

## Three Years Of World War II

By A. ROLAND

Humanity has endured three bloody, fateful years of the second World War. The end of the war is still cloaked in the indefinite future. If continued in the same manner under the leadership of imperialism, this war bids fair to last far beyond the four years duration of the first World War.

The workers and toilers whose lives are being expended on all the battlefields, owe it to themselves to judge all the forces at work in the war. They owe it to themselves to study all the lessons of the past, particularly of the first World War, of how that war ended.

There are many parallels between the two world conflicts. This war, like the last one, is being fought on the part of the big capitalist powers for the sake of imperialist domination of the entire world. The second World War is in this sense, despite the differences in the line-up of forces, the continuation of the first. Now as then, the question for capitalism is, who shall own the rich colonial spoils?

But there are dissimilarities too, some which stem directly from the history of the first imperialist world struggle. Both camps in that war started as out-and-out imperialists, bent on empire. But the third year, 1917, saw a great change. Russian Czarism collapsed under the blows of the Kaiser's armies. That collapse brought the Russian workers on the arena of history. They had no desire for spoils and conquests. They wanted an end to the war in a way favorable to the workers of the whole world.

### Effects of the October Revolution

The October Revolution occurred in the very midst of the great World War. The Allies raised a great outcry against the Russian workers, calling their Bolshevik leaders traitors who were giving aid to the Kaiser against the Allies. But in the end it was the Russian Revolution that assured the downfall of the Kaiser and his generals. Indeed, the proletarian revolution proved too tough a nut to crack not only for German, but for Allied imperialism as well.

The beginning of the fourth fateful year of the World War finds Soviet Russia in the most terrible plight in its history. The existence of the Soviet Union is endangered in the extreme by the fact that the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy is totally incapable of conducting the war in a revolutionary, working-class manner. Stalinist responsibility for the present position of the USSR reaches back to the policies pursued by the Stalinist clique when Hitler was permitted to take power unchallenged. But more immediately, the Stalinists are responsible for giving Hitler a free hand to conquer most of Europe before he decided that it was time to invade the Soviet Union. The Stalin-Hitler pact produced the present desperate situation. And today, in the hour of gravest crisis, Stalin refuses to appeal to the German workers for revolutionary struggle against Hitler!

Yet certain factors must be reckoned more favorable to the proletariat in this second World War. The Red Army, in spite of the crass leadership of Stalin, defends staunchly the first workers' fatherland against imperialism. The Red Army does not pursue imperialist, but working class aims. Intervention has come in Russia, but with a divided imperialist camp. True, this is at the same time the symbol of the weakness of Soviet Russia. But it is an historical fact.

The outright assistance of the working class of other lands has not yet appeared in clear revolutionary form. But there are other allies fighting and about to fight on the side of progress, the side not of Allied imperialism but of the Russian workers. These are the colonial peoples. It is a great gain that the Chinese fight as an independent force against Japanese imperialism. The many millions of Chinese soldiers can never forget their military training if, at some later stage, the Allied imperialists attempt to strike a blow at Chinese independence. The dire extremity of the Allies has forced them to aid China in ways they otherwise might never have been willing to do.

### The Bid of the Indian Masses

The end of the third year also sees another vitally important development, the bid of the Indian masses for independence. This movement is only in its infancy. But its potentialities are enormous! It can set the entire east aflame. The colonial peoples are far more directly involved in this present war than they were in the last. Imperialism may yet find that while it fights to the death for a hold on its colonial slaves, the prey has escaped from its grasp! That would be a great gain for the working class.

The same outcry as was raised in the last war against the Russian workers is raised now. This time it is the Indians who are jeopardizing the Allied cause and playing into the hands of Axis imperialism. Both "socialists" and Stalinists tell the world that this is no time for the Indians to act for their own independence. They must wait till after the war. They must accept the promises of "democratic" England.

Let us hope that the Indians pay no heed whatsoever to these reactionary, philistine lackeys. The flame of peasant and working class revolution kindled in the hearts of nearly four hundred million people, could consume far more than semi-feudal Japan. The Russian Revolution held off first the Germans, then all the Allies. The Indian Revolution could hold off both British and Japanese imperialism. Each of these oppressors has far more to fear from the Indian Revolution than from defeat at the hands of the other imperialists.

The second World War has shown how completely interdependent the whole world is economically. There are also forces of political interdependence. The independence of half the world's people from imperialism (China and India) would undermine world capitalism seriously. This would strengthen the working class in the capitalist nations. A great revolution in the east would find distinct repercussions in the west. That is why the events in India at the end of the third year of world war are so important. They signify that the war may end in the manner dreamed by all the imperialists.

The fate of civilization depends, not on this or that immediate military victory, but on one final fact: which class will be in the position to dictate the terms of peace at the end of this war? Will it be the capitalists or the workers? Unless at some stage of the war the workers can take the proper steps to move forward towards socialism, then civilization, left in the hands of the imperialists, will sink further into barbarism.

## DEATH TOLL OF THE WAR

The death toll of the war since the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, is estimated at between 25 and 30 million by Atwood H. Townsend, in the magazine, *Free World*. These figures do not include the war dead of Germany and Italy.

The figures include those killed in combat, and those who were victims of hunger, cold and disease as a result of the war.

The following is Townsend's list of war dead based on statistics from many sources, totalling 14,000,000, but which he claims is at least 10 million short of the probable total:

China	8,300,000
Russia	3,300,000
European Jews	800,000
Spain	536,000
Greece	422,000
Poland	350,000
Yugoslavia	250,000
France	207,000
British Empire	130,000
Ethiopia	65,000
Netherlands	52,000
Philippines	20,000
Belgium	18,000
British Empire (Colored)	13,000
U. S. A.	7,000
Czechoslovakia	7,000
Norway	3,000
Denmark	1,400

TOTAL 14,000,000

## Profits Come First With The Corporations

### 9 Firms Conspire to Get Huge Profits On Wire Sale to Navy

The Justice Department announced the indictment of nine companies this week for "conspiring to make identical bids at unreasonably high prices" on a special patented cable which is used in wiring navy ships.

As a result of their price-fixing conspiracy, the companies earned profits of 35 to 70% on their sales of wire and cable. On a total sale of between \$50,000,000 and \$55,000,000 to the Navy it is estimated that the concerns received \$18,000,000 in profits.

Since 1937, the Rockbestos Products Corp., which owns the patents on the special wire and cable, has been mailing copies of each of its bids to the other concerns, which had received licenses from Rockbestos to use the patent.

Rockbestos had granted the patent to the eight other companies on the understanding that they would all sell at a uniform price. Upon receiving word from the Rockbestos Corporation, the other companies would send out the same bid.

Although, the agreement between the corporations was not supposed to hold on government bidding, the government continued to receive exactly the same bids from each of the concerns. Between August 27, 1939 and April 17, 1942, 20 sets of such identical bids were received by the Navy.

The nine companies protested against the indictment because they claimed it was against the policy already announced by President Roosevelt not to embark on such suits when they might interfere with production of a vital war product. In other words, under the cover of "patriotism" and war production they want the right to charge any prices and make any profits.

Among the companies indicted was General Cable Corporation, in whose behalf the government broke a strike of workers in Bayonne, N. J., two weeks ago. Others besides Rockbestos were General Electric, Phelps Dodge Copper, Anaconda Wire and Cable, National Electric Products American Steel and Wire, Collyer Insulated Wire and Okonite Company.

### CIO UNION CHANGES CONVENTION CITY

The United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, has changed the meeting place for its eighth annual convention to Cleveland because of the refusal of the large hotels in Indianapolis to house and feed Negroes along with other UE delegates.

This sort of action is worth a hundred times more in strengthening the solidarity of the workers of all races than all the speeches and promises about "democracy" that have come out of official quarters in Washington.

### Power-Saving Lamps Barred -- No Profits

"They're hampering the war effort!" the bosses cry everytime a group of workers tries to put up a fight in defense of their living standards. The bosses, however, themselves always put profits first and foremost. This is shown by the following example:

1. The War Production Board has cancelled a number of power projects because of lack of raw materials. In a year or two there will be a power shortage.

2. According to evidence brought out by the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice last week, the General Electric Company, the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company and more than 100 public utility companies are conspiring to suppress the widespread use of fluorescent lighting.

Fluorescent lamps require only from one-half to one-third the power needed by the present incandescent lamps. The widespread use of this improved method would cut down the income of the utility companies. This is the reason why the monopolies oppose fluorescent lighting.

The fact that the greater use of fluorescent lighting would mean a decrease in power consumption for lighting and at the same time would help alleviate the impending power shortage counts for little to the monopolies as compared to their profits.

The two manufacturing companies and the utility companies organized in the Edison Electric Institute are bound up with one another by financial holdings, interlocking directorates and patents.

## Nelson Fires Aide For Exposing \$1-A-Year Men

By C. CHARLES

Because he criticized in a report the Iron and Steel Branch of the War Production Board and the WPB itself, Frederick Libbey, engineering consultant, was unceremoniously fired from his position August 19.

Libbey's criticism was very gentle and restrained, but for daring to lift the curtain behind interests of the large corporations, he incurred the wrath of Donald Nelson.

In ousting Libbey, Nelson used the feeble excuse that Libbey had allowed the critical nature of his report to leak out to a newspaper.

Part of Libbey's report said: "The branch, and through it the War Production Board, is currently under fire in the Truman Committee and by representatives of labor, on the ground that the steel expansion program is largely of benefit to a small group of big and well-established companies, and that these companies, through their representatives in the Iron and Steel Branch, are responsible for this state of affairs solely because of a desire to keep control of the steel industry after the war."

