

Stalinist Policy In Trade Unions

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HESS FLIGHT SHOWS NAZI RULE SHAKY

GM Workers Ready To Strike

**Their Pressure Forces Officials To Set
Strike Deadline; Want Original Demands**

DETROIT, Mich., May 12—The International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers CIO, in the face of protracted and fruitless negotiations with General Motors and the National Defense Mediation Board panel in Washington, set Thursday, May 15, 7 a.m. as the strike deadline in 60 GM plants.

In reports to union officials in a conference in Detroit Sunday, Walter Reuther and George F. Addes reported that none of the union's major demands have been met by the company. The ten weeks of negotiations have brought nothing but a waste of time, and union officials voted to strike Thursday should there be no satisfactory agreement reached in two days of negotiations early this week.

Local union officers were instructed to get their locals in full preparation for strike. Throughout GM, locals are setting up strike kitchens, broadening the Flying Squadrons, and bracing themselves for a strike.

The impasse which has been reached, reveals that the company is bent on a showdown battle. The fruitless weeks of stalling with the Mediation board, a trap into which Reuther and Thomas fell all too easily, netted the union nothing but lost time. Nevertheless, the GM locals are in a strong position.

UNION IS READY

Never was the UAW-CIO as powerful as it is today in GM. The overwhelming majority of GM workers are in the UAW. Locals are well organized compared to two years ago. There is also a considerable treasury built up, both by the international, and in local unions, to support the strike.

The strike date was set after a veritable barrage of demands was hurled at the International officers by local union militants. Committees from local unions in

(Continued on Page

Detroit Is City Of Strikes As GM Battle Approaches

DETROIT, Mich.—The city of Detroit is now the city of strikes. With GM on the verge of a strike, the scene is dotted with major battles.

The Hudson Motor company has been served strike notice by the UAW, and the date set for Tuesday, May 13.

The 7,000 workers of the Murray Corporation in Detroit have also prepared for strike action.

Meanwhile the Ex-Cello strike of tool and die men continues in an effective shut down of all work.

The Teamsters union is waging a major battle with the lumber trade, in a strike which has spread to all the building trades, who walked out in sympathy with the Teamsters. The Teamsters officials have announced that should there be no settlement shortly with the lumber dealers, a general teamsters strike of 30,000 drivers, including over-the-road men, will be called.

Another Detroit Picket Line



Striking members of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) picket the strike-bound main plant of the Ex-Cello Corp. in Detroit, where 3,000 workers have walked out to fight for a 10 cent hourly increase. The company has several million dollars worth of war orders for tools and parts.

AFL-CIO Locals Unite In Frisco Shipyard Strike

**Repudiate Hillman-Green Agreement, Demand Wages Equal To
Other Machinists In Bay Area, And Signed Bethlehem Contract**

SAN FRANCISCO, May 13—Spurning the government-sponsored no-strike "master contract," 1900 striking AFL and CIO machinists, their picket lines respected by 18,000 other shipyard workers, have shut down 11 shipbuilding plants in this area. They went out Friday at midnight.

A huge mobilization of police ordered out to intimidate the strikers by Chief of Police Dullea could find no pretext for molesting the pickets yesterday and today.

The strikers include 1200 members of Local 68, AFL Machinists, and 700 members of the East Bay Machinists Lodge 1304, Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO). They are demanding \$1.15 an hour instead of \$1.12 and doubletime for overtime instead of the time-and-a-half offered in the employer-government-AFL Executive Council agreement. The strikers' demands would represent a \$6.16 increase for a 48-hour week over the wages provided for machinists in the imposed agreement.

At a mass meeting yesterday, over 1,000 AFL strikers rejected a demand from the Office of Production Management that they go back to work and then negotiate.

Continued solid picket lines, idle machinery and smokeless chimneys in the five closed yards here and in the six closed yards across the Bay in Alameda testify to the contempt with which the strikers are treating the "outlaw" strike yelping of the labor skates.

The government officials, employers and AFL tops who cooked up the coast-wide shipyard "master contract," with which they are attempting to "freeze" wages and impose no-strike conditions on the shipyard workers, declare the strike is an "unlawful" repudiation of a contract.

The strikers assert that this agreement was signed in violation of their local autonomy and that they have never subscribed to it. It does not exist as far as they are concerned.

Sidney Hillman was the father of this "master contract" idea and had hopes of spreading it throughout the entire shipbuilding industry. The West Coast "master contract" was signed in Seattle April 23.

CIO BACKS STRIKE
In contrast to the policy of the AFL chiefs, the CIO heads have not attempted to interfere with their striking members here. The Steel Workers Organizing Committee is backing the strike. The bosses are unable to claim that the "master contract" applies to

"We feel it would only prolong the controversy and probably result in a repetition of what we are going through now."

The strike was called in defiance of wired demands of government officials that it be called off. Sec-

GREEN FINKS AGAIN

William Green, AFL president, turned his strikebreaking efforts momentarily away from the CIO to launch a strikebreaking blast at the members of his own organization here. John P. Frey, chief of the AFL Metal Trades Council, has joined in the unholy chorus.

Among the numerous AFL walk-outs of the past week, excluding the San Francisco shipyards strike, were the following:

Building trades workers tie-up at the huge Army ordinance depot construction project at Gallup, New Mexico.

Shut-down of construction work on \$35,000,000 government ordinance plant by AFL carpenters in Ravenna, Ohio.

Halting of work in Boston on construction at the big Navy drydock.

2500 molders out from 40 iron and brass foundries in Chicago and Fox River Valley.

Cleveland Welding Company, manufacturing submarine and tank parts, closed by machinists.

the CIO machinists because the CIO officials were not invited in on the "master contract" deal.

Spurring on the shipyard strikers to press for their demands is the fact that some 2500 AFL machinists — also members of Local 68 — won the rates and conditions which the present strikers are asking, in a recent successful three-weeks strike of the inland machine shops in this area.

The rates demanded by the shipyard men are therefore the prevailing rates in this area.

As E. F. Dillon, business agent for Local 68, expressed the workers' feelings: "Why should 1,200 of our members work under a contract that is less favorable to them than one we won by strike action for 2,500 others?"

AFL Strikers Are Following Example Of CIO Strike Gains

Undoubtedly inspired by the gains won during the recent CIO strikes, AFL workers in all sections of the country are beginning to strike despite William Green's "no-strike" injunctions.

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No Self-Confidence In Nazi Tops, Rift Shows

**But Hitler Still Rests On Masses' Fear Of Another Versailles;
A British Workers' Government Would Quickly Topple Hitler**

At the height of the Nazi military victories, Rudolf Hess, Hitler's deputy as leader of the Nazi party, has fled Germany like a rat leaving a sinking ship.

Had Hess any faith in the durability of those victories, it is inconceivable that he would have fled. Designated as the second heir to the supreme rulership of Germany, what could Hess have fled from, except in fear of impending disaster? The idea that Hess' flight was a trick of Hitler's is absurd on the face of it: what gain to Hitler from such a maneuver could compensate for the major blow to morale caused by the news that Hess has fled to England?

Once Hess' sanity is conceded—and Berlin appears to have abandoned its first attempts to label him insane—it must be assumed that he fled after a serious quarrel among the rulers of Germany and that the strife came over the question of making peace with Britain.

Berlin asserts that Hess wants peace with Britain because he is certain that otherwise Britain will be destroyed. This "explanation" would have us believe that this monster, guilty of countless murders, has suddenly become solicitous of the lives that would be lost in further warfare! The one probable element of truth in Berlin's explanation is that Hess does want peace with Britain.

That can only mean that the situation in Germany and Europe is far more serious than has been generally believed.

The difficulties confronting the Nazis in the occupied countries are clear enough. Hitler, remembering the disastrous consequences of the German attempt to rule Belgium, northern France and the Ukraine by naked bayonets in the last war, sought to find another way. He sought strong native collaborators, capable of establishing "independent" regimes.

But in Norway, Belgium, Holland, occupied France, Hitler has failed and must rule directly and with bayonets, as did the

Kaiser. Surrounded by universal hostility, German army morale collapsed in 1918 in the occupied countries—that is the danger again today. And, no more than in 1917-18, can production in those countries be organized effectively by armed force. Nazi propaganda adds up the population of occupied Europe as if it were counting allies instead of enemies—but Hess knows better.

UNREST IN GERMANY

Since Hess, "the original Nazi," looks upon other peoples as mere subjects, his demoralization probably means that within Germany too there is extreme dissatisfaction among the masses. One can

scarcely exaggerate the significance of the fact that Hess fled at the height of the military victories. If the dissatisfaction and danger of real opposition in Germany is already so apparent now, then we can imagine what Hess expects when the Nazis run into their first military defeat!

The British authorities — apparently expecting a new Hitler-Stalin pact — appear desirous of spreading the story that Hess opposed full German collaboration with Stalin. The British story would have it that Hess is in "principled" opposition to alliance with the Soviet Union. But if

Hess had any faith that the Nazis were marching to victory, it is hard to believe that he would have been troubled by a new link with the Soviet regime. Nazi victory, he knows, would be followed by invasion of the Soviet Union.

The kernel of truth in this story is, probably, that Hess believed an alliance with Stalin would not solve any of Germany's problems and that he counterposed to such an alliance the idea of making peace with Britain.

The British are also spreading the implication that Hess believes Britain will be victorious. That, however, does not follow from Hess' lack of faith in the future of the Nazis. He could scarcely hope to convince the British to make peace at this moment, when Hitler has the advantage, if he believed the British would soon win.

Much more likely is that Hess fears the consequences of further warfare, not only to the Nazis but also to the British rulers. With his political experience he knows that, if the Nazi ruler is overturned in the course of the war, it will be the workers and peasants of Europe who will come to the fore; that Britain's subject peoples will also rise, taking advantage of Britain's difficulties; and that in a world in revolutionary flames Churchill will be as endangered as Hitler.

Hess, then, may be pleading for peace, not only for the sake of Germany's rulers, but on the basis that the ruling class of the two countries must unite against the common enemy: revolution.

Whatever Hess' own motivation may be — and it may be long before we really know what he actually thought — his act has dealt the Nazi war machine a deadly blow.

As deep as the gloom in the Japanese press at the news of this blow to its ally is, of course, the joy in Washington and Britain. The "democratic" imperialists consider this their victory and it is true that it bolsters them in their conflict with the totalitarian imperialists.

But, in reality, this demoralization and flight of the No. 3 Nazi is a harbinger of OUR victory, the victory of the revolutionary fighters, against fascism and against imperialism whether "democratic" or fascist.

OUR PROGRAM CONFIRMED
Yes, it points the way to our victory. Everywhere in the world — and inside Germany — Hess' act has illumined the essential instability of the Nazi regime.

How foolish appear those "democrats" who had such awe for Nazism that they thought its military exploits were guaranteeing it permanence!

How absurd are those "democ-

(Continued on Page 4)

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

A few weeks ago the Jews celebrated the Feast of Passover, commemorating the departure of the Jews from Egypt for the Promised Land. The near future may hold for Jews the twisted irony of a new exodus, an exodus from the Promised Land back to Egypt.

The chances are that with the threat of a Nazi drive through Syria into Palestine toward Suez, this exodus has already begun. As usual it would be those Jews with some money who are able to get out just in advance of the storm. For the rest, the hapless hundreds of thousands who thought that in Palestine they might find refuge, the time of flight amid the storm may well be drawing near.

For decades now the Zionists have placed all hopes of a Jewish homeland upon the sharp points of British bayonets. They depended upon these bayonets to defend them against the Arabs and preferred this defense to the choice of a compact between Arab and Jew. In the last few years they secured precious little defense against the Arabs and tomorrow they will have even less certainty of defense against the approaching Nazi legions. There will be no way left but to retrace the path of Moses through the wilderness back into Egypt land.

The Arabs, for their part, twisted about like pawns by vengeful leaders, may find themselves transferred from the

British imperialist yoke to the German. The compromises of their leaders in the past twenty years with the British would bear fruit now not in liberation but in subjection to the Nazis.

Both Jew and Arab, in other words, may have to pay in this form for their failure to find the common ground on which both could be free.

But take the other variant... that Hitler will not succeed in reaching Suez from the East... what then for the Jewish homeland in Palestine? It is already a battle sector. The British have to gamble desperately upon Arab support against the Nazis and who can doubt for a single moment that they will gladly offer up to Arab leaders the carcass of Jewish "homeland" hopes in return for such support?

When we, for years, repeatedly warned that the only hope of the Jews in Palestine was accord with the Arabs fellow-humans, that the only hope of Jews everywhere was in the overthrow of capitalism, we were brushed off as extremists and dreamers. "Realism" was the keynote of Zionist policy for the Jews. Let Jews ponder now where this realism is taking them—back into Egypt land. For our part we repeat once more: the Jew will be liberated only when all mankind is freed from the butchering rapacity of imperialism.

WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Letter Gives Effects Of War On Ireland Despite Its "Peace"

Editor:

Readers of THE MILITANT will undoubtedly be interested in the conditions confronting the Irish people, as revealed in the following excerpts from a letter I just received from Dublin. Technically Ireland is not in the war; but these conditions show what the war is doing to Ireland—and this is just the beginning.

