Trotsky's Program Is The Banner of Socialist Victory

Trotsky Memorial Issue

AUTO MILITANTS PRESERVE UNION DEMOCRACY

See page 2

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INDIAN MASSES FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Mass Actions Spread Despite British Terror

Leon Trotsky Defender of The USSR

By GEORGE COLLINS

The indomitable courage and heroism of the Red Army and of the Soviet workers and peasants in their resistance to the Nazi invaders is the greatest living testimony that only the body of Leon Trotsky was destroyed when Stalin's hired assassin drove a pickax into his skull on August 21, 1940. Trotsky's achievements are imperishable.

The peerless morale of the Red soldiers fighting against overwhelming odds and the great sacrifices stoically endured by the Soviet population at large arise primarily from the fact that they are fighting for the conquests of the October Revolution. The October Revolution gave the Russian masses something to fight for: for the great Russian land seized from an absentee landlord class, for the factories, mines, mills and railroads taken out of the hands of a clique of bankers and industrialists, for the right to determine their own destiny as a free

The October Revolution owes its success to the great genius of Lenin and Trotsky, who prepared for it in the long years of Czarist reaction, who organized the forces that could and did take advantage of the war crisis, established the Soviet power and protected and defended it against the combined power of the White Armies and all the imperialists.

Trotsky participated in this unprecedented social transformation as one of the greatest revolutionary leaders in history. As commander-in-chief Trotsky organized and trained an army out of a mass of hungry and poorly-armed remnants of Czarist troops and Red Guards. That army fought its way to victory and laid the basis for the present Soviet Army. The Red soldiers today, because of Stalin's systematic falsification of history, may not understand the role Trotsky played in the organization of their army and the creation of its general staff. But they do know that this army arose from the October Revolution and was built to defend that revolution and its achievements. That alone is a tremendous tribute to Trotsky; it is for his achievements they are dying by the millions on the bloodsoaked battlefield of the vast Soviet territory.

The Soviet masses are fighting valiantly for these conquests of the October Revolution but they have been fighting a losing battle because they fight under the leadership and the policies of Stalin, the betrayer of October and the instigator of Trotsky's assassination. That assassination was a high-water mark in a long series of terrible blows by which Stalin undermined the foundations of the October Revolution and which are now culminating in mortal peril for the very existence of the Soviet

Stalin had smashed most of the gains of the revolution of 1917 by the time his agent murdered Leon Trotsky. Seizing the helm of the Bolshevik Party after Lenin's death, Stalin slashed away at its structure until nothing was left of this democratic revolutionary organization but a bureaucratic husk - an instrument for the protection of special privileges and a weapon against the masses. Without their party the masses are leaderless in the present crisis.

To preserve his nationalist "utopia" and above all the privileges of the bureaucracy, Stalin turned his back on the world proletariat and entrusted the fate of the Soviet Union to alliances with the imperialist powers. In Germany, France, Spain and China the revolutionary workers were betrayed again and again by the Stalin regime until their organizations were crushed to the earth. Trotsky called Hitler "super-Wrangel of the world bourgeoisie" and urged the mobilization of the Red Army against him in 1933. Stalin jeered. But eight years later Hitler could invade an unprepared Soviet Union without fear of a working class revolution in Germany or in Europe.

Stalin transformed the Bolshevik Party into a happy hunting ground for job-seekers, robbed the Soviets of their function as the democratic governing organs of the masses, turned the trade unions into helpless tools of the bureaucracy. But he could not rest easy until he had physically annihilated the leading participants of the October Revolution - the Bolshevik Old Guard and the general staff of the Red Army trained by Trotsky. Anticipating a revolution of the masses against him Stalin sought to behead it in advance by the frameup Moscow Trials and the firing squad. Above all he had to murder Leon Trotsky whose voice and message would have been a herald to the workers of the Soviet Union and the world in the present war. The name of a living Trotsky, though thousands of miles away, would have been a battle-cry of the Red legions not only against the Nazis but against Stalin's treacherous and incompetent bu-

The banner of Trotsky is held aloft today by only a few hands. Tomorrow it will fly at the head of the insurgent masses

As in 1917 the program of Trotsky will be the beacon-light for the masses of the Soviet Union and the whole world illuminating the road to peace and socialism!

TROTSKY'S WORKS LIVE ON IN HEROIC RED ARMY



INDIANS FOLLOW ADVICE CRIPPS **GAVE AFRICANS**

Sir Stafford Cripps, who tried to negotiate the Indian people out of their demands for independence from British imperialism, spoke differently to the Africans in 1937. In an introduction to "Africa and World Peace" by George Pad-

"Imperialism, whether in its national form or in its League of Nations form, is equally inimical to the interests of the Africans and is equally cortain to produce conditions similiar to those of 1914 and the war which followed them. The one safety for the common people of this or any other nation is to destroy imperialism and that they cannot do if they take part, on any side, in imperialist wars. Whether Fascist or Democratic Imperialism emerges victorious from such wars, the problem will remain and the lot of Africans will be

Trotsky is dead but his ideas live on and it is only his ideas and his program which can prevent Stalin from dragging the Soviet Union down into the

vention. Trotsky's program can once more be the banner of victory!

That program will cement the alliance between Russian workers and the revolutionary workers of all lands, above all. the German workers, by extending the October Revolution to western Europe, America

inevitable doom that awaits him and his bureaucracy. Trotsky's program was the banner of victory in 1917 and later against the counter-revo-

FOR INDIAN INDEPENDI

Statement of Nat'l Committee of Socialist Workers Party

EDITORIAL NOTE

The following statement of the National Committee of the formation of our readers.

people for freedom from British old British domination. Through strikes and mass demonstrations Unconditional Support and clashes with Imperial police and troops, the workers and peasants are already breaking out of the bounds of the suicidal program of "passive resistance" into which Gandhi hoped to confine this great movement. The people of India are utilizing the war and the crisis it has engendered for British imperialism to strike a powerful blow for their national independence.

For The Right Of Self-Determination!

The Socialist Workers Party supports the struggle of the Indian masses because as a revolutionary socialist party it stands peoples to self-determination. The Socialist Workers Party supports the Indian people because | To avoid the tragic fate of the

the movement of colonial liberation from Japan in Asia and from Socialist Workers Party was Britain in Africa, but by weakenreceived by The Militant and is ing world imperialism it will hereby reprinted for the in- impel the movement for liberation and socialism by the workers of Europe and America. The The struggle of the Indian capitalist rulers of the world, "democratic" and fascist alike, imperialism is now unfolding dread the revolutionary awakenwith full force. Throughout In- ing in India, Given the slightest dia, millions of workers and opportunity they would forget peasants are moving into action their present differences and to smash the shackles of century- unite in an attempt to crush it. tory.

for Independence!

The Socialist Workers Party unconditionally supports the movement for Indian independence even though for the present it is led by the Indian bourgeoisie at the helm of the Congress Party, Gandhi, Nehru and the Executive Committee of the Congress Party have been forced to initiate the present movement by tremendous pressure from India's millions. Forced by this profound sentiment from below, the Congress leaders were obliged for the time to abandon further conciliationist moves with Britain at the risk of being pushed to four-square for the rights of all the sidelines by the popular demand for immediate and unconditional independence.

revolutionary action and victory | Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, hides its tyrannical rule over the in India will not only inspire the Socialist Workers Party colonial masses. The Indian urges upon the Indian workers ticipating in the present moveorganize independently and set ple be halted immediately! up their own organs of struggle. Only under the leadership of the Indian proletariat in alliance with the Indian peasantry can the struggle against imperialism be carried through to vic-

Stop Repressions Against India!

The British imperialists have already thrown off the mask of conciliation which they donned when Cripps tried to drive a hard bargain with the Congress leaders. The very first open action on the part of the Indian masses has brought down upon them the heavy hand of British has been outlawed and its leaders thrown into prison. Demonstrating crowds have been fired upon by British police. Large bodies of troops are being brought into action against the

On its first anniversary the "Atlantic Charter" stands exposed as a threadbare curtain behind which the British Empire

masses are getting their first that while supporting and par- taste of the "four freedoms" of ment under its present leader- of tear gas and bullets. We ship, they do not trust their fate demand that the terror and to Gandhi and Co. They must violence against the Indian peo-

> The self-styled "democrats" who yesterday pleaded with the rulers of Britain that some small concession be thrown to the Indian masses today are denouncing the movement and justifying repressions against it in the against fascism." They merely expose their socalled slogan as counterfeit and themselves as prostituted tools of imperialism.

Stalinists Work for British Imperialism

The Stalinists, who pretend that they favor Indian independence, denounce the actions of the Congress party and of the repression. The Congress party Indian masses for embarking on action to secure that independence. Instead they plead with Roosevelt-Churchill to stem the movement by offering a "concession." Once again they simply display the fact that Stalin has sold the services of his lackeys to British imperial-

> So-called liberals and labor (Continued on page 4)

BUT ORGANIZED STRUGGLE REQUIRED FOR VICTORY

Congress Party Program Cannot Mobilize Workers Who Must Play Decisive Part

By FELIX MORROW

Under the slogans "Freedom or Death," "Do or Die," the masses of India are fighting and dying for Indian independence as British imperialism attempts to drown the movement in blood.

The All-India Congress party general committee, yielding to the nation-wide demand for immediate action to win independence, endorsed on Saturday, August 8, a resolution for a "civil disobedience" campaign, placing its direction and the date for the beginning of the campaign in the hands of Gandhi. The latter announced that he would first seek further negotiations with the British authorities on the demand for independ-

At dawn the next day Gandhi, Nehru and other Congress leaders were arrested and the Congress was declared outlawed, precipitating the immediate launching of the independence cam-

No sooner were the first crowds on the streets than British police and troops fired into their midst, while airplanes spewed

With the same police mentality which has characterized all regimes faced by revolution, the British think a blood-bath and arrests of "agitators" will crush the movement. British "democracy" is as blind, facing the doom of its rule, as Czar Nicholas in 1917 or Louis XVI in 1789.

