Perspectives Of The European Revolution

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THE MILITANT PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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Socialist Workers Party Labor Defense Bodies Lash Launches Fund Campaign Decision Of Supreme Court

Publications Program and Carry Forward the Organization Work

By Rose Karsner

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, at its November Plenum, decided to launch a 15th Anniversary, \$15,000 Fund. The campaign for this fund is to terminate Feb. 15 and is not to interfere in any way with the regular Monthly Sustaining Fund pledges. The money received through this special effort is to be used for the expansion of the Party press, the publication program and to help weather the stormy days ahead.

Although the campaign is only two weeks old, we can already report a total income of more than \$2,400. This prompt and selfless response to the Supreme Court's arbitrary action in refusing to hear the appeal of the convictions in the Minneapolis trial speaks volumes for the

SCOREB

Percent

27

0

21

0

25

0

32

15

2

costs

al anti-subsidy moves.

NOTICE TO

tant.

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quality of the Party membership, and assures us that we will "Go Forward" in spite of repressions.

\$15 000 Quotas Paid FROM THE BRANCHES Akron .\$ 200.00 "Enclosed find \$437 as a statter Allentown 25.00 on the Anniversary Fund" writes Bayonne \$11.00 25.00 300.00 organizer J. Bowers of Los Boston Buffalo 300.00 Angeles, and she continues, "we Chicago .2000.00 now intend to campaign for 200.00 Cleveland speed in getting our quota ful- Detroit .2000.00 545.00 filled. We also decided to step up | East Chicago 100.00 100.00 our recruiting along with the Flint Los Angeles .2000.00 437.16 Drive." Comrade M. of the same Milwaukee 25.00branch says: "Ideas on how to 300.00 75.00 Newark raise the money are buzzing New Haven 50.00around. Some of the enthusiastic New York 789.50 .2500.00 comrades proposed that we raise Philadelphia 150.00 25.00 Quakertown our quota, but the 'conservatives' 100.00 Reading would rather stick to the \$2,000 Rochester 50.00 .ind go over the top. The con-San Diego 100.00 census of opinion is that we can .1000.00 400.00 San Francisco carry this drive through without Seattle .1000.00 disrupting our routine financial St. Louis 100.00 25.00Texas structure in any way." Toledo 100.00 San Francisco: "Enclosed find 150.00 Twin Cities 1000.00 our second payment towards the Youngstown 200.00 Anniversary Fund. We hope to 15.00 Members-at-Large 800.00 send the balance in weekly instalments until our quota is fulfilled." Total Paid From Comrade Ken of Chicago: "The branch accepted its gusta. We have a special committee in charge which came in with proposals for socials and other Millions Of Indians Starving

activities. Everyone is confident that we will go over the top by Feb. 15. Enclosed find check for

weekly.

15,000

13,000

11,000

9,000

7,000

5,000

3000

1,000

famine.

Most Militant Demonstration Since 1926



As Tories and Laborites clashed in bitter de bate, a huge crowd of British war workers demonstrated outside Parliament in London against the release from jail of Sir Oswald Mosley, British Fascist No. 1.

Roosevelt Backs Subsidies In Order To Save Wage-Freezing

By S. Marcy

TROTSKYISTS American workers, hard hit by the mounting cost of living, must have experienced a sense of revulsion on reading in the IN NAPLES newspapers on Nov. 27, that the House of Representatives, by a vote of 278 to 117, had prohibited the use of government funds for food subsidies.

Instinctively, they must have been drawn to the side which championed the use of the subsidies as a measure to keep down the cost of living. This is particularly true in the case of active trade unionists in the CIO as •

well as the AFL, who have sud- "parity" and to safeguard the denly been subjected to a bar- swollen profits of the huge agrirage of urgent appeals from the cultural interests, and occasionalites. . . who want a Communist

Minneapolis Convictions Are First Under Smith 'Gag' Act

James T. Farrell, Noted Author, Calls for Action Against the Attack on Free Speech

The leading labor defense and civil liberties organizations all joined in issuing statements protesting the unheard-of action of the United States Supreme Court in brazenly refusing to consider the appeal of the defendants in the Minneapolis case.

The eighteen defendants, officials of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO, were all convicted under the infamous Smith "Gag" Law which has been denounced by numerous labor unions, liberals, jurists, etc., as in clear violation of the Bill of Rights.

This was the first case to come before the Supreme Court involving the constitutionality of the Smith 'Gag'' Law.

The American Civil Liberties Union, in deploring the Supreme Court's denial of the defendants' appeal. stressed the fact that the Court's refusal further delays testing the Smith Peacetime Sedition Act.' "This is the first time" accord-

ing to the ACLU, "that the Supreme Court has declined to The Trotskyists are again review a test case under a statute mentioned in connection with involving important issues of the Italian events. In describfreedom of speech and press."

without the high court having even considered the vital question of the constitutionality of the DANGEROUS PRECEDENT Smith 'gag' Act."

The Civil Rights Defense Com-Morris Milgram, secretary of mittee, which is the authorized the Workers Defense League, warned that the Supreme Court's | spokesman for the 18 defendants, action constituted a "dangerous stepped to the forefront in order precedent against labor and to rouse and mobilize labor and minorities. . . America should bow liberal ranks against the gravest

MESSAGE FROM SWP MEMBERS IN BOSTON There was an extremely brief item in the Boston papers about the Supreme Court

decision against the 18 Socialist Workers Party and 544-CIO members, Some such decision was expected, but came nevertheless, like a blow to the comrades here. The comrade are carrying on and have great admiration for the manner in which the leadership has prepared for such a contingency

seas ostensibly for democracy,

Fund pledge

Dorothy Lee of St. Paul sent in \$150 and writes: "We are trying to get in as much money as we can in the early part of the of Calcutta, in the industrial province of Bengal, lie hundreds of siderable funds will be needed in the immediate period."

our regular Monthly Sustaining

TO OUR SYMPATHIZERS

We feel confident that our friends and sympathizers will rally to our support. If you wish to show your solidarity with us send in your contribution, or make a pledge.



drive because we realize that con- thousands of homeless men, women, and children, bodies weakened and shrunken by starvation, grovelling in the gutter for bits of garbage, waiting for death to overtake them.

The estimated death toll in the single province of Bengal, where the suffering has been most acute, is 2000 a week, according to the official British government figures. But the estimate of Indians travelling in the[®] country, eye-witnesses to the ing, and sends to Britain roughly

ravages of the worst famine in 150 million pounds [\$600,000,000] 70 years, is — 50,000 deaths forms," declares the program of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of

By Miriam Carter

of millions suffering death from sheer starvation. In the streets

Shocking reports have come in recent months from India

India, Fourth International. EPIDEMICS ADD TO TOLL While the British Raj grows Death stalks the land, taking fat, the Indian people must live ts toll not only among those who in squalor, poverty and disease. fall from starvation. Hundreds of The normal death rate in India thousands are struck down by epi- is "25 per 1000, one of the highest demics. Bodies weakened by hun- in the civilized world and more ger are easy prey for the hosts than double that prevailing in Eu-

of disease germs, now ravaging rope. . . About one out of every the Indian people - cholera, ty- five children dies before it is a phus, dysentery, tuberculosis, etc. | year old. Heavy mortality conti-Hospitals have long been over- nues from infancy through childcrowded. Special "Corpse Dispo- hood, early adolescence and even sal Squads" have been organized during adult life. . . A new-born to pick up from the streets every child in India. . . may look formorning, the bodies of those who ward to an average of only 26.6 died during the night. vears: in the Western world the

The responsibility for the ter- average length of life is just over rible plight of this vast mass of Indian people rests with British Pamphlets, "The Population Probimperialism. For 150 years the lem and World Depression," by British rulers have been siphon- Louis I. Dublin, Ph. D.).