B.C.

(Excerpts)

The almost complete lack of petrol complicates moving. I've got to move my things only about 15 miles, but it is almost impossible to hire a lorry with enough petrol to go that distance. There are no private cars allowed except for doctors and priests, and even the commercial lorries are very short. Most of the haulage is now done by horses. In fact every horse in Ireland that is fit to work and quite a few that are not are now to be seen in the streets.

Most of the lorries that are still running are fitted with producer gas plants, more or less hastily rigged up, to burn Irish anthracite coal, or else have gas bags on top and are running on town gas.

This and the general shortage of everything has had a very bad effect on industry. There is a very great deal of unemployment.

In my new house there is no way of lighting except by oil lamps, as in many parts of Ireland, and it's fortunate that the summer is coming, because lamp oil is almost impossible to get. Another difficulty is fuel. It's not only expensive, but often unobtainable.

Many seeds are also difficult to get. One must just sow anything obtainable and hope for the best. Feeding stuffs for my hens and other livestock are so expensive as to be impossible. And on top of everything else, including a very bad sowing season which may have disastrous effects upon the crops, we have a standstill order for cattle owing to the foot and mouth disease.

I cannot, for example, get a permit to take my milch goats from my old farm to my new one. The disease is terribly infectious and no movements of cloven hoofed animals is allowed at all, except under permit for immediate slaughter. It is forbidden to walk

across any field even to do business, for fear of carrying away the germs on one's boots. Even dogs must be kept on a chain to keep them out of the fields. The transport of straw and manure in Dublin is forbidden. These precautions are absolutely necessary, but can you imagine the effects upon agriculture?

Dublin, March 27, 1941

Collective Action By Soldiers Gets Them Results At Tilden

EDITOR:

You might be interested to hear of an incident that happened in the training camp here at Fort Tilden.

Regulation instructions are that we can't petition Congress on any grievances but we must take any grievance up only with our immediate superior officers.

Some of the boys didn't like the fact that we were permitted passes to leave camp only on weekends, as we have most evenings free and not much to keep us occupied then.

They started to circulate a petition to get passes to leave camp at any time we are off duty, which is usually by 4:30 P.M. except for occasional minor duties afterward. From then until 11:30 P.M., which is turn-in, we are off duty.

Those who were circulating the petition were warned by the sergeant to stop, because he said it was a court-martial offense to circulate a petition in the army. That put the squelch on the petition campaign.

Nevertheless, the petition activity must have put the officers wise to how the men were feeling. And to our great satisfaction we have received passes now which permit us to leave camp whenever we are off duty.

A DRAFTEE

Fort Tilden, Far Rockaway, N.Y.

In Los Angeles

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Strike Headquarters---Army Style



Evicted from their headquarters by a landlord who showed a sudden bias against militant unionism, these undaunted strikers from the J. Saker Mfg. Co. in Queens, New York City, pitched this tent on a nearby vacant lot and set up strike headquarters. The 350 strikers, members of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), have been holding their picket line for over five weeks in a fight for higher wages and better working conditions.

Bronx Slave Market Is Merely Moved Indoors

Even LaGuardia Has To Admit, At Opening Ceremony, That He Has Just Put A Roof Over It; A Union Of Domestic Workers Needed

By MURRAY FIELD

The New York City Committee on Street Corner Markets, composed of Federal, State, civic, and social agencies, opened a "hiring hall" on May 2 at 1029 Simpson St. just off Westchester Avenue, in one of the many Bronx neighborhoods where sidewalk hiring of domestic workers has been going on.

The Simpson Street Day Work Office, which is the first of two projected "hiring halls," will be open Monday through Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 4 P.M., and on Saturday from 7:30 A.M. to 11 A.M. A second office will soon be opened in the West Bronx.

The day prior to the opening of the Simpson Street Office, Mayor LaGuardia and other city officials spoke to a crowd of one thousand people assembled in the area.

Mayor LaGuardia said: "Nothing to date has really been solved on this question of the domestics here, if we are to be perfectly frank."

Miss Cora Cook, Chairman of the Committee on Street Corner Markets plainly stated the limitations of the step:

"The primary purpose of the office will be to give housewives and day workers comfortable quarters, off the streets, protected from inclement weather, with adequate seating and other facilities, in which they can meet informally to make their own hiring arrangements, just as they have on the streets in the past. We will not supervise these arrangements or interfere with them in any way."

"The office will be operated by a staff of two hostesses. Workers will not be registered, no references will be required, and there will be no record keeping."

For years certain areas in the Bronx have been known as "slave markets." Negro women, in the main residents of Harlem, would congregate on the street corners in search of domestic work. In

all kinds of weather, these workers appeared on the street corners, ready to sell their labor for a day's wage.

The New York World-Telegram, in reporting the decision of the Committee to open "hiring halls," wrote:

"For years close-fisted housewives have made a practice of bargaining and chiseling domestic workers into doing their chores for slave wages. In rain, snow, and blistering sun the workers have stood in the streets and waited an offer from their economic masters."

HIDING THE SORE

The opening of "hiring halls" is not an attempt by the city to better them off the streets. The same bartering will continue as before. Now it will be done indoors, in an attempt to hide this economic sore from public eyes.

But the Committee on Street Corner Markets has not even succeeded in this. The Simpson Street "hiring hall" was "formerly a one-room store. It is situated in an area of heavy traffic, and there are posters in the windows of stores in the neighborhood, advertising the 'hiring hall.' The small room is wide open to public view. The Negro domestic workers have a shelter, but only a shelter from the weather, not from the economic necessities of a bankrupt social system. The city has done nothing to remove the real evil of unemployment and Jim Crowism.

HOW IT "WORKS"

The first day that the office opened for business, I talked there to one of the domestic workers, an elderly Negro woman. "There will be plenty of comebacks," she said. "The ladies will tell the office 35 cents or 40 cents, and then when you get there, and just before you start to work, they will tell you 20 cents or 25 cents and there you are."

A boy came into the "hiring hall," his mother had sent him for a worker. It was a cleaning and washing job. The worker's price was \$2.75 for the job. The boy went home, came back, and said that his mother said that the price was too much. The Negro woman was firm and refused to lower the wage she wanted. The boy left—and a few minutes later he came out on the street corner, bargaining with two Negro women. One of them left with him to take the job.

The Negro workers are being brought together into a "hiring hall" in order to hide an existing evil, not to cure and remove it.

It will be the workers themselves who will remove the evil, by banding together into a union of workers who will bargain collectively and win higher wages and better working

conditions. The workers themselves will find the solution to the problem in organization. A union of domestic workers, united, and firm in its demands for higher wages and better working conditions, can get what it wants.

TROTSKYISTS IN L. A. NAIL A STALINIST LIE

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—The People's World, West Coast organ of the Communist Party, stated on May 7, 1941 that Tommy Laurence, who testified against Harry Bridges in the present deportation case, is a "Los Angeles Trotskyite."

The Los Angeles Section of the Socialist Workers Party, labelling this a cowardly slander, typical of the Moscow frame-up trials, has requested that the labor movement of Los Angeles set up a non-partisan, unbiased committee to investigate the charges of the People's World. The S.W.P. addressed itself particularly to the Cutters' Local 84 of the I.L.G.W.U., of which Laurence is a member, to set up such a committee.

The Los Angeles Trotskyists declared, in a widely-distributed leaflet:

"In the name of the Socialist Workers Party we state that Tommy Laurence is not, never was and never will be a member of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) or any 'Trotskyite' organization... This is an unprincipled attempt to discredit the Trotskyist movement of Los Angeles by connecting it with this government stool-pigeon."

The "Communist Party finds it much easier to fight us by using such lies, slanders and frame-ups than to fight on the basis of principle and program. It is not surprising that the Stalinist School of Falsification, with these methods, has graduated such a mass of renegades as Laurence, Leech, Honig, Gitlow, etc. Government pressure has caused the rats to come out of the C.P. like maggots out of a rotten cheese."

OUR STAND ON BRIDGES

"The Socialist Workers Party repeats its position on the Bridges deportation case," the leaflet stated.

"We are opposed to the attempt to deport Bridges because this attempt is in reality an attack on the labor movement. We have often been in opposition to the Bridges' trade union policy. We believe that this policy is injurious to labor. But these are differences WITHIN the labor movement. Against the anti-labor, red-baiting attacks of the bosses and their courts, we will defend any labor leader whether or not we agree with his ideas and policies. (This is the united front which the Stalinists always preach, but never practice.)"

Rand School "Socialists" Call The Cops

NEW YORK CITY, May 13 — The "war for democracy" Social Democrats who run the Rand School have a simple answer to the Trotskyist fight against the war. John L. Afros, executive director of the Rand School, located at 7 East 15th Street, last night called the cops.

In front of the Rand School, Ray Jeffrey, MILITANT salesman, was showing the paper to members of Local 874 of the Painters Union.

Afros ordered Jeffrey to "heat it."

Jeffrey replied that he had a right to sell political literature on the streets of New York, and that he intended to continue distributing literature until the last vestige of democracy was taken away by Roosevelt's war dictatorship.

Afros attempted to tear the bundle of papers out of Jeffrey's hands. Part of the bundle fell on the pavement. Jeffrey picked them up and continued distributing.

The painters who watched Afros make the attack asked loudly, "What is this — Hitler?"

Unable to drive THE MILITANT salesman away, Afros called the cops and charged Jeffrey with disorderly conduct and assault. The cops obliged their Socialist Democratic pal by hauling Jeffrey to the night court where he was released on \$50 bail.

GM WORKERS ARE READY

(Continued from page 1)

Detroit, Flint, Cleveland, Lansing, Pontiac and elsewhere, hammered at the International offices constantly during the last two weeks. Local union after local union demanded the setting of a strike date.

Moreover, not only was the demand made to quit stalling, but to hold fast to the original demands of the union as outlined in the proposed contract drawn up at the February delegated GM conference.

There is no doubt that, should the strike break, the militant picket lines would revive the demands lost in the shuffle of mediation: the shop steward system, the ten cent wage increase, the union shop, the 60 day seniority clause, the \$25 weekly pay for draftees... all these will doubtless adorn the placards on the picket lines.

In the main centers of GM, production has not yet been seriously curtailed. There are still plenty of orders, and much production on the books. The union can and must win the strike.

Some of the locals in the outlying centers have been discouraged by the long drawn out negotiations, and feel that a strike would be made with difficulty. Although now is not the best time of year, nevertheless workers in the Detroit and Flint and Cleveland centers know they have the company in a hopeless position. Militants must not lose sight of the fact that every day the company is shut down it costs them millions.

As far as war orders are concerned, Reuther's stated policy of not striking the 5% of production devoted to "defense" materials, will prove to be unrealistic during the strike — if for no other reason than that the company will shut down the war work in order to bring greater pressure to bear on the union. Reuther's program is impractical. More than that, however, it has aroused the opposition of many local unions who see in this policy a step by which the union in advance sets a precedent in giving up the right to strike on war orders.

The CIO nationally has affirmed both in word and action the right to strike for decent conditions on government orders. The GM workers will not allow a weak-hearted leadership as represented by Reuther and Thomas, to give away this right.

Should the GM corporation refuse to accede to the union demands by 7 a. m. Thursday, and ask for a showdown, they will get what they ask for. The GM workers, inspired by the mighty victories of the Ford workers, the Bethlehem workers, and wave of victorious strikes generally, will show once again that they are an invincible union army. They proved it once in 1937. In 1941 they will prove it once again.



"MY DAY"—

BOLSHEVIK STYLE

(The following excerpt comes from a letter sent us by one of our women comrades. She travels ten miles back and forth each week between her home and a large industrial plant where, during a recent strike, she and a few other devoted supporters of the MILITANT spent many hours disposing of copies of the paper to the strikers. After an enforced lapse of two weeks, she returned to the plant gates with her bundle of MILITANTS and then went her regular rounds of the streets surrounding the factory.)

The other day I took the Ford issue and the current issue to the steel plant. As I was getting out of the car a fellow who has bought his MILITANT from me several times came up and spoke to me. I asked him what he thought of the paper and he said it was very good; as a matter of fact he asked for an extra copy for some of his shopmates. A peppy start for a swell day!

I went down the street to a Spanish Club, formerly Stalinist-dominated, where I have often been verbally attacked most viciously; but there had been one who always brought from me, so I went in. The former customer who always brought from me, was not to be found. Was I scared! But definitely! There was no turning back, however, so I went up to the table where the men were playing cards — and were my knees knocking! I asked for the person I was looking for and then one of the others recognized me — and was nice to me! Bought a paper and said he would be looking for it every week. I disposed of several copies of the Ford issue and left, wondering if I was dreaming, for this fellow who first bought the pa-

per had at one time attacked me quite furiously.

Then I went on to a "coffee house" called the International Cafe where I knew the people to be very cautious and completely under Stalinist influence. I used previously to get a very distant reception, polite enough but cool, as much as to say, "What's this woman doing here? We have nothing in common with the likes of her, she's a Trotskyist." To my surprise I was well received and they were glad to see the paper.

