

# 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-weary 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 rotten 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 hirelings 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

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. VIII—No. 45

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1944

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

## 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 provid-

ing 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 utterly 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

### 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."

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 counter-revolutionary dictatorship and to safeguard the rule of French capitalism, it has become imperative to crush these armed forces.

There is still another reason

(Continued on page 5)

## 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

steel wage dispute, the CIO could claim the "credit." If the formula was modified on the basis of an AFL demand for an upward revision, then the AFL could claim the "credit." This squabble over which group was to get the credit began immediately following the certification of the steel wage dispute to the WLB some ten months ago. On Feb. 9 the AFL members petitioned the board to ask Roosevelt to modify the Little Steel formula in line with the increase in the cost of living. The AFL petition to "ask" Roosevelt to abandon his wage-freezing Executive Orders was summarily rejected by the WLB which then proceeded to name a special six-man panel to decide the question of "procedure."

The procedure finally adopted

(Continued on page 2)

## 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 publishes 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); International 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. (International 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

(Continued on page 4)

## MASS MEETING PROTESTS DENIAL OF PARDON TO 18

NEW YORK, N. Y., Oct. 27—Several hundred workers and other defenders of civil liberties tonight jammed the Civil Rights Defense Committee's mass meeting at the Manhattan Center to protest against the recent denial of a presidential pardon to the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case victims and to give rousing welcome to Oscar Shoenfeld, Al Russel and Karl Kuehn in their first public appearances after almost 10 months' imprisonment at the Danbury, Conn. federal penitentiary.

A tremendous ovation was accorded the three guests of honor, who were released last week at the termination of their year-and-a-day sentences with time off for good behavior, as were Harry De Boer, Clarence Hamel and Edward Palmquist, who had been confined in the Sandstone, Minn. prison. Stormy applause greeted their vigorous appeals for a continuing nation-wide fight to free the 12 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis CIO truck-drivers leaders still behind prison bars and to win unconditional presidential pardons for the 18.

### WILL CONTINUE FIGHT

Speaking on behalf of all the framed-up Trotskyists, who were imprisoned by the Roosevelt administration because of their militant defense of labor's rights and their revolutionary socialist opposition to Wall Street's war, the three ex-prisoners expressed their determination to do all in their power to rally American labor against the blow at civil rights represented by their prosecution and imprisonment and to force repeal of the anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act under which they were convicted.

The three were joined in this pledge by James T. Farrell, one of America's greatest novelists and National Chairman of the CRDC; Theodore A. Jackson, Eastern Regional Director, AFL Dining Car Employees; and Roger Baldwin, National Director, American Civil Liberties Union. George Baldanzi, Executive Vice-President of the CIO Textile Workers Union of America; Thomas DeLorenzo, President of CIO United Automobile Workers; Brewster Aeronautical Local 365; and the editors of the New Leader and Socialist Call sent messages of solidarity to the meeting and pledged their continuing support of the CRDC campaign on behalf of the 18.

George Novack, CRDC National Secretary, who toured the country to rouse support for the 18 and who presented the demand of over 3,000,000 organized workers for presidential pardon of the 18 to the U. S. Pardon Authority, was chairman of the meeting. He opened with a review of the administration's conspiracy over three years to silence the voice of revolutionary socialism in this country and to intimidate all militant labor by the example of this persecution.

### AL RUSSEL SPEAKS

Al Russel made a ringing appeal on behalf of his 12 comrades still imprisoned. "My joy in being free again—in being back with my wife and new baby—with my comrades and friends, is tempered by the knowledge that 12 of my comrades remain behind prison bars, separated from their loved ones, their comrades, their friends, kept from the arena of struggle which is their very life. We are only one week removed from this. The recollection is fresh in our memories. We shall

never forget nor forgive this crime which has been done to us."

"Through our incarceration," he stated, "this danger to democratic rights (the Smith "Gag" Act) has been dramatized and made vivid to countless organized workers. It is unfortunate and unhappy that such methods of dramatization are employed. I assure you that it was not our idea. But the fact remains that millions of workers have learned about the injustice done us and have protested. We can be proud of this."

He concluded: "I want to say in the most personal sense that I

(Continued on page 3)

## DeBoer and Hamel Welcomed Home at Minneapolis Affair

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 22—In a spirit of solidarity with the victims of the famous Minneapolis Labor Case, over 100 friends and members of organized labor, both AFL and CIO, gathered at the Labor Lyceum tonight to celebrate the release of the six Socialist Workers Party members and trade union leaders from prison.

Honored guests at the Workers Defense League-sponsored buffet supper were Harry De Boer and Clarence Hamel, former organizers for Truckdrivers Union Local 544-CIO, who were released on Friday from Sandstone Federal Prison. Each spoke briefly in appreciation of the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. Edward Palmquist, also released on Friday from Sandstone, was unable to be present owing to a regulation specifying that he must report immediately to the parole officer in Seattle, Wash.

Miles Dunne, former president of Local 544, acting as Master

(Continued on page 3)

## 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-

(Continued on page 4)



TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

American trade union bureaucrats and Stalinist flunkies 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 OCF 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 angered 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.

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."

Spicer News reports that the 18 "were convicted under the notorious Smith 'Gag' Act which makes it a crime to express an opinion. 'Smith' is Howard Smith, the Virginia poll-taxer, who co-authored the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Bill."

After noting the action of the U. S. Supreme Court in three times refusing even to review the Minneapolis case, the Spicer paper quotes a speaker at the meeting: "In the Hartzel case the Supreme Court released two admitted Fascists convicted of spreading fascist propaganda. The Court declared that to imprison them was to abridge their freedom of speech. Obviously, then, it is lawful to spread fascism and race hatred but a Federal offense to speak out vigorously for the working-class. This case (Minneapolis) sets a dangerous precedent which may be used in the future against militant unionists."

No labor defense case of the past decade has won such widespread trade union support as the Minneapolis case. The support of hundreds of union bodies like Toledo Spicer has made this the No. 1 issue of labor's civil rights.

Knitgoods Workers Voice, organ of Knitgoods Workers Local 155, ILGWU-AFL, in New York City, published a letter to the local's members from Cpl. Jackie Golden in England. It is one of the best expressions of the attitude of good union men in uniform toward the struggles of the British workers and coming events in this country. We quote it for the benefit of our readers:

"You may have heard about some of the coal strikes in England, but if you saw their conditions of work you would understand why they go on strike. Workers are the same everywhere; English workers are not different from us. They want to live like decent human beings and so do we. We live better of course, because we have a more modern industrial system."

"I have been thinking a lot about post-war problems. Will we have jobs? Lots of us are worried about this. I know this. I want to return and thank the Union for fighting to improve conditions."

"I received the Knitgoods Workers' Voice today and I sure read it through and through. In the States I took it rather for granted, but somehow, here it struck me in a rather different manner. I liked the article 'Soldiers and Workers Must Stick Together' very much."

This genuine expression of views by one real worker in uniform is more revealing of the true state of mind of the soldier ranks than all the phony anti-labor propaganda claims put out by the brass hats.

L. Metcalfe Walling, Administrator under the Fair Labor Standards Act, issued a significant report last week showing what has happened to the standards of a large section of wage-earners while the big corporations have been raking in the biggest profits of their history.

