

Stalinism And The Danger To Europe's Coming Revolution

The Problem of Poland, the Baltic and Balkan Peoples and the Socialist Tasks and Program

By The Editors

The great victories of the Red Army represent one of the most encouraging factors on the European scene today. The heroic feats of the Red Army soldiers and the Soviet masses on the field of battle have revealed to all who have eyes to see, that the Russian revolution, though stifled and desecrated, still lives. They have effectively annihilated the arguments of all the pessimists, skeptics and renegades who deserted the Soviet Union in its hour of peril and gave up the Russian revolution for lost.

The remarkable comeback of the Red Army after its early defeats, the ability to reconstitute a general staff in the very heat of battle, the unleashing of its tremendous offensive after the victory at Stalingrad, and the subsequent unprecedented victories display not only the vitality of the October revolution but presage that the Soviet masses will be heard from at the crucial stage of developments in Europe.

The Soviet masses are performing their feats of valor under the most onerous and terrible burdens. They are saddled with the murderous Stalinist regime which rules the country with an autocratic hand, plunders the masses and is every day attempting to arrogate to itself added power and new privileges. In their frantic effort to stave off the inevitable day of reckoning, the Kremlin bureaucracy is attempting to build up new bases of support. It has widely extended the privileged officer caste. The bureaucracy is attempting to secure a new base of support among the backward peasantry from its recognition and support of the Holy Synod and the entire Greek Catholic hierarchy. At the same time the bureaucracy attempts to wipe out more and more of the great social achievements of the October Revolution by its reactionary decrees on education, its abolition of the Bolshevik divorce laws and progressive woman's legislation.

But these reactionary moves, these frantic attempts to turn back the clock of history will not avail.

THE CRIMES OF STALIN'S GANG

The Kremlin bureaucracy does not represent a new social class in society, which has a future, which is necessary for the socialist mode of production. It is a transitory parasitic caste which was able to fasten itself upon the Soviet peoples because of the protracted epoch of reaction and which will be thrust off again in the coming period of the revolutionary awakening.

How different a situation there would exist in Europe today if the Soviet Union were not burdened with the counter-revolutionary Stalinist clique! Is there any question that Europe would now be in the throes of a socialist revolution if at the helm of the Soviet Union stood leaders like Lenin and Trotsky? Is there any question that if the Soviet Union were under the guidance of genuine Bolsheviks, the imperialist war would already have been brought to a halt and the struggle would now be between

the ever growing, ever more successful armies of socialism and the declining and dying camp of capitalism?

If the German army continues to fight today it is certainly not because the German masses support or place any trust in the murderous Nazi regime. It is for one reason only. The German masses temporarily feel cornered. From the West they are threatened by the Anglo-American imperialists who openly boast of their robber aims to enslave and subjugate the German people. And on the east Stalin offers the German workers not the Bolshevik program of 1917, not the hand of socialist solidarity in a joint struggle to overthrow all the fascist and capitalist masters; no, he threatens instead to dismember Germany; he threatens the German people with slavery. If the blood of the Russian and German masses continues to redder the territories of the eastern front, the responsibility in major measure rests on Stalin and his counter-revolutionary regime.

THEY FEAR THE REVOLUTION

The victories of the Red Army have already provided a powerful impulse to the revolutionary struggle of the European peoples. The downfall of fascism in Italy signaled the beginning of the European revolution. The revolutionary aspirations and action of the European peoples are already to be clearly discerned in Yugoslavia, Greece, Poland, and elsewhere. These manifestations of the revolutionary vitality of the European peoples have filled the Anglo-American imperialists with dismay. They have however also struck terror into the hearts of the Kremlin bureaucrats. Here is a new factor which threatens to upset all their carefully laid schemes, all their grandiose plans, all their secret diplomatic agreements. It is this haunting fear of the European revolution, it is their common determination to crush it that brought the Anglo-American imperialists together with Stalin, first at Moscow, then at Teheran.

Roosevelt and Churchill aim to Balkanize the European continent and convert its peoples into serfs of Anglo-American capitalism. They want, they now need the support of Stalin for this brutal counter-revolutionary program.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, itself panic-stricken before the revolutionary specter, likewise wants to crush the revolution in its desperate attempt to preserve its criminal regime by maintaining the capitalist status quo in Europe.

To facilitate their predatory aims and to cast over them the cloak of humanitarianism and democracy, Roosevelt and Churchill have provided themselves with Quisling "governments in exile" composed of all the old discredited reactionary monarchist, army officer, capitalist and landlord cliques. These they have cynically named "democratic governments of liberation." Stalin is copying their methods. He has likewise set up in Moscow hand-picked governments

(Continued on page 4)

SOLDIERS DEFRAUDED OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE BY CONGRESS

NEW YORK, Feb. 7—Accepting Roosevelt's challenge to "stand up and be counted" a coalition of Republicans and Democrats steamrollered a "States' Rights" soldiers vote bill through the House of Representatives by an overwhelming majority of 328 to 69. Under the bill, the voting qualifications of all servicemen will be determined by the election laws established by the various States. During the debate in congress, officials of the Army and Navy testified that it would be well nigh impossible to organize the distribution of ballots to the armed forces, under the many different laws in existence in the several States as to permit more than a very few servicemen to vote.

Leading the "States' Rights" coalition was the arch-reactionary Democrat John E. Rankin of Mississippi, who, the New York Herald Tribune of Feb. 5, reports, "literally ran the show last night when the House, at the end of an eleven-hour session, adopted his state ballot bill." In a "victory statement" issued after the passage of his bill, Rankin warned the Senate to accept his version of the state ballot bill without any further palaver. Senator Overton, poll-tax Democrat, of Louisiana, is leading the "States' Rights" contingent in the Senate. Overton's motion for the Senate to take up the House-adopted Eastland-Rankin bill was narrowly defeated in a tie vote of 42 to 42.

