Workers Are Most Active Fighters In India Today

Resistance to British Oppression Is Strongest In War Production Centers

By Felix Morrow

The sessions of the Central Legislative Assembly of British India, which convened Sept. 14, have constituted a moral defeat for the British government. Virtually no one in the Assembly except government officials has defended, while one speaker after another has condemned, British policy.

This atmosphere is all the more remarkable when it is realized what precautions the British take in limiting the composition of the Assembly. Forty-one of its 145 members are civil service officials and others appointed by the government. The rest are elected under property qualifications which limit the electorate to little more than one million voters - about fourtenths of one per cent of the 300 million population of British India, Moreover the elections take place on a "communal basis," which reserves seats for landlords (7), commerce and industry (4), Europeans i.e., the British (9), Moslems (30). Even this hamstrung body has no powers, any action taken by it being subject to veto by the Viceroy.

Yet, such is the profound depth of the revolutionary ferment in India today, that even this Assembly has become the sounding-board for attacks on the British government and demands for independence.

The men who made these attacks all belong to the extreme right wing in Indian politics. Most of them have long been branded by the nationalists as betrayers of India's struggle for independence and agents of the British. If they now are moved to speak, we can well imagine what a fire is burning underneath them! Here are a few examples:

Statements of Non-Congress Elements

A. C. Neogy, member of the Nationalist Party, a right-wing split-off from the All-India Congress: "Churchill has been an inveterate enemy of India all his life. His latest utterance has alienated more Indians than any other British politician has ever done. Anti-government feeling was never stronger than at pres-

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, member of the rabidly anti-Congress Moslem League: "To ignore the Congress is a folly of the first magnitude. The Congress leaders should be released to negotiate with the Moslems. Churchill is a very funny fellow he says the Congress is a small group of unimportant men and thinks we will believe him."

M. N. Joshi, right wing trade union official: "The demand for independence is not alone a Congress demand, but a demand from the whole country. I am quite certain that every Indian in this assembly will agree that an Indian national government would raise an army of five or ten millions and intensify war production tenfold compared with what is happening now. The British Government has forgotten the lesson of Malaya and

Sardar Sant Singh, a traditionally pro-British Sikh leader: "Malaya and Burma were the clearest examples of the British attempt to fight on two fronts, one external and the other internal. India will be the same unless the British meet the Indian demand for freedom."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, former member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and long the butt of Nehru's attacks said, in a statement: "Mr. Churchill's claim that the Congress party does not represent the Indian people is not true. We wonder if it is sufficiently realized that apart from the Congress all other parties in India are now insisting that India's position as a free country should be declared during the war and that she should have a national government with liberty to organize her defense against Japan, with due reservations regarding defense in the interests of the country."

Attitude of the Independent Moslems

An especially important statement was that of the Independent Moslem Conference, which represents nine Moslem pa: ties and groups, including the followers of the Moslem Premiers of Punjab and Sind provinces; the Momins (a religious division within Mohammedanism) who number about 40 millions; another religious division, the Shiahs, who number about 22 millions; and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the organization of Moslem Divines (priests). The cabled dispatches did not carry this statement, (Continued on page 2)

Breitman Analyzes N. J. Primary Vote

Cites Results to Demonstrate Need for Workers to Form Independent Labor Party

By GEORGE BREITMAN Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U. S. Senator from

New Jersey.

NEWARK, N. J., Sept. 22. — The New Jersey primary elections were held on Sept. 15, and the Democratic and Republican Parties have nominated their candidates for the 15 Congressional and numerous state legislative posts to be voted on next November 3. The results of only a few of the Congressional primary contests were of interest or importance to New Jer-

The Democratic incumbent, United States Senator William H. Smathers, was unopposed for the Democratic nomination.

Smathers is the darling of alle factions of the party - the New Deal Roosevelt - Governor Edison group, and the real power of the party, the notoriously corrupt and anti-labor machine of Boss Hague of Hudson County. Although same attitude. Needless to say, consideration for many factors Hague and Edison still are at they both insist that the war is odds on some issues, they see eye to eye when it comes to the threat ther of them wants a discussion of a possible loss of a common source of patronage. The Stalinists are also supporting Smath-

The Republicans chose for their candidate as U. S. Senator the millionaire capitalist, Albert W Hawkes, who was national president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce last year and one of Roosevelt's appointees as employer member of the National War Labor Board. No one has ever accused Hawkes of being even "a friend of labor." Several workers with whom I collaborated five or six years ago briefly described him as "strike-breaker" during a strike in his Congoleum-Nairn plant at that time.

CHARGES OF "BUYING"

The labor fakers and the Stalinists will deny this, but there

is very little difference between these two candidates. On all the important questions of the day they have fundamentally the not an issue in the elections; nei- power and living standards of the of the paramount issue which determines all others. Consequently their attacks on each other are consideration. The fact that commost desperate efforts to find in price, have deteriorated in va-

most of it his own money, there are others who share this view. But why is Smathers so indignant? Didn't he buy his own nomination last spring by his efforts on behalf of Meany, Hague's candidate for federal judge? Is there some great principled difference between the buying of a Republican nomination with mo-

ney and the purchase of a Demo-(Continued on page 3)

THE MILITANT

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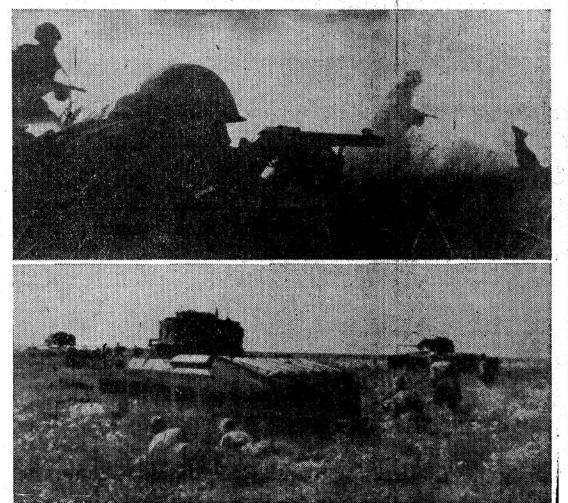
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NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1942

FIVE (5) CENTS

Senate Votes To Freeze Wages

Red Soldiers Fight Back



Through fields of grain, Soviet automatic riflemen are shown fighting back against the German attacks on the Southern front, before the German forces reached Stalingrad. Lower photo shows Red soldiers following tank attack. (Radiophoto for Federated Pictures.)

War Labor Board Undermines Fight For Better Conditions

Means No Raises

Wm. H. Davis, Chairman of the War Labor Board, revealed last week that the "Little Steel" for-1941 level, means freezing the wages of 75 per cent of the workers to the

Testifying before the Senate Banking Committee on September 15, Davis stated that if the Congress wrote the "Little Steel" formula into law, it would mean that 75% of wages would go no higher than they are now.

"If workers want more pay," he said, explaining how the "Lit tle Steel" formula works, "they must work overtime to get it." "Little Steel" formula, if applied universally which would allow increases for only 25% of the workers, even in those cases would not by any means give increases to compensate for increased living costs and maintain living standards.

OTHER IMPORTANT

The increased cost of living since January 1941 is computed by the government without any which undermine the purchasing

The effect of the new taxes on low incomes is not taken into reduced to mud-slinging and al- modities, which have not gone up lue and quality has been ignored. Smathers claims that he has It is a well known and widespread proof that Hawkes "bought" the practice for manufacturers to sell Republican nomination. Since goods of inferior quality and ma-Hawkes spent almost \$50,000 in terials at "ceiling" prices set for the primary campaign alone, and goods of higher quality. The constant pressure to buy war bonds has further reduced the workers' purchasing power.

> If the WLB formula were real y designed to maintain the workers' living standards and purchasing power at the January 1941 level, the workers would be entitled to far more than a 15% wage raise.

The truth is that the "Little (Continued on page 2)

Little Steel' Rule Grants Less Than 'Union Security' One-Third of GM Denied Workers

The War Labor Board on September 17 rejected the demand of the CIO United Auto wage increase in General Motors, and granted an increase of mula pegging purchasing only 4 cents an hour, less than power to the January, one-third of the union's original demand.

In a decision affecting over

The GM panel had proposed ny plant last June. that in line with the WLB's "Little Steel" formula a raise of 1.5 cents an hour be given to cover the difference between the 15% rise in living costs since January Monsanto Chemical workers in 1941, and increases won by GM workers since that time. An additional wage increase of 3.5 cents an hour was recommended to nar- alized, row the differential between the Ford and GM workers. The UAW ARBITRARY RULING had shown that there was a 6.7 and Ford wages.

But the War Labor Board turned down these proposals. The Board's decision rejected the principle that wage differentials in an industry should be wiped out. Such a principle would make it necessary to raise the wages of thousands of low-paid garment workers in the South, as well as in many other industries.

'MADE A MISTAKE"

grant the 4 cent an hour increase estimating that on the basis of the government. the "Little Steel" formula the GM workers were entitled to only 1.5 cents an hour, and ruled that they were entitled to 4 cents in-

The Chrysler and Ford work- board. This would further destroy ers' demands for dollar-a-day wage increases are still pending. It can be seen from the GM decision that these workers will be turned down by the WLB, and will be given very small increas-

The WLB granted the main- tion, delay the settlement of such tenance of membership clause to grievances by means of the endthe UAW in GM, with the em- less red tape and stalling of govployer members dissenting.

For Most Workers Unions' Demands Who Go On Strike

string the unions was tak-Workers for a dollar-a-day en on September 19 by This provision, in the main, is the War Labor Board. In the case of the AFL Fed. square deal, and is a safety valve eral General Chemical Workers Union of Buf-225,000 GM workers, the WLB falo, the WLB denied the flatly rejected the recommend- union any form of "union securations of the panel on the case. ity" because the workers had The panel had recommended five gone on strike for a few hours cents an hour general increase. at the General Chemical Compa-

> This is a repetition of the Board's rejection last month of a demand for a maintenance of membership clause made by the Everett, Massachusetts, on the grounds that the unions had gone out on strike and had to be pen-

The general policy has been cents differential between GM laid down by the WLB that no union which goes out on strike will be given a "union security" clause. This is an arbitrary ruling by the WLB not based on any legal rights. The right to strike nas not yet been taken away from the workers by law. But the rulings of the WLB make it illegal in effect, since it punishes unions by refusing union demands no matter how justified they may

This ruling will have the ef-The WLB therefore did not fect of encouraging employers to refuse to settle grievances, to igon the basis of closing the gap nore union demands in the plants, between Ford and GM wages. In- since any attempt by the union stead, the WLB stated that the to back up its demand with a panel had "made a mistake" in strike will result in reprisals by 1942, boasted Stalin, would be not

One of the aims of the War

Labor Board in this decision is over the Nazis. to force unions to channelize all plant grievances through the mediation machinery of the the independent function of the unions, and place them at the mercy of the government, which would rule not only on new contract demands, but on all the plant problems daily confronting the workers. It would, in addi-

In his authoritative dispatches from London Raymond Daniell ex-

Authorizes Roosevelt To Fix Wages At Sept. 15 Levels

House of Representatives Also Considers Legislation to Prevent Increases In Pay

By Joseph Andrews

Sept. 22-Although not all details of the pricecontrol legislation demanded by Roosevelt had been worked out, it was already clear this week that all major Congressional groups—both the supporters and opponents of Roosevelt—are united on the the Government Printing Office. freezing of workers' wages.

passed an amendment to the vious maneuver by the Senate Brown - Wagner resolution on to toss the hot potato of limits wages and prices, which au- on employers' incomes into Roosethorizes and directs Roosevelt to freeze wages, prices and salaries at the September 15, 1942, level. The amendment empowers Roosevelt to do this by executive order.