The Congress "agitators" whom it has arrested are in reality being propelled into the struggle by the pressure of the mass Ever since Britain, without consulting any section of the population, declared India in the war in September, 1940, the tide of colonial revolution has been rising. The masses of India do not want to fight and die in this war in order to maintain British rule in India.

When the war broke out the Congress party was at the head of the provincial governments in eight out of eleven of the British India provinces, collaborating with the British. Widespread protest against India's being involved in the war without its consent forced the Congress ministries to resign.

British Gave Nothing in Negotiations

Since then there have been interminable negotiations with the British, ending with Cripps' "mission" in April of this year. All attempts of the Congress to come to an amicable agreement with the British failed.

Meanwhile the defeats in Malaya, Singapore, the East Indies and Burma had destroyed British prestige in the Far East and had brought to unprecedented heights the national self-confidence of the Indian masses. Cripps had been in India only a year earlier, and had been in close communion with Nehru and other Congress leaders; he came back in April 1942 apparently sure of getting them to accept ministries in a government under control of the Viceroy and the India Office. But that was no longer possible after the collapse of British power in the Far East. No party that sought to keep the support of the masses of India could by then accept the Cripps formula.

In the face of the British refusal to turn the powers of the Churchill-Roosevelt in the form Viceroy and the India Office over to an Indian government, the least the Congress could do was to launch the "civil disobedience"

Congress Leaders Merely Seek "Deadlock"

So far as the Congress leaders were concerned, this campaign does not mean the irrevocable launching of a fight to the end for independence. The Congress campaign does not have a plan for actually winning independence by mass seizure of the government buildings and arsenals, arming of the Indian masses, establishment of a provisional government, etc. Neither the pacifist wing name of the war of "democracy of Gandhi nor the Nehru wing think in terms of such methods. Both are united in seeking what they term "a complete deadlock" - sufficient paralysis of governmental and economic activity to dictate to the British a resolution of the "deadlock" by reopening negotiations on the basis of the demand for independence.

That the Congress plan is so narrowly limited - not to speak of the fact that four times previously since 1920 it has launched it only to drop it - is not understood by the great majority of its followers. They look upon the present struggle as a revolutionary fight for independence and in that spirit they are meeting the British police and troops. There is a germ of truth in the British complaint that Gandhi's followers do not emulate his pacifism! They translate it in their own plebian way into militant mass

Peasant Rebellion Will Soon Start

We can predict with assurance - the same thing Mappened in the previous "civil disobedience" campaigns - that the events of the first days are no index to the gigantic scope of the mass movement. This time, even more than previously, advance preparations of the Congress leaders appear to have been extremely. poor. With the arrests of the leaders the movement gives the

(Continued on Editorial column, page 4)

Auto Militants Preserve Union Democracy

Convention Delegates Protest Against Union Retreats But Unable to Develop Independent Policy

CHICAGO, August 9-The CIO United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers, largest, most militant and democratic union in the nation, this afternoon ended its tumultuous Seventh Annual Convention, which has been in session here since last Monday in the hot, crowded ball-room of the Hotel Sherman.

For seven days-two more than originally scheduled-an aroused rank and file body of delegates stormily demonstrated their dissatisfaction with and distrust of the do-nothing Thomas-Addes-Reuther-Frankensteen leadership. This leadership had come into the convention determined to strengthen its hold upon the union, limit the powers of the membership, curb the militancy of the rank and file and hog-tie the union more securely to the government

Ranks Jealous of Democracy

Jealously guarding their organizational rights and democratic traditions, the delegates beat back the attempts of the leadership to grab additional powers for themselves. In unmistakable terms, the vast majority of the delegates recorded the rising resentment of the auto workers against the leadership's policies of retreat and capitulation before the anti-labor offensive of the employers and government.

The rank and file militants were unorganized and lacked any clear-cut independent program around which their opposition to the leadership could be crystallized. The majority of the delegates, while hostile to the policies of the leaders on intra-union questions and protesting against the union retreats, still followed the political policies of the leaders, supporting the capitalist program of the Roosevelt administration. Thus, in the end, they were compelled reluctantly and with many misgivings .to go along with the program of sacrifice for the war and the no-strike policy, which leaves them as helpless as ever before the attacks of the employers and government. And for this same reason, they could see no alternative but to place the fate of the union once more in the hands of the old, distrusted leadership.

Officials Appeal for "Unity"

This leadership was able to capitalize upon the pro-administration political position of the delegates. By hammering away on demagogic appeals for "unity," by playing upon the anti-fascist sentiments of the delegates and confusing the issues at every turn, the leadership succeeded partly in channelizing the militant tendencies and stormy protests of the delegates and in clinging to their shaky posts. Throughout the convention, the Stalinists, who are today thoroughly discredited in the UAW, do its dirty work.

Where the issues were clearest to the delegates on the questions of democratic organizational policies within the union,

they fought down the line and rejected or limited most of the proposals of the leadership. They overwhelmingly voted down proposals to hold the next convention in 1944 instead of 1943, to cut down the representation at the next convention, to increase the dues. They turned down one schedule of steep salary increases for the officers and only agreed, by a narrow margin of seven to six on a roll-call vote, to grant a compromise schedule of in-

Delegates Fail to Carry Through

But where a political line was decisive, on questions bearing upon their economic interests and the policies of the administration—the sacrifice of week-end and holiday premium pay, the surrender of the right to strike, the dependence upon government agencies to protect their interests-the delegates, after demonstrating their resentment against the consequences of these policies, drew back from taking a definite stand against them.

Nevertheless, in order to prevent the surging rank and file discontent and militancy from taking a decisive direction against the whole policy of retreat and surrender by the leadership, the leadership was compelled to go along a certain distance with the sentiments of the delegates. In three instances, the delegates compelled the leaders to withdraw weak resolutions-on the sacrifice of week-end and holiday overtime pay, discrimination against Negroes, and the anti-labor role of the War Labor Board-and demanded resolutions with "more teeth" in them.

"Second Front" Diversion in UAW

It had been the intent of the leadership to steam up patriotic sentiment among the delegates as a cover for putting over their policies. The first important resolution which came before the convention on Tuesday morning was on the "Second Front." The Stalinists had been attempting to make this the big, key issue of the convention, and the Thomas-Addes leadership had seized upon it as a demagogic device to keep the delegates in line.

The delegates, who were anxious to get on with their own problems, showed no particular interest in the subject of the 'Second Front." There had been a reported split in the Resolutions Committee, headed by Victor Reuther, over this question. The Stalinists had wanted a 'Second Front Now' resolution, but the committee came out with one simply endorsing the idea of a "Second Front" and leaving the question of when and where up to the government and mili-

The Stalinists are so discredited they did not dare to get up and press for a Second Front Now." The committee's resolution was read and passed mechanically without discussion. From then on the question of the "Second Front" ceased to interest the delegates in any way.

The Struggle Over

On Tuesday afternoon, came the sharpest conflict of the convention. This arose over the resolution on overtime pay for Saturday, Sunday and holidays. The resolution was introduced by the union's War Policy Committee, headed by Secretary-Treasurer George Addes, and the International Executive Board members, Walter Reuther and Richard Frankensteen.

This resolution was, first of all, a reendorsement of the principle of sacrificing week-end and holiday overtime pay, put over by the leaders in the UAW emergency conference last April. But the resolution was also a complaint that the policy was being carried out in a "discriminatory" manner, because the AFL unions, particularly the International Association of Machinist, were "refusing to make such sacrifices" and had "solicited the support of unorganized workers in the aircraft industry throughout the country on the ground that the UAW-CIO has sacrificed premium pay for Saturday, Sundays and holidays, while the I.A.M. has refused to make such sacrifice and would obtain such premium pay for the workers who joined

The resolution went on to complain that "so-called 'independent' unions and company unions . . . have likewise refused to accept such policy" and that "many large employers . . . have successfully used this device to prevail upon their employees not to affiliate with the UAW-CIO."

The resolution ended up threatening that unless the government enforces the sacrifice of week-end overtime pay "universally" "within the next thirty days, the UAW-CIO shall deem itself released from its committment."

After both Addes and Reuther gave lengthy talks in support of this resolution, which in effect calls upon the government to pass anti-labor legislation, the delegates began hitting the floor in opposition.

Workers Against Resolution

Emil Mazey, of Local 212, Detroit, was the first opposition speaker. He pointed out that the leaders had sold the program of sacrifice to the UAW last April on the

Overtime Pay premise that giving up the over-time was necessary in order to keep the plants operating seven days a week. He declared: "I say that statement is not true. The facts are that the overtime premiums . . . are just a drop in the bucket when you compare them to the immense profits the corporations are making at the present time." He pointed out further that the leaders had used the threat of anti-labor legislation to get the workers to "voluntarily" accept the sacrifice of overtime pay, but that the resolution "implies that we are asking President Roosevelt and Congress to pass anti-labor legislation to abolish time and a half for Saturdays as such, and double time for Sundays as such." His remarks brought

The next delegate to speak was William Mazey of Local 154, Detroit, a worker who had recently been fired from the Hudson plant for his militant union position. Heasserted boldly that: "When we talk about equality of sacrifice I say the working people are the only people who are making any sacrifices-they work seven days a week, they stay away from their families and children, and they are the only ones who are dying and leaving their blood on the battle fields."

a big round of applause.

He further declared that the argument had been used in April that "the Fascists, the Smiths, the Coxes, etc. of our national administration" were trying to legislate the workers' rights away. But the union leadership is "so weak" it doesn't want to fight, but wants to give the workers' rights away "for nothing."

"No Collective Bargaining"

He brought ringing applause and cheers when he declared that "we haven't had collective bargaining in this union since the day we gave up the right to strike."

The delegates were clearly aroused against the resolution. One after another they took the floor to oppose it and to demand the policy be immediately repudiated. Lloyd Jones, Local 2, declared: "You wind up by saying that unless the policy of relinquishing the premiums paid for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays is

days, you are going to withdraw it? What about in the next thirty days having a ceiling on profits? What about in the next thirty days having a ceiling on prices? What about in the next thirty days, an increase in pay equal to the increase in cost of living since 1939?"