## FDR Plans New Steps To Block Wage Raises

### Indian Peasants Look To Workers For Leadership

### The Struggle for Indian Independence Is Linked to the Agrarian Revolution

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The British censorship has reduced the news from India to a tiny trickle. The scanty items which do appear in the American capitalist press are being relegated to the back pages. All this is being done with a view to creating the impression that the situation has already passed its critical stage and that the authorities are in complete control. At the same time, the British

and silence for their bestial repressions and their attempts to drown in blood the rising resistance of the Indian masses.

But the truth of the matter is that the most critical period in Indian developments still lies ahead. It will come when the decisive forces of the country, that is, the many-millioned masses of the peasantry and the basic layers of the working class enter the arena of struggle in their full strength. At the present time, in the first stage of the developments, both of these decisive forces are just beginning to move.

fusion and leadership under Lenin and Trotsky.

The course of the India struggle depends primarily on what happens in the villages. And this in its turn depends on the policies adopted and supported by the workers in the cities.

"GANDHI'S DOCTRINE"

The censored dispatch claims that the workers are now preaching "Gandhi's doctrine." Gandhi's "doctrine," that is, the program of the Indian bourgeoisie, runs counter to the basic and most profound interests of the peasants and workers. And it is impossible really to rouse the heaviest layers of workers and peasants without connecting their vital demands and needs with the struggle against British rule.

What Gandhi and his class propose to do for the Indian working class is simply to replace the exploitation of the imperialist British bourgeoisie with that of the native capitalists. The Indian workers will not rally to a proposal that they merely change masters and remain slaves. So far as the Indian peasantry is concerned, the Congress party is committed not to the abolition of feudal and semi-feudal conditions but merely to their "reform." A real struggle

REPORT INCREASE IN "DISTURBANCES" IN VILLAGES

Despite the rigorosity of British censorship, peasant demonstrations and outbursts have already been reported from widely scattered parts of the country. One of the most significant items relating to the ferment among the peasantry appeared in an Associated Press dispatch from Bombay dated August 22 which stated that:

"There has been a steady increase in disturbances in outlying villages as industrial workers from the cities drifted back home to preach the Gandhi doctrine" (N. Y. Times, Aug. 23).

The inner mechanics of India's struggle is laid bare by this single statement. The workers of India, and they alone, can provide the genuine leadership in the cause of their country's liberation. The industrial workers of Bombay are already seeking to fuse the struggle of the peasantry with their own struggle and to assume the leadership of the peasant movement. The same profound phenomenon was revealed in the events of the Chinese revolution of 1925-1927. But in China the fatal policies of Stalinism derailed the movement by depriving the Chinese working class of its own independent leadership and program. It was consummated in the Russian revolution of 1917 by the realization of such a

of the peasantry is possible only under the program of the agrarian revolution. The peasants must have the land. The feudal rubbish must be swept away. Thus Gandhi's "doctrine" can only paralyze a genuine struggle for independence.

The political struggle and the class conflicts in India cannot and have not become submerged in the struggle against the common foe, the foreign oppressor. On the contrary, as the struggle against British rule grows in intensity, the interests of the different classes must come into an ever sharper conflict with the program of Gandhi and his class. This is one of the reasons why we Trotskyists support the current struggle of independence under Gandhi's leadership.

Those workers and peasants who are today following Gandhi's "doctrine" will be compelled in the course of the struggle itself to seek other ways, other ideas and another program really corresponding to their own needs and aspirations.

### TASKS OF THE INDIAN WORKERS

The immediate task of the vanguard of the Indian working class is to raise the program of the agrarian revolution. On the order of the day is the immediate abolition of all feudal privileges, especially the feudal and semi-feudal tenures of the land. Every step of the peasantry in this direction must be given the widest publicity in the ranks of the working class and actions of solidarity with the peasantry should be urged and sponsored. The peasants should be summoned to form Peasants' Com-

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## Meat Shortage Looms As Food Prices Climb

The workers face a worsening food situation as actual shortages of meat, and threats of even greater scarcity, are added to the problem of ever-mounting prices. Already in some parts of the country certain cuts of meat cannot be secured.

This situation arises from the policy of the meat packers

in sending most of their supplies to those regions which have higher price ceilings.

In withholding meat from the lower-ceiling areas, the meat packers are following much the same strategy as was used two weeks ago by the Grocery Manufacturers' Association to secure price increases from Henderson of the OPA. It might be termed the "starve the people until we get our profits" policy.

### PRICES STILL RISING

On Aug. 21 Henderson declared that in the month of June 15-July 15, retail food prices nationally had increased by 1.1 per cent. In New York City the 30-day period showed price increases of 2 per cent. In the year ending July 15, the average national food price increase was 16.8 per cent.

The greatest increase was in those food items on which no ceilings had been established: The advance in the "uncontrolled" food prices in the June 15-July 15 period was 2.5 per cent. This jump took place on top of an increase in the previous month of 4.8 per cent.

The advance in the "controlled" food group was not as great as in the "uncontrolled." In the month ending July 15 the price increase in "controlled" foods was .3 per cent.

This small advance is, however, merely the forerunner of a much bigger jump in a few days or weeks. Last week, Henderson allowed the manufacturers of 400 to 500 grocery items an increase in their price ceilings.

Henderson estimated that as a result of all these factors, the next period will be one of rapid increase in food prices, with the probability that "uncontrolled" food items may reach a point, in a year's time, 30 per cent higher in price than at present.

## Expected to Issue Executive Order Around Labor Day

Aug. 26. — President Roosevelt was reported this week to be completing his plans for the issuance of a program that would block wage raises for the overwhelming majority of the workers in this country. He announced on August 25 that he would publicize his order in a nation-wide radio address "sometime around Labor Day," and that a message would be sent to Congress at the same time. He also said that he did not think there was time for legislation to carry out the new steps he proposes, which would indicate that he intends to put his proposals into effect by means of an executive order.

Although Roosevelt added that the new program is still in the talking stage, reports from Washington have indicated the broad outlines of the program. What is probably meant by "the talking stage" is a reference to Roosevelt's desire to get the leaders of the organized labor movement to accept his new proposals before he issues them. AFL President William Green and CIO President Philip Murray have been summoned and are scheduled to meet with Roosevelt today to discuss their acceptance of the program.

According to reports, Roosevelt's plan includes two main points:

1. The adoption of the War Labor Board's "Little Steel" formula. Under this, the nation's wage earners would be prohibited from receiving wage increases of more than 15 per cent over their wages as of Jan. 1, 1941. In practice, as recent WLB decisions based on this formula show, this would mean no or virtually no increases for the majority of the organized workers as most of them, by their strike and union struggles early in 1941, have already received a 15 per cent increase in wages.

Of course, the new proposal — like Roosevelt's "anti-inflation" program of last spring — includes a promise to permit adjustment of "substandard wages." But, according to James Wechsler of PM, this would refer only to workers receiving less than 47 cents an hour.

2. The establishment of a super-board of government officials to rigidly enforce control of wages. This body would have authority not only over wage disputes which are at present given to the War Labor Board, but over all wage increases, including those made "voluntarily" by employers.

Green and Murray are expected to raise some verbal objection to the Roosevelt plan, and to suggest that instead of an all-government body, a board of labor, industry and government representatives be set up to combat inflation.

Workers must be on guard against another surrender by their union leaders, who have given up labor's rights one after another every time Roosevelt demanded it of them. Roosevelt's latest plan, presented in the name of a fight against inflation, would have practically the same effect as freezing of wages which the employers have so long demanded and the unions so vigorously denounced. The living standards of all the workers for the duration of the war may depend to a large extent on what happens to Roosevelt's proposals. The rank and file of the trade unions should let both their official leaders and the administration know that they won't stand for it.

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# New York AFL Leaders Attack The Indian Masses

By ANTHONY MASSINI

Contemptible is the mildest word to describe the resolution on India which was introduced by the leaders of the New York State Federation of Labor and adopted by the annual convention of that body meeting in Rochester last week.

In the form of a message to be sent by radio to the people of India, the resolution differed in no important respect from the attacks on the present struggle for Indian independence which fill the editorial columns of the most reactionary capitalist newspapers in this country.

Although some delegates had recommended that the convention support the Indian fight, the AFL leaders ordered their resolutions committee to insist on the adoption of the resolution that was finally passed unanimously.

In this resolution the well-paid labor lieutenants of capitalism took it upon themselves to denounce and slander the downtrodden masses of India—who daily face British bullets, floggings and jails—for daring to seek independence from their oppressors:

### "Ill-Timed and Ill-Advised"

"The New York State Federation of Labor, representing 1,500,000 organized workers in the State of New York, sends fraternal greetings to the people of India and urgently appeals to them to abandon the ill-timed and ill-advised civil disobedience campaign, which cannot but injure India's own rightful cause."

This echo of the British Tory arguments—which of course always deny that struggles for independence are well-timed or well-advised or in the interests of the colonial people—then goes on to express "dismay at tactics unfriendly to the cause of the United Nations" and brazenly presumes to claim that this "dismay is shared by the overwhelming majority of Americans."

But of course to send the Indian people a message today, which said only this, would be a complete waste of time. A little pro-independence window dressing was needed to cloak the outright reactionary purpose of the resolution. And so the message continues:

"We, the workers of America, have never

condoned imperialism. We have never defended it. And we do not defend it now."

As one proof of their sincerity in this profession, the AFL leaders declare: "We are glad, and we are proud, that our brothers in the British Trades Union Congress have taken a stand against imperialism and for an independent India—a reference to the hypocritical declamations on paper by their brother bureaucrats in Britain who not only defend imperialism, but also condone the Tory government's bloody repression of the Indian masses."

As a second proof, the resolution adds still another after-the-war promise to the multitude of promises which have already (along with more substantial bullets) been hurled at the Indian people:

"We pledge to you that at the hour of our victory, we shall do everything in our power to help you realize your rightful claim to independence."

