

## DELEGATES DEMAND UAW RETREATS END

### Stalin Policy Leads USSR To Disaster

By HENRY COLLINS

The Nazi armies continue to push relentlessly forward in the Caucasus and each day brings them closer to their objective of conquering the great Soviet oil fields and refineries supplying 80 percent of the fuel required for keeping a mechanized Red Army in the field. Red soldiers are yielding ground slowly, they are making the Germans pay a high price in men, tanks and planes; they are fighting with the same heroism that has characterized their resistance to Hitler's armies from the very beginning of the invasion. Yet the sombre fact is that these dauntless soldiers are yielding ground, they are retreating. Hitler is advancing closer to his goal.

The situation is desperate, so critical that it is beyond question that the great masses of the Soviet Union have comprehended its full significance. The Stalinist bureaucrats, who have bungled the military front, who have isolated the Soviet Union from the workers of the world and particularly from the German workers, can no longer conceal the stark truth from the masses, they can no longer hide behind the mountain of corpses the Russian workers have sacrificed to block Hitler's road.

With each passing month the Soviet population feels the economic inferiority of Soviet industry as compared with the German industrial plant which has since been augmented by the factories and plants of the occupied nations. It is not so much the scarcity of foodstuffs and consumers goods — the Russian workers have long been accustomed to pulling in their belts. It is above all at the front that inferiority of tanks, planes and guns cuts them like a sharp knife thrust into the groin.

#### Supplies Only Trickle In

Stalin promised the Russian soldiers that the big holes in war material would be filled in by aid coming from the United Nations, and once the industrial might of England and America, offered by Roosevelt and Churchill, were thrown onto the scales they would be tipped in favor of the Soviet Union. But as usual the promises were far more rosy than their fulfillment.

Moreover they were confronted with the problem of running the Nazi blockade lying athwart the northern supply lanes around the North Cape of Norway to Murmansk and Archangel. To protect the convoys against a combination of land-based German planes, submarines and combat ships, it would have been necessary for the allies to place a considerable section of their navies at the disposal of these convoys. That is, they had to be prepared to sacrifice an important section of their fleets to keep the supply lanes open. Facts have shown they were not at all inclined to make any such sacrifices — the largest proportion of merchant ships sunk in any sector have been those en route to Murmansk.

#### The Cry for a Second Front

Having failed so miserably to supply the Red Army with tanks and planes, Stalin once again turned to his dubious allies in the White House and on Downing Street, this time begging them to perform a much more unwelcome and difficult task than running convoys to Murmansk. Open a Second Front! In a most shameful wail the Stalinist bureaucracy is imploring the imperialists to open a second front to relieve the Red Army by diverting a section of the German troops to the west. They plead with them that above all in the name of imperialist self-interest this front must be opened. They are mobilizing their organizations to bring pressure on Roosevelt and Churchill by passing resolutions, circulating petitions and holding demonstrations. But each time the noise of the stage-thunder dies down sufficiently for responsible military and civil officials of the British and U. S. government to make themselves heard it is obvious that the "democracies" are basing their military strategy on reasons that only incidentally concern the fate of the Soviet Union.

The full impact of Stalin's criminal course of relying solely on the "democratic" imperialists for aid must now be crashing down on the Soviet masses. They are fighting the Nazi armies, fighting against tremendous odds, fighting alone, without adequate equipment, without allies. If the stories from the Soviet press and news agencies are to be trusted — and if they are not part of a propaganda campaign by which Stalin is preparing to shunt the blame for his defeats onto his "allies" and then make a shameful peace with Hitler — Nazi leaflets are already taunting Soviet soldiers with the questions: "Where is your second front?"; "Where are your allies?";

What can Stalin now offer the Red Army soldiers? His bankruptcy was once again glaringly demonstrated by Stalin's order to the Red Army. As quoted in the capitalist press the order reads:

"Not one step back! The execution of this task means the preservation of our country, the destruction of the hated enemy and a guarantee of victory.

"Let us be inspired in this war by the images of our great ancestors, Nevsky, Donsky, Minin, Pozharsky, Suvoroff and Kutuzoff. Be inspired by the victorious banner of the great Lenin."

What does Stalin mean when he orders Soviet soldiers to stop the retreat? Is he thereby inferring that fear or cowardice has caused the retreats thus far? What an ignominious slander against soldiers whose heroism is without parallel in this war, whose bravery has aroused the admiration even of the arrogant Nazis! It is not the first time that this wretched creature has boasted strength he never possessed and then pursued policies that led to the most disastrous defeats. We have only to recall his statements that he coveted not an inch of foreign territory but would not yield an inch of Soviet soil. Close to 600,000 square miles have already been lost to the Nazis. One wonders why,

(Continued on page 2)

### No Ceiling On Boss Income

Corporation Officers Pay Selves Big Sums Yet Deny Wage Rises

In the midst of the clamor for "equality of sacrifice" — directed exclusively towards the workers — comes the news that the steel trust executives are paying themselves fabulous salaries. It appears that the gentlemen who fought the justified demand of the steel workers for an increase of \$1 a day are doing very nicely for themselves.

Eugene G. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Steel Corp., was paid a salary of \$537,724 for the year 1941, an increase of \$59,580 over 1940. This represents a raise of more than \$1000 a week, an amount which will certainly make up for the rise in the cost of living during the past year, and in all likelihood, leave something over.

The workers of Bethlehem Steel, who have to be satisfied with a raise of only 44c a day for a long time according to the decision of the War Labor Board, will be glad to learn that at least some "employees" of Bethlehem will be able to tide themselves over in the hard days ahead.

That Grace is no isolated example among the steel executives can be seen from the salaries paid in 1940 and 1941, which appear in the accompanying table:

These figures show that 12 executives, representing only 4 companies, received an average increase of \$28,850 a year for 1941, or more than \$500 a week.

#### WANTS NO "TROUBLE"

Nor are these huge salaries confined to the steel executives. Press reports show that this is the rule in all war industries. Writing in PM, Harold Lavine (Continued on page 4)

### U.S. Seamen Praise Soviet Workers

Workers Carry On In Spite of Terrific Aerial Bombardment of Murmansk Port

Survivors of the Murmansk run arrived last Monday telling stories of conditions in the Soviet Union. Those ships that managed to get through the German blockade go either to Murmansk or Archangel where they lay for a period of approximately one month. Although many people estimate this an excessively long time it is nothing compared to the time wasted en route from the United States to the Northern Front in the Soviet Union.

Ships taking on an average of twenty-one days to load in the United States are discharged in the Soviet Union in nine and one-half days time. Murmansk, which has never been more than a frontier port lying within the Arctic Circle, has adequate equipment for handling cargo. Docks have tracks on them; steamcranes are in evidence; and an electric railroad runs into the town itself.

#### PRaise RUSSIAN MORALE

Remnants of convoys arriving in Murmansk carry with them usually a large number of survivors from ships sunk while running the blockade between North Cape and Bear Island. Few American seamen will be found who haven't the highest praise for the spirit and morale of the Russian workers and soldiers.

Survivors are taken into camp — those needing hospitalization are taken to hospitals where cases are serious. The majority of men living in survivors camps were specially impressed by the consideration shown them and the complete absence of any distinction made among survivors. All commented on the fact that in the Soviet Union all men are survivors regardless of position on board ship before it was sunk. All are accorded the same considerate treatment within the means that

the Russians have on the front lines in an army sector.

Those working on board ship during discharge of cargo lauded the will of the Russian workers where everyone seems to engage in the effort to get as many ships discharged in the least possible time. Stories are told of longshoremen taking off deck-lashings and technicians coming right aboard ships to start tanks and drive them over the side onto the docks without even bothering about hooking on with the ship's cargo gear. Percussion caps and fixed ammunition are discharged directly into box cars and no sooner is a car loaded than it begins to roll to the front lines.

#### MOST OF CITY DESTROYED

Greatest handicap under which the Russians are working is of course the continual bombing raids from the German base in Petsamo, less than a hundred miles away. Although the Russians have every hill bristling with anti-aircraft guns and an airbase in Murmansk two-thirds of the city was destroyed by high level and incendiary bombs during the month of June. Everyone who has been in Murmansk has commented upon the Russian ability to continue and even attempt to rebuild while under fire.

Long ago practically the entire (Continued on page 4)

#### Torpedoed Seamen Contribute to CRDC

The Civil Rights Defense Committee announced this week that it had received a contribution of \$34.00 collected from survivors of two merchant ships which recently were torpedoed.

The seamen discussed the issues involved in the Minneapolis labor case, and the prosecution against the Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Local 514-CIO, on their trip home. Fourteen seamen made contributions toward an appeal of the convictions to the United States Supreme Court.

The appeal of the convictions is expected to be heard before the Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis in October, after which it will go before the U.S. Supreme Court. The appeal will test the constitutionality of the Smith "Gag" Act for the first time.

### Tank Strike Won At Flint

NLRB Victory Follows Militant Struggle by CIO Auto Workers

By JOHN THORNE

FLINT, Mich., Aug. 2. — Notwithstanding wartime obstacles the militancy of auto workers won a week-long strike against chain-gang discipline in the new Fisher Body Tank plant of General Motors, near Flint, and topped it off by voting nearly 7 to 1 for the UAW-CIO in an NLRB election.

Only by a demonstration of rank and file independence were the workers able to force the union officials to aid the strike even a little bit, in spite of the official no-strike policy. Election results announced yesterday were: UAW-CIO, 1,001; UAW-AFL, 146; no union, 11. It was a victory against GM and a warning to the top UAW-CIO officialdom.

The strike won bargaining rights in this new \$35,000,000 government-built plant where GM had refused to bargain at all and had instituted a policy of continual driving, bullying and nagging. Wages are also subject to negotiations but it is assured this plant will come under the blanket CIO contract with GM. Raises, if any, will be small.

#### SUSPENDED FOR SMOKING

The strike was precipitated by the three-day disciplinary suspension of 37 men for taking a five-minute rest period to which they had been accustomed in other Flint plants. They were charged with going "outside the plant to smoke" (only bosses having the right to smoke in the plant). Absurdity of the no-smoking rule is obvious. Most of the work is heavy welding with sparks flying far and wide and heat so intense many have to wear asbestos suits.

Practically all the workers immediately rallied to support of the 37 and closed the plant down right. Only token picket lines were necessary, so unanimous was the workers' disgust with the Simon Legree discipline. Strikers included many who do not smoke, but the management tried to make it appear that the mere question of smoke was holding up the whole war effort, as far away as the Egyptian desert.