I have just come back from the sub-station where I mailed out papers to ten or twelve people. That is how we use up the little profit we make on our sales. I usually carry these customers for a week or two (you know, like you carry me for a month or so) but at last I am glad to be able to report that I have very little money outstanding; in fact, at the moment of writing I believe there is but a dime still due. Not bad, says I, when you consider that for a time I had between 2 and 3 dollars due me!

THE SERIOUSNESS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

This week three cities seriously considered the business of applying themselves to the job of securing subscriptions to our press. In each of the communications we received on the subject, they assured us that the monthly quota was to be for absolutely new subscriptions either to THE MILITANT or to the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL; renewals of expirations were to come through as a matter of course.

St. Paul promises a minimum of ten subscriptions a month; Youngstown, five; San Francisco, five. Who else?

The sub-consciousness generated in the recent campaign seems to have left a good hangover.

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Marine Engineers' Official Gives Proof Of Curran's Strikebreaking

Trainer, N.Y. MEBA Head Tells MILITANT Reporter Full Facts of Export Line Strike

By ART PREIS

Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union (CIO), is guilty of attempting to break a bona-fide strike of the CIO Marine Engineers now striking the ships of the American Export Lines at the Jersey City docks.

Indisputable proof of this was presented to THE MILITANT in an interview, last Monday afternoon, with Edward P. Trainer, secretary and business agent of Local 33, Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association (CIO) which is conducting the strike.

Trainer not only proved that Curran is attempting to break a legitimate strike, but had documentary evidence which established beyond any doubt that Curran lied to the members of the NMU in order to get them to carry out Curran's strikebreaking moves.

On May 1, Curran ordered members of the NMU to cross the picket line of the MEBA and man the S. S. Siboney, an American Export Line ship, which the marine engineers had struck on its arrival at the Jersey City dock on April 26.

The Siboney had been transferred recently from the Ward Line, with which the MEBA has a contract, to the American Export Line which has a company union for licensed men. When it took over the Siboney, the Export Line tried to force the ship's MEBA staff into the company union.

This was the principal cause of the strike, which then spread to two other Export Line ships as the engineers on them, mostly MEBA men, joined the strike.

CURRAN CHANGES ALIBI

"Curran has given two different excuses, both of which can't be true, for violating our picket line," said Trainer.

"Last week Curran issued a statement published in the NMU paper, The Pilot, that the engineers couldn't maintain a picket line, that they were afraid to picket because of fear of company discrimination.

"But the week before that, Curran admitted we were maintaining a picket line when he gave as his excuse for violating our picket line that we were paying the pickets.

"I asked Curran, 'What should we do? Let them starve?' Sure we paid the pickets, \$7 a day. That's what we have a strike fund for.

"The truth is that not a single engineer who walked off those three ships has returned to work.

"The company brought on strikebreakers and when the NMU unlicensed men went on board the Siboney they violated a legitimate union picket line in order to work with strikebreakers."

CURRAN'S LIES NAILED

What about Curran's claim that the company union was not the issue, and that the fight was over the question of the war bonuses, and that the bonus issue could be settled without a strike? I asked Trainer.

"The issue is company unionism and nothing else," he answered. "Sure we asked for improved conditions, including war bonuses, but these are not the main issues. The main thing is how can we get anything until the company agrees to discontinue the company union and recognize us. Even Curran has to admit that we're fighting a company union set-up."

But, I said, Curran claims in The Pilot that the company union has won an election and has been certified by the NLRB.

Trainer brought out a May 9 issue of The Pilot and together we read a paragraph in it, from a statement of the NMU National Office, which said:

"There is a company union organization among the officers of the Export Line which has been certified by the National Labor Relations Board, as an independent union. Because of this, the company claimed that before they could sign another contract, it would be necessary to hold another election."

Well, what about it? I asked.

With a broad grin, Trainer handed me a letter from the NLRB, a copy of which he gave THE MILITANT for publication. This letter is dated May 9, 1941, and is signed by Elmore M. Herrick, Regional Director, Second Region, NLRB. The letter is addressed to Trainer and reads:

"This will acknowledge your

letter of May 5th in which you inquire as to the date the National Labor Relations Board designated the Brotherhood of Marine Officers as the bargaining agent for the marine engineers employed by the above company (Export Steamship Corp.)

"We have no record of any proceeding under Section 9 (c) of the act involving the Brotherhood of Marine Officers. The only matter affecting this union, of which we have a record, is an 8 (2) charge filed by you on February 4, 1939 which was dismissed on September 9, 1939, the dismissal being sustained by the Board on November 4th, 1939."

Trainer said: "So you see, there's never been an election held, so the NLRB could never have certified the company union. This letter proves that Curran's excuses for violating our picket line are absolutely phoney!"

ENGINEERS HELPED NMU

Trainer then told the story of how the MEBA had helped to found the NMU.

"Our union is one of the oldest in the country. And we've always been a militant outfit. We've conducted more strikes than any other maritime union in the country.

"In 1936 we began to make real headway. Right now we have over \$300 contracts. And while our jurisdiction—licensed men—does not cover more than eight men on any ship, our membership is more than half as large as the NMU's. And they have anywhere from 40 to 400 unlicensed men to organize on a ship.

"Our men went out in the Fall of '36 on the West Coast along with the West Coast sailors. We began to picket the West Coast vessels when they arrived on the East Coast. When we went to the old—now dead—International Seamen's Union and told them we were setting up picket lines on the inter-coastal vessels from the West Coast, Grange, Hunter and their other officials said they were going to crash the picket lines and that they were out to smash the West Coast Sailors and Harry Bridges' union.

"That's when we got together for the first time with Curran. It was over the question of the ISU attempt to break a picket line that we got together. Curran was representing the unlicensed men. They didn't even have a regular union affiliation. We'd never heard of Curran before, never met him.

"Well, we went out on strike five days before Thanksgiving Day, 1936. The engineers came out solid. Few of Curran's men came off. But we gave the unlicensed men, who were trying to get their union started, 100 per cent backing.

FIRST EXPORT LINE FIGHT

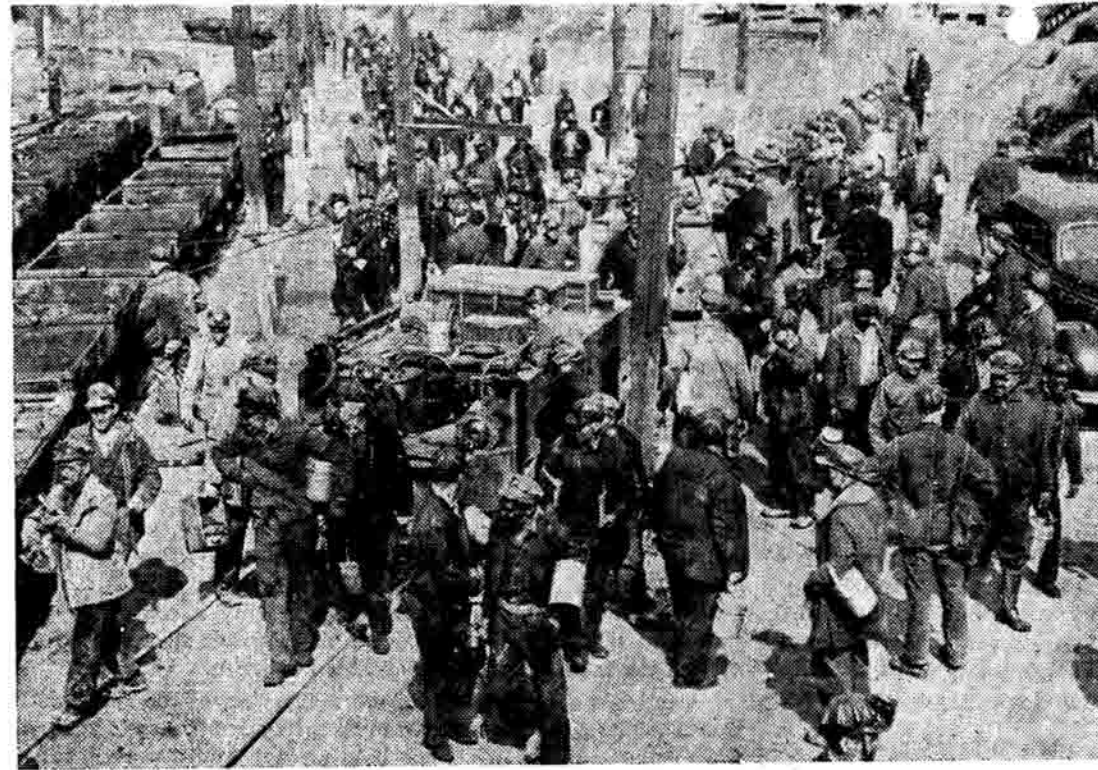
"And now," said Trainer grimly, "We come to the story of the Export Line fight—the story that begins not in 1941, as the PILOT seems to indicate, but back in 1936.

"Five days after we pulled out on strike, on Thanksgiving Day 1936, the Export Line offered the MEBA a closed shop contract and a 15 per cent wage increase if we'd sign without Curran. We flatly refused to sign unless the company also signed with Curran's organization.

"As a result of this, we finally lost out on the Export Line, because Curran's organization then couldn't enforce its strike against the Export Line. But we did stick it out together with Curran and won five joint contracts on other lines.

"We stood by the unlicensed men even when they couldn't real-

After The Victory



These miners got one dollar more for this day's work than for any other previous day's work in their history. They are members of the United Mine Workers (CIO) shown leaving the pits at the Montour coal mine in Library, Pa., after their first day on the job under the new contract won by the recent 28-day soft coal strike.

ly be called a union. The companies held out two days in those negotiations on this account. All the unlicensed men could call themselves was the 'Strike Strategy Committee.' It took the lawyers a couple of hours to decide what to call them in the contract. And they finally called them the 'Strike Strategy Committee.' That was the embryo NMU.

"Well, when we lost the strike on the Export Lines in '36-'37, the strikebreakers took the places of our union men. These strikebreakers were the ones who formed the nucleus of the company union—we call it the 'Mystic Knights of the Sea'—that is the Brotherhood of Marine Officers. But strikebreakers never did make satisfactory engineers, so the company had to take back some of our men. But 44 of our men never did get back.

CURRAN'S GRATITUDE

"In '37 there was a scarcity of unlicensed men. Three months after the '36-'37 strike, Curran pulled another strike on the Export Lines. Through the strike and an NLRB appeal, the NMU won recognition. But when we went to Curran to give us support in getting recognition for the MEBA on the Export Lines, he refused to do anything for us.

"We've had our case before the NLRB over three years now. But because of the political tie-up of the company, which is owned by the Lehman banking interests, with the NLRB officials, Mrs. Herrick threw our case out of the second Region board. This board under her has a company union bias to begin with. The figures show that this one board has certified four-fifths of the total company unions certified in the entire country. We appealed to Washington, which ordered another hearing before the regional board again.

"We've won any number of cases with one-tenth the evidence we had against the Export Lines. But Mrs. Herrick deliberately stalled us off for nine or ten months before calling another hearing. By then most of our witnesses were working and not available. They were all out to sea.

"That's the kind of set-up we were up against and we knew that the only way we could crack the company union set-up was by striking the line. And that's what we finally did when the proper occasion arose."

"We called to Mr. Trainer's attention the fact that a meeting had been arranged between the American Merchant Marine Institute and the NMU to discuss the war bonuses. The dispute on the Export Lines prevented this meeting from materializing because the companies claimed that the refusal of the unlicensed personnel to sail these ships constituted a violation of contract. They stated that until such time as the dispute was straightened out, they would not meet with the NMU to discuss the important question of war bonuses."

Trainer rapped the document

WHY CURRAN FINKED

Toward the end of the interview, Trainer showed me a mimeographed "Statement on the MEBA-American Export Line Dispute" issued by the National Council of the NMU. He pointed out one paragraph and said, "This tells the whole story." The paragraph read:

"We called to Mr. Trainer's attention the fact that a meeting had been arranged between the American Merchant Marine Institute and the NMU to discuss the war bonuses. The dispute on the Export Lines prevented this meeting from materializing because the companies claimed that the refusal of the unlicensed personnel to sail these ships constituted a violation of contract. They stated that until such time as the dispute was straightened out, they would not meet with the NMU to discuss the important question of war bonuses."

DANGER TO NMU

Trainer repeatedly stressed the fact that Curran's present strikebreaking actions are paving the way for the shipowners to strike deadly blows at the NMU itself. "The heaviest defeats of the NMU—not only defeats, but complete annihilation—have occurred on those lines where the owners have succeeded in first forcing the licensed men into company unions. That's what happened on the tanker ships of Standard Oil of New York and New Jersey, Tidewater and Texas Company. That's what happened out on the West Coast with Standard Oil of Cal-

ifornia and the Union Oil Company.

"And that's exactly what the Export Line is aiming to do. When Curran sends his men through our picket line in this Export strike he's helping to cut the throat of his own union."

"Curran can't point to a single company where the unlicensed seamen have been forced into a company union set-up, where the licensed men had not been forced in first."