In the meantime, administration supporters have been engaged in a series of parliamentary maneuvers designed to force a



compromise on their so-called Federal voting bill. The administration bill provides that servicemen can cast their ballots in the election regardless of State election laws with the proviso that "election officials in the States would have the final say as to what ballots should be counted." Even this surrender was rejected by the "States' Rights" champions as being too "communistic."

So many restrictions are established by both the "States' Rights" bill and the administration sponsored "Federal" bill that, whatever the outcome of the present contest, only an insignificant minority of men and women in the armed services will be given the opportunity to vote in the coming elections. The soldiers vote issue has become a political football where primary consideration is given to machine politics, the democratic rights of the servicemen getting scanty attention from either Democrats or Republicans.

Both the AFL and CIO Executive Committees have gone on record demanding that Congress adopt a bill which would give every soldier the right to vote without restriction in the coming elections. But such demands have been treated with contempt by the so-called "Victory Congress" whose main victories have been thus far scored against the American soldiers and workers. The cynical bureaucrats in the leadership of the unions committed as they are to the support of either the Democratic or Republican parties are completely incapable of conducting a strug-

"In the near future colored troops will be quartered in the RTC area. All men are cautioned to treat them with respect, but not to cultivate friendship with them. For the best interests of everyone, stay away from them."

The order concluded: "Ya'll remembah, Sirs, dis is de Souf."

Yes, and a lot of Negro and white workers in uniform will remember that this has been called a war for "democracy."

From Philadelphia Robert Parker, co-Chairman of the Metropolitan Philadelphia Council for Equal Job Opportunity and Regional Director of the National Committee, Allied and American War Relief, CIO has written: "Interest and support of the defendants does not mean an endorsement of their beliefs or acts;

WALL ST. CONSPIRES TO ENSLAVE WORKERS

Three of the Eighteen



Carl Skoglund, organizer and former president of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO, Grace Carlson, New York organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, and Vincent Dunne, National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, photographed in the Minneapolis headquarters of the SWP on the eve of their imprisonment. Skoglund and Dunne are serving their sixteen-month sentences at Sandstone Penitentiary, Grace Carlson at Alderson, W. Va.

Pardon Of 18 Urged By Liberal, Labor Leaders

Many individuals prominent in labor and liberal circles have written letters to President Roosevelt protesting the unjust imprisonment of the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO and urging him to grant immediate pardon to the 18, reported the Civil Rights Defense Committee this week.

"Local 155, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, with thousands of members and hundreds who are today in all parts of the world fighting for freedom and democracy, urges you to pardon the 18 Minneapolis trade union leaders who were imprisoned on New Year's Eve . . . By doing so you will be eradicating a wrong that we are certain will be appreciated by the entire nation," wrote Louis Nelson, Manager-Secretary of Local 155.

"I think that one of the most serious blows to civil liberties in all our history was the conviction . . . and the refusal of the Supreme Court to grant them a hearing . . . I am writing to urge that you grant unconditional pardon to these 18 persons," wrote Sidney Hertzberg, Editor of Common Sense.

ENDANGERS FREEDOM

"I am convinced that we must watch at this time any more endangering liberty of political opinion. . . I hope that a way will be found to set aside such a verdict which can create a precedent in our law and open the way for oppression," wrote Rev. J. A. F. Maynard, French Church of Saint Esprit, N. Y.

Similar letters have been written by Mark Starr, Educational Director of the ILGWU, Israel Knox, National Director of the English Speaking Division, Workmen's Circle, N. Y., Judge Dorothy Kenyon of New York City, Prof. Irwin R. Beiler of Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., DeWitt D. Barlow, N. Y. attorney, Babette Deutsch and Clement Greenberg.

Among the hundreds of signatures obtained by local CRDC branches on petitions asking presidential pardon for the 18 is that of Bertrand Russell, noted philosopher and educator.

PHILADELPHIA PROTESTS

From Philadelphia Robert Parker, co-Chairman of the Metropolitan Philadelphia Council for Equal Job Opportunity and Regional Director of the National Committee, Allied and American War Relief, CIO has written: "Interest and support of the defendants does not mean an endorsement of their beliefs or acts;

"Now, Mr. Chairman, who is behind this bill?" they heard Rankin ask. "Who is the chief

The White-Collar Workers Hit Hard By Soaring Prices

Testifying before a Senate Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education on January 29, CIO President Philip Murray demanded government action to boost wages of white collar workers, who comprise one-fourth of the nation's gainfully employed men and women.

Following the speech of Murray, Presidents Lewis Merrill of the United Professional and Office Workers, Abram Flaxer of State, County and Municipal Employees, and Lewis Alan Berne of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians pointed out that white collar salaries are insufficient for maintenance of health.

Rank and file members of the unions then gave their own stories of a losing struggle against the skyrocketing cost of living.

(Continued on page 3)

Goldman Disbarred

Class justice lashed out again at Albert Goldman when the Supreme Court of Illinois announced on Jan. 1 that his name had been stricken from the roll of practicing attorneys.

In the past two decades Goldman has defended the rights of hundreds of workers in the capitalist courts. He was both chief defense attorney and a defendant in the Minneapolis labor case in which, despite his brilliant conduct of the defense, he and 17 other Trotskyist leaders were convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act. Disbarment proceedings were concluded the day after Goldman began serving his sixteen month sentence.

(Continued on page 3)

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

CIO President Philip Murray in a recent speech at Columbus, Ohio, called for a guaranteed annual wage for workers to ensure security against the plans of Big Business to bring "the old apple man back on the street corners."

Warning of the threatened future of mass unemployment, Murray asked: "Can't we do better than the old-fashioned system of spreading the work, spreading starvation, spreading discontent, spreading death?"