### A Threat Against India

And to reinforce this promise, the AFL leaders—who oppose the struggle for independence now, when the British are not in as good a position to suppress the Indian masses as they will be if Britain wins the war—make an unmistakable threat against the Indian people:

"Today we are at war. India's position is not a question of principle but of geographic and military reality."

"We, and all the free peoples of the world, are engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the Axis. There must be no misunderstandings between us, The workers of America, and the American people as a whole, stand solidly behind President Roosevelt in iron determination to fight this war anywhere and everywhere circumstances should make it necessary. We are committed to destroy the Axis, and we shall not stop, and we shall not be stopped until we have carried this war to a successful conclusion."

In other words, say the AFL bureaucrats, don't be deceived by our talk about "fraternal greetings" and "anti-imperialism." If your struggle for independence gets in the way of our masters' war, and if they call on us to do so, we are fully

prepared to join in crushing your struggle.

Having thus cleared up any possible misunderstandings, the resolution comes to an end with some more advice and lecturing:

"We, the workers of America, urgently appeal to you, for your own sake, not to play into the hands of your enemies. Do not prodigally throw away your own cause, or compromise the cause of China and all the peoples of Asia, by indulging in ill-advised obstructionist tactics which can only alienate India's true friends..."

That the AFL leaders took such a position at their convention should not be surprising to those who are acquainted with the role of labor leaders in the present period.

They were only extending into the foreign field the lackey services which they perform for capitalism on the home front.

Their shameful denunciation of the Indian struggle and their support to British imperialism

## CP Whitewashes AFL Resolution On China

Rivalling the dirtiness of the resolution on India adopted by last week's convention of the New York State Federation of Labor was the version of it reported by the Stalinists.

After reporting the convention's passing of a "compromise" resolution on the second front, The Worker of August 23 says: "A further expression of the convention's war consciousness (!) was the statement it approved for a short-wave broadcast to the people of India, supporting their fight for independence, condemning imperialism, and calling for an end of the civil disobedience movement."

Why do the Stalinists feel it necessary to thus whitewash the pro-imperialist, anti-Indian independence stand of the convention? Because it was passed unanimously—and that includes the comparatively large number of Stalinists who were present as delegates.

is cut from the same cloth as their denunciation of militant struggles by the American workers and their class collaboration with the American bosses.

Isn't it perfectly logical for those who follow a no-strike policy at home to follow a no-struggle policy in the colonies, for those who preach submission to the bosses in the name of a "war for democracy" to preach submission to the imperialists in the name of the same lie?

Without question this resolution pleased the reactionary American press. The men who run the N. Y. Times found it so like their own attacks on the Indian people that they reprinted it in full.

Similarly, the British imperialists must have appreciated the passage of the AFL resolution. It is not often that they can get international labor endorsement for their colonial murders, and they will undoubtedly find it useful as propaganda to quiet those British workers who are disturbed about the policy of repression.

No less gleefully must the resolution have been greeted by the Axis imperialists. They too will find it useful in their propaganda—they will offer it to the Indian people as proof that the American labor movement opposes the independence for India which Japan and Germany pretend to support, as evidence that the United Nations are not fighting for democracy. Thus they will be aided in their task of confusing many Indians into supporting the Axis.

But the resolution will be rejected with the contempt it deserves by the Indian people. If they are not deceived by the Crippens nor intimidated by British repression, the Indian masses will be neither fooled nor frightened by the lies and threats of the fat-bellied Judases and white-skinned Uncle Toms who are no more "true friends" of India than they are defenders of the genuine interests of the American working class.

As for the members of the American labor movement, including those millions who built the AFL, we have no doubt that they will be able sooner or later to make their own voices heard, and that what they will have to say on the Indian struggle will have no resemblance to the disgraceful resolution passed last week in Rochester.

# The Crisis In Detroit Housing

### The Workers Have Gotten Many Promises But No Action from Government Officials

By LARISSA REED

## REWARD

Are you moving? Will pay \$20 for information of desirable 4-room house in Northwest section available to family of 3, by Sept. 10. Phone. . .

This extraordinary advertisement, appearing with variations and with increasing frequency in Detroit newspapers, sharply reflects the unparalleled housing distress in this city. The *Detroit Free Press* of August 17 declares: "The Detroit housing mess... is something out of Alice-in-Wonderland, with admixtures of migraine and overtones of delirium tremens. It isn't possible that it's as bad as

it is; but all that close examination reveals is that the situation is even more appalling than it seemed. And that, although it should be impossible, it grows worse daily."

An occupancy rate of 85% is considered the danger point, yet Detroit today has a city vacancy rate of less than one percent. War workers are living in tents, trailers, shacks and firetraps, and "sleeping in rotation in places jammed to the eaves."

This situation has become a national scandal. The N. Y. Times of August 8 reports that city agencies in Detroit are no longer able to cope with the housing shortage. There just isn't such a thing as a place to rent in Detroit.

Charles F. Edgecomb, director-secretary of the Detroit Housing Commission declared, "Money and price simply have no meaning. There is a steady stream of persons, mostly in family groups, coming to the Welfare or Housing offices daily from the parks where they have squatted in desperation, unable to find homes. Others have moved into vacant store buildings and converted factory lofts. . . We now have reached the stage where, whenever possible, we are furnishing these people with railroad fare and sending them back where they came from."

SITUATION FORESEEN  
Despite official clamor for more war production, these war workers are being driven from the city because of a shortage in housing! This situation did not come as a surprise. It was foreseen by all responsible persons well over a year ago, when it became evident that tens of thousands of war workers would migrate to Detroit to man the huge war plants already under construction at that time. Seven months ago the *Detroit News* wrote regarding the Ford Willow Run bomber plant, that it was "the greatest single story structure in the world, adjacent to the greatest airport in the world, the giant 4-towered B-24 Consolidated h.o.m.b.e.r.s. . . Straight line assembly has been worked out with a detail that represents the apex of inventive genius. But plans for housing and transporting the workers who, with their families and those who are to supply their needs may total 1,000,000 persons before the year's end, are virtually non-existent. It is an appalling story of shortsightedness, official impotence, back-passing and private ax-grinding. . . The influx of migrants has started. Overcrowding of all housing facilities is reaching a dangerous stage, according to health authorities. . . And plant construction and equipment are still months from completion."

STILL WAITING  
In this same article, the *Detroit News* pointed out that on July 1, 1941, two months after the ground was broken for the bomber plant, the Council of Defense had appointed a committee to study the Willow Run area and report on requirements. To date "it is still awaiting that report."

City, as well as Federal, officials were fully aware of the approaching housing crisis. Early in February 1942 the Mayor's Committee on Defense Housing emphasized immediate need for a tremendous program of housing. This city committee recommended that 65,000 new dwellings be built in the next 15 months in the Detroit industrial region and the immediate construction of a city for defense workers near the Ford bomber plant at Willow Run. This project was to be built by the government, including at least 20,000 permanent dwelling units immediately, as well as schools, paving sewers and other utilities.

County officials issued warnings regarding the health dangers attendant upon overcrowding which would result from the housing shortage. Otto K. Engelke, Director of Washtenaw County's Health Department, declared that "the most serious measures are instituted at once, before the full tide of migration sets in, we are due for trouble. We can certainly expect epidemics, chiefly typhoid, and increase in tuberculosis. Failure to dispose of garbage will

breed rats and flies, notorious carriers of disease. The chance of isolating those with communicable disease is slight, since hospital facilities in this area are wholly inadequate."

UAW-CIO PROPOSAL  
The powerful UAW-CIO, foreseeing these conditions, early initiated an energetic campaign to obtain the necessary housing accommodations. On November 14 of last year, it was announced in Washington that "President Roosevelt has endorsed a UAW-CIO proposal for creation of a 10,000 home 'Defense City' in the Detroit area to house defense workers in a model community."

This proposal, stated the *Detroit News*, "far outreaching any defense housing program suggested previously anywhere in the country. . . to be built on the most modern type of city plan, would have approximately 30,000 inhabitants. It would be located, the union proposed, in the area between Detroit and Ypsilanti, to relieve the housing shortage developing because of the Ford bomber plant at Willow Run, expected to have 70,000 employees when operating at capacity next year. The union proposed that the model community be owned by its residents and built by money borrowed from the Federal government. It would have complete municipal facilities with a civic center, parks and recreation facilities. UAW official Walter Reuther. . . predicted that 'Defense City' could be completed within one year."

ROOSEVELT'S PROMISE  
President Roosevelt made public a plan of approval for the plan: "I am very much interested in the proposal advanced by the UAW for 'Defense City,' a community of 10,000 dwellings to be located in the Detroit industrial area, and to be operated and managed under the Mutual Home Ownership Plan. I am instructing the responsible Federal Housing agencies to survey the possibilities of 'Defense City' and submit the results of their findings for my consideration at the earliest possible date. Please be assured of my interest in making this housing proposal a reality. . ."

It is now almost a year since Roosevelt publicly declared that he was interested "in making this (UAW) housing proposal a reality." But nothing has been done to make it a reality. Neither has anything been done about all the other plans, proposals and resolutions to build the necessary houses for war workers, who continue to pour into the city at the rate of about 5,000 families a month.

In this same period while virtually nothing has been done about providing housing accommodations for the workers, the big capitalists have received every cooperation from federal and local authorities to rush through to completion their magnificent million-dollar plants, equipped with the finest of machine tools, provided and paid for by the U. S. Treasury. The big corporations got the plants; the workers got the promises. Why?

(Subsequent issues of THE MILITANT will carry other articles by Larissa Reed on the Detroit housing crisis and the run-around given the UAW plan.)

# WHY we Defend The Soviet Union

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Pioneer Publishers  
116 University Place  
New York City

# SWP Meetings Honor The Memory Of Leon Trotsky

## New York

NEW YORK — Two hundred and fifty people attended an inspiring Trotsky Memorial meeting here last Friday night on the second anniversary of the assassination of the great revolutionary.