CURRAN DUCKS HEARING

The MEBA has asked for a hearing on the dispute with Curran before the New Jersey CIO state body, in addition to wiring a protest against Curran's actions to Philip Murray, CIO president. The hearing is asked before the Jersey council because the strike is within New Jersey.

Trainer has already sent a statement of the MEBA's case to the Jersey CIO body, which asked Curran to make a reply. But Curran has as yet failed to comply with this request.

Instead, Curran tried to get the MEBA to accept as a substitute for the Jersey hearing an appearance before the Greater New York Industrial Council—a preposterous proposition since the New York council has no jurisdiction in the matter. This body, in which many CIO unions do not participate, is Stalinist-controlled and through it Curran could, of course, give himself a clean bill of health.

Trainer stated that the MEBA had withdrawn from the New York council in protest against its failure to condemn Curran's strikebreaking. "They're a too well oiled machine," he said.

Curran had previously asked him to appear for a "hearing" before an NMU meeting, Trainer informed me.

"And then he laughed heartily. 'That's not the kind of hearing we want. I didn't intend to go to any one-sided meeting. Curran was just offering me a Moscow Trial.'"

BURDEN ON WORKERS

Murray's statement charged that all the proposals for taxes to raise an additional \$3,600,000,000 now before the Ways and Means Committee, would only advance the tendency whereby the major

with his knuckles. "That's the way Curran's paid us back for our refusal to sign a contract on the Export Lines without a contract being given the unlicensed men in the '36-'37 strike. The companies want the Export strike 'straightened out.' So Curran obliges them by strikebreaking.

"This is a clear case of Curran sacrificing the interests of the striking MEBA men in return for some quick concessions for his own members. It's pretty significant that within 24 hours of his violating our picket lines, after his return from a conference with the ship-owners in Washington, that increases for the NMU men were announced on a number of lines, including the American-West African and the East African.

"There was a good reason why the owners were willing to make this deal. They have always wanted to break up the industrial set-up on the ships, the cooperation between the different crafts and between the licensed and unlicensed men. By creating a rift between us now, the employers hope to be able to hit the NMU later."

CIO Raps Taxes

On Low Incomes

Murray Issues 3-Point Program To Ease Tax Load On Poor And Shift It Onto Rich

A three-point tax program in opposition to the employers' plan to foist the burden of the new war taxes on the workers has been put forth by CIO President Philip Murray.

The program attacks the imposition of income taxes on income brackets below the 1939 \$1,000 exemptions for single persons and \$2,500 for married couples. It opposes new taxes on consumers goods. And it calls for increased levies on the big incomes, wealthy estates and corporation profits.

The CIO's specific proposals, as presented last week by Philip Murray to the House Ways and Means Committee, are as follows:

"1. Relief from income taxes for all incomes below the 1939 exemptions of \$1,000 and \$2,500 and the lifting of all excise and sales taxes from commodities that are not clearly luxury goods.

"2. No additional excise or sales taxes and no extension of income taxes or surtaxes on incomes below 1939 exemptions of \$2,500 and \$1,000.

"3. All new tax income should at this time be collected from increased taxes on high individual incomes, estates and growing corporation profits. This includes taxes on excess profits, undivided profits, tax-exempt securities and inheritances."

Murray termed the tax record of the past ten years as "shocking," in which the "burden of federal taxation upon the working people has grown heavier in size and proportion."

Taxes on the low income groups do not come out of savings or luxuries, Murray pointed out. "They mean less food, clothing and shelter."

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Governor OK's 7-Day Week In New York State

In The Name of "National Defense," Lehman Tells State Bodies To Permit Employers In War Industries To Violate State Laws

BUFFALO, N. Y., May 10—With the direct backing of the state officials who are charged by law with enforcement of the New York State statute which provides that no one may work more than six days a week, bosses are forcing increasing numbers of workers on war-orders to work seven days a week.

The six-day week law is being violated under "variations" granted by the State Board of Standards & Appeals. Governor Lehman has issued an order to state departments to "ease up" on too strict interpretation of regulations when they "impede defense activities."

Apparently to acquaint employers with this new government-made opportunity to exploit workers, the Standard & Appeals Board's chairman, William J. Pickard, yesterday issued a statement in Albany to the Associated Press which was prominently published today in the press of this industrial city.

"We are listening to individual appeals," said Mr. Pickard, "and we are granting the request to aid emergency production in cases where an investigation justifies such action."

What the "investigation" amounts to is indicated by the fact that Mr. Pickard went on to say: "Applications (from employers) are considered AND A RULING MADE WITHIN 24 HOURS." Quite a speedy investigation!

Pickard said the board is satisfied the seven-day week "is justified in certain circumstances" and is contributing to expedite production of essential supplies.

OTHER LAWS VIOLATED

The six-day law isn't the only one that is now being violated with the connivance of law-enforcement officials. Pickard said that "other labor laws" also are

included in the board's attempt to "cut red tape."

As an example, the Board of Standards & Appeals has permitted a manufacturer of timing fuses to store black powder and primers in quantities greater than allowed by the Labor Law or industrial code. Thus a law adopted after much pressure, aimed to give elementary protection to the lives and limbs of workers in explosive plants, is thrust aside arbitrarily as if it never was on the statute books.

CITE ROOSEVELT LETTER

The Associated Press dispatch reporting this outrageous violation of the law connected it with Roosevelt's letter last week to the OPM, in which the President said it is essential "every critical machine in the United States be used the maximum number of hours each week." The goal, said Roosevelt, should be "to work these machines 24 hours a day and seven days a week."

That goal is being sought by working not only machines but men seven days a week, and

Roosevelt's exhortation is being used to justify it.

Governor Lehman, Roosevelt's dear friend and party comrade, is of course a great believer in democracy. Just what he means by democracy may be judged from his setting aside statutes sought by the people and adopted by the legislature. If Lehman and Roosevelt wanted to be democratic about it, one might think they would send a message to the legislature requesting it to set aside the statutes to the extent that Roosevelt and Lehman believe necessary.

That they will not do, however, for the simple reason that the legislators would not dare brave the displeasure of their constituents by such a brazenly anti-labor step. Therefore? Therefore Roosevelt and Lehman don't trouble about changing the law and arbitrarily and illegally set it aside. This is their brand of democracy!

This latest outrage provides new proof, if further proof were needed, that unionization is a life-and-death matter to the workers. Only the trade unions now can prevent imposition of killing overtime, abandonment of all safety provisions and, in short, any possible outrage which the bosses can cover up with a flag. There isn't a law on the statute books worth the paper it is printed on, except as the workers, by their own strength, enforce their demands on the bosses and on the law-violating government officials.

Subway Workers Paper Answers LaGuardia

1,500,000 Copies of "Transit Truths" Distributed To Enlist Support For Union In Coming Contract Fight

NEW YORK—1,500,000 copies of *Transit Truths*, new weekly public paper of the Transport Workers Union (CIO), were distributed to subway-goers here last week. The paper will keep the millions of workers who ride the city-owned subways informed of the developments in the dispute between the 27,000 union subway workers and Mayor LaGuardia, over renewal of the present union contract at its expiration June 30.

Countering the strikebattering barrage of the big boss newspapers and LaGuardia, *Transit Truths* exposed the deal whereby the city took over the bankrupt and decrepit banker-owned subway-systems for \$340,000,000, paid not in cash, but in city securities at 3% interest per year.

The Citizens Budget Commission, says *Transit Truths*, has estimated that the people of New York City are going to pay the bankers a total of \$1,301,000,000 in interest alone "before the last of the existing subway deficit is liquidated."

In addition to issuing this weekly paper to arouse public support, the union is enlisting support through regular radio broadcasts and public meetings.

CALL MASS RALLY

A mass public rally is scheduled to be held in Madison Square Garden, May 21, with Philip Murray, CIO president, as principal speaker.

Last week delegates from some 200 local unions met and formulated plans to aid the transit workers in their fight for collective bargaining rights. Among the activities contemplated is a petition campaign to get the signed backing of millions of New York workers to a demand that LaGuardia and the Board of Transportation negotiate a new contract with the TWU.

In exposing the reasons why the LaGuardia administration and the bankers agreed to unification at the city's expense, last week's *Transit Truths* made clear that the union was not opposed to municipal ownership of the public utilities. It states:

"We are sorry that unification has not helped the public or the employees, because fundamentally unification and municipal ownership is a splendid idea. It gives to the people what should be theirs."

But, unification under a bankers' government, as *Transit*

Truths shows, has not brought either the public or the transit workers any benefits:

"The public isn't any better off. Unification was supposed to bring better service, free transfers, and many other things.

"The public is still waiting for them. The trains are just as crowded. Due to the demolition of the Elevateds there are less transit facilities than before. There aren't any free transfers. You get shoved around just as much because there aren't any more trains and there aren't enough guards on duty to help you."

PROMISES NOT KEPT

As for the much improved conditions promised the transit workers under civil service, the paper says:

"The workers aren't any better off. Unification was supposed to protect their jobs under civil service. Civil service was supposed to guarantee them an eight-hour day, a decent wage increase to provide an American standard of living, a good pension plan, adequate grievance machinery.

"The workers are still waiting for them. In the meantime several hundred men have lost their jobs. Thousands are working from nine to twelve hours a day. Their pension plan is costing them plenty, and they have no machinery for adjusting grievances."

The facts brought to light in *Transit Truths* are but another proof that the workers can never get genuine benefits from the boss governments run by agents of the capitalist parties. It is well to remember that LaGuardia was put in office with labor votes and the backing of many union leaders who told the workers that he was a "friend of labor." — Quill and the other TWU leaders did this too.

The only time that the workers will get the real benefits of municipal ownership is when they take over the city government with a party of their own, a labor party which runs only labor candidates.

The Stalinist Policy In The Trade Unions

The Whitewashing Of John L. Lewis Is The Keystone Of Present Stalinist Line

By FELIX MORROW

For the first time in a long, long time, the leadership of the Communist Party has published a general document on its trade union policy. "Labor Has Moved Forward" is its title, and it takes a full page in the Friday, May 9, Daily Worker. It expresses a trade union policy which is opportunist to the core, a policy which can only lead the workers to defeat.

The recent strike wave has proved once again that the CIO, based on the heavy industries, comprises the most militant and the most strategically-important strata of the American working class. Ninety per cent of the recent strikes, and consequently of the gains in wages and working conditions, were the achievement of the CIO unions. In these strikes the workers demonstrated that, though they are for the "defense" and aid-Britain program—their anti-fascist sentiments are being manipulated by Roosevelt for imperialist purposes—they are also more than ever determined to wrest better wages and working conditions from the war-profiteering capitalists.

All this was shown by the CIO strikes. But those strikes also revealed a profound difference between the CIO top leadership and the rank and file. While the strikers showed invincible determination on the picket lines, the top leaders were weakening in the negotiations. Much that was won on the picket line was surrendered at the conference table.

Flagrant examples were the settlements in the Bethlehem and Ford strikes, where the workers were sent back to work without a union contract. Why did the 1937 strikes against General Motors and Chrysler win settlement by union contract, and the 1941 strikes against Ford and Bethlehem did not? There is only one answer: the top CIO leadership buckled under government pressure and sent the men back to work for a fraction of what they had already won on the picket line.

It should be clear, then, that unless the workers learn from the shortcomings of the recent strike settlements, these shortcomings are likely to be repeated—and in worse form—during the next strike wave.

The Stalinist Conspiracy of Silence

The workers cannot learn this from the Communist Party's document on trade union policy. On the contrary, the Stalinist document COVERS UP the false policy of the top leadership of the CIO.

And from this treacherous silence it follows that the Stalinist document does not raise the various demands which the Socialist Workers Party has raised, to remedy the defects in the course of the CIO. The Stalinist document does not demand that trade union officials resign from all posts in the government, including the OPM and the National Mediation Board. Nor does it call for organizing Union Defense Guards to protect the picket lines and union halls against "law and order committees" and all other anti-labor bands. Nor does it call for an immediate halt to all acts of hostility between the AFL and CIO which serve the bosses' strikebreaking. And it is silent about the immediate need to build an Independent Labor Party.

It is silent on these and other burning questions because the Stalinist trade union policy is based at present on a whitewash of John L. Lewis. The Daily Worker document is one long song of

praise to Lewis. It takes lots of whitewash to present John L. Lewis as an unblemished lamb. But that is all in the day's work to those who tried to whitewash even the Moscow trials! It takes lies and concealment? These are the daily tools of the Daily Worker.

Let us cite a few examples:

1. The document warns against "the different 'defense plans,' whether put forward by Hillman or Murray." Correct. BUT JOHN L. LEWIS HAS ENDORSED MURRAY'S PLAN. In the May 5th CIO News there appears the text of a speech by John L. Lewis. In it Lewis says: "Philip Murray has offered government a plan... The concentration of war orders is the bottleneck which restricts American production for defense... Philip Murray's plan would have avoided that, and would have curbed the rapacity of industrial leaders." In these unambiguous terms, Lewis endorsed Murray's plan for "industry councils" composed of government, employer and labor representatives—a typical example of the government boards used to subordinate the workers to their class enemies. That Lewis proposed this is, however, not even hinted at in the Stalinist document!

