

# The Anniversary Of The October 1917 Revolution

By The Editors

Twenty-seven years ago, on November 7, 1917 the chain of capitalism snapped in the Czarist Empire. Led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky the Russian workers and peasants smashed the age-old tyranny of the capitalists, landlords and priests, and for the first time in history established the rule of the toiling people. The red dawn of that day ushered in a new epoch in the history of mankind.

The deeds of the Bolsheviks were as good as their declarations. Land to the peasants! Factories to the workers! All power to the working people! An end to the imperialist war! This program of the Bolsheviks became the law of the workers' state in the legislation of the parliament of the peoples, the Congress of the Soviets, under the guidance of Lenin's party.

In reality, in the concept of its leaders, and to its supporters throughout the world the revolution in Russia was but the beginning—a colossal beginning—of a revolution that was destined to sweep through Europe, then Asia, and ultimately over the entire world. The Russian revolution awakened great hopes among the war-wearied masses on both sides of the trenches. The revolutionary message and actions of the Bolsheviks served to dispel the poisonous lies spread by the capitalist rulers and their flunkies in the ranks of the working class, and to spur the workers to independent revolutionary struggle against the imperialist warmakers.

## REVOLUTION SPREADS THROUGH EUROPE

With the slogans of Bolshevism on their red banners, the workers toppled the once mighty Hohenzollern and Hapsburg dynasties. Sailors mutinied at Kiel. Soldiers refused to fight and returned home. The masses went out into the streets demanding bread and peace. Soviets of workers and soldiers sprang up in Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, Helsingfors.

Warned by these events, the imperialists hastened to terminate their hostilities in order to concentrate upon extinguishing the fires of revolt which threatened to burn the rotted capitalist structure on the entire European continent. With the aid of the Noskes, the Scheidemanns and other social-democratic traitors, and by the most brutal methods of terror and dictatorship, the imperialists succeeded in forcing the European revolution back to the boundaries of Russia.

Although isolated and starving, with its industries shattered and its agriculture in chaos after years of war, the young Soviet Republic survived. In its struggle for survival the magnificent Red Army organized by Trotsky and shaped out of the enthusiasm and devotion of the workers and peasants who came to fight for their revolution, turned back the armies of imperialist intervention sent by Churchill and Wilson and smashed the forces of internal counter-revolution.

Although the first workers' state had triumphed over these powerful foes, the outstanding Bolshevik leaders knew that this victory would not be conclusive while the Soviet Union was hemmed in by a hostile capitalist world. One or the other of these hostile class forces would prevail in the long run. Only the extension of the October revolution to the countries of advanced capitalism could save the Soviet Union from degeneration and eventual destruction.

## BOLSHEVISM MEANS INTERNATIONALISM

Lenin and Trotsky hammered home this fundamental truth. The Communist program is international, not national. The peoples of the Soviet Union can never achieve socialism without the overthrow of capitalism on a world scale.

Twenty-seven years have elapsed since the glorious October revolution. During these years the prodigious vitality of its achievements have astounded the world both in peace and in wartime. While the capitalist system was careening downward in the agonies of world depression, Soviet economy, under the powerful impulsion of the planned economy and despite the bureaucratic perversions of Stalinism, went forward from one triumph to another. In the present war, despite the initial defeats, the Soviet workers and Red Army soldiers found sufficient resources in the remaining conquests of October, above all, in the nationalized property to fling the Nazi invaders out of the country.

But military victory over the German imperialists does not automatically ensure the continued existence of the Soviet Union, nor its progress toward socialism. On the contrary, the dangers to the Soviet Union are today greater than ever. The Soviet peoples not only face the possibility of another imperialist attack but the reality of the deepening degeneration emanating from the Stalinist regime, which has usurped power. The Stalinist bureaucracy has stamped underfoot one after another of the gains of 1917—the Soviets, trade unions, factory committees. The Bolshevik party has been crushed; the co-workers of Lenin framed up and executed; Trotsky assassinated. Stalin's counter-revolutionary regime has wiped out the emancipating legislation for women; erected a military caste; revived the worst abominations of Czarism and capitalist society. The further development of Stalinist reaction jeopardizes the remaining conquest of October, the nationalized property itself.

## HOW TO DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION

Today the security and salvation of the Soviet Union primarily depend upon the victory of the resurgent revolutionary masses over capitalism in Europe. But Stalin, the hangman of revolutionists, the agent of Anglo-American imperialism and the personification of internal counter-revolution, is a deadly foe of the advancing European revolution. He knows what profound effects a successful revolution in any major European country would have upon the Soviet Union itself. It would inspire an upsurge of the Soviet masses which would spell the doom of his hated totalitarian regime. Fear of this development is the fundamental source of Stalin's counter-revolutionary policies. In Europe today his henchmen are exerting all their efforts to restrain and repress the revolutionary actions of the people.

Stalin's domestic and foreign policies thus constitute the greatest danger to the Soviet Union. For the defeat of the European revolution would also signify the doom of the Soviet Union through internal counter-revolution, external intervention, or a combination of both. For the revolutionary workers the task of defending the Soviet Union today consists, above all, in defending the European socialist revolution against imperialism and Stalinism. It means opening up again the road of the October revolution. The insurgent masses of Italy, France, of all Europe have already begun to march along that road toward their socialist future. Tomorrow they will join forces with the resurgent Soviet workers and soldiers. The immortal banner of October, the banner of Bolshevism, will wave over a Socialist United States of Europe.

# THE MILITANT

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## European Trotskyist Conference Held; Five Countries Represented

### The Only Road



## DeGaulle's Government Moves To Disarm Workers In France

By William F. Warde

Hard on the heels of Allied recognition of his counter-revolutionary provisional government, de Gaulle has moved to disarm the revolutionary workers of France. This move has precipitated the most acute political crisis within France since the Paris uprising of August 19-24, a crisis containing the threat of civil war between the capitalist ruling class and the resurgent French proletariat.

The direct tie-up between the Allied recognition of de Gaulle and his action against the Workers' Militia is explicitly admitted by the capitalist press correspondents in Paris. French officials at times prefer not to admit that Allied recognition strengthens General de Gaulle's hand against the troublemakers at home. But at other times they admit it frankly . . . It was doubtless for this reason that recognition of the Government was hastened at the moment when it was hardly expected," cabled Harold Callender to the N. Y. Times (Oct. 29).

### DE GAULLE'S DECREE

The Allies announced recognition of de Gaulle on Tuesday, October 24. The following Sunday, October 29, de Gaulle's Cabinet issued a decree stating that "the insurrectionary period is over" and that the Patriotic Workers' Militia must give up its arms and its very existence in the interests of "order." To implement and enforce this decree, the Cabinet brought these armed formations under the laws prohibiting the carrying of arms and provided

for the punishment of those making illegal arrests.

This measure was taken without consulting the National Council of Resistance, which is dominated by the Stalinist party. Although the Council had originally urged similar action, it protested against de Gaulle's attempt to break up the Patriotic Militia and incorporate its members into the regular army and police. The Council proposed that the Patriotic Militia be maintained and given "legal status" and offered to work with the Minister of the Interior to frame an agreement along these lines. De Gaulle has rejected the protest.

The Allies' reactionary aims of the Provisional Government are perfectly clear. As an agent of Allied and French imperialism, de Gaulle is seeking to suppress the militia formations which act as a rival authority to his own and constitute the basis of the independent revolutionary power of the French workers.

It does not matter that the members of the Workers' Militia were the most heroic and self-sacrificing fighters in the underground struggle against the Nazis and their Vichy-capitalist collaborators; that they took the lead in the August insurrection which drove the Nazis from Paris and Marseilles; or even that those under Stalinist and Socialist influence formally support the Provisional Government itself.

The Allies have demanded and de Gaulle understands that, in order to consolidate his own authority and to safeguard the rule of French capitalism, it has become imperative to crush these armed forces.

There is still another reason

### Deserters Everywhere

The activities of war-weary German soldiers, deserting from the army to return to their bombed-out homes, testify to the growing disintegration of the Nazi armies and regime.

The National Zeitung of Essen, September 13, complains: "It is no secret that individuals who have deserted from their formations are appearing everywhere now, dejectedly straggling back from the front. Partly by pretending to a knowledge they do not have, partly by treacherously revealing military secrets, they try to give authority to their talk about the hopelessness of our situation."

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## WLB Labor Members Squabble Over 'Prestige' In Wage Case

By C. Thomas

The AFL members on the War Labor Board have threatened to resign if the board persists in holding hearings on the specific wage demands of the steel workers and other CIO unions, before reaching a final decision on the demand for an upward revision of the Little Steel formula. This threat is a result of the inter-union squabble that has been going on between the AFL and CIO members of the WLB over which group is to get the "credit" for breaching the wage freeze, if, as and when the Little Steel formula is revised. In order to understand the source of the conflict it is necessary to review briefly the events leading up to the AFL threat to withdraw from the WLB.