Another delegate, Silvers of Local 351, made an impassioned plea against the whole policy of retreats and sacrifices. "By taking away the right to strike, by God, you are taking away grievance procedure in every small plant that is under contract with the UAW." This statement brought a volley of applause.

The leadership could get virtually no backing from the floor for the resolution, except by Stalinist elements. Nat Ganley, Detroit Local 155, notorious Stalinist whip, tried to step into the breach by bringing in the question of the "Second Front," arguing wildly against "a general strike wave in the United States at this time," appealing in the name of the "CIO members in uniform" and launching a personal attack upon the Mazey brothers, for which he was roundly booed.

President Thomas attempted to swing

'No Strike' Policy Criticised

The Wednesday morning session began with the announcement that Murray was to address the convention that morning. The early deliberations took place in an atmosphere of great confusion because of the preparations for Murray's reception. All this together with Murray's speech, was planned to counteract the militancy of the delegates. The first question was the introduction by the War Policy Committee of a resolution on the War Labor Board. This resolution was submitted as a substitute for a completely weasel-worded one originally put forth by the Resolutions Committee, but which the leadership wisely withdrew in view of the sentiments of the delegates expressed the day previously.

This resolution admitted that the employers, taking advantage of the no-strike policy, are engaged in a "sit-down on the adjustment and disposition of all legitimate grievances" and are receiving "aid and comfort from the knowledge that the National War Labor Board, as it now functions, does not give speedy relief in the multitude of situations which arise throughout the country."

After resolving that "this convention condemn the War Labor Board" for its red tape delaying policies, the resolution ended lamely by appealing to the President and the WLB to set up regional labor boards throughout the country.

William Mazey took the floor to speak against the resolution, stating the resolution "does nothing to guarantee we are going to be able to settle our grievances... when these boards don't take proper action." He continued, "I think we should send this resolution back and let them come out and tell the officials in Washington that if our grievances are not settled we intend to take our right to strike back and shut down every plant where the employers are trying to smash our union."

THE MILITANT Is Attacked

At this time, Lindahl, of Detroit Packard Local 190, took the floor to argue that the "policy of relying on government agencies I think is the safest." Then he opened an attack on the militants by shouting: "Is it coincidental, my friends, that the arguments used to strike down the resolution yesterday on the 'Victory Through Equality of Sacrifice Program,' is it coincidental the arguments were contained in a Trotskyite sheet (THE MILITANT) passed out at the gates of the hall?"

He argued further that "yesterday the press of this country stated that the UAW. representing seven hundred thousand workers, echoed the subversive sentiments of the Trotskyites." When he sought to continue by attacking individual delegates as "strictly subversive," the delegates halted him with boos and there was a big clamor.

But the union officialdom had been working diligently in an attempt to bring the delegates into line, and had been spreading the slander that the militants were being led by elements who want to "sabotage the convention." The resolution was passed with little further debate.

New Resolution on Overtime Pay

Then the War Policy Committee introduced its "revised" version of the controversial overtime pay resolution. This contained the same motivation as the rejected one, strengthened only by the inclusion of a clause instructing the union's Secretary-Treasurer to "notify all employers upon the adjournment of this convention" of the 30 day limit placed upon the continued recognition of the overtime pay surrender committment as prepared in the original resolution.

In the subsequent discussion, Frankensteen and others sought to make it appear that the whole discussion revolved about the question of giving the employers 30 days notice or repudiating the committment at once, although the resolution was really an endorsement of the policy and a call for enforcement by the government. In this

universally applied within the next thirty the tide by giving the floor to Frankensteen. Immediately, there was an enormous clamor. The debate had been going on for two hours, and the delegates wanted to vote. For twenty minutes, they booed and stamped their feet and refused to listen to Frankensteen, who has an unsavory reputation among the auto workers, particularly for his strike-breaking role in the North American Aviation Company strike.

Frankensteen Booed

Frankensteen was finally permitted to speak, but his words, intended to mislead the delegates on the real issue, had no effect. And he was again booed for his

The vote was taken three times, first by show of hands, and twice by rising. Although the resolution was clearly voted down, Thomas insisted he was "in doubt." A chorus of boos greeted his statements and there was a cry for a roll-call vote. Rather than permit a roll-call, Thomas announced that the committee "will withdraw the resolution and bring back resolutions on the War Labor Board and also on our strike problem, and so forth, with an amended resolution."

way, the issue was greatly confused.

But two delegates were able to secure the floor and speak strongly against the resolution. Hill, of Local 3, pointed out that "many of our members are in the armed forces fighting for our country and our democracy. But after the war is over and they come back and have to go to work under these conditions, they will say, 'What have you people been doing in our absence? What have we been fighting for? You fellows have given up everything we helped to fight for'."

Delegate McGill of Flint Local 599, an outstanding militant, stated: "I am not going to support any program that will serve as a spring-board to take from the workers' pay envelopes money which is their livelihood."

But before a full-blown debate could again develop, Murray made his entrance and with this distraction the vote was taken. This time, with the issue completely confused, the majority voted to support the resolution, although about a hundred delegates rose in opposition, while several hundred simply abstained from voting.

Fight Occurs on Negro Resolution

The only other significant conflict on policy occured over the resolution introduced on the question of discrimination against Negroes in industry and the armed

This resolution, while condemning discrimination, merely appealed to Pres. Roosevelt to enforce the decisions of his Fair Employment Practice Committee, called for a single standard of seniority right and qualifications to be applied without discrimination and for "special attention to an educational program" to promote better inter-racial understanding.

Delegates, both white and Negro, took the floor and objected to the resolution on the grounds that it had no "real teeth" in it. One delegate declared, "We have already written into our constitution what we are going to do to those people who undermine our union by going over to the ranks of the company. I think it is also necessary that we write into our constitution a mandate from this convention what we are going to do to those people who undermine our union by carrying out this discrimina-

Negro Delegate Gets Ovation

One of the most stirring pleas, which received a tremendous ovation, was made by Sheffield, a Negro delegate from the huge Ford Local 600. He called for a firm stand on the question of discrimination, stating:

"In all previous conventions we have passed these beautiful resolutions stating we are opposed to discrimination against the Negro race. However, we have now reached a juncture in American life where Negroes are no longer going to receive membership only in a union but in the American way of life. We want full integration into this union. We want to be your brothers and carry on the fight for industrial unionism as our forerunners have, and we can only do this by not allowing our white brothers to play into the hands of the company."

When the committee's weak resolution was once more read to the convention before the vote, the cry rose, "Vote it down!" And it was overwhelmingly rejected and sent back to committee for stronger word-

The discussion on this resolution brought out the increasingly significant role being played by the militant Negro workers in the UAW. There were between 60 and 70 Negro delegates at the convention.

A stronger resolution on the discrimination issue was later reported out, which was finally adopted after the deletion of a section praising improvements allegedly made by the administration in its war production policies and in the armed forces.

It was on the proposed constitutional

officers to limit and restrict the rights of the members, that the delegates asserted themselves most sharply against the leader-

The first big debate came over the proposal to hold the next convention in May 1944. As soon as this proposal was read off, there was a storm of "No's!" from all over the hall.

Lindahl, chairman of the Constitution Committee sought to justify extending the time between conventions on the grounds of increasing transportation difficulties, and. argued that by holding a convention during the war it might "take from the arsenals of the nation close to 200,000 skilled workmen for a week of discussion."

The Stalinist Ganley urged the acceptance of the amendment "in compliance with the earnest request of the President of the United States and his administration, to the effect that wherever possible conventions should not be held during the period

But the majority of delegates, sensing that this was an attempt to restrict their powers over the officers, refused to be budged by all the specious arguments raised by the Stalinists and the Executive Board members. Delegate Stachiw, of Local 3, opposed extending the time between conventions because "never before have we needed gatherings of the Automobile Workers as we need them today. Because it is a trying period, times are changing and policies are changing, and I for one do not agree to have anybody set my destiny from a swivel chair of any office, rather than

Officials Beaten on Conventions

Such was the resentment of the delegates to the amendment, that Addes had considerable difficulty in getting the attention of the delegates when he sought to persuade them to adopt the resolution. Thomas had to make several appeals for order every time someone spoke in favor of the amendment. When it was finally put to a vote, it was voted down solidly.

Another sharp debate arose over the proposal to cut down the number of delegates to the next convention by doubling the required number of members of a local union in order to get one delegate to the con-

Although, there was little debate from the ranks, when the motion was finally put to adopt the amendment it was voted down overwhelmingly. The feeling of the delegates was one of distrust of any proposal to reduce the number of rank and file delegates to the conventions.

Voté Down Dues Increase

One of the hottest issues before the convention was the proposal of the international officers to increase monthly dues from \$1 to \$1.50. They were particularly anxious to get the increase passed, because they were preparing to argue for a big salary and expense account increase for themselves, and because they wanted a big treasury to hire more organizers and strengthen their machine.

Addes took the lead in urging the dues increase, claiming that it was needed for a special post-war emergency fund which "should not be disturbed unless by a twothirds majority vote of the International Executive Board." He also claimed that the higher dues were needed for organizing, although he failed to explain how the

Why The Leaders Stay In Office

The fact that the present leadership has the backing of the Roosevelt administration, and was given the personal endorsement of CIO President Philip Murray in his speech to the convention, also weighed heavily in the minds of the delegates.

Murray gave a lengthy rambling 90 minute speech on the third day of the convention. It was chiefly devoted to boosting the Thomas-Addes leadership, urging the workers to sacrifice for the bosses' war, complaining about how the bosses are taking advantage of the workers, but offering no program of genuine struggle against the bosses.

Pressure for Progressive Stand

The strong pressure of the delegates on the leadership to take a more progressive and militant stand on important political questions, was shown in a number of the resolutions introduced and passed by the

Among them was a sharply worded protest against the internment in concentration camps of labor unionists in Canada and a denunciation of the "fascist-like" policies of the Canadian government; and an endorsement of the "Double-V-Campaign," calling for a "Victory for Democracy at Home as well as Abroad." This campaign, initiated by the Pittsburgh Courier, leading Negro newspaper, has been denounced by the Stalinist press. But, while it includes an endorsement of the war policies of the capitalist government, it is a step away from the program of submitting to the complete surrender of the

amendments, devised by the international UAW had grown to be the largest union in the country on lower dues.