He pointed to the protection of the employers' profits through provisions of the excess profits tax, which guarantees regular dividends for two years after the war and permits corporations to borrow within 60 per cent of their excess profits taxes already paid in to sustain regular dividend payments.

Murray failed, as usual, to explain how the workers are to obtain an annual security wage. He himself opposes militant union action and genuinely independent working class politics which alone could wrest such concessions from the employers.

6500 workers in four plants of the Chevrolet Gear & Axle Division of General Motors went on strike in Detroit Feb. 2 to protest the arbitrary firing of six union members. The company, which claimed the dismissals were a "disciplinary" lay-off, has been committing repeated provocations against the union, Local 235 of the United Automobile Workers, CIO.

Playing their usual role of "cops" for the anti-labor management, UAW president R. J. Thomas and vice-president Walter Reuther ordered the strikers back to work, threatening that UAW officials "will not protect any workers who are penalized as a result of the continuance of the unauthorized action."

Increasing provocations against union men in the Ford Motor Co. plants have resulted in a series of strikes in various sections of the country.

5600 UAW-CIO members struck the Highland Park, Detroit, plant recently. They walked out as a result of accumulated grievances, according to Ben Garrison, Local 400 president, who charged management with "severest discipline for the pettiest of infractions," and challenged the company officials to submit to a "lie detector test" after they claimed the strike was called "without a semblance of justification."

At Edgewater, N. J., 2,000 UAW-CIO members walked out of the Ford plant on Feb. 5 after the management provocatively promoted two test drivers who had been expelled by the union for acting as "informers" and helping to institute a speedup. This is the second strike within two weeks over the company's re-



The following letter from our Philadelphia agent shows an intensification of literature activity in that area:

"Enclosed is \$1 covering attached sub. Please increase our Militant bundle by 125 copies for a temporary try."

"Here is one for the books. At a recent meeting of the shipyard local, some Communist Party functionaries and cohorts, fearful that The Militant would not only contaminate shipyard workers but also members of the CP branch which meets in the same building as the union, tried to chase our girls away and threatened to call the cops."

"Union members witnessing this attempted terrorization spoke up warmly in defense of The Militant distributors, and in turn began to threaten hostile action against the CPers who then thought discretion the better part of valor and skulked away. All the while, our distribution went on—unionists and CP members taking them."

A report from our Minneapolis agent gives us a good picture of the Communist Party in the Twin City area following its dissolution:

"We mailed the issue of The Militant carrying the story on the dissolution of the CP to about 85 or 90 Stalinists and fellow-travelers in Minneapolis. We thought this would be the best method of reaching them because we did not know of any concentrated Stalinist gathering to make a distribution. But one of our comrades, when buying a copy of the Daily Worker containing

Wall Street's Long-Term Plan To Regiment American Workers

By Miriam Carter

As the anti-labor drive increases in tempo and intensity, government spokesmen and Big Business representatives closely associated with them are coming forward with long range plans to regiment and militarize the American people.

Soon after President Roosevelt made public his demand for a forced labor act, his Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox in a speech on Jan. 15 before

the Cleveland Boy Scout Council called for permanent peace-time conscription. "Peace, of any worthwhile duration," Knox said, "may only be expected if we are prepared to put force behind it. The wisdom of the maintenance of an adequate navy, an adequate air force and an adequate army, is now widely recognized. Furthermore, the country will find itself at the conclusion of hostilities, with five or six million men abroad, consumed with anxiety to get home. And yet the retention of many of them, because of the unsettled nature of the world when hostilities cease, will be paramount."

Knox proposes, in fact, a law requiring all young men between 17 and 19 years of age to take at least one year of military training.

BIG BUSINESS PLAN

While Secretary of War Knox puts forward the program of permanent military conscription, Charles E. Wilson, former head of General Electric and now Vice-Chairman of the War Production Board, projects a Big Business program for a permanent war economy. At a dinner of the Army Ordnance Association in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New

York, Wilson presented a full-fledged program of post-war preparedness with American resources and energy geared to bring into war economy at a moment's notice. (N. Y. Times, Jan. 20). Wilson, one of Roosevelt's friends and advisors, also endorsed the proposal for permanent conscription and called for a close association of Army, Navy and industry, "unhampered by political witchhunts or shown to the fanatical isolationist fringe tagged with a 'merchants-of-death' label."

Propounding the idea that "war has been inevitable in our human affairs," Wilson declared that the United States must be prepared from now on "to wage war vigorously at a moment's notice."

In a revealing series of articles on "Post-War Policies" in the N. Y. Times, Hanson Baldwin disclosed that the War, Navy and State departments have special divisions at work elaborating plans for a world police force and for permanent conscription. "The United States is preparing to assume some of the obligations of international policing after the war," Baldwin begins. To implement this policing, he writes, the nation's permanent post-war military forces may number one to two million uniformed men." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 9.)

Knox, Wilson and Baldwin want permanent peace-time conscription and propose to keep a large part of the present armed forces in service for years after Germany's defeat in order, they say, to be ready for another inevitable war. Against whom are the masters of America planning to wage such a war? There is of course the Soviet Union. Above all, there are the revolutionary masses in Europe and Asia.

Baldwin makes no secret of the intention to throttle the coming popular revolutions. The main problem, he says, is to find "the quickest and most practical way of utilizing the military force of

permanent peace-time selective service is a basis for most of the Army's post-war military planning . . . he continued. "The President is reported in favor of peace-time military training . . . Congress, therefore — now or after the presidential elections — may thoroughly discuss all the measures suggested." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 21.)