ing off the profits from the nat-THEY WINE AND DINE

ural resources and labor of India. Their unquenchable thirst for These sufferings of the Indian greater and greater wealth is one people mean nothing to the ruthof the direct causes of the Indian less, profit-hungry British imperialists and their lackeys. William Winston Churchill, the outspok- Fisher in Life magazine of Nov. en, ruthless guardian of British 22, 1943, describes the tragic imperialist interests, voiced the plight of the starving in Calcutta, attitude of the British ruling class and adds: "Grotesquely; the backdrop for this epic pathos is a toward India in a speech delivered Dec. 12, 1930: * city functioning as usual; Firpo's "We have no intention of cast- Restaurant, hotels, fashionable ing away that most truly bright clubs and other places where Euand precious jewel in the crown ropeans and rich Indians gather of the King, which more than all are serving their usual 5-course our other Dominions and Depend- meals. Side-walk death watches encies constitutes the glory and are maintained in front of one strength of the British Empire." | hotel in which three orchestras

play. . ." BRITAIN'S "JEWEL" The British. in attempting to To the British capitalists India bypass this crisis, place the blame is indeed "a bright and precious for the famine on the "bungling" jewel." "Today India provides a of the Indian provincial assemfield for investment for a quarter of British overseas capital hold-(Continued from page 2)

top union leaders to defeat the smaller farmers. anti-subsidy moves in Congress, When Roosevelt ordered the

and thereby keep down living OPA to roll back the price of butter five cents a pound, he or-

dered the administrator of the Political activity on the part of CCC to pay the manufacturers of the workers, is certainly to be butter the equivalent amount to welcomed. To encourage the compensate them for the rollback. workers, however, to support the Funds from the CCC has also subsidy program proposed by een used to subsidize the prices Roosevelt, and adopted by the of meat, cheese, and other items. trade union bureaucracy, the Sta-Now the notorious Congressionlinists, and the liberals who adl farm bloc, with the aid of Wall here to Roosevelt. means only to Street, and a host of so-called confuse them, disorient them, and | farm organizations as its front divert them from real independent has obtained a big majority in political activity. This becomes the House of Representatives and clear if we carefully examine the has banned the further use of any present legislative struggle which | Federal funds for the purpose of

centers around the Congressionsubsidizing food items. It has done this by employing the stratagem of attaching the subsidy ban in

the form of an amendment to the The issues of subsidies arises CCC Bill, which as stated above, low because on Dec. 31, the law expires on Dec. 31, and must be which created the Commodity renewed. The amendment is Credit Corp. (CCC) will expire. known as Section 3, and it is Neither Roosevelt nor his oppoworthwhile to note the substance ents in Congress want it to exof its content: pire because the CCC is a large "No funds appropriated to.

ending agency with two and a any governmental agency shall half billion dollars at its disposal. be. . . used or made available to ts primary function is to per- the Commodity Credit Corporaform for agriculture what the Retion. . . to make any subsidy. . construction Finance Corp. (RFC) for any agricultural commodity. has performed for industry. In processed or manufactured other words, it has been used to either to reduce or maintain max support agricultural prices at mum prices established on such ommodities. . .'

FALSE HUE AND CRY

In short, this amendment prohibits the use of Federal funds to subsidize certain food items. Although we are the last to cultivate any illusions with respect to the rising cost of all food products, we must, nevertheless, point out that the last minute hue and cry - raised by the Roosevelt supporters and the top labor bureaucrats to the effect that the anti-subsidy provision automatically would lift the maximum ceiling prices on food products - is false. It is false because none of the food prices can be hiked without the aid of Roosevelt and his OPA.

The anti-subsidy amendment does not lift either the retail or wholesale ceiling price on food items. It merely removes a subsidy for this ceiling. The legal ceiling prices heretofore in ex-

(Continued on page 2)



An Editorial

By this time, it is common knowledge that possibly fighting the labor movement. We will American Big Business is raking in profits by the truck load. They are making more money than they did in 1929 or in any previous period of American history. They don't even have to take the "risks"; the U.S. Treasury takes all the "risks."

ing the current political situa-

tion in Naples, Homer Bigart,

New York Herald-Tribune cor-

respondent reports the exist-

ence of "Neapolitan Trotsky-

state disassociated from Mos-

Still there is no satisfying them. These fat, cost-plus hogs are now kicking up a row for still more. Their representatives are pressing Congress to wipe off the books the re-negotiations law, by means of which the government recovers millions of dollars, when profits become too exorbitant even according to the ultra-generous standards of the Army and Navy Brass Hats.

The latest performer of Big Business to shed crocodile tears at the sad plight of the millionaires and demand an end to the renegotiations law is Edward G. Budd, President of the million dollar Budd Wheel and Budd Mfg. Corporation. As a climax to the long battle he has waged, Budd circulated a printed appeal among the entire membership of Congress, citing the experience of his own companies, as a typical example of the sad state of affairs on millionaire row.

The picture is truly heart-rending: Total net sales of the Budd Manufacturing Co. for 1942 were \$115,000,000. The government "grabbed up" through renegotiation, \$9,000,000, leaving for profits the measly sum of only \$1,300,000, or about 1.2% profit on sales.

Is it any wonder that Wall Street is up in arms? Is it any wonder that they denounce Roosevelt as "a traitor to his class?" Budd, his voice choked with emotion declares: "It is plain injustice. Furthermore, by reason of the methods employed to enforce compliance, it is no less than confiscation. That is the thing we are fighting against in Europe.'

We leave aside the minor inaccuracies of Budd's statement: the fact that neither he nor the Congressmen are doing any fighting, except their thrones but their money bags.

not even spend much time on the obvious fraud about the 1.2% profit. Profits, as every schoolboy knows, are figured on investment, on capitalization, not on sales. We turn to a brief survey of the history of the company of this "public benefactor." What do we find? The Budd Manufacturing Co. lost \$300,000 in 1926-29. In 1930-34, it lost another \$4,800,000. In 1934, the company-was on the verge of bankruptcy. The company then rallied to the point of making an average profit of \$450,000 in 1935-36. Its average profit was \$236,000 in 1936-39. In 1942, lo and behold, the Budd Company showed a profit of \$5,222,000, not the \$1,300,000 that Budd announced to Congress; an increase over 1936-39 of 2,113%. Yet this scoundrel has the nerve to tell Congress that the company's "net return. . . was far less than the normal profits of a peacetime year." Budd was right in one thing, however. His "experiences" are "typical" of all other big war contractors.

One marvels at the audacity and gall of the American business man. Historians used to think the Bourbon Kings were pretty reactionary and arrogant. That is only because these historians never met the profit-hungry vultures of Wall Street. The Bourbons were pikers compared with our steel barons, our auto princes, our industrial and banking tycoons. Even the tory Financial News of London, reading over the program of the American Bankers Association writes: "One is inclined to rub one's eves to make sure one is not dreaming," and calls the bankers' program "the Bourbon Plan, on the evidence it offers of the inability of its authors to learn anything or forget anything."

The The Bourbon Kings are the people who, for years, robbed, exploited and enslaved the peoples of Europe. But eventually, the peoples of Europe rose up and drove the Bourbons off the thrones. The American people will deal in a similar fashion with our native bourbons. These, however, will not be chased off

of Socialist Workers Party

for the painful price of silence they must pay; the months

they will be held back from the revolutionary struggle which

is their life. But they, and all of us, are used to obstacles,

case. Their courageous, principled, unflinching stand has

awakened and inspired many thousands of workers. We surged

ahead against the deluge of reaction and persecution. We can

and must not only continue but speed up this forward march,

through determination to more than compensate for temporary

loss of the 18. All power to and confidence in the substitute

more effective effort, wherever revolutionary hearts beat. The

continued fight to free the 18 is the fight for all labor's free-

dom. On this basis we should gain more and more support

Feel free to call on us for any special tasks within our limited

construction contraction construction contraction cont

Only Trotskyists carry the torch of socialism.

Long live the 18 victims of the Smith "Gag" Act.

Long live the Socialist Workers Party.

This momentous occasion should stimulate redoubled and

Be sure that we in Flint will intensify party work here.

Surely the 18 and the entire party are proud of this whole

and the struggle will go forward.

leaders, editors, etc., who will take over.

from labor ranks.

of mankind.

means and qualifications.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1943



By Marvel Scholl

After the miners succeeded in add up to? Do they represent breaking the Little Steel formula, a new, powerful drive on the part the CIO leaders decided that they of the unions to break Roosevelt's could no longer sabotage the fight | wage freeze policy? The sincerity for higher wages. The Philadel- of the Murrays and Thomases phia convention of the CIO passed may well be questioned in this a resolution condemning the Lit- drive, when we consider their contle Steel formula and called upon tinued policies of whitewashing its component unions to open the Roosevelt, their continued crufight for wage increases. sade on behalf of the no-strike In a resolution made public on pledge, their violent denunciations

Nov. 15, the Executive Board of of the miners strikes. The Murthe International Ladies Garment rays and Thomases finally acted Workers Union, AFL, demanded because they felt they had to that the Little Steel formula be make some gestures of fighting scrapped. "The only real effect for the workers demands, else the of the Little Steel formula to date avalanche of rank and file preshas been the practical freezing sure, when it started, would be of wages," the resolution declared. that much more uncontrollable "Stabilization of living costs, as and that much more hostile to every consumer knows, is largely them. wishful thinking, while the true cessities, are having a field day."