> The opposition to increasing the dues was largely an expression of the delegates' disgust with the do-nothing policies of the leaders, their failure to carry out effective organizational work and to defend the interests of the workers in the plants. There was also the factor of the failure of the leadership to take effective action in securing the \$1 a day wage increase demanded by the Ford, General Motors and

No Bargaining in Plants

Delegate Case, of Flint Local 599, put the matter in the following terms: "I want to say to the delegates here we don't have any bargaining in our plants any more so we can insist on the paying of more dues. I want to say to you while we are here fighting to make them pay more, the people back home are being transferred from their jobs, taken off one day and put back on the next day with a 10 cent cut in wages, and we cannot get a damned bit of help from our International Union."

After considerable pressure was put on the delegates by the international officers, the dues increase motion was put to a vote and turned down by a great majority. The next day, the constitution committee came in with a proposal for a membership referendum on the dues increase, which was approved by the delegates.

Vote Down Proposals Again

The convention was prolonged an extra day, when on Saturday, the Constitution Committee insisted on bringing back to the convention a number of the proposals which the delegates had already defeated. One delegate rose to protest, "How many times do we have to vote down these proposals, before they are finally beaten?" And one after another, the proposals were voted down again.

A striking feature of this entire convention, was the attitude of extreme disrespect and suspicion which the delegates had for the entire union officialdom.

Officials Get Rough Handling

The convention took on the aspect of a running battle between the Executive Board and the delegates. Thomas had extreme difficulty in maintaining order, and was constantly shouting down delegates, pounding the gavel, pleading for order, and getting loudly booed on numerous occasions. Addes, whenever he occupied the chair, received the same treatment.

Frankensteen and Reuther were booed everytime they rose to speak. Reuther played a cagey game, sensing the sentiment of the delegates. He kept silent on every controversial issue. But his failure to speak out against the bureaucratic proposals, indicated his support of them. On one occasion, a delegate asked the chair if it was true that' the Executive Board was not unanimous on a disputed question. Thomas demonstratively turned to the board members on the platform and commanded, "If there is any board member in disagreement, let him stand." Reuther remained seated along with all the others.

The fact that the rank and file militants had no developed leadership to run against the Thomas-Addes-Frankensteen-Reuther group was shown in the elections. Although there was some attempt to develop a campaign for the support of opposition candidates, this met with little

workers' democratic rights in the interest

Role of Communist Party

The Communist Party at this convention

continued its betrayals of the auto workers and fully exposed its conniving, doubledealing game against the interests of the workers. The Stalinists did all the dirty work against the rank and file for the leaders, slavishly boosting up the leadership and taking the floor on behalf of its proposals. The Stalinists' one desire, aside from agitating for a "Second Front Now," was to prove their loyalty to the Thomas-Addes regime and thereby pick up a few organizational crumbs and concessions.

The outstanding fact about this convention was its demonstration of the auto workers' irrepressible militancy and inherent devotion to democratic policies within the union. They intend to keep control of union policies in the hands of the rank and file, and every move to weaken their policy-making power, or institute bureaucratic measures, is met by tremendous re-

Resentment against the fraudulent 'equality of sacrifice" program, used to trick the auto workers out of their rights, is growing day by day. The rank and file of the mighty UAW-CIO can be expected to press forward once more on its traditional path of militant struggle. With a new, militant leadership, and a bold, aggressive program, the UAW will once more lead the way in the battle of the American working class for its rights and conditions.

Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

Trotsky and the American Negro Struggle

In 1932 an application for

"If the Johannesburg com-

most important questions, it

"When ten intellectuals of

questions of program; wet them

under the rain, dry them in the

sun, and then after a new care-

"The matter changes basical-

ly when ten workers connected

with the masses come to us.

The difference in our relation

to the petty bourgeois and to

the proletarian groups does not

require any explanation. But if

the proletarian group works in

ers of a privileged nationality,

I am inclined to regard them

with suspicion: are we not deal-

racy? Isn't the group poisoned

by slave holding prejudices ac-

ter when we are approached by

I am ready to consider before-

hand that we are achieving

agreement with them, even

though this is not yet obvious;

because of their whole position

body of his rights. They do not

seek privileges and cannot rise

of the international revolution.

"We can and we should find

"The Negro can be developed

the white worker is educated. . .

they (the Negro masses) will

among the Negro masses today.

But we have reason to be en-

Success in those struggles will

that Trotsky would have

"I am absolutely sure that

"It is quite a different mat-

tive or passive?

It is not our purpose on this Negro masses contained not a occasion, the second anniver- trace of that condescension and sary of the death of Leon Trot- sentimentalist superciliousness sky, to discuss all of what that which characterized the Stalingreat Marxist had to say about ists and social-democrats of ten the Negro struggle in the Uni- years ago. He was far more ted States. Nor is it our inten- interested in recruiting a Negro tion here to exaggerate the ex- worker than a white intellectent of his contributions toward tual. And for very good, very the solution of the immediate, material reasons. To illustrate: practical problems of uniting the American Negro and white membership in the Trotskyist masses against their common movement was received in this enemy. Trotsky did not have country from 24 Negroes in the opportunity to study the Johannesburg, South Africa. As problems of the American Ne- soon as Trotsky had seen their gro at close hand; for one thing, letter, he wrote an article for the "democratic" government of THE MILITANT (July 2, 1932,) this country - which welcomes in which he said: Queen Wilhelmina and other oppressors of millions of Ne- rades did not as yet have the groes - would not let him live possibility to acquaint themhere and refused to permit even selves closer with the views of his dead body to cross the bor- the Left Opposition on all the

Trotsky's great contributions cannot be an obstacle in getting were in the field of clarifying together with them as closely the tasks and tactics of the as possible even today and to world working class and thus help them fraternally to come bringing together the forces of into the orbit of our program the world revolutionary party and our tactics. which alone will lead the masses of all races to the solution Paris, Berlin or New York who of their problems. It will be for have been in various organizathis above all that the American Negro people will remem- with a request to be taken into ber and honor Trotsky in the our midst I would give the folfuture. In addition, many of his lowing advice: Put them thru writings dealt with the prob- a number of tests on all the lems of the colonial people and their struggle for independence from imperialism.

But this does not mean that ful examination, accept one or Trotsky was unaware of or underestimated the significance of the concrete problems relating to the American Negro people. On the contrary, at every possible chance, he kept emphasizing these things:

1. The necessity for winning the Negro people to support of the revolutionary party.

2. The necessity for combatting all traces of racial prejuof this, it consists only of workdice among the white militants and workers.

Long before the Trotskyist movement was formed as an ing with the workers' aristocopponent of Stalinist treachery, Trotsky wrote a letter in reply to some questions put to him by Claude McKay, then a communist. Printed in the March 13, 1923 International Press Correspondence, part of the let- a group of Negro workers. Here ter said:

"In North America the matter is further complicated by the abominable obtuseness and caste presumption of the privi-leged upper strata of the working class itself, who refuse to strive to degrade anybody, oprecognize fellow-workers and fighting comrades in the Negroes. (AFL President) Gompers' policy is founded on the exploitation of such despicable prejudices, and is at the present time the most effective guar- a way to the consciousness of antee for the successful subju- the Negro workers, of the Chigation of white and colored nese workers, of the Hindu workers alike. The fight against workers, all these oppressed this policy must be taken up colored races of the human from various sides, and on vari- ocean to whom belongs the deous lines. One of the most im- cisive word in the development portant branches of this con- of humanity." flict consists in enlightening In a discussion on "self-dethe proletarian consciousness termination" held with one of by awakening the feeling of hu- the American Trotskyist leadman dignity, and of revolution- ers on Feb. 28, 1933, Trotsky ary protest, amongst the black returned once again to the need slaves of American capital. As for fighting racial prejudice stated above, this work can only among the white workers: be carried out by self-sacrificing and politically educated re- to a class standpoint only when volutionary Negroes."

More than six years later, when the Trotskyists had been expelled from the Communist in any case fight better than International for their defense the white workers. That, howof Marxist principles, and when ever, can happen only provided the Trotskyists were holding the communist party carries on their first organization confer- an uncompromising merciless ence in this country as the struggle. . . against the colos-American Left Opposition, fore- sal prejudices of the white runner of the present Socialist workers and gives it no conces-Workers Party, Trotsky, already sions whatever." in exile, wrote a letter to THE Considerations of space pre-MILITANT on "Tasks of the vent us from quoting further, American Opposition." In this, but we think we have made the the first letter which he was point. Trotsky guided us to a able to write to his American correct working class perspeccollaborators, Trotsky emphas- tive in this respect as in all ized the importance of the Ne- others. We Trotskyists do not gro problem in relation to the claim to have a lot of influence revolutionary movement:

"The trade union bureaucrats, The job of gathering together like the bureaucrats of false a group of courageous, self-Communism, live in the atmos- sacrificing Negro revolutionists phere of aristocratic prejudices in a period of reaction has not of the upper strata of the work- been an easy one - no easier ers. It will be a tragedy if the than that of building the revo-Oppositionists are infected even lutionary party. in the slightest degree with these qualities. We must not couraged by the progress of the only reject and condemn these last few years, especially since prejudices; we must burn them the war began. We now number out of our consciousness to the in our ranks a comparatively last trace. We must find the small but important number of road to the most deprived, to Negro workers, most of them the darkest strata of the pro- active trade unionists with exletariat, beginning with the Ne- perience among the masses. The gro, whom capitalist society has difficulties ahead are considerconverted into a Pariah, and able, but we are confident that who must learn to see in us his our comrades, both Negro and revolutionary brothers. And this white, will play a decisive role depends wholly upon our energy in the Negro struggles coming. devotion to the work." (THE MILITANT, May 1, be the only kind of monument

Trotsky's attitude toward the wanted.