Recalling Trotsky's life work and teachings, Albert Goldman, the main speaker of the meeting, told how the founder of the Fourth International had consistently put forward the only program for the defense of the Soviet Union. Goldman explained that only the struggle for the revolution, in Germany and Europe, plus the removal of the Stalin bureaucracy by the Soviet masses, can guarantee the victory of the USSR. In a stirring address Goldman showed how Trotsky's revolutionary optimism had already been justified by the heroic struggle of the Soviet masses and the fight for freedom of the Indian people.

Jules Geller indicated in his speech how the developing revolutionary events in India could set the colonial masses into action against world imperialism. He reminded the audience of Trotsky's prediction that the present war would produce the greatest crisis of world imperialism and touch off the flame of colonial revolt.

### \$215 DONATED

Appearing in the name of Natalia Trotsky, Rose Karner asked for funds to continue the work of building the Socialist Workers Party. The audience responded magnificently with donations totaling \$215. The following telegram was sent to Comrade Natalia, with the unanimous approval of the audience:

"In the name of over 250 New York workers gathered here to commemorate the second anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky we renew our pledge to you, Comrade Natalia, to carry out the priceless heritage of his program. An appeal in your name brought over two hundred dollars for the party. Thus we re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle with full confidence that the workers of the world will build the greatest monument to his memory: the socialist society."

The hall was appropriately decorated with slogans, pictures and a bust of Leon Trotsky by the sculptor, Duncan Ferguson. The meeting opened with the singing of the Workers Memorial Hymn and ended with The Internationale. George Grant, organizer of the New York Local of the S. W. P. acted as chairman. Every aspect of the meeting—the attendance, the collection, the sale of literature and the serious attitude of the audience—was a demonstration of the indestructibility of the ideas and the party of Leon Trotsky.

Numerous Trotsky Memorial Meetings, other than those reported in this space, were held throughout the country last week. But reports of these meetings had not been received by the time this issue went to press.

## Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Seventy-five workers filled the Socialist Workers Party hall at 232 So. Hill Street here last Friday night in order to honor the memory of Leon Trotsky, assassinated by Stalin's GPU two years ago. The two speakers were Janet Bowers, L. A. county organizer, and Murry Weiss.

Comrade Weiss devoted much of his speech to a contrast between Lenin's and Trotsky's way of defending the Soviet Union and the methods of Stalin's bureaucracy. "Let us speak the truth as Trotsky taught us to do," said Weiss. "The first workers' state is in mortal danger! Nothing but the revolutionary action of the masses in Europe and Asia can turn the tide and save the Soviet Union."

"With piercing clarity he forecast the assault of German imperialism. Over and over again he tirelessly warned against placing faith in flimsy alliances. Again and again he showed that the only true ally of the Soviet Union was the revolutionary proletariat. . ."

As against the base chauvinism of Stalinist propaganda, which includes hatred and blame for the German people, and which is totally devoid of any revolutionary appeals to the people of Europe, Comrade Weiss recalled that the causes for the successes of the infinitely weaker and more exhausted Red Army that drove back the imperialist intervention troops in 1919 and 1920, lay in the internationalism of the Bolsheviks. "Trotsky inspired and organized the Red Army to fight not only for the defense of the Workers' Fatherland—but for the world socialist revolution."

"Herein lay the power of the Red Army under Trotsky. It appealed in the language of revolutionary international brotherhood to the worker and peasant soldiers who were hurled against the Soviets."

Comrade Bowers, interpreting the life of Trotsky, said: "He was one of those rare individuals who lived his entire personal life completely and wholly as a part of history. . . Events that would have crushed an ordinary human being, the growth of the terror bureaucracy on the young body of the workers' state, the insidious disease of Stalinism permeating the proletarian movement, the spread of fascism

throughout Europe, couldn't touch Trotsky for he lived with history—all of it—not merely one terrible but passing phase of it. While he was personally persecuted and hounded by reaction, he coldly and scientifically diagnosed the disease and patiently began again the tremendous job of reorganizing our class for the new battles."

The meeting voted to send a telegram to Natalia Trotsky which concluded: "We are heeding the last words of Comrade Trotsky to 'Go Forward!'" The meeting ended with the singing of The Internationale.

## Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — Fifty members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party gathered in the Minneapolis headquarters Friday evening to commemorate the second anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky, great revolutionary teacher and leader.

Lydia Beidel of Chicago delivered the commemorative address. V. R. Dunne was chairman. The meeting was sponsored by the Minneapolis and St. Paul branches of the Socialist Workers Party.

The bourgeois intellectuals like to depict the struggle between Trotsky and Stalin as a duel between two power-hungry individuals, Comrade Beidel said. Their class narrowness and prejudice prevent them from admitting that the struggle is in reality one between Marxism and Stalin's revision of Marxism, a struggle between the revolutionary progress of the masses and the attempt to hold them back from revolution.

Comrade Beidel traced the history of the Red Army, contrasting Trotsky's successful revolutionary propaganda to the imperialist armies of Allied intervention with the failure of Stalin's reactionary nationalist propaganda today.

"Wherever the bosses turn the heat on the workers, there is generated a party of Trotskyism," the speaker said. She called the attention of the audience to the developing struggle of the masses in India. She told of the revolutionary program of the Fourth Internationalists in India designed to liberate the colonial masses, and of the role of Stalinism today in acting as a policeman for British imperialism.

The meeting closed with the singing of the Internationale. A collection of \$56 was taken. The gathering sent a telegram of greetings to Natalia Trotsky in Mexico. The Minneapolis headquarters was attractively decorated for the memorial meeting. Pictures of Lenin, Trotsky and Marx adorned the front of the hall. A copy of the bust of Trotsky by the British sculptress, Claire Sheridan, was displayed, together with many of Trotsky's writings.

## Chicago

CHICAGO, August 21 — Workers from leading Chicago industries were among the participants at the well-attended meeting held here tonight to honor the memory of Leon Trotsky on the second anniversary of his assassination by Stalin's GPU. The meeting was sponsored by the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

The main speaker of the meeting was Art Preis, who described the revolutionary life and ideas of Trotsky. The audience responded enthusiastically to the speaker's report on the growing influence of the program of Trotskyism throughout the world, in all the warring imperialist countries, and in India and the other colonial nations which are beginning to rise up against imperialist exploitation.

A message was adopted by the meeting to be sent Natalia Trotsky in Mexico, expressing revolutionary solidarity and pledging to work and fight without stint for the realization of international socialism, for which Trotsky lived and died.

As an act of international solidarity with the Fourth Internationalists everywhere, the meeting took up a collection to aid the revolutionary socialists in Europe and the colonial countries.

## Flint

FLINT, Mich. — The August 21 meeting of the Flint branch of the Socialist Workers Party heard a review of Leon Trotsky's life, struggles and principles, and voted to send the following telegram to Comrade Natalia Trotsky:

"Flint Michigan branch greets you on this occasion for commemorating the living thoughts of Comrade Trotsky and we pledge ourselves to carry out his last words, 'Go Forward!'"

## Newark

NEWARK, N. J. — "What Is A Revolution?" was the title of Felix Morrow's address at the Trotsky Memorial Meeting held in Newark on August 21. The meeting, attended by more than 40 people, most of them industrial workers and trade unionists, sent greetings to Natalia Trotsky in Mexico.

After reviewing the events since the assassination of Trotsky, Morrow showed that the Trotskyists throughout the world, basing themselves on the principles of the Fourth International, had continued the socialist struggle for which Trotsky lived.

For the rest, the speaker told of Trotsky's activities and fighting qualities which will serve as a model to the younger generation, and will steel all revolutionists in periods of reaction.

## Corporations Get 20 Billions In Profits This Year

The fraud of President Roosevelt's "equal sacrifice" program was revealed this week when Leon Henderson, OPA head, estimated that corporations this year would reap 20 billion dollars worth of profits.

According to Henderson's estimate, profits in the first year of United States participation in the war would be four times as much as in 1939, and double the profits of 1940.

Henderson's figures differ slightly from those of the conservative Treasury department, which estimates that the corporations will amass 17 billions in profits this year.

By either of these figures it is clear that big business is getting fat on the war.

While more taxes are being paid by the corporations, that does not eliminate war profiteering. According to Henderson's estimate, even with a 75% tax on their income the corporations would still get a billion dollars more in profits than in 1939.

Henderson's figures do not take into consideration the huge hidden profits given the corporations by the government, which is building and turning over to the corporations huge plants worth tens of millions of dollars.

The trend of wartime economy is clear: more profits for the bosses, a clamp on wages for the workers.

## FOOD COSTS MORE IN HARLEM

Housewives in Harlem are forced to pay 6 cents more on the dollar for food than housewives in other parts of the city. Not only do Harlem retailers systematically overcharge, but they also palm off inferior goods for the high prices they exact. These facts and other evidence of price discrimination against the Negro people are offered in a pamphlet, "Food Costs More In Harlem," issued last week by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The pamphlet charges that the Office of Price Administration—by letting the retailers freeze these discriminatory prices at the high March levels—has set its stamp of approval on this gouging of the Negro people not only in Harlem but in all communities where Negroes are segregated.

den profits given the corporations by the government, which is building and turning over to the corporations huge plants worth tens of millions of dollars. The trend of wartime economy is clear: more profits for the bosses, a clamp on wages for the workers.

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PIONEER PUBLISHERS  
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**The Negro Struggle**

By Albert Parker

**A Statement On the Negroes and India**

On the whole, the Negro press has not thus far devoted anywhere near the amount of attention to the present struggle in India that it deserves. There have been a few short articles and some editorials, chiefly on the arrest of Gandhi and the other Congress leaders. Some papers have pointed out the difference between the talk about democracy and the treatment of the Indian people. But generally speaking, the Negro papers have not come out with a sharp, clear stand on the Indian fight.