#### AFL MAKES BID

Strike organization was hurried and loose, but militancy made up for inexperience of leaders and lack of plans. Immediately the AFL-UAW made a bid for these few hundred workers, whom the CIO-UAW had neglected to organize.

Eventually there will be 11,000 workers in the tank plant. The AFL offered "autonomy" in a new local 800, conjured up over night. But nearly all the men were CIO-UAW members from other plants, mostly from Fisher No. 1, where Fisher Local 581 UAW-CIO has a (Continued on page 2)

### Overtime And Strike Weapon Are Key Convention Issues

Leaders Program of "Equal Sacrifice" Howled Down by Aroused Delegates

#### — BULLETIN —

Special to THE MILITANT

CHICAGO, Aug. 4.—A rank and file revolt swept the United Automobile Workers convention here today against the fraudulent "Equality of Sacrifice" program of the union officials which calls for the surrender of overtime pay for week-ends and holidays.

Stamping, shouting delegates forced the War Policy committee (headed by Addes, Reuther and Frankenstein) to withdraw a resolution endorsing the sacrifice of overtime pay. This was done in spite of the fact that the resolution included as a concession to the militant delegates complaints that the AFL and the employers were not complying with the "Equal Sacrifice" program, and a threat to end the agreement of the UAW to make sacrifices if the government does not enforce "sacrifices" universally.

Militant delegates denounced the surrender of the right to strike, overtime pay, and the general policy of retreat of the union officials, amid cheers. Rank and file spokesmen rose to demand a resolution calling for the immediate halt of the sacrifice of labor's rights.

Stalinist speakers who supported the committee's resolution were roundly booed by the delegates. Richard T. Frankenstein, International Board Member, was prevented for 20 minutes from speaking as delegates kept up a constant clamor for a vote in view of the prolonged debate that had already taken place. Three votes were taken on the committee's resolution, with each showing an obvious majority against the International officers' proposed resolution.

R. J. Thomas, UAW President, declared the vote "in doubt," but the protests of the delegates forced the committee to agree to withdraw the resolution for "amendment according to the sentiments of the delegates." The committee also agreed to bring in a resolution on the no-strike policy.

By ART PREIS

(Special to THE MILITANT)

CHICAGO, August 3—Stormy sessions are in prospect for the Seventh Annual Convention of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implementation Workers, CIO, which began its scheduled five days of deliberations here this morning in the crowded, sweltering ball-room of the Hotel Sherman.

The warning thunder claps were sounded early this afternoon as the formal deliberations got under way, when the 1700 delegates noisily voiced their disapproval of the international leadership's proposed plans to establish a bureaucratic stranglehold on the traditionally most democratic and militant industrial union in America. Using the reactionary atmosphere generated

by the bosses' war program and hiding their designs behind the demagogic slogan for a "Second Front," the international officers are hoping to push through a series of constitutional amendments aimed at entrenching themselves in office and limiting the powers of the rank and file.

#### RANK AND FILE WILL NOT BE COWED

But from the opening gun of this convention, it was clear that the democratic traditions and sound class instinct of the rank and file which built the UAW are not going to be suppressed without a struggle.

The delegates knew what was in the wind as soon as they came into the convention hall. The arrangements at former conventions had always provided for the complete physical comfort of the delegates and for the attendance of thousands of visiting unionists who could observe the proceedings. This time, the convention is being held in a stifling, badly lighted hall, too small even for the official delegates. Only a few visitors can be seated in the thin rim of gallery with two rows of seats. Most of the alternate delegates sent at great expense by the locals are crowded completely out of the hall. It is clear that the arrangements, which were made by a local committee composed mainly of Stalinists, are intended to prevent the rank and file visiting members from observing what is going on at this convention.

As was to be expected, the opening session was devoted to stirring up a completely jingo, patriotic atmosphere. There was the mass singing of the "Star Spangled Banner," and "God Save The King." The Soviet anthem — "The International" — was skipped by the ardent advocates of the "Second Front." It appeared as if every bit of union consciousness was going to be excluded from the convention, with

the dominant theme of labor sacrifice for the war.

#### "SOLIDARITY FOREVER"

But the songs dearest to the hearts of the fighters from the great auto workers picket lines and sit-downs could not be crowded out. From the ranks on the floor the militant tune of "Solidarity Forever" began to swell. Delegation after delegation took up the refrain, until the whole convention was on its feet. Then, finally, the hand joined in, and for good measure, the delegates hit the ceiling for three full stanzas ending with a mighty cheer.

The temper of the delegates was not to be really determined until the preliminary speeches of welcome, including a patriotic appeal by Mayor Kelly, of Memorial Day Massacre infamy, were concluded. Then UAW President R. J. Thomas marched in with his retinue.

#### "BIG SHOT" GETS SMALL OVATION

What was to be a tremendous ovation, as planned by the international leadership, fizzled like a wet fire-cracker. Thomas' reception by the delegates was brief, polite, desultory hand-claps and not a few out-right boos. From the big Ford Local 800 delegation next to the press table could be heard derisive comments, "Big Shot," "Big Wind," etc. One delegate leaned over to me and confided, "If it wasn't for the war, he wouldn't be president of this outfit long."

Thomas' keynote speech was a wash-out, so far as the delegates were concerned. The delegates were restless and uneasy, and there was an under-current of whispering and chair-shiftings throughout his remarks. These were compounded of patriotic demagoguery, appeals for sacrifice, complaints because Congress hadn't accepted his "equality of (Continued on page 2)

### Boss Press Lies About Indian Independence

By FELIX MORROW

The American capitalist press campaign against India grows ever more venomous as August 7 nears — the day the All-India Congress Committee will meet and pass on the resolution on independence adopted July 14 by the 15-man Working Committee of the Congress.

The leading editorial in the August 3rd New York Times is typical of this vile campaign. It accuses Gandhi of believing "that the Japanese might be easier to deal with than the British" and then it approvingly declares that "Britain cannot tolerate anarchy in India. . . nor can we in this country urge her to do so." Those last words are nothing less than a threat that the United States government — and the regiments it has already landed in India — will back Churchill in repressing the Indian independence movement.

#### Pave Way for Repressions

The Times attempts to justify this threat by picturing the Cripps proposals of last April as an offer of "post-war independence" which the Indian Congress rejected "mainly on the ground that they did not insure Indian Unity" because the proposals permitted Moslem-majority provinces to secede. In previous editorials the Times described the Cripps proposals as immediately providing "self-government" pending post-war independence. Similar endorsements of the Cripps proposals as the genuine article and similar "explanations" of the Congress rejection of it are being published by the entire American press — including the liberal Nation, New Republic, PM, etc. Thus American public opinion is being "educated" to accept future repressions in India by the British (and American) governments.

It is easily proven, however, that both the press description of the Cripps proposal and the explanation of the Congress rejection are completely false — and what is more, the editors who print those stories know, or could easily ascertain, that they are false.

#### The Truth About Cripps' Mission

We can prove this from the White Paper published in April by the British government, entitled "India (Lord Privy Seal's Mission)." This

30-page document, containing the correspondence between Cripps and the Congress leadership during the negotiations (as well as the official resolutions), can be secured in this country at the British Library of Information, Rockefeller Center, New York City. This correspondence establishes:

1. Cripps' proposals did not offer actual self-government. It offered the Congress and the other political parties of India seats on the Viceroy's Council — excluding the War Ministry which would remain in British hands. But this Council of Indian ministers would not be a National Government or a cabinet with full powers. Over it would be (1) the Viceroy, with far-reaching powers to overrule the Council and (2) the Indian Office in London which has supreme power over India. In other words, the Indian ministers would be just so many puppets in the control of the Viceroy and the India Office.

2. The Congress leadership was prepared to put aside the questions involved in the post-war proposals of Cripps. They were ready to join with other Indian groups in setting up a government, on condition that the government would have a free hand — free of the Viceroy and the India Office. If this was done, the Congress leaders were ready to accept General Wavell not only as Commander-in-Chief of the Allied and Indian forces in India, but also as War Minister in the cabinet, on condition that there should also be an Indian Defense Ministry which could mobilize a large Indian army and train it.

3. Cripps' answer was a flat refusal to consider the formation of a National Government in India. In his April 10th letter to Maulana Azad, Congress President, Cripps wrote: "You suggest 'a truly National Government' be formed which must be 'Cabinet Government with full power.'"

"Without constitutional changes of a most complicated character and on a very large scale this would not be possible as you realise. (Earlier in the letter Cripps had declared "the practical impossibility of any such legislative change in the middle of a war.")

"Were such a system to be introduced. . . the (Continued on page 2)



## Slug Food Union Militant; Opposes Stalinist Sell-Out

### Stalinists Turn Meeting Into Riot After Steamrolling Agreement Over Majority Vote

An attempt by the Stalinist leadership of New York Local 302 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, AFL, to cram a rotten agreement down the throats of the membership in violation of democratic union procedure, resulted in a riot at the union's last meeting, July 30, at Manhattan Center.

Larry Phillips, former General Organizer of the local, and a well-known militant leader, was severely injured by Stalinist goons. The Stalinists precipitated the battle, by announcing that a motion to accept the agreement was carried, in spite of the fact that the members turned the motion down by at least five to one, in an oral vote. Phillips, who opposed this steamrolling, is now in Beth Israel Hospital; the seriousness of his injuries will not be known until X-rays have been studied.

#### SELL-OUT CONTRACT

The two thousand workers assembled at the meeting were incensed at the provisions of the proposed contract. The agreement

violates the rights of women workers by a provision that women who replace men at work shall receive only \$21 weekly, and the remaining \$9 of their weekly pay shall be turned over to the union to do with as they wish. It also provides that a 6-day week shall be worked in a five-day period making it possible for the management to reduce crews.

The contract provides for only very inadequate wage increases mainly for skilled workers. No provision to reopen the contract on the wage question to readjust wages with the rise in living costs, was made. The contract runs for one year.

Those who opposed the Stalinist leadership were deprived of their right to speak. The chairman ran the meeting in typical Stalinist strong-arm manner.

Riding roughshod over the membership's, 5 to 1 vote to the contrary the chairman brazenly announced that the motion to accept the agreement was carried. When this announcement was made, a riot broke out. The meeting ended in a general melee.