On Nov. 17, the National Executive Council of the Textile Workers Union, CIO, announced that their union was demanding an increase of at least 10 cents an hour for all textile workers. Contracts affecting 450,000 textile workers are now open or about to be opened," Emil Rieve, President of the Textile union announced. "Our demands will be made immediately upon these employers. In the opinion of the Textile Workers Union, the Little Steel formula is dead." Rieve went on to explain that the "Present wage policies of the government are freezing in poverty the textile workers, who historically have been the most depressed group of workers in the United Revenue.'

States." * * *

On Nov. 19, the Aluminum Workers of America, CIO, announced that it is demanding a straight increase of 15 cents an hour at all plants of Mellon's Aluminum Company of America. This represents approximately a 19% increase over the present basic pay rate which was arbitrarily frozen at 78 cents an hour by the War Labor Board.

The action of the Aluminum union has a further significance. The basic hourly wage same as that of the steel industry. The leadership of the Aluclose to Phillip Murray and has, in the past, acted under his direct guidance.

The United Steel Workers are scheduled to hold a special meeting of their International Executive Board on Nov. 30 for the purpose of giving final approval of

corporations.

follows:

The action of the CIO leaders, inflationary forces, the industrial however, coming on the heels of attentive to the provisions of the combines, which control living ne- the miners victory, has started a very Constitution which it has trend in the labor movement, that sworn to uphold. cannot easily be sidetracked by

ly earnest.

When the forces of reaction

rest until it is accomplished. A papers and on the radio, we are clause, slipped into the new tax being told over and over again bill just passed by the House, that we should be thankful for provides that "all previously being free. But there is less struggle for the socialist future Organizer; Carl Skoglund, Local invested three million pounds in exempt organizations, except re- freedom in this country today ligious, educational or charitable than there was last week or in shall file annual income reports Thanksgiving 1942. We know that MANDATE NOT ISSUED with the Collector of Internal this week the Supreme Court of

The AFL legal department of our liberties than many people liscovered the joker and Wil- have believed it to be. . .

to House Majority leader Mac- CHALLENGE TO EVERYONE

Cormack that "unless some ulterior motive lies behind the in history is that no Government wording of the bill, then I cannot and no Court can, in the long run, understand why labor organiza- stop people from thinking. This tions were not also exempt." This legal shell game of slip- not do that which cannot be done ping disputed legislation into un- it will only encourage all who related bills in the form of riders want to be free to defend their or "joker" clauses is not new. The freedom.

Bill of Rights, particularly the right of freedom of speech, was should now mobilize to prove that abrogated by just such a rider to it is 100% more attentive to rate in the aluminum plants is the the Alien Registration Act in freedom than is the Supreme 1940. This rider is the Smith Court. We must continue to "Omnibus Gag" Act, and it is defend the 18 victims in this case. minum union is traditionally very under this act that 18 members We must press our attack against of the Socialist Workers Party the Smith "Gag" Act. and Local 544-CIO are being rail-

roaded to jail.

The OPA has handed the coal for his life, he told his judges their wage proposals to the steel raises the price of bituminus coal that noble statement."

17 cents per ton and anthracite The case of the 18 Minneapolis

TRADE UNION Defense Bodies Lash High Court

ties and democratic rights. James T. Farrell, noted novelist

and Chairman of the Civil Rights Informed today of the Supreme Court's decision in the Defense Committee, lashed the Minneapolis Smith "Gag"' Act case, we in Flint hasten to re-Supreme Court's action in a stateaffirm comradely solidarity with the 18 victims of this perment, a partial text of which secution, as well as with the party and principles for which they fought so staunchly. Personal sympathy to the 18 also.

"We do not judge men merely by their avowals of faith and good-will. Neither do we judge institutions by the descriptions of their authority and functions contained in written constitution. We judge men by their actions.

BLOW TO FREE SPEECH

"The Supreme Court of the U. S. has given us the material whereby we can test it. When it refused to hear the appeal of 18 defendants in the Minneapolis case, it administered a blow to

the cause of free speech; it showed itself more than in-

"It is the opinion of serious any union bureaucrat or easily persons in the labor and liberal source by any government of- movement that the Smith "Gag" ficial. When the rank and file of Act is in flagrant violation of the auto, steel and the other mass the Bill of Rights. This case is production unions really get into the most important one which action to back up the new wage comes under the provisions of that demands, labor's new push for act. The Supreme Court has even wage increases will be on in dead- refused to hear an appeal which will test the constitutionality of the eyes of hundreds of others to Harry DeBoer, Local 544-CIO

that law.

"This is Thanksgiving Week. want something done they never In the motion pictures and news-

the U.S. is less of a guarantee

liam Green protested in a letter

"One of the simplest lessons tiary. action of our highest court will

"Liberal and Labor opinion

"One of the first free-speech

Millions Of Indians Starving Under British Wartime Rule

BRITISH "RELIEF"

station on the road to death."

(Continued from page 1)

ment is playing a game of throwyear and a half ago. The profitblies and on "hoarding" on the drunk British capitalists, and part of the peasants. They don't their Indian-lackey landlords, did kitchens, conferences, and vague fool anyone in India with these nothing to avert it. When the promises, while hiding the main brazen lies.

BRAZEN LIES

olies, for the British have jailed of the British. It is hardly necesthem in their attempt to crush sary to add that the conference the independence movement. In adjourned after having accomaddition, none of the provincial plished nothing. The British are assemblies have any real powers. not interested in really doing any-They are merely "advisory" thing about the famine. They odies.

only recently, when the monstrous Is hoarding by peasants responsible? The peasants, comprising proportions of the famine were 70% of the population, live under | threatening to become an internaparasitic landlords who while re- tional scandal, only after millions fusing to improve the backward had already died, and millions agricultural methods, take away weakened beyond recovery, that 20.) one quarter to one third and more rationing was introduced, and of the crop for taxes, rent, inter- then only in Bengal. A farcical est, etc. The peasants themselves attempt at price control was orhave about 5.5 ounces of rice a ganized only in Oct. 1943.

day per person. Moreover, a large section of the peasant population is made up of landless peasants, share croppers and wage laborers. doled out to them by the land-

The landlords, in collusion with is jailed scores of others will Workers Section; Carlos Hudson, the British capitalists, have taken the grain raised by the peasants imprisonment of 18 of our lead- ganizer, Local 544 weekly paper; and are selling it at tremendous ers will not dampen or halt our Clarence Hamel, Local 544-CIO profits. The Bank of England has This company buys the grain, and sells it to the governwhose interests coincide with the government is willing to pay

> This profitable market has in India to rise 100% last year, people.

It is not the peasants who are

A DAMNING ADMISSION

arms, and where the price of rice rises to four or (in some districts) eight times the normal figure

- the municipal cart that will

Warning signals of the impend-

In short, the British govern-| ing famine came in May, 1942, a | ing sops in the form of relief

hunger began to be acute at the cause of the famine, the profitbeginning of 1943, a food con- eering in grain, hoping that the ference was called as an empty whole thing will soon blow over.

In six of the eleven provinces gesture to convince the starving STALINIST TRAITORS here are no provincial assem- masses of the "good intentions"

The treacherous Stalinists are aiding them in this. They bemoan the tragic results of the famine, but continue to support the British rulers. They tacitly support the British government's vile acstill enjoy their profits. It was

cusations that the peasants are responsible for the famine by calling upon them NOT to sell to hoarders. The Stalinists say that this will "save India from the Japanese"! (Daily Worker, Nov.

> The All-India Congress Party of Gandhi and Nehru, tied up with the native landlords, and in mortal fear of agrarian revolution, also calls for cooperation with the government "program."

Relief kitchens were organized The starvation and misery of where one watery gruel meal was the Indian masses will be brought who get nothing but the pittance served a day. They are not too to an end only when the British are driven out of India, the land well patronized. Writes P. G. Joshi, who remains a staunch supwrested from the landlords, the porter of Churchill, in the Daily stocks of hoarded grain and food divided among the starving popu-Worker, Nov. 13: "The relief kitchen is. . . not a stepping stone lation, and modern agricultural back to the farm, but a halting methods introduced.

Only the Trotskyists, the Bol-What has the British governshevik-Leninist Party of India. ment done? Linlithgow has been have the program that represents replaced by Wavell. The parlia- the true interests of the Indian mentary debate on this "risky masses. Through the Trotskyist subject," as the N. Y. Times deprogram for the establishment of scribed it, was very polite, and a workers' and peasants' governskirted the main issues. Leopold ment, India will be freed from Amery, the chief of the India Of- both the British oppressors and fice, mouthed cynical phrases the native feudal parasites. Then about "finding ways and means," starvation, disease, poverty and and "somehow or other" improvexploitation will be remembered aused the price of rice available ing the condition of the Indian only as a terrible chapter of India's barbaric past.