Why this is the case on the part of the individual important Negro weeklies, it is difficult to attempt to explain. Certainly their present silence or brevity does not jibe at all with the detailed and decisive statements most of them made before the beginning of the civil disobedience campaign now in progress.

**NEGROES SUPPORT INDIANS**

Nor does it conform to the sentiments of the great mass of Negroes, most of whom show an intense interest in the Indian struggle and express only warm sympathy for the Indian fighters.

Least of all does such a treatment of this problem serve the interests of the Negro struggle for equality in this country. As we pointed out in this column last week, the arguments raised by spokesmen for British imperialism against the Indian struggle are similar in all basic respects to those voiced by the defenders of Jim Crowism against the struggle to end racial discrimination in this country. The Negro people can and should defend their own interests in this country by taking an uncompromising stand on behalf of the fight for Indian independence. Plainly enough, a Negro paper which does not take a clear stand on this question, now that the Indian struggle has reached a crucial stage, is not in a good logical or moral position to attack those former "friends" of the Negro people who remain silent on the present Negro struggle because there is a war on.

**RANDOLPH STATEMENT**

In contrast to most of the Negro press was the statement made last week by A. Philip Randolph on behalf of the March on Washington movement which he leads. Although this statement is open to considerable criticism, as we shall show below, it is significant as the statement of a Negro whose position of leadership in the Negro movement depends upon his expressing, even though in distorted form, the aspirations and sentiments of the rank and file. The statement began as follows:

"The March on Washington movement hails the militant, noble and persistent struggle of the people of India for freedom and independence from the brutal tyranny of Great Britain. "Negro people of America, the West Indies and Africa should support this grim, determined and courageous battle for freedom under the gallant, wise and dauntless leadership of Mohandas K. Gandhi for they constitute one of the great oppressed and exploited sections of the darker races of the world, seeking their liberation from ruthless British imperialism."

With this part of the statement we are in practically complete agreement. We think that it expresses the sentiments of the Negro masses.

**GANDHI-RANDOLPH SIMILARITY**

(Our single objection to this part of the statement would be to the characterization of Gandhi. We fully support the struggle now going on in India, even though for the time it is under the leadership of Gandhi, and we oppose the British jailing of Gandhi, but we have no illusions about Gandhi, who has often placed himself in the leadership of Indian struggles in the past only to call them off at the decisive moment and to compromise and surrender to the British rulers. In this respect, Gandhi is like Randolph who also has often placed himself at the head of Negro struggles only to call them off in return for a shabby compromise, as he did last year when he called off the March on Washington. It is one thing to support the struggle which is being led by Gandhi, it is another and a different thing to spread illusions about him.)

There are other parts in Ran-

dolph's statement which are also substantially correct. He urges Negro organizations to adopt resolutions demanding the freedom of India, to demand the freedom of the Congress party leaders, to send expressions of sympathy to India, etc.

**RANDOLPH'S APPROACH INCORRECT**

But while Randolph takes a much more positive stand on behalf of the Indian struggle than has been taken in any other Negro statement we have seen, it is nevertheless unacceptable. For Randolph sees the Indian struggle for independence from Great Britain as part of Great Britain's war against the Axis, and he wants Negroes to appeal to Churchill for India's independence on the grounds that this would be in the interests of Britain.

Randolph thus puts himself in the position of trying to tell "ruthless British imperialism" what is the best way for it to conduct its imperialist war. To this Churchill and the other representatives of Indian oppression would probably reply, "Thank you, but we know how to best conduct our war and protect our imperialist interests."

**BRITAIN WOULD RATHER LOSE WAR THAN COLONIES**

The British imperialists are fighting this war to be able to maintain their hold over the colonies. So far as they are concerned, there would be no sense in fighting the war at all if they have to give up colonies like India to win it. Their conduct of the war in Malaya and Burma shows that they would much prefer to lose India to Japanese imperialism than to lose it to the Indian people, because they feel they have a better chance of getting the colonies back from their rival imperialists than they would of getting them back from the colonial people. That was why the British agreed, while they were negotiating the surrender of Singapore, that "1000 British troops would remain in Singapore City to maintain order until the Japanese Army completed occupation." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 16, 1942.)

Those who really want to support India's struggle must understand the contradiction in which Randolph and all other supporters of the imperialist war find themselves. In this struggle you are either for India fighting against Britain, or for Britain fighting against India. You cannot be for India on the ground that its freedom will aid the interests of British imperialism any more than you can be for British imperialism in this struggle on the ground that its continued domination of India will aid the interests of India.

**NEED FOR CLEAR PROGRAM**

We have nothing in common with those who spread this kind of confusion — and Randolph is by no means the only one who does. It is undoubtedly this same contradiction in which Randolph is involved that is responsible for the way in which the Indian struggle has been handled thus far by the Negro papers, most of which are also committed to support of the imperialist war.

As for us, we do not see any community of interest between the slaveholder (British imperialism) and his slaves (the colonial people.) Those who tell the masses that the way to end slavery is by appealing to the reason of the slaveholder, and telling him that it is in his own interests to free the slaves, will never lead the slaves to freedom. On the contrary, by such a course they only guarantee the continuation of the slaveholder's power.

With this viewpoint we are sure the mass of the Negro people will agree. They know what oppression is from their own experiences, and they hate it, whether it is imposed by fascist or "democratic" oppressors. Just as they correctly place the interests of the Negro struggle in this country above the interests of the imperialist war, so too will they support the struggle of their Indian brothers and sisters, regardless of the false arguments of those who want to preserve British imperialism. And those who try the impossible task of reconciling the interests of imperialism with the interests of the masses,

# Trotsky's Message - Socialism Is The Only Road For Humanity

## Extracts from Albert Goldman's Speech at the New York Trotsky Memorial Meeting, August 21, 1942

Two years have elapsed since Stalin, through his agent Jackson, succeeded in achieving his most cherished ambition within the last two decades, to remove Leon Trotsky from the realm of the living. By virtue of this murder future generations will consider Stalin as having committed the greatest single crime ever committed against the working masses. For he deprived them at this critical moment in the history of mankind of the one man who, were he alive, might have been the factor which means the difference between victory and defeat for the socialist revolution.

We can be truly grateful that the forces of history did not permit Stalin to commit the murder until our teacher had succeeded in explaining to us the causes that led to the degeneration of the Soviet Union. Had Stalin been able to take Trotsky's life 15 or so years earlier, the chances are that we would have had to wait many years before someone would arise to furnish us with the correct explanation of the causes that led to the rise of a regime in the Soviet Union which constitutes a denial of everything that we believed and hoped would come out of the greatest revolution in history.

The Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union was the rock upon which many a dream and hope were shattered. People were unable to understand how a socialist revolution could give rise to a government that destroyed freedom for those who had devoted their lives to socialism, that utilized the foulest methods to bring discredit upon the leaders of the October Revolution. And many became disheartened and gave up the struggle for the ideal of socialism. How could a socialist revolution give rise to a regime which based itself on nothing but lies and terror?

Trotsky wrote and explained and we read and understood and continued the struggle. Many gave up the struggle; many even saw or pretended to see in capitalist democracy the true hope of mankind. What utter self-deception! To behold in a regime that is rotten and dying the possibility of solving the ills of the world!

But those who did not want to retire from the struggle accepted the explanation of Trotsky and the result is that we are here tonight meeting under the auspices of an organized group, mourning for our teacher but determined to carry on the struggle regardless of consequences until victory crowns our efforts, until the ideas of Trotsky are realized.

What would have been Trotsky's message to the workers of the Soviet Union now that the event he predicted and warned them against has come to pass, the attack of Hitler on the Soviet Union? What would have been Trotsky's message to the workers of England and of this country? I am as certain as I am of standing on this platform that in substance it would have been the same as the message that the Socialist Workers Party presents through its press and speakers.

Naturally, with his great genius he would have illuminated the scene much better and would have penetrated much more deeply into the events transpiring before our eyes. But the essential message would have been the same.

To the workers in the Soviet Union he would have said: Fight on, fight on! Guard with your lives the conquests of October, even under Stalin. The Soviet workers are indeed following that message. How else can we explain the heroism of the Red Army except on the basis that they understand what they are fighting for?

The Soviet workers would not suffer and die on the basis of Stalin's appeal to them to remember the Russian heroes of old, the heroes of the Russian landlords; they are enduring indescribable torture only because they understand that a victory of Hitler means a return to capitalist exploitation with a fascist covering. They are sustained in their struggles by memories of October even though Stalin is doing his best to destroy those memories.

Trotsky's message would not have ended with an appeal to fight to the death and neither does our. The more desperate the crisis, in the Soviet Union becomes, the greater the necessity for the overthrow of the Stalinist regime. The situation has reached a point where almost no matter what happens, the conquests of October are in danger of destruction. That goes without saying if Hitler is victorious. But it is also exceedingly likely even if the democratic imperialists succeed in defeating Hitler. For by this time the destruction in the Soviet Union is so vast that Stalin will be compelled to beg his allies for aid and his capitalist allies will give aid only on condition of economic concessions. Stalin has already given vital political concessions and he will not

# WORKERS' FORUM

**The Case of Major Horace Dodge**

Editor:

Equality of sacrifice is indeed a noble and lofty thought. That the rich and the poor, the high-placed and the lowly, should together, without distinction, fight shoulder to shoulder, is claimed to be the essence of true democracy!

However, in the very nature of things, a perfect balance is rarely achieved, and sometimes it appears that the poor and the lowly are called upon to carry more than their share. That this is not always so is shown by the courageous conduct and sacrificing attitude of Horace E. Dodge, wealthy playboy, member of one of America's 60 families, on whose case the Detroit press has shed a little light.