## WORKERS' FORUM

### Protests Segregation of Negro Soldiers

I am a soldier who reads your paper. Of course, I've read a lot of your stories about the raw deal the colored soldiers have been getting. The other day I picked up a copy of our camp newspaper and there was an article that said—Service Club for Colored Troops; Plans Elaborate. It was in the July 29th issue of Shot 'n Shell—published at Camp San Luis Obispo, California.

That looked all right to me. I thought that maybe your paper was exaggerating things a bit. Then I began to think about it and I changed my mind. We have a Service Club now and both colored and white soldiers use it. Some of the guys I know don't like colored people, but they don't say anything because we take this idea of democracy serious. But now the Big Shots are stepping in and want to set up a separate place for colored soldiers.

That article is just like a Keep Out sign. They tell the colored soldier—You're alright in your place—in your own Service Club but don't be hanging around here anymore.

That doesn't look like democracy to me. If I was a colored soldier I'd boycott this elaborate joint they're planning to build. As long as we all wear the same uniform let's all use the same service club and get acquainted. I think we'll get along O. K. if the Big Shots will only stay out of it.

A White Soldier  
Los Angeles, Calif.

### The British I.L.P. and the Colonies

Those who read Marc Loris' very fine article on the British Independent Labor Party in the June issue of Fourth International must already have a pretty good picture of the confusion and contradictions which characterize that centrist organization. I want here to add but one more example of how that party's leadership functions.

The July 4 issue of the "I.L.P.'s paper, The New Leader," prominently features the recent speech made by James Maxton, I.L.P. leader, in the House of Parliament. Among other things Maxton said:

"I associate myself with Mr. Creech Jones in the view that this House can either do the

right thing (toward the British colonies) now because it is the right thing, or be compelled later to surrender to an uprising of force which will create a situation which intelligent people do not wish to see."

Thus Maxton included himself among the "intelligent people" who do not want to see the colonial peoples, sick of after-the-war promises, take their independence by force if necessary, as the American colonists did. Maxton fights for "the third front" by pleading with the British imperialists to do "the right thing."

But Maxton had still another contribution to make to the debate on the colonial question: "I hope that the Government will not assume that when peace comes there will not be a lot of re-arrangement in the world and that every nation's possessions will not come under review. I interrupted the speech of Mr. Macmillan because he seemed to suggest that the Government had already made up its mind that whatever territorial readjustments and reallocations there might be after the war, the present British Empire is going to remain."

At this point Maxton was interrupted by one Sir P. Hannon, who said: "Please God. That is my complete conviction." And Maxton answered him as follows:

**MAXTON PLUGS FOR U. S.**

"If you are to re-draw the map of the world, and if you are honest with your Allies, you cannot start by saying that there is to be no change in the red bits. I would like to see a United States of Africa, for instance, run and controlled by the Africans, the natives of the soil; but if the white races are to have a say as to how the wealth of that great continent is to be developed, I would like to see the United States of America have a part in it. I believe that America could teach us some things about the handling of colonial people, and I am more certain still that the Soviet Union and China could teach both of us things."

To this "revolutionary" suggestion that United States imperialism get its share in the exploitation of the present British colonial empire, America's Sixty Families would say only "Amen!" A less polite word would probably be uttered by those African revolutionists who know how America oppresses and exploits the people in Puerto Rico, for example.

Albert Parker  
New York City

# UAW Delegates Oppose Retreats

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sacrifice" program, and a call for "unity."

He did not elaborate by so much as a word his first point. How to organize workers with a program of retreat and capitulation to the bosses, a no-strike policy, support of speedup, and a failure to fight for the wage increases demanded by the auto workers, was not explained by Thomas.

Instead, he went directly to the second point, with the one formula answer that is supposed to solve all the problems of the workers in lieu of a real struggle for their rights and conditions. "Open a Second Front."

Not a word did he have to say on the key problems of the auto workers, the \$1 a day wage increase demand, the loss of elections in key aircraft plants, the mounting plant grievances.

Above all, anxious to put over the leadership's program of concentrating more power in its own hands, he begged: "I want to see some sort of unity in this convention, not such knock-down, drag-out fights that we have had in 'conventions before.' But the delegates were aware that such 'lack of unity'—readiness to resist bureaucratic dictation and freely discuss all issues—was the source of the strength and growth of the UAW.

Thomas wound up his talk by declaring that the "theme of this convention is: What sort of sacrifice are we willing to make for victory?" He didn't get much of a hand.

#### FIRST CLASH ON ELECTION OF OFFICERS

When the Rules Committee sought to push its proposals over

in a body, the delegates demanded to discuss them one at a time. They were suspicious and wanted to make sure that no convention rules were passed depriving them of their rights.

The first clash came over the proposal to elect the officers on the third day of the convention, instead of the last, as is customary. No sooner was this read, than it was greeted with resounding boos and cat-calls. Thomas, when he commanded "Order, Order," was himself booed.

A delegate got the floor mike and stated, "I don't know how we can vote intelligently on our officers until we see what kind of stand is taken by the candidates on the important issues before this convention." The purpose of rushing the elections in this manner was to head off the growth of any opposition candidates to the present leaders, and one of the measures proposed for the constitution is to hold elections on the second day of the conventions hereafter.

But a motion was put to hold the elections on the last day, and was unanimously carried.

During this and subsequent debates, the meeting became more disorderly. Thomas antagonized the delegates more and more by his clumsy, bureaucratic handling of the chair, raging at delegates, shouting them down, calling "out of order" in harsh words. Booming and Bronx cheers increased.

#### OFFICIALS' PROGRAM IS UNPOPULAR

Behind this obvious disrespect for Thomas and the other international officers, was the awareness that they were trying to put over something on the delegates.

## Stalin Policy Means Disaster

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if by a summary order from Stalin a retreat can be stopped, he did not issue the order a year ago.

#### The Mysterious Phone Call

The bureaucrats want to take credit only for victories. Where there are defeats he shoulders responsibility onto subordinates or on the masses themselves. Thus it suddenly appeared — after the event — that a mysterious phone call from Stalin to the General Staff was responsible for driving the Nazis out of Rostov last winter and stopping them in their tracks before Leningrad and Moscow. In reality, it was the armed workers' population breaking out of the bureaucratic harness in the great cities of the October Revolution that turned the tide. Had the masses proceeded from that beginning to rid themselves of the bureaucratic millstone around their necks, to restore Soviet democracy and embarked upon a policy of revolutionary war against the Nazis, the military situation would undoubtedly have been infinitely more favorable for them today.

Instead the Soviet workers must not only suffer defeats but must see the great aims and ideals of their war against the Nazis perverted and prostituted by Stalin. The masses fighting with their backs to the wall for all the conquests of the revolution that overthrew Czarism and its hated system of oppression are instructed by Stalin to make a new stand against the invader in the name of Czarist generals — Nevsky, Donsky, Minin, Pozharsky, Suvoroff — who fought to preserve this self-same system.

#### Capitalist Press Appreciates Stalin

The capitalist press is not slow to appreciate and applaud the monstrous significance of this example of Stalin's reactionary policy. Says the St. Paul Dispatch (Aug. 1, 1942):

"In listing Russian military heroes to inspire the people of the Soviet Union to ever greater resistance against the Nazi, Joseph Stalin would certainly never include Leon Trotsky. Trotsky, who was the war minister under Lenin and created the Red Army, has been called a civilian of extraordinary military genius — but he was also Stalin's foremost rival for the mantle of power after Lenin's death."

"One might expect Stalin, however, to mention other Bolshevik heroes of the period of military consolidation of the Soviet regime. Galen, Chapayev, though again perhaps not Tukhachevsky. Instead of calling up the memory of these Communist heroes, however he invoked the names of . . . military leaders of the Tsarist or pre-Tsarist era of Russian history; they have nothing in common with communism. . . . Again in this invocation by Stalin there is evidence of a shifting of the Soviet leader to the appeal of old-fashioned nationalist patriotism and away from the appeal of international communism. Forgotten are the days when the Red Army was urged to fight for the freeing of the world proletariat. . . ."

What is involved here is of far more significance than the mere historical fact that Stalin has abandoned the principles of internationalism and socialism. He did that long ago. The policy involved in this reactionary invocation lies at the very heart of the terrible defeats of the Red Army.

Stalin does not include Trotsky's name because he drove Trotsky from the Soviet Union and ordered his murder by a GPU assassin.

Stalin does not include the names of the Red Commanders in the civil war because they were too closely associated with the entire staff that Stalin purged long before the Nazi attack.

Stalin does not appeal to the revolutionary traditions of the Soviet masses for fear that they will utilize that tradition to rid themselves of the Stalin regime.

Stalin does not appeal to the international traditions because he fears the international revolution as a threat to his bureaucratic nationalist regime.

Thus to preserve his regime Stalin must follow a policy, reactionary nationally and internationally, that is undermining and will eventually destroy the Soviet Union.

To preserve the Soviet Union the Soviet masses must rid themselves of Stalin, they must convert this war into a revolutionary war, they must restore Soviet democracy.

The "democratic" imperialists are not at all interested in winning the war for the Soviet Union.

The proletarians of the world in struggle against the imperialist oppressors are the only real allies of the Soviet masses. Heroism and morale alone will not win the war. Above all a correct policy is necessary. It is not yet too late!

These include the unpopular proposals, to hold conventions every two years, instead of annually; to raise substantially the salaries of the officers who are calling on the members to "sacrifice"; and to raise the dues when the cost of living is rising and no really effective organization work is being done to warrant such increased income to the international.

The whole conflict came to a head when delegates, amidst great applause, took the floor and charged the leadership with planting large numbers of paid organizers and international representatives in the convention.

A clamor arose in opposition to the organizers and international representatives being seated among the delegates. One speaker charged, "They are used for putting over deals in these conventions." Another pointed out that elected alternates sent at great expense by their locals "don't even have room to sit in on the convention."

#### GOON PRESSURE ON DELEGATES

It had been reported about the convention that Thomas had called in all his paid functionaries

## Tank Strike Won At Flint

(Continued from page 1)

long record of militancy. Autonomy sounded good to the men—they did want to be shackled by the no-strike give-away policy of the CIO bureaucrats. But they had their fill of the AFL long ago.

#### BIG-SHOTS WON'T HELP

So they maneuvered between AFL and CIO, hoping for some help. Neither AFL nor CIO quite dared sanction the strike or support it openly. Much less did they dare "outlaw" it. Militants from other CIO plants in Flint joined picket lines and showed solidarity. CIO officials conducted the negotiations for the strike leaders.