RUSH LEGISLATION

Baldwin admits that the brass hats and big industrialists are anxious to push through such legislation immediately before the people can organize effective mass opposition to it. "Immediately following this war there will be a great slump in the interest of the people . . . in military affairs . . . In other words, if we are to have a planned military program — one capable of implementing our foreign policy — it must be at least started now . . ."

While the pro-war liberals and trade union bureaucrats spread the illusion that after Hitler's defeat the workers will enjoy a return to their pre-war liberties, the American ruling class is scheming to saddle the American people with a Prussianized regime.

Big Business anticipates a terrible economic crisis which will impel the workers to bitter class opposition to capitalism. The present drive to emasculate organized labor under the pretext of war-time necessity is paving the way for attempts to destroy the labor movement altogether. Permanent militarization and peace-time conscription are essential to that aim.

Organized labor must be on guard and fight all these proposals which represent a dangerous trend toward military dictatorship and provide fertile ground for the development of American fascism.

STALIN'S FINKS FAVOR SLAVE LABOR PROPOSAL

The nakedly anti-labor of the CIO convention against labor conscription. The Stalinists, Bridges, Curran, Quill, Emspak and Merrill, were compelled to vote for this decision and crawled out of the meeting with the alibi that the press had "misinterpreted" their endorsement of forced labor.

DISCREDIT CIO

The Stalinist fink policies have not merely enabled Roosevelt and the corporations to claim "labor support" for their most anti-labor acts. These policies have cast discredit upon the entire CIO.

The reactionary craft leaders of the AFL have lost no time in seizing upon recent Stalinist actions in order to scandalize the industrial union movement and fortify their opposition to unity with the CIO with a "progressive" motivation.

Although William Green and his bureaucratic colleagues have blocked labor unity entirely from narrow, selfish craft interests, they now point sanctimoniously to the reactionary role of the Stalinists in the CIO and proclaim that until the CIO "deloses" itself of those who supported the labor-draft "there is little hope of a united labor movement."

Such is the line stated in the AFL Weekly News Service, Feb. 1, which relates how Green and Murray "did not hesitate to denounce the draft-labor proposal . . . and presented a united front on this issue"; but then "the Communist line of the CIO spoke up" to commit "one of the most despicable betrayals in the staggering record of treachery perpetrated by the Communist Party in America."

The Stalinists have not abandoned efforts to sabotage resistance to Roosevelt's forced labor scheme. Thus, Joseph Curran's The Pilot, National Maritime Union paper, prints a three column report of the CIO Executive Board meeting which was chiefly devoted to a reaffirmation of the CIO stand against labor conscription without so much as mentioning either Roosevelt's forced labor plan or the CIO stand against it. Instead, the meeting is described as a veritable love-feast celebrating Roosevelt's Congressional message.

Lenin Memorial Meeting in Boston

BOSTON, Mass. — The Boston Branch of the Socialist Workers Party commemorated the twentieth anniversary of Lenin's death with a public meeting held on Jan. 29 at Workers Center. Members and sympathizers heard the main speaker of the evening, comrade Crabbie, analyze the contrast between the policies of Lenin and those of the Stalinists who fraudulently claim to be his followers. The liquidation of the American Communist Party was discussed in detail as further evidence of its complete renunciation of Leninism.

The role of the Trotskyists as inheritors of the mantle of Leninism was stressed in the introductory speech by comrade Wise, who described the activities of the 18 Trotskyist leaders imprisoned for their adherence to revolutionary principles. The meeting closed with the taking of a collection which gave concrete evidence of the determination of the audience to support the Socialist Workers Party in its fight for Lenin's ideas.



by C. Charles



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The "LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

Negro Struggle

By David Ransom

Poll-Tax and the Soldier Vote

Aided by their Republican allies, the Southern Bourbons are ready to deprive 11 million soldiers and sailors of their democratic right to vote. They make no secret of their reason. Asked to make a statement on the soldier vote bill, Senator Overton, Democrat from Louisiana, said, "Let's be frank. Down in the Solid South we've got to retain our state voting qualifications to preserve white supremacy."

They are bitterly opposed to giving thousands of Negro service men and women from the seven poll-tax states the right to vote. Any kind of soldier vote bill that permitted such an action would deal a blow to the poll-tax system as a whole.

The Southern bloc has already won an important victory whether Congress adopts the Eastland "States Rights" bill or the revised Green-Lucas "Federal" vote bill. In both bills the state election authorities have the final say as to which ballots are to be counted. In either case the poll-tax states will be able to throw out the votes of Negroes in the armed forces.

It is easy enough to understand why the Southern politicians are ready to go to such great lengths in order to preserve the poll-tax system. It is a powerful means of maintaining their reactionary rule over the South. By means of the poll-tax and the white primary, the Southern capitalists exercise as great a monopoly over the political life of the South as they do over its factories and fields. 10 million people, 90 percent of the population of the South, are denied the right to vote.

The payment of a two dollar head or poll-tax in order to vote is an economic penalty which the impoverished Negro or white Southerner can ill afford. In 1929, a year of prosperity, the per capita income of Alabamians was \$292. And even when the tax is paid, legal fraud and trickery are resorted to by the corrupt election officials to prevent unwelcome Negro or white sharecroppers from voting.

The poll-tax laws were originally enacted to deprive Negroes of the right to vote. But today the poll-tax system helps the Southern oligarchy oppress not only the Negro but the white masses as well. Of the ten million adults who are deprived of the right to vote, 6 million are white.

Illiteracy and poverty are the lot of the Southern masses under the poll-tax system. But it has helped the absentee Wall street owners of Southern industry and the native landlords to maintain conditions of exploitation that bring enormous profits.

The evils that flow from the poll-tax system are not confined to the South. By virtue of their monopoly of political power, the Rankins and the Dies' keep re-electing themselves to Congress year in and year out. Because of seniority, these Southern Congressmen dominate the most important Congressional committees. Today 17 out of the 74 committees in the House of Representatives and 10 out of the 33 committees in the Senate are headed by poll-tax Congressmen.

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

WHY TROTskyISTS ADVOCATE A WORKERS MILITARY POLICY

We have put forth the idea of military training under trade union control. As Mr. Cannon testified, a training camp was operated in Plattsburgh, New York, for the purpose of training business and professional men as officers, and the government furnished the necessary funds.

Why not have training camps where the trade unions could train their men both as soldiers and as officers?

In our opinion the great majority of generals and higher officers in the army are hostile to the laboring class. The higher officers are raised and trained in an environment which makes them hostile to the workers. They are not interested in democracy or in fighting for democracy. Have not the events in France confirmed our opinion in that respect? The American and British generals are not any different from the French generals. Who surrendered to Germany? Not the rank and file, but Petain and Weygand and the other generals in command of the French army. Who permitted the Germans to enter Norway? Not the rank and file soldiers, but the fascists in the

activities and policies of the Socialist Workers Party, our idea of military training under trade union control is evidence, as far as

possible, to the facts.

Of course, as with all other

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From "In Defense of Socialism," by Albert Goldman, pages

56-57, published by Pioneer Publishers, 1942, 96 pages, 10c.

Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

The German working class was the mightiest and best organized in Europe outside the Soviet Union when the 1929 world economic crisis erupted and the swift rise of Hitler began. Between the parties of the Second (Socialist) and Third (Communist) Internationals, the anti-capitalist workers of Germany numbered over 16,000,000. United against Hitler, these two parties would have represented a force which could have crushed Nazism like an egg shell.

Two reactionary laws that threaten the democratic rights of the masses and the very existence of the trade unions were sponsored by Howard K. Smith, a poll-tax congressman. Smith fathered the "Gag Act" which endangers the right of free speech and shared in sponsoring the Smith-Connally Act which denies workers the right to strike.

In payment for the faithful services of the Southern Bourbons, the ruling class exerts every effort through the government and the two major parties to support the Jim Crow system. While the government enforces segregation in the armed forces, it does nothing effective to prevent discrimination in industry. It refuses to seriously enforce the civil rights of Negroes in the South.

Roosevelt pretends to be shocked because the coalition of Republicans and Democratic poll-taxers are ready to sacrifice the right of the soldiers to vote in order to maintain the poll-tax. But Roosevelt, like Hoover, Harding, and Wilson before him, has done nothing to destroy the power of the poll-taxers, and indeed, leans upon them for political support and chooses their leaders, like Byrnes and Vinson, for his chief aides and advisors.

If Roosevelt were interested in democracy he might enforce the 14th amendment which says that the number of representatives seated in Congress shall be in proportion to the number of people who vote. If this part of the constitution had been enforced last year, it would have reduced the number of poll-tax congressmen from 78 to 13.

Nor has Roosevelt spoken out vigorously in public or in Congress in support of an anti-poll-tax bill. At the present time the anti-poll-tax bill is being killed by a silent filibuster in the Senate. It was supposed to have been brought up for action the third week in January. Then it was postponed to the middle of February. Now they are handing out word that other measures must come before it. When Roosevelt delivered his recent message to Congress, he carefully refrained from including an anti-poll-tax bill as part of his hypocritical "Bill of Rights" program.

The enemies of the Negro people have shown themselves to be the most bitter opponents of the trade unions and of the democratic rights of servicemen. The labor movement therefore has the most vital interest in abolishing the poll-tax and every other aspect of the Jim-Crow system.

It can conduct a fight to the finish against that system only by breaking with the Democratic and Republican parties which uphold it and building its own independent labor party.

John Alessi, a member of the CIO State, County and Municipal Workers, who lives in Brooklyn, N. Y., told of his attempt to support himself, his wife and three children on a weekly "take-home" of \$31.51.

DIET INADEQUATE

Alessi's rent is \$38 a month; to reduce it by \$8, his wife takes care of the apartment furnace, although she is burdened by ill health. The bulk of their income, as in all workers' families, goes to food; yet the family's diet is so inadequate that Alessi declared, "it leaves him 'so weak he can hardly keep on working and he gets sick easy.' He added, in explanation, that "even substitute cheese costs 75¢ a pound."

Alessi's experience indicates that the growing number of "substitute" foods consumed by workers has just begun to show its effects. Nutritional deficiencies in their meals, despite the great proportion of income spent for food, is not exceptional.

Because of that we propose that the trade unions train their own officers — officers in whom the workers can have confidence and whom they can control. And you must remember, when you consider this point, that the trade unions are not under the control of the Socialist Workers Party, but under the control of men who are, from our viewpoint, very conservative, and even reactionary. Still, rather than have officers trained at West Point, we prefer to have them trained under trade union control because the trade unions are organizations of workers. Furthermore, you must remember that our program of military training under trade union control is a legislative program. We want Congress to pass legislation making such training possible by appropriating funds for that purpose.

Of course, as with all other

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The Trotskyists alone sounded the real alarm signal when Hitler in September 1930 polled his first large vote, 6,401,000. Against the light-minded claims of the leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties, who belittled the significance of Hitler's gains and disarmed the German workers with false assurances, Leon Trotsky from his exile in Prinkipo, Turkey, hurled the warning:

"The gigantic growth of national-socialism is an expression of two factors: a deep social crisis throwing the petty bourgeoisie masses off balance, and the lack of a revolutionary party that would be regarded by the masses as an acknowledged revolutionary leader. If the Communist Party is the party of revolutionary hope, then Fascism, as a mass movement, is the party of counter-revolutionary despair . . . Fascism in Germany has become a real danger. . . Whoever denies this is either blind or a braggart." (The Turn in the Communist International and the German Situation—September 1930.)