"Considerably over 4,000,000 workers still are paid less than 40 cents an hour, less than \$16 for a 40 hour week. . . . Another 3,000,000 workers not in agriculture or domestic service made between 40 and 50 cents an hour, \$16-\$20 a week, and a further 3,500,000 get from 50 to 60 cents an hour, from \$20 to \$24 for a 40-hour week."

Roosevelt's wage-freeze, supported by the no-strike policy of the union bureaucrats, has condemned almost 11,000,000 workers to wartime incomes lower, in terms of present prices, than a former WPA relief worker's pay.

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 continued 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.

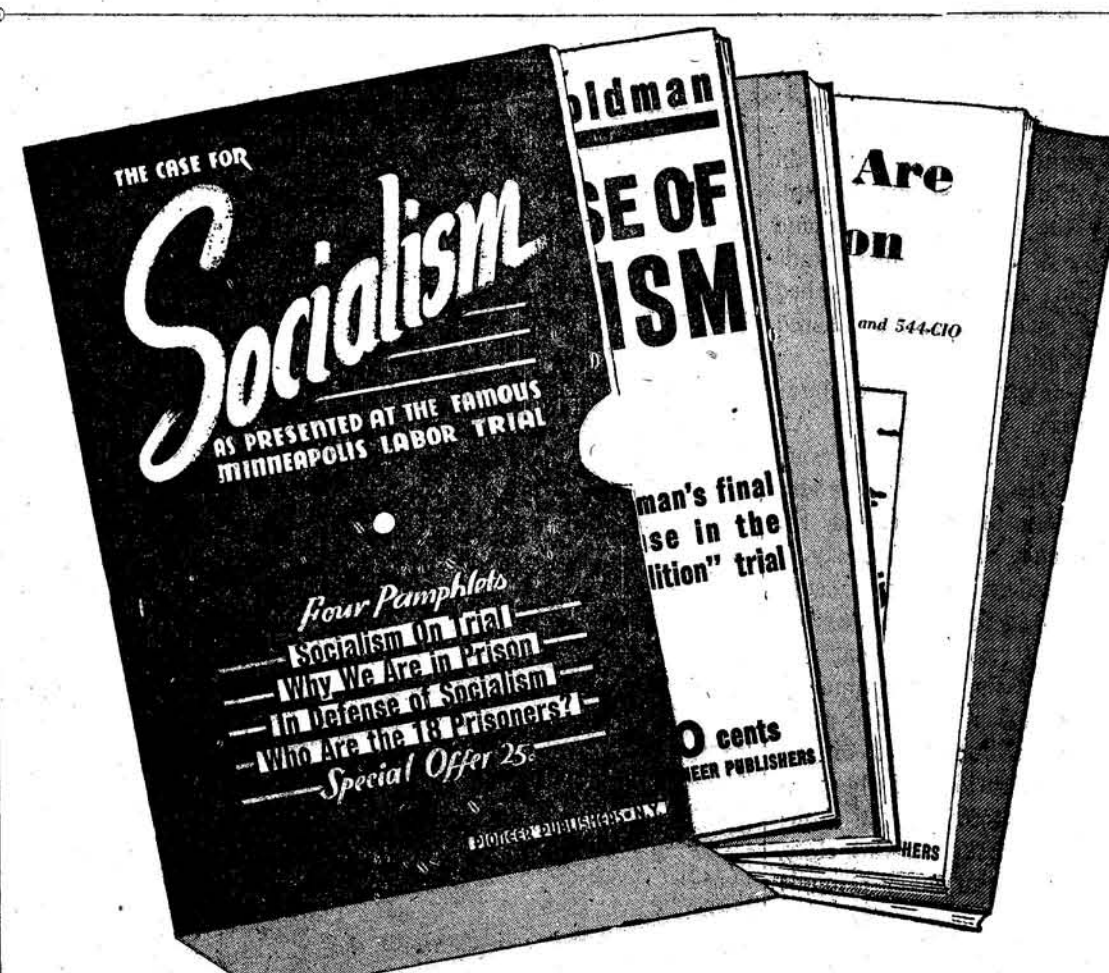
Los Angeles: The Los Angeles section has to date a total of 1316 pamphlets sold. This represents 88 percent of our quota: we have had an average of 72 percent returns on mobilizations to visit Militant readers, and in addition, 80 were sold at meetings: a Norman Thomas meeting, 60; South Side mass meeting, 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, 10 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       | 1000   | 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" on whether or not the Little Steel formula should be revised.

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 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 a general wage increase would have on prices. Therefore, it would "not include in its factual report to the President any recommendations for action one way or the other with regard to the Little Steel formula." This decision brought the whole business back to where it started some ten months ago. When the WLB decision was made the labor bureaucrats on the board, simulating an air of outraged innocence, declared that they would appeal over the heads of the WLB directly to their "friend" in the White House.

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.

The latest maneuver in this game is the refusal of the AFL members to participate in the "discussion" on the steel wage case which has been ordered by the WLB. This refusal has been interpreted as a "threat" to withdraw from the board. The New 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 slyster 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 peep from the labor "statesmen." All of this they have swallowed without gagging, but they now choke on the gnaw of "personal" prestige.

The workers should put an end to this farce by demanding that ALL labor members resign from the wage-freezing, union-wrecking War Labor Board. Only by retaining their independence of action can the unions put an end to the freezing of wages in the face of the constantly rising cost of living.

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. Hodgkin of the military police and Lieutenant D. D. Hughes of the Navy's shore patrol.

"In his talk to the men," reported the N. Y. Times, "Major Hodgkin 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.

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 slyster 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 peep from the labor "statesmen." All of this they have swallowed without gagging, but they now choke on the gnaw of "personal" prestige.

The workers should put an end to this farce by demanding that ALL labor members resign from the wage-freezing, union-wrecking War Labor Board. Only by retaining their independence of action can the unions put an end to the freezing of wages in the face of the constantly rising cost of living.

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

THE MILITANT

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Published in the interests of the Working People  
The only newspaper in this country that tells the truth  
about labor's struggles for a better world

You may start my subscription to THE MILITANT with your  
INTRODUCTORY OFFER of 18 issues for 25c.  
I enclose 25c (coin or stamps).

Name .....  
(Please Print)  
Street ..... Apt. ....  
City ..... Zone .....  
State .....

New Branch Hall  
Opened In Akron

AKRON — To celebrate the opening of a headquarters in Akron, the Youngstown, Cleveland and Akron branches of the Socialist Workers Party held a joint meeting and social affair Sunday, October 22. The new headquarters is centrally located in the heart of the downtown area.

The meeting was featured by an educational talk by Comrade Allen of Youngstown who spoke on the question of party organization. Following the discussion a buffet supper was served, and pictures of Leon Trotsky and James P. Cannon were auctioned off by the Akron branch to raise funds for the new headquarters.

The headquarters, newly decorated, includes a meeting hall and an outer office. The hall will accommodate fifty to sixty people

Correspondence from readers of The Militant expresses a sincere desire to help introduce the paper to an ever-widening circle of workers. We quote excerpts.