This confusion puzzled even the corporation, the boss press and government labor boards, so that there was little agreement on formulas to scare the workers who dared to demand ordinary human treatment just when GM was beginning to reap war tank profits.

#### REJECT "NO-STRIKE" POLICY

In meetings with local union leaders the strikes made it plain they would not let "higher ups" cram anything down our throats. They repudiated the no-strike policy of the UAW-CIO, insisting on defending the gains made through years of struggle. They also repudiated Stalinist patriotic appeals, saying they were just as anxious as anyone to fight Hitlerism — especially GM's brand in the plant where they work.

After such warnings they let CIO leaders do most of their negotiating. For seven days GM refused to agree to anything the state or federal mediators proposed. But the usual pressures were not scaring the strikers back to work. Such "friends of labor" as Gov. Murray D. Van Wagoner headlined the strike as "a crime" (and the CIO and UAW will spend many thousands of dollars again this fall to re-elect him). GM was getting nowhere, despite the anti-union statement of Van Wagoner.

Finally, about 1:30 a.m. on the eighth day, a compromise was sold by the "ace" mediator of the War Labor board and production resumed at 7 a.m. The consent election was held nine days later. Several hundred workers hired after the strike were allowed to vote, but did not seriously affect the results.

The temporary bargaining rights are none too successful, but a vast improvement. Grievances at least are negotiated. The rest period is still denied but being bargained. GM has discovered army tanks and steel hoists are not inflammable. Smoking is allowed in the plant — but for workers only at lunch time; for bosses, all the time.

The strike was a significant victory for the militant Flint workers. Had the UAW-CIO taken such militant action in the Curtis-Wright plant in Buffalo, it would have been possible there also to win a decisive victory over the AFL in the NLRB vote. The failure of the CIO to launch a militant program, lost the UAW-CIO that election.

While the circumstances under which the Fisher Tank strike occurred were not general, the desire of the ranks of the UAW-CIO for action to solve their grievances and defend union conditions was demonstrated in this strike.

and told them to put the heat on the delegates to pass the measures he and his board were backing. A Lansing, Michigan, delegate took the floor and testified to witnessing international representatives outside the convention door button-holing a delegate and intimidating him with the threat, "If you don't vote right, we'll break your neck." The delegate added: "I'm going to see that goons aren't going to come in here and try to tell the delegates of our local how to vote."

Thomas then tried to pass off the situation by asserting ponderously, "I personally think there are no goons in this convention." This was met with laughter and boos, and cries, "You ought to know!"

The demand that the non-delegate paid machine-men be excluded from the convention was only silenced when Thomas shoved across the ruling that they were entitled by the constitution to sit in the convention with voice and no vote, and if that were to be changed, it could only be done in the voting on the report of the constitution committee.

It is clear that if Thomas is re-elected at this convention it will be only because of "unity" pleas on the basis of supporting the war. There are reported movements under way to nominate other candidates, and the present top leadership is jittery at the mere idea. But it is too early to determine just how far such opposition will get in this convention.

Meanwhile, the first day of the

convention has been completed, and all the basic issues are yet to come before the convention. It can be expected that the officers—Thomas, Reuther, Addes, Frankenstein, etc.—are going to be working over-time to high-pressure the delegates into line.

#### "SECOND FRONT" BALLYHOOED

Primarily, their purpose is to subordinate all the demands and needs of the workers, to squelch any militant tendencies, and line the union membership up as completely docile supporters of the policy of retreats in the face of the reactionary demands of Wall Street and the government. The issue they have chosen to use as the cloak for this program is the call for a "Second Front."

At the last moment, just before adjournment, a motion was suddenly introduced to place first on the agenda tomorrow the resolution on the "Second Front." The hot and disgusted delegates did not care to debate this procedure, although there was a lot of objection, as indicated by the considerable hand vote in opposition. The motion was passed narrowly.

#### QUESTION OF UNITY

The principal development may come in tomorrow's session when CIO President Philip Murray is scheduled to speak. His demonstrative pronouncement on the eve of the convention regarding approaching the AFL for organic unity negotiations has led many competent observers to believe that he may make some startling announcement on the AFL-CIO

unity question.

If, as some suspect, he comes out with a proposal to achieve organic unity at the expense of industrial unionism, this may become the key issue of the convention. The recent experiences of the UAW members in aircraft with the successful invasions of the AFL is bound to make a great number of the delegates look on any such proposal with extremely critical eyes.

Another big issue may develop over the "equality of sacrifice" program put forth by the UAW leaders last April in order to get the members to give up week-end and holiday double-time pay. As voiced by many delegates around the convention, the auto workers are getting wise to the trick that was pulled over on them last April. They were asked to sacrifice and give up their hard won rights at once and without a quibble: but the "equality of sacrifice" promises have proved to be just demagoguery used in the interests of the bosses. Particularly, the workers in Ford, General Motors and Chrysler are getting impatient with the run-around they are getting from the profiteering corporations and the government on their \$1-a-day pay increase demands.

The delegates are going to be heard from before this convention is over. The leaders are going to have to pull every trick out of the bag in order to shove their policies over.

(A complete report and analysis of the convention will appear in the next issue of THE MILITANT.)

## Boss Press Lies About Indian Independence

(Continued from page 1)

nominated cabinet, responsible to no one but itself, could not be removed and would in fact constitute an absolute dictatorship of the majority.

" . . . Until such time as the Indian peoples frame their new Constitution (i.e., after the war) His Majesty's Government must continue to carry out its duties to those large sections of the Indian people to whom it has given its pledges."

#### Britain Maintains Its Rule

Or, in plain English, the Churchill government retained its right, through continuing the Viceroy and India Office's powers, to dismiss the Indian ministers whenever London felt like it. Ministers taking office under such conditions would be nothing but stooges for Churchill.

These facts — which anybody can ascertain for himself by reading the British White Paper — prove that the American press "description" of the Cripps proposal is false, and equally false is its description of the reason for its rejection by the Congress leaders. They rejected it because, far from being even a step toward independence, it meant becoming helpless servants of the Viceroy and the India Office. With the great masses of India surging forward to fight for independence, the Congress dared not capitulate to the British, for that certainly would have led to repudiation of Congress by the people of India.

To Cripps' argument that constitutional changes were impossible "in the middle of a war," the Congress leaders had a crushing retort. They reminded him that, just before the fall of France and in an effort to prevent it, Churchill had proposed to the French government the formation of an Anglo-French Government — the end of French and British sovereignty and their joining in a new sovereignty certainly would have required constitutional changes!

If anything is more venomous than the New York Times' campaign against Indian independence, it is the campaign in that ostensibly "left" liberal daily, PM. It has been publishing a series of articles by its staff member, Herbert Agar, whose lies are, if that were possible, even more outrageous than those of the Times. In available space we can deal with only one or two of them.

#### Lies of the "Liberals"

1. Britain in the Cripps negotiations tacitly recognized that the Congress speaks today for the great majority in India, and everybody knows this to be a fact. But not PM. An article in its July 31 issue is entitled "All-India Congress Doesn't Really Represent All India." Then follows some weird statistics. The 90 million Moslems are credited to the pro-British Moslem leader Jinnah. The 80 million (in reality 93 million) in the Indian "Native" States ruled by the princes are credited to the opposition to Congress — despite the fact that PM had to admit in a column on India two days earlier that "the citizens of these states do not for the most part have a chance to express their opinions freely" because Britain's puppet princes won't let them. And more statistics of the same quality.

The answer to this crooked argument is simple: PM, instead of falsely claiming that the Congress does not speak for India, should demand that the British government permit the election, by universal suffrage, of a Constituent Assembly. Any honest democrat must certainly agree to such an election. But neither PM nor any of the American papers which have been attacking the Congress have proposed such a determination of the question.

As for the British government, it knows so

well what would happen under universal suffrage that it has set up such high property qualifications that the eligible electorate, at the last (1934) elections for the Central Legislative Assembly, consisted according to official figures of 1,416,000 out of a population of nearly 300,000,000 in British India!

#### PM's Foul Slander

2. Another foul argument of PM is the insinuating question, in its July 29 issue, "why is it that the Japanese radio is so delighted with the demands of the Congress. Ever since the middle of July Japanese radio propaganda in Asia has been praising the Indian Congress." The innuendo of PM is that the Congress is serving Japan.

This type of slander is scarcely new. Every imperialist government has praised the political opponents of its imperialist rival, and in turn the imperialist rival has adduced that praise as proof that its political opponents are in the service of the enemy. The German government of the Kaiser "praised" Lenin and Trotsky, whereupon the Kerenskys tried to frame up Lenin and Trotsky as German agents. The French chauvinists "praised" Liebknecht and Luxemburg, whereupon the German government tried to brand them as aiding the enemy.

As a matter of fact, all imperialist governments are not averse to revolts in the empires of the enemy. During the last war Britain encouraged a revolt of the Arabs against the Turkish ally of Germany. On the other hand Germany gladly offered arms to the Irish revolutionists.

But only conscious liars like the writers of the PM and New York Times articles could draw from these facts the "proof" that Lenin and Trotsky, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the Arab and Irish revolutionists, were hirelings of enemy powers.

#### What Does Japan Want?

For the moment Japan is not at all averse to seeing a conflict between the British and India. Of course Japan prefers such a conflict to seeing the Indian peoples buckle down to serve Britain! But Japan's preference is in no way an explanation of the coming struggle of India for independence, as the American press is so falsely insinuating. India wants independence for itself, and not to serve any imperialist power, whether "democratic" or Axis.

The fact is that a Free India would be a mortal blow to Japanese imperialism. With a common frontier with China for over 2,000 miles, with common interests for the free development of both countries, with sympathy for China's struggle already widespread in India, a Free India would unite with Free China to resist Japanese imperialist domination of Asia. The Congress is pledged to that, and reflects in this pledge the sentiment of India's masses.

If the issue, then, were to secure the most efficient resistance to Japanese domination of Asia, the obvious solution is Indian independence. But that is not the real issue for British — and American — imperialism. For a Free India would be a mortal blow to all imperialist domination of Asia — both "democratic" and Axis imperialism. That is the root of the American press campaign against Indian independence.

The workers of America and England, however, have no interest in preserving imperialist rule over India. Not one British or American soldier shall die in the attempt to crush India's movement for independence! We must carry this thought to the workers — and carry it quickly, for the showdown between the Indian masses and Britain is speedily coming.