English Workers Move Left Trotsky's Military

British Trotskyists Raise Slogan: "Labor to Power!"

By L. LAWRENCE

The defeats abroad of the British Empire and harsh economic life at home have all been reflected in the consciousness of the organized workers of England. As related in past articles, on the economic field the working class is tearing itself loose from the no-strike agreement between their top labor leaders and the capitalists resulting in hundreds of "illegal" strikes during the past year in defense of their rights and standards.

The working class of England is showing a growing understanding of the slaveholding imperialist role of the British Empire. This fact is brought home to the interested visitor on many occasions. I was talking with a group of 20 average organized workers, none of them Trotskyists, and I was surprised to see the unanimity and the class conscious approach with which they attacked "capitalist" England's role in India.

The continued setbacks and losses of imperialist Britain has not resulted in passivity and apathy among the organized workers of England. The reaction of the organized English worker WIL'S SLOGAN generally is: let's find a better way of fighting Hitler. While wanting "this bloody mess to ness is of course a very important end," the English worker never- development on the road to the theless still takes his side with revolutionary . Socialist struggle the United Nations. On the heels of defeats, setbacks, however, the can be seen in the most enthusiaverage British worker tends to astic reception accorded by wide become more critical and at the layers of organized workers to the present stage this is reflected in great progressive class slogan of his desire for putting a strong the Workers International Lea-"anti-Hitler government" in gue (WIL), adherent of the power. This is generally assumed Fourth International: "Labor to orable to their class and having great deal to do with their phenmore of their class representa-

The English working class has

Black Market Flourishes In **Steel Industry**

There is a widespread black market in the steel industry which in the midst of much publicized steel shortages, is selling hundreds of thousands of pounds of steel at sky-high profiteering prices. This was revealed last week at New Orleans at a House subcommittee hearing.

Frank O. Higgins, manager of the Higgins Corporation, whose shipyards were recently shut down because of a WPB refusal to allocate steel to them, testified that he had purchased huge quantities of steel from black market warehouses all over the

While the WPB could not allocate steel, he was able to buy everything he needed from black market dealers, Higgins testified. "LEGAL PROFITEERING"

"You have to pay a premium," ne said, "but it is not illegal. It is legal profiteering."

So huge are the supplies of warehouses that it is beyond doubt that the big steel monopolists are engaged in the trade. Since there is no ceiling price on shipments of less than 40,000 pound carload lots, the warehigh as the traffic will bear."

No details on the evidence given by Higgins were revealed by the House subcommittee, which heard the most important testimony behind locked doors.

The fact that the basic steel industry is riddled by black market operations reveals the inability of the government to enforce price ceilings. The operations of a black market and the skyrocketing of prices in the steel industry will affect all important manufacturing and will have a wide effect on prices generally.

go to jail, no action has been taken to prosecute them.

CONNECTIONS

IN WASHINGTON That the black market in steel has high connections in Washington is shown by the fact that the warehouses dealing in the underwhen a manufacturer will get a him with circulars offering immediate delivery of the right types of steel needed.

When informed of the President's statement that the black market dealers should go to jail, Higgins is reported to have smiled gainst their passive acceptance of sky gave to the St. Louis Post-

ment is about. Everyone who cepted the Soviet Union's leaderare bulging with steel."

EDITOR'S NOTE

This is the third of a series of articles by comrade L. Lawrence who recently returned from a visit to England where he was in a position to observe the current political scene in that country and the effects of the war upon the British working class and their political organizations. Comrade Lawrence had an excellent opportunity to meet with trade unionists, advanced political workers and many others and get their direct opinions and impressions of current developments. The final article of this series will appear in a subsequent issue.

more confidence in the type rep- | identified the Soviet Union's deresented by Cripps than in fense with Stalin's leadership, Na-Churchill. It looks to men like turally in such a situation the Cripps as being nearer the work- Communist Party, Stalin's direct ing class and more responsive to representative, was the party its interests. (It should be noted that at the time I was in England, Cripps' infamous role in India was as yet not known to the workers. This was due primarily to the propaganda in their capitalist press, the Labor Party the minds of the British workpress and the Stalinist lies in covering up his role. The labor lieuenants of capitalism made it seem that Cripps had practically offered independence plus Social ism to the Indian people).

'LABOR TO POWER!"

This confusing but nevertheless leftward moving mass consciousagainst fascism. The proof of this omenal growth of influence during the past half year.

The WIL has argued that the first step in the direction of a real struggle against fascism must be the taking of the political the ILGWU, New York Garpower out of the hands of the ment Manufacturers, and repcapitalists and placing it in the hands of the labor movement. understand that even the American press reported the hearty reception given to the WIL propagandists at the recent Labor Party's national conference. Among the workers in the factories the slogan is receiving even more favorable response.

ganized workers of Britain are the on wage bases lower than the predie-hard, class collaborationist vailing standards. Labor Party bureaucracy, and the Stalinists. The Labor Party and the attempted regimentation been announced. of the working class. They are perialist defense of Burma and Malaya and the present imperialist defense of Egypt, Suez and Inarm the natives of the Far East and the Nile. In the case of India, of course, they infamously refused together with their capitalist slave-holding partners, to

grant the Indian people freedom. As a loyal partner on the home front the labor leaders also have steel available in the black market | played an infamous role. H. Morrison, labor party leader, and Min ister of Home Security, for example, has been directly connected with the forced-labor decree ILGWU weekly, reports that at a known as the "Essential Works Order." He has also directly athouses, fed by big mills, contract tacked civil rights of the workfor 39,000 pound lots at prices "as ers by fighting against the lifting of the ban on the Stalinist Daily

LABOR PARTY LEADERS BACK POLITICAL TRUCE

These Labor Party collaborators with Churchill's government have also agreed to a political truce between their party and Churchill's party, the Conservatives. This truce is an agreement "in the interests of national unity" to Although Roosevelt, on hearing maintain the status quo in Parliathe testimony of Higgins, stated ment. Since the government has that black market dealers should not gone to the country in quite a while, the only elections that of the Left Opposition in Russia take place are by-elections when members of Parliament die. When Conservative dies, the Labor Party does not challenge his seat

and vice versa. The second big obstacle in the way of the leftward moving workers is the class-collaborationist ground traffic know in advance propaganda of the Stalinists. At Walter Rourke, summarizes to the time I was in England, the date the court proceedings and government contract and flood CP was riding the wave of the the attempts of Stalin's GPU to glorious Soviet defense struggles

of the past winter. WORKERS LOOK TO SOVIET UNION

It should be noted that as a-"I don't see what all the excite- the workers enthusiastically ac- death. they fully even though mistakenly rive in this country.

most closely associated in the minds of the workers with the Soviet Union's magnificent defense. Many advanced workers in England will tell you that there is a half-hearted understanding in ers that there is a great distinction between the honest struggle being carried by the heroic Soviet workers and the CP organization in Britain which switches its. line so often. But even these advanced militants will admit, that, by and large, this distinction is in the background and the

popularity of the CP is high. True to its imperialist lackey's may.

role, the CP has betrayed that confidence in quick-fire time. The Stalinists stand wholly behind the political truce that exists between Labor and the Conserva tives. They always give wholehearted support to the Labor or Conservative candidate for Parlia-

STALINISTS BETRAY BRITISH WORKERS

The CP attempts to justify its reactionary role in English politics today by lulling the workers with the belief that the "left" side of the war is automatically taken care of by the Soviet Union's participation in the war. In practice the CP has given all support possible to the imperialist war and the masters of England.

Their servility has even reached the phase where Gallagher, only CP member of Parliament, was about the only "liberal" in Par liament who gave Churchill vote of confidence after the fall of Tobruk. All kinds of self-styled liberals and Laborites voted against Churchill, and thereby re flected working class sentiment in their respective localities, but not Gallagher. He, above all, was out to support Churchill unhesitating ly and unwaveringly, come what

ILGWU Leaders Surrender **Conditions To Brass Hats**

By WILLIAM GRAY to mean a government more fav- Power!" This slogan has had a NEW YORK, Aug. 11. - A gainst union labor. He pointed serious breach was made in the out that their practise of giving wage and hour standards of the Army contracts to the lowest bid-New York needle trade workers in an agreement reached last week between officials of

> Army procurement officers. As yet applying to only one manufacture of army raincoats. this agreement will eventually cover the whole dress industry, according to Julius Hochman, The greatest obstacles to the the dress industry will be ready this area to compete in the bidleftward development of the or- to handle government contracts ding for war contracts, and that

stated that the main concessions A MISERABLE SURRENDER bureaucracy, having a few posts by the union leaders were to raise in the Cabinet, has rapidly de- the work week from 36 to 40 veloped from a "loyal opposition" hours and to cut the average hour- ti-union aims of the WPB and to a loyal partner in the carrying ly wage from \$1.10 to \$1.00. The army officers, and despite their out of the imperialist struggle other concessions have not yet promise to "raise as much hell as

equally responsible for the im- MILITANT, the anti-labor policies of the WPB and the Army pro- rank and file has resulted. curement officers have resulted in tremendous unemployment in being highly pleased with the undia. Together with Churchill and New York City, particularly for ion's agreement to cut its scale the capitalist class they dared not the unionized garment workers. THE UNION'S CHARGES

Union leaders have for weeks been negotiating with the WPB and the Army, trying without success to get substantial war contracts for this city. That the unthe anti-labor meaning of the Army and WPB policies is shown

by many speeches and statements. Charles Zimmerman accused the ers.

ders made it impossible for the New York area - with a higher cost of living, union wages and conditions - to compete with the open shop South, which is building new factories and creating resentatives of the WPB and a rival to the unionized industry in the south.

Zimmerman said, "We will raise small section of the industry, the as much hell as necessary to see that we get more defense work in this area."

