet workers must not only suffer defeats must see the great aims and ideals of their war against the Nazis perverted and prostituted by Stalin. The masses fighting with their backs to the wall for all the conquests of the revolution that overthrew Czarism and its hated system of oppression are instructed by Stalin to make a new stand against the invader in the name of Czarist generals - Nevsky, Donsky. Minin, Pozharsky, Suvoroff - who fought to preserve this self-

Capitalist Press Appreciates Stalin

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

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

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

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

Trotsky from the Soviet Union and ordered his murder by a Stalin does not include the names of the Red Commanders in the civil war because they were too closely associated with the entire staff that Stalin purged long before the Nazi attack. Stalin does not appeal to the revolutionary traditions of

Stalin does not include Trotsky's name because he drove

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

the Soviet masses for fear that they will utilize that tradition

reactionary nationally and internationally, that is undermining and will eventually destroy the Soviet Union. To preserve the Soviet Union the Soviet masses must rid themselves of Stalin, they must convert this war into a revolutionary war, they must restore Soviet democracy.

Thus to preserve his regime Stalin must follow a policy,

The "democratic" imperialists are not at all interested in winning the war for the Soviet Union. The proletarians of the world in struggle against the imperialist oppressors are the only real allies of the Soviet masses.

Heroism and morale alone will not win the war. Above all a correct policy is necessary. It is not yet too late!

War Profiteering

- A Streamlined

1942 Model

By C. CHARLES

The capitalist class is developing the beggar's

On July 28, 1942, The Conference Board issued a

statement that claimed that profits and dividends

were declining as compared to a year ago, and it is

"likely that the proportion of income received in divi-

High taxes and wages are blamed principally for

The sad situation of the capitalist class has aroused

the pity of Senator W. F. George. And since he is a

most kindhearted man - when it concerns the capi-

talist class - and head of the Senate Finance Com-

mittee, he is going to do something about it. He is

proposing to exempt, in part, taxes on money spent

by certain corporations in repaying debts and meet-

(Senator George last week refused to make even

dends will continue downward for some time."

the plight of the capitalists.

A Most Charitable Man

ing other fixed obligations.

THE MILITANT

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"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1841 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Indian Struggle Nears Showdown

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

The passage of this resolution by the full party committee might well lead to an immediate showdown in India. The struggle once begun will not and cannot be restrained within the framework of non-violence. Gandhi, the pacifist, has already publicly announced that the proposed campaign would not be called off this time if it leads, as it inevitably must, to violent clashes. London, for its part, has promised in advance to crush in blood any and all manifestations of struggle for Indian independence.

The American capitalist press has lined up solidly behind the British imperialists. All pretence of sympathy for India's struggle for independence, so piously professed in the past, has been dropped. Everything is being done to prepare public opinion in the United States for another bloody chapter in Britain's repression of the struggle of the Indian masses. The American liberals have naturally joined in the chorus, with PM and its Mr. Herbert Agar heading the pack. They are all agreed that to struggle for India's independence today is in reality to aid the Axis, above all Japan.

The threats of the British imperialists and the campaign in the American press are of course also designed to cow the Indian bourgeoisie and force the Congress Party to withdraw its proposed cam-

Gandhi, Nehru and the other leaders of the Indian bourgeoisie have not changed their nature. They still prefer compromise to struggle. After the rejection of Cripps' proposals last April, the All-India Congress Party stalled around until July. There has been almost a month's delay since the projection of the "civil disobedience" campaign. All this was doubtlessly done in the hope that the British would agree to compromise. But London has refused. Meanwhile, the Indian masses are growing more and more restive.

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

The Anniversary of A Great Betrayal

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

The socialist parties of France, England, Rus-

sia, Belgium, etc., likewise revealed that they had long ceased to be parties of the socialist revolu-

tion. They all capitulated to their respective imperialist governments and supported the imperialist war which they had denounced up to the very outbreak of the hostilities. The war brought to the surface the corruption and disintegration of the Second International.

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

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

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

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

In August 1942, the third-year of the second imperialist war, the pitiful remnants of the once powerful parties of the Second and Third Internationals are repeating the treachery of their predecessors in the first world war. Once again, traitors to the working class are trying to dupe the masses into forsaking the struggle for socialism in the name of the "defense of the fatherland." Once again the cause of socialism appears to be hopelessly discredited and the struggle for socialism seems to be postponed to an indefinite future. But these are only the appearances.

The social-patriots in 1914 could pretend that capitalism had still something to offer in the way of progress for society. Behind them were the years of capitalist boom that preceded the outbreak of the war of 1914-1918. The social patriots of 1942 have behind them the record of imperialist decay since 1918 and especially ten years of catastrophic economic convulsions since 1929. The decay of imperialism is not a theory but a terrible reality suffered by the masses on their own backs.