New Haven: "As a subscriber to The Militant myself, I managed to get two 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."

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 following seven people. All are officers of our union Organizing Committee. Have you any subscriptions here in Cincinnati besides mine? Maybe the question isn't fair, but if anyone writes in asking the same question, don't forget to include my name. Many, many thanks and hopes for the class struggle."

Topeka: "As one who took an introductory subscription and who plans to become a regular subscriber, I am going to ask you to 'promote my education' just a little. The Militant regularly refers to 'Stalinist sheets' and 'Communist sheets.' Being a person who is unfamiliar with all these cross current of thought, I

am asking you to give me the names and addresses of some of these 'sheets'. . . I am thoroughly enjoying reading The Militant. I shall continue to read it. It is wholesome and instructive."

Philadelphia: "I enclose herewith 25 cents in stamps, for which you may start my subscription to The Militant with your introductory offer of 13 issues. I have been a reader of this militant paper for over a year, having continuously purchased it at a local newsstand, which incidentally is the only stand I know of in Philadelphia that handles it."

The above letter was followed by another: "Since your letter stated that you hope in the not too distant future to have The Militant on more newsstands here in our city, I would like to offer a suggestion, inasmuch as I have lived in this town all my life. I think the newsstands to contact would be those at main intersections of the various important business and transportation exchange sections of this city." He suggests many good newsstands and ends his letter: "If you are in need of a more complete survey along these lines, let me know and I can probably assist in the circulation."

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 available 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."





# N. Y. Mass Meeting Protests Denial Of Pardon

(Continued from page 1)

have not come here tonight simply to accept your kind welcome—heart-warming as it is. Nor did I come only to express my thanks and gratitude for your splendid and generous efforts on our behalf. I return to add my voice and my strength to yours. Twelve are left behind. We shall continue the struggle to free them and in our struggle they shall be vindicated."

## PRAISE FOR CRDC

In simple and moving words, Karl Kuehn expressed the gratitude of the 18 and their families for the aid given them by the CRDC and the hundreds of labor and progressive organizations which joined the campaign. "Most of us 18 have families or at least dependents. I want to tell you straight that it would have been difficult, much more difficult, than it was to maintain our morale, our smiles, our equanimity, or maybe even our confidence in the righteousness of our cause, had we not known that our dear ones were fed and provided for as you have so generously done, or had you folks been less willing to publicize the issues at stake."

"Speaking for my family and from my heart, and certainly also for the others in this case who are not yet free to tell you directly, I thank you sincerely for the financial and moral support you have given us. You have done a very fine job. And that is encouraging because above all it warrants the expectation that you will continue and go further. How necessary that is will be told you by others here tonight. I merely want to pledge to you my full assistance in whatever way I can best serve in your program. I shall feel honored to take part with you in tasks that lie ahead. Again, thank you—and carry on!"

Oscar Shoenfeld spoke of the significance of the tremendous support given the 18 and the important tasks ahead. "You took our place and continued the fight for the cause for which we went to jail. If you hadn't, if you had ignored this case, our going would have been nothing but tragedy. But you moved millions to protest and our time wasn't wasted."

## BACKING OF WORKERS

"It is heartening that millions of workers in all organizations, CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods, have supported our case. They have supported this case because they knew what was at stake, the right of the unions, the organized workers, to organize, to speak out, to defend themselves, to fight militantly for the interests of labor. Workers will now be more alert and ready to fight against future frame-ups of this kind. It's going to be a lot more difficult for those in high office to perpetrate frame-ups in the future."

Describing his still imprisoned comrades as people "whose lives are incorporated in the whole struggle of the workers for a decent world," Shoenfeld stated, "we will not be content until we can stand on the same public platform with them. We dedicate ourselves to doing everything we can to make that day come sooner and to prevent such injustices in the future."

In his address opening the meeting, CRDC National Secretary Novack charged that the recent denial of a presidential pardon to the 18 "was the climax in the many severe blows dealt to civil liberties in this important labor case, the latest step in a conspiracy which has railroaded 18 innocent working people to

prison in violation of their constitutional rights of free speech, in defiance of all the democratic traditions."

Reciting and demolishing the various reasons advanced by Roosevelt's Pardon Attorney for refusing to submit a pardon recommendation to the president, Novack called them a "shameful, deceitful, evasive denial of justice, tricked out with hollow pretenses, hiding behind technicalities, ignoring the basic questions of civil liberties and democratic rights involved."

"We intend to demand that the President take personal cognizance of the extraordinary circumstances in this case, and, regardless of recommendations from his subordinates, exercise his own administration has perpetrated. We shall intensify our agitation and educational work against the Smith 'Gag' Act until that vicious instrument of legal oppression is wiped off the statute books."

James T. Farrell, in a brief talk, made a scathing indictment of the system of class justice under the Roosevelt government. He described how the government had been presented to him in school and college. "But since I left college I found that the government is based on class rule, on injustice, on class power. But the last lesson I learned was from the Minneapolis case. I found out what all the talk about our system of 'checks and balances' really meant. The 'checks' mean to check the left and put them in jail; the 'balances' mean to balance this off by protecting the reactionaries and keeping them out of jail."

## LASHES LIBERALS

He lashed at many of the liberals who have prided themselves as followers of the "clear and present danger" doctrine of the late Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, but who have kept virtual silence about the violation of this principle in the Minneapolis Labor Case. "We must draw the lessons from this case. We must continue a steady, consistent fight for repeal of the Smith 'Gag' Act. Our main duty is to concentrate on the Smith 'Gag' Act and do everything in our power to try and smash it."

Theodore A. Jackson, an outstanding Negro labor leader, made a powerful talk that brought home to the responsive audience the full meaning of the Minneapolis Labor Case for the union movement and the rights of minorities like the Negro people. Speaking as the representative of 14 locals in his region, and as the president of the largest local in New York City, Jackson declared: "We know what it is to fight for our constitutional rights. The question of the unfair trial given the Minneapolis prisoners has been a vital topic of discussion among us. We believe that the whole labor movement should be interested in the fight to win their pardon. We know this is a fight to keep other labor leaders from prison, a fight to save the entire labor movement."

He stated that since the passage of the Smith 'Gag' Act, the reactionaries in state after state have followed through with new laws curtailing the rights of unions. "You people and the CRDC have helped to inspire the labor movement against these attacks on labor's rights." He then recited case after case from his own union where the bosses and government have attempted to frame militant workers. "I want to assure you that when we

## Released Minneapolis Prisoners Honored



Scene at the homecoming dinner held at the Labor Lyceum, Minneapolis, in honor of two of the Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners after their release from Sandstone penitentiary. Left to right: Mrs. Max Geldman, wife of one of the 12 still in prison; Clarence Hamel, speaking; Mrs. Hamel; Miles Dunne; Mrs. Harry DeBoer (behind flowers); Harry DeBoer; and Mrs. Miles Dunne.

fight and protest against the type of trial held in Minneapolis and the types our union is fighting, we are fighting to maintain the union movement and prevent the return of the open shop. I'm glad to be on the platform with these CIO members. When we get together, the ranks of the AFL and CIO, maybe we won't have such men as Tobin (AFL Teamsters President, on whose request Roosevelt initiated the Minneapolis prosecution) to engineer such frameups as was put on these boys here."