The union also supported de mands that the WPB and army Manager of the N. Y. Joint Board officials allow a price differential of the ILGWU. He stated that to the New York area to enable this area be allocated orders directly proportionate to the volume Union counsel M. Herbert Syme, of civilian work previously done

Thus despite the full knowledge of the union leadership of the annecessary to protect union stand-As reported previously in THE ards," a miserable surrender of the conditions and wages of the

WPB officials were reported as and will no doubt use this precedent to further press its anti-labor activity at the expense of other labor organizations. There can be no doubt that the garment bosses are also pleased with the agreement. They are for anyion officials were fully aware of thing that lowers the workers' wages and raises the hours.

The logical result of the capi tulation of the ILGWU leadership An article which appeared in to the boss-inspired policies of the the July 15 issue of Justice, government and Army agencies can only be the weakening of a special membership meeting of union built by countless sacrifices Local 22 on July 2, vice-President on the part of the garment work-

worker, and has already suggested in Parliament the possibility of a future ban against the Socialist Appeal, organ of the WIL. Features Trotsky Memorial

The August issue of Fourth International, the monthly maga- row, defends China's war of nazine, is designated as the Trotsky | tional liberation as progressive; Memorial Number.

"On Some Critics of Trotsky" by who asserts that all the present Marc Loris, which authoritatively struggles in the colonial and semianswers such critics as Max East- colonial countries are merely man, J. R. Johnson and others who "explain" Stalin's crushing gainst the other." as due to the personal inadequacies of Trotsky. "Trotsky's Revolutionary Optimism" is the Editorial Comment of the month. particularly noting his prophetic views on India and the United

States.

"The Trial of the Assassin." by get the assassin of Trotsky out of jail. "The Second World War." by Leon Trotsky, is the From the Arsenal of Marxism choice of the month; it is the full text of the remarkable interview which Trot-Churchill's leadership in the war, Dispatch a few months before his

A featured article is John G. knows anything about steel or ship in the war. They looked to Wright's "What the Soviet Press scription rates are \$2 a year. The building knows of this market the Soviet Union as the leader in Reveals," analyzing the latest isand of the fact that warehouses the struggle against fascism. Also sues of the Russian press to ar- 116 University Place, New York

"China in the War, by F. Morit is an answer to the pseudo- rad-Published this week, it includes ical theory of Max Shachtman "serving one imperialist camp a-

C. Charles contributes an article on "American Patent Mono polies," explaining the use made of patents by the monopolies in restricting production.

"The Real Situation in Argen tina," by Terence Phelan, effectively refutes Washington's propaganda that Argentina's resistance to entering the war is instigated by the Axis.

Li Fu-jen has contributed an informative article on the death of Chen Tu-hsiu, "A Chinese Revolutionist Passes.' The department of "Interna

tional Notes" carries unusual material from Yugoslavia, England China, India, and Poland.

Single copies of Fourth Interna tional are 20 cents each. Suboffice of Fourth International is

Policy And Its Critics

was introduced at the sug- interests of the working masses. gestion of Leon Trotsky shortly before Jacson succeeded in the not see the significance of the task assigned to him by Stalin's slogan. To oppose it means only GPU, the task of murdering an indifference to the dangers Trotsky. I refer to the policy of pacifism in the ranks of the of military training under trade workers, if not actually favorunion control. This policy will ing such pacifism. To oppose it go down in history as one of the means not to understand the most important and one of the desirability and necessity of most significant in revolu- educating the workers to think tionary Marxist annals.

sense that military training of interests. the masses had never before been advocated by any Marxist. Lenin had once before proposed essentially the same tactic. What made Trotsky's proposal so significant were the circumstances under which it was adbody at that time and hence a unnoticed under other circumdiscussion.

of opposition to this bill on the grounds of general opposition to militarism and particular opposition to the war policies of Roosevelt.

A CLASS ATTITUDE ON MILITARY TRAINING

Trotsky, however, saw in the introduction of a conscription measure in Congress an opportunity for a different kind of campaign than mere opposition to the conscription bill. He saw in the situation a chance to turn the attention of the advanced workers away from a merely negative opposition to and that, consequently the massconscription to a positive class es were discussing it. Our oppoattitude on the question of military training.

Exactly what Trotsky foresaw occurred when our party adopted the slogan of "military training under trade union control." The Socialist Workers' Party was immediately distinguished from all bourgeois, pacifist and doctrinaire socialist opposition to conscription. It presented a positive program providing for military training which, at the very least, had the effect of bringing the attention of the advanced workers ment. to the necessity of a class approach to the question of military training.

IMPORTANT QUESTION FOR THE EPOCH

when all important questions it is the latter that they really are settled by force. This is the opposed. (This is giving them basic premise making military the benefit of the doubt.) training of the workers absolutely essential. Prosecutors, do not oppose conscription as a either through ignorance or principle. The Soviet Union has malice, may claim that this a perfect right to conscript peoconstitutes advocating the use ple to serve in the Red Army. of force, but intelligent and While our emphasis was not and honest people will recognize it is not on conscription but on as a statement of fact similar military training we would not to the statement that night fol- hesitate to support conscription lows the day. It is a generaliza- provided the military training tion based on an analysis of were to be under the control of present-day society.

Only theoretically so. The ad- is it intended to serve? vent of fascism brings that truth Conscription for the purpose sharply to the consciousness of of furnishing military training the masses and this makes all to workers under trade union the difference in the world. It control will always find chamis one thing when only the most pions in revolutionary Marxists. advanced sections are capable of Because such conscription and recognizing certain truths and it such training would assure the have developed to a point where any struggle forced upon it by the masses of people are able to the fascists or any reactionary see the truth of a proposition.

A class or a nation that ignores the necessity of military training is one that is doomed to defeat. Military training is for them.

SLOGAN COMBATS PACIFIST ILLUSIONS

The very slogan of military nigh certain. training under trade union control combats pacifism. It teaches preventing Trotsky from answerthe workers the necessity to ing the opponents of the slogan prepare, in this period, to fight and thus from explaining and the enemy with his weapons and elaborating upon the idea. Esjust as skillfully. If that slogan sentially, however, the idea of had no other value than to In- military training under trade oculate the advanced workers union control is one of those against pacifist ideas it would ideas not acquiring elaborate exbe justified.

that. It exhorts the workers the welfare of their class and not only to obtain military not corrupted by pacifism or doctraining but to do so on a class trinaire socialism. sarily and inevitably result in vocated by Leon Trotsky.

One of the most important the organization of a class army current policies of our party prepared and able to defend the

They are indeed blind who do along the lines of their own It is not a new tactic in the class army to defend their class

WHY THE OPPOSITION REJECTS THE SLOGAN

Reasons given by those who oppose the slogan on allegedly revolutionary grounds clearly indicate either a lack of undervanced. The question of mili-standing or an intentional mistary training was being discuss- construction of the whole coned everywhere and by every- cept. They have in the first place claimed that we advocate proposal which might have gone trade union control of the army. They do not have to teach us stances immediately received a that the present army, as disgreat deal of attention and be- tinct from the individual solcame an important subject for diers composing it, is a capitalist institution and to attempt A bill was about to be in- to gain control of this institutroduced in Congress calling for tion for the trade unions is compulsory military training. sheer fantasy. What we advo-The natural tendency of those cate is not trade union control opposed to a capitalist regime of the capitalist army but trade was simply to wage a campaign union control of military training. There is quite a distinction between the two.

Another accusation levelled against us because of our advocacy of military training under trade union control is that we favor compulsory military service and that we support any conscription bill introduced by representatives of capitalist parties in the legislature. As indicated above the value of the slogan was greatly enhanced by the fact that the Roosevelt administration had raised the question of compulsory military training nent seized upon that very circumstance to confuse the conscious workers by telling them that we favored the conscription bill introduced in Congress.

At that time we made it very clear that we opposed the particular conscription measure introduced in Congress. Had we 'had a' representative in Congress he would have introduced a bill under trade union control and

Our opponents never made it clear whether they opposed the idea of military training by the trade unions or the demand that the government defray the expenses for such training, or the We are living in a period idea of conscription. Probably

To that we answer: Marxists the workers' organizations. We, It can be said that this was as Marxists, always ask: what true during any period in the is the purpose of the particular development of capitalist society. conscription advocated? whom

is another thing when events victory of the working class in section of the capitalist class. GREAT VALUE

OF TROTSKY'S SLOGAN

Neither Trotsky nor we benot in itself sufficient to bring lieved that the idea would imvictory to a nation or class, but mediately be accepted by the it is absolutely indispensable workers as a whole but we unfor victory. If the Indian mass- derstood the tremendous educaes should continue to follow tional value of that slogan for Gandhi's policies of passive the advanced workers. If and resistance defeat is unavoidable when the idea will be acted upon by the trade unions, with or without the government's defraying the expenses, the victory of the working class will be well-

Alas that Stalin succeeded in planation. It is easily under-But it does far more than stood by workers interested in

basis. It, in effect, says to the To assure the victory of their workers: let the organizations class the American workers will of your class take control of the have to adopt the policy of milimilitary training of the work- tary training under control of ers. The effect of such a slo- their organizations as well as gan, if carried out, must neces- the other fundamental ideas ad-

THEMILITANT

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Indian Masses Fight For Freedom

(Continued from page 1) appearance of being beheaded. The British authorities — echoed by all the foreign correspondents are assuring the world that "firm measures" will put an end to the "disorders." But they are whistling

In the first days perhaps the most prominent place in the arena was taken by the students. This phenomenon is familiar enough in the struggles of all predominantly agrarian countries - Russia, Yugoslavia, etc. But the students are merely the harbingers of the next stage, when the peasantry and the prole-

tariat will swing into action. From the countryside, where more than 70 per cent of the population tills the soil, nothing has yet been heard. Partly that is due to the poor preparations of the Congress leaders, partly to the poor communications with the villages. But the villages will rise, as they always have when the signal is given from the cities, and this time they will rise as never before. An end to payment of taxes and land-rents, setting fire to the mansions of British officials and their native agents, seizures of the grain and livestock of the landowners and princes - all the aspects of peasant rebellions will soon be reported.