With each passing month, the agitation of the Trotskyists proclaimed more urgently the life-and-death necessity for the workers united front in Germany and war to the death against Nazism. In his analyses of the real role and danger of Hitlerism,

On Nov. 26, 1931, Trotsky predicted in "Germany, The Key to the International Situation":

"A victory of fascism in Germany would signify the inevitable war against the USSR. . . Once Hitler comes to power and proceeds to crush the vanguard of the German workers, pulverizing and demoralizing the whole proletariat for many years to come, the fascist government capable of waging war against the USSR. . . In case he is victorious, Hitler will become the Super-Wrangler of the world bourgeoisie."

On Dec. 8, 1931, Trotsky addressed the vanguard of the German workers:

"Worker-Communists, you are hundreds of thousands; millions; you cannot leave for any place; there are not enough passports for you. Should fascism come to power, it will ride over your

heads like a terrible tank. Your salvation lies in merciless struggle. And only a fighting unity with the social democratic workers can bring victory. Make haste, worker-Communists, you have very little time left!"

On Jan. 30, 1933, Hindenburg, whom the Socialist leaders had supported as the "lesser evil," turned the power over to Hitler. Misled and disoriented, abandoned by their leaders the German workers were crushed and butchered, their organizations atomized.

To the very end, the Trotskyists tried to save the situation. Even in the hour of Hitler's assumption of power, as the Militant of the spring of 1933 records, the Trotskyists tried to rally the German workers, establish the last-minute united front. Their summons was not heeded.

The leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties hooted at Trotsky, and tried to drown his warnings and appeals in a blast of slander. Remmelt, one of the top leaders of the Communist Party, boasted in the Reichstag, "We are not afraid of the fascist gentlemen. They will shoot their bolt quicker than any other government." Heilmann, a leading Socialist spokesman, could proclaim as late as January 1933, "The time when fascism was a deadly danger for the proletariat and freedom has passed away."

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

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. 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.
9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

Stalinism And The European Revolution

(Continued from page 1)

purporting to speak for the peoples of Poland, Germany, etc. All these stratagems are of course a travesty of democracy, a mockery of the independence of the peoples of Europe and their rights. They constitute merely one more proof that Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin are not liberators but enslavers.

Stalin's recent action in reorganizing the USSR into 16 "autonomous" republics, with each republic presumably to have its independent commissariats of war and foreign affairs, is part and parcel of his whole policy of fraud, duplicity and reaction. Stalin has destroyed the autonomous rights of the nationalities of the Soviet Union, first proclaimed and instituted under Lenin, just as he has destroyed the liberties of the Soviet peoples. The new constitutional reorganization of the USSR will no more grant autonomy to the Soviet nationalities than the "Stalinist Constitution" gave democracy to the Soviet people.

Why then the latest constitutional changes? Apparently Stalin among other things is providing himself with a more flexible formal and juridical structure to add eastern Poland, the Baltic states, and other territories on the periphery of the USSR to the structure of the Soviet Union.

At the same time, as demonstrated in his agreement with Benes of Czechoslovakia, Stalin attempts to reconstitute pseudo-democratic capitalist governments within the "sphere of influence" of the USSR. All of Stalin's maneuvers, his tacking, his double-dealing, his spasmodic changes of front, are simply part and parcel of his old bankrupt policy which seeks to preserve the rule of the bureaucracy on the basis of a narrow nationalistic, counter-revolutionary program. The bureaucracy, however, still rests on the state whose economic foundations were laid down by the greatest revolution in history.

Despite the recent agreements concluded at Moscow and Teheran and despite the fact that both the Kremlin bureaucracy and the imperialists are desperately anxious to consummate at the present

juncture a marriage of convenience, every major advance of the Red Army creates a new diplomatic crisis and endangers their common aims to stifle the independent action of the European peoples and to crush the inevitable revolutionary storm. As far as Washington and London are concerned, far more is involved than mere fear of a strong rival state. The capitalists are first and foremost concerned with the property forms in the occupied territories, they are concerned with the preservation of the capitalist system in Europe and they are fearful that any revolutionary uprising may swiftly spread from one country to the next like a prairie fire. They fear that neither Stalin nor they themselves will be able to curb such a revolutionary uprising, or to crush it.

The European peoples have aspirations and aims entirely different and opposed to those of Stalin or the imperialists. The current situation in Poland symbolizes the problems of the masses of all Europe. The Polish workers and peasants who for four years have been living in a hell of starvation, slavery and war, now feel that the hour is approaching when they will be able to throw off the despotic yoke and build again on a new foundation a society which will give them freedom and security.

A strong revolutionary underground movement exists in Poland which since 1939 has never ceased its fight against the Nazi oppressor and for the strengthening and organization of its proletarian ranks. The underground fighters have indeed gone through a long and hard school. As their published declarations make clear, their most advanced elements understand only too well the predatory imperialist aims of England and America. They are likewise aware of the counter-revolutionary role of Stalin and his clique. They know of the oppression of the nationalities and the peoples inside the Soviet Union. They understand that Stalin's Kremlin gang come into Poland not as liberators but as oppressors. They have learned that in the Europe of today the Polish masses can win freedom and security only through the socialist revolution, they can win and preserve national independence only in a voluntary federation of free peoples, the Socialist United States of Europe.

The advanced Polish revolutionists are anti-Stalinist, but they are pro-Soviet. They understand that despite Stalin, the Soviet Union is nevertheless unlike the capitalist world. They understand the great opportunities that are opening up for the Polish people and their struggle because of the victorious advance of the Red Army. They will organize the Polish masses in the spirit of the program that Trotsky laid down in 1939.