The truth about the war-profits scandals that have been hidden or whitewashed by the capitalist press 16 pages 5 cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

Organizer; Alfred Russell, former The Civil Rights Defense Com-

ighters who must go to jail are: 554. James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workmittee, the authorized represeners Party; Albert Goldman, Attorney for the SWP and The tative of the 18 prisoners, an-Militant; Vincent R. Dunne, Na- nounces that it is launching a

ional Labor Secretary of the national campaign to bring to the WP; Felix Morrow, Editor of attention of the American people the Fourth International; Farrell the vital issues involved in this Dobbs, Editor of The Militant; Grace Carlson, New York SWP case, and to raise funds for the imagination hesitates to explore Organizer; Oscar Coover, Min- relief of the prisoners and their neapolis SWP Organizer. families.

cases in history was that of Socrates. When he was on trial for his life he told his indexe. **Roosevelt Pushes Subsidies** operators their demanded price that 'the unexamined life is not that 'the unexamined life is not worth living.' Let us now reaffirm To Save Wage-Freeze Policy

Continued from page 1) and their perint

the true nature of capitalist Organizer; Max Geldman, Record- lords. "democracy." For every one that ing Secretary, Local 544 Federal spring up to join our ranks. The Editor of The Industrial Or-

Federal Workers Section, Youth tion. The defense attorneys have in- Division. formed us that while the mandate Emil Hansen, Local 544-CIO ment. Overrun with business men, has not yet been issued by the Organizer; Jake Cooper, Min-Minnesota District Court, the neapolis truck driver; Edward those of the Bank of England, defendants have not much more Palmquist, Local 544-CIO Or-

than a month before they are in- ganizer; Karl Kuehn, Local 544carcerated in the federal peniten- CIO Federal Workers Section The eighteen working class Officer 'Omaha Teamsters Local

544-CIO Organizer; Oscar Schoen- a company known as the United feld, former Organizer Local 544 Kingdom Commercial Corpora-

fancy prices for the grain.

and 400% more this year.

hoarding. They are among those who are starving.

Even the British New Statesman admits: "What is happening in the remoter towns and the poorer villages is a question our . The chief sufferers seem to be the landless peasants whose ancestral acres have gone to the surer. Their numbers have been ncreasing with staggering rapidty during the last twenty years. They live from hand to mouth. They have no reserves, not even a silver bangle on their women's

* * *

The United Automobile Workers have likewise sprung into action. The Ford local, the largest local in the American trade union movement, presented demands for wage increases in a letter to Harry Bennett, Ford personnel director, and asked that negotiations start on Dec. 1. The Ford local demanded, in addition to wage increases, the establishment of a post-war security fund for the workers, increased vacation bonuses and payment of workers insurance premiums.

The UAW has previously made similar demands upon General Motors, Chrysler and many of the other large automobile manufacturers.

What do all of these demands their "patriotism."



Two excellent distributions at have been doing work among Negro mass meetings have been them. They came to us and bought Stalin and the GPU head the long reported during the week and we the papers and pamphlets as fast list of persecutors, jailors and believe both reports will be of in- as we could hand them out. Our executioners of Trotskyists-a terest to our readers. The first entire supply was gone before list which includes: Hitler, Musreport is from Boston:

the meeting. If we had taken five "Last Sunday, Nov. 21, A. at a community church meeting. papers, we could have sold them colonial administration, etc. etc. easilv'." He drew a tremendous crowd,

mostly colored but with a few white people present. At the con- New York agent: "The NAACP held a mass clusion of the meeting, two of the Boston comrades sold literature meeting a few weeks ago to against Jim Crow in the army

to the crowd. "One of the comrades who was of Negroes in the armed forces.

selling has been in the movement "We had a fine distribution for a good many years and has of The Militant and sold 46 done a large amount of Jimmy pamphlets - "The Struggle for Higgins work. He described the Negro Equality' and 'Negroes in reaction of the crowd to our the Post-War World.' literature: 'When the people left "In addition to the literature the meeting, it seemed like they distributed and sold, a good con- anywhere from a week to a week were looking for something. They tact was gained for the party and a half after they left the heard us hawking the literature and we also received an invita. press," and he is "wondering if and saw The Militant and two tion to speak at a Negro or- they are being held up in the pamphlets we had, "The Strug- ganization." gle for Negro Equality" and "Negroes in the Post-War

World." The SPers were yelling too, but little attention was paid mittee for Winfred Lynn, a sub- New York post office until Washto them. The colored people committee set up by the March- ington sends a release notice.

coal from 35 to 70 cents per ton. militants is a challenge to every The greedy operators, whose one who still retains the slightest profits already have increased regard for democratic rights and istence remain, and not only that,

300% over pre-war levels, are not civil liberties. It has been an age-long prac-

satisfied with the OPA increase, tice of despots to answer prosented to release thousands of ponents of progressive and rollback the ceilings, not only Roosevelt's wage-freezing politons of coal mined under the old liberating ideas with physical from the retailer and wholesaler, cies. blows and ruthless repressions. wage levels-at the new price. Meanwhile half of the bituminus They can answer in no other way. operators have agreed to sign a RAILROADED FOR IDEAS

contract with the UMW embody-The 18 Minneapolis defendants ing the \$1.50 wage increaseprovided the increase is called are being railroaded to jail beovertime for increased production cause they are courageous, unswerving fighters for socialist and not portal-to-portal pay.

The remainder of the bituminus operators are still sabotaging the ful, the most progressive, the negotiations, as are most of the noblest in the history of mankind. captive mine owners. Thus far, Capitalist rulers fear these ideas, they have ignored Ickes plea to the only ones that hold out hope

velt, as well as the OPA, has the legal authority to maintain and roll back ceiling prices without a subsidy, can be seen by the

provisions of the Price Control Act, by the terms of which Congress delegated to Roosevelt such ideas and ideals-the most powerauthority. This is no news to Congressmen. The top labor fakers know this. And it has been reiterated in the halls of Congress many times

for the war-tortured millions in For instance, Senator Bankhead the world today. That is why the has said, "No one denies that the cannibals of capitalism, seeking OPA has the power to roll back to preserve their corrupt and prices wihout the payment of any decayed system, will stop at no subsidy. Without the payment of bestiality in the attempt to any subsidy they can fix prices. destroy, the bearers of these At present, they can order a comsocialist ideas, the Trotskyists.

plete reduction in the prices of Roosevelt-Biddle and the FBIthese three commodities [meat, Gestapo are not the first to butter, coffee] all the way back persecute the Trotskyists. Our to the producer and including co-thinkers have been hounded by him." (Congressional Record, Vol. every government on this earth. 89. No. 119, pages 6582-83.)

APPEASE FARM BLOC But why doesn't Roosevelt and

his OPA roll back or even mainhalf of the people had left solini, Franco, Petain - Laval, tain existing prices of living ne-Vargas, Batista, Chiang Kaicessities without subsidies? Pre-Clayton Powell spoke in Boston times as many pamphlets and shek, Churchill, the British cisely because such procedure would operate to deprive the larg-Roosevelt's prosecutions and est and most powerful agricultur-

The other report is from our persecutions will not destroy our al interests of lush war profits movement. They will only open and would precipitate a real

struggle with them. Roosevelt, however, has been consistently retreating before them, and apeasing them.

Subsidies is a device introduced by Roosevelt, not as a sound and effective economic measure to prevent inflation, but as a device alculated to appease the farm

bloc and its Wall Street supporters. But they refuse to be appeased. Like their brothers, the industrial capitalists, who are raking in enormous profits through cost-plus, fixed-fee-contracts, etc., mail or if they are posted late." they demand their "pound of We want to again remind our flesh."

subscribers that The Militant is The leaders of the CIO are all The National Citizen's Com- withheld from dispatch by the doing their utmost to convince the workers that subsidies "- is the only way to check inflation." seemed to remember us and our On-Washington Movement to help Each issue is thus delayed from (Len De Caux, editor of CIO slogans. because for years we this militant Negro in his fight three to ten days. News, Nov. 29). The Stalinists

In reality this is intended to di- only one hope is left with them vert the minds of the workers

the OPA retains the authority not 'from an independent struggle to pick up their corpses from the only to maintain these ceilings break the Little Steel formula and street at dawn." without a subsidy, but even to free themselves of the shackles of

broken.

but all the way up to the produ-FIGHT WAGE-FREEZE cer. That this is so, that Roose-

> The leaders of the labor movenent are asking the workers to food prices, has that abolished support Roosevelt's subsidy program as a good substitute for er knows that it has not. smashing the Little Steel formula. Roosevelt actually said the same thing in his message to Congress, wherein he requested a nalf-billion dollars for the Commodity Credit Corporation, in orer to subsidize some food prod-The sky's the limit. acts, and warned Congress not to

The task of the trade unions of pass the anti-subsidy amendment, America is not to fight for Rooselest the Little Steel formula be velt's subsidy program, but to wage a determined and relentless

Subsidies are no substitute for struggle against Roosevelt's wage increases. As a matter of wage-freezing policies on the bafact, Roosevelt has paid out ap- sis of independent labor activity.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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protest the continued segregation sent us the following request: "We would like very much to receive The Militant regularly. I hope that you can put us on your complimentary list. . :"

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A subscriber writes that his "Militants have been arriving THE MILITANT

Labor's Socialist Perspectives And Tasks **Of The Revolutionary Struggle In Europe**

By E. R. Frank

[Extracts from speech delivered to the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party on the 15th Anniversary plenum of the National Committee.]