Workers Will Have Decisive Say

But the decisive word in the present struggle must be said by the proletariat in the great cities of Calcutta and Bombay and the nearby industrial towns. In the previous "civil disobedience" campaigns there were always great strikes of the textile workers, the oldest section of the still-young Indian proletariat. But with relatively little industry, the principal aspect of the struggle in the cities was the hartal of the innumerable little shopkeepers.

This time, however, the shopkeepers are of minor economic and political weight compared to the rapidly-growing proletariat of the war industries. Already at the beginning of the war there were about five million industrial proletarians in India: two million working in power-driven factories, a million railwaymen and miners, 400,000 transport workers, a million plantation workers. The increase since 1940 is concealed by the British as a "military secret" but has been considerable, especially in powerdriven factories. Calcutta has become a gigantic arsenal of war industry, and the Bombay region is only second to Calcutta.

Hence hartals of shopkeepers mean little compared to the new power of the industrial proletariat. Britain can endure closed little shops, but not shutdown war plants. Thus the decisive say in this struggle will be that of the city workers. If they take the lead, and rally the peasantry, Britain is through

Workers Need More Than Congress Plan

The workers stand firmly for independence and for fighting for it. For the workers, however, more than for the rest of the population, the Congress plan for "deadlock" is a hopelessly insufficient method of struggle. The peasant refusing to pay taxes and rents still continues as before his miserable living from the land. The shopkeepers for a time can live off his tiny capital. The workers, however, have neither land nor capital. With the factories closed for an indefinite period, the workers face starvation. Hence for the proletariat the shuttingdown of the factories can be merely preliminary to a direct struggle for state power. The general strike of the workers is the signal for revolution, or it is doomed to defeat, either by starvation or by repressions. Thus their whole situation drives the proletariat to adopt a revolutionary program going far beyond the "deadlock" formula of the Congress.

Will the proletariat embark on this road? The textile workers are already out, in accordance with their long tradition. Some war plants also are already down. But the situation has not yet unfolded. It is a question of leadership. Will the proletariat

It must be emphasized that the Congress is limited in its appeal to the workers, not only by the limitations of the Congress "deadlock" plan, but also by the malodorous record of the Congress provincial governments of 1938-1939, which ordered the police out to break strikes (especially strikes against the Indian employers who control the Congress!), passed anti-labor legislation, etc.

Part of the official trade union leadership - the unions have grown during the war - is in the left wing of the Congress and is undoubtedly seeking to swing the workers into action behind the Congress . campaign. The national committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress is reported in session to decide whether to call a general strike.

The unknown quantity in the situation at this stage is the precise extent of the power of the Stalinists, the principal betrayer of the present struggle for independence. They controlled about 40 per cent of the votes at the last session of the national trade union committee in February. These are votes at the top and by no means indicate great strength in the ranks below. But the Communist Party has been given full legal standing on the eve of this

struggle; money is undoubtedly being poured in by the Kremlin; and with all kinds of covert governmental backing, the Stalinists may for a time appear as a considerable power in the trade unions and factories.

The Stalinists now stand openly at the extreme right wing in India - to the right even of such pro-British groups as the "Moslem" League of Jinnah. No other group, not even the long-time native agents of the British in the government, has more viciously attacked the present struggle for independ-

The Stalinists were the only group in the Congress who openly stood for acceptance of the Cripps proposals for an "Indian" government under control of the Viceroy. To quote one of their own organs, "the Communists urged Congress and the Moslem League to unite in order to achieve a settlement on the basis of the Cripps proposals." (Daily Worker, August 4, 1942.)

When the Congress committee voted on August 8 for the "civil disobedience" campaign, only 13 out of 360 votes were cast against it; "the 13 who voted against the Gandhi non-cooperation proposal were for the most part Indian Communists." (Daily Worker, August 9.)

The Stalinist line is that, independently of whether or not Britain grants India independence, the Indian people should support the British war effort. In the Stalinist resolution introduced against the Gandhi-Nehru resolution, the Stalinists said: "To persist in the policy of non-cooperation with or neutrality toward the government war effort or their defense measures is. . . to betray the sacred cause of the defense of the country. . ." (Daily Worker, August 5.) No wonder the British imperialists made the Stalinist party legal just when they were about to outlaw the Congress party!

Like the Moslem League and other pro-British groups, the Stalinists of course give lip-service to independence for India, but condemn any direct struggle for securing it. They deplore the British repressions but condemn any resistance to the repressions. Their main proposal is for Indians and Americans to appeal to Roosevelt "to prevail upon the British War Cabinet in London to immediately reopen negotiations with Congress, Moslem League and other people's leaders, for the purpose of assuring the full and untrammeled mobilization of the Indian people to defend India from Axis aggression." (Daily Worker, August 11) And if Roosevelt refuses, or if he asks and the British refuse? And what shall the Indian masses do, who are being lashed and shot by British troops? Beyond petitions to Roosevelt the Stalinists propose nothing!

Insofar as it lies within their power, it is clear, the Stalinists will attempt to prevent the industrial proletariat from striking in protest against the repressions - not to speak of striking and fighting for independence. In short, in return for the "aid" he is getting from Britain, Stalin has sold the services

of his lackeys to British imperialism. The Stalinist line has nothing in common with the real interests of the Soviet Union. Like China, the Soviet Union would find in a Free India a genuinely reliable ally. The Soviet masses would be reinvigorated by successful revolutions, which would open up to them again the perspective of an end to the isolation of the first workers' state in a hostile capitalist world. But the Soviet masses would then also put an end to the oppression of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Precisely for this reason the Kremlin prefers its alliance with Britain to an alliance with a revolutionary India. Here, as in everything else, one sees the fundamental difference in interests between Stalin and the Soviet masses.

China's Support of India's Struggle

In heartening contrast to the counter-revolutionary role of the Stalinists are the Chinese declarations of solidarity with the struggle of the Indian people. It would not have been surprising had Chungking remained silent, fearing British reprisals by holding up war materials passing through India for China. Indeed, it would not have been surprising had Chiang Kai-shek, like the Stalinists, condemned the Congress campaign, preferring dubious British aid to the future aid for China of a successful Indian struggle. Instead, however, Sun Fo - who speaks of course for the government - declared to the press in Chungking that "Chinese sympathy is entirely with the Indians in their struggle for independence." Once the government had thus indicated its stand, the entire Chinese press expressed the solidarity of the Chinese people for the Congress campaign.

As was made clear when Chiang Kai-shek went to India just before the Cripps negotiations, he was more than ready to help the British make a deal with Gandhi and Nehru, and is still ready to do so. That he now permits open expressions of Chinese sympathy with the Indian struggle is an eloquent testimonial to the power and scope of India's fight. Chiang, it is plain, expects that the Indian people may win against Britain.

The Chinese-language daily in New York, the Chinese Journal, carried a front-page editorial August 11, summarizing the Chinese attitude. It sarcastically laughs at the British idea that jailing the Congress leaders will stop the fight. Two fundamental factors, it says, have made that impossible: (1) The Anglo-American defeats in the Far East have shown that if India remains under British domination it is likely to suffer the same fate as Burma, Malaya, Singapore and the East Indies. The Indian masses are determined to prevent that. (2) The Indian people have learned how to defend themselves by the example of China. Despite lack of arms, China has been able to do what the Anglo-Americans failed to do, namely carry on year after year resistance to Japanese imperialism. India can do the same - but only when it has its own government.

The way out for India, and for all the peoples, will not come from Churchill or Roosevelt, Hitler or the Mikado. The way out is the brotherhood of the peoples against all the oppressors. A Free India will be a powerful and reliable ally of Free China and the Soviet Union. A Free India, putting an end to the imperialist privileges of British capitalism and the crumbs it hands out to its labor lieutenants, would speed the British working class on the road of socialist revolution. A Worker's Government of Britain could inspire European and German revolution against Hitler as no bourgeois gov-

Thus India's present struggle, if successful, would set in motion vast forces for the re-making of human society. That is why every worker, every honest democrat, throughout the world must give unconditional support to India's fight.

Wartime Flu Epidemic Will Take Heavy Toll

War. Famine. Pestilence and Death, the dread "Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse" have again ridden forth! In every country on the face of the globe, these murderous associates are today taking their terrible toll of human lives, with an even greater harvest in store for them on the morrow — unless the world's workers end the capitalist system which gives the "Four Horsemen" a free rein on their errands 3

ners: War and Disease, Dr. Ralph gainst another. Separate vaccines Major reviews the great wars of history and describes the frightful pestilences; bubonic plague, typhus fever, smallpox, cholera, vellow fever and many other terrible diseases which were spread far and wide by these wars. The great plagues of the past may seem a long way off to the modern American worker, but everyone in the United States, over the age of 30 remembers the death-dealing influenza pandemic which accom nanied World War I and may return during World War II according to Dr. Major.

of destruction.

MOST DEADLY PLAGUE

Public health authorities estimate that there were 21,000,000 deaths in the world from influenza in the ten-month period in 1918 and 1919 during which the disease raged. This global outbreak of deadly influenza ranks with the plague of Justinian in the 6th century and the Black Death in the 14th century as one of the three most destructive plagues which the human race has ever known.

In the United States alone, there were 548,452 deaths from influenza and the pneumonia which accompanied it; nearly half of these deaths were among men and women between the ages of 20 and 40. Other hundreds of thousands in this country were ill from the disease. In some cities, records shows that half of the total population was attacked by influenza in this period.

Medical men were almost helpless before this destructive flood of disease which swept across the earth in the space of a few months. The quick onset of the disease, its strange virulence, the failure of all remedies which had formerly been used in the treatment of colds, grippe and influ- Party has no such illusions. It with his own imperialism. enza made of the "Spanish influenza" of 1918 a mysterious malady to doctors and laymen alike.