### A Timely Political Document!

## IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

By LEON TROTSKY

(A Compilation — 1927-1937)

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## The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

This week witnessed still another of the so-called "riots" involving Negro soldiers stationed at Southern Army camps and white civilian and military police. According to the AP dispatch printed in the August 2 N. Y. Times, "Military police, Duval County road patrolmen, Sheriff's deputies and city police armed with sub-machine guns and service weapons were summoned to restore order after Negro soldiers attempted to take a soldier prisoner away from two policemen (in the Negro section of Jacksonville, Fla.)... Several bricks were hurled by Negro soldiers and onlookers after police reinforcements arrived."

According to the chief of police, "The soldier was arrested after he had threatened to cut a Negro woman with a knife." That explanation sounds as thin as the paper it was printed on. Negro soldiers in the South are well enough acquainted with "Southern justice" to know what kind of punishment is usually meted out to them when they resist the brutality of "the law." The fact that they resisted just the same would seem to indicate that they felt they had plenty of cause.

The only difference between this so-called "riot" and the scores of similar outbreaks that have occurred in the last year or so was that no Negro soldiers were killed in this one. Of course, six Negro soldiers who happened to be available were arrested on charges of "attempting to incite a riot."

What will probably happen to them was indicated by the announcement last week that five Negro soldiers in Flagstaff, Arizona, will soon be brought to court martial. Readers of this paper will recall that they were arrested last month for resisting the attacks of civilian police, who shot one Negro soldier dead and were exonerated for having "acted in pursuit of duty." Many a soldier who faced such court-martial in the last war is still in a federal prison.

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**JOB DISCRIMINATION CONTINUES**

There has been a lot of lying talk about how effective Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 has been in getting employment for Negroes. The rank and file of the Negro people, walking the streets every day trying to get jobs, are not fooled by this talk — they know from experience how little effect the Order has had. And if anyone thinks the employers are fooled by this talk, read this from the June issue of the Washington letter of the Linen Supply Association of America, Inc.:

"Labor Shortage. Many members (of the Association) are facing critical labor situations. The draft and competition from defense factories, have made it difficult to obtain and retain help. . . Members might also consider the advisability of employing more colored help, many of whom, despite Government regulations, have been discriminated against in defense industries."

**POLL TAX BARS SOLDIER VOTE IN SOUTH**

Last week's MILITANT reported that the House of Representatives had passed a bill establishing the procedure by which the men in the armed forces would be able to vote in the November elections. THE MILITANT said this bill was passed "over the opposition of some die-hard poll-taxers," and some readers might have concluded from this that the bill abolished payment of the poll tax for soldiers and sailors who hail from the one-sixth of the 48 states where payment of such taxes is a qualification for voting. To clear up any possible misunderstandings let us say here that such was not the case.

The poll-taxers were opposed to the bill that was passed; they were also opposed to another measure abolishing the poll tax for members of the armed forces; on this second measure their colleagues, the northern Republicans and Democrats joined them, and it was voted down by an overwhelming majority. So far as the House of Representatives as a whole goes, the soldier, who is being prepared to die for the "four freedoms," still has to pay a tax before he can vote.

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**ANTI-NEGRO DRIVE STEPPED UP**

While some Negroes are hesitant about organizing an all-out militant struggle against Jim Crow because it "might interfere with the conduct of the war," the enemies of the Negro people don't hesitate for a minute to jump to action against all threats to Jim Crow rule. More and more are we reading about politicians and journalists in the South issuing fiery calls to arms against the Negro people. Most recent was the demand by Horace Wilkinson, Alabama lawyer and Democrat, for the organization of a League to Maintain White Supremacy. What is needed, he declared, is an organization "so strong, so powerful and so efficient that this menace to our national security and our local way of life will rapidly disappear."

And almost simultaneously with this veiled call to lynch action, A. Philip Randolph announced in Los Angeles, according to the August 1 Pittsburgh Courier, that he has abandoned plans for an "immediate" March on Washington and instead will concentrate on a "pressure campaign to force the government to make some drastic changes in the treatment of the Negro."

It often seems to us that the greatest need of the Negro masses today is a leadership that will exhibit the same determination, clear-sightedness and vigor that the enemies of the Negro people show.

# Class Struggles In Britain

## British Trotskyists Active in Strikes; Advance Military Program

By L. LAWRENCE

(This is the second of a series of articles on prevailing conditions in the British working class movement. The author recently returned from England where he had the opportunity to observe the conditions and struggles of the British workers at first hand and to have discussions with leading militants in the trade unions and political parties active in these struggles.—THE EDITOR)

The most heartening thing about the recent strike struggles in Britain has been the active supporting and participating role of the Workers International League (known as WIL), adherent of the program of the Fourth International.

The WIL group fully accepts the program of the Fourth International.

national although not affiliated with the Fourth International. In 1938 all Trotskyist groups in Great Britain with the exception of the WIL united and became part of the Fourth International. Because of strong personal friction existing between the then leaders of the WIL and some of the leaders of the other Trotskyist groups of that time, the WIL refused to join the united party, a tactic severely condemned by the conference of the Fourth International. Efforts which will undoubtedly be crowned with success are now being made to iron out all difficulties in the way of having the WIL become part of the official Trotskyist movement in Britain.

### LEADING UNIONISTS SUPPORT WIL

The WIL, including in its ranks dozens upon dozens of shop stewards throughout England and Scotland, has gained the admiration and support of wide layers of workers because of its role in the recent strike struggles in the mines, at Royal Ordnance factories and at the docks. In many of these struggles the *Socialist Appeal*, WIL's paper, has been treated as the strike bible of the workers involved.

One miners union, which recently went out on an "illegal" strike, has ordered 1,000 copies per month of the *Socialist Appeal*. The WIL can only supply them with 500 because of the paper shortage.

The Stalinist leadership of the Electrical Trades Union in Liverpool has gone to court to sue the *Appeal* for a hard hitting article which appeared on the Electrical Trades situation in Liverpool. Many electrical trades workers, especially those working in shipbuilding, have been buying the *Appeal* and the Stalinist fear of its growing influence has driven them in desperation to the capitalist courts.

The shop steward leaders of the important Royal Ordnance factory district in Nottingham have recently sent a long communication to the *Appeal* outlining their just grievances in the fight against compulsory transfer of labor. For our readers to understand the significance of this, it is analogous for example to having leading CIO workers in Detroit using THE MILITANT in preference to their official union paper.

### FIGHTS FOR WORKER'S INTERESTS

The WIL participates in these battles against compulsory transfer of labor for overtime pay, etc., as honest defenders of the interests of the workers involved. The Labor Party and the Communist Party, on the other hand, always invoke the sanctity of the "no-strike" agreement and do not wish to embarrass the government they support.

At the Berkenhead docks near Liverpool we had an example of this: The longshoremen struck for higher overtime pay. The Stalinists called upon the workers to return to work as the first step in fighting for their demands! The Stalinists were completely exposed as hewes' agents. After all the workers had struck as a last resort. The *Appeal* on the other hand was very well received and sold like hotcakes.

Another example: In my previous article I mentioned a strike at the important Royal Ordnance factories in the Midlands, in Nottingham, against the compulsory transfer of labor to private industry. The Government, which runs and operates these Royal Ordnance factories, wanted to shift skilled engineers to private plants, hundreds of miles away from their homes, where the conditions of work and wages were far worse than conditions at the R.O.F. factories. The workers rose in uproar against this attack by the government. They prepared to strike. The C.P. issued a statement in the factory asking "Does the transference of labour in a people's war justify strike action?"

As one shop steward put it after this leaflet was issued: "The result of the leaflet has been to almost completely destroy the C.P. in the factory. It is commonly assumed by the ordinary workers here that the C.P. has completely sold out and that these leaflets were paid for by the management! I have not seen such a fall in stock (of the C.P.) since the collapse of Wall Street."

On the other hand, we should note that the stock of the Trotskyists in the East Midlands has risen tremendously as a result of their honest class approach on the question of compulsory transfer of labor.

### WORKERS' CONTROL OF PRODUCTION

But the WIL has an even more potent weapon than its instinctive class support of the recent strike struggles. The WIL has the class program that fits the moods, aspirations and daily experiences of the British working people. And it is this timely program, above all else, that is responsible for the growing support of the WIL among wider layers of the organized workers.

What is this program? It is the Transitional Program of the Fourth International.

To end chaos and mismanagement in industry, says the WIL, we must have Workers' Control of Production. The government must take industry out of the hands of the capitalist mis-managers and operate it under control of the workers.

Everywhere this slogan is meeting with favorable response. One factory in the Midlands employing thousands has already passed a motion for Workers' Control of Production. At the recent national conference of the Independent Labor Party many delegates, definitely under the influence of the ideas of *Socialist Appeal* supported the slogan of "Workers' Control of Production." Many other I.L.P. branches have passed resolutions supporting this slogan.

Present day experiences of the workers have made them even more responsive to the Trotskyist answer to production chaos. The Joint Production Committees of management and labor have proven to be reactionary institutions that give labor a voice but no power in production. These committees leave the capitalists in control of industry and haven't settled any of the problems of production.

How could they, says the WIL, when they refuse to take up the just grievances of the workers with regard to their regimentation under the Essential Works Order? How can they settle anything says the WIL, when they refuse to open up the books of industry?

### THE WIL IN ACTION

I would now like to give our readers a picture of the way the WIL participates in strike situations where none of their members are involved.

You don't learn of the location of strikes in Britain through the capitalist press. Very often you

don't even hear a rumor that a strike is in existence through the press. Only when the strike takes on proportions and has found its way to the ears of the nation's workers by word of mouth does the capitalist press speak of it. And of course, in a continuous strike wave as during these past months, the press is forced to speak of strikes going on without mentioning the place.

Our comrades of the WIL jump into a strike situation as soon as they hear of it. They've got hosts of contacts among the workers who let them know if something breaks in their district. Then a committee is assigned, either from London, Liverpool, Scotland or other centers, to go down with *SOCIALIST APPEALS* and other literature to cover the strike. These comrades also act as reporters for the *APPEAL* and in almost all cases are very well received by the local militant leadership and by the workers who are eager to make their case known to the working class and find some avenue of publicity.

In two strikes mentioned previously, in Betteshanger and Black-hall, our comrades worked this way and came away with big prestige and a permanent foothold for future activity. In the strike of Durham miners at the Scottish-English border they worked similarly. Here the strike was called to protest the forcible sending of two young lads into the mines. Our comrades wrote this strike up, sold lots of *APPEALS* and gained respect and support from the workers.