The Plenum of the National Committee, meeting at the time of the 15th Anniversary of the American Trotskyist movement, was called to order on the morning of Oct. 31. Practically every member of the National Committee was in attendance when the chairman called the session to order. This excellent representation was no routine achievement. Many of the members of the National Committee, as comrades know, had to travel straight across the country. . . but they all arranged their personal affairs in one manner or another and they were all present on the dot when the Plenum session opened. Because the Plenum of the National Committee is the highest body of this party between conventions and when it issues the call, it is proper and fitting that all the comrades come to attention. And the comrades of the National Committee, trained in the school of Lenin and of Trotsky, understood that and they acted accordingly.

The most important business to come before the Plenum was the adoption of the resolution on the perspectives and the tasks of our movement in the coming European revolution. The Plenum spent two whole days debating this question in the most thoroughgoing, many-sided and at times even heated manner.

Small wonder! The problem of the European revolution is the most important, the most pressing, the most immediate problem of the day. The fate of the European revolution may well settle the fate of all mankind for many years to come. This Plenum of the National Committee met under the impact of the downfall of Mussolini and the collapse of Italian fascism, an event which signalized the beginning of the Italian, and consequently, of the European revolution.

It was only twenty years ago, a short time in history, that the Italian capitalists, panic-stricken before the revolutionary militancy of the proletariat, fearing for their factories and for their very rule, called off. Mussolini and his cut-throat fascist gangs to take over the state. Thus began the forward sweep of reaction all over Europe.

Theories of Renegades Refuted

Thus Benito Mussolini set out to rejuvenate bankrupt and decaying capitalism on the broken bones of the Italian workers and peasants. Ten years later the German working class, betrayed and sold out by the social-democrats and the Stalinists, succumbed in the same way to the blows of Hitler and the Nazi murder-gangs. And the lights went out in Germany. And when, a few years later, the Spanish revolution was defeated and Franco and his savage hordes swept over Spain, a loud wail and a howl of despair went up from the ranks of the social-democrats, the reformists, the petty bourgeois radicals, from all those who had grown tired of the struggle and had become disillusioned. They all said that the working class just didn't have what it takes, that the Marxist conception of workers' power was a utopia, a chimera, a pipe-dream. They forgot their own cowardice, they forgot their own treachery, and they loaded full responsibility for the defeats onto the shoulders of the masses. All these miserable politicians - they all deserted the proletariat in the period of adversity. Some rushed into the arms of Anglo-American capitalism and announced that the salvation of mankind depended on the vultures of Wall and Lombard Streets. Others began sporting theories about the historical durability of fascism, the new form of managerial society destined to replace capitalism and to bar the road to socialism for a long time to come.

R.

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How events in the last two years alone have annihilated all these contemptible capitulatory theories. All the "independent thinkers," all the renegades, all have been proven to be nothing but mouthpieces, in one form or another, for the monopoly capitalists. Where are all those high sounding pretentious theories today? In the words of the poet: "gone with the snows of yesteryear." You don't hear so much about them any more. Only the ideas of Marxism, only the analysis of Trotsky, has stood the test of world events. Mussolini was able to dragoon the Italian masses into the war, but he reckoned without his host. He couldn't make the masses fight for the Italian capitalists. They balked and they resisted, and the soldiers on the front deserted and as early as last March, the workers of Turin, of Milan - the workers all over the northern industrial section of Italy - began a series of gigantic strikes. The fascist regime found itself helpless to cope with the revolt. The machine of repression, which had been built up for twenty years, was breaking down. And during the months that followed, strikes and demonstrations continued without let-up. The Italian capitalists were panic-stricken. With their fascist regime bankrupt and falling to pieces, their military power destroyed in the disasters of North Africa and Sicily, facing imminent invasion of the mainland by the Anglo-American armies, the capitalist rulers hastened to dump Mussolini.' He had become a millstone around their neck. They threw him to the wolves in the hope that they would thus allay the popular opposition and be able to douse out the fires of revolt.

Returning again to the chronology of the Italian events: Terrified by the newly revealed power of the masses, Badoglio decreed martial law and he ordered the troops to shoot down the demonstrating workers. But it was too late. Fraternization had already begun. The discipline of the Italian army was melting away by the hour. In city after city the soldiers refused to fire. Then, in their final desperation, the Italian capitalists, shorn of their principal weapons, knowing the power was slipping out of their hands, turned for help to the imperialists. Both the Nazi and the Anglo-American rulers rushed in to stamp out the fires of the revolution. The Nazis occupied the Northern cities and the Anglo-American capitalists hastened to bomb the revolutionary centers. The Italian workers, isolated and caught between the armies of the two rival war camps, were temporarily driven back. 重喜强

Plans of Roosevelt-Churchill

The Italian workers needed time, they needed time to test out the different parties and the different programs. They had just come out from the underground after twenty years of fascist bestiality and repression. They needed time to build their own strong revolutionary party. They were not given that time. The Stalinists and the reformist parties, which came to the forefront in the first days, were able to restrain the masses and to disorient the struggle. The Axis and Allied armies were thus able to march in and with impunity begin their hangman's work. But, you say, won't that happen again and again all over Europe? Won't the capitalists be able to strangle the revolution again and again when it breaks out anew? Not necessarily, as I will show later on.

The coming events will not take place in a vacuum. Capitalism, in its catastrophic downward plunge toward the abyss, can offer the masses of Europe only a new serfdom, political reaction, starvation, disease, and self-destructive wars. The Europe of today provides little soil for reformism to take root and flourish. In the coming days in Europe, gradualism will be thought of as a bizarre, as a totally unrealistic philosophy. There will be no new flowering of bourgeois democracy. The economic preconditions and even a good many of the political preconditions for an extended period of bourgeois democracy have disappeared.

Europe, today enslaved, exploited and subjugated by the Nazis, tomorrow is going to be overrun by the armies of Anglo-American capitalism. Roosevelt and Churchill are going to have to take on the job of "pacifying Europe," of crushing the rising revolution. With all his hangmen, with all his firing squads, with his whole murderous machine, Hitler has found it impossible to pacify Europe or to halt the resistance of its people. Now Roosevelt and Churchill propose to jump into this red hot cauldron. They will have even less success. . .

Roosevelt's war for democracy was pretty well compromised from the very start by the alliance with Vargas, the butcher of Brazil, by support of Franco, the butcher of Spain, by the deals with Petain and Darlan. Now the Allied military machine in Italy, propping up the shadow government of Badoglio and of the fascist-loving monarchy, provides us with a blueprint of the Anglo-American aims and program for Europe. Roosevelt and Churchill are embarking on a program of setting up militarymonarchist and clerical dictatorships under their hegemony all over Europe. Roosevelt and Churchill plan to dismember Europe and to convert its countries into a bunch of colonies. They aim to convert the European peoples into serfs of Anglo-American capitalism.

