

## Gov't Prepares to Suppress European Socialist Revolts

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## After The Fall Of Rostov

By ANTHONY MASSINI

With the fall of Rostov and the advance of German troops to less than 50 miles from Stalingrad, the Soviet Union has reached the most crucial stage of the war.

Fighting heroically and inflicting heavy losses on the enemy, the Red soldiers have nevertheless been driven from Rostov, the gateway to the Caucasus. The loss of Rostov and the threat to Stalingrad, key machine-building and communications center on the Volga, place the Germans in position to deepen the wedge between the southern and central Red Armies; to isolate the Caucasus; and to cut off the supplies coming to the USSR by way of the Persian Gulf, Iran and the Caspian Sea.

The loss of the Caucasus would deprive the workers' state of the area where 80 to 85% of all Soviet oil was produced last year. The loss of these oil fields cannot be overestimated. Even if the scorched earth policy should leave them useless for the Germans, it would be a staggering blow for the USSR, virtually crippling the Soviet mechanized divisions and leaving them no alternative but to resort to guerrilla warfare as soon as the oil reserves were expended. That kind of warfare can be annoying to an enemy, but it cannot win decisive victories against mechanized forces.

All along Stalin has been depending on his "democratic" imperialist allies to save the Soviet Union from defeat. As long ago as last November 6, when the German armies were at the gates of Moscow and Leningrad, Stalin explained the Soviet reverses by "the absence of a second front in Europe" and promised the Soviet people that "undoubtedly this will appear in the near future."

Until recently his appeals to secure a second front followed generally along the lines of the propaganda exemplified by the Daily Worker's "Veteran Commander" in an article on July 23: "The Soviet Union will go on, somehow, because it is organized for great emergencies. Its quarter of a century of existence has been but one great and continuous emergency. It is used to 'carrying on in spite.' But the real and permanent danger is one to the United Nations."

### The New Note Stalin Is Sounding

But in the last few weeks, since the Nazi offensive got under way, a new note has entered the dispatches permitted by Stalin's censors to reach this country.

To quote but a few of these dispatches:

"The declarations of London and Washington (on the second front) are most solemn in the eyes of the Soviet people. Should there be any hesitations abroad in their fulfillment, should the British and American people fall short of the aspirations expressed, the political effect here would be nothing short of disastrous." (N. Y. Times, July 15.)

"The situation here is serious. It is not ominous, but it is alarming to everyone concerned. The opening of a second front now would have a magical effect on the men of the Soviet forces." (PM, July 15.)

"The Germans are missing no opportunity. Leaflets showered over the Russian lines on the southern and southwestern front deal with little else besides the relations between the Soviet Union and its allies, and a story is circulating in Moscow of how a German prisoner at Voronezh shouted within earshot of many Red Army men the opinion that the Hungarians were better allies to Germany than the British were to the Soviet Union." (N. Y. Times, July 24.)

"There are impatience, suspicion and doubts about a second front; there is what in the West is called 'popular demand,' which can turn soon to popular disillusionment and to bitterness as full of recrimination as last month's rejoicing over the London and Washington agreements was full of hope. To disappoint these hopes would incur responsibility for damaging Russian morale in battlefield and factory." (N. Y. Times, July 26.)

### The Meaning Of These Dispatches

It is impossible to tell to what extent these reports are pure propaganda and to what extent they reflect the masses' doubts about the intentions of the USSR's allies and the wisdom of Stalin's policies. Quite likely they are a combination of both. But there can be little doubt about Stalin's intentions in permitting these dispatches to go through.

In effect, Stalin is telling the "democratic" imperialists: "Time is short. I promised the masses you would save us through a second front. With the military situation growing more desperate, the masses are growing restless and beginning to doubt that my promises were justified and my policies correct. My own control over the masses is not so great that I can dare to ignore this situation. The masses may begin demanding a new policy, and my rule may be threatened. You must come to my aid at once or bear the responsibility for what occurs—whether it be a political revolution to enforce a change of policy, or a deal you may force me to make with Hitler and which I may be able to put over on the grounds that you failed to keep your promises."

### What The "Democracies" Want

It is not that the "democratic" imperialists want to see the Soviet Union crushed at this time. As Edwin L. James put it very carefully in the July 26 N. Y. Times: "All of the United Nations wish wholeheartedly that Russia remain in the war and remain in it in a position to fight as she has been fighting." As she has been fighting means as she has been fighting and retreating while inflicting heavy casualties on Germany. This is what the "democratic" imperialists want—the mutual exhaustion of Germany and the USSR. They know that even with the Caucasus lost, the Soviet masses will want to fight on, and they count upon them to keep Germany tied up until the Allied armies are strong enough to take on a serious fight with Germany. The fact that the USSR is being bled white in the meantime occasions no regrets to the capitalists who have always wanted to destroy the Soviet regime.

### The Fruits Of Stalin's Policy

The bankruptcy of Stalin's policies must be ever more evident

(Continued on page 3)

## Most Workers To Be Denied Raises Under WLB Formula

### Board's Latest Ruling Clarifies Meaning of Little Steel Opinion

The wage formula laid down by the War Labor Board in the Little Steel case two weeks ago amounts to virtual wage freezing for the overwhelming majority of the workers. That was made clear this week by the Board's application of the same formula to the Tonawanda, N. Y., Remington Rand case, and its refusal to grant the 10 cent an hour wage increase demanded of the workers involved.

The decision of the Board, supported by the employer and "public" representatives and opposed by the labor representatives, was based on the claim that wage increases in this plant had kept pace with the 15% rise in living costs since Jan. 1, 1941, and that therefore the workers were not entitled to any other rise.

That the same excuse for denying wage increases can be applied to most of the country's workers was indicated by the following section of the Board decision:

"The National Association of Manufacturers has called attention to the fact that over two-thirds of the manufacturing industries of the country have already made increases equal to or in excess of the level fixed by the War Labor Board's (Little Steel) formula."

And lest there be any misunderstandings on the part of the workers, the Board decision added: "Contrary to some reports, it (the formula) does not guarantee to labor that existing standards of living will be maintained throughout the war."

Meanwhile the administration was busy taking other steps to "control" wages. Having apparently abandoned his previous intention of going to Congress for added power in this connection because he felt he already had the power President Roosevelt was reported to be considering the appointment of a "wage czar." Governor Lehman of the House of Lehman, recognized as one of America's Sixty Families, has been mentioned as the most likely choice for the post.

## Senate Finance Committee Goes Easy On Wealthy

Clearly showing its intentions to go easy on taxing the bosses, the Senate Finance Committee voted on July 27 to:

1. Reject Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau's anti-"special privileges" recommendation for mandatory joint income returns and for taxation of income from state and municipal securities. (Morgenthau's proposals were only a gesture, and not a real program to tax the wealthy; but even such a gesture was abhorrent to the Senate Committee.)

2. To leave the question of a sales tax "open" for consideration at future sessions of the Committee.

The implied threat to impose sales taxes on the masses comes a week after the House passed a bill that starts taxes on workers earning \$11.52 a week and up. Seven million low-wage families will pay taxes in 1942 for the first time. The same House bill dealt with the large corporations in the most gentle manner.

By its action on Morgenthau's recommendations, the Senate Committee too shows that it favors letting the bosses get away with murder while placing the greatest burden of the war costs on the masses.

# Defense Of Workers' Gains Key Issue As UAW Convenes

## Government War Aims Bared In Secretary Hull's Speech

### Imperialists Will Decide for Themselves Which Nations Are 'Entitled' to Freedom

By PHILIP BLAKE

Secretary of State Hull's July 23 address was filled from beginning to end with the sweet-sounding double-talk that characterizes all capitalist diplomacy and can usually be interpreted in two or more ways. But to the careful listener, the harsh sounds of imperialist policy could unmistakably be recognized in most of Hull's presentation of the kind of post-war world the administration is fighting for.

It has been said that Hull made this speech to counteract the ultra-liberal pronouncements issued from time to time in recent months by such governmental figures as Vice-President Wallace, and to assure the world that the fundamental policies of the administration have not been altered by these pronouncements.

If that was the case, then the speech—despite its diplomatic jargon—accomplished what it was intended to do. Even if that wasn't the purpose, the fact that it was so enthusiastically endorsed by President Roosevelt before it was broadcast is a sign that Hull was expressing the views of the government.

### WHO WILL GET LIBERTY?

Not everyone is going to have the privilege of enjoying the "four freedoms" after the war. Hull made it clear: "We have always believed—and we believe today—that all peoples, without distinction of race, color or religion, who are prepared and willing to accept the responsibilities of liberty, are entitled to its enjoyment."

To make his meaning a little clearer, Hull added: "It has been

## Henderson Agrees To Price Increase At Bosses' Request

### OPA Defends Profits While Denying Wage Raises to Workers

Leon Henderson and the Office of Price Administration shriek "Inflation!" whenever the workers ask for wage increases to meet the ever-rising cost of living.

But you don't hear such complaints when the capitalists ask for an increase in prices of the commodities they manufacture or handle. On the contrary, Henderson and the OPA fall all over themselves in their haste to be of service to the bosses.

This was clearly shown in the OPA announcement on July 24 that the prices on all canned fruits and berries will be increased from 10 to 25 per cent on the 1942 pack. This is a sharp jump over the original estimate of a 15 per cent increase authorized a few weeks ago.

The decision to "puncture" the price ceilings was reached after the fruit and berry canners convinced the OPA that the increase in prices was necessary to maintain their high profit rates.

In the first month of price control, which ended June 15, food levels for city families rose by 1.3%, according to an announcement made by the OPA.

That this process has been continuing since June 15 was shown last week in New York City when the price of butter went up 2 cents a pound and eggs went up 2 cents a dozen for Grade B and 1 cent a dozen for Grade A.

Meats are becoming scarce in some sections and butchers already have started to substitute poorer qualities and cuts of meats where they cannot get a higher price.

As food is the most important single item in working class family budgets, all these increases mean a substantial cut in the workers' living standards.

our purpose... to use the full measure of our influence to support attainment of freedom by all peoples who, by their acts, show themselves worthy of it and ready for it."

The capitalist press has stated that Hull was speaking with an eye of India. Most people who speak plain English would agree that the Indian people "are prepared and willing to accept the responsibilities of liberty."

That is why they are so insistently demanding freedom from British imperialism. But that isn't what Hull means. He means that the Indian people must support the allied cause in the war—or they will show "by their acts" that they are not worthy of freedom after the war. This is plainly a warning to the Indian people that the United States administration is going to support the British in fighting to prevent freedom for India now.

### IMPERIALIST "PEACE"

Having thus stated that the victorious powers intend to decide for themselves which nations are entitled to "liberty," Hull gave some other indications of the "peace" planned by the "democratic" imperialists.

First of all, of course, they intend to put down the attempts of the masses to establish socialist governments. "Disease and danger of disease will lurk everywhere. In some countries, confusion and chaos will follow the cessation of hostilities. Victory must be followed by swift and

effective action to meet these pressing human needs... The United States must continue... to supplement and make more effective the action of countries individually in re-establishing public order..."

(How the United States is already taking steps along these lines is revealed in an article on a new school set up by the Army, Page 2 of this issue.)

Second, the defeated powers must be crushed so that they will be unable for a long time to challenge the right of the victorious nations to rule the world. As Hull puts it: "In the process of re-establishing international order, the United Nations must exercise surveillance over aggressor nations until such time as the latter demonstrate their willingness and ability to live at peace with other nations."

And third, naturally, is the proposal for a force to police the world: "Some international agency must be created which can—by force, if necessary—keep the peace among the nations in the future." Yes, the victorious imperialists will want peace to enjoy their rule after this war is over, even if they have to keep fighting for 100 years and wipe out half of mankind to get it.

For the rest, Hull's speech was a defense of the capitalist system so-called free enterprise and initiative, and the promise that after the war the capitalist system will provide plenty and prosperity for all the people. No more than his "liberal" colleagues, however did Hull try to explain why this capitalist system had not provided plenty and prosperity for the masses before the war.

As well as anything said or written since Pearl Harbor, Hull's speech proves that the workers dare not any longer to entrust their fate in the hands of capitalist spokesmen who want to continue the imperialist policies that led to this war and that will make a third world war inevitable.

### Officials' "Equal Sacrifice" Program Stands In Way of Progress for Union

By JOSEPH ANDREWS

The UAW-CIO, traditionally the most militant and democratic union in the American labor movement, will hold its seventh annual convention in Chicago on August 3. The 1600 delegates representing almost 700,000 mass production workers will meet at a time when, as a result of the step-by-step retreat of the top officials, the union is fighting with its back to the wall against employer and government attacks.

The same union that in 1937 brought the most powerful manufacturing corporation in the world, General Motors, to its knees; that crushed the open shop in Chrysler by means of militant strikes; and that toppled the anti-union empire of Henry Ford, has lost ground in the eight months since Pearl Harbor. The UAW-CIO today is on the defensive—not because the potential dynamic power of the union membership is waning, but because the leadership of the union by its treacherous policy of retreat has back-

ed the UAW into a dead-end street. Since the entrance of the United States into the shooting war, the UAW has made no significant gains. The crucial new aircraft industry has not been organized. Martin, Douglass and Curtiss-Wright, which the UAW pledged to organize at the Buffalo convention, have not been brought into the UAW.

The wage demands of the General Motors, Chrysler and Ford workers have been bogged down in the mire of government mediation. Grievances in the plants are not being settled. The speed-up campaign of the employers increases in intensity.

### DANGEROUS TREND

The UAW, which eight months before Pearl Harbor successfully stormed the bastions of River Rouge, is now experiencing a series of NLRB elections defeats which are dangerous signs of a downward trend. The loss of the bargaining rights elections at Thompson Products in Cleveland, the key plant in that city, the Vickers Plant in Detroit, the huge Curtiss-Wright plant in Buffalo, and many other smaller plants, confronts the UAW delegates with a decisive question:

Who is responsible for the defeats of the UAW? The responsibility for the loss of NLRB elections and the undermining of union conditions in the organized plants does not lie in the ranks of the workers. The workers want and need unionism now as never before. The failure of the UAW to move ahead is the direct responsibility of the top leadership whose policy of retreat and surrender of labor's rights has led to an impasse.

The UAW-CIO International Executive Board, as well as the whole top officialdom of the union movement, set the stage for the undermining of union standards, when they gave up the unions' fundamental weapon for the defense of their interests, the right to strike. The surrender of the right to strike gave the bosses new opportunities to speed up their anti-labor drive. This capitulation made it doubly difficult to conduct an effective organizational campaign in aircraft, since the unions lacked the means to back up their demands with their full strength. With the unions thus weakened, the employers, Congress, the Roosevelt administration and the press have unceasingly conducted a campaign to take back the hardwon gains of labor.

The surrender of the right to strike was followed by the sacrifice of overtime pay for holidays and week ends, and the initiation of a speed-up campaign in the plants endorsed by the union officials.

THE "EQUAL SACRIFICE" PROGRAM At the Detroit conference of the UAW held April 7 and 8, Thomas, Addes, Reuther and Frankenstein pushed through the sacrifice of premium pay and acceptance of the speed-up—under the guise of an "equality of sacrifice" program.

This program was nothing but a fraud. The workers have nothing to gain by entering into "partnership" with the duPonts, Morgans, Fords and Rockefellers in their imperialist war for profit. The "equality of sacrifice" program is an attempt to delude the workers into bearing the burden of Wall Street's war.

But even if such a program were desirable, events have proven that it is an illusion to think the bosses will sacrifice anything.

The minority of 150 delegates at the Detroit conference who correctly opposed the leadership's program, has been proven right by the events that followed. The program of the union leadership called for the following points in return for the workers' sacrifices:

1. A 3% limitation on profits.
2. A \$25,000 limit on incomes.
3. An end to war profiteering.
4. Democratic rationing of consumers' goods.
5. Adjustment of wages to meet rising living costs.

Not one of these promises has been fulfilled. The sacrifices made by the workers were the only points in the program of the leadership that were carried out.

The policy pushed through the April conference has led to the outright betrayal of the interests of the rank and file. It has had no effect whatever in stopping the profiteering of the corpora-

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# Did Cripps Outwit The India Congress Leaders?

By FELIX MORROW

Last week we described the deliberate and systematic campaign of the British and American press against independence for India. Every supporter of Indian independence must recognize that this vicious campaign was facilitated by the conduct of the Indian National Congress leadership in the Cripps negotiations.

Churchill and the British imperialists never intended to surrender any part of their control of India to the Congress—not to speak of granting actual independence. Churchill's problem was to offer a semblance of concessions without the substance, in order to silence widespread public criticism in England and America at his failure to let India prepare to defend itself against Japanese invasion. The erstwhile "left" socialist, Cripps, was the perfect front for this maneuver. If the Congress leadership succumbed to his blandishments, and became minister-puppets of Britain, that would be excellent for British imperialism. If they refused after closed-door negotiations, that could be made to seem unreasonable, with the help of the press and radio. Either way British imperialism was the winner.

### An Accurate Estimate

That is how it worked out. While Churchill and Cripps pretended to mourn the failure of the negotiations, and the general British press chimed in, the feelings of the British imperialists were quite otherwise. Their real attitude was expressed by the financial weekly, *Great Britain and the East* (April 18) which wrote:

"To speak of the Cripps Mission to India as a failure would be a sorry blunder... In the broader sense Sir Stafford Cripps has had success. He has fixed the eyes of the world upon the realities of the Indian problem. He has enlightened the American people, who in the past have been woefully misled as to British policy, actions and intentions in India. He has compelled the leader writers of a Left group of English newspapers to accept the truth that the obstacles to India's political advance are wholly centered in

India itself... These are great achievements." This cynical estimate of Cripps' successes is, unfortunately, accurate, as is evidenced by the fact that the American capitalist press speaks now about India's demand for freedom in viciously hostile tones which would have been impossible before Cripps went to India.

Why did the leadership of the Indian National Congress permit itself to be maneuvered into a position so detrimental to securing broad mass support in America and England for India's demand for freedom? The answer to this key question will go far to illumine the character of the Congress.

Let us recall that when Cripps went to India the official British proposal was not made public. For one week the negotiations between Cripps and the Congress went on without the masses of India or elsewhere knowing what the British were offering. Then the offer was published on March 30, but for two additional weeks the Congress leadership continued to negotiate without making public whether they were accepting the British plan or not or what counter-proposals they were making. So that, when the negotiations finally broke down on April 11, it was not very difficult for the British government to picture itself as having made a supreme effort to conciliate the Congress.

That the British were offering nothing substantial could be predicted in advance—and was predicted by us here and our comrades in India. That fact should have been obvious to the Congress leaders as soon as Cripps handed them the empty-worded document of Churchill's cabinet on March 23. The Congress should have insisted, even before Cripps came to India, that the British document be published in advance; even more they should have insisted on its publication when they read it. Instead they agreed in advance to conceal the contents of the document until March 30 and to conceal the contents of the rest of the negotiations until the end two weeks later. One

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# Army Men Are Trained To Suppress Revolts

Government School Prepares Officers for the Job of Putting Down Workers' Attempts to Establish Socialism After the War

How the Roosevelt administration is already taking steps to prevent the establishment of socialist governments in the countries now under control of the Axis was revealed by a Detroit News staff correspondent on July 26.

The story, written by Allen Shoenfeld, and obviously based on information and interpretation supplied to him by administration officials, gave the following information:

"Anticipating the day when an American Army of Occupation must once more play a forceful role in the maintenance of order and the restoration of civil life in the war-torn countries of the world, the United States has established here a unique School of Military Government.

"The first class of 60, ranging in rank from captains to colonels and all carefully hand-picked on the basis of administrative ability and wide executive experience, will graduate late in August after a strenuous four-month course of instruction. A second class somewhat larger in number is in process of selection.

## "The Primary Purpose"

"The military governors are to be attached to the staffs of commanding generals in the several theaters of operations, both in former enemy countries and in friendly countries evacuated by the Axis conquerors. They will take over the conduct of virtually all civil affairs. . .

"It is generally acknowledged that the problems

of the peace will be at least as great and as numerous as those which must be met on the way to victory. Good order and economic recovery may be long in coming if the forces of occupation exhibit lack of firmness or purpose. The defeat of the Axis powers might be the signal for looting the conquered peoples on long and bloody wars of vengeance or causing those of the enemy powers to start costly and futile revolts.

"The primary purpose of the School for Military Government is to prevent chaos among the civilian populations as country after country is occupied by the United Nations. But, it is believed, the military governors must help to lay the foundations for a new world order which shall hold some promise of enduring peace. . .

Everyone acquainted with the language of the army knows that what is meant by prevention of "chaos" is the suppression of the socialist revolution. So far as the administration is concerned, there will be no room for socialism in its "new world order."

Elsewhere in his article, Shoenfeld reports: "Word of the establishment of the school has gone into Germany—and they don't like it," one officer said with a smile."

Whether that is true or not, the European workers and peasants—daily risking their lives to get rid of Hitler's rule and to have the right to choose their own kind of government—are definitely not going to like it.

## Henry Ford's Complaint

Henry Ford has lodged a public complaint against the Ford workers. On July 14 he issued a statement in Washington charging that since the UAW-CIO signed a closed shop check-off agreement in April, 1941, there has been a 33% reduction in production.

These production "statistics," compiled under the supervision of Ford's chief union buster, Harry Bennett, although undoubtedly exaggerated, are not surprising to anyone acquainted with the regime of speed-up torture which prevailed at Ford prior to the victorious strike in April, 1941.

Ford's empire was built by means of a conveyor system that pushed workers to the last limits of human endurance. The Ford workers joined the UAW-CIO and staged their victorious strike for the primary purpose of wiping out that speed-up system. It is good news to the American workers that unionism has been established in the most notorious open shop fortress in America, and that the workers have succeeded in abolishing the killing pace of production. Harry Bennett's figures show that the banner of unionism still flies at River Rouge.

Ford had hoped to housebreak and control the UAW-CIO by granting a closed shop check-off agreement and by following a "paternalistic" policy in the plants. The militant membership has thus far frustrated this plan and has defended union standards.

Ford's complaints about a "slowdown" are part of a campaign to get government intervention in the Ford plants to reestablish the pre-union speed-up.

The Ford workers, who demonstrated their courage and ability in their strike, must now be on guard not only against the union-busting machine of Henry Ford, but also against the pressure of the governmental agencies to whom Ford has appealed.

# Why The UAW Lost The Buffalo Curtiss Vote

CIO Leaders Failed to Offer the Workers A Militant Program to Improve Conditions

By PATRICK KELLY

BUFFALO, N. Y., July 21. — The United Automobile Workers, CIO, was decisively defeated by the AFL International Association of Machinists in a National Labor Relations Board election held to determine which organization should be the bargaining agent for the 24,000 workers employed at the Curtiss-Wright plants here in Buffalo. The results were as follows: AFL, 9,699; CIO, 7,450; and neither union 936.

The election restored the AFL to a potent force in this area and was the fourth serious defeat for the CIO here in the past months. Unless the CIO returns to its original purpose, namely organizing workers for trade union gains and not for Bond-buying and Speed-up Clubs, we can expect large AFL inroads in the Buffalo industrial plants. That is why a review of the latest debacle is necessary.

Approximately a year ago the UAW decided to go to town and organize the Curtiss plants here. A dozen organizers were brought here and a directing staff under Leo LaMotte was set up to do the job. Since the UAW had a con-

tract at the Bell Aircraft plant here which called for lower wages than at Curtiss, they realized that this condition had to be changed before any progress could be made at Curtiss. All forces were therefore turned to Bell which at that time had organized about 600 members out of approximately 10,000 workers.

## RETREAT AT BELL

The program drawn up for the Bell workers called for a 20 cent per hour general increase, 2 weeks vacation with pay, closed shop, etc., or strike. By this time, however, the national UAW leaders had already laid down their no-strike policy, and the Bell company knew it had nothing to fear despite local threats of strike. The workers turned to the union but when strike-action time did come, LaMotte went ahead to put out the fire his speeches had started and to accept a 12½ cent compromise and an open shop. As a result of this capitulation the workers turned away from the Bell Local, and to this day the UAW has only a small minority of them as members.

The Curtiss workers were watching the Bell Local developments with keen attention. With the retreat by LaMotte & Co., who was later replaced by Nicholas Dragon, the Bell contract was subjected to a withering fire by the Curtiss company union leadership. Curtiss workers were averaging \$10 to \$15 more a week for the same work through a bonus system that varies month-to-month according to the threats of genuine unionism.

## NEW PROGRAM

With Pearl Harbor, the UAW policy went from bad to worse. The UAW leadership felt compelled to turn completely away from the union's traditions of militancy in order to prove their respectability to their new circle of friends, the government politicians headed by Roosevelt. The ambition of the UAW leadership (Thomas, Reuther, Frankenstein, etc.) was now to prove that they had graduated into the ranks of "Labor Statesmen." They proceeded to lay down a new program: buy bonds, speed-up, give up overtime, no strikes, etc.

This program was carried over to the Curtiss drive. The weekly newspaper, *American Aircraft Builder*, was turned over to Stalinist editorship. An eight page paper reeking of super-patriotism followed. The Curtiss workers were informed that they should join the UAW so that they could buy bonds, form committees to speed-up production, hunt down saboteurs (meaning militants), etc.

Articles were carried crucifying the AFL for strikes, regardless of the reason they were called. The United Mine Workers were howled down for striking. Despite all the protests by the militants against this cowardly policy, nothing was done about it. In fact, they were at all times told to keep in their place. No suggestions were wanted. The bureaucrats, counting their chickens before they were hatched, wanted to make sure that when the local was founded (!) it would not fall under militant leadership.

Side by side with this literary campaign came the organizational work. This consisted mainly of holding Roman Circuses for the Curtiss workers. Boat rides and dances with the country's leading bands and entertainers were held free of charge. Since a large number of aircraft workers are young, these affairs were attended by thousands upon thousands of workers. The union leaders, thinking these workers were with the CIO when in fact they were

only taking advantage of it, felt confident that they were on the right road. In March the NLRB handed down its decision outlawing the company union. The UAW saw victory and became cocky. But the workers did not turn to the UAW; they remained passive. The UAW special conference was held in Detroit and its decision to surrender overtime pay rates for weekends was publicized among the Curtiss workers as if the workers would like it. Needless to say, it made only a negative impression.

## THE IAM CAMPAIGN

When the company union was outlawed, it called in the International Association of Machinists, who, seeing "gold in them there hills," issued it a charter. Immediately, the UAW leadership protested to their Commander-in-Chief, President Roosevelt, who in turn called in William Green. Green muttered something about "looking into the matter." Brown, international president of the IAM, paying not the least attention to this senile creature, was interested in collecting more dues, saw the opportunity and went full steam ahead.

The Machinists ran their campaign on a pure and simple trade union basis. Stories of strikes were carried, contracts in other shops were printed, and a program of demands which included time-and-a-half for Saturday and double-time for Sunday was drawn up. The UAW was attacked for having a Stalinist as editor of its paper. The UAW "equality of sacrifice" program was attacked obliquely by stating that the IAM stood for time-and-a-half for Saturday and double-time for Sunday. This completely disarmed the UAW and was the decisive factor in deciding the matter for a lot of the workers.

On this occasion the UAW leadership sank lower. Its wise guys, bankrupt and discredited on the trade union field, looked thru the IAM constitution, and found the following in its preamble: "Those who toil should use their rights through organizations founded upon the class struggle, and acting along co-operative and economic political lines for the benefit of the people, with the view of restoring the commonwealth of all those performing useful service to society." This preamble has been a dead letter since the early founding of the IAM decades ago. The present leaders who control the IAM are interested in only their own revenues and hides, and the UAW leaders know this, but decided that anything goes. They yelled to high heavens about this, but naturally to no avail. Evidently realizing that they were making no headway with these tactics, they kept sparring for time. But in the meantime women kept coming into the plants, thus weakening the small CIO base. Then the IAM called for an election and the CIO had to face the music.

## TOO LATE TO COUNT

As at last resort Allan Haywood, George Addes and some others were brought to town. Desperate and with their backs to the wall, the UAW leaders suddenly remembered that buried underneath their patriotic rubbish they had a program that they had announced months ago.

But it was too late and four days later the UAW leadership got their answer: "We want a union — NOT a patriotic club." As stated above, this is the fourth election lost by the CIO here in recent months. To the union bureaucrats these defeats mean only that the workers don't know what is good for them. That is a slander and only an excuse for scoundrels. These elections prove one thing:

The Curtiss workers voted for what they believed to be a militant union that would fight in the workers' interests. They repudiated the UAW officials' program of surrender and retreat.

The great fighting traditions of the CIO still live on in the minds of those thousands of workers who, despite the conduct of the CIO campaign, stuck by it and defended it. Today they are looking for a way to express their militancy. We are sure that they will find it.

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# WORKERS' FORUM

## How Bosses Show Their Patriotism

I saw an article in the N. Y. World-Telegram last week which stated that the U. S. Treasury was not exerting any pressure on people to buy Bonds against their will. This is probably true. But they don't say anything about the companies putting pressure on in the plants, forcing men to buy more bonds than they can afford.

That is exactly what happened to me, and I know that my case is not the only one. I had pledged to buy \$3 a month which is all I could spare since I have a wife and two children, and prices have gone up so much that my wages don't cover necessities. In addition to necessities for the family, there are debts, doctors and other expenses to pay.

Well, the boss called me in and showed me my pledge. He asked me if that was all I wanted to buy. I told him that was not how much I wanted to buy, but it was how much I could afford and explained my home situation.

He said, "Well, it won't do. Everyone is pledging 10% of his wages and you are going to pledge 10% too, or else things won't go so well for you around this plant from now on."

I argued with him, but there is nothing I can do about it that I can see. I don't think it is fair for these employers who are making so much money on government contracts to put the heat on men who can't afford to buy 10%. They are trying to make themselves out to be great patriots to cover up all the profits they are grabbing, and all at the expense of the men on the job.

New York City,  
D. W.

## Civil Rights Denied At Calif. Camp

Editor:

The Santa Anita Alien Internment Camp officials are persecuting Japanese-Americans who want elementary civil rights.

For example, on June 25, Shuji Fujii, publisher of the anti-fascist newspaper, *Doho*, was arrested for circulating a petition asking for a Japanese language paper.

Some friends of Fujii's were arrested for holding a meeting.

John Loeb, Chairman  
American Youth Committee  
Los Angeles, Calif.

## Seamen Jailed In '37 Strike Win Parole

Anthony Panchelly, Edward Woodworth and Donald Brown, seamen who were framed-up in 1937 and sent to jail on a 14-15 year sentence, were paroled by the New Jersey Court of Pardons last week, following an intensive campaign on their behalf by local and national labor organizations and leaders.

The three seamen, members of the unaffiliated Marine Firemen, Oilers, Wipers and Water-tenders, had been active in the maritime strike of 1936-37, and were convicted by Hague's Hudson County courts and police of robbing a scabberder of \$21.80. They were kept in jail incommunicado for 72 days, with the cops trying to get them to sign false statements involving the strike committee and beating them so badly that Panchelly spent most of the 72 days in a hospital.

They had served more than 5 years of this sentence when they were paroled last week and went to New York, where they plan to ship out again.

The New Jersey Committee to Free Panchelly, Woodworth and Brown announced this week that it will continue its activities to secure a full pardon for the seamen.

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and has only weakened the unions in the defense of their conditions. Instead of leading to "equal" sacrifices by the bosses, the UAW "equality of sacrifice" program has strengthened the bosses' hands, and has made it possible for them to prosecute the anti-labor drive more successfully.

Since Pearl Harbor the UAW leadership has performed two functions: first, it has forced the sacrifice of the unions' conditions, and second it has attempted to stifle every action and every word of protest against the undermining of unionism. The main function of the Reuthers, Thomases and Addesses today is to curb the growing resentment of the workers.

Recent events in various auto centers have demonstrated the growing discontent of the rank and file with the weak-kneed policy of the UAW leadership.

## SYMPTOMS OF DISCONTENT

In the Grand Blanc Tank Arsenal of Fisher Body, General Motors attempted to enforce open shop conditions. They would not deal with or recognize the UAW. The top leadership did nothing. The rank and file, provoked by the company, and in desperate need of bargaining rights, went out on strike. The UAW tops replied only by attacking the workers. After a week of strike, the company finally agreed to an NLRB election which will be held soon.

Workers in the Ford Willow Run plant staged a short sit-down strike on July 16 in protest against the anti-union actions of the corporation. In spite of the fact that it is well known that Ford has been doing his best to wreck the union at Willow Run, the UAW officials attacked the Ford workers.

Sporadic outbursts in several other plants have shown the increasing desire for a militant program to re-establish union conditions in the plants and to call the corporations to account. While these isolated strikes and demonstrations are usually short lived, they are nevertheless the symptoms of rising discontent.

The UAW leaders have already demonstrated how they will meet this discontent of the membership. They will attempt at the convention to weaken the democratic processes in the union, entrench themselves in office, and prepare for the bureaucratic suppression of all protests.

For the above purpose the UAW Executive Board intends to push through a constitutional provision for conventions every two years to replace the yearly conventions now provided. In this way they seek to further usurp the policy-making powers of the rank and file.

The Reuther-Thomas leadership, supported by the whole Executive Board, tried to push this provision through the Buffalo convention last year. They were overwhelmingly defeated. This time they have lined up the paid organizers and have laid the ground work for a desperate attempt to shove this bureaucratic proposal down the throats of the

membership.

The Board members also hope to increase their salaries. While they have prevented an effective fight for the protection of the living standards of the workers in the face of increasing prices, they are not hesitant to ask for higher salaries for themselves. This demand only underlines the increasingly bureaucratic tendencies of the leadership, whose whole policy separates them more and more from the rank and file.

While the top leadership enters the UAW convention bent on increasing its own power, the militant rank and file is more and more determined to defend the basic gains won by the UAW in its great strike struggles. In spite of the jingo propaganda of the leaders, and the intimidation campaigns of the corporations and the government, there are still many union militants in the UAW who are resolved to stop the process of surrender and retreat, and the sacrifice of the union's gains.

## REASSERT RIGHT TO STRIKE

Those who are really interested in defending unionism know that first and foremost the UAW must reassert the right to strike, if it is to make progress. The NLRB election defeat at Curtiss-Wright was proof in itself that the workers are much dissatisfied with the policies of the UAW leaders. The UAW will have to reassert its militancy, if it is to attract the unorganized workers.

The NLRB defeats in aircraft and the failure of the UAW to grow in that important field, is proof of the need to launch a militant organizational campaign, backed by a demand for wage levels to equal those in the auto industry, and to provide for a rising scale of wages to meet the spiralling rise in living costs. Should the UAW serve contracts on the aircraft industry with such a program, the workers would flock into its ranks.

The recent decision of the War Labor Board in the Little Steel case, turning down the steel workers' demands, is a preview of what is going to happen to the demands of the GM, Chrysler and Ford workers. The WLB has tied the purchasing power of the workers to the low level of January, 1941. It has become clear that the WLB, headed by William Davis who led the attack against the United Mine Workers in the captive mine strike, is nothing but a twin of the National Mediation Board which was branded by the CIO as a strike-breaking set-up. The UAW cannot rely on the WLB to defend the living standards of the auto workers.

## NEED LABOR PARTY

Every immediate demand of the workers involving their economic well-being meets the combined apparatus of the big corporations and the political power of the local, state and federal governments. The union movement has no political representation to defend its interests in Washington. It is now more necessary than ever for the labor movement to conduct a fight on the political field, by launching an independent labor party. The UAW, with its tremendous strength and influence among the masses of workers, is in a strategic position to lay the groundwork for a labor party.

The real defenders of the UAW-CIO will fight to reclaim

# Did Cripps Outwit The India Congress Leaders?

(Continued from page 1)

can characterize this only as secret diplomacy, criminally reprehensible in a nationalist organization negotiating with the imperialist oppressor of India.

The sole justification offered by the Congress leaders for not having rejected the Cripps proposal immediately is that verbally Cripps endowed the British document with an acceptable content at the beginning of the negotiations. As the Congress president wrote in a letter to Cripps on April 11 at the end of the negotiations:

"It seems that there has been a progressive deterioration in the British Government's attitude as our negotiations proceeded. What we were told in our very first talk with you is now denied or explained away. You told me then that there would be a National Government which would function as a Cabinet and that the position of the Viceroy would be analogous to that of the King in England vis-a-vis the Cabinet. . . The whole of this picture which you (at the first talk) sketched before us has now been completely shattered by what you told us during our last interview. . . We are driven to the conclusion that the British Government attaches more importance to holding on to its rule in India as long as it can and promoting discord and disruption here with that end in view, than to an effective defense of India against the aggression and invasion that overhang it."

The conclusion is correct but the Congress scarcely had to wait for the last interview with Cripps to discover it. What business did the Congress leaders have to accept Cripps' verbal promise of a sovereign Indian Cabinet when the written document he brought in no way surrendered the dictatorial powers of the Viceroy and the British Government? Is it possible to believe that crafty old Gandhi and his associates were

so naive as to believe verbal promises which were not borne out by the official document?

## The Reason for Their "Mistakes"

The fact is of course that they are not naive at all. Their conduct of the negotiations is not to be explained by Cripps' superior skill. Their "mistakes" were fundamental to their entire outlook. They kept the negotiations private as long as possible because they hoped to the very end to make a compromise with the British. They kept the Indian masses in the dark about what was happening because they feared the pressure of the masses, who want nothing less than complete independence and the expropriation of the British financial holdings in India. The Congress leaders have made many a rotten compromise with the British during the past twenty years. They were not above another one, but this time that was made impossible on the one hand by British refusal to grant anything, on the other hand and above all by the rising tide of India's masses.

The Congress conduct of the negotiations must be recorded as having enabled Churchill to strike a blow against Indian independence. This is but the latest proof that the workers and peasants of India cannot entrust their fight for freedom to the bourgeois Congress. The workers and peasants have their own organizations—the All-India Trade Union Congress and the All-India Khisan Sabha (Peasant Committees)—which fight for the economic demands of the masses not only against the British exploiters but also against the native exploiters who dominate the Congress. Likewise, as events are teaching the masses, they need their own political organizations, separate and apart from the Congress, in order to conduct irreconcilably the fight for freedom against British imperialism and its native agents.

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## The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

### How Will Southern Jim Crow Be Abolished

There has been a great deal of comment and discussion on the statement made last month by Mark Etheridge, the Southern white "liberal" member of the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee. And justifiably so. For it was a most significant statement, made not only at the opening of the Birmingham hearings of the FEPC, but also in the Louisville newspaper published by Etheridge.

"I believe," said Etheridge, "that it is perfectly apparent that Executive Order 8802 is a war order and not a social document."

"There is no power in the world — not even in all the mechanized armies of the earth, Allied or Axis — which could force the Southern white people to the abandonment of the principle of social segregation."

And then, to explain why with this view he continues to remain a member of the FEPC, Etheridge added: "If he (the decent Southern white man) is not willing to break down segregation — and he is not — he can at least see that it is not achieved on the brutal standards of a Ku Klux Klansman. He can see that it is made as painless as possible."

What Etheridge hints at when he says all the armies in the world will not be able to end Jim Crow in the South has been expressed more directly by another Southern newspaperman, Hammer Cobbs, editor of the Greensboro (Ala.) Watchman, a man who doesn't pretend to be a liberal. On June 25, according to the Pittsburgh Courier, he said:

"We know that 90 per cent of the white people of the South are in accord over the present system, and that's all we need to know. . . . We know that the Southern white man as strong as he is today, can repeat what he did in the 70's with hardly an effort. What disturbs us is the price, and a horrible price it will be, which so many innocent Negroes will have to pay. . . . The white man has insisted upon ruling the South, and he will keep on insisting. . . . If this disturbance (the hearings of the FEPC) continues, there will be trouble. . . . The night riders will be out again. There will be hangings, shootings, burnings."

That Cobbs speaks for the whole ruling class when he says that the fight to retain Jim Crow comes first, was demonstrated last week when the Governor of Alabama, Frank M. Dixon, rejected a contract offered by the War Production Board, under which Alabama State Prison cotton mills would produce material for the Army, because he considered it a "Federal attempt to abolish segregation of races in the South."

Objecting to a clause in the contract which asks that there shall be no discrimination in the performance of the work because of race, creed, color or national origin, Dixon said:

"Under cover of this particular clause the Fair Employment Practices Committee has been operating to break down the principle of segregation of races, to force Negroes and white people to work together, intermingling with each other, and even to bring about the situation where white employees will have to work under Negroes."

At the Los Angeles convention of the NAACP, A. Philip Randolph gave a correct answer to Etheridge and all those others who share his viewpoint: "The Negro's reply to Mr. Etheridge is that Jim Crowism is wrong and undemocratic. It is of the same cloth of Hitler's Nazism, Mussolini's fascism and Hirohito's militarism and it is booked to go."

"The old order of Southern Jim Crow can, must and will be destroyed. He is evidently blind to the fact that the Negro has changed. The old Uncle Tom is dead and gone forever."

"Mr. Etheridge should also know that if as he says all of the mechanized armies of the earth, Allies and Axis, cannot force the South to the abandonment of segregation and Jim Crow, that it is also true that all of the power in the world — not even all the mechanized armies of the earth, Allies and Axis — could force the Negro to the abandonment of his fight for the destruction of racial discrimination, segregation and Jim Crowism."

"And since Mr. Etheridge feels this way about the fight of the Negro for his democratic rights, he should have the decency to resign from the President's Committee on Fair

### Employment Practice."

But while Randolph's answer was generally correct, it was not complete and adequate. For there are other conclusions to be drawn from Etheridge's statement:

1. When Etheridge emphasizes that the Executive Order 8802 is a war order, he is saying that after the war, the government does not intend to continue even the small, ineffective work of the FEPC. If it is up to the government, the Negro will be in the same position he was in before the war.

2. Etheridge was appointed by Roosevelt — he was appointed as the FEPC's chairman, as a matter of fact — and no one in the administration has repudiated his statement. Is it not logical, therefore, to assume his statement of FEPC objectives — to make Jim Crow as painless as possible, while continuing it — is also the objective of the administration which is interested only in getting the Negro to support the war? Is it not also clear that more than Etheridge must go before the Negro will get his rights?

3. It is not quite true that Etheridge is "blind to the fact that the Negro has changed." Etheridge is quite well aware of it, and that's why he issued his statement. Only a few weeks before this statement, he warned: "They are more aggressive and demanding than they ever have been before; and, I think, we all ought to learn that." As long as the Negroes remained docile and "in their place," Etheridge was willing to pose as a liberal; but when he saw that they were organizing and becoming militant, he dropped his liberal mask with haste. Such is the role of all capitalist liberals.

But the important question is: What is to be done? Etheridge declares that Southern Jim Crow is an unmovable object, and Randolph answers that the Negro fight for democratic rights is an irresistible force. What will happen when this irresistible force meets this unmovable object? Will the struggle end only in a stalemate? Won't the Negroes ever get their rights in the South?

We think that they will, and we think that we know the way. In the first place, the South is not an unmovable object. It is not a "solid south." The white workers of the South may not yet realize it, but their interests and those of the Negro masses are identical. They are both oppressed by the ruling class of employers and landlords. They will both benefit by the elimination of capitalist rule. The struggle in the South is a struggle to unite the white and Negro masses against their common enemy.

But even if not all the white workers in the South are brought to understand this, that does not mean the cause of Negro equality is hopeless. For the Negroes in the South have allies elsewhere — in the white and Negro workers in the rest of the country.

To illustrate what we mean, let us recall what happened after the Civil War of 1861-65. Chattel slavery was abolished, but the Southern ruling class had no intentions of losing its power. They intended to keep the Negro submerged and to deny him his democratic rights.

This was the period of the Reconstruction, 1865-1876, when the federal government, pushed forward by the Radical Republicans, maintained a military dictatorship which prevented the Southern rulers from doing what they wanted to the Negroes. During this interesting period — which it is the duty of every militant worker to study carefully — Negroes not only had the right to vote, but they also exercised their rights and held many federal and state governmental posts. Of course, at the end of this period the Republicans of the North came to an agreement with the Southern Democrats and they withdrew the federal troops and the Southern ruling class by violence and legislation took away the Negro's rights.

After the Civil War of the 1860's, the North maintained its power by a dictatorship in the South. Similarly the Workers' and Farmers' Government of the future will have to take measures to prevent the old rulers from attempting to violently overthrow the new society. It will be this new power — far stronger than all the mechanized armies of the Allies and Axis — which will put an end for all time to Jim Crow in the South.

# A Worker's Message From Poland And The Ghetto

## "Socialism Lives and Will Dominate the World"

### Editor's Note

Last week THE MILITANT printed an interesting letter from an anti-fascist worker in the German underground movement to a friend in the United States. This same German anti-fascist sent another letter dealing with Polish conditions at the end of 1941, which has just come into our hands. We are glad to be able to print it here for the information it contains, although we do not assume responsibility for all the political ideas expressed in it.

The news of the growth of the underground Polish Trotskyist movement, as well as the leftward developments of the Polish and Jewish socialists in occupied Poland, has been corroborated by other information recently received in this country.

### Dear Friend and Comrade:

I spent three weeks in Poland in official duties. Unofficially I visited the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw, and met a number of Jewish and Polish Socialists and Trotskyists. Never in all my years have I seen such misery, hunger and despair — especially in the Jewish ghetto where live the 'capitalist Jews' who want to conquer and enslave the world, as the Nazis would have Germans and all other nations of the world believe.

I have seen misery aplenty in Germany. Compared to the impoverished and famished population in Poland, however, the Germans live like princes. A crust of dry bread has become the dream of millions. Literature, art, philosophy, science — they have no significance for these millions. Bread has become their ideal, and for that crust of bread, Poles are betraying their own compatriots. Jews would also have acted in this manner, but they dread leaving the ghetto, and more so do they dread the Gestapo. And for the same crust of bread, twelve and thirteen year old girls sell themselves to German soldiers.

### FOR HUMAN BEINGS

#### THERE ARE NO SOCIETIES

As cats and dogs seek left-overs in ash cans, so do Poles and Jews look for this. For cats and dogs there are societies which protect them; for human beings there is — nothing. They are dying of starvation by the hundreds.

In the Jewish ghetto live hundreds of thousands, forsaken by men and by God to whom they pray with tear-filled eyes. Their prayers do not reach beyond the ghetto walls. Children have no childhood, and age has left its tragic mark on them.

I employed every means to gain the confidence of the Jews in the Polish ghetto. I could not convince them, however, that beneath my uniform there was a human being. They regard us as wild animals — and we have deserved such consideration. I succeeded.

### HE MAKES CONTACT

I met a few younger Jews

whose beliefs differ from those of elders of their faith. But they no longer believe in a Messiah; their faith is in Socialism. Through them, I came into contact with Polish Socialists and Trotskyists. What joy prevailed among us! I realized, in the course of these meetings, that socialism lives and will dominate the world.

I came into contact with them through a young Zionist with whom I became acquainted in one of the Jewish institutions. During the first few days of our acquaintance I spoke to him only about official matters. Gradually, however, I drew him into conversation of human interest and he explained to me that he was a Zionist.

When he asked whether I was acquainted with Zionism I replied in the affirmative, but said I was not familiar with it to a great extent. And so he asked me how official Berlin circles feel about Zionism. To which I replied: "The attitude which official Berlin circles maintain towards Jews is known to you. One feels it here, in Poland, and in all other countries where the Nazis rule. Because of purely political motives, official circles in Berlin are antagonistic to Zionism, since they want to convince the Arabs that Palestine should belong to the Moslems — and to them alone. My personal opinion concerning the Jewish question is that when we Germans will be liberated from the Nazi rulers, the Jews, too, will be free."

"I understand," I continued, "that my reply comes unexpectedly to you. Do not think, however, that all Germans who wear Nazi uniforms are brownshirts. But here in this office we will not be able to finish our conversation. Is it possible to arrange a visit to your home on a certain evening?"

One evening I visited the Zionist. I found scattered about in his home various Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish and Russian books and papers — exactly as I had instructed him to do. I gave him these instructions so that in the event Gestapo agents accidentally raided his home, it would appear that I had come to make the investigation.

Briefly, I explained to him that I should like to become acquainted with a few socialists, if there still are such. He looked at me in amazement. I told him frankly who and what I am. He then opened the door, and called out the name of a woman who soon made her appearance in the room. She was his sister. When he told her I was a member of the League of Revolutionary Socialists of Germany, she stretched out her hand and greeted me with the word "comrade." I haven't heard the word "comrade" for

# After The Fall Of Rostov

(Continued from page 1)

to the Soviet masses — especially since it appears that the next front to be opened may be opened — by Japan against the Soviet Union.

A July 26 dispatch from London to the Chicago Sun says: "For several weeks there have been consistent reports of the presence in Manchuria of 500,000 Japanese troops, and this number may possibly have been augmented recently by withdrawal of forces from China and dispatch of reserves from Japan. London observers seem certain that the 'pretty strong force' in Manchuria under Gen. Jishiro Emezu is waiting only for Tokyo to 'push the button' before it attacks." American observers share this opinion.

Such are the fruits of Stalin's policy. Effective military aid which Stalin promised has yet to materialize despite the USSR's critical position. Likewise, the supplies and material aid from the "democracies," which the Stalinists ballyhooed so greatly, have turned out to be very inconsequential indeed.

A London dispatch revealed last week that Britain is sending the USSR 50 tanks a week. And the Daily Worker's Veteran Commander, in trying on July 23 to refute the argument that the U. S. can't open a second front because it is giving "all our stuff to Russia," spilled some more beans:

"The Wall Street Journal tells us that the USA has turned over to Britain, the USSR and China no more than one-eighth of their total production of arms during the last several months. Taking as a basis the figure of 4,000 planes a month being produced here, we see that the total plane lend-lease is but 500 planes a month. It is hard to assume that the Red Army got more than half of that. Such a figure represents less than the weekly loss of the Soviet Air Force in combat."

Nevertheless, in return for the promises and crumb he has received from the "democracies," Stalin rejected the policy of revolutionary warfare which saved the USSR in the Civil War of 1918-20.

It is unfortunate, but nevertheless a fact, that the USSR does not have the internal resources for victory over Hitler. That does not mean, however, that the Soviet Union is doomed unless the "democracies" open a second front.

### Mobilize The USSR's True Allies

For the Soviet Union has real allies, allies whose interests coincide with those of the workers' state — the masses of Europe, including the workers of Germany and the occupied countries. These workers are in a position to open a class front against the Nazis, to disrupt the Nazi rear and to disorganize the German army from within.

years, for ever since the Nazis began to call each other "Genossen" (comrades), we call ourselves "friends." We were both surprised. She began to inquire about our movement. I told her briefly about our work, about which not only she, but also the Zionist, were enthusiastic. I spent a few hours drinking tea with the young woman comrade, in the presence of her brother and her parents. Those were pleasant hours; I shall never forget them.

A few days later, she introduced me to two Polish Socialists, both of whom spoke German fluently. From them I learned that socialism lives in the hearts of thousands in Poland, that the Polish Socialists have no association whatsoever with the Polish government-in-exile, in London; that they have no connection with the Polish Socialists in Britain who are backing that government.

### FOR A SOVIET GOVERNMENT!

"It is too early to talk of a government," the two Polish comrades added. "When the proper moment comes, we will have a government which will be elected by the Polish and Jewish proletariat. And this will be a Soviet government — without the errors made in Russia."

Upon my question as to why the Trotskyists were working separately, they replied that it would not take long before they would be working together. "The Trotskyists still believe that the former nationalist tendencies rule our Party," the two comrades said. "But these tendencies died — along with the Polish Republic. We have broken completely with the old school of Daszynski."

I told them that in the League of Revolutionary Socialists, all differences of opinion have disappeared. I also told them that we are not influenced by any group of the German political emigrants.

The Trotskyists wield a strong influence on the workers of Poland. They too believe that the time is high when they will become united with the Polish socialists who support completely a Soviet republic in Poland.

When I returned to Berlin, I conveyed greetings of the Polish comrades to our comrades. These greetings were received enthusiastically. This expression of enthusiasm and solidarity manifested itself in a collection which was taken up among various units of our organization, and which netted the sum of five hundred marks. Of this, two hundred went to the Socialist Party of Poland; two hundred to the Jewish Bund; and one hundred to the Trotskyists. This is a small amount, but it is the finest possible demonstration of socialist solidarity in these dark days of fascism and nationalism.

Stalin promised on July 3, 1941, "In this great war we shall have loyal allies in the peoples of Europe and America, including German people who are enslaved by Hitlerite despots." But the policies he has followed have not mobilized these allies on behalf of the USSR — on the contrary, the Stalinist policies have done everything possible to repel and confuse and disorient these true allies of the workers' state.

Instead of trying to arouse the German masses against Hitler by internationalist propaganda, stressing the unity of interest of all workers — instead of offering the German masses a socialist program to inspire them to make the sacrifices which a struggle against the Nazis will necessarily entail — Stalin is teaching the Soviet people to hate everything German, including the "German people who are enslaved by Hitlerite despots."

"We understand that the Germans are not human beings. From now on the word German is a terrible curse; it is a word which makes one spring to arms," the army paper, Red Star, told the Soviet soldiers on July 24. This campaign to make the Soviet masses hate everything German has reached the point, Maurice Hindus wrote the N. Y. Herald-Tribune on July 9, where he cannot imagine any Russian "wanting at the end of the war to spend a single drop of blood or a single Russian sunflower to help any group in Germany to enthroning any kind of new society, however Leftist it might be."

### How Stalin Helps Hitler

By this campaign to arouse indiscriminating anti-German hatred, and by his endorsement of the war aims of the United Nations, including the crushing of Germany and the establishment of another and worse Versailles after the war, Stalin helps Hitler to keep the German masses from embarking on the revolutionary path, and enables Goebbels to warn the German people that the victorious United Nations would "vent their base instincts against everything German."

Similarly in the occupied countries. The masses there don't want to fight and die only to bring about the return of the misery and deprivation they suffered under pre-war conditions — but that is all that Stalin offers them.

The workers who want to defend the Soviet Union cannot depend on the imperialists or on an imperialist second front to do it. The true allies of the USSR must be mobilized in defense of the workers' state. The only way to do this is by rejecting the Stalinist policy, by raising the revolutionary banner of struggle against a new Versailles and by offering the European masses a perspective of socialism to replace capitalism, both fascist and "democratic."

In this way alone will the Soviet Union be saved from defeat.

# No Hope For British Workers Except Socialism

By M. MORRISON

If one thinks of an end to this war without a socialist revolution in one or more of the advanced capitalist countries, the prospects for the working masses everywhere are indeed gloomy. That applies to all countries, victor and vanquished alike. But it is particularly applicable to Great Britain. If the workers of Germany, Italy or Japan can have a faint hope of some benefits accruing to them as a result of victory for their imperialist masters, the workers of Great Britain can have no such hope at all, even from a defeat of Hitler.

Next to the American workers, the British have the highest standard of living in the world. Their country is small and highly industrialized, producing manufactured goods for export and depending almost exclusively on imports for foodstuffs and raw material. The British colonial empire made it possible for the British capitalists to develop their industries and to give the British workers part of the super-profits derived from the exploitation of the colonies. The conservatism of the British workers is based to a certain extent on the exploitation of tens of millions of people in Asia and Africa.

If Hitler should be victorious, Great Britain would be stripped of all its colonies, leaving an island with 45 million people deprived of markets for their industrial products and unable to import the food necessary to sustain them. Could emigration relieve the situation? Where in this day and age, would they emigrate to? Not even Australia and Canada, assuming that Hitler does not control them, would permit unrestricted immigration.

Continental European countries like France can be transformed into agricultural countries, as Hitler will undoubtedly order, and still permit the people to eke out a miserable existence. But not so with Great Britain. With its industries crippled, the 45 million people face a reduction in the standard of living lower than that of the Chinese coolies. It is the possibility of this dreadful fate which enables Churchill and the labor leaders to keep the masses behind the war effort of the British ruling class.

Should Hitler be defeated by virtue of the industrial power of the United States, the lot of the English masses will not be very much better than with Hitler victorious.

The workers of the have-not Axis powers can be misled into believing that victory will bring colonies to their countries and a large part of the wealth now in the possession of the opulent imperialist democracies, thus improving their economic situation. It is the hope for such an improvement through victory, and the certain knowledge that a victory of the imperialist democracies means oppression and poverty even worse than the present lot, that makes the workers of the Axis powers prefer a victory of their dictators rather than of the opposing nations.

When the argument is advanced by democrats who support the imperialist democracies that a victory for Hitler means dreadful consequences for the masses in England and the United States, the internationalist answers: Yes, that is true. But a victory for England and the United States means dreadful consequences for the masses of the Axis powers. A proletarian internationalist makes no distinction between workers of different nations.

If there is a certain plausibility to the false argument that

a victory for a particular imperialist nation will improve the standard of living of the masses of that nation, there is almost no plausibility whatever to this argument when applied to Great Britain. For the prospect of the British Empire remaining intact even with the defeat of Hitler is quite slim. Some very important sections of that empire have already been lost. The richest of all the colonies, India, is on the very verge of being lost. Canada, Australia and New Zealand are under the dominating influence of the United States. If England should come out of the war undefeated, it will be only because of the efforts of the United States, and it is hardly conceivable that American capitalists are waging war in order to preserve the British Empire. That is what some near-sighted isolationists are claiming, but that is attributing a generosity to American capitalism which it does not possess.

Even if we assume that the colonial peoples formerly and at present under the heels of British imperialism will, by virtue of a defeat of the Axis powers, still be the subjects of British capitalism, it is well high certain that the United States will have an important, if not a decisive, hand in the exploitation of the British colonies. That is the reward that American capitalism will demand and obtain for saving the British Empire. And that is the essential meaning of the "anti-imperialist" speeches of Wallace and Welles.

As an industrial country England is a competitor of the United States and the American capitalists do not look with favor upon the monopoly which British capitalists have of certain important raw materials and of the markets of huge countries like India. That monopoly is bound to end with a victory for the United States. And with the ending of that monopoly the basis for the relatively high standard of living of the English masses collapses.

It is this gloomy prospect that must sooner or later penetrate into the minds of the English masses. They are now dissatisfied and resentful because of the defeats the British armies are suffering. They are so fearful of a Hitler victory, however, that they continue, with great doubts, it is true, to follow their leaders who in all essentials submit to Churchill, the representative of the English imperialists. A great many English workers are undoubtedly hoping that Cripps, who has a reputation as a radical, will some day be at the head of the government. But at present they will not do anything which may appear to them as creating a risk of a Hitler victory.

Once, however, the English workers realize under the present set-up, even a defeat of Hitler offers no chance to emerge from their blind alley, they will be willing to risk more in an effort to solve their problem. To take governmental power into their own hands, nationalize industry and conduct the war against Hitler in their own way, may appear risky to them since they know that American capitalism will not help but try to suppress any workers' revolution in England. And they are also fearful lest any struggle on the home front will permit Hitler to come out victorious.

But if the English workers clearly see that even a defeat of Hitler means only a victory for American imperialism, they will realize that they have very little, if anything, to lose by a bold attempt to take power and wage the war against Hitler on the basis of a revolutionary program.

Because of the desperate situation confronting the English masses, it is necessary for them to take all risks. The solution of their problem demands that they take power in their own country and proclaim their goal of building a socialist society. The British imperialists are unable to defend the British Empire. The British workers can defend the peoples of that Empire and save themselves by taking power and proclaiming an end to the Empire and an end to capitalist exploitation. Their chances of victory against Hitler will increase by a thousand fold.

Note: A reader of the MILITANT, A. S., has sent a communication contending that my column in the June 27 issue of this paper is not clear and needs further explanation. Both the letter and the explanation will appear in the near future. I take this opportunity to welcome all criticism and discussion on the subjects raised in this column, and requests to discuss any subject not touched upon.

**WHY we Defend The Soviet Union**

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

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## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

## 28 Years Since World War I Began

Twenty-eight years ago this week the big guns of Europe boomed the announcement of World War I. After four years of the most terrible slaughter and destruction of the world's resources and manpower, the guns ceased firing and the grim totals were counted:

10,000,000 known dead.  
4,000,000 "missing."  
6,500,000 seriously wounded.  
14,000,000 otherwise wounded.  
  
34,500,000 total casualties at the front.

World War I cost the world \$40,000,000,000. The contribution of the United States to the war was large enough — in the words of Nicholas Murray Butler, reactionary President of Columbia University — to have provided "each and every family in the United States a \$5,000 house — on a five acre \$500 plot of ground — with \$1,000 in addition to furnish it comfortably and attractively."

What did this ghastly sacrifice bring the peoples of the world?

They had been promised a "just" peace. They were saddled with the monstrous injustice of Versailles, Europe was Balkanized, revolutions were stamped out in blood by the victorious powers and the old capitalist "law and order" was restored with the aid of American gold.

They were promised "democracy." All conditions were prepared for military dictatorships in Central Europe. Fascism in Germany was nourished, financed and finally brought to power with the help and encouragement of the dominant ruling groups of the victorious powers.

They were promised "an end to all wars." We now commemorate the outbreak of World War I in the middle of World War II.

The causes of World War I — rivalry for the domination of the world's sources of raw materials and exploitation of millions of colonial slaves by a handful of financial oligarchs — are likewise the causes of World War II.

The sufferings and sacrifices of the great masses of participants are already proportionately greater than those of World War I.

The promises of the ruling classes are no less deceitful, no less threadbare than those of World War I.

The causes of World War II will likewise be the causes of World War III —

Unless the peoples of the world who fight the wars, who suffer from the wars, who are the unwilling victims of the causes of the never-ending wars under imperialism, stop this deadly cycle once and for all by taking their destiny into their own hands.

Unless there emerges from World War II a wave of socialist revolution which takes political power and control of wealth and industry away from the ruling minority and puts them in the hands of the great toiling masses.

World War I gave birth to the great Russian Revolution. That revolution marked the beginning of the end of that war.

World War II is already germinating on an even wider scale the process begun 25 years ago in the territory of the Czars.

This time the millions of colonial slaves of Asia and Africa will join with the masses of Europe and America to put an end forever to the cycle of wars.

They will finish what the Russian masses so gloriously began.

## British Find Use For Indian C. P.

It is becoming more and more obvious that the Indian masses are determined to rid their country of the British rulers and oppressors. They refuse to postpone their struggle for independence. They will not accept any more promises. They want to begin their national life right now.

The growing determination and pressure of the masses are reflected in the proposal of the leaders of the All-India Congress party to launch a new campaign of civil disobedience. Gandhi and his friends realize only too well that should they fail now to give expression to the dominant moods of the Indian people, they would find themselves swept aside. Hence their unaccustomed boldness.

The British imperialists find their position in India becoming more and more precarious. Their old native allies, especially the native princes, are impotent to disorient and paralyze the struggle of the Indian masses. They need new allies. Where are such to be found? The Government of India thinks it has found them in the ranks of the Indian Communist Party. This Stalinist organization has been illegal since 1934. On July 22 the ban was lifted. The Indian Communist Party can now function legally once again.

The *Daily Worker* printed the news without comment. The UP dispatch it carried on July 23 reads: "The action followed a Communist Party declaration that it regards the war as a people's war, deserving support of the people of India."

What London expects from the Indian Stalinists is in reality their support of the suppression of the Indian liberationist movement. What London requires immediately is support of its expressed intention of forcibly suppressing the projected civil disobedience campaign. That is the real reason why the Stalinists have been granted legality in India.

Will the Stalinists sacrifice the vital interests of the Indian people? To ask this question is to answer it. The Stalinists have never failed in any country to accommodate their policies to the foreign policy of the Kremlin. And Stalin's policy today plays directly into the hands of the "democratic" imperialists.

On March 14, 1942 Governor Sir Andrew Caldicott of Ceylon announced the suppression of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Ceylon Socialist Party), adherent of the Fourth International. By this action, London hoped to deal a telling blow to the emancipatory struggle of the Ceylonese and the Indians.

Through the legalization of the Stalinists, the British imperialists hope to achieve the self-same aim. The two diametrically opposed measures express the polar difference in the role of the two parties and the system of ideas represented on the one hand by Stalinism and on the other by Trotskyism.

The British imperialists will not succeed thru any of their devices in stemming the struggle of the Indian masses. The latest perfidious role of the Stalinists will only further disgrace their party in India, and clear the road for the party of Trotskyism, the genuinely revolutionary party of the Indian working class, the most consistent and reliable fighter for India's independence.

## Democratic Rights And Armed Forces

After a stormy debate and over the opposition of some die-hard poll-taxers, the House of Representatives last week passed the Ramsay bill establishing the procedure by which men and women in the armed forces and auxiliaries will be able to vote in the November elections without the formality of registration.

In passing this legislation, the House was undoubtedly carrying out the wishes of the great majority of the people in this country, both in and out of the armed forces, who believe that the soldiers and sailors, faced with death on the battlefields of this war, should have the right to help decide just who shall control the government and determine their destiny.

But the passage of this bill is only a small step in the direction of restoring to the men and women in the armed forces the same democratic rights that are still exercised by the masses in the factories and on the farms.

For hundreds of years the right of petition has been considered an indispensable democratic right. Yet it is a right that the members of the armed forces are not permitted to exercise.

Every worker knows how indispensable grievance committees are for the maintenance of decent conditions and the settlement of disputes in the factories. Yet the members of the armed forces are denied the use of such committees to remove abuses and improve their conditions.

The right to trial by a jury of his peers has been established for even the habitual criminal. Yet it is prohibited for members of the armed forces.

Under what democratic principles, we ask the Congressmen who made such fiery speeches last week about the democratic right of the soldiers to vote, are THESE rights denied to the members of the armed forces?

# Puerto Ricans Sick Of Wall St. Exploitation

Landlessness, Oppression, Empty Promises,  
Hunger, Is Record of U. S. Rule In Colony

By HOWARD ALLEN

"Here are the basic elements of a culture, in the fall of seldom-failing rains, in the generosity of these soils, in the sky, the earth and the surrounding sea. . . ." So spoke Rexford Guy Tugwell shortly after President Roosevelt appointed him as Governor of Puerto Rico.

This island colony of the United States is legally an "unincorporated territory" and its

people, while American citizens by law, are colonial subjects in fact. Although they elect their own legislature, the Governor has the right of veto, and in fact determines what the law shall be.

The apostles of the "four freedoms," seeking to explain how "liberal democrats and progressives" can subject a people to the dictatorial rule of another country, have pointed at the reported acceptance by Roosevelt of Tugwell's plan to let the Puerto Ricans elect their own governor after the war is over.

### LESS FREEDOM THAN UNDER SPAIN

After forty-four years of plunder by American imperialism, these "liberals" point to an "after the war" promise.

The facts betray their hypocrisy. In 1898, after a long and bitter struggle against Spanish domination, the Puerto Ricans at last won a "Charter of Freedom" from that monarchical tyranny. Hardly had the natives raised their flags of victory, when General Nelson A. Miles seized the islands for the United States. It is a damning fact that before U. S. intervention, Puerto Rico won more freedom from the Spanish than today the "liberals" promise her "after the war."

The struggle for Puerto Rican independence will continue in spite of these mealy promises. It will continue because the masses cannot tolerate any longer the fierce exploitation to which they have been subjected.

In the July 1942 *Common Sense* Russell Lord says, "the physical evidences of overcrowding, undernourishment and a hideous gnawing poverty are at every hand apparent, in open country and in stinking slums." Why this misery "on a land so rich a doubling of population in forty years could easily be sustained by advanced modern technology and by elementary governmental planning"?

### WALL STREET DOMINATION

The United States government completely dominates the political life of Puerto Rico, while U. S. capital completely dominates the economic life of the country. In 1939, Puerto Rico imported over 86 million dollars worth of goods from the United States and less than 6½ millions worth from all other lands. In the same year, Puerto Rico shipped 88.9 millions in goods to the United States and only 1.5 millions to other lands.

No, there can be no doubt about the domination of Puerto Rico's economy by the U. S. Nor is there any doubt about the fact that "all goods traveling between Puerto Rican and mainland ports must be carried in American ships; and since two lines have a monopoly, the rates are high and this makes the prices of imported necessities correspondingly high." (Overseas America, issued by the Foreign Policy Association.)

According to Alysce Harris, in *Fact and Fable about Puerto Rico*, it cost "48c per box per 1,000 miles to ship fruit from Puerto Rico to New York, and the same item can be sent from Honduras to London at 20c per 1,000 miles. Coffee growers in Rio De Janeiro pay 14c per 1,000 miles to New York and the Puerto Rican farmer pays 28c per 1,000 miles. This is how the colonial masses are squeezed to provide super-profit for the American monopolists.

In 1936, less than 20 sugar mill corporations owned one-half of the land in farms while only four firms owned about ¼ of all the land in farms. Forty plants process the sugar cane grown by the natives on the corporations' lands, and only four companies refine all the island's sugar.

United States imperialism thus controls not only the island's governmental apparatus, including the judicial and educational branches, but its agriculture, industry and transportation as well.

### WE MUST SUPPORT THEIR FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

It is against this control that the natives have fought; it is for freedom from this that their martyrs have shed their blood. In their struggle against the giant corporations that have reduced their island to a land of mass misery, the natives have called for enforcement of the 42 year old law prohibiting corporation-owned farms over 500 acres.

mainland courts have issued injunctions against any action, so no estates of over 500 acres have yet been taken over. Not a single cent of the \$7,000,000 appropriated by the Puerto Rican legislature for this purpose has yet been spent, according to Time, Feb. 2, 1942.

Thus after 42 years of the "blessings of enlightened civilization," the Puerto Rican people still have only promises. There is little chance that they are highly impressed with the latest "after the war" promise. And there is little doubt that they intend to continue their struggle for freedom. It is the job of the workers in the United States to aid them in every way possible in that struggle against the same ruling Sixty Families who exploit the masses in this country.

# Death Lurks In The City Slums

Rheumatic Heart Disease Takes Heavy Toll  
Among Children of Working Class Families

By GRACE CARLSON

Stalking through the crowded slums of the large American cities, the dread rheumatic heart disease annually takes a huge toll in sickness, suffering and premature death among the children of the poor. Nine hundred thousand persons in the United States are estimated to be suffering from rheumatic heart disease, the big majority of them children and young adults. Thirty thousand deaths annually are attributed to this same disease.

### Surveys among school children

In New York City, Boston and Philadelphia have shown that rheumatic heart disease is eight times more frequent in children attending schools in the poorer districts than in those attending private schools. Dr. Melville Goldsmith of Philadelphia, Chief of the Cardiac Clinic of St. Christopher's Hospital for Children, unhesitatingly lists poverty as the chief cause of rheumatic heart disease in a recent article in a *Public Health Nursing Journal*:

### POVERTY CHIEF CAUSE

"Poor housing and concomitant social conditions seem to be predisposing factors. Crowded living quarters, poor ventilation, lack of sunshine, dampness, crowded sleeping quarters, poor hygiene and poorly balanced diets with insufficient quantities of food to insure proper growth and development are among the things noted in the social histories of these rheumatic individuals."

Many early cases of rheumatic fever go unrecognized. The symptoms — excessive fatigue, pain and swelling in the joints — are often dismissed as "growing pains," inasmuch as the first attacks of rheumatic fever usually occur in children from 5 to 12 years of age.

In from 80% to 90% of the cases of rheumatic fever, the heart is damaged and rheumatic heart disease results. The greater the number of recurrences of rheumatic fever, the greater is the damage to the young heart. Since recurrent attacks of rheumatic fever seem to follow sore throats, acute colds and other upper respiratory infections, it is easy, even for the layman, to understand why children, living in damp, cold, over-crowded tenements suffer so acutely from rheumatic heart disease.

Like tuberculosis, rheumatic heart disease requires long, costly medical care, and also, like tuberculosis, this disease strikes most often at the children of workers least able to pay for such services. Hospitalization for the rheumatic fever patient during the acute stage of the disease is strongly recommended. Proper after-care of the patient requires continuous medical observation and supervision for a period of from six months to a year. These essential but expensive medical services cannot be purchased by the poorly-paid workers. Public health facilities for the proper care of rheumatic fever patients are completely inadequate. The result is that thousands of children with early rheumatic heart disease, who might be restored to a near-normal life by prompt treatment and prolonged care, develop serious heart conditions and are driven into early graves.

### OTHER CONSEQUENCES

Patients who survive the first attacks of rheumatic fever run less risk from new attacks as they grow older, but, unfortunately, they are then exposed to other risks. The heart which was damaged by rheumatic fever in childhood is likely to develop an irregular heart rhythm or to manifest some other cardiac abnormality as the strain of adult living begins to be felt. The vast majority of the deaths from heart

# Ronald Tearse And Edwin Jaffee— 19 Years Old

Ronald J. Tearse, age 19, merchant seaman, drowned or killed when freighter was attacked by German submarine.

Edwin N. Jaffe, age 19, merchant seaman, drowned or killed when freighter was attacked by German submarine.

Thus is the last chapter written to lives that had just begun. Thus the brief tale of thousands of seafaring men—hundreds like Jaffe and Tearse not yet out of their teens, with hardly a chance to feel the winds of hope, love and ambition—is rushed to a tragic finish.

What chance did these best sons of the working class have, these young workers whose last moments are often marked by actions of selfless heroism so pregnant with promise for the future of humanity? What chance did they have?

They were born into a world where the ruling class by its domination of the means of production, had plunged the great masses into untold suffering. Together with their fathers they were to live from their childhood in all the misery and despair of unemployment, poverty and insecurity.

Just as their fathers had been unable to escape the agonies of World War I into which capitalism had plunged all of mankind before their advent into this world, so the young workers of this generation could not escape the poisoned fumes of an even sicker capitalism which plunged them into a second Armageddon, leaving only the ocean waves to pronounce a last requiem over their young bodies.

### Victims Of An Outlived System

What chance did they have? Their fate, like that of their fathers, was decided for them long before they had reached a maturity that would empower them to fully reason out or articulate their own desires. They were victims of a system that had long outlived its usefulness; victims of the lust and ambitions for world mastery of a ruling class that can retain its power only by doing irreparable violence to the peoples of the world.

Ed and Ronald, like the rest of their generation, were victims of the same system, victims in all respects but one. And here the difference is so vast that the beginning of the end of this senseless slaughter of the working class youth can already be discerned in the way these two young workers lived.

Ronald Tearse was born into a working class family on April 5, 1922. He joined the Socialist Workers Party at the age of 16 while still at high school. Out of school he worked for a short time in the culinary industry and was a member of an AFL local union. For some years he carried on his revolutionary activity among the Negroes of South Jamaica, L. I. Selling THE MILITANT and distributing socialist literature in that district, he became well-known and respected among many Negro workers. His co-workers say that his work was characterized by consistency and seriousness. Quiet and unassuming, he was already well-informed on the laws of capitalist society. Acting on his knowledge he was organizing his fellow workers to bring a better world into being. He went to sea early in 1941. One year later he went down with his ship.

Edwin Jaffee would have been 20 this month. At the age of 13 he joined the Young Communist League; four years ago he quit the YCL and joined the Young Socialist League, and from that time until his death he was affiliated with the Trotskyist organization. Like Ronald, Ed came from a working class family and at an early age was earning his own livelihood. He loaded trucks, worked as a busboy, dishwasher and machinist. In each case he was active organizing the workers in his trade and was a loyal and respected member of his union. He went to sea in May 1941 and met his death on the same ship as Ronald. Like Ronald, he was a member of the Seafarer's International Union.

### They Knew About The Socialist Road

Ronald and Ed were victims of this system and its wars, but unlike their fellow-workers, their lives were not haunted by the fears that arise from the helplessness of the great masses of modern proletarian youth who are still ignorant of the forces that control their destiny and consequently still do not know how they can become the conscious builders of a new world.

The glory of the lives of Ronald and Ed is that they knew, and knowing they lived all their conscious lives teaching and organizing their fellow-workers for the great change that must and will come.

Farewell, comrade Ronald. Farewell, comrade Ed. Your bodies are lost at the bottom of the sea. But your work can never be lost. It is the work of proletarian revolutionists blazing a trail that humanity must and shall follow.

Their socialist victory will be your undying monument.

—G. C.

# Department of Labor Figures Show Wages Are Sub-Standard

Department of Labor figures just published show that 71 per cent of all American industrial workers earn less than \$40 a week — which is less than a "health and decency" standard for an American family; and that 50 per cent do not earn even a "bare subsistence" family wage of \$30.

Even in the war industries alone — where overtime increases weekly wages for many — 68 per cent of the workers are below the \$40 level, and 34 per cent earn less than "bare subsistence."

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