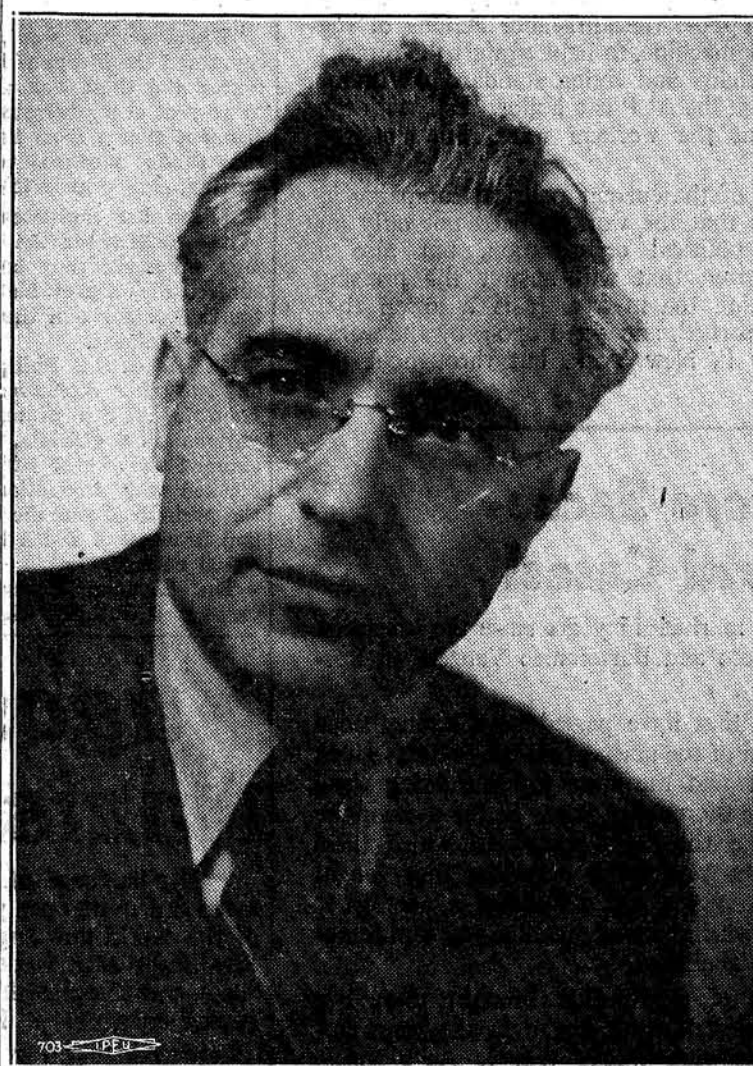
Heretofore, Horace's contribution to the welfare of his country has been to spend lavishly of the millions left to him by his Auto Baron father and to regularly change his wives. Now, overcome with the desire to do his share, he has answered the call to the colors and been commissioned a Major! Stationed in Washington, D. C., it is reported that he is a "specialist." Just what this is, I do not know, but

the papers admit he never had any military training before. At any rate, his duties must be considered a military secret, since they have not been divulged, despite many queries by newspapers.

Horace's training suits him admirably for such a high military post. Having many times faced the heavy barrage of divorce lawyers, this cock-tail lounge commander is surely the stuff from which leaders of fighting men are made!

But the supreme joy of leading men into battle is to be denied our hero and herein lies the quality of his great sacrifice. The thrill of the bugle sounding at the crack of dawn, all this Horace must forego. Denied the privilege of serving in the frontlines, Major Dodge will have to content himself with the headlines. But dutifully, as a real soldier should, he bows to this without protest.

Surrounded by his staff, the Major bears with great fortitude the harsh conditions of military life in the Capitol, according to the press. Together with his aides at G. H. Q. located in the swank Wardman Park Hotel, the day-to-day strategy is outlined. Prepared for any emergency, his



ALBERT GOLDMAN

hesitate to grant economic ones.

A third possibility is a separate peace between Stalin and Hitler. I do not consider it very probable, but there is a distinct possibility. In that case Stalin becomes Hitler's henchman and under the guidance of Hitler, Stalin will proceed once more to build socialism in one country—this time in a much smaller country, perhaps only in Siberia. But since Stalin has never indicated that the building of socialism in one country depended upon its size we may presume that, with Hitler's permission, he will renew his efforts to achieve his utopia regardless of how much territory he has to experiment with.

If ever a theory has been tragically refuted, it is the Stalinist theory of socialism in one country. It was exceedingly difficult even for Trotsky to convince people of the absurdity and criminality of that theory. It took Hitler to confirm in practice that socialism is possible only on a world scale and that a country in which a socialist revolution has occurred cannot hope to build a new socialist society without the extension of the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries.

We have not heard nor read a single word coming from the Stalinists or their sympathizers in defense of the theory of socialism in one country.

In the last analysis it is that theory which is responsible for the defeats of the Red Army in spite of its heroic struggles. The only weapon that can save the Soviet Union is incompatible with that theory. It is the weapon of revolutionary propaganda, a weapon that can be used only by people who believe and who have faith in the world socialist revolution.

It is evident that in a prolonged war the industrial superiority of Germany guarantees it a victory over the Soviet Union. The young Soviet Republic was saved by the German Revolution in 1918. It was not a proletarian revolution—the Social Democratic leaders saw to it that the revolution remained within the limits of capitalist property relations. Nevertheless that revolution saved the Soviet Union. And only a proletarian revolution in Germany or England or the United States can once more save the Soviet Republic.

It is this factor that makes it absolutely essential for the Soviet masses to rid themselves of the Stalinist regime. Under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky the Soviet masses can be victorious but never under the banner of Stalin, a banner of treachery and betrayal.

If Trotsky were alive it would be not only his message that would count. Stalin understood and feared the possibility of a movement among the Soviet masses, in case of serious military reverses during a war, to demand the return of the leader of the Red Army victorious in the days of the Civil War. There are millions of workers in the Soviet Union who remember well the inspiring leadership of Leon Trotsky in the years of 1918 through 1920, when the Red Army fought heroically and defeated its enemies.

In these dark hours the thoughts of millions of Soviet work-

## INDIAN PEASANTS NEED WORKERS AID

(Continued from page 1)

mittes and to proceed with the division of the land.

The Indian peasants are looking to the proletariat in the cities to give them guidance and leadership. The most backward Indian peasant knows that the only ones who supported the Rus-

sian peasants in their demand for the land and in their struggle against the landlords and the Czarist regime were the Russian workers.

This is the first time in history that the working class is being called upon to assume the leadership of an agrarian revolution in a colonial country. The scope of this revolution is likewise unprecedented, involving as it does the bulk of India's population of 400,000,000.

The Indian workers possess an important advantage in that their ties with the village are still fresh. They have at their disposal the recent lessons of history, above all those of the Russian and Chinese experiences. Once the Indian peasantry becomes imbued with the conviction that the workers are prepared to fight with them to the end, no power on earth will be able to withstand the onward sweep of the Indian revolution.

It is reliably reported that Horace is determined to "go all out" for the war effort. It must be apparent by now that when it comes to sacrifice — the Major is in a class by himself. And it is just this fact that the millions of men from the factories and fields who make up the army are not likely to forget.

B. G.  
New York City.

ers, as they are confronted with defeat under Stalin, would inevitably have turned towards Trotsky. The demand for his return would have been the rallying slogan of the political revolution against Stalin. The tyrant within the Kremlin walls feared that very thing and that is why he was so anxious and determined to murder Trotsky before the Soviet Union was involved in war.

But the message of Trotsky would not have been limited to the Soviet workers. Above all he would have appealed to the English and American workers in whose hands lies the fate of the working masses and of humanity. They still have their organizations; they have not been defeated; they are powerful and vigorous.

They see only the foreign enemy; they have their eyes glued on Hitler whom they dread. They are right in fearing him, but they must understand that the capitalists in their own countries do not have the same kind of fear of Hitler. They are afraid of Hitler because he represents the rival capitalists of Germany, eager to grab the colonies and wealth now in the possession of the British and American capitalists. The American and English big business people are not worried about a possible fascist regime in their countries. In fact, whenever it becomes necessary for them to have such a regime, they will try to bring it into existence.

The American and English workers must learn that so long as the capitalists control the economic life of their nations, so long will the war of those nations be an imperialist war. A defeat of Hitler's armies will not defeat fascism in England or the United States. What can and will defeat fascism the world over is a workers' government in England and in the United States. A workers' government taking control of all industries can appeal to the colonial masses and above all to the German masses.

The message of Trotsky, which is our message, would be: Workers of England and the United States, you are now fighting in a war which is only in the interest of your big capitalists; take the government into your own hands; take the industries away from the capitalists; proclaim your determination to build socialism. And the masses all over the world, including Germany, will rise against their Hitlers and Mussolinis. You will then win the war against all the exploiters of the world. You will have peace and security. There is no road to peace and security other than the road of socialism.

How long will the war continue with its terrible destruction? What will be its outcome? We cannot be certain about the answers.

We are sure of this. Capitalism has reached a stage where it can offer nothing but wars and fascism and all that these imply. The masses must take their fate into their own hands and begin the building of a new society. Knowing this the advanced workers have no alternative except to continue the struggle for the liberation of the working masses. And this struggle can be victorious only under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Even if the worst should come we shall continue the struggle. Individuals may get tired but the masses cannot and will not cease to struggle. Hitler cannot solve the problems of society if he is victorious; Churchill and Roosevelt cannot solve those problems if they are victorious. The struggle must go on.