MEDICAL PROGRESS SLOW A vast amount of research has been done on influenza since 1918 and public health workers now have considerably more informa-

tion about the cause and cure of flu. "If the widely expected influenza epidemic of the present war holds off a little longer, scientists may be ready for it," wrote one public health authority rec-

The germ which causes influenza was discovered in 1933 and has since been measured and photographed by means of the electron microscope. The particles of the virus responsible for influ enza are so tiny that one particle would have to be magnified 65,000 times before it was as large as the period at the end of this sentence. Although small, the influenza virus particles are deadly and have a particularly destruc-

Vaccines are being prepared so that individuals may be protected from influenza as they are from smallpox, by vaccination. These are still in an experimental stage, however, and the work of the re-

will have to be developed. The possible use of the sulfa drugs in the fight against influ- patient kept in bed until 48 hours often follows influenza.

PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE LOW

and other infectious diseases is

being laid by the capitalist rulers of the world. Widespread malnutrition, exposure to the cold and living-quarters have lowered the since the beginning of World War

the flu germ and the lowering of war-torn world.

the resistance of populations may combine to set off another pandemic of influenza which will rock the world.

A circular letter issued from

the Office of the Surgeon General

of the United States in January of this year to all army doctors uses. Immunity against one type | urges the greatest precautions a-In a recent work, Fatal Part- does not guarantee immunity a- gainst a possible outbreak of influenza among soldiers. Every suspected case of the flu should be immediately isolated and the enza is also being studied. It is after his temperature has returnknown that none of the present ed to normal, the instructions sulfa products, sulfanilamide, sul- read. Moreover, soldiers should fapyridine, sulfathiazole or the resume their normal activities at others is effective against the flu, a very gradual rate while they itself, but all of them have been are convalescing from the flu, befound to be useful in the treat- cause many of the complications ment of pneumonia, which so of influenza occur during the period of convalescence. The use of vaccines against the flu and treatment by sulfa drugs, if there But the groundwork for another is any suspicion of pneumonia world-wide outbreak of influenza complications, are also recom-

mended for soldiers in the army Similar safeguards must be set up for civilians. Trade unions should see to it that adequate paid the elements, crowded, unsanitary sick leaves are allowed to their members and that workers are resistance of millions of peoples given some protection against the speed-up system after they return II. This is the soil on which to work from a siege of the flu. epidemic disease flourishes! In- Only the members of militant and fluenza is always present in the powerful trade unions can hope population and minor outbreaks to secure such protection, howof the disease occur in one local- ever, and even these safeguards ity or another from time to time. may be pushed aside by a tidal An increase in the virulence of wave of disease sweeping across a

For Indian Independence

(Continued from page 1) leaders, fearing that the repressive measures taken against the cerned with Indian freedom, they skins. Roosevelt will no more grant independence than Churdemands the immediate withdrawal of all British and American troops from India. These troops will undoubtedly be used in the attempt to crush the movement for independence. As for an invasion from Japan, let the British and American govinterested in repelling an invasion-supply arms to the 400 million Indians who under their own command and with their own the Indians reveals only too clearly that the presence of British and American troops is aimed selves for the purpose of keeping struggle. them in imperialist bondage.

Real Aid to China and Soviet Union

The Socialist Workers Party indignantly rejects the slander that Indian independence will impair in any way the struggle tive effect on the cells of the of the Soviet masses against the Nazis or the struggle of China against the Japanese militarists. On the contrary, victory for the Indian people will give the greatest impetus to the struggle of the Soviet and Chinese masses The fall of imperialist tyranny search workers has been terribly in one part of the world cannot complicated by the discovery that fail to shake it everywhere else. there are at least three and pos- The masses of occupied China, of sible more types of influenza vir- Malaya, of Burma, of the East

receive tremendous encouragement from an Indian victory and struggle for Indian freedom will will eventually be set into motion expose the fraudulence of the for their own liberation. The 'democratic war against fasc- reverberations of a successful ism," are appealing to Roosevelt struggle cannot fail to penetrate to intervene. They are not con- into Germany and into occupied Europe. Above all Hitler hates merely want to save their own and fears revolution anywhere in the world. Hitler wants not independence for India but to chill. The Socialist Workers supplant British imperialist rule

Our Program for India

Our program for India is that of our co-thinkers, the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, section of the Fourth International. For ernments-if they are primarily the complete support of the present movement even though it is temporarily being led by bourgeois leaders who will attempt to compromise it at the army will be more than a match | first opportunity. No trust in the for any invader. Refusal to arm | Indian bourgeois leaders! For the complete independence of the workers movement and the creation of independent and demoprimarily at the Indians them- cratically elected organs of

Arm the Masses! Withdraw Troops!

All aid to the struggle for Indian freedom! Withdraw all British and American troops!

Release the Congress leaders, lift the ban on the Congress Party!

For the alliance of the Indian workers and peasants with the organized workers of Britain and the United States!

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TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING

Friday, August 21, at 8:30 P. M. 15th St and Irving Pl IRVING PLAZA Chairman:

GEORGE GRANT ORGANIZER, LOCAL N. Y. Speakers:

JULES GELLER ALBERT GOLDMAN Defendant and Defense Attorney in the Minneapolis Trials For the Defense of the Soviet Union!

For Indian Independence! Commemorating the Second Anniversary of the Death of the Great Revolutionary/Leader at the hands of Stalin's GPU

IN MINNEAPOLIS

TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING FRIDAY, AUGUST 21, 8 P. M. MINNEAPOLIS BRANCH HEADQUARTERS

919 MARQUETTE AVE., MPLS. Main Speaker: LYDIA BEIDEL of Chicago

Leon Trotsky's Last Letter to The Indian Workers

In May, 1940, Leon Trotsky predicted that the second imperialist world war would create favorable conditions for the struggle of colonial peoples for independence, especially the people of India:

"By its very creation of enormous difficulties and dangers for the imperialist metropolitan centers, the war opens up wide possibilities for the oppressed peoples. The rumbling of cannon in Europe heralds the approaching hour of their liberation." (Manifesto of The Fourth International on The Imperialist War and The Proletarian Revolution.)

The greatest dangers to the Indian revolution are those that threaten from within. That is why Leon Trotsky warned the workers against placing any reliance upon the native Indian bourgeoisie:

"Gandhi's 'moral' revulsion from violence," states the Manifesto, "merely reflects the fear of the Indian bourgeoisie before their own masses. They have very good grounds for their foreboding that British imperialism will drag them down too in the collapse. London for its part warns that at the first display of disobedience it will apply 'all necessary measures' - including, of course, the air force in which it is deficient at the Western Front."

On July 25, 1939, on the eve of the actual outbreak of hostilities, Leon Trotsky wrote in a letter addressed to the Indian workers:

"The Indian bourgeoisie is incapable of leading a revolutionary struggle. They are closely bound up with and dependent upon British capitalism. They tremble for their own property. They stand in fear of the masses. They seek compromises with British imperialism no matter what the price and lull the Indian masses with hopes of reforms from above."

("An Open Letter to the Workers of India." New International, September, 1939.)

Treachery of the Stalinists

No less insidious and dangerous enemies of the Indian masses are the Stalinists. In the above-cited letter to the Indian workers, Trotsky likewise warned against Stalinist treachery:

"Communists, according to Manuilsky, 'subordinate the realization of this right of secession. . . in the interests of defeating fascism.' In other words, in the event of war between England and France over colonies, the Indian people must support their present slave owners, the British imperialists. That is to say, must shed their blood not for their own emancipation, but for the preservation of the rule of 'the City' over India. And these cheaply-to-be-bought scoundrels dare to quote Marx and Lenin! As a matter of fact, their teacher and leader is none other than Stalin, the head of a new bureaucratic aristocracy, the butcher of the Bolshevik Party, the strangler of workers and peasants."

To be sure, the above warning was directed against the policy of the Stalinists in the period of the "People's Fronts." The Stalinists dropped this policy temporarily during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact only in order to return to an even viler and more treacherous version since Hitler's assault on the USSR. Today Trotsky's warnings against Stalinist treachery apply with a redoubled force. Upon orders from the Kremlin, the Indian Stalinists are trying to paralyze the struggle for India's independence.

Is It a War for Democracy?

"Agents of the British government," wrote Trotsky in his open letter, "depict the matter as though the war will be waged for principles of 'democracy' which must be saved from fascism. All classes and peoples must rally around the 'peaceful,' 'democratic,' governments so as to repel the fascist aggressors. Then 'democracy' will be saved and peace stabilized forever. This gospel rests on a deliberate lie. If the British government were really concerned with the flowering of democracy then a very simple opportunity to demonstrate this exists: let the government give complete freedom to India. The right of national independence is one of the elementary democratic rights. But actually, the London government is ready to hand over all the democracies in the world in return for one-tenth of its colonies."

Today, the Stalinists are in the forefront of those who are spreading the lie about the 'democratic' nature of British imperialism and its war-program.

Trotsky did not fail to foresee the possibility that the Indian bourgeoisie might be compelled, 'despite itself, to come into conflict with the British rulers. What should the workers do in this case?

In his Open Letter on the impending Indian revolution, Trotsky wrote: "In the event that the Indian bourgeoisie finds it-

self compelled to take even the tiniest step on the road of struggle against the arbitrary rule of Great Britain, the proletariat will naturally support such

"But they will support it with their own methods," continues this letter, "mass meetings, bold slogans, strikes, demonstrations and more decisive combat actions, depending on the relationship of forces and the circumstances. Precisely to do this must the proletariat have its hands free. Complete independence from the bourgeoisie is indispensable to the proletariat, above all in order to exert influence on the peasantry, the predominant mass of India's population. Only the proletariat is capable of advancing a bold, revolutionary agrarian program, of rousing and rallying tens of millions of peasants and leading them in the struggle against the native oppressors and British imperialism. The alliance of workers and poor peasants is the only honest, reliable alliance that can assure the final victory of the Indian revo-

The Manifesto of May, 1940 repeats this warning that the Indian revolution can march to victory only under the leadership of the Indian workers:

"The only thing that can weld India together is the agrarian revolution under the banner of national independence. A revolution led by the proletariat will be directed not only against British rule but also against the Indian princes, foreign concessions, the top layer of the Indian bourgeoisie, and the leaders of the National Congress as well as against the leaders of the Moslem League. It is the pressing task of the Fourth International to create a stable and powerful section in India."