Lewis Follows in Bevin's Footsteps

2. Nor did John L. Lewis stop with endorsing Murray's reactionary plan. Nor did he stop with saying that "Mr. Murray will be proud to supply some real representatives" to sit in the OPM, NDAC and other of the present governmental boards. Lewis went on to praise the British Labor Party's policy of partnership with the bosses in government and to propose the same thing for this country:

"The difference between labor in the United States and Britain is that in England today labor is part of the government; it sits in policy-making positions and has a voice in formulating policies. In the United States, labor is not represented. It has no place in the government or in the cabinet. It has no adequate representation in the OPM or the NDAC or the War Department." (John L. Lewis speech, CIO NEWS, May 5, 1941.)

In short, John L. Lewis' policy is that of Bevin and the other British Labor Party leaders, a policy which the Daily Worker has correctly termed a betrayal of labor. But the Daily Worker conceals from its readers and the Communist Party members, that Bevin's policy is also that of John L. Lewis.

3. By a skilful half-truth, the Stalinist document pictures John L. Lewis as an irreconcilable opponent of the National Mediation Board. It writes of "the Mediation Board which, as John L. Lewis so well pointed out, had its own formula for breaking strikes." The kernel of truth in this statement is that Lewis did correctly denounce one of the Board's formulas: that calling on strikers to go back to work before mediation.

But Lewis did not characterize the Board as a strikebreaking institution. Lewis did not oppose the entry of CIO representatives in to the Board. On the contrary, Murray and Kennedy, Lewis' lieutenants, went into the Board with the silent consent of Lewis. These facts about Lewis the Daily Worker seeks to cover up by its half-truth about his one specific criticism of the Mediation Board. And because Lewis backs Murray and Kennedy's entry into the board, the Stalinist leaders, while making a perfunctory criticism of that entry, do not demand that CIO leaders resign from the board. Thereby the Stalinists aid in perpetuating union fig-leaves on government strikebreaking weapons.

The Bethlehem and Ford Strikes

4. The Daily Worker says nothing about the notorious fact that the picket lines at the Bethlehem plants in Buffalo and Bethlehem, Pa., were left to shift for themselves, while the top leaders hurried off to settle as quickly as possible and without getting a union contract. Why weren't those picket lines better organized? Why no union contracts? The Daily Worker is silent because those responsible were John L. Lewis' lieutenants and associates.

5. Even more flagrant was the behavior of the top leaders in the Ford strike. Only after the strike, precipitated by the workers in the plant, had developed into a sit-down and the frightened top leaders wanted to get the workers out of the plants, did the leaders finally make the strike official. Nor could the leaders claim credit for the brilliant strategy which ensured the success of the strike—the mass auto barricades that outwitted Ford's "service department." The only role the top leaders played was in getting the workers back to work without a union contract. Not a word about this in the Daily Worker either at the time or in its present document: because the leaders responsible for that were John L. Lewis' men.

6. "One of the main weapons of the employers in stemming the wage increase drive is the no-strike agreement of the kind which the Hillmans and Freys are attempting to impose upon the shipyard workers and which actually worsens existing conditions," says the Stalinist document. True—as far as it goes. But on the East Coast the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers is a party to just such an agreement now in process of completion, the CIO News has reported the developments without a word of criticism, and the Daily Worker knows as well as we do that the shipbuilding union leadership is close to John L. Lewis.

(Incidentally, the Stalinists' own boy, National Maritime Union President Joseph Curran, has proposed for maritime just such a permanent board of governmental, employer and labor representatives as is set up under the shipbuilding agreement—of course without a word being said in the Daily Worker.)

7. The Daily Worker document correctly denounces the AFL top leadership for its strikebreaking role in the Ford, International Harvester and Allis-Chalmers strikes, where AFL charters issued to company stooges gave anti-labor elements the pretext to condemn "jurisdictional strikes." The Daily Worker is, however, silent about the fact that the same kind of scabby role has been played by the CIO's "Construction Workers Organizing Committee" headed by A. D. Lewis, John L.'s brother and lieutenant.

At Wright Field, Dayton, Ohio, A. D. Lewis covered with a CIO charter electricians working for a contractor who had refused to sign a regular contract with the regular union in the trade—the AFL's International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. An AFL strike against this contractor was broken by government pressure which, thanks to the CIO charter, was able to label the strike as merely "jurisdictional." This shameful incident was used by the AFL leaders as a pretext to justify their scabbery at International Harvester and elsewhere. Silent about John L. Lewis' role in this and a number of similar incidents in the construction industry, the Daily Worker is unable to support the correct slogan: An end to all acts of hostility between CIO and AFL—whether committed by AFL or CIO leaders—which serve the bosses' strikebreaking.

What Lewis' Program Includes

8. The Daily Worker document says: "The movement for wage increases must be developed everywhere. The issue is the Lewis program of winning increases versus the Hillman program of sacrifices." This half-truth, more vicious than an outright lie, sums up the whole Stalinist trade union policy. It confronts the workers with but two alternatives: Lewis or Hillman. As if the class struggle consists merely of a choice between two men who,

despite considerable differences in their policies, nevertheless are both irrevocably tied to a class-collaborationist outlook!

"The Lewis program" is also the program which includes Lewis-Murray's "defense" plan and the "demand" for "adequate" labor posts in the government; entry into the National Mediation Board and the other governmental boards; the poor settlements of the Ford and Bethlehem strikes, etc.

9. The Lewis program also includes plenty of red-baiting. Although Lewis and Murray have taken the progressive step of defending Harry Bridges against the attempt to deport him, they have also instigated red-baiting attacks in the unions. Let the Daily Worker dare to claim that the removal as "Communists" of local union officials by the International Executive Board of the CIO shipyard union was not done with the agreement of Lewis and Murray! We dare the Daily Worker to assert that the puny James B. Carey, president of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, a fifth-rate figure whom Lewis and Murray made national secretary of the CIO, is conducting his red-baiting in the UE without prior agreement with Lewis and Murray! In the Northwest, three of John L. Lewis' own machine men—Dalrymple and Francis, CIO state directors of Oregon and Washington, and Adolph Germer, Lewis' appointee as director of organization of the International Woodworkers—are going to any lengths, including calling in the FBI against the "reds"—let the Daily Worker tell us why Lewis and Murray haven't stopped them. But the Daily Worker covers all this with silence; it will not tell the truth about Lewis and his henchmen.

One could adduce dozens of other examples of the lies, half-truths and concealment resorted to by the Daily Worker to whitewash John L. Lewis. What has been already said, however, suffices to show the CONSEQUENCES of this Stalinist fraud—whitewashing John L. Lewis means, on the union floor and the picket line, policies which rob the workers of the fruits of their victories.

Why the Stalinists Support Lewis

Why do the Stalinists persist in supporting Lewis through thick and thin? They even found progressive aspects in his support of Willkie's election campaign. During 1935-1938, Stalinist reasons for a bloc with Lewis were obvious enough. The Stalinists were then for "defense of the democracies by collective security," were for "Defeat of Landon at all costs," etc., and so was Lewis. But now the Lewis and Stalinist lines diverge sharply. Lewis is for "defense," "adequate" posts in the government, gives silent consent to Murray's aid-Britain policy, etc; all of which the Stalinists oppose.

He who looks in Lewis' policies for an explanation of Stalinist support of him is looking in the wrong place. The Stalinists support him for the same reason that they support Batista, Roosevelt's agent in Cuba, and Mexico President Camacho, who has become completely subservient to Wall Street's program. It is merely the method whereby the Stalinist apparatus seeks to hang on in each of these countries during this period. Then, if and when Stalin seeks to re-orient toward the "democracies," his hirelings will at that time have ready at hand a base from which to woo the "democracies" on behalf of Stalin. Not Lewis' policies, but the needs of Stalin's foreign policy explain the Stalinist policy in the trade unions. That this policy causes untold harm to the workers—that scarcely troubles the monster in the Kremlin or his agents here. Deeply tragic, however, is the plight of the many genuine militants who, deluded by the Stalinist bureaucracy, serve as the unwitting vessels who transfer its deadly poison into the veins of the American working class.

Hess Flight Shows Weakness

(Continued from page 1)
rats" and "socialists" who, conceding fascism a long lease on life, call the capitalist gangsters of fascism a new, rising class of a new type signifying a new epoch.

How contemptible are those "socialists" who, lacking any faith in the masses of Europe, have called for their "liberation" by American and British imperialist bayonets.

The blow-up of the Nazi inner circle confirms our program for common action by the masses of Germany, Europe, Britain and the United States against their imperialist oppressors. Hitler's most valuable weapon today is the fact that the British and American ruling classes would impose upon a defeated Germany another — and worse — Versailles. Remembering the suffering wreaked upon post-war Germany by the vengeful and greedy victors, the masses of Germany find the yoke of a native oppressor more endurable than that of foreign invaders.

Thus the continued rule of the British and American imperialists serves to bolster Hitler's rule.

Now it is more clear than ever that a British Workers' Government would quickly put an end to Hitler and fascism in Europe. Hitler could then no longer point to the unity of British workers and capitalists as proof of the falsity of the class struggle. Hitler could then no longer pretend that he was fighting British "imperialism."

A Workers' Government in Britain, guaranteeing the independence of the colonial peoples of the former empire, could rally forces against Hitler which are beyond the reach of Churchill. And it could do what Churchill would not and could not do — guarantee to the German workers that there would not be a second

Keynes Tells How To Place Load On Workers

His Account Of British Tax Setup Is

Also Grim Warning To American Workers

John Maynard Keynes, advisor to the Bank of England, gave some tips to the American government on how to extort more funds from the American workers to finance the war. Keynes offered the example of the British government's present methods, in a statement to the American press upon his arrival in New York, May 8, on the Atlantic Clipper.

The two chief methods now in force in England, according to Keynes, are:

1. Direct pay-roll deductions for income taxes.

2. Compulsory loans to the government in the form of post-office "savings," also deducted in advance from pay-checks.

Keynes explained that beginning this year the collection of income taxes from the British workers would be accomplished by deducting the taxes at their source — by the employer from their pay. This, the British government thinks, will be a more "acceptable" method of tax collections, on the theory, as Keynes stated, that "what you don't have you won't miss."

Keynes described the forced "savings" system as follows:

"An account will be opened in every man's name and he will be advised at the end of each year how much is in each account. At the end of the war (at a date not fixed) the money will be unblocked . . ."

Keynes added that the British financial authorities "did not anticipate any trouble in repaying these loans after the war because they did not think the public would draw out the money in one lump."

Of course, the notion that these forced "loans" or "savings" will ever be repaid to the British workers after the war, if Britain survives under its present rulers, is laughable.

The present debts of the British government are already greater than those accumulated during the entire World War I.

POST-WAR CRISIS

After this war, if Britain finally wins, there will be catastrophic economic decline. This is a generally admitted fact. Indeed the forced "savings" — just as is the present government high-pressure campaign to make the workers in America buy "defense" bonds and war stamps — are being imposed on the British workers with the argument that these "savings" are intended as a "cushion" during the anticipated post war economic crisis.

Unemployment will attain proportions never before reached, in every capitalist nation. Millions of British workers will be forced all at one time, to demand their "savings." But these "savings" will have been completely used up by the government for financing the war.

Keynes as much as admitted

this in his interview, when he stated: "War is paid for by activities during the war. It doesn't leave much of a legacy behind it."

Where, then, will the British capitalist government get the funds to pay back the British workers? Production will have declined to a mere trickle. In repayment for the aid of American capitalism during the war, British capitalism will have had to turn over much of its foreign and colonial markets to American capitalists.

Instead of securing their meagre "savings" to tide them over that period of unemployment, the British workers will find themselves confronted with ever huger taxes to pay off the war debts. The diminution of total income in England will mean such a drastic curtailment of tax yields, that the British capitalist government will seek to make up the difference in tax collections.

The Glasgow Forward of March 29 carries some figures which show what the British workers can expect after the war:

If the war lasts another two and a half years — certainly a likely eventuality — and the present government methods of financing continue, Britain will be saddled with a £20-billion debt, on which annual debt interest will be £600,000,000.

That interest would amount to about two-thirds of the whole pre-war yield of taxation, and would leave nothing over for social services at all, even on the pre-war level, after debt interest and ordinary government service were paid for.

In other words, if the British ruling class is victorious, all that the British workers can look forward to is more unemployment and less of a "dole" than they got from 1919 to 1939!

Thus the British government makes the workers pay now for the war — and keep paying for it afterwards.

This system, already being enforced against the British workers is to be seen, in its first steps, embodied in the "defense" bonds campaign and the proposed new tax program in this country.

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The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

The March On Washington

Last week the announcement was made that the march of 10,000 Negroes to Washington, to protest against Jim Crowism in industry and the armed forces, is already being organized. The date has been set for June 30, according to the committee in charge which is composed of A. Philip Randolph, original advocate of the march, Walter White, the Rev. William L. Imes, Lester B. Granger, Frank R. Crosswaith, Layle Lane, Richard Parrish, Dr. Rayford Logan, and Henry K. Craft.