Role of Democratic Republics

Is it any wonder that they fear like the plague to encourage any popular democratic movements of liberation? No. They understand that it is not in the cards to establish stable democratic governments in Europe today. They know that, given their democratic rights, the European working class would not require overly much time to organize their revolutionary parties and to overthrow all of their capitalist oppressors. That is why Roosevelt and Churchill are absolutely right when they calculate that the choice is either a Franco-type dictatorship or the socialist revolution. There is no alternative. There exists no middle-of-theroad program. Of course, no one must take this to mean that petty-bourgeois democrats will play no further role in attempts to stem the advance of the proletarian revolution. When the masses rise up in revolt, when naked military force proves powerless to stem the revolutionary advance, then the European capitalists, allied with the imperialist invaders, will push forward their treacherous social-democratic and Stalinist agents. They will make a new effort to strangle the revolution in a democratic noose. In their hour of desperation, the capitalists will use any device and try any trickery, they will try to preserve their rule behind the facade of democratic forms, and if they have to, they will even organize and push to the fore a democratic republic. But such democratic republics, if set up, will be merely by-products of uncompleted revolutionary movements. By their very nature they are going to prove unstable and of very short duration. They will represent not a new equilibrium, but merely a short-lived stage which must end either in the victory of the workers revolution or the definitive victory of the counter-revolution. . . You will see in Europe in the next period all the burning hatred, all the accumulated rancor, that is now directed at and vented against the Nazi oppressors, you will see it turned with redoubled ferocity against the Yankee capitalists. You are going to see all the aspirations of the European peoples for national freedom which have been trampled underfoot by the Nazi beasts, you will see those national aspirations fused with their social struggles and they will be vented against the native capitalists who betrayed them to Hitler and who are allied today or will be allied tomorrow with the Anglo-American invaders. You are going to see Trotsky's great idea, the Socialist United States of Europe, you are going to see that idea become the rallying cry that is going to unite the European masses against all the despotic schemes and counter-revolutionary designs of the Anglo-American camp. You are going to see the fight waged under that slogan against the attempt to balkanize, exploit and dismember the continent. . . The revolutionary uprising of the Italian masses is only a foretaste, a harbinger of the revolutionary wave that will sweep the continent, from one end to the other. That is why the parties of the Fourth International in Europe are not going to have to recruit their members and build up their strength and their following on the sole basis of slow, routine work, painfully recruiting their members one by one. No, they won't have to confine their activity in the next period to such modest tasks. Europe is trembling on the verge of great events and the fall of Nazism will rock the continent to its very foundations. And amidst these convulsions that are going to shake European society, from top to bottom, the parties of the Fourth International will rise and live and grow. They will be able to build mass parties and win mass support in relatively short periods of time. This is not just theory or speculation. In Spain, the POUM, a centrist party with a muddle-headed, indecisive leadership, starting from virtually nothing, no big membership, no great prestige in the working class movement, was able to build a mass party, with several big daily newspapers, with a big apparatus, with its own military staff - a party that had the definite opportunity to make the revolution

if it had a Bolshevik program and leadership; this party was built up in the course of less than two years in the period of the upsurge of the Spanish revolution. The Trotskyist fighters will be able to accomplish the task of building a mass revolutionary party in as short, or possibly even a shorter period of time. The social-democrats, the reformists, the Stalinists, will of course all be there, working to throttle the revolution, to physically destroy the revolutionary vanguard. But as the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky proved, with a correct program, under a wise leadership, all these agents of dying capitalist society can be exposed and crushed and the Marxist party can win the leadership of the mass struggle. Our co-thinkers in Europe will not lack for opportunities.

No, there is absolutely no ground, however you look at it, however you examine it, there is no ground for pessimism, for scepticism or for lack of faith. Pessimism is unfounded; pessimism is unrealistic. Far more probable than the successful and definitive crushing of the European revolution by the Anglo-American capitalists, will be the revolutionary infection of their troops and the sparks of the European conflagration flying across the continent into England and into the United States. . .

Reason for Red Army Victories

The next great event in the course of this World War, which has affected the whole course of the military struggle and altered the whole relationship of forces, is the amazing and unprecedented victories of the Red Army. And here too, the petty-bourgeois theories of Soviet "imperialism," of the new "acquisitive class" which has taken over in the Soviet Union, here too, the new theories have not stood up very well under the impact of the events. How is anybody going to explain today that amazing unity of Soviet peoples, that unprecedented vitality and morale which exists throughout the Red Army and the peoples of the Soviet Union, except on the theory that the October revolution, though stifled and degraded, still lives. It is an absolutely unprecedented phenomenon, that after the dreadful defeats that the Red Army suffered, after the unheard of devastation of its industries and its farmlands, the Russian people were able to rally their forces, build up, starting from scratch, a new general staff, rebuild their industries and hurl back the most powerful military machine that exists in the world today, and probably in the whole history of warfare. . .

The imperialists are well aware of the fundamental contradiction that exists between the economy of the Soviet Union and of the capitalist world. They never permit themselves to forget it. They dread and fear the Soviet Union because it is the bearer of a new and a higher civilization than their own. They reveal their true feelings by their reaction to every Soviet success, their reaction to every advance of the Red Army. Presumably they are allies. Presumably the struggle is one for all and all for one. Presumably every victory on the Eastern front should fill them with elation because it lightens their own burden in winning the final victory over the common foe. But instead, every victory of the Soviet Union is greeted with dismay and horrible foreboding in Washington and London.

The pact that they recently concluded in Moscow, based on an agreement of Roosevelt and Churchill with Stalin to join forces against the European revolution - and that is what it is in its essence — that pact has not and could not eliminate the fundamental antagonism that exists between the two systems. . . Neither Stalin's subservience to imperialism, nor his counterrevolutionary aims in Europe, can abolish this basic contradiction. The contradiction is there, and at a subsequent stage it must again break into the open, and unless the European revolution intervenes, must eventually lead to armed conflict between the USSR and Anglo-American capitalism.

Stalin understands this very well. His constant changes of front, his treachery, his double-dealing, his maneuvering and tacking, which so perplexes the bourgeois commentators, - that is explained by us, and we are the only ones who have properly explained it - by the contradictory position of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which conducts its reactionary counter-revolutionary policies upon the foundations of a workers state, degenerated though it be. Stalin's contradictory position forces him to try to bargain with the imperialists for all kinds of territorial concessions on the periphery of the Soviet Union. For such tenth-rate concessions, he betrays the international revolution and the international working class. But the inevitable consequences of his betrayals always serve to deal another blow against the Soviet Union.

Factors Impelling Stalin And Allies To Agreement

By M. Morrison -

What factors impel Stalin and Not being certain of Stalin's the leaders of the capitalist territorial ambitions, the capitaldemocracies to arrive at some ist leaders acquire some degree of confidence when Stalin's repunderstanding? I am referring presentative signs an agreement not only to the recent Moscow formally pledging not to employ pact but to agreements which the Red Army, after peace is may be arrived at in the future. declared, in territories of other states without previous consulta-First and foremost is the fear, tion.

common to the Stalinist bureau-Roosevelt and Churchill, especracy and the capitalists, of the cially the latter, have probably. coming European revolution. A reconciled themselves to giving united front against the masses Stalin the Baltic countries and of Europe instills them with even eastern Poland. The probagreater confidence in their ability yet been formally settled and that to deal with the upheavals that the United States is waiting to are well-nigh inevitable after the see what the situation will be, complete defeat of Hitler. after Germany surrenders, before

making a final decision on Stalin's Are we to conclude that the territorial demands. What atsigners of the Moscow pact titude the capitalist leaders take openly discussed the European will not depend upon any agreerevolution and expressly agreed ment, if one has been reached, to strangle it? One of the objecbut upon far more realistic considerations, such as the strength tives of the pact is "to maintain of the Red Army, the developinternational peace and security." | ment of the European revolution This can be taken to mean not and the attitude of the American only as referring to wars be- and English masses.

tween nations but also to suppress revolutionary uprisings of It must also be noted that to

the masses. A more significant go to war against the Soviet objective mentioned in the pact Union after the present conflict is "to establish law and order," is over entails too great a risk. a phrase almost always used by Under any circumstances a war reactionaries when they speak of following immediately upon the suppressing any revolt of the masses. It may well be the case leaders understand just as well as that the question of the European we do, that the masses can endure revolution was actually discussed so much and no more and they by Molotov, Eden and Hull. We will therefore do their best to need not, however, concern our- avoid taking such a risk. A war selves with that relatively minor be especially risky because the question. What is important to European masses will side with understand is that the funda- the Soviet Union and the British mental factor driving Stalin, workers would undoubtedly op-Roosevelt and Churchill to arrive pose such a war. at an agreement is the fear of a fundamental antagonism between European revolution. terribly difficult, if not impos- rule out a period of peace be-

grand scale, upon whom they siderably diminished by Stalin's must rely to keep the masses from political line. taking to the path of revolution. They well realize that neither prestige among the European masses and that Stalin, by virtue

defeat of Germany and Japan would be too risky. The capitalist against the Soviet Union would Recognizing the existence of a

the capitalist world and the Without Stalin it would be Soviet Union does not mean to sible, for the capitalists to sup-duration. Especially is this true press a revolution in Europe. To with the Soviet Union under the the capitalists of the United control of Stalin. Because the States and Great Britain, Stalin antagonism of the capitalist world is a sort of labor leader on a to the Soviet Union is con-

A large section of the leading capitalists of this country and of Churchill nor Roosevelt has any England are banking on the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union through Stalin's Soviet Union and because of the victories of the Red Army, has storetion of the Tetrational, the revictories of the Red Army, has such influence among the masses that it may be possible, with his aid, to prevent an unrising

After the Fall of Mussolini

But the removal of Mussolini had the very opposite effect. As soon as the news spread of his downwfall, the people began to pour into the streets. The capitalist rulers who thought they could rule as before, minus Mussolini, found instead that they had a people's revolution on their hands. The masses surging through the streets, began to hunt out the most obnoxious and hated of the fascist officials. Many of these received summary justice on the spot. The masses proceeded to storm the jails and release the political prisoners. They began to destroy the whole apparatus, root and branch, of the fascist regime, and they addressed themselves to Badoglio and his treacherous makeshift government and demanded an end of the war.