This amendment, for which all groups voted, stated that Roosevelt must act to freeze wages on or before November 1.

The Brown-Wagner resolution, which is now being discussed in the Senate and will be voted upon provisions for pegging wages at any particular level, but was a general authorization to Roosevelt to act. The amendment makes the September 15 date mandatorý.

TWO OTHER AMENDMENTS

Two additional amendments to Brown-Wagner resolution were passed in the Senate. One amendment provided that the President be empowered to adjust "gross inequities" in wages and prices, thus providing a certain leeway for Roosevelt to allow wages and prices to rise above the September 15 level in some cases.

The actions of the administration thus far, through the decisions of the War Labor Board, have shown that provisions to right "gross inequities" mean very little in action. Only the most minor concessions have Another step to ham- been made to this principle, which netted the low-paid workers very little in the way of pay increases. low paid workers.

The Senate also passed an amendment giving Roosevelt power to order reduction in salaries over \$5,000 a year or more where "gross inequities"

The Senate by unanimous vote exist. This amendment is an obvelt's lap. Roosevelt's proposal to limit incomes to \$25,000 received clear from Roosevelt's Labor Day speech that no serious action was ntended on this point.

THE HOUSE BILL

In the House of Representasimilar wage - freezing tives. legislation is under discussion. The House Banking committee has approved a bill substantially shortly, did not make specific the same as the Senate resolution. The House bill authorizes Roosevelt to fix wages and prices. It would, however, prohibit wage increases without War Labor Board approval, and instead of setting wages at the September Steel" formula, which freezes 1, 1941 level.

> There is little difference beween the Senate and House workers to present levels. The plained last week, when Chairman | will be affected in this field. William H. Davis stated that the

intended to lead the workers into the House and Senate, or within disguised rise in prices. thinking they are going to get a either house, there are still difagainst possible protests from pegging of farm prices, with the velt's ultimatum to give him

EFFECT ON PRICES

It is clear from the bills in- standards of the workers.

GovernmentOffice RejectsBargaining **Rights for ITU**

No employer in the country carries on such flagrantly antiunion activities as the biggest employer of all, the government. This was demonstrated last week when the delegates to the eighty-sixth convention of the International Typographical Union adopted a resolution embodying their grievances against

The resolution charged that the head of the Government Printing Office had denied its employees the legal right of collective bargaining; had "debased conditions" in that Office; had made Sunday a single-price work day little serious attention. It was in violation of the existing wage agreement; and had shown disregard of obligations to recognize the ITU under pretext of being compelled to grant government printing contracts to the lowest bidder.

> "Labor's friend" in the White House has made no comment.

troduced, and from the actions of Congress thus far, that while legislation governing wages will be drastic, prices will not be as effectively pegged.

Congressional spokesmen, according to the N. Y. Times, 15 level, adopts the "Little admit that even, according to the provisions of the Senate resoluwages to 15% above the January tion, farm prices would undoubtedly go up from 3 to 5% above the September 15 level.

Other loopholes appear in the proposals to peg wages. Both proposed price-fixing structure. oills would freeze the wages of For example, there is no authe overwhelming majority of the thorization to peg the prices on public utilities, such as electric House bill, which applies the light and power, and railroads. 'Little Steel" formula, does not These prices directly affect the provide more leeway for wage cost of living. But on the grounds increases than the Senate bill. that only the states can deal with The real significance of the this problem, Congress has thus 'Little Steel" formula was ex- far signified that no price fixing

In addition, the proposed price formula would freeze 75% of the fixing measures will not effectively curb the tendency to lower While there is no important the quality of consumer goods difference of opinion on the question of freezing wages between prices," which amounts to a

Congress has generally inferences on the question of the dicated that it will bow to Roose-"farm bloc" holding out for great powers over wages and provisions to allow price in- prices. The primary aim of this power will be to force a greater burden onto the backs of the workers and to slash the living

London Denies Promise Of Second Front In '42

June Agreements Are Dismissed As Matter Of Poor Phraseology

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Stalin promised the Soviet great." people that one of the chief boons of his diplomacy and his alliance with the "democratic" imperialists would be the opening of the second front in 1942, and that this would safeguard the Soviet Union.

When the Roosevelt-Churchill-Molotov agreement was signed last June, the Kremlin assured the Soviet people that this constituted the greatest defeat yet suffered by Hitler and that Hitler's fate was sealed. The year only the year of the opening of the second front but also the year of the definitive Soviet victory

It now turns out that the whole business of the second front in 1942 is, after all, only a misunderstanding. It all depends on how one interprets a certain phrase in a diplomatic document. Moscow interprets it wrongly, says Lon-

for the immediate opening of a second front read into it the prom- into Soviet propaganda in the

ise of an invasion of the Continent this Summer while those who are less easily swayed by Soviet Masses Help emotions, analyzed it as possibly meaning that the Russians had Would Come Now been convinced that, urgent as

latter interpretation, however, has been proved wrong by the expres- cially entered the controversy. sions of disappointment emanat- Meanwhile, the N. Y. Times and ing from Moscow because Allied the metropolitan press in general armies have not yet landed in have sided with the Churchillian France." (N. Y. Times, Septem- "interpretation." The Daily Work-

MATTER OF PHRASEOLOGY?

bility for the "misunderstanding." | guage of the statement is unmis-According to Daniell, the phrase takable, etc. etc. - but not a in question was "coined in the word about Roosevelt's role in United States and Mr. Churchill, the matter. more given to Elizabethan language than Mr. Roosevelt, apparently thought that there was a petter way of saying the same thing. It is understood that he this revolting spectacle of secret telephoned to the White House to diplomacy at work? suggest what he regarded as more felicitous phraseology..." And so demonstrates the real attitude of forth and so on.

sisting more and more openly fate at all. The heroic struggle of hat it is not a question of feli- the Red Army enters into their citous phraseology at all but strategy only in so far as blows rather that of a pledge that has are dealt to their rival, German not been fulfilled. The same imperialism. It is no skin off their

"There is beginning to creep hausted in the course of the strug-

Stalin Promised the

press and on the radio the suggestion that the Russians have been let down by their allies." Daniell goes on to add: "This (N. Y. Times, September 17.) Washington, has not yet offi-

er is howling that this is all the work of "appeasers" and "Munichmen," that there can be no possible misunderstanding of what London disclaims all responsi- was agreed upon, that the lan-

REAL ATTITUDE OF DEMOCRACIES

What is the real meaning of

Stalin's allies to the Soviet Union. Meanwhile the Kremlin is in- They are not concerned with her "Those here who are agitating Daniell reports from London that: back if the Soviet Union is ex-

(Continued on page 2)

Corporation Officials Named To Key WPB Jobs

By C. Charles

ness has on the War Production Board, as well as on the government as a whole, was once more clearly shown last week.

1. Charles E. Wilson, president of the General Electric Company, was appointed vice chairman of the WPB on September 17. Wilson is a dollar-a-year man, According to Donald Nelson, Wilson will be "top production authority in the war program." President Roosevelt hailed the appoint-

2. The new head of the steel Hiland G. Batchellor, president of strengthened in the future. the Alleghany-Ludlum Steel Corporation of Pittsburgh, appointed on Sept. 18 by Nelson.

3. Because he took seriously his job as head of the small business section of the Department of Justice and fought the bootleg market in steel as well as monopoly control of patents, the large corporations forced Guy Holcomb to resign from his post on

THE RECORD OF GENERAL ELECTRIC

the resignation is a story both follows: interesting and instructive.

The General Electric Company is one of the 56 corporations which have secured 75% of all war orders. It has figured tives of labor, on the ground that in turn forced Holcomb to reprominently in recent exposes of the steel expansion program is sign. national and international monopolies and cartels.

patents on tungsten carbide, the panies, through their representabest and cheapest metal alloy tives in the iron and steel branch for use in cutting tools, GE has are responsible for this state of maintained a profitable monopoly, affairs solely because of a Prior to the war, the world market for tungsten carbide was divided through agreement between GE and IG Farbenindus- it has been pointed out that 99% trie, the large Nazi chemical trust of the expansion program has has kept the production of tungsten carbide at a low level.

The profits that were garnered by GE through its monopoly can tween 1928 and 1942 GE maintained a price on this vital war material of between \$200 and \$453 a pound. When threatened by anti-trust action, GE lowered the price to \$48 a pound. The alloy costs \$6.50 a pound to

POWER SHORTAGE

number of new power house projects because of lack of raw materials

Nevertheless, according to evitrust division of the Department widespread use of fluorescent second front. lighting. Fluorescent lighting uses from one-half to one-third the power consumed by the further reveals how desperate is present incandescent lamps.

The wide use of the better and cheaper lamps would hurt the income of the power companies, opened immediately, then by next with which GE is bound by spring "we may have to face a numerous connections such as hundred or two hundred veteran interlocking directorates, patent and hardened enemy divisions in agreements and financial hold- the West instead of thirty or forty

GE is also accused by the Department of Justice of joining with eight other companies to send out identical bids on the sale of wire and cable to the

'Little Steel' Rule Means No Raises For Most Workers

(Continued from page 1) Steel" formula has been delibercurb on wage increases and to freeze purchasing power to a low level, under the guise of a fake promise to see that increasing living costs are met by increased

ROOSEVELT'S PART

tells us to stop."

Most of the big International unions have made protests against the "Little Steel" formula. But none of the top officials has dared to admit that this antilabor formula has the approval of President Roosevelt, Davis, in his testimony, flatly pointed out who is behind the formula, when he said, "We are going to apply that principle until the President

This statement clearly reveals that every anti-labor ruling of the WLB, turning down the justified demands of the workers, has been made with the full agreement of the President who controls the WLB.