If the Soviet Union should be destroyed it will constitute a terrible blow. But even now, the fires of revolution are being lighted in India. Those fires may be dampened in one part of the world but they cannot be extinguished everywhere. We doubt the willingness and ability of Gandhi and Nehru, representing the capitalists of India, to wage a struggle to the end. But we have faith in the Indian masses. If they do not have the proper leadership now, they will have it in the future. Although the Indian struggle for independence is not the social revolution which we call for, it is nevertheless, even under Gandhi and Nehru, a struggle against imperialism and we support it.

The Indian masses and the masses everywhere will learn in the school of bitter experience that victory is possible but only under the banner represented by Trotsky. At present only a handful mourns the loss of our great teacher. But as the struggle of the masses develops, they will learn about his life and teachings.

Just before he died Leon Trotsky told us to "go forward." He did not mean, he could not have meant, that our path will be straight and smooth. More than anyone else he understood what great difficulties confront us. But he understood that by struggle we can overcome those difficulties. There will be defeats but also victories.

Guided by his teachings, inspired by his life, we shall proceed to spread his message, confident that ultimate victory belongs to the exploited masses. Under the banner of Trotsky the masses will march towards socialism and will achieve peace and security.

## DEFENSE POLICY in the MINNEAPOLIS TRIAL

- 1—A Criticism by Grandizo Munis
- 2—An Answer by James P. Cannon

The policy of the defense in the historic trial of 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO is analyzed and discussed from two points of view in this clear and illuminating polemic on Marxist principles and propaganda methods.

This pamphlet will be of especial interest to all who have read the two other Pioneer Pamphlets on the trial — James P. Cannon's "Socialism On Trial" and Albert Goldman's "In Defense of Socialism."

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## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

## What's Wrong With The ALP

Wartime conditions have made it mandatory for the workers to find a means of political expression and struggle. Issues confronting the workers which formerly were in the main fought out on the economic level are now lifted to the political plane.

Disputes between labor and management tend to become disputes between labor and governmental boards and agencies. Every basic problem faced by the workers — even such elementary problems as wages, hours of work, and the speed-up—must now be fought out not only with the individual employer but with the whole political apparatus of the Roosevelt war machine.

Under the impulse of war, moreover, workers are of necessity looking beyond their immediate economic demands to the more general political questions of the conduct of the war, its aims and its outcome.

The New York workers, living in the metropolitan center of the country, are among the most politically advanced sections of the working class. The American Labor Party of New York, therefore, could be the most potent force for independent labor political action in America. That is why, in the current gubernatorial campaign, the politically advanced workers throughout the country have followed the actions of the ALP with the closest interest. In the current state elections the ALP could well have started the American workers on the path towards a national independent labor party.

But what did the ALP leaders do? These political pygmies have once again demonstrated themselves to be only the camp followers of the Democratic Party of Roosevelt.

This year, more than ever before, they have succeeded in making the Labor Party an object of scorn and ridicule instead of the inspiration to the American workers that it could be.

In the current New York gubernatorial campaign, the ALP leaders announced in advance that they would support the pro-Roosevelt James Mead, if he were nominated by the Democratic convention. They threatened that if he or some other Democrat approved by Roosevelt were not nominated by the Democratic convention, they would run an independent candidate.

The Democratic convention nominated John J. Bennett, an anti-Roosevelt tool of Farley. The ALP leaders' answer was to nominate a candidate of their "own"—Dean Alfange, a Tammany Hall Democrat. This was the limit of their "independence."

The *N. Y. Times*, crowing over the ludicrous picture presented by the ALP, stated in an editorial on August 25:

"A man who had wandered into Saturday's Labor Party convention by mistake would have been excused for thinking that this was not a separate political party, but simply a dissatisfied faction of the Democratic party."

The bosses themselves have nothing but contempt for their political servants in the working-class.

The shameful course of the ALP leaders in this campaign cannot be dissociated from their whole

past record. The workers of New York supported the ALP because they were dissatisfied with the policies of the capitalist parties and wanted an independent organization to combat the policies and candidates of the old parties. But the ALP leaders, while capitalizing on the desire of the masses for a separate labor political organization, have opposed the adoption of an independent and militant program designed to meet the needs of the workers.

Such a program in and of itself would dictate an independent role for the ALP. But as long as the ALP adapts itself to the program of Roosevelt, it cannot logically put up an independent fight. To meet the problems of the workers it is necessary to oppose the anti-labor actions of the Roosevelt war machine, to fight against the attacks on workers' rights and living standards. Without such a program the ALP is a hollow shell, with the form of what the workers want, but not the substance.

The lesson of the current political campaign in New York is that the workers need not only an independent political organization, but also a fighting program that will answer the pressing problems facing the masses. It is a lesson that should be absorbed, and acted upon, by the workers not only in New York, but throughout the country.

## No More Sacco-Vanzetti Cases!

August 22 marked 15 years since the execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in Boston.

The years that have passed have strengthened the conviction of the masses that the pretexths given by the court and the state for murdering these two men were thoroughly false. In the eyes of the capitalist class the real "crime" of which these two anarchists were guilty was that they fought the capitalist system and advocated a new order of society in which class oppression, war and hunger would be abolished.

The chain of events that brought these two men to the electric chair began in the years immediately following World War I. As a consequence of the war, country after country witnessed revolutions against the social system which had brought the masses years of death and suffering.

The first of these revolutions took place in Russia where a workers' and peasants' government was established; in Hungary the workers held power for several months until the imperialists crushed them; the German workers made a revolution that drove the Kaiser out but did not succeed in taking power in a socialist government because of the treachery of the social-democratic leaders. The spirit of revolt encircled the globe and manifested itself in "riots" in Japan and a movement for national liberation swept India.

The American ruling class were in a frenzy of fear that the socialist ideal would grip the American masses. Their way of preventing this was a drive to imprison thousands of militants. And they did not forget their favorite weapon: the frame-up.

Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested, charged with having committed a holdup and murder. The case against them was the flimsiest possible. Felix Frankfurter (now Supreme Court Justice), Osmond Fraenkel and other lawyers clearly showed that Sacco and Vanzetti were not guilty. The protests of millions of workers and farmers, and even members of other classes who maintained some regard for the truth, went unheeded.

The ruling class would not give up its victims. On August 22 the switch was pulled and Sacco and Vanzetti died.

Fifteen years have passed since that day and now a new war is raging. As a consequence of this war the working class will have new victims. The hate and fear of the capitalist class is greater now than it was in the last war. Since the last war the ruling class feels much weaker and for that it is more desperate.

If one can judge by the will of the master class, there will be thousands of Saccos and Vanzettis arising out of this war where the last war saw individuals.

In the arrest, conviction and sentencing to imprisonment of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and leaders of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO on December 7, 1941 we saw a manifestation of persecutions such as marked the last war when socialist leaders headed by Debs were imprisoned.

The American working class wants no more Sacco and Vanzetti cases. In order to assure this, the capitalist class must be stopped now in its attack on labor and civil rights. The way to begin this job is by supporting the 18 in their appeal against the conviction.



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# Nelson Fires Aide For Exposing \$1-A-Year Men

(Continued from page 1)  
gan-U. S. Steel groups did not want to jeopardize their own investments.

The present war crisis has not in the least modified the attitude of the big corporations. Relating his recent experiences, Lindahl said:

"Wherever we went, we encountered the Morgan-U. S. Steel forces and these had the power to prevent every private and government source from handing us the funds pledged to us in written, signed undertakings."

Nelson has consistently come to the defense of the \$1-a-year men whenever they became the subject of unfavorable publicity for their efforts in the interests of big business.

On March 14, Philip Guthrie and two other executives resigned from the WPB in protest against various WPB officials. The three claimed that these officials had blocked war production because the pocketbooks of the industries and firms from which they came would be hurt.

The Truman Committee investigated Guthrie's charges and

found them true. Nelson, in order to defend the dollar-a-year men setup, tried to have the Truman Committee's report suppressed.

In a statement on August 22, Nelson asserted that he was going to dismiss some of his aides in a "housecleaning." Up to now, however, the only heads to roll have been those of persons who exposed the corporation influence on WPB policies.

Libbey's own middle class "remedies" for the situation are unworkable under the present economic setup. He proposes that the entire steel industry, large plants and small plants, be treated as "one great national unit so far as placing war orders is concerned." In other words, he asks the large corporations to let the smaller corporations in on the war profits.

Since the large corporations control the WPB now there is no hope that Libbey's proposals—which are against the interests of the large companies—will be accepted.

Any WPB setup, even if completely without representatives of the big corporations, would still

have to deal with the steel corporations. The corporations would be able to wield decisive power by their economic strength. A program to which the large steel corporations did not agree would be doomed to failure in advance. The large corporations will agree and cooperate only with a program in their own interests. Only through a decisive social change, the removal of the capitalist ownership of the steel industry, would it be possible to organize the steel industry as a whole and secure full potential production.

In summary: The big steel corporations are determined, war or no war, to keep their control over the industry. They are having the government finance new plants for them, while no possible competitor can receive aid from the government.

The proposals of the middle-class reformers shatter against the wall of large-scale corporation domination of production. Only through the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of socialism can planning and full-scale use of the productive capacity be realized.

# Yugoslav Masses Fight Nazis And Mikhailovitch

The language of the revolution is beginning to be heard more and more openly in the actions of the oppressed millions of this world now engulfed in the second imperialist slaughter. Significant news is penetrating the double wall of fascist and "democratic" censorship relating to the developments in the occupied countries in Europe, especially Yugoslavia.

For some time now the capitalist press of the "democratic" imperialists has carried glowing reports of Yugoslav resistance, the leadership of which has been credited solely to General Mikhailovitch, Minister of War of the Yugoslav government. The program of this resistance has been reported as being purely the chauvinistic program of the Chetniks.