The social patriots of 1914 caught the masses unaware. Today finds the parties of the Second and Third Internationals discredited in the eyes of the masses in every country of the world. It is far easier for the masses of the world to find the socialist road today than was the case in 1914-

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

BOOK REVIEW mmmm

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

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

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

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

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

CHEN TU-HSIU

Pioneer Chinese Trotskyist Dies

Chen Tu-hsiu, one of the found-T ers of the Chinese Fourth Internationalist movement and before that a founder of the Communist Party of China died on May 24 of this year. At the time of his death he was 62 years old.

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

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

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

NO CULTURE WITHOUT RICE

How could a Chinese worker or peasant hope to be able to pay when often they did not have enough rice to eat. Chen, whose major interest was culture, quick-

was led to the socialist movement. Inspired by the Bolshevik revolution he aided in the formation of the Communist Party of China in

THE MASSES MOVE

Three years later the Chinese masses moved against imperialrevolutionary workers. At the crucial moment, the Chinese capitalist class turned upon the in a day. workers and peasants and to gether with the imperialists the militant workers and preasants. The revolution was crushed.

During these events Chen was the leader of the Communist Party of China and faithfully carried out Stalin's line. After the defeat Stalin attempted to place all blame for the tragedy on the made of the Chinese revolution and its lessons. For this he was expelled from the Stalinized Communist Party of China.

JOINS TROTSKYISTS

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

FIVE YEARS IN PRISON

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

When finally liberated from prison he was broken in health. why his paper never runs stories He was not permitted to live in about the salaries and bonuses any of the large industrial cities paid to automobile executives, because the Chiang Kai-shek Levinson replied: regime feared his influence on the Chinese workers. Therefore he was forced to reside in a small village in interior China.

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

A CO-WORKER'S TRIBUTE

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

"Despite his serious limitations, Chen Tu-hsiu displayed most of the personal qualities of a great revolutionist. His single-minded devotion to the cause of the oppressed could not be questioned. He abandoned a comfortable and honored academic career for the life of a revolutionist and never looked backward. With his comrades he shared all the vicissitudes of that life, including drab poverty and the dangers of underground activity. Never was he known to flinch or complain. His entire political life was one of personal renunciation. . . Had he been prepared, like many of the Stalinist capitulators in the worst period of the Kuomintana terror to disown his revolutionary views and bend the knee to the ruling despot, he could have had anything within the despot's gift. He preferred prison-death, if need be-to

such dishonor and he remained

an exemplar of revolutionary

"For his steadfastness Chen Tu-hsiu will always remain an honored figure in the gallery of revolutionary fighters."

We salute a fallen comrade. We know that our Chinese comrades will close ranks; will carry the memory of his idealism and heroism as a banner on to victory. The future China of the workers and peasants will realize Chen's great dream of science and democracy, culture and freedom for the masses in a Chinese socialist republic, part of the socialist confederation of the world!

U.S. Seamen Praise Soviet Workers

civilian population was evacuated from the city, and in Murmansk today there are only men and clock and their job is confined to for the education of their children that. There is a building-andrepair brigade which seems to be on duty twenty-four hours a day and hardly is a raid over than ly saw that if his ideal of the they are on the job fixing watercultural advancement of the Chi- mains, telephone lines, docks, nese masses was to be realized, it tracks and even repairing buildwould be necessary to come to ings. Some buildings even have grips with the economic problem scaffolding on them and masons of the Chinese masses. Thus Chen | are at work building up walls and putting on roofs.

FIRE-FIGHTERS HINDER NAZIS

The fire-fighters are busy all the time because of the large number of wooden buildings and wooden docks. And when water mains are revolution began. The Chinese destroyed so as to impair their work fire-boats are brought up to ism, feudalism and the native pump water directly out of the capitalist class. Victory was bay. Although the number of inwithin their grasp. But Stalin's cendiary bombs have practically leadership led the Chinese masses destroyed all wooden buildings, the to place their faith in the Chinese firemen in every instance succeedcapitalist class against the in- ed in keeping fires from spreadstinct and better judgment of the ing, so that it took the Germans more than a month to accomplish a job that might have been done

Add to the strain of constant bombing the acute food shortage began a reign of terror against in Murmansk and one has a fair However where there is no excuse picture of what seems to people in this country almost intolerable conditions. But they are conditions which have failed to destroy the fighting spirit of the Russian people who have something to fight for.

Men in American naval uniform head of Chen. Chen resisted his ashore in Murmansk were taken amount of the difference between being made the scapegoat and into community kitchens where a first-class transportation given oflarge part of the population eats and were freely given a portion of | transportation meted out to these the meagre fare that was available.