The hold that Big Busi- Donald Nelson Forces Critics of Dollar-A-Year Men to Resign

Navy. The bids were always exhorbitant. Huge profits were

The General Electric Company resignation of Guy Holcomb. together with the Corning Glass Works and a Netherlands concern \$47,000 for violating the Sherman agreement to keep up the price to check up on the existing supof light bulbs.

Yet Donald Nelson appoints the president of this firm to head ment, saying he was "very hap- the war production program. This can only mean that the large corporations' profits-first-and-always and iron branch of the WPB is policies will be continued and

> STEEL AND THE CORPORATIONS

This is the chain of events that led to the appointment of Batchellor:

On August 18, Frederick Libbey, a consultant engineer for the iron and steel branch of the the WPB was fired from his post on the pretext that he had allowed the nature of a report to become known to a newspaper. In began hunting for the once this report Libbey had mildly criticized the policies of the iron Behind the appointments and and steel branch of the WPB as

War Production Board, is currently under fire in the Truman son wrote a letter to the head Committee and by representa- of the Department of Justice who largely of benefit to a small group of big and well-established Through its control of the companies, and that these comdesire to keep control of the steel industry after the war."

"In support of this reasoning To maintain its monopoly, GE | been alloted to six big companies who are represented in the iron and the government as a whole.

> PUNISHED FOR TELLING THE TRUTH

However, that this did not mean swiftly and efficiently. any change in basic policy is other dollar-a-year man who remains in the saddle!

ness circles as his predecessor.

Donald Nelson is not only appointing representatives of the big corporations to key positions on the WPB. He is also taking care that no rebellion against the big corporation control of the WPB will raise its head. This was exemplified by the forced

On September 7, Drew Pearson revealed in his column, Washingwere recently fined a total of ton Merry Go Round, how Donald Nelson had vetoed a plan on the anti-trust law in a monopoly part of the Department of Justice plies of steel.

The scheme was to have a simultaneous surprise investigation of the warehouses of the prominent steel corporations. It was thus hoped to force the release of hoarded steel and strike a blow at the market in steel. Donald Nelson got wind of the plan and exploded: "It would have had a disquieting effect on industries operating under the

war efforts.' The Justice Department did not carry out its surprise investigation.

Somehow word of the illuminating incident and Nelson's role in it got out and was reported by Pearson. The WPB sleuths responsible for telling the public of what had happened. According to the investigators of the WPB, Holcomb was the "guilty" per-"The branch and through it the son. Holcomb and Drew Pearson deny the charge, However, Nel-

THEIR "CRIME"

Helcomb thus joins Libbey and other officials who have felt the heavy hand of Big Business.

They fought not in favor of a real workers' solution of the problems of war production, but rather in favor of small business. Still, their efforts and words dividual be permitted to earn facts about the large corporations and their hold on the WPB,

every round. It is determined to a man having an income of \$100;guard its hold on the profitable | 000 will still retain \$32,000. An war industries. For them, the war The outcry following the oust- is above all an opportunity for will retain \$60,000; another ing of Libbey forced the dollar- greater profits and expansion. having an income of \$1 million, a-year head of the Iron and steel Anyone who gets in the way will after paying all taxes, will have branch, Reese Taylor, to resign. be dealt with as heretofore:

Heads of the departments may clear in the appointment of an come and go but Big Business

London Denies Promise Promise gress. power shortage. The War Production Board has cancelled a Of Second Front In '42

(Continued from page 1)

will move only when it suits their dence brought out by the anti- interests and not those of the USSR. Their war is not the war of Justice, GE together with of the Soviet people. That is one Westinghouse and one other firm of the reasons why we Trotskyists conspired with more than 100 have constantly warned against power utilities to prevent the the trap and the illusions of the

> The Kremlin's propaganda around the "broken pledge" the situation of the USSR. The Daily Worker threatens cautiously that if the second front is not second-line troops which now face us in Europe." (Daily Worker,

Hitler can withdraw a hundred or two hundred "veteran and hardened divisions" only if the Soviet Union is no longer in the war by spring, that is, only if Hitler either crushes the Red the Kremlin. The Daily Worker makes its point clear enough!

September 19.)

The Sept. 18 N. Y. Times also hints at similar developments: We have to face the fact that the old distrust between Russia and the democracies has not vanished." And the editor goes on ately worked out to put a drastic to suggest that Stalin should be told "that the splendor of Russia's battle for freedom has ended forever any wish or possibility that her interests will be sacrificed during this war or afterward.'

WHAT STALIN IS DOING

The Kremlin is perfectly aware that its clamor around the second front will not help materialize it.

Trotsky's Last Work MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on the IMPERIALIST WAR and the PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York City

5 cents per copy

But this clamor does serve to exempt. The failure to plug this gle or goes down altogether. They shift the responsibility for defeats special privilege will cost the on other shoulders; it prepares treasury over \$200 million. the necessary alibis and at the same time clears the road for a possible shift in policy. Stalin is always in need of alibis!

When the "People's Front" policy was shipwrecked at Munich, Stalin told his dupes that he was "betrayed" by the democracies. When the Stalin-Hitler pact blew up in his face, Stalin charged Hitler with "betrayal." And now, apparently it is Churchill and Roosevelt who are again "betraying"!

Stalin is destined to leave the nistorical arena discredited in every sphere of activity. His bankruptcy in the military field is as clear today as his bankruptcy in the field of diplomacy.

It should now be equally clear Union that Stalin's policies and taxes which they will pay during leadership cannot safeguard the 1942. This reduced the net Soviet Union but can only bring revenue of the bill by \$875 milabout its complete destruction. A lion. With this reduction, the bill different policy and a different Army or negotiates a peace with leadership are needed. We repeat lion, over \$3 billion short of the again, there is still time! It is still not too late to return to the policies of Lenin and Trotsky, the policies of working class struggle the necessary revenue to meet the for socialism.

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'Nothing Left But Pulp' If Present Tax Bill Passes

could provide himself and family.

"The Senate Committee has

proposed a so-called 'Victory

5 percent of all incomes in excess

as does a sales tax. It is not a

progressive tax that bears more

heavily upon the people better

able to pay. It provides simply

that all people should pay a 5

"Even with this camouflage

of the original treasury goal of

for post-war refund of \$875 mil-

lion to corporations. After mak-

ing all these reductions, the tax

"To make up this loss, ex-

emptions for married men were

for single men from \$750 to \$500:

\$300. In addition this 'victory tax'

pointed out that the tax bill is

so harsh on low incomes that

there would be 'nothing left of

the little man but pulp if this tax

ate Committee at this writing has

not yet concluded its delibera-

tions on the bill, and possibly by

"It must be noted that the Sen-

bill were adopted.

the treasury request.

\$8.7 billion in new revenue.

The new tax bill being con- curtail the amount of food and sidered in Congress places such clothing a low-income person heavy burdens on the masses that Senator LaFollette has VICTORY TAX IS SALES said there will be "nothing left TAX IN CAMOUFLAGE of the little man but pulp" if it is adopted. Because this tax bill is going to hit almost every worker in the country, we reprint below excerpts from an of \$624 a year. The 'victory tax' article in the September issue is nothing more than a camouwhich gives the history of the tax the same effect upon consumers

PROFITS RISE 400%

After pointing out that the 942 profits of companies and corporations will be 400% above the profits of 1939, the article states: "The original Treasury tax

proposal called for the enactment

the Treasury \$8,700 million in evenue. However, the House Ways and Means Committee reported out a tax bill which would raise some \$21/2 billion less than this sum: This loss in revenue was due to the refusal of the House Committee to plug existing loopholes in our tax structure. The refusal to block these loopholes and special privileges cost the Treasury over \$600 million. The refusal to make more effective the estate and gift taxes cost the government \$316 million. The House of Representatives refused to enact adequate taxes upon corporations. In this field, the House fell short by \$760 million of raising the amount of revenue requested by the Treasury. By refusing to increase individual income taxes upon high income people, the House cut the receipts for the Federal Treasury by an additional \$355 million.

\$25,000 INCOME LIMIT RULED OUT BY CONGRESS

"The House of Representatives has flatly refused to consider the the support of CIO, that no inhelped to unveil some very true more than \$25,000 a year. Revenue amounting to \$184 million could be raised if this salary limitation were made effective. Big Business has thus won However, as the bill stands now,

individual with a \$500,000 income \$93,000. Those few individuals getting into the \$5 million bracket would have \$350,000 left after all

"The \$25,000 limitation asked for by the President has certainly

"Many individuals have incomes of over one-half million dollars, from tax-exempt securities, which under the present bill is tax

"These reductions in revenue plus others, have resulted in the House passing a tax bill that falls \$21/2 billion short of raising the nevenue requested by the Secretary of the Treasury.

TAX BILL

EMASCULATED "When this tax bill, as passed

by the House of Representatives, came before the Senate Finance Committee it was further emasculated so that by now one would recognize few of the original features recommended by the Treasury 7 months ago. One of the first things the Senate Committee did was to provide for a post-war refund to corto every thinking worker and porations on a certain percentage sincere defender of the Soviet of the corporate and excess profit would now raise only \$5,400 miloriginal Treasury proposals. "The Senate Committee, realiz-

ing that it was this far short of Treasury's program, began casting around for other types of taxes they could enact. The most logical one which fell upon the minds of the Senators was the sales tax.

"The sales tax, as everyone knows, causes more hardship to the low income people than it does to any other group. As a matter of fact, the sales tax would not in the least affect the living standards of high income people, but would drastically

IN HARLEM

The Militant can be bought at the following newsstands:

Northeast corner, Lenox Ave. and 135th St., Northwest corner, Lenox Avenue and 125th Street.

Meat Monopolies Create **Artificial Shortages**

When the proposed meat rationing plan is put into effect in the United States in the near future, there will be many thousands of perplexed house-Tax.' This victory tax will take wives, accustomed to a much lower standard of living, who will wonder how they can ever of the CIO's Economic Outlook, flaged sales tax. It has precisely afford to buy 21/2 pounds of out the problem of malnutrition in order to hold the Irish governmeat per week for each member of their family.

made by the U.S. Department of and clothe and house the masses meat is not rationed in restau-Agriculture in 1936-37 among the of our people far better than we rants, however, the wealthy can percent tax. It is obvious that families of employed workers ex- do if we dared to turn science obtain an almost unrestricted supthis tax bears heaviest upon the posed the tragic fact that well loose to tackle the job. But we ply, Hill explains. A wide variety low income people. There is over one-third of the families cov- have hesitated and sometimes this of meat, including expensive some provision in this tax for ered in the survey supplied an was because we have been afraid steak is said to be available to of taxes which would bring into post-war credits amounting to 40 average of only 11/2 pounds of we might make a wrong move and those who can afford to pay \$1 or percent for married people and 25 meats, poultry and fish per week percent for single individuals, to their individual members. Ex-This tax will raise over \$2 billion. penditures made by these families sales tax, the Senate Committee milk, eggs, fresh fruits and vegewill still fall short by \$2 billion tables were also inadequate.