Roger Baldwin, who was introduced as the country's outstanding liberal defender of civil rights "who has stood shoulder to shoulder with us from the start of the case," expressed his unqualified admiration for the defense of the 18 conducted by the CRDC. "This has been the worst case in years and the best defense I have seen in a long time. The CRDC has done a magnificent piece of work. I don't know of a better job that has been done with such slim resources, by such a small group, in such an atmosphere of hostility and pressure, particularly during wartime."

He warned that you "cannot destroy the rights of one section of the labor movement without destroying the rights of all labor," and declared that Tobin and the Stalinists and other reactionaries within the labor movement would learn this one day to their own peril. "But that your strength, small as it is, could rally such tremendous support means that we're going to get this infamous Smith law off the books."

He charged that the only "crime" of the 18 was that "they are 'guilty' of having 'wrong ideas.'" But, he pointed out, "can you believe that in the world we live in today there is not going to be an expanding internationalist movement of the workers and producers. That's why it is so important to get this statute off the books."

At the termination of the meeting the assembled workers gave a material token of their support by contributing \$210 to provide prisoners' relief to the 12 still behind bars and by unanimously adopting a resolution calling on Roosevelt to "heed the voice of over 3,500,000 workers" and grant immediate pardon to the 18.

## OCTOBER F. I. FEATURES FRANCE, INDIA ARTICLES

The October issue of *Fourth International*, now on sale, is of historic importance for every worker and student of political affairs. An eye-witness account of the August uprising in France, giving information never before published, and a comprehensive section on India containing economic and political analyses by the Indian Trotskyists, throw a Marxist light on great events which have hitherto been distorted by imperialist censorship.

"The Real Situation in France," described by a Trotskyist in Paris during the uprising, clarifies the class meaning of the factory committees, housewives' committees, and purging committees formed in the struggle. The author describes the composition of the FFI, the role of the Stalinists, and the contradictions facing de Gaulle. Commenting that "in such fluid conditions as existed in Paris . . . a small body with a correct orientation can definitely contribute to the development of the situation," the correspondent proceeds to a study of Trotskyist perspectives.

"Trotskyism in India" includes the theses of the Political Committee of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India and Ceylon, a comprehensive analysis of the role of the peasantry, the town middle class, the working class, and the native bourgeoisie, in the economic and political structure of India.

"Gandhi on the Road to Betrayal," a proclamation issued by the Indian section of the Fourth International, exposes the manner in which "Gandhi's present abject terms will be reduced further." In "The August 1942 Struggle," the Indian Trotskyists describe the mass uprising which followed the arrest of the Congress leaders and explain the reason for the collapse of the protest movement. "The Famine in India" gives, for the first time in the American press, the astounding figures on government inflation of Indian currency, a basic cause of the devastating famine which cost six million lives in Bengal alone in 1943.

Art Preis, reviewing the "CIO Auto Workers Convention," cites the struggle against the no-strike pledge as indication of a new wave of militancy which will sweep the American labor movement as it strives to solve its problems.

Under "The Month in Review," the editors discuss the Kremlin's counter-revolutionary rôle in Eastern Europe. "War and the International," a translation of sections of a pamphlet written by Leon Trotsky in 1914, appears in the Arsenal of Marxism.

Single copies may be obtained for 20c, yearly subscription \$2, by writing to Business Manager, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

NOVEMBER 3, 1934

NEW YORK—Charging that threats against the lives of anti-fascist Italian editors in New York were instigated by Generoso Pope, notorious supporter of Mussolini, Carlo Tresca declared in his anarchist weekly *Il Martello*: "An attempt is being made by Generoso Pope in this city to exercise censorship over the Italian-language press by means of gangsters. An attempt is being made to inaugurate in the Italian colony in the United States the same political regime in the press as prevails today in Mussolini's Italy."

MINNEAPOLIS—Frustrated in their moves to break the militancy and solidarity of Teamsters' Local 574-AFL, which had won its demands by a series of great strikes, the Minneapolis bosses turned to vigilante tactics in a new effort to terrorize the working class. On Tuesday, October 16, between midnight and dawn, several carloads of night-riders raided the Stalinist bookstore in Minneapolis, seizing books and pamphlets to make a public bonfire; the vigilantes also stole the cash in the register, about \$5. Warning the workers of Minneapolis that the attack on the Stalinists would be only the first of a series of raids unless the workers themselves prevented it, the Organizer, weekly organ of the Teamsters' Union, declared: "Today they will strike at the Communists—tomorrow it will be the Socialists—the next day the trade union halls. If they think they can get away with it, these vigilantes would like to terrorize every worker, every liberal-minded person in the city." Said *The Militant*: "It is the duty of every worker in Minneapolis to band together with his fellow workers and present a united front to the bosses and their vigilantes. . . . An injury to one is the concern of all! Form workers' vigilance committees! If necessary, raid the raiders!"

NEW YORK—The Militant announced November 30 as the date set for the fusion convention of the Communist League of America (Trotskyist) and the American Workers Party (Musteite). In a three-day conference, the two parties planned to unite for the formation of a new revolutionary Marxist party, rooted in the American labor movement.

In Detroit  
BUY

THE MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
at

THE SATURDAY BOOKSHOP  
3513 Woodward Avenue

## DeBoer, Hamel Honored At Minneapolis Dinner

(Continued from page 1)

of Ceremonies, introduced the speakers of the evening. "In the fight for the freedom of the 18, the CRDC has conducted a wonderful struggle," he declared. "This case has attracted nationwide attention comparable only to the Mooney case . . . these people are victims of one of the worst frame-ups of history," he added, referring to the recent denial of a presidential pardon for the 18.

Speaking for the wives of the Minneapolis Case prisoners was Evelyn De Boer, who expressed appreciation of the good work of the CRDC. "I don't think I have

to tell any of you what a happy occasion this is for us," she said, "but there is still sadness in our hearts for the remaining 12." Goldy Geldman, wife of Max Geldman, one of the prisoners still incarcerated at Sandstone, spoke of the evening as "a dress rehearsal which will be completed when the others come home." In a stirring appeal for funds to continue the defense work, she stated, "The crime of our 18 is that they have devoted themselves to the greatest service of mankind, that of the brotherhood of man." Responding generously, friends present donated \$229.19.

During the evening's program, presentation of purses of \$100 to

the released men from the CRDC was made by Arthur Sternberg, chairman of the Twin Cities Workers Defense League, which has been carrying on the local work of the CRDC. Messages from Edward Palmquist and his wife, Rose, and from Grace Carlson, only woman among the 18, who is now serving a term at the Alderson, W. Va. Women's Reformatory, were read. A telegram was sent by the meeting to the three released Friday, from Danbury, Conn., Karl Kuehn, Alfred Russel, and Oscar Shoenfeld, in response to their wired greeting to the three here.

Singing of "Solidarity Forever" concluded the meeting.

## STALIN VIEWS FUTURE OF SOVIET ECONOMY AS ONE OF PERPETUAL INFERIORITY TO CAPITALISM

By Ralph Graham

Post-war economic prospects in the Soviet Union, if the Stalinist bureaucracy is permitted to remain in power, are as bleak and dismal as those already foreshadowed for the rest of the world if capitalism is permitted to survive.