The purpose of the march, according to this committee, is "to shake up white America, arouse official Washington and gain respect for our people."

Organization of local committees throughout the country, and especially on the eastern seaboard, to recruit and register marchers, raise funds through the sale of buttons, is already under way. Conferences are being held this week in New York, Jersey City, Newark, Trenton, Camden, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Militant Action Is Necessary

From the beginning the Socialist Workers Party has pointed out that fighting action is necessary if the Negro people are to win a real victory over the practices of Jim Crowism in industry by the employers and in the armed forces by the government.

We said that words alone are not enough. Resolutions and telegrams are helpful, letters to Congressmen can do no harm, but if you really want to smash Jim Crowism, if you want to win jobs from the bosses who refuse to hire Negroes, if you want to finish segregation in the army and navy, you've got to fight.

That was why we welcomed the series of articles by A. Philip Randolph, beginning last January, in the Negro press as a possible beginning to set the ball rolling in the right direction.

Randolph, when he takes time out from his reactionary defense of all-out aid to Britain, can make good sense if he wants to. In these articles for the most part that is what he did.

He did more than describe the situation that the Negro finds himself in today ("The whole National Defense Set-up reeks and stinks with race prejudice, hatred and discrimination").

He also called on the Negroes to organize themselves ("power and pressure do not reside in the few, the intelligentsia, they lie in and flow from the masses. Power does not even rest with the masses as such. Power is the active principle of only the organized masses, the masses united for a definite purpose").

And he proposed, a march of 10,000 Negroes on Washington to protest against existing conditions:

"Let them swarm from every hamlet, village and town; from the highways and byways, out of the churches, lodges, homes, schools, mills, mines, factories and fields. Let them come in automobiles, buses, trains, trucks and on foot. Let them come though the winds blow and the rains beat against them, when the date is set. We shall not call upon our white friends to march with us. There are some things Negroes must do alone. This is our fight and we must see it through. If it costs money to finance a march on Washington, let Negroes pay for it. If any sacrifices are to be made for Negro rights in national defense, let Negroes make them. If Negroes fail this chance for work, for freedom and training, it may never come again. Let the Negro masses speak!"

A Good Plan

Insofar as this goes, we can only hail the whole plan. A militant march on Washington, the national capital of Jim Crowism, a march made up of thousands of Negroes who will be able to get there only because hundreds of thousands of others support the march morally and financially—this would really strike fear into the hearts of the administration and the bosses. It would really put a spoke in their wheel at the time they are shrieking about "national unity" (at the expense of the workers) and taking the last steps prior to full entry into the war! It would give a real jolt to all the propaganda about a war "for democracy," put the issue of Jim Crowism on the high plane where it belongs and organize the forces for a finish fight for full social, economic and political equality!

Correctly carried out demonstration would also establish the Negroes as a force to be reckoned with by the conservative leaders of trade unions in the AFL who are guilty of Jim Crow practices themselves, and could be used as a wedge for breaking down bars against Negro membership in those sections of the labor movement where they still exist.

Nor should it be forgotten that a correctly carried out struggle of this kind, even if actively supported at the start by only a minority of the Negro people, would be an inspiration and a source of new hope and courage to millions of other Negroes; would help to deepen and extend the local struggles of the Negroes throughout the North; and would undoubtedly serve to set off in the direction of organized struggle millions of Negroes in the South who are awaiting action from their brothers in other parts of the country, and who need only inspiring example from the rest of the working class to set them into action on a wide scale at last.

That is why the Socialist Workers Party, and advanced Negro and white workers everywhere, are 100% for support of an action of this kind.

But to be worthy of support, and to accomplish its ends, the march must (1) really be militant, (2) really involve the masses, and (3) be based on the proper set of demands.

(Continued next week)

FDR's Brazilian "Ally"

Dictator Vargas Waits And Hopes That Hitler Will Win

By QUEBRACHO

BUENOS AIRES, May 2 (By Mail)—Brazil is counted by President Roosevelt among the democracies; and is formally on record as a pillar of "continental solidarity." But we betide Roosevelt if Brazil's continental solidarity is as fraudulent as its democracy under dictator Vargas!

And, as a matter of fact, Vargas' support of Roosevelt is decidedly conditioned by his secret—and not altogether secret—sympathy for the Axis powers.

The real situation in Brazil is worth describing, for Brazil is scarcely a negligible factor in the world scales.

Brazil is the most populous of the Latin American countries, having 45 million inhabitants; a territory larger than that of the United States. This territory moreover, is one of the richest in Latin America.

It produces two-thirds of the world's coffee, the greatest part of which is consumed in the United States. It produces great quantities of sugar, cocoa, rice, cotton, tobacco, yerba mate (a beverage much used here), timber, vegetable oils, meat and industrial diamonds. The great iron mines of Brazil produce higher grade ore than any known. It also possesses coal mines, although not of high quality. It practically lacks petroleum, at least any that is exploited, but on the other hand produces considerable manganese.

Half the population is composed of Negroes, Indians, mulattoes and mestizos (mixed blood); these are particularly concentrated in the center of the country. In the southern states whites predominate, owing to the great European immigration.

The semi-colonial character of the country's economy is indicated by the enormous investments of the great imperialist powers.

First comes Britain, whose investments reached, in 1938, the sum of 262 millions of pounds sterling. Wall Street's investment that same year arose to \$550 millions, while those from other nations amount to 150 millions of pounds sterling.

From the foundation of the Brazilian republic, in 1889, the country was governed by the coffee-plantation oligarchy, directly tied to British capital. Recently, in 1930, as a result of the crisis in coffee exports which brought the collapse of Brazilian economy, a coalition of southern and northern states, headed by Getulio Vargas, who represented the cattle interests of Rio Grande do Sul, took control by force of arms. In that struggle the Vargas-led forces ap-

Siqueiros, Assassin Of Harte. Jumps His Bail In Mexico City

MEXICO CITY, May 5—Less than a month after he was freed on bail, David Alfaro Siqueiros, leader of the May 24, 1940, attack on the Trotsky house has jumped his bail. Reports to the press say that he has flown by airplane to Habana, Cuba.

For more than a week preceding his flight, the newspapers carried daily stories about his preparations to leave Mexico. He openly arranged his passports and documents in spite of the publicity that each step received in the press. Each governmental agency pretended to know nothing about his legal position, thereby making his flight easy and giving it an aspect of "legal illegality." For although legally Siqueiros was not supposed to even leave the Federal District, he left Mexico with all his documents in order.

To this date, nothing has been done to extradite him from Cuba. The court insists that it must wait two weeks before doing anything; until then it does not "know officially" that he has fled. This procedure only terminates with fitting cynicism the scandalous story of the GPU Colonel's escape from all punishment for the attempted murder of Leon Trotsky and the actual murder of Robert Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's young secretary-guard.

appeared with certain liberal aspects. Nor was the influence of North American capital absent from the picture.

Vargas soon repudiated the liberal aspects of the movement which brought him to power and governed as a dictator until 1934, when a new constitution went into effect—but the most elementary rights proclaimed by the constitution were violated

from the first by laws like that on the Security of the State and others, adopted so that Vargas could repress the growing popular discontent.

THE STALINISTS THROW AWAY THE REVOLUTIONARY OPPORTUNITY

That popular discontent, unfortunately, was not channelized by the revolutionary proletarian

movement. Stalinism, which had made considerable gains throughout Brazil, and which the Brazilian working class, little experienced in politics, believed to be the true expression of the October Revolution, destroyed the revolutionary opportunity. It was in Brazil that the Stalinists formed the first Popular Front in the Western Hemisphere.

It was called the National Liberation Alliance and was headed by Luis Carlos Prestes, who had been one of the chiefs of the Vargas movement in 1930. Some time afterward, having made a trip to Moscow, he became a Stalinist. In November, 1935, the National Liberation Alliance launched a military adventurist blow in Recife and Rio de Janeiro, which, lacking the necessary popular support which it had failed to prepare, was brutally crushed.

That brought an end to the 1934 Constitution and the establishment of the bloodiest dictatorship that Brazil has yet known.

Meanwhile, as a counterweight to the developments on the left, there had been forming an important fascist movement, the Integralista party, headed by Plinio Salgado and closely connected with Germany and Italy. Vargas skillfully used the fascists to prop up his government. Later he smashed the Integralista, jailing its leaders.

That scarcely meant, however, that Vargas was becoming a democrat. In 1937, after suppressing an attempt at a presidential election, Vargas proclaimed the "New State," suppressing parliament, and establishing a regime that was noted with considerable alarm in Washington and much joy in Berlin and Rome as the first advance of totalitarianism in South America.

VARGAS SERVES WALL STREET — AS LONG AS HE MUST

Nevertheless, since then Vargas, despite his secret sympathies for the Axis, has been obliged to retreat under the pressure of Anglo-U. S. interests, which are dominant in Brazil. The first step in his retreat was to include in his cabinet, as Foreign Minister, Olivaldo Aranha, then Ambassador in Washington and a notorious agent of Wall Street. He completed his retreat by signing a commercial treaty with the United States which provided it with the preponderance against the competition of Nazi barter and compensated markets.

Since then Vargas has sought to strike a balance between the conflicting imperialist powers, always playing safe enough to remain in power—he has aspirations to be Brazil's ruler for life. In his cabinet there are representatives of Wall Street and representatives of the army who are openly pro-Nazi in inclination. He is praised by the fascist press in Buenos Aires, and from time to time he makes a speech which indicates his own inclination toward the totalitarian powers.

But under Anglo-U. S. pressure he finds himself obliged to collaborate in the continental plans of Wall Street.

On the basis of loans from the U. S. Export and Import Bank he has succeeded in giving a considerable impulse to the siderurgica industry, keystone of the notable development which Brazilian industry is now experiencing and which is giving it the first place in South America, even ahead of Argentina. With this economic base Vargas has aspirations for hegemony over the South American continent—aspirations which at bottom, are fomented by the United States as a form of pressure on Argentina and to maintain inter-country tension which favors Yankee plans for domination of these countries.

The Vargas regime has not succeeded in the least in bettering the condition of the miserable masses of Brazil, almost illiterate and broken by hunger and the ravages of malaria and syphilis. The situation of the masses has worsened despite the expansion of Brazilian economy. That is why Vargas finds it necessary to rule by the most brutal dictatorial methods.

All this, of course, is concealed from the people of the United States by your Roosevelt and your press, which is wooing Vargas. But Vargas keeps an eye on events, ready to offer himself to whichever master finally triumphs in the world struggle.

British Workers Can Lead Way To World Revolution

By JACK WEBER

Recently the Churchill government gave certain German and Austrian anti-Nazis in England permission to publish a newspaper in German called *Die Zeitung*. The British socialist weekly *Tribune* hails this as a great step forward:

"Obviously the establishment of such a paper is the first step to securing unity among the anti-Nazi Germans; obviously it may in time lead to the formation of that body for which half the world, and half Germany, is waiting—the free German legion (the Reichsbanner, if you prefer the name). It may mean that this government has at last realized the need for which the *Tribune* has ceaselessly clamored—the need for the organization of revolution against Hitler."

These British socialists are in favor of a violent revolution—in Germany.

The most certain way to prevent any German revolution against Hitler is this way of the British socialists. The organization of that revolution is, according to them, to be the task—of the tory Churchill! For whose benefit would Churchill aid in organizing such a revolution? For the benefit of the German working class? No, only for British imperialism.

These socialist lackeys not only serve their own British imperialism by direct support of Churchill. They serve German imperialism—that is, imperialism in general—by driving the German workers into the arms of Hitler who continually points to the unity of the English workers with the British capitalists against Germany. As if to deliberately give to Hitler a crowning argument, they assign to Churchill the task of bringing about the German revolution.

What example do these socialists offer the German workers by their own attitude to British capitalism and the English revolution? Their job in the war is to keep the British workers in passive dependence on the bosses and to hold out, illusory promises for the future. Not only must the German workers rely on the Churchill government, but naturally the British workers must do the same. That is the iron logic of the *Tribune's* support of the war. The masses, living wretchedly like ancient cave-dwellers, are at best permitted fitful dreams of the peace to come.

Pie In The Sky By And By

So the *Tribune* goes through the motions of preparing to accomplish something—later on! It presents the Laski plan as a solution for the English workers. This plan is a watered-down version of the De Man plan put forward by the leader of the Belgian socialists before he sold out to the Nazis. Its seven points call in the most ancient reformist style for nationalization of the banks, the railroads, the mines. It says nothing about the big industries. Above all it says nothing about workers' control. Whatever is to be nationalized is to be run by the bourgeois government.

The plan is intended not to set the workers in motion against the capitalists, not to bring about a real revolutionary class struggle for socialism, but on the contrary to head off and divert such a struggle into reformist channels. This is not our interpretation; it is plainly stated. Here is what Laski says:

"If we cannot settle now the lines upon which we meet these problems (of peace), we shall be fighting against them after the war—a new and bitter battle of Privilege against the People. That will mean that all the sacrifices of war will again have been made in vain. Victory will have been made empty and sterile. In all probability, it will mean a rapid drift here to revolution. We say that this is unnecessary. We say that the government owes it to the people of this country to prevent it. We ask that the Labor Party take the lead now in safeguarding the community against a danger that will never be forgiven its leaders if they allow it to occur. They know that all Europe waits upon a British lead."

What is Harold Laski here, but the agent of bourgeois, respectable England in the ranks of the Labor Party. The form of pressure he applies to a supine leadership has as its aim balking the real will of the proletariat. His example to the European proletariat is to be the preservation of parliamentary democracy in post-war England.

British Workers Can Lead The Way

It is perfectly true that the rest of Europe waits on the actions of the English proletariat. But if the English workers wish to see the German proletariat overthrow Hitler in a revolution, then they can help by setting the example at home. Far from leaving it to Churchill to aid the German revolution, the English proletariat must perform this duty. To do so they must take over the power themselves, they must snatch it out of the hands of the reactionary Churchills. The German revolution waits, in this sense, on the English revolution.

By their policy of unity with the tory government and with the "democratic" imperialists, the English socialists place the greatest obstacle in the path of the German and the European workers. When Laski says that the Labor Party leaders will never be forgiven if they do not help to stave off revolutions, he means that they will never be forgiven by the capitalist class. The workers in any case will never forgive these misleaders who bound them to the war machine.

Nor will the capitalists be able to do much forgiving in this war or after. For they will be driven to break the "truce" with labor and to rule with an iron fist as soon as the workers come to realize the sheer fakery of the Laskis and the Bevins and the Morrisons. Out of the war can come not a new and better life for the masses, but the most catastrophic worsening of the standards of living. If real barbarism is to be avoided, then the workers must push aside the British socialists and take the power by revolution, not after the war, but at once.

Wall Street Mourns: White Collar Workers Are Going Into The Factories

It used to be that a man thought he was climbing a rung up the ladder if he could put aside overalls and a factory job and get a white collar job where he wouldn't get his hands dirty. But not any more!

It's the other way around now, with white collar men leaving flunking "posts" in banks, insurance companies and brokerage houses, and going into the factories.

This extremely interesting fact is testified to by no less an authority than the Wall Street *Journal*, which came to this conclusion on the basis of a national survey, reported in its May 12 issue.

The *Journal* mournfully complains that a shortage of white collar workers in the "lower income brackets"—a nice way of saying low-pay—is growing more and more serious, as white collar workers seek higher wages in the manufacturing industries.

The *Journal* cites the example of page boys and messengers in New York banks, who have been quitting jobs paying around \$750 a year to go into factories and

earn as much as \$2,000 "making everything from shoes to tanks." The draft has of course also been a factor, but the main worry of large employers of white collar workers, the *Journal* makes clear, is the higher wages paid on factory jobs.

WORKERS CAN MARRY NOW

In Hartford, Connecticut, the Wall Street *Journal* survey noted, many vacancies in white collar jobs have been created by women leaving the jobs upon marriage, the increase in weddings being

attributed to higher wages paid to men workers in the war industries. Behind this simple fact one sees the tragedy of the depression generation, unable for years to marry—until now the war boom offers them a precarious opportunity.

What the Wall Street *Journal* passes over in silence is the simple question: Why have white collar workers in Wall Street been getting \$750 a year, and the same workers, with comparatively little training, can get \$2,000 a year as factory workers?

UNIONS EXPLAIN CHANGE

The answer to that question explains why the white collar worker no longer appears, either to himself or to the factory worker, as a step up the ladder. The CIO, now nearly five million strong, has changed the status of the factory worker. The organized factory worker, protected against the bosses by his collective strength, has not only won wage raises, but has also changed the conditions under which he works.

White collar workers used to enjoy certain amenities in contrast to the working conditions of factory workers. Since employers and executives generally worked in the same offices, air, light and sanitary conditions were much better for white collar workers than in factories. In addition there were the small pot-tenesses of office life—being called Mr. or Miss, being ordered about fairly politely, etc.—as contrasted to the unvarnished brutality of the superintendents and foremen in a factory job.

But those contrasts between a white collar and a factory job have vanished, wherever the factory workers have organized and won union conditions. Now it's the other way around. The union man in the factory can tell the foreman where to get off, stands on his rights and knows the union is behind him, while the unorganized white collar man looks and feels like a flunkiey.

Some white collar groups, not ably in the insurance field, have followed in the footsteps of the factory workers and have successfully organized and secured union contracts, but in general it remains true that the white collar man is in no sense as organized as the factory worker.

WORKING CLASS GROWS

Where the Wall Street *Journal* mourns, the class-conscious worker may well rejoice. We can be sure that the young men who have the initiative to quit flunking in banks and brokerage houses to become industrial proletarians, leave behind them the petty-bourgeois illusions of the usual white collar types, and will make good

union men. They swell the total number of the industrial proletariat—and that's a good thing for the future of the revolutionary movement. "We are many they are few" becomes still more true. That's one good consequence of this war boom!

Profit Increases To Outstrip Wages

"A conservative estimate of the amount of increased wages during the coming year that will result from the increases made in the first four months of 1941 by the CIO adds up to \$380 million," reports the latest CIO ECONOMIC OUTLOOK.

The OUTLOOK warns, however, that "these wage increases will have to be defended against encroachment on several fronts. Two of the most important ones are rising cost of living and increased consumer taxation."

In addition, profits and production have far outstripped wage advances in proportional gains.

The OUTLOOK reports: "A tabulation of the profits for 345 leading corporations, prepared by the National City Bank, showed an increase of 7½% in the first quarter of 1941, over 1940."

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Duranty Thinks That Stalin Will Sign New Hitler Pact—Maybe Join Axis

Walter Duranty, "unofficial" mouthpiece for the Kremlin for many years, says "the true answer" which explains Stalin's assumption of the premiership of the USSR is "that the Soviet Union is about to take a step so grave and important that Mr. Stalin's personal prestige must become directly involved, not only as the real head of the State, which he surely is, but as the titular President of the Council of Commissars."

And that step, says Duranty, in a North American Newspaper Alliance dispatch published in the May 8 New York Times is toward the Axis.

Duranty says it may actually be "joining the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis. That would be a big and definite step, and it is possible the Russians will do it. I did not think so a while back, but it is possible.

STALIN'S "PERSIAN LAMB"

"What seems more likely to happen," says Duranty, "is some new agreement by Russia with Germany and Turkey. Not wholly at Turkey's expense. Not a partition of Turkey, as Poland was cut in twain, but a Turkish-Russian-German accord for Germany's immediate advantage, with perhaps some pool off the Persian lamb as a bonus for the Soviet Union."

Needless to say, Duranty's cynical dispatch has not evoked a word of comment in the Communist Party's *Daily Worker*. The last thing those hirelings who edit that paper will write about on their own hook is Stalin's foreign policy. The only things the *Daily Worker* prints on that subject are cables from Moscow and careful paraphrases of those cables.

THEY ENDORSED DURANTY

Last January, when the New York Times and other papers announced they were abandoning maintaining correspondents in Moscow, because the censorship blackout there was making it impossible to send anything except government handouts, Walter Duranty was rushed into the breach after a long silence on his part. Beginning January 22nd a number of his dispatches appeared in the New York Times.

Upon the publication of the first of Duranty's dispatches, the *Daily Worker* published a triumphant editorial declaring: "There's news from Russia for those who want it," and adducing Duranty's dispatch as proof.

But after a few, Duranty's dispatches suddenly ceased coming out of Moscow. The next news of Duranty is the present dispatch datelined from Tokyo.

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PROGRAM FOR TODAY'S FIGHT

1. No union fig-leaves for government strikebreaking. Demand that trade union officials resign from all posts in the government, including the OPM and the National Mediation Board.
2. Organize the picket lines for all-out militant defense against the thuggery of company hoodlums and government cops.
3. Organize Union Defense Guards to protect the picket lines and union halls against 'law and order committees,' and all other anti-labor bands.
4. Call an immediate halt to all acts of hostility between the AFL and CIO which serve the bosses' strikebreaking.
5. Demand the unification of the AFL and CIO on the basis of preserving and extending the industrial form of organization.
6. Independent working class political action. Build an Independent Labor Party.
7. Expropriate the war industries and operate them under workers' control.
8. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.

That AFL President

William Green last week self-righteously informed the House Judiciary Committee that the CIO is responsible for over 90 per cent of the recent strikes in the war industries. He thought he was voicing a denunciation of the CIO. He was really making public his own bankruptcy and treachery as a trade union official.

Before his latest blow-off against militant labor action and the CIO, the AFL President should have got together with the editors of the American Federation of Labor's *Labor's Monthly Survey*. At least, he should have read the latest *Survey* (released April 30):

"Nearly 1,000,000 wage earners in manufacturing and building have received wage increases in the first four months of 1941. These increases varied in general from 5 to 10c or more per hour," says the *AFL Survey*.

This statement, to be more accurate, should have read: "Nearly 1,000,000 CIO wage earners..." To be strictly accurate it should have read: "Nearly 2,000,000 CIO members..."

Some 600,000 steel workers won 10c an hour raises, thanks to the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO). Over 400,000 soft coal miners, members of the United Mine Workers (CIO), won \$1 a day pay boost. Hundreds of thousands of industrial workers and CIO unionists in the textile, aircraft, chemical, electrical and radio, machine tool, aluminum, farm equipment and other vital industries have won higher wages.

The *Survey* statement continues: "Several hundred thousand also won vacations with pay for the first time..."

Here again, this nameless "several hundred thousand" are CIO men, notably the soft coal miners. The miners gained their increases and paid vacations after a 28-day strike which Green deeply "deplores."

Indeed, none of the improved benefits gained by these CIO workers in the past four months came as gifts from the employers. They were won on the picket lines in a tremendous strike wave or—as in the U.S. Steel settlement—when the workers demonstrated by a strike vote their readiness to establish picket lines and stop production if the employers did not yield.

Green denounces the strikes. But the *AFL Survey* says of these strike-won wage-gains:

"Such a lifting of the American wage level was overdue... workers' wages have not kept pace with their power to produce in the last 12 years. Only when strong trade unions acted over the entire nation to organize and demand wage increases have workers succeeded in lifting their earning power closer to their producing power. This happened in 1937 and again in 1940-41. The wage line (Average hourly pay) rises sharply in these two periods

"when union members pressed for their share of the income they produced."

Let every AFL member ponder over these achievements of the CIO, verified in these "anonymous" terms by the *AFL Survey*. Ponder—and ask William Green and his fellow "leaders":

"And what have you done for American labor, William Green & Co.? How many wage increases have you helped negotiate in the last four months? How many AFL workers won improved conditions by your cowardly surrender of the strike weapon and lickspittle fawning before the open-shoppers?"

Green's record during the recent strike wave is described in one word: strikebreaking. In the records of the Ford, International Harvester and a half dozen other recent CIO strikes is this inscription: "Won despite the scabherding of William Green."

The CIO today is the outstanding organization of American labor, so recognized by the press, the government, the employers and, above all, by the workers.

More and more AFL members have been asking: Why?

Green himself has just given the answer: Yes, the CIO has conducted over 90 per cent of the recent strikes—and has won over 90 per cent of the gains for the American workers in the same period.

Democracy Defined

An advisor to the Bank of England and a spokesman for the British government, John Maynard Keynes, last week gave the American press an accurate definition of the nature of "democracy" under capitalism.

Asked how the British masses felt toward the English system of pay-roll deductions for income taxes and forced loans to the government, Keynes declared:

"They all said they did not like it at first, but the main thing is they got used to it. That is the keynote of democracy—getting used to it." (New York Times, May 9.)

"They all" didn't like it, yet the taxes were passed: what, then, happens to the theory that "the will of the people" prevails in a "democracy"? That theory is revealed by Keynes' words to be just a myth.

What, then, does democracy consist in? "Getting used to" what is done—that, says Keynes, is democracy. And so it is, this "democracy" of the capitalist system. The government confronts the workers with accomplished facts. The "democracy" consists of the workers "getting used to" those facts. "Democracy" means submission by the masses to the ruling class. Failure to offer violent resistance, "getting used to it," become for the rulers a vote of consent by the masses. The token of "democracy" is that the masses, confused and disorganized, do not rise in revolt against the government.

And when the masses no longer submit, when the workers refuse to "get used to" the conditions imposed by the ruling class, then what happens to "democracy"? Then the capitalist class will renounce "democracy" and resort to naked violence in a last desperate attempt to impose its will against the majority. "Democracy" lasts only so long as the workers submit.

The Stalin School

The reader of the *Stalinist Daily Worker* reads one day that a government witness in the Bridges deportation case is "a Los Angeles Trotskyist." The next day the reader is told that war-monger Max Eastman is "a Trotskyist." The next day he reads that Rudolf Hess (the *Daily Worker* seems annoyed by Hess' desertion of Hitler) was shown in the Moscow trials to have plotted with Trotsky to attack the Soviet Union. In addition to this barrage in the *Daily Worker*, leaflets are appearing which—to quote one issued by the South Jamaica (N.Y.) branch of the Communist Party—charge that "These Trotskyists are the agents of Wall Street... Their paper, 'The Militant,' pretends to fight for the people, but that only is a dodge to catch unwary ears so they can bring forth and spread their anti-Communist and their vile anti-Soviet slanders." And so forth and so on.