None of the diets of these families could be rated as "good"; "The House and Senate both only 25% were considered as shortage in the United States, esreduced revenue from the original treasury proposal by refusing to tion experts; 75% were called created by the meat monopolies any other kind of meat except plug loop-holes that now permit nigh- income people to escape families of workers, earning less their products through the leasetheir just tax burden, by not than \$1000 per year did not pro- lend agencies at a higher price enacting the full request of the vide enough of the necessary nutreasury for corporate and extritious elements to enable them cess-profits taxes, by providing to live active, healthy lives It is true, of course, that there

has been some economic improvement for the American working bill was over \$3 billion short of class since 1936-37. Now that the American capitalist machine i geared to the production of deathdealing instruments in the all reduced from \$1,500 to \$1,200; out war effort, some workers are able to buy more life-giving foods and for children from \$400 to statistics show, however, that 19% is proposed to raise the needed of the American workers are still earning \$16 per week or less -"After this 'victory tax' was \$832 per year. And the cost of dopted by the Senate Finance living has risen tremendously Committee, Senator LaFollette

> WAGE RAISES NOT ENOUGH

At the National Nutrition Conference, held last year in Washington, Dr. Faith Williams, Chief of the Division of Cost of Living the time the tax bill is finally

One-Third of Nation **Hungers While Meat** Packers Boost Prices

occurred since 1936 and those will not be great enough to wipe of Eire's surplus meat products

Secretary of Agriculture Claude Wickard boldly asserted at the ed by Hill to be only 1 lb. per The Consumer Purchases Study same conference, "We could feed week per person. Inasmuch as upset somebody's apple cart." The establishment of a meat ra-

tioning program at this time in the United States exemplifies the ing interests. The so-called meat "fair" by the Department's nutri- pecially in the eastern states, was "poor," that is, the diets of these in order that they might sell salt pork "sowbelly." Other milthan they could obtain in the 'scarcity" created, they will later be able to squeeze higher prices for meat products out of American consumers.

In his annual report, issued nly a few months ago. Secretary Wickard maintained that ample of war edema, or famine swellsupplies of meat would be avail- ing, occurred because the sufferable for both the men of the ers did not get enough first class armed forces as well as for civil- protein food. Proteins from meat, ians. Beef cattle production is expected to reach the highest point in the history of American agriculture by 1943, according to the Wickard report. Similar promising reports were made as to prospects for hog, sheep and poul try production in 1942 and 1943.

A certain portion of this increased livestock production will be taken by the U.S. Army and Navy. Each soldier receives an average of 6 lbs. of meat per week, normally and soldiers get-Studies of the Department of La- ting ready for front-line action bor said. "The analysis which I are given increased meat rations. have been able to make of distri- A very substantial proportion of adopted, it will 'pulperize' the bution of families according to the total available meat supply ganized workers exercise a vigit little man even more than it does income, leads me to believe that will be sent to the Allied Nations, the income increases which have principally to England, through ing program,

very comfortable rate of profit for the meat-packing exporters. BRITAIN'S MEAT POLICY

Gladwin Hill, a feature writer, who recently returned to the United States, after a visit to England, wrote that the Churchill government which is taking so much of the American meat supwhich are likely to occur this year ply, has refused to purchase all ment "in line."

England's meat ration is reportmore for their meat.

Just as in England, the rich in this country will try to find a way to get around the meat-rationing provisions. lions, who have been able to obtain a near-adequate amount by buying the cheaper cuts of meat, home market. With an artificial pot roasts, etc., will be penalized under the proposed rationing plan, since no extra allowance is to be made for the weight of the bone, fat, etc.

In Germany, after World War I, hundreds of thousands of cases cheese, eggs and other animal sources are called "first class" proals called amino acids, which the

Public health officials have reports of thousands of cases of 'famine swelling" due to an inadequate intake of first class protein foods in the United States under peace-time conditions. These may increase under wartime restrictions unless the orlant watch over the meat ration-

WORKERS MOST ACTIVE FIGHTERS IN INDIA

(Continued from page 1)

for all Moslems in demanding separate Moslem states, whereas the Independent Moslem Conference supports the Congress demand for a united independent India. Its statement was reported by Samuel Grafton, the N. Y. Post columnist, who must have got it from diplomatic sources. The statement said, answering Churchill:

"In behalf of the Independent Moslems, we emphatically repudiate the vile allegation that 90 million Moslems in India do not desire immediate independence."

Not only did the Assembly resound to anti-British speeches, it also was the scene of unprecedented heckling of the few officials who attempted to defend British policy. The N. Y. Times reports that "the greatest heckling of the week" went to B. R. Ambedkar, whom the British have paraded for years as "the leader" of the Untouchables, and who is now "Labor Member" of the Viceroy's Council. Ambedkar was howled at when he said: "If you want democracy, you can't devise a better form of government than you have."

So impressive was the tenor of the Assembly speeches and other statements that Herbert L. Matthews cabled to the Sept. 17 N. Y. Times:

"The Congress party has received some remarkable testimony from its opponents in recent weeks. There is a striking crystallization of opinion. It is hard to escape the conclusion that this is a case of 'uniting against the common enemy.'"

The Real Significance of These Statements

However, Matthews is mistaken in his interpretation of what is happening. It is true that the statements are significant. They reflect the growth of the revolutionary movement for independence and the failure of the British repressions. But, far from "uniting against the common enemy," most of those who are making these statements remain as before, enemies of the mass movement for independence.

The Indian revolution, these statements make clear, has now reached the stage where, for protective coloration, the most reactionary elements are forced to pretend to be anti-British and pro-independence. This phenomenon appears in all great revolutions. During the rising period of the French Revolution, monarchists pretended to be republicans and donned the red bonnet. After February 1917, the Russian Czarists pretended to be democrats. This protective coloration is designed to enable the reactionaries to be all the more effective later on in their attempts to smash the revolutionary movement. Woe to the masses of

India if they think these leopards have changed their spots! The Assembly speeches came after hearing the report of Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Minister of the Viceroy's Council, on the five weeks of the "disorders." Sir Reginald said as little as he could, if one can judge by the cabled dispatches, but even that was enough for the Assembly, which understood the full implications of his formulations. His report contradicted Churchill's claim that troops had been little used: nearly half (318) of the 658 he admitted had been killed had been shot by troops. His most important admissions were on the situation in Bihar province, saying: "The posts and telegraph services are generally satisfactory except in Bihar." And again: "The reports are particularly incomplete from Bihar province, where the violence has been centered recently."

The significance of these words is that Bihar - west of Bengal and away from the seacoast and therefore deemed safe from the first stages of a Japanese invasion - contains all

the new war-production plants built since 1939, as well as many which was apparently held back by the British censorship in of the industrial plants of the pre-war period. During the last order to support the myth that Jinnah's Moslem League speaks year there has been large-scale evacuation of the workers from Calcutta and other seacoast cities to Bihar. In this province, at Jamshedpur, is the greatest works in India, the Tata Steel and Iron plant. In short, Bihar is the very backbone of war produc-

Here is concentrated the main body of the Indian proletariat. The British had hoped to bribe the workers by paying wages in the war production plants far higher than in other industries. Yet Sir Reginald now had to report that this was the fiery center of the struggle! That reports from there are "incomplete" and that violence has "centered recently" there are euphemisms which mean that the workers' struggles are continuing without abating.

The only detail about the struggle in Bihar which this week got past the censorship was the following, in a cable by A. T. Steele to the Sept. 18 Chicago Daily News: "It is now possible to report that for the first two weeks the biggest steel plant in the British Empire - the Tata works in Bihar - was shut down as a result of the walkout of its 50,000 employees." As we reported previously, this was a political strike, demanding the release of the imprisoned Congress leaders. We can be sure that if the workers have gone back, they have done so only to think about still more efficacious measures of struggle.

Decisive Role of the Workers

The industrial proletariat in the war industries has the decisive say in the struggle for independence. If they take the lead, and rally the peasantry, Britain is through in India.

When the civil disobedience campaign began, we pointed out that the unknown quantity in the situation was the power of the Stalinists over the workers. That question is now settled. Despite the frenzied anti-strike efforts of the Stalinists, Bihar has been swept by a wave of political strikes and the struggle continues, as Sir Reginald admits. The workers have simply brushed the Stalinists aside.

This great forward step of the industrial proletariat does not, however, settle the issue. There are other obstacles within the labor movement. The supporters of the Congress method of struggle simply call on the workers to strike. But the workers cannot strike indefinitely. The shopkeeper can close his shop and still eat for a while, the peasant likewise with his no-tax campaign. But the worker has neither capital nor land. Long strikes will simply starve the workers without bringing inde-

Hence, more than any other class, the workers are driven by their conditions of existence toward the method of revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism. For the proletariat the shutting-down of the factories can be merely preliminary to a direct struggle for state power. The general strike is a signal for revolution - or it is nothing. This is the key question which must be presenting itself to the workers in the war plants in Bihar.

While the workers are thus driven to solve the impasse by direct struggle for state power, on the other hand the Congress leaders remain glued to their traditional theory that strikes are merely one more nuisance to create "deadlock," and to lead to an agreement with the British to reopen ngotiations on a basis more favorable to the Congress demands.

This fundamental difference - between the workers' method of winning independence and the bourgeois Congress method of independence by agreement with the British - is now assuming utter stark clarity in the battles in Bihar province.

Masses Fight Against Hitler Oppression

But Struggle of Workers and Peasants Has Nothing In Common With Aims of Allied Imperialist Lackeys

Sabotage, Go On Strike, Conduct Armed War

The power of the mighty and brutal forces of German occupation is being challenged in all workers. parts of conquered Europe. Reports from Luxemburg, Norway, France, Holland and way, Holland, France, Yugo- main resistance to Hitlerite rule Yugoslavia show that the workers and peasants are using all forms of struggle ranging up to CONTENDING FORCES general strike, sabotage and IN YUGOSLAVIA

Protesting against the annexation of Luxemburg into greater Germany and the decree establishing compulsory military service for all the people of Luxemburg, the workers of this small nation went out on a general strike in the first week of September.

On September 18, in a dispatch "from the German frontier" a British news agency announced the execution of leaders of the Luxemburg miners and steel workers for taking a prominent part in the strike.

Later reports reveal the threatened deportation either to Germany or the eastern regions of all in Luxemburg who refuse to bow to the conqueror.