When the steel wage dispute was certified to the WLB the AFL members on the board opposed consideration of the wage demands of the steel workers on the ground that any wage increase allowed would of necessity require a revision of the Little Steel formula. As the case in-

volved not only the steel workers but the entire labor movement, the AFL representatives insisted that the board must first act on the formula itself before considering any specific wage demands. The CIO members of the board argued that the steel wage case should be the criterion by which the wage freeze should be changed.

Behind this conflict over "procedure" was the question of prestige. If the Little Steel formula was revised on the basis of the

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## Inspiring News Just Received Of February Meeting In France Under The Nazi Terror

News of the most inspiring character for class-conscious workers in America and throughout the world has just been received from England by "The Militant." Confirming our faith in the invincible power of the ideas and organization of Trotskyism, we have secured direct information about the growing Trotskyist movement in Europe.

The European Trotskyist movement survived under the terrible blows of the Nazis. After four years under the Nazi terror, our European comrades and co-thinkers have broken through the iron wall of imperialist censorship to send us word of their development and activities.

Within the very shadow of the Gestapo, Trotskyist fighters from France, Germany, Spain, Belgium and Greece, held a six-day conference in France last February and laid the basis for the expansion of the Trotskyist movement and the spread of the ideas of revolutionary socialism throughout Europe.

No greater testimony to the strength and viability of the Trotskyist program can be given than the fact that our European comrades were able to convene their historic conference in the face of the bestial terrorism of the Nazis and despite monstrous blows, including the execution of many leading comrades and the deportation or imprisonment of hundreds of their best fighters.

A LETTER ARRIVES

Our information comes from the mid-October issue of the Socialist Appeal, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Great Britain, Fourth International, which published a letter recently received from a representative of the five European Trotskyist parties which met last February. The full letter is as follows:

We have received news of our British brother party, the R.C.P., together with a number of copies of your publication, the "Socialist Appeal." We hope shortly to get a complete report of all the international sections outside Europe and to take up our international connections. Here shortly is news from us.

In February 1944, a European Conference met in France. Present were representatives from the following sections: P.O.I. (France); Revolutionary Communist Party (Belgium); Internationalist Communist Party (Greece); Lenin and Trotsky Group (Spain); Internationalist Communist Group of the German Emigration in France.

### CONFERENCE RESULTS

The Conference lasted six days with the following results: a European Executive Committee and a European Secretariat were set up. The two French organizations, P.O.I. (Internationalist Workers' Party) and P. C. I. (Internationalist Communist Party) were unified in the Internationalist Communist Party (P. C. I.). The European Executive Committee edits a printed magazine, "Fourth International," which has been published clandestinely until now and which has reproduced

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## Kelsey-Hayes Workers Strike Detroit Plant

DETROIT, Mich., Oct. 25 — Angered by an accumulation of unsettled grievances, over 6,500 workers at the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel small arms plant here went on strike Oct. 16. The immediate cause of the walkout was the company's refusal to continue paid lunch periods, a contractual obligation since the beginning of the war. This represented an average \$25 per month wage cut.

The company's arbitrary action occurred several months ago and was upheld by the Regional WLB. The union, Local 174, CIO United Automobile Workers, then appealed to the national WLB. After the usual protracted WLB stalling, the Kelsey-Hayes workers were finally forced to bring

the issue to a head by strike action.

OUT FOR A WEEK

Ignoring regional and national WLB orders to return to work, as well as the "no-strike" pleas of the top union officials, the workers remained on strike for a week while demanding immediate satisfaction of their grievance.

At a stormy membership meeting in Chadsey High School on Oct. 22, the workers were virtually unanimous in a standing vote against returning to work.

All the speakers from the floor, except one, former pork-chopper, denounced the "back-to-work" attempts of the international lead-

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# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

American trade union bureaucrats and Stalinist links are profoundly disturbed by the actions of the recent convention of the Canadian Congress of Labor, to which the Canadian CIO unions are affiliated, which threw the no-strike pledge out the window and reaffirmed its endorsement of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, Canada's equivalent of the British Labor Party, which has the overwhelming support of Canadian workers.

The pro-Roosevelt labor leaders and the Stalinists fully understand the significance for the American labor movement of these decisions of the Canadian industrial union movement. There is a very close fraternity between the American workers, reflected in the very fact that they adhere to the same international trade union organizations.

The militant auto workers of Detroit and Michigan, who are in close association with the workers just across the border, have already demonstrated, through their vigorous opposition to the no-strike pledge at the recent UAW-CIO convention and their formation of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation third party, that they are watching approvingly the actions of their Canadian brothers.

Against the progressive actions of the CCL convention stood primarily the Stalinists, who, as in this country, took the lead in attempting to put over the unconditional no-strike pledge and repudiate support of the Commonwealth Federation in the name of "non-partisan," that is, pro-capitalist, politics.

It was the most politically-conscious and advanced delegates at the CCL convention, the CCP supporters, who took the lead in defeating the efforts of the Stalinists to push through reaffirmation of the CCL's 1943 "win-the-war no strike pledge." The inseparable link between the defense of the workers' elementary rights, such as the right to strike, and independent labor political action, was thereby demonstrated.

The Stalinists, both in this country and in Canada, are angling by this blow to their schemes for selling the workers into the hands of the employers and their governments. They are hard-put to explain the action of the CCL's 250,000 members as the work of "Hitler agents."

A great wind of militant unionism and class-conscious politics is blowing down from the North. It will combine with the powerful currents of militancy once more beginning to sweep the ranks of American labor into action against the anti-labor drive of the corporations and government.

Just as in Canada, we may be sure the coming upsurge of American labor will find political expression in the movement for the formation of an independent labor party and a break with all parties of capitalism.

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An ever-growing number of trade union bodies from coast-to-coast are offering moral and financial support in the campaign to secure unconditional presidential pardon for the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis CIO Truckdrivers leaders railroaded to prison by the Roosevelt Administration under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

The Oct. 26 Spicer Unit News, publication of the Spicer Manufacturing Unit of Toledo, O., Local 12, UAW-CIO, reports the unanimous action of the unit's membership meeting in voting "for the repeal of the Smith 'Gag' Act, support to the Civil Rights Defense Committee and a donation of \$25.00 to aid the fight and assist the families of the prisoners."

This Coupon and 25 Cents Entitles You to a 3-Month Subscription to

## THE MILITANT

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

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# Pamphlet Sales Near Two-Thirds of Quota

By Campaign Manager

With Literature Campaign totals now nearing two-thirds of the 10,000 quota, we are receiving more reports of successful pamphlet sales at union and mass meetings, in addition to continuing good work in selling the sets to readers of *The Militant*. These combined sales should send the enterprising branches well over their goals, and inspire the few lagging branches in other cities to try new methods of filling their own quotas.

The comment of one agent, that workers are too tired to read after long hours in the shop, reminds us of the excellent reply made by a New York comrade. He told the reader, "That's how the bosses want you to feel. If you're too tired to read and think out the way to get better conditions, the bosses have an easier time keeping you down." The tired worker suddenly lit up, said "Say, that's right," and purchased the pamphlets—promising to read every word.

Similarly, every reader of *The Militant* will understand why he should learn more about the ideas of Trotskyism. The four Minneapolis Case pamphlets were selected especially because they explain so much, so briefly. "In Defense of Socialism," by James P. Cannon, "Socialism on Trial," by Albert Goldman, "Who Are the 18?" and "Why We Are in Prison," are an ideal introduction to our principles for workers whose reading-time is limited.

### From Our Mail Bag

**Buffalo:** Our total of pamphlet sales is now 420, or 20 more than our quota. Most of the pamphlets we have sold have been to readers who renewed their subs to *The Militant*. In one case, while I was collecting a dollar from a woman subscriber for her renewal, her husband brought in the latest *Militant*, pointed to the ad for the Trial pamphlets, and said, "Now, that's what I'd like to have."

Several of the comrades, while discussing general questions with the readers of *The Militant*, have pulled out the pamphlets and read extracts from them. One comrade read parts of Cannon's pamphlet to an ex-Stalinist-sympathizer, who was hostile at first, but finally took the set and paid 50 cents—double the price—for it!

**Minneapolis:** Two comrades distributed *The Militant* and sold 24 Trial pamphlets at a CIO union meeting in about a half-hour's time.

**Akron:** The pamphlets "sold themselves" at the News Exchange which sells *The Militant* and *Fourth International*.

**Los Angeles:** The Los Angeles section has to date a total of 1316 pamphlets sold. This represents 88 percent of our quota: we have had an average of 72 percent returns on mobilizations to visit *Militant* readers, and in addition, 80 were sold at meetings: a Norman Thomas meeting, 60; South Side mass meeting, 20; Stalinist mass meeting, 4. The San Pedro mobilization, at which 140 pamphlets were sold, was done door-to-door, and not all of the buyers were subscribers to the paper.