Upon first coming in contact with this Stalinist stream of lies, readers of THE MILITANT find it hard to understand how the Stalinist school of falsification can hope to get away with it. The lies are so easily disproved. For example, our Los Angeles organization immediately confronts the Stalinists with a proposal to submit to an impartial committee of the labor movement the charge that the witness against Bridges is "a Trotskyist;" the Stalinists of course dare not agree to appear before such a committee, anymore than they dared agree to meet Trotsky and repeat the Moscow Trial lies before an impartial tribunal. Any politically literate person knows that Eastman never was a member of the Trotskyist organization and, although sympathetic in the early days, became an avowed opponent of Trotskyism at least as early as 1933. Everybody knows that the Trotskyists are for the defense of the Soviet Union.

Why, then, do the Stalinists fabricate such easily-refuted lies? For the simple reason that they dare not meet us on the level of our actual program and activities. Our revolutionary policy constitutes a damning indictment of the degenerate course of Stalinism. And our voice is penetrating more and more within the ranks of the Stalinist-controlled organizations. Hence the Stalinist parties adopt Hitler's dictum: "the bigger the lie, the more people will believe it." Some of the mud, they hope, will stick. Such is the Stalin school of falsification. Like all reactionary political movements, it cannot and dare not be truthful.

The Latest Line Of The Stalinist Peace Front

Stalinist "Anti-War" Forces In Britain Are Now Asking For
A Parliamentary Opposition To Be Drawn From "All Parties"

The "People's Convention" in Great Britain is equivalent to the American Peace Mobilization in this country, that is, it is the Stalinist peace front. That means that the People's Convention under the control of the Stalinists follows a line in harmony with Stalin's foreign policies. Nevertheless a certain measure of adaptation to the particular situation existing in a country is evident in the tactics followed by the Stalinist organizations.

After the Stalin-Hitler pact the Stalinists in England, who prior to the pact had been clamoring for war against Hitler, became the most vociferous anti-war propagandists. At first they placed the blame for the war exclusively on British imperialism; but after Hitler achieved his victories and threw the fear of the Lord into Stalin, they discovered that Hitler also was an imperialist.

The English workers, confronted by a possible invasion of Hitler's armies and facing destruction and death, demand something more than a reiteration of the phrase that this is an imperialist war on both sides. "That's true, but we don't want Hitler" is their reaction, which is quite natural. It therefore becomes necessary to present a program which would show the English workers how to defeat Hitler without fighting for British imperialism.

A TYPICAL STALINIST
BLURRING OF CLASS
STRUGGLE

Aware of the mood of the British workers the Stalinists are making a shift in their propaganda and, as is to be expected, their shift has nothing in common with a revolutionary approach. In a letter addressed to the members of Parliament (*Daily Worker*, May 7, 1941), by the Executive Committee of the People's Convention, the Stalinist shift is indicated as well as the grossly

opportunistic character of the whole Stalinist approach.

The idea of addressing a letter on such an important question as war, to the members of Parliament including all of the reactionary Tories, can come only from people who have absolutely no understanding of the existence of the class struggle. A letter addressed to the Labor Party members of Parliament would be justified. For then the appeal is made to representatives of labor and can be utilized to mobilize the workers to exert pressure on their representatives. A letter to Labor Party members of Parliament would in reality be a letter to the workers and would be completely in order.

What do the Stalinists propose in this letter? The breath-taking measure of "an effective Parliamentary opposition which will come out boldly in the interests of the people." This is the Stalinist counterfeit in place of the correct demand which should be made for the Labor Party to withdraw all of its members from the government and formulate a program on the basis of which a struggle could be made to form a Labor government. But the Stalinist leaders, following their Popular Front line, continue to appeal to people of good will in all classes.

"In this situation" asserts the letter, "great responsibility rests on every member of Parliament"—not excluding the Tories. And as if to make assurance doubly sure the appeal specifically states that "it is possible for men of good will in all parties" to constitute the Parliamentary Opposition which the letter declares to be essential at the present moment.

STALINISTS WOULD FORM
HIS MAJESTY'S OPPOSITION
This Parliamentary Opposition,

according to the letter, would of course be His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. That is indicated not only by the appeal to members of all parties but by the very tone of the letter. "The people are increasingly uneasy. But unlike certain friends of Hitler in high places, they are neither despairing nor defeatists." This kind of language is used by people who are anxious to show that, if only "good" men are placed in the government, everything will be satisfactory.

The Stalinist letter asks that the program of the People's Convention become the basis of the Parliamentary Opposition. That program includes taking over the banks, land, means of transport, armaments factories and other large industries: that is certainly part of a correct program—but perverted by the all-class grouping which is supposed to carry it out. The letter does not mention the essential point of granting independence to all colonies. Nevertheless, on the basis of the program a real struggle for power could be conducted, provided that the struggle would be conducted on class lines.

The necessity of appealing to the British workers on the basis of carrying on a real struggle against fascism becomes more evident with the passing of each day. The Stalinist leaders have finally recognized that fact because they emphasize, in this letter, the defense of the people against their enemies at home and abroad.

But since their approach continues to be the opportunistic approach of the Popular Front, the Stalinists' shift of policy will not aid the British workers in finding the only real road to defeat fascism, the road of achieving power through the class struggle and turning the imperialist war into a war for socialism.

German Capitalists Are Just Like Those In U. S.

Recently published official figures on the 1938 income taxes paid in Germany indicate how far the Nazi economic order is from socialism and how identical it is to the capitalist economic system that the American and British workers "enjoy."

There is little wonder that the Nazi officials didn't publish these figures for three years. They give incontestable evidence that so far as the big German capitalists and industrialists are concerned, it's been "profits as usual," only more so, since Hitler came to power, especially with the expansion of the German war industries.

On the other hand, the workers and low income earners are getting less and less.

The figures show that in 1938 3,293,000 persons, in the top income brackets, had a total income from rents, profits, professional services and capital returns of 20,900,000,000 marks (\$8,360,000,000).

The top six per cent of this group received 41 per cent of the total income of the entire group. Thus some 200,000 individuals received a total income of approximately \$3,330,000,000, or an average of \$16,650 a year per person.

RICH GET RICHER,
UNDER "NATIONAL
SOCIALISM"

11,666 individuals reported incomes of over 100,000 marks (\$40,000). This is seven times the number of such individuals as in 1933. The income of this group was 13.5 per cent of the total of all taxable incomes. In 1933, it was 5.3 per cent.

Thus, under Hitler, the very rich have increased their share of the taxable income about 250 per cent.

Even this does not show the true extent to which the German monopoly capitalists have increased their wealth under Hitler. David M. Nichol, Berlin correspondent for the New York Post,

writes of the significance of these figures, in the May 9 Post:

"Statistics for subsequent

years are unavailable, but the trend is believed the same. Informed sources in Berlin have spoken of the development of 'hidden' millionaires as a result of the tremendous turnover in armament and allied industries."

Strike Outfit



This is Miss Zara duPont, first cousin to the "Merchants of Death," the duPont dynasty heads, and a Bethlehem Steel stockholder. She recently stormed a stockholders meeting and charged the corporation and its 18 officers with misusing corporation funds for anti-labor activity, and has started a stockholder's suit to recover \$1,000,000 for "illegal and wrongful" expenditures. Here she is shown wearing a gas mask while picketing during the 1939 seamen's strike.

HITLER REDUCES TAXES ON THE RICH

Nazi Germany has its capitalist war profiteers, just as the United States and Great Britain.

An example of how Hitler has not only not driven out the big capitalist and bankers, as he promised the German masses, but has helped them get richer, is shown by the further figures that the net income tax rate on those in the 100,000 mark or over group was only 33.3 per cent in 1938, as compared with 36.1 per cent in 1933.

The income tax rates on this group are lower than on the top brackets in the United States!

At the other end of the scale of income tax payers, those with incomes of less than 1500 marks received 2.9 per cent of the taxable income in 1938 in comparison with 12.6 per cent in 1933. Those with incomes of 1,500 marks to 3,000 marks received 11 per cent of the total taxable income in 1938 as compared with 18.3 per cent in 1933.

This indicates how mistaken were the members of the lower middle class of Germany who supported Hitler to power in the belief that he would help them against the crushing domination of the big capitalists. The rich get richer and the poor get poorer in Nazi Germany, as in every other capitalist country.

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Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

Why Is Stalin Premier Now?

Why did Stalin appoint himself Premier or Chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the USSR?

Formulating the question in this manner brings out the point that Stalin's assumption of the office of Premier is more important than the fact that Molotov was thereby removed from one of his offices. Had someone else displaced Molotov it would have been the removal of Molotov and not the fact that a certain person was substituted for him that would have to be considered as the important factor. As it is, it is Stalin's assumption of the office that deserves the greatest attention.

Not one but several factors must be taken into consideration to explain Stalin's decision. There is one explanation, however, that we shall absolutely ignore and that is Duranty's idea that Stalin has of a sudden lost his modesty. Since that profound delver into the Russian soul makes the statement that Stalin never assumed any office because of modesty, Duranty must be saying that now Stalin has for some reason or other divested himself of that modesty.

Many interpret Stalin's move as a purge of Molotov. That factor cannot be ignored. Molotov's wife was removed as a candidate on the Central Committee of the party at the 18th Party Conference; this appeared to indicate that Molotov was already on the skids. He is still Commissar of Foreign Affairs, however, and if it is Stalin's intention to put Molotov where Litvinov and Voroshilov are at present, it will probably not be long before Molotov's request to be relieved of that office on the ground of ill health or some other reason will be presented to Stalin who will very graciously grant that request. But, while the desire to remove Molotov may be a factor, it does not in the least explain why Stalin should not have appointed someone else instead of appointing himself.

And if the Kremlin autocrat has decided to discard Molotov, it must in all probability also mean that he has decided to change the policy with which Molotov has been connected, just as his removal of Litvinov was meant to announce a change from the policy of collective security. What new policy can he have in mind? Either to throw in his lot with the democratic imperialists or else to become part of the Axis. But the latter course would not constitute a change of policy of such a nature as to demand the removal of Molotov. It would only be an extension of the policy followed since the Stalin-Hitler pact. Only a decision to join the democracies could explain the removal of Molotov if a change in policy was what determined that removal. And such a change is hardly probable at this time when Hitler is still riding high.

A New Agreement With Hitler

Another agreement between Stalin and Hitler seems to be in the cards, an agreement whereby Hitler, as Duranty cynically puts it, would give Stalin some wool off the backs of the Persian lambs and take all of the Middle East for himself. Just as Stalin received part of Poland, the Baltic countries, part of Rumania and of Finland, so would Hitler give him something of Iran or Afghanistan or some other concession in return for a free hand in the Near and Middle East.

But even if Stalin intends to change his policy Molotov could be removed and someone else placed in his position. Furthermore Molotov would then also be removed as Foreign Commissar. Can it be that Stalin has appointed himself because, having killed off every able person he has no one to take Molotov's place? That would hardly be a real obstacle, for he could find some puppet to replace Molotov just as he found puppets to replace people more capable than Molotov. Stalin does not demand abilities but a willingness to take orders.

It would seem, then, that neither his desire to remove Molotov nor his intention to alter his course could explain the fact that Stalin appointed himself as Premier. Certainly they are not primary factors in Stalin's latest step.

It must be taken for granted that Stalin's appointment of himself indicates the existence of a serious situation confronting the Soviet bureaucracy, both internally and foreign. Even though everyone knows that important decisions are made only by Stalin, Stalin's formula has been to blame bad conditions not on the policies but on their execution. In a very serious situation the bureaucracy would want to create the impression that the great Stalin himself is now going to participate actively in carrying out decisions. It may also be argued that, now that Stalin is officially part of the government, decisions will be arrived at more quickly and the seriousness of the situation demands quick decisions.

Stalin's Personal Character

Nor can the personal factor be ignored. It is worth noting that Stalin has played quite an open role both in the pact with Hitler and more so in the pact with Matsuoka. The idea of playing a role similar to that of Hitler and Mussolini must have come to him many times. While manipulating behind the scenes is more in keeping with Stalin's character, the more open part played by his fellow-dictators has its advantages. The stage may very well be in the process of preparation for Premier Stalin to meet Chancellor Hitler.

Aside from Stalin's motives in taking the step that he did, it is an indication that the Communist Party no longer exists in the sense of its being a living and functioning instrument. It is true that Lenin also occupied the position of Chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars at the time when the party was everything in the Soviet Union. But when one takes into consideration what has happened to the party since Stalin came to power, one must conclude that Stalin sees no sense in being the head of an organization that has no life in it. As Premier he becomes the official head of the bureaucratic caste which in reality has all the power that the party once had. After Stalin got rid of the party he became Premier.

He thus stepped into the office that Lenin once held. And by doing so makes it more clear than ever that his role is directly contrary to that of Lenin.