The upper class of Luxemburg, like the ruling classes of all the occupied countries, divided into by many, for Smathers' only two groups upon the approach of the German armies. One group the German capitalists in the ex- as an "independent thinker," he Hitler will be defeated by his decree unless Congress grants rival imperialists or that the and fled from the country to Roosevelt. establish the so-called governments-in-exile.

But the masses—the workers and peasants-could neither flee man imperialism. They are fighting back in every way they can,

SIGNS OF RESISTANCE

In Norway Quisling's plan to incorporate the unions into the totalitarian set-up has been countered by the workers' mass resignation from their unions, leaving but a hollow shell of the old organizations.

are also stirring. Reports from the Senate and the House, it is of Belleville. that country say that "almost necessary to surrender one of Hartley was renominated by a trial, although he himself is a all" farmers rejected membership their powers to the Executive hundred or so votes. It is diffi- supporter of the war. in the Nazi farmers' organizations. Of the 525,000 organized Dutch workers, only 17,500 have joined the Netherlands Nazi labor

have disappeared while being groups: the forces led by Gentransported in Holland. In all eral Draha Mikhailovitch, who probability they are now in the

The Germans, together with Laval, have ordered mass deporof Poland and Silesia as reprisal against the rebellious French

Factory and railroad sabotage is reported from Belgium, Norslavia, Albania and other coun-

What was once Yugoslavia is the scene of fierce class battles, according to reports from Ankara, Turkey.

German Elite Guard regiments and armored forces have replaced the Italian troops of oc-

forces comes from two main States of Europe.

seeks to restore the Yugoslav possession of workers awaiting a and Allied capitalists to their favorable opportunity to use former privileged positions; and the 30,000 armed workers and peasants whom Mikhailovitch DeGaulle Ranks denounces as "communist partations from France to the mines tisans" and whom he is trying to wipe out.

DIFFERENT AIMS

It is clear from the struggles in occupied Europe that the comes from the workers and fighting for the same reason or cluding de Gaulle, on the for the same objectives as the representatives of capitalism.

The masses are not fighting

and dying to bring back the miserable conditions under which they lived before the war. They want to rid themselves of all ex- the Vichy government. ploitation and oppression. What the masses want will never be effort to suppress the guerrilla perialist power in the war. What ideas and wanted to embrace

Open Fascist Is Welcomed Into

By MICHAEL CORT

The "Fighting French' got a new recruit in London last week. The "Fighting French," headed by General de Gaulle, is the movement which calls on the masses of France to suppeasants. The toilers are not port the Allied imperialists, inground that they are fighting for "democracy." The new recruit is Charles Vallin, vicepresident of the Croix de Feu, French fascist movement, and until this month a member of

Vallin did not join the "Fighting French" because he had sudBritain: "Without giving up or | including fascists." denying any of my ideas or friendships I have come to place myself freely under the leadership of General de Gaulle."

Nor do the de Gaullist propagandists pretend that Vallin has given up his former reactionary ideas. Instead they have seized on his recruitment to try to show that all political tendencies in France are rallying to the banner of the "Fighting French." Vallin's arrival in Britain was carefully timed to coincide with the arrival of Pierre Brossolette, former foreign editor of the Socialist Party newspaper, Le

The two of them assured a N. Y. Times correspondent that "their presence in London after escaping from France together on this basis that he supported symbolized the unanimity in Petain from the beginning. Petain which all classes and all shades of political opinion in their home- he would (1) keep the French land were united behind General cupation in Yugoslavia in an achieved by a victory of any im- denly repented of his fascist de Gaulle in the struggle for the freedom of France." This can be attacks of armed workers and they want-freedom and security democracy. As a matter of fact, viewed only as an admission by and peace—can be achieved only he was very careful to set the the de Gaullists that they well-The opposition to the German through the Socialist United press straight on this point, come everybody who will support declaring upon his arrival in the war of the Allied imperialists,

The welcome accorded Vallin by the de Gaullists-not surprising to those who recall that de Gaulle himself is a monarchistthrows light on the real aims of the "Fighting French," who talk about democracy because that is the only way they can get any support from the French masses, but whose real program is to regain all the privileges and profits formerly enjoyed by the French capitalists.

Some of them would prefer a French regime under a monarchy, some of them want a fascist dictatorship, and some would even like to go back to the "democracy" of a Daladier or Reynaud.

Vallin is one of those who wants a fascist France. It was had promised his supporters that workers in subjection and (2) make a good deal with Hitler on behalf of the French bosses.

Petain has been able thus far with the aid of German bayonets) to fulfill the first promise, although no one would pretend that he has eliminated the opposition to his regime. But in the eyes of some sections of the French capitalist class, he did not get a good enough deal with Germany.

WHY VALLIN TURNS TO THE DE GAULLISTS

Vallin virtually admits that this is the reason why he now deserts the Vichy government, although he does not give up his reactionary ideas. He told the press that he had discovered there were two Petains-a good one and a bad one. The good one was the French hero of the last war-that is, the leader of the fascist-minded veterans. And the bad one was the man who worked with "collaborators"-that is, the one who leans toward those French forces who are most sub-

Vallin leaves Petain and turns to the "Fighting French" not because he has become a "demobor part platform, the Socialist crat," but because he now thinks Workers Party would have sup- that only de Gaulle can fulfill ported him against the other can- the second part of Petain's prodidates in the elections. But we gram. However, he believes that the British-American imperialists are going to defeat the German imperialists and of course he wants to be on the winning side.

servient to Hitler.

The kind of "freedom for France" that de Gaulle, Vallin, Brosselette and Co. want. has aspirations of the French masses. ism are as much the enemies of with Hitler. To win real freedom, the program and leadership of all extend the present resistance to

opposition to Roosevelt's proposal on the part of reactionary Republicans, such as Senator Taft and bune, may appear puzzling. Why run, must inevitably be detrimental not to the interests of

the capitalist class but of the

To some militant workers the

of some comment.

working class?

Marxism teaches that the govrnment is the executive commitee of the ruling capitalist class. But it would indeed be the height of formalism to conclude from this that, at all times, all of the capitalists agree on certain measures and policies calculated to serve the interests of the ruling

best methods to be used in order to protect their interests. capitalist class is divided into gle between groups may, at All capitalists want to defend to him. their interests as against the workers, but not all agree on the best method of doing so.

It is because of this conflict it is possible to have a situation where, for different and opposite reasons, a capitalist party and a revolutionary party oppose a neasure proposed by the govern-

The isolationists opposed entry of this country into the war; so did the revolutionary Marxists. The former because they were of cause they are opposed to an imperialist war. The difference between the two groups became clear when war was actually declared. The isolationists support the war, the revolutionary Marx ists do not.

When a reactionary newspaper like the Chicago Tribune violent ly opposes Roosevelt's threat to override an act of Congress, it does so not because it is opposed in principle to government by decree. As against the workers. the Chicago Tribune favors measures much more reactionary than those proposed by Roosevelt. What opposes is the idea of having not the idea of government by

resent the interests of the capi-Republican party at heart. With some worry. them opposition to Roosevelt is demagogic. That is, they choose issues which they think will cerned, it is safe to assume that arouse the sentiments of the peo- the workers support him in this ple against Roosevelt, and not be- proposal. Not only because they cause they are honestly of the opinion that certain measures are detrimental to the interests of the people.

To explain the attitude of the reactionaries one would have to analyze all of the factors involved, beginning with the time Roosevelt became President, and include among them, the temperament and ideas of the leading reactionaries, such as McCormick of the Chicago Tribune. The economic factor, though basic in the explanation of any phenomenon, is not the only factor.

It must also be recognized that some representatives of the capitalist class honestly object to rule by decree. As much as possible them to escape dictatorship and they would like to follow the democratic traditions of the capi- permit capitalism to exist.

In connection with the discus- talist regime. They prefer deion of the subject of government mocratic to fascist capitalism; abor Day speech in which he Tradition plays an important role threatened to override an act of in the formation of attitudes and Congress — there are several ideas, "Consistent" liberalism is questions of secondary importance not yet altogether extinct. that are interesting and deserving

The Capitalist Opponents

Of Roosevelt's Ultimatum

But it is only a revolutionary Marxist who takes a principled opposition to government by decree under the capitalist system. Marxist who recognizes the dan-McCormick of the Chicago Tri- gers to the working class inherent in the system of government should these reactionaries object by decree. Such a system, under to a proposal which, in the long capitalism, must of necessity operate against the interests of the working masses. Here and there a decree may be promulgated which benefits the masses but that is nothing to the serious blow dealt the workers by a system which practically deprives he working-class organizations of independence and democracy.

Another question that arises in connection with Roosevelt's threat to violate an act of Congress, is his motives for doing so. The Very frequently the capitalists reactionaries picture him as a disagree among themselves on the man anxious to become a dictator and as a shrewd and calculating individual who, step by step, is assuming the powers of a dictagroups based on sectional or in- tor. Roosevelt on the other hand, dustrial interests and the strug-promises that when the emergency is over he will return the powers times, assume serious proportions. that he assumes or are granted

It seems to me that to argue on the basis of ar alleged desire on the part of Roof evelt to become a dictator weaker our position. between groups of capitalists that To say the least, it would be extremely difficult to prove such a contention. That he is an exceedingly clever politician is quite evident but that he aims to be come a dictator is not evident.

We are on more solid ground if we attribute his acts not to some desire to become a dictator but to the pressure of capitalism in its epoch of decline, aggravated by the conditions of war. To eliminate Roosevelt's personal character, his intentions and motives and to emphasize the remorseless pressure to which he is subjected by virtue of the fact that his gowernment is based on the capitalist system is a far more solid position to assume in any argument. As indicated in my article of

last week, the workers should be taught that the alternative is either capitalism with a dictatorship serving the interests of the capitalist class or socialism with authority, planning and centralization, all derived from and guarded by workers' democracy.

It would be unwise to assume Roosevelt issue the decrees and worried about the trend towards government by decree. Certainly we cannot hope to stir them, in It so happens that some reac- the immediate future, into a powtionaries, intransigent in their erful movement against that bitter opposition to Roosevelt as trend. They are undoubtedly anxan "appeaser" of labor will ob- ious about the stabilization of ject to almost any measure pro- wages and the order to freeze posed by him. Outside of the fact workers to their jobs in a few that they are firmly convinced industries in some western states. that he does not adequately rep- It is the objective of these decrees, and not the fact that the talist class, the reactionary Repub. government has assumed to rule icans have the interests of the by decree, that is causing them

> As far as Roosevelt's threat to violate an act of Congress is conwould like to see a ceiling set on the price of agricultural commodities, but because they consider Roosevelt as liberal and Congress as reactionary.