REPORT FORMATION OF SOVIETS

The truth is that another kind of struggle has been unfolding: insurgent workers and peasants of Yugoslavia are fighting not only against the German and Italian conquerors but also against their native exploiters. The peasants want to drive out the landlords and to divide the land; the workers are supporting this struggle of the peasantry and are advancing their own program of the proletarian revolution. These revolutionary detachments have created Soviets and are obviously growing in strength and influence.

A report in the August issue of the *Fourth International* summarizes the developing situation as follows:

"The bourgeois press, which would like to portray the Yugoslav struggle as purely one in favor of the United Nations, nevertheless recently reported the establishment of a Soviet regime in the mountains of Montenegro under the leadership of the former professor of history at Belgrade University, the well-known progressive Dr. Slobodan Jovanovitch. Clashes between 'Communists' and Chetniks have been admitted several times, followed by reports of truces.

MIKHAILOVITCH'S CAMPAIGN

"This conflict seems to have grown recently. On July 18 a dispatch from Turkey announced that General Mikhailovitch had launched a campaign against Communist partisan bands accused of marauding Serbian and Bosnian villages in the territory controlled by the loyal Yugoslav armies. Shortly after, the Communist partisan bands were called 'bandits and looters'; this was followed

by a rather cryptic dispatch that General Mikhailovitch had begun anti-Communist repressions 'following assurances from Moscow that the partisans were operating independently and without the authorization of the Soviet.' Had it been really a question of 'bandits and looters' Mikhailovitch would scarcely have asked for authorization from Moscow to proceed against them.

"The real class character of the conflicting forces is clear. The 'Communist' partisan bands represent the poor elements of the villages, while the 'Chetniks' are the elements in the villages approximating Kulaks.

The class struggle between the two develops, wherever the German oppression is even slightly lifted by Serbian resistance."

"The Serbian movement shows us, though in limited scope, the revolutionary implications of the movement of resistance against the Nazis in the occupied countries. As a purely national struggle it has no independent value amid the battle of the imperialist giants. But it plays its part, in Lenin's words of 1916 about the national movements of that time, 'as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli, which help the real power against imperialism to come to the scene, namely the socialist proletariat.'"

# A Novel About The Slum Dwellers Of Chicago

NEVER COME MORNING, by Nelson Algren. Harper and Brothers. 284 pages. \$2.50.

Nelson Algren, Stalinist fellow-traveler, chooses the Polish-American colony of Chicago's northwest side as subject-matter for his present novel. The material should lend itself easily to the pen of a writer who sees social circumstance as the prime moulder of human psychology, provided the material is handled with scientific accuracy as well as emotional sympathy.

Especially at this moment would it be valuable for one with a revolutionary viewpoint to offer a study of the boys and girls who play their tragically meaningless roles in *Never Come Morning*. Here is the social stratum which spawns the raw material of fascism.

The *Raw Material of Fascism*

Here is a youth, born and bred in a large American city, for whom there never was a past and will apparently never be a future and whose present is a vicious, unenlightened struggle to "break the old monotony." Denied both education and steady employment, these young people can express their yearning for security and recognition only in terms of brutal physical domination of each other and in a shame-faced denial of all feeling of social responsibility and human sympathy.

The narrative concerns the strivings of a young Polish-American boy for pugilistic glory and the demoralization, degeneration and crime which spring from the soil of his environment, finally to destroy him through execution for murder.

The killing for which Lefty Bieck is arrested is the type of crime which makes up the normal pattern of life among the poverty-stricken and ignorant group of declassed youth who constitute a large section of our present civilization. The death of "the Greek" from a broken neck sustained when Lefty kicks him under the chin is an inevitable crime among youth whose sole entertainment comes through violence of greater or smaller degree; the fact that Lefty is the criminal is purely accidental in the social sense. Yet the modern tragedy of individual punishment for a social crime occurs once more.

So much for the theme, which is legitimate and important. Its execution at the hands of Algren is, however, ineffectual.

The action takes place against an indistinctly drawn background. The reader strives vainly to see the physical properties of the neighborhood in which Lefty and his gang live and senses very indistinctly the social forces operating to rob this youth of their opportunity to live. The reactionary influence of the Polish Catholic church and its parochial school system is, for example, entirely overlooked.

The characters are unreal and the reader is forced to conclude that Algren either never knew people of this type or, if he did know them, must have abandoned all scientific objectivity in their direction and romanticized them beyond recognition. Lefty, his gang, his girl and her prostitute associates — not one is a convincing character. They all behave like neurotic low-grade intellectuals, suffering from an assortment of queer mental conflicts. The result of this perversion is to conceal the actual threat against the labor movement raised by characters of this type.

An introduction written by Richard Wright, the author of *Native Son*, compliments Algren for the method he uses and aims an indirect slap at a possible revolutionary treatment by saying "A militant minority, shooting straight to the mark, would have drawn blueprints and cited chapter and page in a call for direct action." He implies that Algren's failure to make the biting social criticism which his material makes possible and necessary is evidence of strength. The claim might have been valid if the author had shown a keen, incisive and scientifically thorough insight into the facts with which he deals—the kind of insight shown by a Thomas Wolfe or a James T. Farrell. But Algren fails miserably also as a recorder of fact, and the reader must conclude that his refusal to offer a "blueprint" and cite "page and chapter in a call for direct action" springs simply from his rejection of or his inability to understand Marxian analysis and prognosis.

Algren fails in his literary portrayal of a disinherited section of society for the same reason that the Communist Party fails to organize it for action: because of an ignorance of the essence of Marxian analysis and a contempt for the application of revolutionary theory to actual life.

—Reviewed by Lydia Beidel

# Britain's Economic Interest In India

By HOWARD ALLEN

## Britain's Economic Interest In India

"We did not," said Lord Brentford, "conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know that it is said at missionary meetings that we have conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Britain. We conquered India by the sword, and by the sword we shall hold it." (Quoted by George Lansbury in the House of Commons, March 11, 1926.)

This is the true voice of British imperialism, confirmed by the history of the British in India during the past 300 years. Nevertheless, many people still think that England has actually been doing the Indians a favor.

The real truth is that England's economy is tied to the Indian economy with a Gordian knot. The British imperialists are convinced that to give India genuine freedom means economic death for English capitalism. Besides this fear there is the natural disinclination to give up control over a land which during three centuries has yielded an estimated 200 billion dollars to the English master class.

England has exploited India in several different ways. Through political control it robbed the people outright by means of forced contributions, direct taxes, and seizure of money and territory. It also forcibly destroyed Indian industries so that the masses would be compelled to buy English manufactured goods. Thirdly, it exploited the natives on its huge plantations and in its factories.

The following are examples of outright robbery: **Extortion and Taxes**

The "Investments." The investments were forced contributions of goods which were sent to England. In the House of Commons Report for 1783, the Investment was valued at nearly 1,200,000 pounds per annum. The Report stated that it was kept up by force even during the famine of 1770 which killed 10,000,000 people in Bengal.

The Red Sea and India Telegraph Company was formed in 1858. This British company was guaranteed a 4½ per cent profit by the British rulers. The telegraph line was in operation two or three days and then broke down. In spite of the fact that it was not put in service, the government in 1862 gave the company an annuity of 36,000 pounds a year for 46 years!

In 1857 the Sepoy mutiny occurred. Forced by inhuman and intolerable conditions to rebel against their British masters, the Indians were mercilessly crushed. All the expenses of crushing the rebellion—40,000,000 pounds — were foisted on the Indians by the British! In addition, the British charged the Indians for maintaining the British army of suppression. They even forced the Indians to pay for the expense of maintaining British troops in England for 6 months prior to their arrival in India!

The cost of wars in China and Abyssinia, the expenses of a ball in London given for the Sultan of Turkey, a lunatic asylum in Easing, British consular and diplomatic establishments in China, etc., were a few of the other charges made against the Indian treasury.

In addition, the Indian masses are weighted down with taxes on water wells, streams, cattle, grazing lands, forests, wood-chopping, land, marriages, births, deaths, hunting, salt, etc., etc.

The destruction of Indian industry by the British is best illustrated by the following:

"It was stated in evidence that the cotton and silk goods of India up to the period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent on their value or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not the prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset. . . They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitive duties upon British goods and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation." (Mill's History of British India. Vol. VII, p. 385.)

## Imperialist Super-Profits

After the bulk of Indian wealth had been drained off by more or less outright robbery, the British capitalists began to seek a field for investment of its surplus capital. Their profits from these investments were amazingly high. For example:

A gold mine at Marikuppam paid a bonus of 50 per cent on its share capital and averaged a 33 per cent dividend for over 50 years, in addition to enormous duties paid to the Maharajah of Mysore.

The Investor's India Year Book (1929-30) shows Tea companies which pay dividends of up to 225%.

According to Miss Vera Anstey in *The Economic Development of India*, 32 jute mills paid 100% dividends in at least one year between 1918 and 1927. During the same period 29 mills paid at least 20% each year and 10 mills never less than 40%.

The Year Book for 1928-30 shows that the Hooghly Mills Company paid an average annual dividend of 125% between 1918-28.

Coal companies in 1923 paid 150% in one case and 85% in two others; in 1931 one firm paid dividends of 57½% and one 80%.

"Central Provinces' Manganese Shares caused consternation in 1926," says Reginald Reynolds in his excellent book, *The White Sahibs in India*, "paying only 100% owing to Russian competition."

Mr. C. B. Sayer, formerly Secretary of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, estimated the total British capital invested in India to be 573,000,000 pounds. The tribute in the form of interest and dividends is enormous. In addition there are millions of pounds spent annually out of the Indian treasury for pensions, wages and furlough allowances for British officials.

According to Gregory Tyson in "Danger in India", "every fifth man in Great Britain is dependent, either directly or indirectly, on our Indian connection for his livelihood."

Who, in the clear light of this evidence, can blame the Indian people for placing absolutely no faith in the after-the-war promises of the British imperialists?