In all of this we see the most powerful demonstration of the deathless vitality, of the irrepressible power of the working class. All the jailings for twenty years, the killings, the castor oil treatments, all the terror that was devised by Italian capitalism, all this could not wipe out the class struggle or prevent it from developing. The working class, which was atomized and crushed after the terrible defeat of 1922 gradually reassembled its ranks. They gradually healed their wounds. They brought forth new leaders out of their ranks and at the very first favorable opportunity they again rose up in all of their majesty and might, and they swept the fascist regime off the face of the earth.

The Italian revolution demonstrated that the working class is still the power in modern society and that all it needs is an adequate program and leadership to guarantee its victory. The Italian revolution demonstrated again that the working class, in alliance with the peasantry, is the only revolutionary force in Europe today. The Italian revolution demonstrated that there exists no intermediate revolution, that no intermediate revolution is possible in Europe, that the only kind of revolution the working class can and will lead is the socialist revolution. The Italian revolution demonstrated that the only alternative to the continued rule of monpoly capitalism and its repressions and wars and hunger, that the only alternative to all of this is the rule of the workers, soldiers and peasant Soviets.

Our Party Will Ride the Storm

It was demonstrated in his deal with Hitler. As soon as Hitler freed himself in the West, he hurled his awesome might against the Soviet Union. Stalin's new allies will not and cannot act otherwise. If they are established in a dominating position on the European continent, freed of other military struggles, of necessity they must seek to surround and strangle the USSR in order to restore capitalist private property and to open up that onesixth of the world for capitalist exploitation. Stalin knows this. That is why he tried to find a middle course. On one hand, he sets up "Free German" and "Free Poland" committees. He lends support to the Yugoslav Partisans. He plays around with the idea of reconstituting pseudo-democratic regimes in Germany and elsewhere, all for the purpose of strengthening his hand against the capitalists. On the other hand, he makes deals with the Anglo-American capitalists to cooperate with them in crushing the European revolution and subjugating its peoples.

Stalin's attempts to find a middle course are doomed to failure. Either the socialist revolution is going to conquer in Europe or the continent is going to become the vassal of Anglo-American capitalism. Either the Soviet Union will secure itself by an alliance with a successful Socialist revolution, or eventually it is going to be destroyed and conquered by the capitalists. There, are no other alternatives. . .

We look back today on the last fifteen years of the Trotskyist movement, fifteen years of work, of struggle, of slow, painful growth. And today, as Europe trembles on the verge of great events, we are still not a mass party, nor has the Fourth International yet a mass following. Still we are today more optimistic than ever before. Not because we are professional optimists, but because the facts do not justify any other conclusions.

The reserves of capitalism are melting away before our very eyes. The peoples of the world hunger for a change and they can't, they won't find any other way out but the way of the socialist revolution. Out of the agony of the battlefields, out of the devastation and the ruins is being shaped the revolutionary anger and determination of the peoples which will erupt in a revolutionary storm. When that awful avenging storm breaks, as break it must, as break it will, it is going to sweep all the old rubbish out of its path. It is going to drive the tyrants and the exploiters before it, like leaves driven before an oncoming gale. The Trotskyist party of the socialist revolution will take its rightful place at the head of the people and will ride that storm. Our party has earned that right. Our cadres have grown hard and firm in adversary. Our cadres stood like a stone wall and never wavered in the times, described by Tom Paine, as the "times that try mens' souls." Our party, which like a steel spring, has been compressed for so long by its inner force, will, when released, shatter id, to prevent an uprising.

ideology.are hopeful signs to Stalin, on his part, would prefer quite a few influential capitalist to prevent a revolution rather leaders. When a reactionary like than to suppress it. His prestige Captain Rickenbacker announces with the European masses that the Soviet Union is developdepends upon his ability to avoid ing in the direction of democracy the use of force against them. while the United States is The American capitalists can help progressing in the other direchim in this respect by furnishing tion, we must attribute the statefood to the hungry people of ment, no matter how stupid it is; Europe. If the capitalists need to a hope that, under Stalin, Stalin's prestige to prevent or capitalism might yet be restored. suppress a revolution, Stalin This hope is greatly nourished by needs the food which the capitalist the fact that the destruction countries can furnish to help him caused by Hitler's invasion will in keeping the masses under his compel Stalin to appeal for economic aid to the capitalist control.

One important difference must countries and grant further polibe kept in mind in considering the tical concessions in return for relationship of Stalin and that of such aid.

the capitalists to a European For Stalin the necessity of revolution. Under any and all economic aid from the capitalist circumstances the revolting countries to restore the damaged masses of Europe will have to economy of the Soviet Union is a contend with the armed forces powerful incentive to arrive at an, of the latter. In the case of Stalin agreement with the United States there is a great likelihood that he and England. It would appear, will attempt to control the upon an analysis of all the revolution should its sweep be- factors that the leaders of the come too powerful to be sup- powerful capitalist nations and pressed by force. His prestige Stalin will make a serious effort and his control of a powerful ap- to arrive at some agreement.

* * *

paratus will undoubtedly be used n an attempt first to prevent or suppress a revolution, and if that Naturally no revolutionary fails to take the leadership of the Marxist can be against an agreerevolution and turn it into bureau-* * *

the capitalist democracies the of and the desire to strangle the fear of a "revolution a la Stalin" coming European revolution. It is a factor of considerable im- is this aspect of the agreement portance in their desire to reach that must be emphasized over an agreement with the Kremlin and over again. No agreement dictator. The expropriation of the can solve the problems of the capitalists in the territory seized European masses. The terrible by Stalin, in accordance with the conditions under which they live Hitler-Stalin pact, confirms the will impel them to a revolutionary fear of the capitalists that Stalin's solution. The European revolution rule means an end to capitalism. will upset all agreements made And to them expropriation is just by Stalin with the capitalists as painful when consummated by and, if successful, will assure the a bureaucratic caste as when it is safety of the Soviet Union against accomplished by a revolutionary any capitalist attack and against the Stalinist bureaucracy. workers' government.

every obstacle in its path by its furious rebound. And the name of Trotsky, which so many times in his lifetime had evoked fear and consternation in the camp of the capitalists, will again strike terror into their hearts, because it is with Trotsky's program that the masses are going to storm the citadel and it is under his banner that they will win the final victory.

ment between the Soviet Union cratic channels. and capitalist nations. But we are confronted here with an agreement between Stalin and On the part of the leaders of the capitalists based on the fear FOUR-



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.
- 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.
- 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' Govern-

as the workers in the factories need their committees to protect their rights and interests, so must the soldiers have the right to elect soldiers' committees to defend their democratic rights and protect them from abuse and indignities at the hands of officers like Patton.

ALP Faction Fight

The unprincipled clique fight waged by the Stalinists and the Dubinsky-Social-Democratic factions for control has again thrust the American Labor Party into a first-class crisis. Both factions have a similar program. Both factions have vied with each other in an attempt to convert the ALP into the fifth wheel of Roosevelt's Democratic party. But the Stalinists are definitely coming out ahead in the clique fight.

The current elections in New York demonstrated the strength of the Stalinists both inside and outside the ALP. The Stalinist faction won control of the New York ALP organization. Moreover, the Communist Party elected more candidates to the New York City Council than the ALP itself.

The opposing Dubinsky - Social - Democratic clique, which still retains control of the ALP State Committee, fears that the Stalinist faction is now in a position to wrest complete control of the ALP organization. The coming meeting of the State Committee will have to act on the "unity" proposal submitted by Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and Chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee. Hillman proposes in essence that all CIO unions including the Stalinist-led unions, be admitted into the ALP. Control of the party is to be vested in the trade unions on the basis of per capita tax payments. The political meaning of this proposal: a thinly-veiled ultimatum to the Dubinsky-Social-Democratic faction to relinquish control of the ALP to Hillman in alliance with the Stalinists. Hillman, whose present program is the same as that of the Stalinists, wants to seize control of the ALP in order to convert it into a pawn of the "Rooseveltfor-a-fourth-term" CIO Political Action Committee, and then to jettison the party after the 1944 elections.