The workers do not, at present, see the connection between government by decree and their standard of living. It may be much easier to rally the workers for a struggle against the objective of a particular decree directly affecting their livelihood and conditions of work. We shall of course not neglect to point out to the workers the effect of every decree but we shall also try to educate them to the meaning of the trend toward rule by decree. We shall continue to emphasize the idea that it is impossible for a lower standard of living if they

Breitman Analyzes N. J. Primary Vote

(Continued from page 1)

cratic nomination by political horse-trading? Hawkes, on the other hand, has denounced Smathers as a rubber stamp. This too is a view held claim to fame seems to be his

boast that he has always suphastened to place itself at the ported whatever the administraservice of the invaders, hoping tion has advocated. But while thus to retain a share along with Hawkes thrusts himself forward ploitation of the workers. An- has shown — by his reaction to other group, believing either that Roosevelt's ultimatum to rule by him the power he demands profits they would make under that he too would not raise any German rule would be too small, fundamental objections to the asthrew in their lot with the Allies, sumption of dictatorial power by

After attacking Smathers as a Roosevelt's Labor Day ultimafrom their countries, nor do they tum. In the N. Y. Times of Sept. willingly accept the yoke of Ger- 12, he explained his position: It linists, and the local leaders of as the masses of Luxemburg to support the independence of feated in the primary. the three branches of the government." And specifically:

"Where it is necessary for the Congress to grant unusual powers cutive or Administration branch

rent term of office."

| tatorial power - all he asks is opponent, Williams, whom the terests of the labor movement. that Congress warn the president Stalinists and labor leaders boostthat he can't hold such power for ed, is known among the workers. more than four years at a time! And there is nothing surprising part he played in breaking the about this—the Democrats would UE-CIO strike at the Isolantite act the same way if a Republican plant last year. (The Stalinists administration sat in Washington. Both parties of the ruling class look upon this as a war fought in their interests, and they are ready to subordinate political differences to the winning

THE HARTLEY CAMPAIGN There were some interesting

developments in the primaries for two of New Jersey's 14 nominations to the House of Representatives. From the Tenth Congressional District, comprising parts of industrial Essex and rubber-stamp, Hawkes had to Hudson Counties, the present make some kind of statement on Representative is the Republican Fred A. Hartley, Jr. The local leaders of the CIO, who are Stais the duty of a U. S. Senator, the AFL, decided to join forces he said, "to do all in his power | in an effort to have Hartley de-

They campaigned against him on bor and therefore couldn't be in the hands of the Chief Exe- trusted to help win the war, and 2. that he had a bad labor record. of the government, those powers With the Stalinists in a promin-

branch of the government, that cult to estimate what part the

in this area primarily for the big were in charge of that strike.) Of the two candidates for the nomination, Williams undoubtedly seemed to the workers as a more actively anti-labor element.

Much more important was the development in the Democratic the Eighth Congressional Disunopposed for the nomination. He won the nomination, but at the CIO president. same time he struck a strong blow at the movement for the creation of an independent labor party, which he has himself adrocated for a number of years.

Abramson is not one of the ordinary capitalist "friends of labor" who are so rarely found on labor's side except around election time. Abramson is one of the state's most prominent labor leaders, the president of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council. two issues: 1. that he had been CIO, and one of the labor leaders an isolationist before Pearl Har- who enjoys the support of the Minneapolis "conspiracy"

But while Abramson has won power should not be surrendered attacks on his isolationist record the respect of many workers, it vote. But there is little reason to the truth: Whatever his inten-

For one thing, it weakens the movement for a labor party; he cannot consistently advocate a labor party to oppose the two capitalist parties, their candidates and their program, and at the same time be a candidate of one of those parties. Secondly, it strengthens Hague's party and Hague, who has tried so hard to smash the CIO; for now the Democrats have an attractive labor covering, and they will be primary for Representative from able to appeal for votes for the reactionary Democrats on the trict. Here Irving Abramson was ground that they are the party supporting the candidacy of the

FOR AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY

Had Abramson run as a labor candidate on an independent lacannot support any candidate of the reactionary Democratic Party of Hague, Farley, Rankin and

All recent history, including the primaries, points to the cryranks of the CIO. He has been ing need for independent politiassociated with numerous pro- cal action by the workers. It is gressive struggles; he has been a now too late to form such a party nothing in common with the consistent opponent of racial dis- to enter its own candidates in should be granted promptly, but ent position on the committee, crimination in employment; even the 1942 elections. As spokesman These lackeys of Allied imperialeach of them should have an ex- the second issue was subordinat- after Pearl Harbor he did not and candidate of the Socialist piration date in the original ed, and the workers were called hesitate to publicly speak up in Workers Party in this election The people of occupied Holland grant. When, in the judgment of on to nominate Mayor Williams support of the 18 defendants in campaign, I shall actively advocate the formation of such a party at the earliest possible time the French masses must reject and do everything in my power to clarify the issue so that this supporters of imperialism and will be the last election in which for a longer term than the cur- played in his victory or the close is nevertheless our duty to state the labor movement will not be the forces of Hitler into a strugrepresented by a full and com- gle for a Workers' and Farmers' In other words, Hawkes is not believe that his poor labor rections, Abramson's action does not plete slate of candidates and a Government in France and a

Shipments of German arms opposed to Roosevelt getting dic- ord lost him many votes. For his and will not serve the best in- program of its own. Socialist United States of Europe. Trotsky's Book On Morals Is Weapon In Workers' Struggle

THEIR MORALS AND OURS, by Leon Trotsky. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York City. 48 pages. 20 cents.

When the fact-finding Commission of Inquiry headed by John Dewey brought in its verdict that Leon Trotsky and his son Sedov were innocent of the frame-up charges in the notorious Moscow Trials, the last petty-bourgeois moralists still riding the Stalinist gravy train and still able to think found it suddenly expedient to discontinue their support of Stalin.

Instead of publicly apologizing to Trotsky for their past slanders, however, these moralists chose to fall back to a second line trench of calumniation. "Stalinism and Trotskyism are one and the same thing," they announced to the world. The real source of the frame-ups and other horrors perpetrated by the Stalinist regime is to be sought, they argued, not in the degenerating influence of world imperialism upon the isolated workers' state, but in the "amoralism" of Bolshevik politics which led the founders of the Soviet Union into believing that the "end justifies the means,"

In defense of Bolshevik politics and the founders of the Soviet Union, Trotsky wrote Their Morals and Ours and The Moralists and Sycophants Against Marxism, both of which are included in the booklet now issued by Pioneer Publishers under title of the first article.

In order to answer properly the miserable arguments of the slanderers, Trotsky submitted the entire question of morals in politics to a thoroughgoing Marxist analysis. As a result his work constitutes not only a polemic of immediate interest but an important addition to the classics of Marxism. John Dewey, who considered the pamphlet of such significance that it required him among others to record his disapproval of Bolsheviks utilizing the class struggle in freeing humanity from oppression, remarked by way of explanation that Their Morals and Ours is the first "explicit discussion by a consistent Marxian of the relation of means and ends in social action."

Working Class vs. Capitalist Morals

Trotsky's analysis is not difficult for an intel-

ligent worker to follow. The claim that there are certain general moral principles, which all classes alike must follow willy-nilly or suffer the stigma of "amorality" or "immorality," Trotsky points out, is false. Such a claim, he attempts to prove, is made specifically to further the reactionary interests of the oppressing class, for in every instance the oppressors interpret the alleged moral principles in accordance with their views. Thus in a slave society the slaveholders consider that any slave who strives for freedom thereby violates general moral principles and that it is the highest morality to punish him for

Trotsky concludes that morality has a classorigin, that it develops and is shaped over a period of time to correspond to the economic and political interests of the contending classes. The working class develops its own morality as

opposed to that of the bourgeoisie, Trotsky shows. This morality finds its highest expression in the revolutionary socialist party of the workers. The Bolshevik party, remarks Trotsky, was the most honest party in history. Truth serves as a powerful means in gaining the great end, liberation of mankind. One of the most interesting and fruitful sections of the booklet is that in which Trotsky, pursuing the analytical method of dialectical materialism, dissects the maxim, "the end justifies the means." He shows why it is that those who want a classless society of peace and prosperity and who are seriously interested in the struggle to end class oppression together with its accompanying economic depressions, unemployment, hunger, race prejudice, imperialist war, etc., are forced to develop morals far superior to those of the capitalists. In the morals of the Marxist party, which places the well being and future of humanity above all else, one catches a glimpse of what the morals of the classless society will be like.

Its Place In Trotsky's Last Writings

Besides defending Bolshevik politics and the founders of the Soviet Union, Their Morals and Ours has another great end in view. Trotsky did not write a single line that was not specifically intended in one way or another to strengthen and

build the revolutionary socialist party of the world working class. Far from permitting himself an unwarranted excursion into a remote field, Trotsky manifestly designed Their Morals and Ours as a foundation stone in the construction of the Marxist party of our period. It interlocks with the key section of one of our most impor-

The opening sentence of "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," the so-called "transition program" which Trotsky wrote the same year as Their Morals and Ours, declares: "The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat." At present the working class, explains the program, is paralyzed by a leadership that is completely subservient to world capitalism. "As time goes on," concludes the second section of the program, 'their desperate efforts to hold back the wheel of history will demonstrate more clearly to the masses' that the crisis of the proletarian leadership, having become the crisis in mankind's culture, can be resolved only by the Fourth Inter-

But world reaction understands this also. Today, as never before in history, it rains all its blows upon this tiny minority party, hoping to extinguish it before the masses can learn its program Stalin, Hitler, Churchill, Roosevelt - each n his own way strikes at the Trotskyists. Only the strongest of the strong can survive this hammering. Their Morals and Ours was written to help steel the ranks of the vanguard against

What important role the clear understanding of the class character of morals plays in resolving this question of leadership of the working class is explained in greater detail by Trotsky himself on page 24 of the booklet:

"A Bolshevik is inconceivable, of course, without the materialist method; in the sphere of morality too. But this method serves him not solely for the interpretation of events but rather for the creation of a revolutionary party of the proletariat. It is impossible to accomplish this task without complete independence from the bourgeoisie and their morality. Yet bourgeois public opinion actually now reigns in full sway over the official workers' movement from William Green in the United States, Leon Blum and Maurice Thorez in France, to Garcia Oliver in Spain. In this fact the reactionary character of the present period reaches its sharpest expression.

"A revolutionary Marxist cannot begin to approach his historical mission without having broken morally from bourgeois public opinion and its agencies in the proletariat. For this, moral courage of a different caliber is required from that of opening wide one's mouth at meetings and yelling, 'Down with Hitler!' 'Down with Franco!' It is precisely this resolute, completely-thoughtout, inflexible rupture of the Bolsheviks from conservative moral philosophy not only of the big but of the petty bourgeoisie which mortally terrorizes democratic phrase-mongers, drawingroom prophets and lobbying heroes. From this derive their complaints about the 'amoralism' of the Bolsheviks."