CONTRAST IS GREAT

Contrast this cooperative spirit under the most trying of war-time accorded survivors returning from American territorial waters and amount of foodstuff carried by guarantee such escort then it is

(Continued from page 1)

reports a conversation with Ed-

ward Levinson, editor of the Uni-

ted Automobile Worker. Asked

"It would just provoke trouble.

Someone would be sure to clip out

the stories and paste them up for

everyone in the plant to read.

People would gather around to

discuss them, and you know how

our boys feel. First thing you

know you'd have the damnedest

uproar in that plant. No one

would do any work; they'd all be

too mad.'

(Continued from page 1) the meagre food supplies that trickle into Murmansk.

The unlicensed merchant seamen, being repatriated, report a women absolutely necessary to the far different story of their treatconduct of the war. Longshoremen | ment at American hands than that work in split-shifts around the which they received in the land of the Soviets. On an army transport bringing nearly three hundred of them to this port, men who had been ship's officers were given the best of treatment including staterooms, shower-baths, service in a first-class dining room which included three meals a day and mess attendants.

CLASS DISTINCTIONS The unlicensed men found them-

selves herded into troop quarters where they slept on strips of canvas and although there was plenty of space on the upper decks, their quarters were near the water-line. Part of the trip back they were given only two meals a day. They were served on tin plates which they carried through the galley to have filled and then filed into a mess-hall where they stood eating and after finishing they took their messgear along to a garbage-can on one side of the hall and cleaned it off for the stewards to wash.

Merchant seamen are accus tomed to hardship and are never heard to complain about food or living accomodations where necessity demands such treatment as was accorded these survivors for this treatment and where such marked distinction is made between licensed and unlicensed men, it was an almost unanimous demand by all unlicensed men that the greedy companies for which they had risked their lives compensate them in cash in the ficers and the fourth men by army brass hats.

The flagrant class distinction under American rule was only a small item in the minds of these men compared to the utter lack of circumstances with the treatment adequate convoy-escort during the most dangerous and trying stretch the Murmansk run in British and of their run where they had been sunk and where many of their on American ships. American comrades had drowned. Merchant transports crossing the Atlantic seamen today have a right to under heavy escort were a far cry demand guarantees from the Navy from the inadequate escort service that they will be adequately accorded ships running the Arctic escorted through the German blockade. Also different was the blockade and if the Navy cannot modern ships, that calls into port | clear to all that the unions must for provisions on an average of demand a voice in the planning not less than every ten days, from and operation of all convoy duty

black markets, increased taxation

and wage-freezing on the other,

is too glaring to be hidden. De-

spite the efforts of the Levinsons

who are doing the bosses a great

service by keeping vital inform-

ation from the workers, the lat-

ter know what the real state of

affairs is and they are beginning

to understand that it is neces-

sary to take steps to make a cor-

The workers should demand

that the large corporations open

their books to inspection so that

all can see just who is profiteer-

ing from the war. And they

should further demand that the

government take over all war in-

the feeble gesture of taxing the "special privileges"

asked of his committee by Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau. At the same time when questioned as to the possible adoption of a general sales tax, Mr. George declared that "the sales tax and everything else is open" for discussion and action by his committee. The sales tax is a form of taxation that falls viciously on the lower paid incomes.)

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

2.6% — and a Free Plant

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

"Yes," Mr. Brooks replied.

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

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

Capitalists Get Free Plants And Machinery

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

These plants are built at the expense of the government but turned over to the corporations for oneration. After the war the government-financed plans can be bought by the corporation, if it so desires. However the plants are generally worthless if the corporation refuses to buy.

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

The Truman Committee report says:

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

Managers Salaries Hide Real Profits

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

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

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

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

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

increase 1941 over-1940 Tom M. Girdler, Republic\$275,000 \$99,000 BF Fairless, U. S. Steel 156,000 16,400 Paul Mackall, Bethlehem 197,317 17.874 Quincy Bent, Bethlehem 197,317 17,874 Robt, E. MacGrath, Bethlehem 155,393 15,887 R. J. Wysor, Republic 146,000 46,000 N. J. Clarke, Republic 86,000 11,000 Enders M. Voorhees, U. S. Steel 107,410 690 Irvin S. Olds, U. S. Steel 107,320 26,076 L. N. Parsons, J & L Steel 110,375 19,990

The great contrast between the | dustries and operate them under

monopoly executives, living in workers' control. This will ef-

luxury on tremendous incomes fectively put a stop to the capi-

on the one hand, and the work- talist plunderers whose pockets

ing people, facing rationing, are bulging with war profits.

TABLE OF SALARIES