The whole wretched squabble over control of the ALP reveals very clearly the character of the labor bureaucrats. They are all reactionary through and through. The Dubinsky-Social-Democratic faction, knows no other policy but to convert labor's own party into a tail of Roosevelt's political kite. The Stalinist finks and the Hillman-CIO bureaucrats are maneuvering for position in order to blow up labor's political party from within, in favor of Roosevelt's Democratic Party.

The political crisis continues to mount in Britain, as a result of the government's action in releasing Oswald Mosley, British Fascist No. 1. Lord Strabolgi, Labor Party "whip" in the House of Lords, declared: "In my long political life I have never known such a spontaneous and sincere uprising of public opinion."





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.

Stalinists in Local 65 Editor: Conditions in Local 65, CIO

Wholesale and Warehouse Workers Union, are about as bad as can be expected in a union controlled from top to bottom by the Stalinist sell-out artists. , The mula. leadership has unhesitatingly saccrificed every interest of the

workers whenever these interests with Roosevelt's war program. Dave Livingston, vice-president of the Local and general handler militancy, recently proclaimed the remnant of an opposition lead- industry.)

that less than two percent of the ership within the Local. contracts submitted to the WLB In one shop a contract negotia-

aren't frozen, this statement hop are!

The warehouse workers are stirring restlessly under the pressure of frozen wages and soaring test against the company, all came into the slightest conflict prices, but the only kind of "ac- overtime be cut out during the tion" they are allowed to take is | Christmas rush. However, this to mail another postcard to Congress. Every manifestation of mi- linists who denounced it as a of all the dirty work when it litant action is stifled as soon as strike "holding up vital produccomes to squelching the workers it is spotted, since there is not tion" (it is an entirely non-war

In addition, one of the first acts vent the Syrians and Lebanese

of Trotsky, as Soviet Commissar | from struggling for independence.

lish all the secret treaties found curred in Damascus. Again in

posure by the Bolsheviks of the fought heroically for over a year

secret plans of France and Brit- against French troops. Every out-

ain to carve up the Near East break of popular resistance was

visable to screen their military abroad to arouse sentiment for

dictatorships with pacifistic and independence, they were arrested,

humanitarian formulas. That is tried for "treason to the father-

now they devised the mandate land" and deported.

France's Record Of Colonial Exploitation In Middle East mulating and deepening the the power to make decisions were

peoples against imperialism.

of Foreign Affairs, was to pub-

further intensified the resistance

French and British deemed it ad-

system of the League of Nations.

France did not steal Lebanon and

By MARK BRADEN

struggle of the oppressed colonial created. But all these methods of Far from being an accidental or isolated incident, the heroic independence struggle of the Lebanese is a determined reaction to the brutalities of 23 years of French imperialist rule. Lebanon and Syria, with a civilization that exin the Czar's archives. The ex- 1925, the Druse tribes rebelled and ends back to antiquity, were part of the Turkish Empire before the First World War. From 1912, Great Britain and France agreed of the colonial peoples. The first Lebanese Chamber of Depuupon the division of the spoils of he Turkish colonial territories. This agreement was formalized in the Sykes-Picot secret treaty of 1916. This secret pact, made without the knowledge of the countries involved, provided that Britain would get Palestine and Arabia.

Syria outright. These countries and France, Lebanon and Svria. were merely placed under her This did not prevent the French 'protection" for the purpose of and British rulers from hypocrit-'administrative advice and assistically promising in 1918, and ance until they are able to stand again in 1920, that their military alone" (Covenant of the League occupation would in no way afof Nations). fect the national welfare of these Putting a silk glove on the countries. But these words were mailed fist fooled nobody, least only a cloak to conceal their imof all the Syrians and Lebanese. perialist designs. In the fall of One leader of the nationalist Sv-1920, French troops, installed on rian Independence Party summarthe coast of Syria after the with-

ized the role of the League of Nadrawal of the British, presented tions as "simply an institution an ultimatum to the government whose aim is to provide a cloak of Lébanon, demanding the demoof legality for the greedy enbilization of its army, and, in efcroachments of France and Eng- France to control and exploit the fect, full surrender of its soverland." eignty. This humiliating ultima-

tum was met, but that did not DIVIDE AND RULE "Under the cloak of legality," | coupled with continued political prevent the French from attacking anyway, and establishing a the French consolidated their re-

had been rejected, this supposed- | ted for Jan. 1943 has been arbily proving that wages are NOT trated after nine months, the arbi-(Livingston's emphasis) frozen. tration rejected by the boss, and Far from proving that wages the dispute now is in the hands of the U. S. Conciliation Service. shows that Livingston & Co. have If they approve the increase, the not even attempted to submit any case will then go to the WLB. contracts to the Board which You can well imagine what the would violate the Little Steel for- sentiments of the workers in this

At a shop meeting militant workers proposed that as a promeasure was opposed by the Sta-

New York City

D. J.

French imperialism could not pre-

In 1922, big demonstrations oc-

ruthlessly suppressed. When the

ties decided to send a Commission

The French capitalists and

bankers moved in. A bank was

established with a capitalization

of 10 million francs, and imme-

diately proceeded to issue 200 mil-

lion francs of paper currency to

control local business. France re-

stricted the exports of Lebanon

and Syria and at the same time

began steadily to increase imports

from France. Lebanon's gold sup-

oly began to move in the direc-

tion of Paris. These economic

measures, far from "assisting"

Lebanon and Syria in any way,

These economic methods were

oppression. Every time the Le-

anese Chamber of Deputies voted

were deliberate attempts

BANKERS MOVE IN

Negroes in Brooklyn Are Victims of Reactionaries

By David Ransom

Violence against Negroes is an old, old story in this country. It is as much a part of the system of Jim Crow as the poll tax. And as every Negro knows, the war has brought a tremendous increase in the number of individual and mob assaults in every part of the country. These attacks have one purpose in mind - to frighten Negroes into accepting an "inferior" status and foregoing a militant struggle against Jim Crow.

In every instance the anti-Negro elements take advantage of the aggravated social conditions brought on by the war. In Beaumont, Texas, in Los Angeles, and in Detroit, the reactionaries turned the discontent of the war-impoverished lower middle-class and the more backward workers against the Negroes. Here is a direct consequence of Wall Street's war. It has strengthened the hand of reactionaries against the Negro people

And now we see the beginning of the same pattern in New York City. Behind the Kings County Grand Jury charge of a "crime wave" in Brooklyn's "Little Harlem" can be discovered the Detroit formula: To whip up racial hostility with a false picture of lawlessness; to justify violence against Negroes in the name of "law and order."

The capitalist press was quick to seize on the Grand Jury's report as an excuse for indulging in a smear campaign without caring to discover whether the charges were true or false. The N. Y. Times backed up the Grand Jury's demand for police brutality by picturing police as "sullen because they could not cut down hoodlumism with force." The N. Y. Post, a supposedly liberal paper, picked up the accusation of wide-spread juvenile delinquency and ran a headline that screamed, "Almost Every Child in Bedford-Stuyvesant Area Carries Knife." The rest of the metropolitan press followed suit. In New York, as in Detroit and Los Angeles, the capitalist papers showed themselves eager to stir up the most reactionary prejudices.

Not only the press but the very officials and agencies supposed to uphold "law and order" --- the courts and judges — take part in the attack on the Negroes of "Little Harlem." How Negroes are regarded by the agencies of "law and order" is shown in the statement of Judge James Garrot Wallace last month. While sentencing a Negro youth to ten years in jail for allegedly robbing and beating a white woman, Wallace said, "In some parts of this country, you would have been hung from a lamp-post with several bullets in you for attacking a woman like that." This talk, worthy of a Southern bourbon, came from an official who pretends to deal out equal justice to all

Nor should it be forgotten that the Grand Jury which made the report is itself part of the official apparatus of "law and order." Not one Negro served on this jury and only one Negro was called to testify. before it.

It has been pointed out that immediate inspiration for this attack on the Negroes came from certain real estate operators who stand to profit doubly if they can drive the Negroes into one corner of the Bedford-Stuyvesant area. Led by a scoundrel named Sumner Sirtl, these real estate sharks want to convert "Little Harlem" into a residential district for the wealthy and extort even higher rents from the more closely segregated Negroes.

The first duty of the New York labor movement is to expose Sirtl and the Midtown Civic League, as well

against imperialist attack.

Much about the UNRRA set-up remains cloaked in diplomatic obscurity, but its main features are Iready clean Under the imposing faced

military regime throughout Le-banon and Syria. Thus the "war for democracy" brought to the Syrians and Lebanese only the distance of the content of the con

country economically.

as providing Negroes with defense from any possible assaults. But neither Negroes nor the labor movement should rest content with smoking out Sirtl and his