Confirmation of Trotsky's Prediction

The printing of Their Morals and Ours is particularly timely in the United States today. The petty-bourgeois moralists have confirmed Trotsky's prediction that their abhorrence of Bolshevik morals was but part of their preparation - whether conscious or not - to support the imperialist war. Norman Thomas, for instance, who now supports the imperialist war after raising his hands in holy horror for some years at Bolshevik morals, was destined it would seem to find a niche in history as the living prototype for the following lines on page 41:

"The petty-bourgeois moralist is the younger brother of the bourgeois pacifist who wants to 'humanize' warfare by prohibiting the use of poison gases, the bombardment of unfortified cities, etc. Politically, such programs serve only to deflect the thoughts of the people from revolution as the only method of putting an end to war."

We hope that every class-conscious worker will give Their Morals and Ours a place of honor in the well-fingered section of his book-shelf.

Reviewed by Joseph Hansen.

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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.
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- 4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
- 5. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
- 6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- 7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
- 8. A Workers' and Farmers' Govern-

The Siege Of **Stalingrad**

After thirty-three days of one of the bloodiest battles in the history of warfare the Volga City is not yet a Nazi citadel. "The fall of Stalingrad," Hitler's Franfurter Zeitung admits, "and therewith the final breaking up of the Russian front, has been delayed. . .

Thirty-three days ago the German armies opened their campaign for the conquest of Stalingrad. They began with at least a million troops, with mastery of the air, with panzer divisions, with parachute troops, with heavy artillery and siege guns. The Germans drove on the city in a threepronged attack while droves of planes dropped tons of bombs on Stalingrad until it lay in ruins.

Numerically inferior, possessing only a handful of fighter planes that were soon driven from the skies, only a small number of tanks and without adequate equipment, the Soviet workers and soldiers slowed down the mighty momentum of the German army to a slow crawl. The advancing German armies entered the city only over the corpses of thousands of their comrades. Then having finally entered the city, they found that far from having shattered resistance, their most terrible engagements were still ahead of them.

Every building, or more correctly the debris of what once were buildings, had become a Gibralter, of resistance. Withering cross-fire cut down the German infantry as they advanced along the streets, grenades and small bombs blew up or stalled the tanks in their tracks. So great were their losses that the Germans were obliged time and again to withdraw their troops and send their Stukas back over the city to pulverize the defenses by bombings.

Then the troops returned, but enough living Soviet defenders remained to blast back the invaders. The Nazis were finally forced to bring up huge siege guns to shell the city and do what the bombers had failed to do. But the defenses still held and are still holding to this very day. Street by street, block bl block, house by house, the Russans give ground only when their last strength to wield a bayonet has left them.

By this time, the fury and heroism of Soviet resistance has been repeated so many times that it is taken as a matter of course. But what must puzzle the workers of this country, watching from the side lines, is why this magnificent army with its superb morale must always be fighting a last ditch battle. Such an army, it must seem, should by this time not only have driven the Germans off Soviet soil, it should be fighting on German territory.

The answer is not lack of equipment alone. Far more important is the fact that for all the deficiencies in armaments, the Soviet army with a bold revolutionary policy coud have demoralized the German troops and with a revolutionary military leadership could have at the very least, driven these demoralized troops onto the defensive.

Victory or defeat, the defense of Stalingrad will live in history. But its defeat can only show once again what a fearful price the Soviet workers are paying for the criminal policies and regime of Stalinism.

A Feeler In The **Fascist Direction**

The Sunday edition of the N. Y. Daily News has a paid circulation in excess of 3,750,000, the largest of any paper in America. Its readers are primarily workers and low-paid salaried employees. For a paper to maintain such a mass reading public it is necessary for its publishers and editors to keep their ears closely attuned to the trends of popular opinion and feeling. But as a gigantic capitalist enterprise whose interests are closely tied up with huge personal fortunes, the publishers of the News demagogically exploit the grievances and prejudices of the masses for their own purposes and against the real needs of the masses.

In "normal," peaceful times this pattern is called "yellow journalism."

But in time of great crisis and war, the demagogy of the Daily News reeks with the foul stink of fas-

On Sept. 20 the millions of Daily News readers were presented with a startling editorial and an accompanying cartoon. The cartoon carries the caption "Home on Furlough," showing a young soldier talking to his mother who is seated at a table playing cards with his father:

Mother: "Do you think, Son, the army has any intention of running the country when the war is over?"

Son: "I've talked with a lot of my pals, Mother, and they intend to do just that."

Here is the explanation in the editorial: After we win the war, says the 'News', "There will. . . be an army of 10,000,000 men coming back, men whom for the most part (if the polls are to be believed), didn't want the war in the first place but were pitchforked into it by Pearl Harbor. . . We believe that these men who are going through the furnace of war for the rest of us are entitled to a reward; are, in fact, entitled to anything they can get."

What is this reward? "All the farm lands, all the mines, the oil, the industrial establishments. . . Who will own all this after the war? There will be vast upsets. . . Control of our resources can change hands in the process. . . Maybe none of the money men the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Astors or any of those names that stand for \$ - will be any longer on top of the pile. But the real wealth will still be there. The returning army should get it for itself, for its wives and children."

How will the soldiers get this tremendous "reward?"

"We think the country owes it to the warriors and we think the warriors will take it this time. Whether you like it or not, boys and girls, that's the prospect."

This is the pattern of fascism - cleverly and cautiously drawn. The appeal of the News is not directed to the industrial workers and the farm laborers calling upon them to organize their own independent organizations - trade unions, labor party, workers' councils - to confiscate the means of production now held by a few monopolists to the detriment of the great masses. Nor are the soldiers told to make common cause with the workers in a struggle against the Sixty Families whose economic and political rule is responsible for the suffering of workers and soldiers alike. Not at all! This appeal is aimed exclusively at the soldiers and by implication therefore is aimed against the workers. The Daily News is seeking to exploit the prejudices of backward soldiers who are inclined to blame the unions and the organized workers for their failure to get jobs when the war is over. Just as Hitler did in Germany and Mussolini in Italy.

The editors of the News have ably studied the experience of Europe and carefully steer away from the pitfalls that other reactionary papers fall into: they do not directly blame the workers but on the contrary make a vague, demagogic reference to "the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Astors."

The News tells the soldiers to "TAKE" their "deserved slice of the wealth at home." Thus here for the first time is an appeal to the soldiers to leave the traditional methods of parties, elections and all the so-called democratic methods and to seize power by direct, extra-parliamentary action. It is highly significant that a large metropolitan daily which has year in, year out backed the candidate of one or another of the big capitalist parties in the elections, should now be talking the language of the fascist Coup d'Etat.

But those who speak the language of fascism in this country vehemently deny that they are fascists; fascism has an ugly face to the majority of the American people. Thus the News in answer to charges that a previous editorial along the same line aroused, denies the charge of nazism or fascism by saying that "We expect to win this war," whereas "Nazism was the product of defeat" and the "defeated feeling formed one of the foundations of fascism."

The alibi is threadbare: it was not the defeat of Germany nor the deal Italy got after the last war that gave rise to fascism, it was the terrible suffering and despair of the war aggravated by the defeat that gave rise to fascism in those countries. Win or lose - these conditions will prevail in the U. S. after the war. The Daily News knows this, but it also remembers Huey Long's famous remark that the fascist party of the United States will insist it is "Anti-Nazi" and "Anti-Fascist."

It would be false to label the News a fascist paper; but it would be equally criminal not to tag this editorial as a feeler in the direction of fascism. It is not important to speculate on whether or not the News will eventually turn fascist. But it is important to understand that the millions of discontented and disillusioned soldiers will be the audience that fascist demagogues in this country will break their necks to

The demagogy of the News and of the open fascists later on cannot be counteracted by rhetoric about the "glories of democracy." Only the program of the socialist revolution that will unite the organized workers with the soldiers for the expropriation of the monopolies and the "money men" on the "top of the pile," for the purpose of building a society without exploitation - only that program will drive the fascist rats back into their holes.

More than that: the program of socialist revolution will organize workers and soldiers to conquer what is rightly theirs.

Carl Palmer

1919-1942

By JOAN WAKEFIELD

"I'm going down to Buenos Aires on the S. S .rust bucket." That was the last heard from Carl Palmer, 23 years old, seaman and revolutionist. A few months later, the authorities notified his family that Carl Palmer was "lost at sea due to enemy action."

Carl Palmer was an oiler and a member of the West Coast Firemen's union, MFOW. But above all he was an idealist and revolutionist, his brief career a shining example for his generation. Known as a good track man

in high school, Carl got an NYA job and went to Fresno State college in California, where he met an ex-railroad worker who first acquainted him with the ideas of Trotskyism. Palmer was working for a degree in English, but his interest soon went over to the study of Marxism. He read thoroughly, became

an active organizer of the Young People's Socialist League on the campus and then went into the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party. He mimeographed leaflets and gave weekly noon-hour lectures.

When the agricultural workers of the valley struggled for organization, he was there helping them fight the oppression of the reactionary Associated Farmers. He was there when the Madera cotton strikers fought tear gas and he was there on the strike committee when the union's Farm Workers' Association tried to keep trucks of imported scabs out of the prune ranches.

Carl came from the working class and he understood the class struggle. At the same time he had a wide cultural interest. This interest, however, did not lead him in a false search for an ivory tower where he could develop these in-

terests alone. He understood that there could be no hope for the flowering of literature and art under the capitalist system where the masses are tortured by war and debased by poverty and where all cultural development is stultified.

After two years of college, Carl left to ship out through the MFOW as a wiper. He liked shipping. He liked working with the black gang and fighting with them when there was a beef about shipping conditions. On several ships he was the choice of the black gang for delegate.

His body under the waves of the Atlantic, we cannot part from Carl with the revolutionary honors he so deeply deserves. But we who are Carl's comrades will conquer our grief and carry on the fight for socialism in which he was a

Cripps Answered His **Own Foul Alibis In 1940**

claims that India cannot be ation of India, to which they look granted independence because of the differences between the Hindus and Moslems; he also pretends now that the reactionary Moslem League represents the whole Moslem community. India by the peasants and work- lem and there are many Moslem But only two years ago, Cripps himself gave the lie to his present alibis for denying Indian freedom. In his biography, he is quoted as saying upon his return from India in 1940:

"The controllers of the Moslem | gress. League are drawn almost entirely from the professional, landlord or industrialist class of wellare quite different from that of the Moslem masses. By aggravating religious passions these leaders can bring in behind them a large bulk of the 80,000,000

Today Sir Stafford Cripps | the return of the Moslem domin- | lems were left to make their own back with pride and longing, but as this is impossible they have democratic Indian constitution. The Moslem League fear this al- gress in its demands. ternative even more than they dislike British rule. It is for this reason that they have refused to support the demands of Con-

"We must ask ourselves whether the 250 million Hindus are to be denied self-government in a to-do Moslems, whose interests United India because 80 million Moslems are afraid of it or put forward an impractical suggestion for the division of India in order to prevent the Indian peasants and workers from obtaining Moslem League would like to see | "In truth, if the 80 million Mos- Estorick.)

relitical decision without any injection of communal animosity, the great majority of them would regarded the continuation of support the Congress Party's British rule as on the whole the program. In fact, many of them lesser of two evil alternatives. do today, Actually the President The other is the government of of the Congress is himself a Mosers through adult suffrage and a organizations which oppose the Moslem League and support Con-

"The attitude that is being adopted today by the British Government is that they can and will do nothing further until the Hindus and the Moslems settle their differences. This gives the reactionary leaders of the Moslem League the power to prevent the people of India getting selfgovernment almost indefinitely. "It is this attitude that the

British Government is in fact en couraging, whether consciously or unconsciously." (Stafford Cripps: Moslems who inhabit India. The the control of their own country. Prophetic Rebel, 1941, by Erick

Franco Remains In Power Because Of Outside Aid

By GRANDIZO MUNIS

MEXICO (By Mail). -Since the end of the Spanish This is the second and conclude with those of the Spanish capi-Civil War a national internal ing part of an article on the talists and a part of the army passport system has been es- growing opposition of the Span- officers. tablished that attempts to make | ish masses to the Franco regime impossible movement without official permission. But the underground revolutionary movement gets around this whenever it pleases. It has at its disposal a counterfeiting service that manufactures internal passports as well as Falangist and government redentials. These forged papers enable them to travel from one part of the peninsula to another and to save many militants from the jails or concentration camps.

A group of militants, with credentials and uniforms of the Falange, present themselves at some camp or jail and in the name of the Falangist Party demand one or another prisoner from the warden. Since this is the method often used by the Falange to take a revolutionary "for a walk" (murder him) when they are not interested in bringing him before the courts, the prison official deivers the prisoner in question who is then hidden in some part of the country or sent abroad if possible. I have been told that the only difficulty in this part of the work of the underground organizations is the lack of money to obtain uniforms and autowork with great speed.

MORE THAN PICTURES IN THE MOVIES

Judging from the Falangist press itself, the moving picture heaters are one of the preferred places for large scale propaganda by the "reds" - the name still given by the press to all opponents of the regime. One of the most influential newspapers of the country, La Vanguardia Nacionalista of Barcelona, has asked for the suspension of night performances because "disturbing elements take advantage of the darkness inside to utter shouts and even speeches against the regime and its representatives; when the authorities arrive they are protected by the spectators and find an easy escape in the darkness outside.'

The article refers to a case of Franco! Long live the revolu- of German imperialism repre-

Editor's Note

-especially interesting today in the light of President Roosevelt's "art and cuiture" plan to the growing discontent and the put the fascist Spanish government "on its feet economically."

The first part of the article, printed in last week's MILI-TANT, explained why the of retaining the oppression but Franco government has little pres tige among most sections of the population, and how the revolutionary opponents of the government are able, because of the sympathy of the broad masses, to continue and extend many of their activities.

tion!" tried to turn on the lights only to discover the electric system had been sabotaged.

As one can see, only favorable

A PALACE REVOLUTION?

international conditions are lacking for the Franco dictatorship to disappear like a punctured balloon. In order to protect itself from greater, basic revolutionary changes, a section of the capitalto try to carry out a change in regime if it had some substitute for the present government and mobiles since it is necessary to if it felt certain that it would the question of whether to draw be able to satisfy the masses with merely a simple change in the government. But what governmental apparatus can replace Franco? Where would a movement for his overthrow inevitably lead to, limited though it might be at the start?

The Spanish capitalist class has learned that one cannot play with fire. Therefore it tries to establish a separation between Franco and the Falange so as to give the country the impression that the repression, the hunger and barbarousness are products of the Falange and not of the "Caudillo." And when the N. Y. Times, mouthpiece of the very democratic American capitalists, informs its readers that there really exists much discontent in Spain — not against Franco but against Falange, Serrano Suner and similar birds of feather - it one of the most elegant theaters reveals that the aim of Angloin the Catalan capital in which American imperialism is to save the Falangists and police, hear- the Franco dictatorship, by cleaning the shouts of "Down with ing out of it the sympathizers field Avenue (near Court House.)

sented especially by Serrano Suner and leading organs of the Falange. Thus its aims coincide

These also would like to do away with the Falange in order to save their rule threatened by danger of a collapse. For different reasons, the Spanish capitalists and the democratic imperialists can agree on the objective changing its color. The opposition of some generals to the Falange was disclosed by a recent dispatch from Madrid, referring to the confinement (limited imprisonment) in certain cities of generals who previously had helped Franco a great deal. Among these are Queipo de Llano, the wine-guzzling wind-bag of "Radio Seville," Aranda, who defended Oviedo from the attacks by the miners, and others.

A QUESTION WITHOUT IMPORTANCE TO MASSES

But one can say in advance that neither the generals nor the democratic imperialists intend anything serious against Franco, unless it is to save the basis of the regime when the popular ofist class without doubt would like fensive threatens to wipe it out. This is not the case just now. The squabbles between Franco and his fellows reduce themselves to closer to Berlin or to London. That is a question without any importance for the poorer masses.

What is of importance for the American and world working class so far as Spain is concerned is the fact that proletarian Spain is beginning to stir, to sharpen its weapons and to resist more and more vigorously. When the revolutionary volcano of Europe erupts - and this perhaps will not be long in coming -Spain will not be any longer at the mercy of fascism. The Spanish masses will once more enter upon the road of socialist revolution with more energy and foresight than in the past. August, 1942.

IN DOWNTOWN NEWARK

THE MILITANT may be purchased at newsstand, 11 Spring-

Hoare Asks Action To Block Post-War Workers' Revolts

By A. ROLAND

Common Fear of the Imperialists

There is one dread held in common by the Hitlers and the Churchills. That is the fear of working class revolution. Both imperialists conduct the war with this in mind at every stage. Each looks to his defenses against revolution both at home and abroad. The effects of mass revolt anywhere in Europe would be felt everywhere. Europe is a vast tinder-box through which revolution would spread like wildfire.

This fear is openly expressed again and again. The latest warning was given only last week by the English arch-reactionary, Sir Samuel Hoare, British Ambassador to Spain. His speech to his "constituents" in Chelsea attributes the nightmare—naturally!—to people abroad, especially in the neutral countries. There could be no such happening in good old England, of course, Particularly if the Labor Party remains under its present leadership.

Hoare does not intend to be ironic in his speech. He merely uses the phrases of capitalism, the labels of its propaganda. He speaks of the danger of "anarchy" following the ending of the war. The present state of affairs-how would he name it? No doubt, "this unfortunate war." It would hardly be in good taste for Sir Samuel Hoare to talk in terms of the "defense of democracy against fascism." Not the perpetrator of the repudiated Hoare-Laval pact! However, we need not expect even such a trifling matter as good taste from a die-hard British imperialist.

If he could be pressed to the wall, Hoare might admit that the present state of affairs is anarchy of a sort, but of course he would insist that it is due to the machinations of Hitler. The English capitalists-God bless them!-are always interested in preventing anarchy and saving civilization. Not only in Europe, but in India too. Churchill has told us that without English rule in India, that sub-continent would fall into anarchy and the Indian races would be at each others' throats. The British devote themselves unselfishly to the prevention of such a calamity.

Anarchy On A World Scale

Sherman said that war was hell. But he had in mind a really puny kind of war, fought primarily on battlefields by armies. Twentieth century totalitarian war places everybody potentially on the battle front. This imperialist war is the worst form of anarchy that the world has ever known. It undermines civilization at a fearful rate. It lays waste whole countries and reduces their peoples to the level of barbarism. Humanity threatens to be consumed by its own engines of destruction.

The war represents the most gigantic breakdown of capitalist society. It is this form of society that, having reached the stage of monopoly and imperialism, breaks down periodically into anarchy. The Hoares have no remedy for this, for there is no remedy while the form of society which they uphold and represent, remains in existence. Hoare's speech is in reality the clearest kind of admission that these imperialist hacks see no possibility of solution for the disease of capitalism. His friends in Madridone may be quite sure they are not workers-express great concern as to what will happen after-victory! Hoare confesses that victory for England will bring a great crisis, a great danger. It is against this danger-after victory, mind you-that Hoare wishes to prepare very carefully in advance, right now.

In his speech last week, he said: "Particularly when the war develops in our favor will it be necessary to make it plain day after day that we have food ready and garrisons equally ready to prevent anarchy. We must have stores and ships earmarked. Europe pays no attention to generalities or resounding purposes. When men and women are up against famine and murder they will only be convinced by hard facts."

Use of Food and Garrisons The hard facts Hoare has in mind are cold steel

for those militant workers who may dream of setting up their own regime-a socialist regime-in Europe. Just as important as victory to Hoare and Churchill, is the ability at the end of the war to impose the will of England on all Europe; that is, to bolster up the capitalist order. England will accumulate food supplies-with the help of lend-lease-to be ready to come to the aid of the capitalist class in the European countries against the "anarchic" workers. England will keep certain troops "ear-marked" to become garrisons in the lands wrested from Hitler. No doubt these troops will be especially selected for their coming duties. They will be handpicked from those elements who are rarin' to go against the working class at all times. Would it be out of place, we wonder, to offer a suggestion to the Ambassador to Franco Spain? Why not release Moseley from his concentration camp to help in the training of these troops? Again Hoare is unconsciously ironic in his speech

when, after his forthright remarks on "garrisons for Europe," he speaks edifyingly of being "particularly careful to avoid by word or deed anything that suggests interference, or still more dictation, in other countries' internal affairs." This is a convenient formula indeed. When reactionaries gain control in any country, the English will not intervene-because this will be interpreted as what the people of that country want. But if workers dare to take things into their own hands-that's anarchy! There the English will see to it that civilization (capitalism) is preserved from harm.

How To Put End To Anarchy

But we feel compelled to remind Hoare and Co. of the old poem by Burns about the "best laid plans of mice and men." The workers of Europe have experienced the hard facts of present anarchy, the real thing. They will refuse to submit once again to a system which breeds nothing but misery and death for the masses while amassing profits for the bosses. The workers will know how to checkmate the designs of British and American imperialism by appealing to their brothers and sisters across the borders. They will know how to put an end to the real anarchythe anarchy of capitalism-and put in its place the order of socialism. Socialism may well be anarchy to the capitalists, for it destroys their system. But to the workers and toilers it is the only way out of the wilderness, the only road to the future.