# Chinese Stalinists Advise Repeating 1927 Betrayal

By JAMES GILBERT

Fifteen years after the bloody massacre of Chinese communist workers and peasants by Chiang Kai-shek, in April 1927, the Central Committee of the Chinese Stalinist Party, in a statement issued July 20 to commemorate five years of the Sino-Japanese war, calls upon the Chinese people to give unqualified support to Chiang Kai-shek, and to work for "a people's government led by a democratic coalition of capitalists, workers and farmers."

The Stalinists demand that Chiang be supported "not only as the leader of the war of resistance but also of the reconstruction of post-war China."

"It must be a democratic state," the statement said, speaking of the post-war regime, "neither dictatorial, semifeudal, nor soviet nor socialist."

### What Is This New State?

The Stalinists pose the post war problem as one which demands a "new and higher form of democratic state." What is this "new" state? According to the Stalinists it will be a state "neither socialist nor capitalist. Nor will it be a state dominated by a combination of feudal landowners and foreign imperialist interests." It will be a state, in other words, the like of which the world has never seen.

This "new" state is merely an old lie dressed in new words. So long as the landlords and capitalists have not been expropriated, the Chinese people will be oppressed and exploited. A "coalition" of the classes in China, means in actuality, the suppression of the oppressed to the advantage of the ruling classes.

This is a repetition of the policy that led to the betrayal of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27. It is a repetition of the class-collaboration that led to the "popular front" betrayal of the French and Spanish workingclass by Stalinism.

With this theory of the "New State" the Stalin bureaucracy has in reality announced in advance that it will support the butcher Chiang Kai-shek in his attempts to suppress the oppressed masses of China should they attempt to fight for a Soviet China, either during or after the war.

This pronouncement of the Chinese agents of the Comintern is only the latest addition to the annals of Stalinist crimes against the Chinese revolution.

### The "Bloc" of Four Classes

In the years 1925-27, during the period of the revolutionary upsurge of the Chinese workers and peasants, the Stalin-Bukharin leadership of the Comintern imposed upon the Chinese Communist Party the policy of a "bloc of four classes" by which the

working class party was subordinated to the bourgeois-dominated Kuo Min Tang, and the leadership of the revolutionary struggle placed in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek, agent of the landlords, native capitalists and certain imperialist interests in China.

The workers were told to postpone the class struggle; the peasants were forbidden to seize the land; the Communist Party placed its trust not in the Chinese proletariat, but in the native capitalists, not in the tens of millions of peasants, but in the landlords.

It was this fatal policy, being repeated today, which brought about the terrible defeat in April 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek staged his *coup d'etat*, massacred tens of thousands of communist militants, outlawed the Communist Party, and turned back the tide of revolution.

The result of this blow was to set back the world proletariat, weaken the position of the Soviet Union, prolong the oppression of the Chinese masses by native and foreign exploiters, and make it possible for the Japanese imperialists to invade and subjugate large sections of the country.

### From Opportunism to Adventurism

The Stalin-Bukharin leadership, which had led the workers to this defeat, did not learn from the terrible errors. In August, 1927, when the masses were already in full retreat, the Stalinists called for insurrections in China, and plunged the remaining communist workers into abortive struggles doomed in advance to defeat. The Communist movement was crushed. The Chinese Communist Party reported that while in 1927 before the massacre by Chiang Kai-shek, the C.P. had 60,000 industrial workers in its ranks. On November 8, 1928, the Central Committee of the Chinese C. P. stated, "The Party does not have a single healthy party nucleus among the industrial workers."

Trotsky, in opposition to the Stalinist leadership of the Comintern, had demanded in 1927 that the Communist Party resign from the Kuo Min Tang and "fight for the formation of Soviets." The Stalinists replied: "We must carry on a minimum of class struggle."

The Stalin leadership by its blanket support of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuo Min Tang violated the elementary principles of Marxism, and the lessons of the Russian Revolution. Lenin had reiterated time and again that there can be no unity between exploiters and exploited, that the working class movement must maintain its independence. So far did Stalinism retreat from this class-position, that in 1926 the Chinese Communist Party members entering the Kuo Min Tang were forced to sign a pledge not to criticize Chiang Kai-shek.

The adventurist policy of the Comintern following the April massacre solved nothing for the Chinese masses. The Communist movement was reduced to "peasant soviets" fighting sporadic wars in the interior. The 13th Plenum of the Comintern in 1932, during the adventurist "Third Period" of Stalinism, proclaimed, "The overthrow of the Kuo Min Tang regime is a condition of the successful prosecution of the national-revolutionary war against the Japanese and other imperialists."

### Policy Changed Once Again

From this it may have been mistakenly concluded that the Stalin regime had at last learned the bitter lessons of the Chinese events. But less than two years later, at the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in August 1935 a new change in line was initiated, and the Chinese Stalinist leaders made speeches appealing to "all parties and all prominent political and social leaders to organize an all-Chinese United Anti-Japanese National defense army, and an all Chinese United People's Government of National Defense."

Today the Chinese Stalinists, under orders from the Kremlin, are once again the lackeys of the betrayer and butcher of the Chinese Revolution, Chiang Kai-shek. They once again call for a bloc between the workers, peasants, small merchants and capitalists of China; and more than that, they openly denounce efforts to establish a Soviet China, and hold up as the solution of China's problems, the democratic "people's government of all classes."

The Stalinist leadership in China, as throughout the world, is only preparing a new betrayal of the oppressed millions. The masses of China can be inspired to crush the Japanese imperialists and maintain their national existence only by a program that at the same time offers a solution to their pressing problems on the land and in the factory.

### The Struggle Against Japan

Chiang Kai-shek dares not arm the masses of China for fear they will seize the land and the factories and erect a Soviet system. In the national war against Japan, as well as in the post-war period, the Chinese workers must place no trust in Chiang Kai-shek, the landlords and capitalists of China.

The counter-revolutionary policy of Stalinism, which flies in the face of Marxism, can solve nothing for the Chinese people. Only the independent struggle of the Chinese workers, supported by the peasantry, can bring about a strong and powerful China, able to oust the Japanese invaders, and liberate the masses from all oppression by the building of a Soviet China.

The Chinese section of the Fourth International has dedicated itself to this task.

## Do The German Masses Support Hitler?

By M. MORRISON

The experiences of a few sympathizers have led them to doubt the proposition that we have been constantly emphasizing to the effect that a workers' government in this country or in England could and would turn the German masses against Hitler and thus assure his defeat.

These sympathizers have either talked with some Nazi prisoners of war or have heard people who have conversed with them and on the basis of these conversations have concluded that no propaganda can possibly affect the German masses, that only a military defeat will crush them. A letter to the MILITANT published some time ago expressed this sentiment.

The point involved is a very important one and it is worth while discussing it thoroughly. If we cannot convince militant workers who support the democratic imperialists because of their fear of Hitler that a workers' government will be able by propaganda to rouse the German masses, one of our most powerful arguments for such a government is lost.

### WHO SUPPORTS HITLER?

It is first necessary to answer the question: Do the German masses support Hitler? We can take it for granted that the vast majority of the 13 million people who cast their votes for the Socialist and Communist parties in 1932 do not now, after 10 years of experience with the Hitler regime, support that regime.

It is inconceivable that the masses of workers whose hours have been lengthened, who have been compelled to work at a much speedier tempo, whose organizations have been destroyed, whose leaders have been killed or placed in a concentration camp, and who have been suffering untold privations as a result of the war support a regime that is responsible for all this.

It is also safe to assume that by this time a great many of the workers and middle-class people who were deceived by Hitler's social demagoguery have lost their illusions. Undoubtedly a large proportion of the youth raised under the Hitler regime have been completely infected with Nazi ideas and are ready to die for that regime. The power of a totalitarian state to inculcate ideas in the youth is very great, especially when these ideas are connected with the possibility of foreign conquest affording the opportunity of participation in the spoils of victory. Though constituting a small proportion of the German population the fanatical Nazi youth play an important role.

### WHAT EXPLAINS THE VICTORIES

But if, as we believe, the vast majority of the German workers do not support Hitler what explains the victories of the German army? It must in the first place be taken into consideration that the workers who were opposed to Hitler in 1932 are now ten years older and most of them are now too old to be in the army. They are working in the factories rather than fighting at the front. One is far more likely to meet a fanatical young Nazi in the army than in the factory.

It is a mistake to attribute the attitude of a young Nazi prisoner to the German masses or even to all of the German soldiers. It so happens that the Nazi prisoners with whom our sympathizers have had some experience were captured in Northern Africa and from submarines. They came from the sections of the armed forces where fanatical young Nazis are most likely to be found.

By and large the masses fight and work by virtue of the terrific pressure of the State. We know that the government of the United States could not raise any kind of an army on a voluntary basis. The same is true of Germany. Masses of people do not resist the pressure of the capitalist state unless conditions become absolutely unbearable or if there exists a powerful organization to give them leadership. The German masses were left completely leaderless and helpless when the Social Democratic and Communist parties capitulated at the time Hitler assumed power. Under these circumstances the situation must become desperate before the masses are set into motion.

German victories cannot be explained by any alleged enthusiasm for the war on the part of the German masses. There is no such enthusiasm, German industrial power; and industrial mobilization made necessary by the desperate situation of German capitalism; a careful preparation for war ever since Hitler took control; the necessity, because of the restriction of the Versailles treaty, to make use of new weapons; plus the complacency of the wealthy democratic imperialist countries—these are the main factors responsible for the German victories.

### THE FEAR OF DEFEAT

It is of course true that the German masses prefer the victory of Hitler rather than the victory of the democratic imperialists. They know the fate that awaits them as a result of a Hitler defeat by English and American imperialism. It is this attitude of the German masses that rules out a revolt against Hitler so long as they have sufficient to eat and so long as the German armies are not defeated on the field of battle. Only the most class-conscious and far-sighted German workers want Hitler defeated by the English and American imperialists because such a defeat would undoubtedly bring a workers' revolution in Germany.

It is this fear of the victory of the democratic imperialists on the part of the German workers that makes us confident that a real workers' government in England or in the United States would make Hitler's position far more difficult because the workers would then want his defeat.

We need not assume that immediately upon taking of power by the workers in England or the United States the German masses will revolt. That may not follow even if leaflets reach every German soldier and worker. What we are confident of is that a sustained and consistent revolutionary propaganda will, in the course of a comparatively short period make the German masses conscious of the fact that a defeat of Hitler is the best possible solution for them. The more class-conscious workers will immediately begin to sabotage and the masses will rise at the very first opportunity and not wait until a complete military defeat of the German armies or until made desperate by lack of food.