...Partisans of the Fourth International must play the most decisive part in expropriating the landlords and capitalists, in dividing the land among the peasants, in creating soviet and workers' committees, etc. While so doing, they must preserve their political independence... and they must conduct revolutionary propaganda in the spirit of distrust toward the Kremlin and its local agencies.

Hitler's Speech

No confident boasts of a "thousand year reign" marked Hitler's address to the German people on Jan. 30, the eleventh anniversary of his accession to power. Hitler voiced the desperation of a regime with its back to the wall, trying to stave off catastrophic military defeat from without and revolt at home.

The supreme danger, he ranted, is Bolshevism. With hysterical insistence Hitler expounded his nightmare vision of annihilation that he claimed Bolshevism would bring not only upon Germany, but on all Europe and the British Empire itself. These ravings reflected the effects of the Red Army victories upon him, his fears of a revolutionary rising of the German workers, his last minute hopes for rescue at the hands of Anglo-American imperialism through a "Badoglio deal," such as temporarily saved the Italian capitalist ruling class from the revolutionary wrath of the Italian masses.

The German masses, he contended, have no choice but to continue the war in order merely to survive. No matter how bad their conditions might become in the continuing bloody debacle of the war, a victory of the Allied powers or the Red Army would be far worse. With no little cunning, he pounded away upon the one argument which he hoped might still deter the German masses from smashing his executioner's regime. He pointed to the intolerable trap which Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin have sprung upon the German people.

The German masses are in a terrible predicament. At home, they face continued bloody devastation and the iron rule of the Gestapo. From the Allied powers comes only the promise of capitalist conqueror's peace, dismemberment and economic ruin.

Nevertheless the German masses would not flinch from assaulting these obstacles with their own struggle for proletarian power if the road toward socialism were not barricaded against them by the criminal counter-revolutionary policies of Stalin. While the German workers are impelled onto the revolutionary road by the agony of capitalist war and fascism and by the inspiration of the victories of the first workers state, Stalin drives them back with his threats of mass enslavement, his alliance with Allied imperialism to impose a new and worse Versailles "Diktat," his expressed intention of crushing socialist revolutions.

The policies of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin today provide Hitler with his most powerful arguments and serve to dishearten and depress the German people. But the irrepressible force of the European revolution will sweep aside all these obstacles in its path and open the way out of their terrible situation for the German working class.

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.

American Legion

Editor:

On February 2, Warren Atherton, National Commander of the American Legion, appeared before the Senate Military Affairs Committee in the role of stooge for Roosevelt when he urged enactment of a so-called National Service Act, tantamount to labor slavery. The proposal which has been widely declared by leading authorities and the press as unnecessary and dangerous legislation inimical to our Democracy contains other implications as it could be manipulated to regiment the voters as well as labor.

Commander Atherton's opinions are fortunately not shared by Legion rank and file, although Legion officials ever ready to make the front pages, has always consistently opposed organized labor's struggles for adequate wages and decent living conditions for the long-exploited workers.

Fairplay
Los Angeles, Cal.

Capitalist Aims

Editor:

I hadn't read or heard of the imprisonment of our comrades until I saw it in the Fourth International, as I have not been reading the capitalist press too closely lately as it is sickening to any thinking person.

However this imprisoning without a rehearing proves many things, mainly that the Trotskyites are right but must be muffled, etc. Here the attempt is to break the spirit of the party organization, drive us individuals away, or scare us into inactivity. We are in the fire test as always, but we must survive these times intact, we must not lose our identity. For the capitalist governments (Democratic or Fascist) know they have no correct solution for the peoples after the world conflict ends.

The capitalists wish to maintain control by disbanding any sincere vanguard or union which would serve as a beacon in the darkness

of confusion and gather the confused for the new dawn.

Only the gullible will believe that capitalist governments can truly be opposed to fascist regimes. It has already been clearly demonstrated in Spain, France and Italy how the democracies act toward fascist leaders. If they don't run away they are bargained with, never taken prisoners. For instance Victor Emmanuel who didn't raise a finger against the Blackshirts but rather welcomed them, they would now prefer to award with a regency. Thus the enforcement of the "Four Freedoms" may be taken with a grain of salt. Even to our own soldiers who have been taught to believe they are fighting for those freedoms, false representatives would now deprive the right to vote in the presidential elections.

M. V.
St. Louis, Mo.

Brass Hats Spearhead Drive To Regiment American People

(Continued from page 1)

statement appeared the War Manpower Commission reported that 3000 shipyard workers had been discharged in the San Francisco Bay Area alone and 3000 more were being interviewed in an alleged investigation of "absenteeism." Those who cannot give satisfactory explanations are being discharged," reports the WMC director. The discharge of shipyard workers has been going on all over the country as a result of Maritime Commission contract reductions—otherwise known as "cutbacks."

UNEMPLOYMENT GROWS

The American Iron and Steel Institute announced (Feb. 8) that employment in the steel industry had reached the lowest levels since February 1941 and was continuing a steady monthly decline. Cutbacks in war production are in many instances creating acute reemployment problems. The War Manpower Commission has contended that there is no manpower shortage either present or anticipated that would support the pretext given by Roosevelt and his brass hats of the need for "total mobilization" of all our manpower. Despite all these known facts, Paul V. McNutt, at a news conference, publicly withdrew his previous objections to a labor draft law, giving the astounding reason that: "When those in charge of the prosecution of the war decide such an

act is necessary, 'who are we to question? Therefore, I support it.'

McNutt could well have paraphrased the poet Tennyson and said: "Ours not to reason why, ours but to do and die." That philosophy stands at the very heart of the Military code of un-

Stalinist Fleas
Capt. Edward Rickenbacker reports (N. Y. Times, Feb. 5) that while in the USSR he asked a group of Stalinist bureaucrats about the American "Communists."

"You know, captain, every dog has his fleas—and you've certainly got most of ours," was the cynical reply.