Testimony to this effect came from Joseph Stalin himself in the interview given recently in Moscow to Eric A. Johnston, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, who reported some of "the intimate highlights" of his talk with the Kremlin boss in the October *Reader's Digest*.

### ADMIRE CAPITALISM

Stalin's statements to the representative of American Big Business reveal very pointedly his lack of faith in the power and viability of the Soviet economy under his regime of bureaucratic command. In them one finds not a trace of socialist thought. There is only a slavish admiration for American capitalism and a desire to live at peace with the capitalist world.

The Soviet Union, Stalin told Johnston, would like to get long-term credits from the U. S. in order to purchase industrial and other equipment for restoration of the war-torn economy and continuation of the economic development begun under the Five-Year Plans.

"If we send you quantities of all types of equipment on long-term credits," Johnston asked, "how long will it take you to complete your program of industrialization?"

To which Stalin replied: "Such a program will never terminate. Our country is so vast, our requirements are so great and our development so meager, I can foresee no time when we will have enough of anything."

### THE LIES OF YESTERDAY

It was only a few years ago that Stalin announced to the world the "final and irrevocable victory of socialism" in the Soviet Union. The Soviet economy, we were told, had been developed to a point at which it had become self-sufficient. Economically, the Soviet Union had become independent of the capitalist world.

These claims were trumpeted abroad by the Kremlin and given wide currency by the Stalinists in all countries. The Trotskyists who countered with the true facts and showed that the Soviet economy was far behind that of the leading capitalist countries were denounced and vilified.

Socialism means abundance. Without abundance there can be no socialism. Stalin now admits that his "socialism" was "meager"—which means, as the Trotskyists pointed out, that there was no socialism at all.

### PREVIEW OF TOMORROW

Stalin himself now refutes his own former fantasies. His admission of the meagerness of Soviet economic development is important, however, because of its bearing on the future of the Soviet Union under Stalinism. The Kremlin boss envisages more meagerness of the same kind. He holds out no hope to the Soviet masses that their material wants will be satisfied in the foreseeable future. Gone is all the Five-Year Plan talk about the Soviet Union, alone and unaided, "catching up with and outstripping" the great capitalist countries. Stalin now sets much more modest goals and even these are made contingent upon aid from abroad.

Johnston was greatly interested in Soviet steel production. "What was your production before the war? What is it now? What will it be in the future? When will it be self-sufficient?"

Stalin replied: "Before the war, it was about 22 million tons. But much of it (steel-producing equipment) has been destroyed by the Nazis. This year it may be 12 million tons. After the war, it

### Lest We Forget!

At the banquet Stalin gave for Churchill in Moscow about a week ago, the leading spokesman for British imperialism delivered a speech in which he gave full credit to the Red Army for "clawing the guts out of the Nazi beast."

There was a day, not long ago, when Churchill thought quite differently of the "Nazi beast." In a speech in 1938 he said: "I have always said that if Great Britain were defeated in a war, I hoped that we should find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful position among the nations. The story of Hitler's struggle cannot be read without admiration for the courage, the perseverance, and the vital force which enabled him to challenge, defy, conciliate, or overcome all the authorities or resistance which barred his path."

must be increased to 60 million tons."

Thus, accepting Stalin's figures, we find that Soviet steel production, at its highest level, was barely one-third of America's pre-war steel production of 68 million tons, while the present Soviet production of 12 million tons is little more than one-tenth the present American production of more than 100 million tons.

### PLANS FOR STEEL

The meagerness of the "socialism" of the Five-Year Plans is all too apparent. But does Stalin now contemplate a grandiose expansion of the economy which alone can assure a state of material well-being for the Soviet masses? No, in steel, the very basis of the economy, he sets a production figure which is below the pre-war level of American steel production—60 million tons! And for this meager goal he establishes no time limit. It may be realized in five, ten, twenty years, or never.

### BUREAUCRATIC PESSIMISM

It is plain that the spurious bureaucratic optimism of the Five-Year Plan period has given way to a dull pessimism. Having turned his back on revolution and

committed the Soviet Union to policies which contemplate its eternal isolation in a world of capitalism, Stalin can view the economic future of the country only in terms of inferiority to capitalism.

Naturally, the Kremlin boss "can foresee no time when we will have enough of anything." By that, of course, he means that the Soviet masses will never have enough, for Stalin himself, as Johnston shows, lives in lavish comfort like an Oriental potentate while the Soviet bureaucracy gets the juiciest steaks, the best houses and apartments, the amenities of the rest houses and sanatoriums.

Stalin is now obliged to discard the fantastic economic myths of the pre-war years and to admit, in effect, that the corrupt rule of the bureaucracy, which he personifies, not only failed to produce "socialism in one country," but prevented even the creation of efficiently operating factory units. He told Johnston that "even the factories that are now in operation have to be modified because much that was done previously, we find, was done poorly."

### CHANGE IS COMING

The blighting hand of the greedy bureaucracy distorted the economic life of the Soviet Union and strangled the great inherent possibilities of the nationalized industry which the Bolshevik Revolution had freed from the incubus of capitalism. As a result, want and distress became the lot of the masses while the bureaucrats waxed fat and prosperous. But the situation in the Soviet Union will soon change. Removal of the Stalin regime is a prime condition for the revival and advance of the country. The Soviet workers, having rescued the remaining gains of the Bolshevik Revolution from the bloody talons of German imperialism, will not be content with a life in which they will never have "enough of anything" while the Stalinist bureaucracy enjoys an abundance of everything.

Having tested their power in battle against a vicious imperialist foe, they have acquired a new self-confidence, a renewed independent fighting spirit. They will not much longer submit to the rule of the Stalinist bureaucratic usurpers. In union with the revolutionary masses beyond the Soviet borders they will rise and liquidate the rotten Kremlin gang. They will rebuild the Soviet Union as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.

## Celebrate the 27th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution With the New York Trotskyists

HONOR

LENIN and TROTSKY: Leaders of the Great October Revolution

FEATURING

### 'Czar to Lenin'

Newsreel Film of the Russian Revolution

Speakers:

E. R. Frank  
Eloise Black

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 8 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA

IRVING PLACE and 15th STREET  
(one block from Union Square)

ADMISSION 50 CENTS

Auspices:

Militant Publishing Ass'n - Socialist Workers Party - N.Y. Local

SEE

Lenin  
Trotsky  
Czar Nicholas II  
Woodrow Wilson  
Lloyd George  
Premier Orlando  
Clemenceau  
Kaiser Wilhelm  
Kerensky  
Kolchak  
Stalin  
Bucharin  
Zinoviev  
Kamenev  
Clara Zetkin  
Bill Haywood  
John Reed  
FILMED IN HISTORIC ACTION!

EVERY READER OF THIS PAPER CAN

## Aid Labor's 18

POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

BY CONTRIBUTING ONE DOLLAR

JAMES T. FARRELL, Chairman

CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

160 Fifth Avenue, New York City 10, N. Y.

I am clipping this ad and sending it to you with my dollar for the Minneapolis Prisoners Pardon and Relief Fund.

Name .....

Address .....

City and State .....



## THE FIGHT TO FREE THE COLONIES

### A Letter And A 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 see that we must make common cause with the Puerto Ricans and all other subject and exploited peoples. (Read Pearl Buck's "Freedom for All," written three years ago.) Imperialism and war are sinister Siamese twins, and we shall not rest until there is achieved a world federation of free peoples. Meanwhile we Americans, so proud of ourselves as champions of freedom, had better wake up to the fact that Churchill offers more to India than the bill recently commented by the President to the House Committee on Insular Affairs offers to Puerto Rico.

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

### Editor's Reply

We are glad that Pearl Buck has spoken up for Puerto Rican independence and we willingly correct our erroneous assertion that she had not done so. To speak up for the oppressed masses of the colonies and to support their just demand for independence does Miss Buck honor and entitles her to credit.

But speaking up is not enough. We shall regard her efforts with complete seriousness only when she ceases giving support to the American imperialist government and the war which it is conducting to make the world safe for Wall Street. Anyone who supports the government and its predatory war is helping, regardless of good intentions to the contrary, to perpetuate the enslavement of Puerto Rico and all other colonies of the imperialist powers.

As for the India League of America, we shall begin to take it seriously when it disavows the Gandhist policy of going cap 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 unremitting 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.

## EUROPEAN TROTSKYISTS IN 6-DAY CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 1)

the documents adopted by the European Conference. The unified French Party publishes "La Verite," of which 70 clandestine issues have appeared since 1940. Since the unification, 15,000 copies of each issue are produced. The French Party is now preparing the first legal number of "La Verite" which will appear in a few days' time.

The Belgian Party publishes "Lenin's Voice" in French, in 10,000 copies, and "The Class Struggle" in Flemish, in 7,000 copies per issue.

The Greek Party publishes "The Proletarian" and a magazine, "Fourth International."

The German group in France published a printed paper, "Arbeiter und Soldat" ("Worker and Soldier"). The Spanish group, the magazine "Comunismo."

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

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.

September 15, 1944

## 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 slogans 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

## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

### Table of Contents

FOR OCTOBER, 1944

THE MONTH IN REVIEW ..... by The Editors  
The Kremlin's Counter-Revolutionary Role in Eastern Europe.

The Real Situation in France ... by Our Paris Correspondent

The CIO Auto Workers Convention ..... by Art Preis

TROTSKYISM IN INDIA

The Present Political Situation in India (Theses of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India)  
Gandhi on the Road to Betrayal

The August 1942 Struggle ..... by Rupsingh  
The Food Crisis ..... by S. Krishna Menon  
War and the Food Crisis ..... by J. K. L.

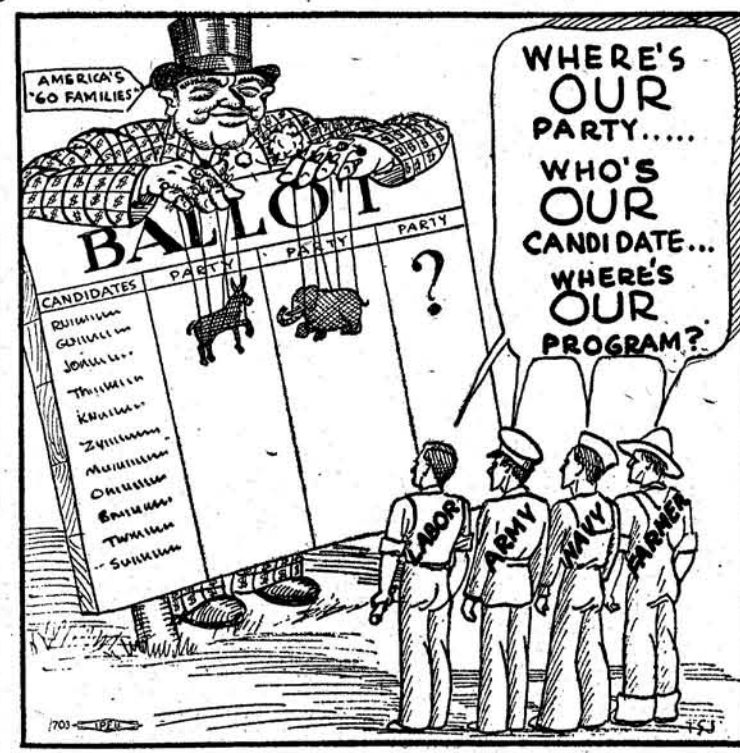
FROM THE ARSENAL OF MARXISM

War and the International ..... by Leon Trotsky

20c a copy - \$2 for a yearly subscription

Order from Business Manager

116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.



ownership of the means of production together with the bourgeois state 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—not 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 confederates.

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, repudiates the convention vote of the Local 174 delegates, a majority of whom voted against scrapping the no-strike policy.

LOS ANGELES

### Bookshop

8026 SEVILLE AVENUE  
SOUTH GATE  
Carries a Full Line of  
Pioneer Publishers Works  
and  
All Marxist Classics



By V. Grey

"How are you going to vote, Slim? Going to vote for the apple sellers to come back?"

"Not this boy. But how are you voting, John? For a W.P.A. job at 13.20 per week?"

And the annual November argument is on again. The argument over which candidate isn't as bad as the other. It's more interesting this year, though, on account of the boys worrying about that 17 cent raise. Some of them think Roosevelt is going to give it to us. And all of them know Dewey won't give it. You don't hear anyone raving very loud about the virtues of either candidate.

"Well, the Republicans won't give you any relief money in the depression after the war."

"Yeah, but the Republicans have all the dough—they own the factories. They'll give you a job. That's a damned sight better than relief."

"What about Hoover? The only job I ever got when he was in was a man-a-block plan job. A dollar and a half a week, chum."

Sounds as though Roosevelt isn't as bad as Hoover. But all the fellows mean is that times have never been so tough as they were in 1932. A lot of people figure that some individual leader can make prosperity like a miracle man, or depressions like a bogey man.

"But why doesn't Roosevelt give us the raise? We have it coming. We proved it, didn't we? He's supposed to be our friend, isn't he?—How come?"

### THE PIECARD'S EXPLANATION

The local porkchop-and-piecard man from Murray's office explained it this way, "You see, Roosevelt can't give us the raise before election, because then people would say he bought the steelworkers' vote. You wouldn't want them to say that, would you?"

Poor Roosevelt! People say so many nasty things about him. But Murray and his lads are going to protect him from this cruel world. They won't let us sell our votes for a lousy 17 cents raise—no sir! They want us to give them away.

"I guess people have sold their votes for an awful lot less than that, one time or another," opined Slim.

"They call me Honest Alfred"—(that's Shorty's real name that no one ever uses)—"but they can buy my vote. Just give me a 17 cent raise and a guaranteed weekly wage for the year, like the new contract demands. That's all. Let them show me how they're going to do it, and they can have my vote on a silver platter."

"You can put your vote back in your pocket, bud. They're not going to get excited over a little thing like a living wage for a steelworker."

They'd get excited all right if we were to start some real action to get these demands. But Shorty has a pretty good idea about voting, at that. Instead of voting for the \$13.20 a week that these capitalist politicians were forced to pay us five or ten years ago, he wants to know just what they're going to do now, and what they're going to do in the next depression. He wants their program. A little proof. In other words he's from Missouri. But like the fellow says, "You can put your vote in your back pocket" as far as Republicans and Democrats are concerned, when it comes to a workingman's program. The program these capitalists are for is the 20 percent payroll tax, still higher taxes for the workers, and lower wages. Still lower taxes for the corporations and higher prices.

### ROLE OF BOSS POLITICIANS

Naturally they don't put those demands in their printed platform. But those are the main things, all the same. Both Democratic and Republican politicians are tools of Big Business. And they're not going to help the working people one bit for all their talk. They're just put there to figure out clever ways for keeping us 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.

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 their salaries directly out of the public treasury, and get nice side money from their real bosses, the capitalist class.

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—a 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.

### NEWARK

CELEBRATE THE 27th ANNIVERSARY OF THE

### October Revolution

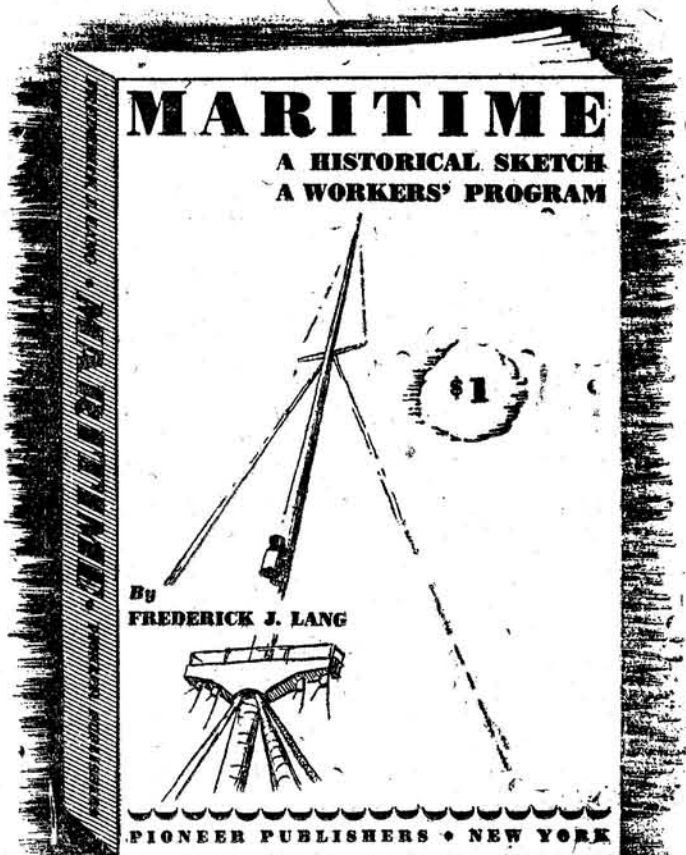
Friday, Nov. 10, 8:30 P. M.

"THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND ITS MEANING TODAY"

Speaker: MARK BRADEN

Progressive Workers' School

423 Springfield Avenue, Newark





## The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

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

Just because the Negro worker today is a 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

Local 208, UAW-CIO had arranged to house their delegates at this hotel. The Local had received written confirmation from the manager agreeing to house the entire delegation. The white delegates arrived first and were housed. Later, when the Negro members of the delegation arrived, they were refused accommodations. The following resolution was submitted to the convention and unanimously endorsed: "That the hotel be criminally prosecuted and that until these issues are resolved in favor of CIO policy, the Hotel Cody be placed on the unfair list." Similar action was initiated last week by the UAW-CIO against the Webster Hall Hotel in Detroit.

The Philadelphia committee, the Industrial Union Council, which was only appointed in April, reports successful cases involving discrimination in upgrading Negro workers in the steel industry in the Philadelphia area. One was a job never yet held by a Negro. In the industrial cases, the Committee for Abolishing Racial Discrimination has been working in close collaboration with the FEPC.

The CIO has come out flatly for integrated housing in the federal projects and has put up many successful fights against the housing authorities for increased facilities for minority groups. Its continuous efforts, which reflected the politically advanced workers of industrial Detroit, finally broke down the reactionary government policy of denying Negro workers admittance to the many vacant units in the Willow Run Project. As of August, 1944, some 75 Negro families had moved into this project without any incidents whatsoever.

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. Largely through 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 racial 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.

# 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 to 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.

The growing conflict between the de Gaulle dictatorship and these elements of dual power has now been brought to a head. Despite the protests, counter-proposals and maneuvers, which reflect the pressure of the insurgent workers in their ranks, it can hardly be expected that the Stalinist leaders will sharply counterpose themselves to the de Gaulle government, of which they form one of the principal props. This is rendered all the more unlikely by Stalin's recent recognition of de Gaulle. The fundamental line of Stalinist policy has been collaboration with de Gaulle, and not conflict with him.

### WORKERS WILL RESIST

But both the Anglo-American and de Gaulle conspirators, together with the Stalinist capitalists 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 experience 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 Kame-nev, 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.

out the fiercest and most sanguinary struggles. Reports of clashes have already come from France.

The October 21 issue of Pour La Victoire, French paper published in this country, carries a report that "Marseilles has recently witnessed street battles which have obliged the American military authorities to establish a strict curfew and to offer the local prefect of police the assistance of the MP's (Military Police) in order to restore a minimum of public order."

Washington's plot with de Gaulle to disarm the French workers, and the direct intervention of American troops against the insurgent French workers, are direct and deadly blows delivered against the revolutionary working class of France. The advanced French workers are determined not to return to capitalist servitude and exploitation, but to go forward to a Socialist France. The Anglo-American imperialists and their agents are equally determined to crush their revolution and maintain de Gaulle's capitalist dictatorship.

The American workers cannot permit these counter-revolutionary schemes of Washington and London to pass unchallenged. The entire labor movement must cry with one voice: "Hands off the French revolution!"

### Notice To Subscribers

According to postal regulations, your address is not complete unless it shows the postal zone number. For example: The Militant's zone number is New York 3, N. Y. The postal authorities are now insisting that this regulation be carried out in the mailing of The Militant. Check the wrapper in which The Militant is mailed to you and if the zone number is not included, be sure to send it to us at once, to assure delivery of your paper.

Send the zone number to:

**Business Manager**  
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE  
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

### THE WORKERS AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A Speech by  
**JAMES P. CANNON**  
48 Pages 10 Cents  
**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**

116 University Place  
New York City

### The Russian Revolution

Two Lectures

by

**James P. Cannon**  
30 Pages 10 Cents  
**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

## 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 Armee Secrete, 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

the Resistance Movement, Georges Bidault and Alexander Parodi, tried to keep the workers from securing large stores of arms. They negotiated an armistice with the German command in the midst of the uprising from August 20-22 (see The Militant, Oct. 7). This enabled the Nazis to withdraw all their heavy rolling equipment, tanks, trucks and big guns from Paris so that they would not fall into the hands of insurrectionary workers.

### THE REAL FEAR

The de Gaulleists tried to excuse their treachery by claiming that they were motivated by fear of the German superiority in arms. What they really feared was the armed working-class.

This has been further demonstrated by the subsequent actions of de Gaulle himself. In the name of the Committee on National Defense, de Gaulle announced on Sept. 17 that he proposed to deal with the problem of the armed workers' committees as follows: "The removal of dubious elements from the FFI must be speedily accomplished. . . (Radio-Paris, Sept. 17). By 'dubious elements' de Gaulle means, of course, the militant workers. But how are they to be 'removed,' that is to say, disarmed. On September 23 de Gaulle issued a decree ordering that 'membership in the FFI shall be registered by the military authority appointed by the Commissioner of War according to provisions determined by ministerial decree.'

Thus the disarming of the workers was to be carried out through a 'registration' conducted by reactionary military officers handpicked for the task by de Gaulle.

### WORKERS SLANDERED

To facilitate this operation, General Joseph-Pierre Koenig, Commander-in-Chief of the FFI and de Gaulle's appointee as Military Governor of Paris, hastened to slander the armed workers who had borne the brunt of the fighting against the Nazi and Vichy forces. Koenig said: "unworthy elements were very definitely intermingled among the FFI and these elements have committed acts contrary to military law by making false use of the title of the FFI."

But de Gaulle was unable to achieve his goal in September through the "registration" purge. The insurrectionary masses could not be duped into surrendering their arms. As Harold Callender, N. Y. Times correspondent 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 a revolutionary."

The growth and intrenchment 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 Ouvrieres Patriotiques' (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 invari-

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

"The Struggle For Negro Equality"

SUNDAY, NOV. 12, 8 P. M.

New York School of Social Science

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE (Corner 13th St., between 5th and Broadway, near Union Square)

SUBSCRIPTION 25c -o- REFRESHMENTS

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

### Pioneer Paragraphs

## HOW TROTSKY'S IDEAS FIRST REACHED AMERICAN WORKERS

Trotsky was in exile in far-away 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 secretariat 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

press of the party and reprinted throughout the whole world, including the Moscow Pravda. Russian oppositionists in prison and exile, where sooner or later copies of Pravda reached them, were thus notified of our action, our revolt in America. In the darkest hour of the Opposition's struggle, they learned that fresh reinforcements had taken the field across the ocean in the United States, which by virtue of the power and weight of the country itself, gave importance and weight to the things done by the American Communists.

Leon Trotsky, as I remarked, was isolated in the little Asiatic village of Alma Ata. The world movement was in decline, leaderless, suppressed, isolated, practically non-existent. With this inspiring news of a new detachment in far-America, the little papers and bulletins of the Opposition groups flared into life again. Most inspiring of all to us was the assurance that our hard-pressed Russian comrades had heard our voice. I have always thought of this as one of the most gratifying aspects of the historic fight we undertook in 1928 — that the news of our fight reached the Russian comrades in all corners of the prisons and exile camps,



# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the  
Working People

VOL. VIII—No. 45 Saturday, Nov. 4, 1944

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N

at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for 6 months. Single copies: 8 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."



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 from 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 a 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.

R.H.M.  
Carbon, Ind.

The SIU has opposed the idea of seasonal bonus for seamen, but having this system imposed upon them by a W.I.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."

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 OPA 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.

## Workers' Poll

Editor:

In one of the large auto plants here an election poll was taken in a production department. A red-hot labor party advocate added the following to the ballot:

"Assuming you have voted for Roosevelt or Dewey, would you change your vote in favor of a labor party, if one were on the ballot in November?"

The results were:

|             |    |
|-------------|----|
| Roosevelt   | 42 |
| Dewey       | 7  |
| Thomas      | 8  |
| Browder     | 1  |
| Labor Party | 42 |

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.

During his presentation of the Stalinist line, which contends that the tremendous productive power of the United States during this war disproves the theory that capitalism is in its death agony, Minor referred to the past idea of the Communist Party that "the participation of the United States in a world war could only result in the development of the dictatorship of the working class."

At this point there was a burst of spontaneous applause, which died out as the audience realized that it was precisely against this "dictatorship of the working class" that Minor was speaking.

I think this reaction can be taken as another indication that some Stalinist workers have not fully swallowed the reactionary line of the Stalinist leaders.

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 Papandreou, 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 ELAS, which is the military arm of the Stalinist-dominated EAM 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 "crackle 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 Papandreou 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 \$400,000,000 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.

One-third of the annual Greek budget had to be set aside to service the debt. In the worst depression years of 1930-31 when the Greek masses were suffering the pangs of hunger, 3,150,000,000 drachmas out of a total budget of 9,970,000,000 drachmas went to pay interest on the debt alone.

Now, as the PM correspondent wrote, the British bondholders "fear that a liberal, kingless Greek 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-

sented 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.

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

The 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.

The Nazis took over control of the capital and established a new government headed by the fascist Ferenc Szalasy. There has been no news about Hungary since then, except for Moscow radio broadcasts which assert that "chaos reigns."

## 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 instruments of death, is also coining millions from the means of health and life for countless suffering people.

## State Governments Seek To Entrench Open Shop

Inspired by the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike law and other precedents established by the Roosevelt administration and Congress, dozens of state governments in the past year have been churning out legislation designed to cripple the organized labor movement and destroy the rights of the unions.

As a prelude to the nation-wide open shop offensive which Big Business has placed as the No. 1 point on its "post-war planning" agenda, a number of state governments, including California are attempting to legislate measures to make closed-shop union contracts illegal.

Down in one of Roosevelt's main "New Deal" bastions, Florida, a typical example of the current state anti-labor law drive is in progress. The Southern Democratic politicians and corporate interests are pushing a campaign for passage of a state constitutional amendment abolishing the closed shop.

Along with voting once more for the "friend of labor" in the White House, the Florida citizenry is being urged on Nov. 7 to vote in favor of an amendment to the Florida Constitution's "Bill of Rights" providing that "the right of persons to work shall not be abridged or denied on account of membership in any labor union..."

This, of course, means that the "right" of employers to hire scab labor, to undermine the unions, "shall not be abridged." If this measure is made law in Florida, it is expected to become the model for similar laws in all the other southern states to halt the spread of unionism in that sweat-shop area.

## Roosevelt Back-Tracks On His 'Trust-Busting'

Roosevelt's imperialist war deal has provided a veritable field day for the giant trusts and monopolies. While the government has run up the staggering debt burden of approximately \$300 billions during the war, it has managed to do some financial paring in certain fields. Since 1941, the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice has had its staff reduced from 275 to 170 members.

Under the pretext of "wartime necessity," the government has actually encouraged wholesale monopoly practice. As *Business Week*, Oct. 21, describes it: "During the war, the Justice Department has sanctioned many programs for cooperative action by industry—allocation of production, division of markets, price-fixing—which would normally be suspect to the guardians of the anti-trust laws."

At the same time, Roosevelt's Department of Justice, at the direct "request" of the President, the War and Navy Departments, has "shelved" some 25 major anti-trust suits pending against some of the country's greatest corporations, which have been coining unprecedented billions from what is termed the "war effort."

*Business Week* explains that these cases have been "fled 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.