Whereas the propaganda of the democratic imperialists can have no effect whatever, the revolutionary propaganda of a workers' government can have enormous effect. A change in the attitude of the German masses so that, instead of preferring Hitler's victory, they would want his defeat, would undoubtedly become the decisive factor in the war against Hitler. Such a change cannot take place without a change from a capitalist to a socialist government in England or the United States.

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## TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING

FRIDAY, AUGUST 21, at 8:30 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA

15th ST. and IRVING PLACE

Main Speaker:

**ALBERT GOLDMAN**

Defendant and Defense Attorney in the Minneapolis Trials

Commemorating the Second Anniversary of the Death of the Great Revolutionary Leader at the hands of Stalin's GPU.



# THE MILITANT

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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.

## Indian Struggle Nears Showdown

On Friday, August 7 the Executive Committee of the All-India Congress Party will meet in Bombay in order to act on the resolution adopted on July 14 by the party's Working Committee. This resolution demands that "British rule in India must end immediately" and it proposes to achieve the country's independence through another campaign of "civil disobedience."

The passage of this resolution by the full party committee might well lead to an immediate showdown in India. The struggle once begun will not and cannot be restrained within the framework of non-violence. Gandhi, the pacifist, has already publicly announced that the proposed campaign would not be called off this time if it leads, as it inevitably must, to violent clashes. London, for its part, has promised in advance to crush in blood any and all manifestations of struggle for Indian independence.

The American capitalist press has lined up solidly behind the British imperialists. All pretence of sympathy for India's struggle for independence, so piously professed in the past, has been dropped. Everything is being done to prepare public opinion in the United States for another bloody chapter in Britain's repression of the struggle of the Indian masses. The American liberals have naturally joined in the chorus, with P.M. and its Mr. Herbert Agar heading the pack. They are all agreed that to struggle for India's independence today is in reality to aid the Axis, above all Japan.

The threats of the British imperialists and the campaign in the American press are of course also designed to cow the Indian bourgeoisie and force the Congress Party to withdraw its proposed campaign.

Gandhi, Nehru and the other leaders of the Indian bourgeoisie have not changed their nature. They still prefer compromise to struggle. After the rejection of Cripps' proposals last April, the All-India Congress Party stalled around until July. There has been almost a month's delay since the projection of the "civil disobedience" campaign. All this was doubtlessly done in the hope that the British would agree to compromise. But London has refused. Meanwhile, the Indian masses are growing more and more restive.

In the grave crisis of British imperialism, the Indian masses sense and see an unprecedented opportunity to gain their freedom. They want to seize this opportunity in order to realize their aspirations and dreams of the past two centuries.

## The Anniversary of A Great Betrayal

Twenty eight years ago, on August 4, 1914, the world working class received a staggering blow. The German Social-Democratic Party, the largest and most authoritative party of the Second International, sold out the struggle for socialism in the name of the "defense of the fatherland." On that day Hugo Haase arose in the Reichstag to cast the votes of the social democratic deputies for the war credits demanded by the Kaiser's government.

The socialist parties of France, England, Rus-

sia, Belgium, etc., likewise revealed that they had long ceased to be parties of the socialist revolution. They all capitulated to their respective imperialist governments and supported the imperialist war which they had denounced up to the very outbreak of the hostilities. The war brought to the surface the corruption and disintegration of the Second International.

The cause of socialism appeared to be hopelessly discredited; the struggle for socialism seemed to be postponed to an indefinite future. A handful of internationalists alone refused to betray the banner of internationalism and the program of socialist reconstruction of society; Lenin and Trotsky in Russia, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany, Eugene Debs in the United States called for the continuation of the struggle. This heroic handful was completely isolated in the first years of the war. Lenin was scoffed and jeered at as a lunatic. But Lenin and the handful of internationalists remained firm. They based themselves on the scientific and revolutionary doctrines of Marxism.

The war crisis of world imperialism had been foretold long in advance. With the outbreak of the world war, the world bourgeoisie was plunged into the gravest crisis of its existence. The task for socialists was to prevent this criminal ruling class and its decayed system from emerging from this crisis. Should capitalism succeed in saving itself, other world conflagrations would of necessity follow. On the other hand, if the revolutionary workers utilized this war-crisis to rid their country of imperialist rule, then the socialist road was wide open to them.

The correctness of the position of Lenin and his followers was demonstrated in action by the victory of the proletarian revolution in Czarist Russia in October, 1917. The Russian workers under the Bolshevik party led by Lenin and Trotsky proved once and for all that the only realistic program for the masses is to continue the struggle for socialism precisely in the time of war. It was the continuation of this struggle that in reality terminated the first imperialist world war. It was the continuation of this struggle that guaranteed victory in the civil war of 1918-1920 in Russia. It was this struggle that pointed the road to the future.

But the Russian revolution remained isolated within the borders of the former Czarist empire. The capitalist rulers of the advanced countries succeeded in emerging from the post-war crisis thanks to the continued treachery of the parties of the Second International. After Lenin's death, the Stalinist bureaucracy succeeded in usurping power in the Soviet Union and in the Communist International. Under Stalin, the Communist International suffered a degeneration which turned this great revolutionary organization into a body hardly to be differentiated in terms of policy from the traitors of the Second International.

In August 1942, the third-year of the second imperialist war, the pitiful remnants of the once powerful parties of the Second and Third Internationals are repeating the treachery of their predecessors in the first world war. Once again, traitors to the working class are trying to dupe the masses into forsaking the struggle for socialism in the name of the "defense of the fatherland." Once again the cause of socialism appears to be hopelessly discredited and the struggle for socialism seems to be postponed to an indefinite future. But these are only the appearances.

The social-patriots in 1914 could pretend that capitalism had still something to offer in the way of progress for society. Behind them were the years of capitalist boom that preceded the outbreak of the war of 1914-1918. The social patriots of 1942 have behind them the record of imperialist decay since 1918 and especially ten years of catastrophic economic convulsions since 1929. The decay of imperialism is not a theory but a terrible reality suffered by the masses on their own backs.

The social patriots of 1914 caught the masses unaware. Today finds the parties of the Second and Third Internationals discredited in the eyes of the masses in every country of the world. It is far easier for the masses of the world to find the socialist road today than was the case in 1914-1918.

The only realistic program for the masses today remains the program of Lenin: CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM!

## BOOK REVIEW

RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC FRONT. By A. Yugow.  
Harper & Brothers.

Here is a useful book for statistical and other information relevant to the economic development of the Soviet Union up to 1940. The author appears to be a left-wing Menshevik and his sympathies are obviously with the right-wing Bolshevik opponents of Stalin.

At a time when publishers refuse to accept manuscripts that are hostile to Stalin it is quite interesting to note that the book is not at all pro-Stalin. The anti-Stalinism in the book is, however, buried deep enough so that it is not too obvious and the publisher, we presume, hoped that the State Department will not interfere. Or, better, the manuscript was undoubtedly okayed by that Department.

In so far as the author criticizes Stalin's policies correctly the criticism coincides with that of the Trotskyists. The author manages however, in a book dealing with the economic development of the Soviet Union to omit entirely the controversies between Trotsky and the ruling bureaucracy of the Soviet Union.

The advantages of Soviet economy are recognized and fairly presented and the ruinous consequences of the Stalinist policies are made clear. It is a good book to place beside Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed* for the purpose of getting later figures on Soviet economy. For a Marxist analysis and explanation of that economy *The Revolution Betrayed* remains the classic for all students.

# CHEN TU-HSIU

## Pioneer Chinese Trotskyist Dies

Chen Tu-hsiu, one of the founders of the Chinese Fourth Internationalist movement and before that a founder of the Communist Party of China died on May 24 of this year. At the time of his death he was 62 years old.

Although not widely known abroad, within China Chen was an outstanding figure, first as a revolutionist, and secondly, for his contributions to the cultural progress of China.

The son of a well-to-do Mandarin family, early in life he became aroused to great social injustices, the oppression, ignorance, disease and poverty prevalent in China. He first thought that if he could bring knowledge to the masses these conditions would be eradicated.

But Chen quickly saw that although he had removed one barrier to education of China's workers and peasants by simplifying the language, another one, far more formidable, remained: poverty.

### NO CULTURE WITHOUT RICE

How could a Chinese worker or peasant hope to be able to pay for the education of their children when often they did not have enough rice to eat. Chen, whose major interest was culture, quickly saw that if his ideal of the cultural advancement of the Chinese masses was to be realized, it would be necessary to come to grips with the economic problem of the Chinese masses. Thus Chen was led to the socialist movement.

Inspired by the Bolshevik revolution he aided in the formation of the Communist Party of China in 1921.

### THE MASSES MOVE

Three years later the Chinese revolution began. The Chinese masses moved against imperialism, feudalism and the native capitalist class. Victory was within their grasp. But Stalin's leadership led the Chinese masses to place their faith in the Chinese capitalist class against the instinct and better judgment of the revolutionary workers. At the crucial moment, the Chinese capitalist class turned upon the workers and peasants and together with the imperialists began a reign of terror against the militant workers and peasants. The revolution was crushed.

During these events Chen was the leader of the Communist Party of China and faithfully carried out Stalin's line. After the defeat Stalin attempted to place all blame for the tragedy on the head of Chen. Chen resisted his being made the scapegoat and demanded that a real study be made of the Chinese revolution and its lessons. For this he was expelled from the Stalinized Communist Party of China.

### JOINS TROTSKYISTS

He himself then came into contact with the Left Opposition under the leadership of Leon Trotsky. The Trotskyists had constantly opposed Stalin's policy, within the Communist International. Chen adopted the ideas of Trotsky and joined one of the Left Opposition groups. Later all the Left Opposition groups united to form the Chinese section of the Fourth International. He participated in the leadership.

### FIVE YEARS IN PRISON

Chen spent five years in prison for his ideas. When on trial he conducted himself as a revolutionist. He became the accuser rather than the accused. He exposed the Chiang Kai-shek regime of capitalist terror. This man they could neither break nor buy!

When finally liberated from prison he was broken in health. He was not permitted to live in any of the large industrial cities because the Chiang Kai-shek regime feared his influence on the Chinese workers. Therefore he was forced to reside in a small village in interior China.