A doubly appropriate answer, since Stalin's fleas have set up permanent housekeeping in the dirty hide of American capitalism.

questioning obedience to the orders of the General Staff. The extension of the military code to civilian life regimented under the power of the brass hats means the end of any pretence of democracy and the establishment of an outright military dictatorship. That is precisely the road that Roosevelt has opened with his proposal for a national service act.

LABOR'S TASK
So obvious is it that the national selective service act is

aimed primarily at the trade unions that the pliable bureaucrats in the leadership of the AFL and CIO have been obliged to express their opposition. They whined that a forced labor law was "unnecessary and unwise." These white-livered bureaucrats have been whining for so long they have forgotten how to bark. Big Business is out to smash the unions. The brass hats are acting as the spearhead of the drive to perform that task and in their stride to regiment and militarize the nation. As part of the campaign the minds of the soldiers are being systematically poisoned against the workers. And about all the labor fakers have to say about the whole business is that it is "unnecessary and unwise."

The military officer caste is no less essential an instrument of capitalist class rule than the Democratic and Republican parties. These forces have joined together to enhance their power and privileges at the expense of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

The workers in the factories and the worker soldiers in the armed forces must be mobilized around a bold program in defense of their democratic rights. Only the labor movement, by breaking decisively with both political agencies of Wall Street and organizing its own Independent Labor Party, can lead such a struggle.

International Notes

By Paul G. Stevens

The London correspondent of the N. Y. Times (Jan. 28) gives a table of strike statistics for Great Britain, which holds the highest significance for vanguard labor all over the world. Here it is:

Number of Strikes	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
	940	922	1251	1281	1775

It will be noted that the first period of the war brought a sharp curtailment of strikes. With 1941, however, the class struggles begin to mount. The correspondent adds that for militancy there has never been a year like 1943 in the long history of British trade unionism.

There were more strikes this past year than any year—including 1926, the year of the Great General Strike—in this century. He does not fail to note, moreover, that practically every struggle in the course of this war has been unauthorized. That is, conducted not only against the employers and their government sponsors but against the authority of the union officialdom as well.

The class struggle is rippling with terrific sweep through the fiction of national unity adhered to by all—including the "labor" officialdom.

As a finishing touch to his report, the correspondent illustrates the broad character—more than merely economic—of this phenomenon by a recent example: 1765 miners in Snowdon (Kent) Colliery went on strike without

Lest this be dismissed as gibberish and its sponsors as a crackpot sect, the author admonishes that the Sinarquistas are at least 100,000 strong, have had ministers in the Federal cabinet and that "they are smiled upon by the state department and by many of the Catholic hierarchy here and in the United States... Furthermore, at least one man in the huge American embassy here had a private wire to Sinarquistas.

The Sinarquistas' devotion to "Rooseveltian democracy" and the "Atlantic Charter" is no more fantastic than the Rooseveltian democrats' attachment to sinarquism. The "platform" of American bourgeois democracy apparently does not confine itself to clerico-fascism for Italy, Spain and Europe but is capable of extension to the good neighbors as well.

He continues: "The Sinarquistas are for private property but against its abuses by 'economic imperialism'—they are against a 'classless' society but also against 'class' hatred and class struggle. They advocate unions without leaders... and an end to strikes.

"The official aims of the Sinarquistas call for national unity and Rooseveltian democracy (sic)... Sinarquism, calling itself a 'civic movement' not concerned with politics (sic) says it is 100% catholic, but 'not a religious movement.' Its newspapers inveigh against protestantism and... at the same time (are) advocating 'full religious freedom as guaranteed by the Atlantic Charter.'

Intimate Portrait of a WPB "Dollar-a-Year" Man

No matter where you fish in the murky waters of the administration's war production set-up, you are bound to hook onto a corporation "dollar-a-year" man running the government show for the greater profit of his own corporation and industry.

The latest such specimen brought to light is J. Spencer Love, head of the WPB's textile, clothing and leather division, and president of the Burlington Mills Corp., a \$50,000,000 open-shop textile concern with 44 plants in North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee.

Love has been instrumental in blocking the production of low-priced house dresses, work shirts, children's overalls and other items greatly needed by the workers. Through his WPB authority he has refused to allocate available materials and manufacturing facilities for the production of consumers goods which are less profitable than war orders and can be fabricated by smaller, rival enterprises.

Love was appointed to the WPB a few months ago, after he had gained notoriety because of his violent attacks against the OPA textile price regulations. At that time he insisted that the textile corporations could not "afford" to produce the less profitable, but no less urgently needed, types of consumers goods.

Love's personal remuneration from his corporation was \$196,340 in 1942. He receives, even while occupying his WPB post, a base salary of \$22,800 a year from Burlington Mills, plus 3½ per cent of his corporation's net profits.

Burlington Mills maintains a 100 per cent non-union open shop. When the CIO Textile Workers finally managed to win collective bargaining elections within the past two years in three of his 44 plants, Love promptly ordered these plants closed down.

Tax Bill Is Shot Through With Loopholes for Rich

The proposed new tax bill before Congress is loaded with joker provisions to enable the corporations to evade paying even the meager profits taxes otherwise called for in the bill. These loopholes were packed into the measure at the behest of Big Business tax lobbyists seeking to protect the profits of their various special interests.

One such loophole permits reorganized corporations, which have reduced their capitalization, to figure their profit taxes on the base of their previous larger war capitalization that is subject to smaller taxation.

Depreciation allowances and excess profits tax exemptions are estimated on capital valuation. The bigger the capital, the bigger the depreciation allowance, and the greater the profit allowed before it is subject to "excess profits" taxation.

The new tax bill actually expands the present loophole which has enabled mining corporations to mark off most of their taxes under the heading of "depletion" of their resources. This generous provision