**Detroit:** Quite a few people we visited really follow Charles Jackson's column, "The Negro Struggle," in the paper, and make favorable remarks about it. One woman who subscribes to the paper has difficulty reading, but she bought the pamphlet set, saying she would have someone read the books to her!

**New York:** The New York Local has sold 1464 pamphlets so far in the campaign, and in addition has secured 279 six-month renewals, one year, and one 2-year sub, to date; we have also obtained 232 new premium subs for friends of *Militant* subscribers.

Discussing the problem of "finding time to read," one comrade spoke to a worker who spends a good deal of time travelling to and from work. He doesn't like to carry the paper because it bulges his pocket, and isn't easy to handle in a New York subway jam. She told him the pamphlets would slip into his pocket easily—and be easy to read in a crowd, too. He bought the set without any further inducement. Another comrade visited a young Negro worker who has been keeping a neat file of the *Militant* articles on the struggle against Jim Crow; he is making a scrapbook of them. He was very enthusiastic about the paper and what it is teaching him, and bought the Trial pamphlets to learn more about our program.

### SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Sold	Percent
Flint	10	32	320
Toledo	160	304	190
Reading	90	152	169
Milwaukee	80	104	130
Buffalo	400	420	105
San Francisco	350	364	104
Cleveland	200	200	100
St. Paul	140	128	91
Los Angeles	1500	1316	88
Minneapolis	330	272	82
Philadelphia	80	64	80
Chicago	700	376	54
New York	2800	1464	52
Seattle	500	256	51
Detroit	1900	468	47
Youngstown	120	56	47
Rochester	140	64	45
San Diego	80	24	30
Bayonne	180	44	24
Akron	70	20	20
Boston	230	40	17
Newark	700	84	12
Allentown	40	0	0
New Haven	40	0	0
Pittsburgh	10	0	0
Quakertown	10	0	0
St. Louis	10	0	0
Texas	30	0	0
Total	10,000	6252	63%



The four pamphlets above, packed in an attractive container, are being offered to new readers of *THE MILITANT* for only 25 cents, by Pioneer Publishers. The regular price is 40 cents.

## WLB LABOR MEMBERS SQUABBLE OVER 'PRESTIGE' IN WAGE CASE

(Continued from page 1)

by the WLB was to establish (1) a steel panel to hold hearings on the steel wage dispute, and (2) a second "fact-finding" panel to hear testimony on the AFL demand for a revision of the Little Steel formula. These "fact-finding" panels had no authority to make recommendations. Their function was limited to gathering evidence, taking testimony, compiling statistics, etc., which were to be submitted to the WLB. On the basis of the findings of its special panels the WLB indicated that it would make a "recommendation" to Roosevelt that he modify the wage freeze.

In an astounding decision, the WLB refused to "recommend" that Roosevelt modify the Little Steel formula, on the grounds that it was unaware of what effect "facts" had been submitted to the WLB, the AFL members again introduced a resolution requesting that the board "recommend" to Roosevelt that he modify the wage freeze.

After months of "fact-finding" the special panel finally submitted its report to the War Labor Board. The panel report found that the cost of living had risen far beyond the limit imposed by the Little Steel formula; it found

that the Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index was "inadequate and needed upward revision;" it found, in short, that labor has been and is being fleeced by the administration's wage-freezing policy. When these "facts" had been submitted to the WLB, the AFL members again introduced a resolution requesting that the board "recommend" to Roosevelt that he modify the wage freeze.

In commenting on the "indignation" of the labor skates, the magazine *Business Week*, authoritative spokesman for Big Business, laughs up its journalistic sleeve as it remarks: "The board's action was taken over the opposition of its labor members who are so incensed that they intend to submit a report directly to Roosevelt, asking him to ignore the board's dillydallying. Inasmuch as the board probably took its cue from Roosevelt, the appeal of the labor members would seem to be in vain." As the role of the labor fakers has been to hide Roosevelt's personal responsibility for the anti-labor actions of the WLB, nobody, least of all themselves, took their "indignation" seriously. In fact, they took occasion to deny the rumor that they were resigning from the WLB in protest over its outrageous decision and affirmed their intention of continuing to give a labor cover to Roosevelt's main agency for enforcing the wage freeze.

The "threat" of the AFL members to withdraw came only after the WLB decided to resume "discussion" on the steel wage case. Again, it was a question of "prestige." Pending before the WLB are wage cases involving almost 3,000,000 members of the CIO in steel, auto, aluminum, textiles, glass, radio, etc. Most of these CIO unions have tricky retroactive clauses which grant retroactive pay only if increases are granted which fall within the administration's "wage stabilization policy." As practically all of the unions have already received the limit allowed under the Little Steel formula, and as the WLB has refused to "recommend" a revision of the formula itself, any increases in the form of "trimmings" may result in the granting of retroactive pay to these millions of CIO workers.

The AFL, on the other hand, has only a few wage cases before the WLB, and its members would not benefit from a decision which Roosevelt and his board could interpret as falling within their "wage stabilization policy." The matter thus stands as follows: If the Little Steel formula is modified, the members of the AFL would benefit equally with those of the CIO—but the latter would lose their retroactive wages, and the top CIO bureaucrats would have a difficult time explaining away this loss. If the WLB finds some formula which grants the CIO unions a wage increase which can be interpreted as falling within the "wage stabilization policy," the CIO members would collect millions in retroactive pay while the AFL members would receive no benefit. It is this dilemma that has caused no end of squabbling and maneuvering between the labor members on the WLB—all of which has played into the hands of the employers.

Monclova, O.: "I have received your receipt for myself and my friends. My friend received his paper, but I can't say that for myself. And I did want to read all about the UAW Convention. So please check up."

Los Angeles: "Have passed sub cards to friends at plant. Keep the good work going."

Cincinnati: "I am willing to try and promote our case here so please send six-month subscriptions to the paper from two workers, and I enclose a check for \$2. Please start them at once."

Los Angeles: "I like *The Militant* just fine. I am glad your agent introduced it to me; I am sending the names of four friends who would like to read the paper. They all are members of the labor unions."

Ft. Wayne: "Enclosed is \$1. Please apply this for short-term subscriptions for the two persons listed. Could you please send one copy each of some of your recent back issues, as I am anxious for them to read of the encouraging developments in Italy. Some more subs coming up in a week or two."

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Requests for *The Militant* have reached us from other countries.

Palestine: "We are not receiving your paper and we should be very grateful to you if you could send it to us regularly. Mishmar is the organ of the left wing in the Palestinian Jewish working class, and we should like to have any information about the problems of the American working class."

Uruguay: "I have heard about your weekly organ, *The Militant*, and as I am very interested to know from another point of view the social events of your country, I would appreciate very much my name being included in the list of subscribers. With the present letter I send \$1 for a six-month subscription."

## Incite Servicemen To Attack Pickets At Aircraft Plant

By R. Bell

The labor movement has been alarmed by several recent incidents in which members of the armed forces have intervened in labor disputes between the unions and the employers. In Kansas City, a group of soldiers and sailors descended on a skeleton picket line, dispersed the pickets, tore up union placards and threatened to return as an escort for any strikebreakers wishing to enter the plant.

Although the attempt has been made to pass the incident off as a "spontaneous demonstration," this show of force against peaceful pickets was a deliberately organized affair which had the semi-official sanction of the responsible military authorities.

In support of the "spontaneous" theory, the New York daily *PM*, one of the so-called liberal papers, stated: "Best information available was that the demonstration grew up spontaneously in the taverns and amusement places on 12th St. with ringleaders enrolling groups of servicemen in a scheme to end the strike by opening the picket lines so that workers could go through." But the *New York Times* related that the servicemen, congregated at "Twelfth and Baltimore Streets," were addressed by Major J. L. Hodgin of the military police and Lieutenant D. D. Hughes of the Navy's shore patrol.

In his talk to the men, Major Hodgin said: "I don't blame you, but I don't think it will do any good." After receiving this encouragement, the servicemen proceeded to the North American aviation plant, although they had been told that there were only three pickets and no workers trying to enter. The *N. Y. Times* further reported that when the soldiers and sailors began tearing down the union placards and picket signs, "military police patrolled the street in jeeps, but did not interfere."

Can anyone really believe that the officers in charge of the military police and Navy shore patrol could not control a small group of sailors and soldiers if they had any desire to do so? Nonsense! All the evidence points to the fact that an organized attempt was made to whip up a lynch spirit against the union pickets, that the officers had full knowledge of what was going on, that they did not lift a finger to prevent the "demonstration" but encouraged the "ringleaders" to proceed with their action. The same kind of a "spontaneous" demonstration was repeated in the midwest area a few days later.

So far we have heard no word of protest from the top union officials of the AFL or CIO. If permitted to go unchallenged, such "spontaneous" attacks upon the unions will multiply.

Such incidents as the one reported in Kansas City underscore the need for the workers' own military program: Military training of workers, financed by the government but under control of the trade unions, and special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.

*The York Times*, October 27, reports that: "While the board would prefer to have the AFL sit with it on the specific cases, it has authority under the law to carry on with other labor members." It seems that according to "the law" the employer-dominated War Labor Board can "carry on" as long as it has some kind, any kind, of a labor cover. In this is revealed the real role of Roosevelt's labor lackeys.

The War Labor Board is an instrument of the wage freeze; it is an enforcement agency devised to police the unions in the interest of the employers. The labor members of the board have participated in its shyster work without a qualm, lending labor prestige to a whole host of anti-labor decisions. Its most open strikebreaking actions have failed to arouse a



## THE FIGHT TO FREE THE COLONIES

### A Letter And A Reply

#### Editor's Reply

**EDITOR:** The attack upon the officers of India League of America in the "International Notes" in *The Militant* of September 23 will not be taken too seriously by those who know us. There is, however, one statement which is so flagrantly unjust that I want to correct it.

You say of Pearl Buck that "She has never spoken a word in favor of independence for Puerto Rico." She has done more. The fact is that a few days before your statement appeared she had met with some of us who have almost completed the formation of an American league for Puerto Rico's freedom, and had promised support and urged the strongest effort for the independence of the island.

For many months Pearl Buck has also been interceding for Don Pedro Albizu Campos, famous Puerto Rican Nationalist leader who has been shamefully mistreated by our government despite the strongest appeals from eminent Latin American bodies.

She has carried her plea to the very highest authority by persistent personal appeals. I know of no other American who has gone so far.

The magazine which Pearl Buck controls, *Asia and the Americas*, carried my article, "For a Free Puerto Rico" last March, and Oswald Garrison Villard's, "Puerto Rico and Ourselves," in last month's issue.

As for the India League of America, we shall begin to take it seriously when it disavows the Gandhian policy of going in hand to Churchill, or to Churchill's imperialist ally in Washington, to beg for India's freedom. India will never achieve independence as a gift of the British imperialists. Churchill has intimated that he does not intend to "preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." Roosevelt is interested only in breaking Britain's monopoly grip on India so that it may be opened to exploitation by the Wall Street plutocrats. The liberation of India is the task, first of all, of the Indian masses. It can and will be achieved only through unrelenting struggle against the imperialist violators and usurpers.

Our contention that the India League is in reality serving, not the true cause of India's freedom, but the greedy aims of American imperialism, is heightened by the presence in its ranks of such men as Henry R. Luce, the Wall Street publisher, and Lin Yutang, an agent of the bloody Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship which is engaged in selling out China to Wall Street.

Jay Holmes Smith,  
Vice-Pres. India League  
of America.

## EUROPEAN TROTSKYISTS IN 6-DAY CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 1)

Belgium. Hundreds of others were imprisoned and deported to Germany. Among the leading comrades: In France eight members of the leadership were deported to Germany; in Belgium two, including the secretary of the Party. In Greece, the secretary of the Party, C. Pouliopoulos, was shot, together with two other members of the leadership. Comrade Wintley, leading comrade of the German group in France, was recently murdered by the Gestapo.

Since the unification in France the Party has made progress, particularly in the factories of the Parisian region, and in Nantes, Grenoble and Toulouse. The departure of the German troops released the hitherto compressed activity of the masses. In the Parisian region, the workers have occupied a number of factories and elected Committees. At the head of most of these factory committees there are Party comrades.

Let us listen, therefore, to a few more words from Leon Trotsky, leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution and founder of the Red Army:

## LABOR MUST ESTABLISH OWN STATE POWER TO PREVENT CAPITALIST CRISES AND WARS

The following article is the third of a series of extracts from Joseph Hansen's pamphlet, "American Workers' Most Urgent Need: A Labor Party." The pamphlet will be released shortly by Pioneer Publishers. This installment describes the succession of wars and depressions which face the labor movement unless it fights for its own political program.

By Joseph Hansen

Some workers may agree that civilization is threatened in Europe, but hope that things will be better here. They forget what happened after the First World War. Old timers still recall the wave of strike-breaking and union-smashing that swept the country. Outstanding militants were rounded up in nationwide raids organized by Attorney General Palmer. Hundreds were railroaded into prison. Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings spent more than 22 years in prison on framed-up charges. Eugene V. Debs was sentenced to 10 years in Atlanta for exercising the right of free speech and opposing the war.

This war on labor reached its height after the war in Europe had been won.

Some workers may hope that despite what happens to labor elsewhere, the success of Wall Street will somehow better economic conditions here. They think of the British labor aristocracy which gained extra concessions out of the super-profits wrung by British capitalism from the hides of workers in India, Burma, the Malay Peninsula, etc. Is this view realistic?

### The Real Perspective: A Greater Depression

Because of cutbacks, unemployment is already becoming a serious problem in the United States. Arms plants and aircraft factories employing tens of thousands of workers have been abruptly closed down, the workers left to shift for themselves. This unemployment occurs at the height of the wartime boom. Remembering that the United States was spiraling into another depression when the war industries reversed the trend, what will happen if only partial peace comes?

At least 10 million will be reconverted into unemployed. To their ranks will be added 10 to 12 million able-bodied men reconverted from armed forces into civilians. Unable to sell their crops, millions of farmers will likewise drift across the countryside as in the days of the dust-bowl refugees.

Add a sky-rocketing national debt. In the first three years of the Second World War the United States spent \$200 billion—almost four times the cost of all previous wars combined. These expenditures had swelled the gross public debt from almost \$56 billion in December 1937 to \$228 billion as of September, 1944. According to Tax Policy, Inc., "A tremendous further expansion of federal debt may be anticipated within the next few years."

But the total assessed valuation of the 48 states and the District of Columbia in 1940, according to the Department of Commerce, was \$144,631,431,000. Thus the Roosevelt Administration has incurred a debt greatly in excess of the total assessed valuation of the United States.

The effect on the standard of living of this mushrooming debt can be imagined—especially if it is collected through sales taxes and payroll deductions.

The real perspective then is for a depression that will make the first world-wide depression in comparison look like prosperity.

Again the forces of native fascism will raise their head as in the first depression, joined this time by hundreds of thousands of ruined middle class people and "blood and guts" unemployed army officers.

We thus come to the inescapable conclusion that the cause of labor politics is not only the cause of the majority in the United States, it is the cause of civilization itself.

### The Possibility of a Third World War

When a political party plunges a nation into war, it must answer the question worrying those doing the fighting and the suffering: Will the blood, sweat and tears bring lasting peace?

In the First World War, for instance, Woodrow Wilson assured the people that he was carrying on a "war to end all wars." That he was engaging in the slaughter to "make the world safe for democracy."

Men and women suffered and died, hoping that at least their children would have a better world. Today their children are trapped in a far more terrible world slaughter.

The political party now in power repeats the assurance of Woodrow Wilson. When World War I survivors hear the old slogan and the old promises, they must feel revolted.

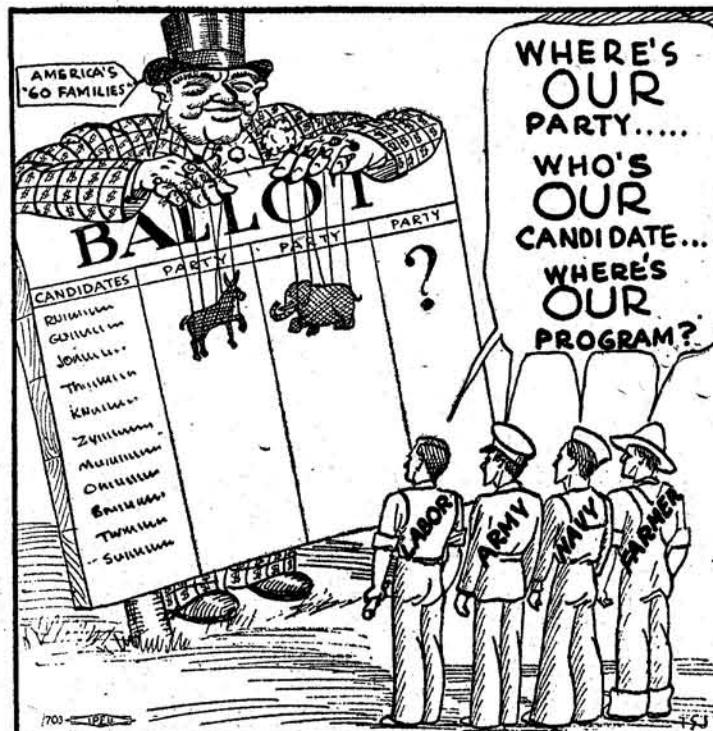
If labor is to play an independent role in politics, it cannot take these assurances at face value. The labor movement must make its own independent analysis of the war. Only by knowing the real causes of the war can it possibly discover the means of establishing lasting peace...

Let us listen, therefore, to a few more words from Leon Trotsky, leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution and founder of the Red Army:

"Contrary to the official fables designed to drug the people, the chief cause of war as of all other social evils—unemployment, the high cost of living, fascism, colonial oppression—is the private

interests of the masses. In the Parisian region, the workers have occupied a number of factories and elected Committees. At the head of most of these factory committees there are Party comrades.

The Nazi repression dealt us heavy blows everywhere. Dozens of militants were shot, mainly in France and Holland, Greece and



ownership of the means of production together with the bourgeoisie which rests on this foundation."

The co-founder of the Soviet Union continues: "With the present level of technology and skill of the workers it is quite possible to create adequate conditions for the material and spiritual development of all mankind. It would be necessary only to organize the economic life within each country and over our entire planet correctly, scientifically, and rationally, according to a general plan. So long, however, as the main productive forces of society are held by trusts, i.e., isolated capitalist cliques, and so long as the national state remains a pliant tool in the hands of these cliques, the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, for domination of the world, must inevitably assume a more and more destructive character. State power and domination of economy can be torn from the hands of these rapacious imperialist cliques only by the revolutionary working class. That is the meaning of Lenin's warning (in 1914) that without a series of successful revolutions a new imperialist war would inevitably follow." (From "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution").

Trotsky's analysis goes profoundly into the immediate causes of the Second World War, possible variants of its development, and the likelihood of prolonged hostilities or revolutionary uprisings throughout the world. What we have quoted, however, provides us with enough material to determine whether the present war will bring lasting peace or a war between "whole continents."

Trotsky's formulations apply to the capitalist system on an international scale, thus including the sections now at war with one another. If we fill in the formulations with names applicable to the United States, we get the following results:

With absolute certainty there will be a Third World War—

If America's 60 Families continue their present ownership of the means of production, that is, their ownership of the land, machines, transportation system, factories.

If America's 60 Families continue their domination of government through their political machine.

According to the scientific analysis of the Marxists, therefore, to prevent a Third World War, Labor must—

- (1.) Organize its own independent political party.
- (2.) Take power away from America's 60 Families by establishing a Workers and Farmers Government.
- (3.) Expropriate the means of production.
- (4.) Organize a planned economy.

## 6,500 Auto Workers Strike Kelsey-Hayes Detroit Plant

(Continued from page 1)

©

ership. The opinion was voiced: "Let the WLB make a decision on our grievance before we return to work — no after."

Richard Leonard, UAW-CIO international board member, evoked boos and jeers when he attempted to cajole and threaten the membership into going back to work. So heated did the meeting become that three votes were necessary to decide the issue. Finally, the chairman asked all in favor of remaining on strike to stand. Scarcely a seat in the crowded auditorium remained occupied.

### STRIKERS THREATENED

The Local 174 officials, under pressure from the international bureaucrats, immediately issued a statement condemning the workers' actions and threatened to call on the international board to take "disciplinary" measures against the strikers. Two days previously, UAW Secretary-Treasurer George Addes had sent a strike-breaking telegram to the local threatening "drastic action" unless the no-strike policy was maintained.

Addes' threats against the workers were hailed by the local anti-labor papers and the Stalinists. War news was temporarily crowded off the top headlines to permit the proclamation that Addes had threatened expulsion of 6,500 union workers unless they went back to work with their grievance unsettled.

### FERMENT IN AUTO

On the Monday night following the Sunday membership meeting, another meeting, this time mainly of committeemen and secondary leaders, was hastily mobilized. Using the mechanism of a secret ballot so the membership would not know how each official and committeeman voted, a slim majority was secured for a return to work. After all other means

### Loyal—To Whom?

During the recent visit to Italy of a British Labor Party and trade union delegation, the British authorities in Rome arranged a banquet at which the visitors came together with their Italian reformist comrades.

Clement Attlee, British Labor Party whip in the House of Commons and Deputy to Prime Minister Churchill, took occasion to chide the Italian "socialists," because, forced by the pressure of the Italian people, they are opposing the rotten monarchy. Said he:

"Why do you people resist the monarchy so fiercely? We have a monarchy in Britain and we get along fine."

had failed, including the threat of government intervention, only the action of their own local leaders was able to force the 6,500 workers back on the job.

This strike reflects the tremendous ferment among the militant auto workers. It shows which way the majority of the Detroit auto workers will vote if the leadership does not scuttle the referendum on the no-strike pledge passed by the recent UAW-CIO convention. The action of the Kelsey-Hayes workers, for instance, repudiated the convention vote of the Local 174 delegates, a majority of whom voted against scrapping the no-strike policy.

It's like the labor relations office in the plant. Those pipe-smoking, joke-cracking college-trained labor "experts" are paid by the company to listen to your grievance in the friendliest possible manner—and then say "no" in the softest possible voice—and let you shoot your mouth off for a while before they show you the door. The company pays them, but they talk about being labor's "friend." Capitalist politicians operate the same way, except that they get satisfied without really giving anything. (They aren't just a bunch of money-grabbers operating by themselves. They work for the boss class.) Their job is to stick it into the working people and see that the rich keep on getting the gravy. Roosevelt is getting by pretty well at that job. But some capitalists think Dewey might do better.

The labor relations expert substitutes for the plant manager in answering our grievances. We go to him after the foreman and department superintendent say "No." And yet he's nothing but a glorified office-boy as far as the company is concerned. Sort of a friendly cushion that insulates the company from all our nasty complaints. And whatever capitalist party is in office when things go wrong—depression, or a war, for instance, why the time-servers and demagogues of that particular party take the blame, and the capitalist class that caused it all just stand around and say, "What do you know about that?"

### A LABOR PARTY IS NEEDED

As for the guaranteed annual wage, or any other real and lasting benefit for us working people, neither Roosevelt nor his echo—Dewey—nor the capitalists they represent, will give it to us. Although it's something we've just got to have, as hard times will soon teach us. But the capitalist parties are united against our demands. They are fronting for the bosses just like the labor relations expert "fronts" for the company. We've got to get away from these parties, and start one that will put up a serious fight for a workers' program. While only Socialism can absolutely guarantee us an annual wage, with this kind of party, an independent Labor Party, we can begin to get somewhere.

But right now, in this election, who are you going to vote for? These labor relations phonies? These office boys for the bosses who are running for President, are getting paid with our dough. Let's not give them our vote, too.

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## The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

### C.I.O. Leads Anti-Jim Crow Fight

Just because the Negro worker today is hundred times as trade-union-conscious as he was fifteen years ago and just because there is a concerted effort on the part of the progressive labor movement to fight for industrial equality regardless of race is not enough to warrant a shout of victory. These tendencies have forced the ruling class to imprint more firmly the pattern of segregation and thereby more forcibly crystallize the well-indoctrinated interracial prejudices. The attacks upon the color line have not caused the owning class to discard it as an anti-labor weapon but, rather, to draw it all the more tightly.

The CIO, which contains more progressive elements than any other union organization in the country, has recently embarked on a counter-attack which, if carried on with increasing militancy, will bode no good for the vile plans of those who want to continue their exploitation by pitting the Negro and the white workers against each other. A significant unit in this counter-attack is the CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination. This committee has been setting up new branches all over the country and on more than one occasion, has been the instrumental factor that meant success instead of defeat in various fights against racial discrimination.

According to Director George Weaver's most recent report, the number of state, county and municipal committees has increased from fifty as of March 15, 1944 to eighty-five as of August 15, 1944. Most significant is the fact that committees have been organized for the first time in Georgia, North Carolina, West Virginia, Kentucky, Texas, Kansas and Alabama. Any movement capable of organizing effective branches committed to abolish racial discrimination in those states really means business. Furthermore, it bids fair to become the medium through which will come the final victorious assault on all the forces of reaction that are so firmly entrenched in the "dear old South."

In a series of conferences held by the Ohio State Committee the importance of upgrading and seniority rights without regard to race was stressed. One of the discussions centered upon the responsibility of the union in the "post-war" period in relation to the minority question. The importance of maintaining full employment was considered the key to the racial question. It was admitted that, without full employment, the scramble of returning soldiers and war workers to compete for too few jobs will pit majority groups against minority groups and vice versa. On this point, of course, we know and we warn again that it will be impossible to maintain full employment until we have Socialism.

The Michigan State Committee initiated the prosecution of the Cody Hotel in Grand Rapids, involving discrimination on July 11 during the Michigan CIO convention. The delegation from

### Pioneer Paragraphs

## HOW TROTSKY'S IDEAS FIRST REACHED AMERICAN WORKERS

Trotsky was in exile in faraway Alma Ata. Units of his supporters throughout the world were scattered, disorganized. Then, through a conjuncture of events, the situation was righted, and everything began to fall into its proper place. A single document of Marxism was sent by Trotsky from Alma Ata to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. It found its way through a fissure in the secretarial apparatus, reaching the hands of a few delegates — in particular, a single delegate of the American party and a single delegate of the Canadian party. This document, expressing these all-conquering ideas of Marxism, falling into the right hands at the right time, sufficed to bring about the rapid and profound transformation which we reviewed last week.

The movement which then began in America brought repercussions throughout the entire world; overnight the whole picture, the whole perspective of the struggle changed. Trotskyism, officially pronounced dead, was resurrected on the international arena and inspired with new hope, new enthusiasm, new energy. Denunciations against us were carried in the American

# DeGaulle Acts After Allied Recognition To Dissolve Workers' Militias In France

(Continued from page 1)

why the Allies have hastened to strengthen de Gaulle's hand. They are soliciting his aid to help Franco crush the rising rebellion led by the Spanish Maquis in the south of France. These 40,000 Maquis form a component part of the FFI forces and are aided by the Patriotic Workers' Militias.

Dispatches from France and Washington appearing in *PM* on Oct. 24 declare: "The French as well as the Spaniards know just as well as anyone else that one of the main preoccupations of British and U. S. officers in the south of France is to guard against the 'revolution' . . . The Paris officials indicate that they are ready to assert their authority by putting an end to the use of that area by Spanish Republicans as a base for organization against Franco."

The Stalinists who have helped hand over de Gaulle the power conquered through the armed struggle of the Workers' Militias, and who support de Gaulle's regime, have tried to evade a showdown on this crucial question ever since August. They have maneuvered and parleyed with the Provisional Government, seeking some compromise solution.

### NO COMPROMISE

But compromise is impossible where such fundamental issues of the class struggle are involved as the arming or disarming of the workers. Neither the Anglo-American nor the French capitalists can any longer afford to delay a decisive settlement of this life and death question. They have now pointed a pistol at the heads of the Stalinist-controlled National Council of Resistance and demanded not only that the revolutionary workers disarm but that the Council itself abandon all pretensions to sovereignty and power in France.

This is confirmed by Callender's dispatch from Paris on Oct. 29: "The Government now thinks that it must boldly assume police powers in the country purely on its own authority and without sharing responsibility with any other body and group." This means that de Gaulle is determined to eliminate all the elements of dual power which were thrown up in France during the days of the underground movement and the subsequent popular revolutionary struggles.

In areas where there was already friction, this committee has made efforts to educate the backward, prejudiced workers so that working-class solidarity could be maintained. An outstanding example was in Marion, Ohio where a group of Mexican workers had been imported. Feeling the job insecurity that is normal under capitalism with its ever-increasing catastrophic depressions, many of the workers showed resentment against the Mexican workers. Large thru the efforts of the County Anti-Discrimination Committee the white workers were educated, the Mexican workers were unionized, and a dangerous struggle between workers was averted.

These are only a few examples of what the CIO is doing. It deserves and has the allegiance of the Negro people. With the more crushing oppressions that are planned by the ruling class, the labor movement will have to adopt more militant means to defend the brown workers against race discrimination. In defense of the trade union movement itself, it is of utmost importance that every militant worker, black or white, rally support within his union to fight discrimination and Jim-Crowism wherever it rears its ugly head.

### WORKERS WILL RESIST

But both the Anglo-American and de Gaulle conspirators, together with the Stalinist capitulators and betrayers, have yet to reckon with the revolutionary vanguard of the French workers. It is one thing to issue a decree calling for the disarming and dissolution of the Workers' Militias, and quite another thing to enforce it.

The French workers cannot be persuaded, nor can they easily be compelled, to yield up their arms. They have learned from experiences in the past what it means to possess arms and also what it means when a capitalist government tries to dispossess them of their weapons.

The civil war between the Republican Government and the workers which gave birth to the Paris Commune in 1871 was precipitated by the attempt of Thiers to disarm the revolutionary workers of Paris.

### BATTLES IN STREETS

More recently the Vichyites, too, exerted all their efforts to keep the workers disarmed. Now de Gaulle is playing the same game and for the same counter-revolutionary capitalist reasons.

It is clear, not only from past history but from present events, that the French workers cannot be deprived of their arms with-

inspiring them with new hope and new energy to persevere in the struggle.

(From "The History of American Trotskyism," J. P. Cannon, pp. 61-62. Pioneer Publishers, 1944, 268 pp.; cloth \$2.75, paper \$2. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

## Leaders Of The Russian Revolution



This week marks the twenty-seventh anniversary of the glorious October Revolution, which established the first workers' state, the Soviet Union. Three of its leading figures, Trotsky, Lenin and Kamenev, appear above, in one of the few remaining portraits showing Lenin and Trotsky together. Stalin's ruthless editing of the records of the October Revolution, has failed to erase the fame of the Old Bolsheviks who led the workers to victory, and to whom we pay tribute today.

## HOW THE FRENCH WORKERS ARMED FOR THE STRUGGLE

This is the second of a series of articles on the revolutionary developments in France, based largely on information received from our Paris correspondent. The first article, published last week, dealt with the Paris uprising in August. This one tells how the French workers armed themselves. The next and final article in the series will outline the prospects of the revolutionary struggle in France.

By Frank Lawrence

The capitalist class in France is desperately striving to recapture the control over the armed forces which was lost as a result of its military defeat in 1940. With the Nazi occupation, its own military and police forces were subjected to the command of the Nazi conquerors. On the other hand, the struggle of the masses against the Nazis led to the creation of an independent underground army opposed to the capitalist collaborators of the Vichy regime.

The fact that the people, especially the workers, are armed represents the gravest menace to the continuance of capitalist rule in France. Those who have arms have power — and unless the capitalist class and its state representatives can have complete control over all armed forces, they cannot reconsolidate their shaken sovereignty in France.

### SHARP CONFLICT

The conflict between the agents of capitalism and the workers over this key question manifested itself sharply at the very height of the armed uprising from Aug. 19 to Aug. 24 which drove the Nazis out of Paris. The reactionary bourgeois in the Resistance Movement attempted to monopolize the available arms for their own private formations in order to ensure their domination over the insurrection and to guide its course according to their own class interests.

Our Paris correspondent reports in the October issue of *Fourth International* that "whatever arms were available to the Resistance Movement were distributed mainly to the reactionary elements, Organisation Civile et Militaire (OCM), the Armée Secrète, etc. The Stalinist-controlled Francs Tireurs et Partisans (FTP) and workers had to arm themselves mostly from arms captured or stolen from Germans."

### WORKERS GET ARMS

In addition to stealing and seizing arms from the Nazis, the workers themselves manufactured small arms, particularly grenades. They even succeeded in building tanks for the Resistance Movement right under the noses of the Nazi watchdogs. A war correspondent reports the surprise with which the invading Allied armies met these new tanks of "unidentifiable design." A tank crew explained that theirs was "one of four tanks secretly built in a workshop in the suburbs of Clermont-Ferrand.

The chassis was that of a camouflaged farm tractor. The armor consisted of one plate of soft steel and another of hard steel which had been made in another section of the same workshop and then concealed. Both the chassis and armor had been kept hidden inside the factory until the FFI could weld the parts together. Armed with a 37-mm. cannon and heavy machine-guns, these tanks were excellent for raids and reconnaissance. (French Information Services, London, Sept. 19.)

De Gaulle's representatives in Paris reminded his readers on

## Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

Here are a few excerpts from our life in the steel plant, just little things that you see and hear as you work. They happen every day, and you have a tendency to get used to them and never give them a second thought . . . that is, unless you are conscious always that you are fighting against these things and against the system that produces them. When you have this consciousness, then these little pieces of the workers' life take on added meaning as a symbol of the whole struggle. You might call them, "Recipe for Resentment."

\* \* \*

One of the old-timers tells about working twelve-hour shifts twenty years ago. Will you ever forget that? Every other weekend you worked twenty-four hours straight. Some of the boys used to walk out to the fence where their kids would meet them and hand a lunch pail in between the bars (just like a jail . . . only I guess you don't get so hot and tired in a jail).

\* \* \*

"I had eight-month old baby," the old-timer goes on. "One day I am home, I pick him up. He cry like hell. HE DON'T KNOW ME! All the time I work. My own baby don't know me."

Well, times have changed some, it's true. They schedule us for eight hours now instead of twelve, and when we don't work double shifts we put in only forty-eight hours a week.

Yes, we work shorter hours, and our babies know us nowadays . . . but I guess that doesn't do them a hell of a lot of good.

\* \* \*

You finish cast. The hot-blast man and the helper walk slowly around the furnace and into the shanty. Both are dripping with sweat, and their shoulders are stooped with the sudden and complete fatigue that comes from exertion in the terrific heat. A violent explosion shakes clouds of graphite down off the beams. They stiffen, look at each other, and go back out the door. There, where they had been standing a few moments before, the floor is red and smoking with molten slag and iron. The bleed-out ladle has blown up.

The hot-blast man says, "There must have been something wet in that damn ladle."

The helper looks at the floor where they had been standing. It is covered with a couple of inches of red stuff. He says, "A minute earlier and . . ."

They look at each other again and grin.

One of them makes a little better than a dollar an hour. The other gets less than ninety cents.

\* \* \*

The young Negro helper drops his shovel wearily and leans on the railing at the edge of the furnace floor. "I shouldn't have worked this double," he says. "I been feeling sick all last night. I should have gone home this morning and gone to bed instead of staying for a double. I worked sixteen hours every day for the last nine days!"

Sixteen hours a day for nine days in a row! You hear that, and it shocks you, shocks you so much you ask one of those stupid questions that make you feel like a fool as soon as you get the words out, because the answer is so obvious. You say, "Nine doubles in a row! Good god, man, you'll kill yourself that way. How can you do it?"

He looks at you, surprised at the question. "I got five kids, and my wife's sick," he says simply.

There's no answer to that one.

\* \* \*

October 14: "Starting a revolution — however necessary it may be — is one thing; to put on the brakes is another. This is being discovered by General de Gaulle, who is not revolutionary."

The growth and entrenchment of the workers' militias was obstructed not only by the direct sabotage of the reactionary de Gaulle elements but also by the false policies pursued by the Stalinist leaders.

The Communist Party had called for the formation in the factories of "Milices Ouvrières Patriotes" (Patriotic Workers' Militia), writes our Paris correspondent, and then he continues, "the Stalinists urged the workers to leave the factories and join the Maquis, where invar-

ably the workers were integrated under the leadership and control of ex-officers cadres."

"The Trotskyists, on the other hand, urged the workers to stick to their factories, which were their stronghold, and not allow themselves to be dispersed and thus lose their class coherence."

Rank-and-file members of the Communist Party rallied to the Trotskyist policy of building Factory Committees and Workers' Militias. In this way, the revolutionary movement began to assert its true class character. The Factory Committees, defended by the Workers' Militias, today stand athwart de Gaulle's efforts to consolidate his dictatorial rule. That is why he cannot rest until the workers are disarmed.

## An Invitation To New York Readers of THE MILITANT

Hear

Charles Jackson, MILITANT Columnist

Speak On

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NOTICE: No Forum will be held on Sunday, Nov. 5th

# THE MILITANT

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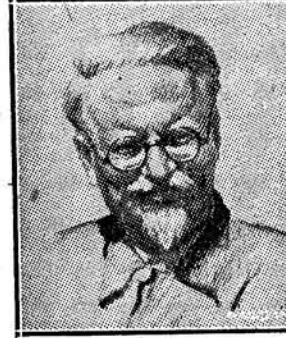
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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— 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.

## Bolshevism - 1944

On the eve of the 27th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution comes the inspiring news of the historic European conference of five Trotskyist parties held last February in France despite the Nazi terror.

The old event and the new, separated in time by nearly three decades, are inseparably bound together by their identity of aims and ideas and by the same historic world tasks which they serve. For the Fourth International is the inheritor and continuator of the traditions of Bolshevism, the program of socialist emancipation through the international proletarian revolution.

Even as the Bolshevik Revolution provided living proof of the power of the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, so the emergence of the Trotskyist movement within the darkest hell-holes of Europe, in the abominable colonial sinks of imperialism like India, testifies to the indestructibility of Bolshevism.

In the years of reaction, Trotsky endlessly repeated: "Correct ideas are indestructible." The strength of Trotskyism, its ability to survive, to influence ever greater numbers of the oppressed, lies in its correct ideas, derived from the scientific method of Marxism. The program and organization of Bolshevism, which 27 years ago wrested one-sixth of the earth from the exploitation of capitalism, landlordism and Czarism, retains all its viability today. No other program but the international socialist revolution offers a way out for the millions whose lives are being drained away by the death agony of world capitalism.

After five years of war in Europe, from which all the capitalist regimes, parties and social institutions have emerged crumbling and discredited, the parties of Trotskyism are alive and growing. Hounded and persecuted on all sides, the cadres of Trotskyism have fought on. The headsmen's axe and firing squads of Hitler, the murderous assaults of Stalinism, the jails and guns of "democratic" imperialism, have failed to halt their onward march.

Trotskyism represents no accidental or inci-

dental development. Long before the war began, the tiny cadres of Trotskyism existed throughout Europe and in the colonies. Years of arduous work and incalculable sacrifice, of which Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Bolshevik Revolution, was the prime inspirer, had entered into the building of these groupings. When the imperialist war spread its ghastly pall over the world, when Hitler turned all of Europe into a gigantic torture chamber, our comrades were armed with the greatest weapon of all, an invincible program. Isolated by the battle-lines of the imperialist war, deprived of the most elementary material resources, working in the shadow of terror and death, our cadres survived, cemented by a program that no power on earth can destroy.

Now after almost five years without direct news of the fate of these Trotskyist cadres, we learn with joy that in France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain, Belgium, India, the Trotskyist movement has lived on, has grown, and is preparing to enter the arena of world history as the leader of millions in revolutionary struggle toward the next great era of human progress. We are confident that tomorrow we shall learn, too, that in the Soviet Union, where the first forces of Trotskyism were formed 21 years ago and from whence no news has passed the totalitarian barrier of Stalinism in over 10 years, the forces of Trotskyism have been preserved and will play the leading role in linking the resurgent Soviet masses with the revolutionary European proletariat, and that together they will build a Socialist United States of Europe against the conspiracy of world capitalism and reactionary Stalinism.

In December 1938, only a few months before the outbreak of the second imperialist world war, Trotsky envisioned the future of the Fourth International, and its enemies, in the course of the impending war. "The Fourth International," he wrote, "will enter the next war as a tightly-welded unit, whose sections will be able to follow one and the same policy, irrespective of the boundaries and trenches dividing them. It is quite possible that at the beginning of the war, when the blind instinct of self-preservation combined with chauvinist propaganda will push the popular masses towards their governments, the sections of the Fourth International will find themselves isolated. They will know how to withstand nationalist hypnosis and the epidemic of patriotism.

"In the principles of internationalism, they will find a bulwark against the herd panic below, and the terror from above. They will view with contempt the oscillations and vacillations of philistine 'democracy.' On the other hand, they will listen closely to the most oppressed section of the population and to the army pouring out its blood. Each new day of war will work in our favor... a stormy reaction against the fumes of chauvinism will set in among the working masses. The first victims of this reaction, along with Fascism, will be the parties of the Second and Third Internationals. Their collapse will be the indispensable condition for an avowed revolutionary movement, which will find for its crystallization no axis other than the Fourth International. Its tempered cadres will lead the toilers to the great offensive."

The recent news of the Trotskyist movement from France, Italy and India—the judgment of living history—is already vindicating Trotsky's confident prediction.

## War And Democracy

In his recent speech before the Foreign Policy Association, President Roosevelt presented an outline of his "peace" plan. "The Council of the League of Nations, of the United Nations," he said, "must have the power to act quickly and decisively to keep the peace by force, if necessary... So to my simple mind, it is clear that, if the world organization is to have any reality at all, our American representative must be endowed in advance by the people themselves, by constitutional means through their representatives in Congress, with authority to act."

Stripped of embellishments, what this proposal means is that the American delegate to this proposed new "Council of the League of Nations" be given the power to plunge the country into war without prior consultation of the people or even the representatives in Congress.

Under the constitution, the power to declare war is vested in Congress—which is supposed to represent the "people." What Roosevelt now demands is that Congress abdicate this power by delegating "in advance" the authority to declare war to America's representative in the "League of Nations." In reality, and especially under the capitalist two-party system, Congress represents the interests of the capitalist class which constitutes only an insignificant minority of the people. But because the representatives in Congress are under more direct and immediate pressure from their constituents who are vitally concerned with the life and death questions of war and peace, Roosevelt aims to free the ruling capitalist class of the least restraint upon its war-making powers by eliminating the necessity of even bothering to consult Congress on future wars.

Roosevelt's "peace plan" is part of American imperialism's design to establish its domination over the world by crushing the revolts of the oppressed and exploited colonial peoples; by propping up reactionary landlord-capitalist regimes on American bayonets; by drowning the world working-class revolution in blood. He knows that the American people will never voluntarily agree to such a program of "peace by force" in the interest of exacting tribute for the vultures of Wall Street. That is why the chief executive of monopoly capitalism fears to submit the question of waging new wars to any kind of democratic decision.

# 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.

## Between Two Thieves

Editor:

I met a man on the street, and he and I got to talking about world-wide conditions. He and I seemed to agree on most everything we talked about, but there were a few things we just couldn't see alike.

At present we have three men trying to represent labor—I say trying, and that is the way it appears to me. These three are Hillman, Murray and Green. Instead of going out and working for an independent labor party, they go along with the bosses and try to make labor believe it is getting some place; but there are a few people who know different.

Voters are just like Christ on the cross. They are left to be crucified between two thieves. You can't go along with the Big Bosses and hope to get labor anything, and people who will stop to think will know that.

I like your paper, *The Militant*, very much. It is interesting, and gives a person new life, new hope, little of which can be found in the Associated Press. If the two old major parties have anything to offer, I would like to have someone name it. Both want to police the world, but they don't say whom they are intending to police. Do you think they will police the leaders who start wars? I don't think so. They intend to police the people and no one else.

F.L.B.  
Elkhart, Ind.

## S.I.U. Seamen Win On Bonus

Editor:

The threat of strike vote on Great Lakes ships under contract to the Seafarers' International Union (AFL) has forced shipowners to grant a substantial increase in "end of season" bonus rates and brought a denunciation from the Stalinist leadership of the National Maritime Union, who characterized the action as "irresponsible." The strike vote was cancelled when the shipowners agreed to compute the bonus according to total earnings.

The SIU has opposed the idea of seasonal bonus for seamen, but having this system imposed upon them by a W.L.B. ruling, they fought for everything the seamen are entitled to under it. After almost 40 years of battling successfully the shipowners' demands to impose the rotten and vicious "end of season" bonus upon our membership, the National War Labor Board shoved that bonus down our throats," said the *Great Lakes Seafarer*.

No sooner was the strike vote announced than Joseph Curran, NMU president, as reported in *NMU Pilot*, issued a call to all Great Lakes seamen "to keep 'em sailing for victory." He asserted that "the disruptive attempt to call a strike on the Great Lakes without proper use of the government agencies created for peaceful settlement, indicates an attempt to embarrass the administration during this election period."

Most of those preferring the Labor Party, however, did not vote for any of the other candidates—another indication of the trend of the times.

We suggest similar polls be taken elsewhere.

K.H.  
Chicago

## Stalinist Line

Editor:

Tonight, Robert Minor, National Vice-President of the Communist Political Association, spoke here on the problem of the Post-War World. I would like to report an incident which took place at this meeting.

The Stalinist leadership of the NMU, in this case as in all others, took occasion to prove its complete subservience to the present policies of the government maritime agencies.

The action of the SIU, which won more take-home pay for Great Lakes seamen this season, demonstrates what can be done to prevent chiseling on seamen's pay and working conditions.

Seaman  
Detroit

Something Rotten

Editor:

The first line of an old song goes "Man Wants But Little Here Below." If this is true, working men have ever had their wants most bountifully supplied.

Mr. Vinson and the W.L.B. in their recent action continuing the Little Steel formula regarding wages, apparently believe the above "quote" to be true.

According to an O.P.A. report, the steel industries are making profits nearly four hundred percent greater than before the war.

Something is rotten and it "ain't" all in Denmark.

R.H.M.  
Carbon, Ind.

M. Edison  
Los Angeles

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### Greece

Having moved armed forces into Greece, not in order to "liberate" the country from the Nazis, but with the aim of forestalling revolutionary action by the Greek masses, the British imperialists are now seeking to disarm the people in order that capitalism may be preserved and the investments of British bondholders protected.

As reported in *The Militant* of Oct. 21, British troops were landed in Greece, ostensibly to help "liberate" the country, despite the fact that the Greek masses had shown themselves fully capable of handling the Nazis themselves, alone and unaided.

Later events have made the true purposes of the British intervention still clearer. Hard on the heels of the first British troops came the exiled Greek government, headed by the social-democrat George Papandreu, and consisting of a "coalition" of the social-democratic, Stalinist and Liberal (Venizelist) party leaders. The first act of this reactionary outfit, created with the aid of the Churchill government, was to appoint a military governor for Athens, and his first act (Oct. 16) was to issue an order "calling on all civilians to hand over their arms to the police and warning them to refrain from further demonstrations."

The Nazis had retreated from the Athens area days previously, hastened on their way by the fighting Greeks organized in the E.L.A.S., which is the military arm of the Stalinist-dominated E.A.M. or National Liberation Front.

After the departure of the Nazis, the workers of Athens proceeded to settle accounts with the capitalist elements who had collaborated with the Nazi oppressors. As the British army and its political baggage (the government) arrived, the streets of the capital resounded with the "crack of rifle or machine-gun fire, interspersed with the oc-

casional explosion of a mortar shell." This, said a N. Y. Times reporter, was "part of the routine civil strife between the Communists, on the one hand, and those of various other political groups and individuals on the other."

The Papandreu government is the chosen instrument of the British imperialists against the Greek masses. Crowned by the hated monarch King George, and possessing no popular authority, it has been able to enter the country solely by the aid of British bayonets and the cover given to it by the Stalinists who still enjoy the support of the broad masses.

The interest of the British imperialists in this shadow regime, was revealed by the London correspondent of P. M. who reported last week that British bankers and bondholders "have a huge financial stake in the return to Greece of King George II."

This stake, he said was the \$100,000,000 Greek national debt, the bonds of which are held in London, and which up to the war yielded the extraordinarily high interest rate of 8.19 percent although the original price of the issues was from 25 to 30 percent below par. The security for this debt is the railroads and public utility enterprises of Greece which are heavily mortgaged to the British bondholders.

That is why British troops are in Greece. That is why Churchill insists on foisting the rotten monarchy on a rebellious people. If the British bondholders fear a "liberal, kingless government," they have much more reason to fear the revolutionary actions of the Greek masses who are exhibiting such firm determination not to return to the old way of life. The workers and peasants of tortured Greece will yet speak the last word.

Hungary

That regime of Admiral Nicholas Horthy, bloody dictator of Hungary since the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919, collapsed recently to the accompaniment of a general strike in Budapest, the capital. Horthy tried to surrender to the Allies to save his skin. He hoped to become the Badoglio of Hungary, as King Michael did in Rumania.

Now, as the P.M. correspondent wrote, the British bondholders "fear that a liberal, kingless government may demand conversion of the debt—a scaling down of the interest to less than half its current rate." Months ago, he continued, these bondholders "inspired" a British Foreign Office memorandum pre-

senting to the exiled Greek government, demanding that it continue to "safeguard the rights and securities at present enjoyed by Greek external loans, to protect the general interests of the bondholders, and to maintain unchanged the rights, privileges and conditions of service which have applied to the Greek Government loans since 1898."

Current reports tell of the awful plight of the Greek populace. Masses of the people are starved or semi-starved. There is grave food shortage verging on famine. There is no clothing. War has destroyed thousands of homes. "A grim winter lies ahead for the Greeks," says a N. Y. Times dispatch. No matter! — the imperialist Shylocks must get their pound of flesh.

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Business Week explains that these cases have been "filed away" because it is felt that "litigations would take valuable time of business executives engaged in the war effort." No sir, we can't expect the parasitic owners and financiers to lose "valuable time" from their strenuous "war effort" — frenzied financial manipulations and coupon-clipping.

Among the anti-trust suits "shelved" have been several against such corporations as Allied Chemical and Dye, General Electric and the notorious "Merchants of Death," E. I. duPont de Nemours. Their crimes run the gamut from restraint of trade and impeding production for the domestic market to the maintenance of international cartel agreements with the Nazis.

## Monopolies Exploit Means Of Both Life and Death

Modern science has opened the way to full health and physical well-being for the people. But the greatest discoveries of the research scientists—digitalis for heart ailments, sulpha drugs for a host of dread infections, insulin for diabetes, synthetic quinine for malaria, and the wonder vitamins which everyone is urged to take through endless advertisements—are all under the control of powerful private monopolies whose only interest is, to coin profits from these boons to mankind.

The anti-trust division of the Department of Justice last week revealed a typical case of how the big business interests use their control of vital drugs and medical products to batten on the desperate needs of the millions of physically afflicted. The Justice Department instituted suit before the Federal District Court of Chicago against the country's leading chemical and drug corporations for conspiracy to fix prices and limit production of Vitamin D products.

Among the illegal practices charged against the chemical and drug trust are prevention and suppression of competition and establishing a monopoly in the manufacture and sale of synthetic vitamin D and vitamin D products; fixing high monopoly prices on these products so that "persons most needing such products have been unable to purchase them;" limiting the quantity of vitamin D in food products to prevent competition with vitamin D pharmaceutical products.

Vitamin D is produced at a cost of less than 15 cents per million standard units. It is sold to wholesalers at prices between \$2.65 and \$7.70 per million units and has retailed as high as \$10.80. Among the corporations named in the conspiracy are duPont, Quaker Oats, Standard Brands, Gelatin Products, Borden Milk, Carnation Milk, Nestle's Milk Products, Vitamins, Inc., Abbott Laboratories, Mead Johnson and Co., Wm. S. Merrell Company, Parke, Davis and Co., E. R. Squibb, and Winthrop Chemical.

It is interesting to note that duPont, which has the largest war contracts for the manufacture of