In the last years of his life Chen developed serious differences with the Chinese Fourth Internationalists. He advocated support of the democratic imperialists in the World War II. No one else in the Chinese section of the Fourth International accepted his point of view. Chen loyally kept his differences within the organization.

### A CO-WORKER'S TRIBUTE

Comrade Li Fu-jen, who worked with Chen for many years, in an article in the August number of the *Fourth Internationalist*, says:

"Despite his serious limitations, Chen Tu-hsiu displayed most of the personal qualities of a great revolutionist. His single-minded devotion to the cause of the oppressed could not be questioned. He abandoned a comfortable and honored academic career for the life of a revolutionist and never looked backward. With his comrades he shared all the vicissitudes of that life, including drab poverty

and the dangers of underground activity. Never was he known to flinch or complain. His entire political life was one of personal renunciation. . . Had he been prepared, like many of the Stalinist capitalists in the worst period of the Kuomintang terror to disown his revolutionary views and bend the knee to the ruling despot, he could have had anything within the despot's gift. He preferred prison—death, if need be—to such dishonor and he remained an exemplar of revolutionary conduct.

"For his steadfastness Chen Tu-hsiu will always remain an honored figure in the gallery of revolutionary fighters."

We salute a fallen comrade. We know that our Chinese comrades will close ranks; will carry the memory of his idealism and heroism as a banner on to victory. The future China of the workers and peasants will realize Chen's great dream of science and democracy, culture and freedom for the masses in a Chinese socialist republic, part of the socialist confederation of the world!

# U.S. Seamen Praise Soviet Workers

(Continued from page 1)

civilian population was evacuated from the city, and in Murmansk today there are only men and women absolutely necessary to the conduct of the war. Longshoremen work in split-shifts around the clock and their job is confined to that. There is a building-and-repair brigade which seems to be on duty twenty-four hours a day and hardly is a raid over them as they are on the job fixing water-mains, telephone lines, docks, tracks and even repairing buildings. Some buildings even have scaffolding on them and masons are at work building up walls and putting on roofs.

### FIRE-FIGHTERS HINDER NAZIS

The fire-fighters are busy all the time because of the large number of wooden buildings and wooden docks. And when water mains are destroyed so as to impair their work fire-boats are brought up to pump water directly out of the bay. Although the number of incendiary bombs have practically destroyed all wooden buildings, the firemen in every instance succeeded in keeping fires from spreading, so that it took the Germans more than a month to accomplish a job that might have been done in a day.

Add to the strain of constant bombing the acute food shortage in Murmansk and one has a fair picture of what seems to people in this country almost intolerable conditions. But they are conditions which have failed to destroy the fighting spirit of the Russian people who have something to fight for.

Men in American naval uniform ashore in Murmansk were taken into community kitchens where a large part of the population eats and were freely given a portion of the meagre fare that was available.

### CONTRAST IS GREAT

Contrast this cooperative spirit under the most trying of war-time circumstances with the treatment accorded survivors returning from the Murmansk run in British and American territorial waters and on American ships. American transports crossing the Atlantic under heavy escort were a far cry from the inadequate escort service accorded ships running the Arctic blockade. Also different was the amount of foodstuff carried by modern ships, that calls into port for provisions on an average of not less than every ten days, from

the meagre food supplies that trickle into Murmansk.

The unlicensed merchant seamen, being repatriated, report a far different story of their treatment at American hands than that which they received in the land of the Soviets. On an army transport bringing nearly three hundred of them to this port, men who had been ship's officers were given the best of treatment including state-rooms, shower-baths, service in a first-class dining room which included three meals a day and mess attendants.

### CLASS DISTINCTIONS

The unlicensed men found themselves herded into troop quarters where they slept on strips of canvas and although there was plenty of space on the upper decks, their quarters were near the water-line. Part of the trip back they were given only two meals a day. They were served on tin plates which they carried through the galley to have filled and then filed into a mess-hall where they stood eating and after finishing they took their mess-gear along to a garbage-can on one side of the hall and cleaned it off for the stewards to wash.

Merchant seamen are accustomed to hardship and are never heard to complain about food or living accommodations where necessity demands such treatment as was accorded these survivors. However where there is no excuse for this treatment and where such marked distinction is made between licensed and unlicensed men, it was an almost unanimous demand by all unlicensed men that the greedy companies for which they had risked their lives compensate them in cash in the amount of the difference between first-class transportation given officers and the fourth class transportation meted out to these men by army brass hats.

The flagrant class distinction under American rule was only a small item in the minds of these men compared to the utter lack of adequate convoy-escort during the most dangerous and trying stretch of their run where they had been sunk and where many of their comrades had drowned. Merchant seamen today have a right to demand guarantees from the Navy that they will be adequately escorted through the German blockade and if the Navy cannot guarantee such escort then it is clear to all that the unions must demand a voice in the planning and operation of all convoy duty.

# No Ceiling On Boss Income

(Continued from page 1)

reports a conversation with Edward Levinson, editor of the *United Automobile Worker*. Asked why his paper never runs stories about the salaries and bonuses paid to automobile executives, Levinson replied:

"It would just provoke trouble. Someone would be sure to clip out the stories and paste them up for everyone in the plant to read. People would gather around to discuss them, and you know how our boys feel. First thing you know you'd have the damndest uproar in that plant. No one would do any work; they'd all be too mad."

The great contrast between the monopoly executives, living in luxury on tremendous incomes on the one hand, and the working people, facing rationing,

black markets, increased taxation and wage-freezing on the other, is too glaring to be hidden. Despite the efforts of the Levinsons who are doing the bosses a great service by keeping vital information from the workers, the latter know what the real state of affairs is and they are beginning to understand that it is necessary to take steps to make a correction.

The workers should demand that the large corporations open their books to inspection so that all can see just who is profiteering from the war. And they should further demand that the government take over all war industries and operate them under workers' control. This will effectively put a stop to the capitalist plunderers whose pockets are bulging with war profits.

### TABLE OF SALARIES

	1941	increase over-1940
Tom M. Girdler, Republic	\$275,000	\$99,000
BF Fairless, U. S. Steel	156,000	16,400
Paul Mackall, Bethlehem	197,317	17,874
Quincy Bent, Bethlehem	197,317	17,874
Robt. E. MacGrath, Bethlehem	155,393	15,887
R. J. Wysox, Republic	146,000	46,000
N. J. Clarke, Republic	86,000	11,000
Enders M. Voorhees, U. S. Steel	107,410	690
Irvin S. Olds, U. S. Steel	107,320	26,076
L. N. Parsons, J & L Steel	110,375	19,990

# War Profiteering - A Streamlined 1942 Model

By C. CHARLES

The capitalist class is developing the beggar's whine.

On July 28, 1942, The Conference Board issued a statement that claimed that profits and dividends were declining as compared to a year ago, and it is "likely that the proportion of income received in dividends will continue downward for some time."

High taxes and wages are blamed principally for the plight of the capitalists.

### A Most Charitable Man

The sad situation of the capitalist class has aroused the pity of Senator W. F. George. And since he is a most kindhearted man — when it concerns the capitalist class — and head of the Senate Finance Committee, he is going to do something about it. He is proposing to exempt, in part, taxes on money spent by certain corporations in repaying debts and meeting other fixed obligations.

(Senator George last week refused to make even the feeble gesture of taxing the "special privileges" asked of his committee by Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau. At the same time when questioned as to the possible adoption of a general sales tax, Mr. George declared that "the sales tax and everything else is open" for discussion and action by his committee. The sales tax is a form of taxation that falls viciously on the lower paid incomes.)

The occasion that caused Mr. George's sympathy to well up like a fountain was the appearance of a number of so-called small business men before the committee he chairs. Among them was John W. Brooks, treasurer of Pass & Seymour of Syracuse. Mr. Brooks testified that his net profit for the year was only 2.6 per cent after paying taxes.

### 2.6% — and a Free Plant

Senator Connally remarked: "You are getting a good plant out of it."

"Yes," Mr. Brooks replied.

In this little scene we have symbolized the entire status of the American capitalist class. They pose as martyrs, declaim about the "sacrifices" they make, shout about the apparently declining rate of profit. But all the time the "real" profits of the capitalist class, above all of the large corporations, is mounting.

What are "real" profits? "Real" profits are the money profits (which dropped only about 6.8 per cent in the last year) plus the free plants they are "getting out of it," plus swollen salaries for management that those who dominate the corporations vote for themselves, plus the results of financial chicaneries of assorted kinds.

### Capitalists Get Free Plants

#### And Machinery

It was brought out by the report of the House Truman Committee that as of January 1, 1942, before the present huge expenditures for war goods, \$7,500,000,000 was to be given by the government to the capitalist class in the form of new plants and machinery.

These plants are built at the expense of the government but turned over to the corporations for operation. After the war the government-financed plans can be bought by the corporation, if it so desires. However the plants are generally worthless if the corporation refuses to buy.

As an example we can cite the new plant being built for Bethlehem Steel at Sparrows Point, Maryland. If the government decides to take the plant over, it must remove it from Bethlehem's land. The right of the government to take the plant is, in the words of the Truman Committee, "of dubious value as the cost of removing the facilities might well approximate, if not exceed the salvage value." In other words, it will cost more to junk the plant than it will be worth!

The Truman Committee report says: "The (government) capital expenditures for plant improvements for defense purposes will ultimately provide the contracting corporations with some of the newest and finest machine tools and factory buildings practically free of charge."

### Managers Salaries Hide Real Profits

Another method of hiding real profits is through the managers voting themselves huge salaries.

A few months ago a case revealed graphically how this takes place. The case was that of the corporation, Jack & Heintz. In the year ending January 1, 1942 the corporation earned \$1,000,000 in profits on \$10,000,000 worth of business. Besides this, however, the head of the company raised his salary from \$25,000 a year to \$100,000 in addition to rewarding himself for his excellent job as manager in the form of \$45,000 bonus. The other owners, William Jack, the son of the head of the firm, and Ralph Heintz also received \$100,000.

A few days later, Edmund Tolan, counsel of the House Naval Committee, revealed that the salaries of corporation officials of 15 companies chosen as samples, showed an increase from 22 to 1330 per cent over 1934 figures. Among the firms in the sampling were American Zinc Smelting, Bridgeport Brass, Union Carbide, duPont and New York Air Brakes.

Figures released in the last few days showed huge increase in the salaries of steel corporation heads. In another article in this issue Milton Alvin shows increases for steel executives reaching up to \$100,000 between 1940 and 1941.

# For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs