FREE THE 12!

THE MILITANT PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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BIG BUSINESS SPURS OPEN SHOP DRIVE

PRICE: FIVE CENTS 267

CRDC Opens Christmas Fund Drive To Aid 18

The Civil Rights Defense Committee this week announced the launching of a Christmas Fund Campaign to raise \$5,000 for the relief of the 12 Minneapolis Labor Case victims still in prison and to provide aid and Christmas presents for their wives and dependents.

In its announcement of the campaign to all local committees throughout the country, the

CRDČ declared: "We need this Postal, Local 544-CIO secretaryfund not only to provide relief treasurer, who was framed up and Christmas presents for the and sent to prison in Minnesota families and children of the pris- as part of the conspiracy of the oners, but to give each of the Roosevelt administration, Mintwelve who are still in prison a nesota employers and Daniel J. 'coming-out' purse of \$100 each Tobin, AFL Teamsters Czar, to as we did for the six already released. We also need money to drivers union movement led by provide transportation for the the Trotskyists. twelve who will be released in

January. "In addition we need funds to dent of the Minneapolis drivers of the Immigration Department to deport Carl Skoglund and to time of service to the labor move gain a full pardon for Kelly

Postal.' In a public appeal for contri-The Civil Rights Defense Com- butions to the \$5,000 Christmas mittee has organized the defense Fund, the CRDC states: "Our campaign for the 18 imprisoned Committee has taken the lead in Socialist Workers Party and the fight to repeal the vicious Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local Smith 'Gag' Act under which the 544-CIO leaders since the begin- 18 were the first to be convicted. ning of the Minneapolis Labor We must continue our national fense during the trial and sub- books. Our fight against injustice sequent appeals to higher courts. in this important case will help Since the 18 went to prison prevent further prosecutions last December 31 after the U.S. against militant leaders of the Supreme Court three times re- working class."

fused to even review the case, The Militant urges all its readthe CRDC has provided relief ers and all organized labor bodies for prisoners, their wives and to respond liberally to this children, and has mobilized the Christmas Fund appeal of the support of over 350 labor and Civil Rights Defense Committee. progressive organizations, repres- The working class must give full enting more than 3,500,000 mem- support to these militant fighters bers in a nation-wide demand for for labor's rights who have been an unconditional presidential par- victimized by capitalist "justice." Send all contributions to James don for the 18.

The CRDC is also engaged in T. Farrell, Chairman Civil Rights ttempting to secure a full and Defense Committee, 160 Fifth

smash the militant Minneapolis

The CRDC is defending Carl Skoglund, 60 year old veteran of the labor struggle, former presi-

prepare for the next stages in our local, and one of the 12 still imrepeal of the Smith 'Gag' Act; to prisoned, from the threat of deregain the civil rights of the 18 portation to Sweden at the termprisoners; to combat the efforts lived and worked in this country since 1911 and has given a lifement.

Our 'Democracy' *American Education Week was being celebrated in Washington, D. C. this week by a series of teachers' meetings' in which Negro and white teachers of the District of Columbia public schools gathered separately under a rigid

Education In

segregation arrangement. Dr. Rayford Logan, Negro educator and author, protested against this "travesty and mockery" in a telegram to the D. C. school superintendent, Robert Haycock, who replied denying responsibility for the meeting arrangements. Another lesson in official Jim Crowism.

Overflow Meeting For Jackson Talk **On Negro Struggle**

NEW YORK, Nov. 12 -Charles Jackson, writer of the widely-acclaimed Militant column, "The Negro Struggle," the Trotskyist weekly at the Sunday Night Forum of the N. Y. School of Social Science at 116 University Place.

So enthusiastic was the turnout for the first public appearance in this city of Comrade Jackson whose hard-hitting column has been quoted and reprinted by Negro publications throughout the country, that many were unable to get seats in the jammed lecture hall and heard his fighting speech on the "Negro Struggle for Equality" over a

In the same clear outspoken

Comrade Jackson presented a

devastating factual picture of the

role of the "democratic" capital-

ist government and all its agen-

the direct instrument of repres-

from top to bottom. Through

to act, they condone, teach, foster

and enforce the oppression of the

their actions and their failures

loudspeaker on another floor.

intransigence.

STALINIST CHINA

Kansu and Ninghsia. Smaller

Two Ends Of The Same Chain

Why Chiang Keeps Blockade Case in July 1941. It raised the large sums needed for the de-of oppression off the statute audience of worker-readers of of oppression off the statute audience of worker-readers of By Li Fu-Jen

The deepening crisis in China, and the manifest attempts of the American imperialists to exploit the crisis for their own predatory ends, has brought back into the news, with increasing insistence, the question of the Stalinists (the "so-called Communists" as the capitalist press refers to them) and their significance on the China scene.

The strategists of American imperialism, as we pointed out in The Militant last week, are bringing pressure to bear on Chiang Kai-shek to conclude a political truce with his Stalinist opponents and convert his \mathfrak{D}

Kuomintang-military dictator- areas, commonly referred to as ship into a "coalition" which "guerrilla territory," take in yould take them in and give parts of Hopei province, where the old capital of Peiping is situfashion that has made his col- them seats in the government. ated, and the western part of the umn so popular, Comrade Jack- Chiang has thus far resolutely eastern seaboard province of Shantung. There is additional guerrilla territory in the middle cial discrimination in the United formally in a "united front" with China provinces of Anhwei, States and issued a fighting call them, he keeps the large areas where the former Kuomintang to Negro and white workers to which they control under a tight capital of Nanking is situated unite behind the banner of revo- blockade and has announced that and Kiangsu, which contains the lutionary class struggle for so he will consider nothing less than great port of Shanghai. cialism as the only way to abol- the dissolution of this dual power.

State Anti-Labor Laws Strike New Blows At Union Security

Anti-Union Amendments Adopted In Florida And Arkansas; Defeated In California Poll

By R. Bell

The big business open-shoppers have succeeded during the recent election campaign in striking dangerous blows at the organized labor movement through the adoption of state constitutional amendments outlawing union and closed shop agreements.

Spearheading a national open shop offensive that is mounting in fury and intensity, the Southern Democratic Bourbon ruling class in the pro-Roosevelt states of Florida and Arkansas have shoved through precedent-making constitutional amendments aimed at undermining all union[®]

security safeguards and State of California read: "Every person has the right to work, paving the way for the and to seek, obtain and hold emdirect smashing of the with or impairment or abridgeabor movement.

ment of said right because he does or does not belong to or pay At the same time in California, money to a labor organization." another pro-Roosevelt state, only Florida's adopted measure prothe most vigorous opposition of vides: "The right of persons to the more widely organized trade work shall not be denied or abunions was able to defeat a ridged on account of membership similar measure by an uncom- or non-membership in any labor fortable 3 to 2 majority. union, or labor organization."

All these open-shop amend-The Arkansas measure states: ments show a common origin. "No person shall be denied em-They are couched in the same ployment, nor shall any individhypocritical language and purual, corporation or association be port to safeguard the individual's denied the right to employ any "right to work" without belong-person because of that person's ing to a union. In actuality the membership in or affiliation with, measures would prohibit an emor resignation from a labor union, ployer from signing a union shop or because of his failure or reagreement and would prohibit un- fusal to join or affiliate with a ions from demanding such agree- labor union, etc."

Seizing upon the opportunity

ployment, without interference

12 to the constitution of the

The Lessons For Labor In The 1944 Elections



'Contemptible' The Stalinist ranks have a hard time trying to keep pace

Daily

reader.

Worker of Nov. 13,

shows the pain of a harrassed

Oct. 31 (pg. 4) you state 'The

charge that Roosevelt is a

Communist is too contemptible

"Editor: In an article on

with the Daily Worker's flight ments Thus the proposed amendment toward reaction! The following letter, reprinted from the

(Continued on page 3)

unconditional pardon for Kelly Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Norman Thomas Brings Libel son delivered a searching Marx-ist analysis of the causes of ra-cial discrimination in the United formally in a "united forma Suit Against Daniel J. Tobin

The unbridled slander campaign being conducted by Daniel J. Tobin, czar of the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters, in his personal organ, International Teamster, has involved Tobin and his assistant editor Lester M. Hunt, in a \$500,000 suit for "malicious" libel." This suit has been brought by the Socialist Party leader, Norman Thomas.

The basis for the libel action is an article written by Hunt and recently published in Tobin's magazine which endorsed peacetime conscription and accused Thomas of being an ally and agent of Hitler. "Norman Thomas has a postwar plan," Hunt wrote. "His 'plan' fits in perfectly with Hitler's plan for future against the imprisoned Socialist conquest, which is not surprising when you remember that Thomas

is the head of the Socialist Party in the United States while Hitler is the leader of the Socialist Party of Germany."

ists, it is well-known, accuse now dead. Unfortunately, too ously insists on a Jim Crow everyone in the labor movement many of his followers are not." Army, Navy and Air Corps? who will not go along with their In an exchange of courtesies Roosevelt and his War and Navy program of sell-out to Wall Street and to the Roosevelt warmachine, as "agents of Hitler," sheets. "fifth columnists," etc.

UNITED FRONT

Tobin first took over this smear frameup in the Minneapolis case. technique from the red-baiting He aims thereby to smokescreen Stalinist press when he formed his own crimes against the laa united front with them against bor movement and to vilify and the 18 Trotskyists whom he help- suppress all those in labor's next scheduled Sunday Night the electoral successes of the Co- A national committee of seven, half year has carried articles re- labor must unite in the fight peating the Stalinist lies and adding a few of his own invention



Negro people. "Who protected Noble Ryder, Workers Party and CIO Truckthe recently freed murderer who

(Continued on page 2)

drivers leaders. lynched an aged Negro preacher In the August issue of Internain Liberty, Miss.? The sheriff, an tional Teamster, for example, Tobin's executive assistant, 'white supremacy' in the South? Thomas E. Flinn, sought to whip The courts and judges. Who holds Through his poison penman up a lynch spirit against the Negroes in Georgia in the chain Hunt, Tobin has lifted this type Trotskyists in the following man- gangs for stealing a loaf of of scurrilous accusation right out ner. "The Trotskyists," Flinn bread? The state. Who leads the of the Stalinist press and applied wrote, "were wrong in Russia. pack in race-baiting? Your govit—a bit crudely—for his own They were wrong in the United erament officials such as the reactionary purposes. The Stalin- States. Fortunately Trotsky is poll-tax Senators. Who tenaci-

tion.

widely reprinted in the Stalinist

the Army and Navy." Tobin employs these vicious methods for the same reasons

that he engineered the original

tional convention of the Trotsky- ion movement. ist Socialist Workers Party.

Yenan, in Shensi province, i ish capitalism, the system that A survey of these areas disclosing "indoctrinates race hatred" as a their geographic extent and locathe capital and administrativ means of dividing the working tion and their military, political center of Stalinist China. By class and maintaining exploita- and economic physiognomy, will means of radio communication, command is retained over the isoreveal the reasons for Chiang's lated guerrilla areas which are

also under Stalinist leadership and domination. The Stalinist-controlled areas As we see, this "state within a

cies in upholding and furthering total roughly 1,000,000 square state" is far from being a the Jim Crow system. "What is miles, which is nearly one-quarter negligible factor, geographically. of the entire country if the lat-Militarily it has also to be sion that condemns the Negro to ter is taken to include Manchuria reckoned with. The main area in second-class citizenship? It is and other outlying territories, the northwest is defended by a the state, that is, all the various Their population has been com- standing conscript army of 470, agencies of capitalist government puted at about \$0,000,000, which 000 regular troops in addition to is between one-fifth and one- a "People's Militia" totalling 2,sixth of China's total population. 300,000. Then there are the par-The main area is an unbroken, tisan fighters in the isolated though by no means symmetrical, guerrilla areas. If you walk four

territory covering parts of the or five miles outside of Peiping, northwestern provinces of Shensi.

(Continued on page 5)

agent of the state. What upholds white supremacy' in the South? Canada Trotskyists **Map Action Program**

CANADA - A national conference of the Canadian Trotskyists, with representation from major population centers, was held recently to discuss the major political and organizational spokesmen in attendance. tasks confronting the Trotskyist movement in Canada during the coming period.

Due to wartime repressions ference included active trade these and other slanders were Departments. Who carries out and restrictions, this was the unionists and participants in the this policy? The brass hats in first conference on a national CCF movement. In the spirit of manning lags over the Christmas theme of their campaign speech- laws and anti-labor repressions, scale which the Canadian Trot- greatest optimism for the future holiday period." Actually - and

The government, Comrade Jack- skyists have been able to convene of the revolutionary socialist son pointed out, acts as the in- in several years. It reflected the movement in Canada and internastrument for enforcing the rule tremendous increase in the eco- tionally, they discussed the perof the economic class in power, nomic and political activity of spectives of the working class The N. Y. School of Social Sci- the Canadian masses, who have and adopted a program of action ence is inviting all readers of been moving steadily leftward in for the Canadian Trotskyists in The Militant to participate in the the recent period as shown by the coming period.

ed railroad to prison in the Min- ranks who oppose in any way Forum, Nov. 26, 8 P.M., at 116 operative Commonwealth Feder- representing the Trotskyist neapolis Labor frameups. Every his reactionary political and University Place, to hear a re- ation, the Canadian counterpart groups in all important localities, issue of his magazine in the past trade-union policies. Progressive port by Charles Carsten, National of the British Labor Party, and and a national secretary were Educational Director, on the na- the huge growth of the trade un- elected. The conference recog-Representatives at the con-

(Continued on page 2)

for words,' As a Communist I resent this-since when is it 'contemptible' to be a Communist? Such a charge is 'fantastic' or just plain 'crazy,' but not contemptible, brothers and sisters."

NMU Officials Aim To Scuttle Union Hiring Hall System By F. J. Lang

A delegation of Stalinist officials from the National Mari- differences, either on foreign or CIO-PAC METHODS time Union (CIO), headed by domestic policy, between the con-Joseph Curran, attended a conference called by War Shipping Administrator, Emory S. Land, in Washington, D.C., November 10, where they presented their anda, compounded of demagogy, proposed solution to the alleged 'grave problem of manpower shortages and fluctuations" in the maritime industry.

According to the NMU's official paper, the Pilot, (Nov. 10) this conference was an "emer-****** gency meeting of key persons gogy and fantasy alone were infrom all sections of the maritime sufficient to accuse the workers, industry." All unions were repfear proved a most effective resented except the Sailors Union of the Pacific. The shipowners in the 1944 presidential election were present in force and the campaign. Fear of unemploy-War Shipping Administration,

Army Transport Service and other government agencies had The "emergency" character of

he conference, according to the war. Pilot, was determined by the urthis is also revealed by the Pilot story - the November 10 conference in Washington was the result of a letter written by Joseph on October 4 to Admiral Land, demanding that such a confer-

ence be called (see The Militant, Oct. 14) for the purpose of establishing a nation-wide shipping pool.

The Stalinist NMU leaders de-

(Continued on page 2)

By C. Thomas

The largest single factor in the election of Roosevelt for a fourth term was the overwhelming labor vote cast for the candidate of the Democratic party. In those states which were considered in the "doubtful" column, the labor vote in the large industrial centers proved decisive. It was conceded at the very beginning of the campaign that unless the workers were aroused to active participation the chances for Roosevelt's reelection were questionable. As it was expressed by political commentators, a small" vote would favor Dewey, a "Large" vote, Roosevelt, The CIO Political Committee thus played a major role in overcoming the apathy of the workers and herding them to the polls in record numbers to cast their ballots for Roosevelt. This was no small accomplishment.

inevitable consequence of the de-The campaign was distinguishcaying capitalist system. ed by the lack of any discernible

The CIO-PAC lent its aid to tending capitalist candidates and this deception. Dewey was equated parties. The burning issues con- with Hoover and the economic crisis. Roosevelt was portrayed as fronting the American workers were buried beneath an avalanche the "saviour" who rescued the of campaign oratory and propagworkers after the 1929 crash through the social reforms of the fantasy and fear. Where dema-New Deal. This refrain was unceasingly dinned into the ears of SEE EDITORIAL

the workers. The method was crude but effective. The image of job lines and hunger marches, of eviction riots and Hoovervilles. was paraded before the workers in a calculated effort to frighten them out of their apathy. Millions of leaflets and pamphlets, editorials and articles in the goad. Fear was crowned King union papers, speeches at countless union meetings, concentrated

on this "scare" propaganda. ment, insecurity and want; drove The labor bureaucrats carefully the workers to the polls to cast refrained from mentioning the their votes AGAINST a return labor record of the past Roosevelt to the catastrophic crisis which administration. The wage and followed shortly after the last job freeze, the rising cost of living, the fraud of Roosevelt's

Both capitalist candidates made "equality of sacrifice" program, gent need for "prevention of the question of "jobs" the central labor conscription, anti-strike es. Dewey harped on the fact the fact that Roosevelt himself that under the "New Deal" this had declared the New Deal dead, country remained in the throes found no place in the campaign of an economic crisis which ex- literature of the CIO-PAC. All tended over a longer period than of this was blanketed by a cloud Curran and Frederick N. Myers any other "depression" in the his- of demagogy in an effort to obtory of America - and was end- literate everything but the memed only by the war. Roosevelt ory of the "Republican" deprespointed to the Hoover era to sion. Every gain made by labor prove that the Democrats had in the past decade was credited "inherited" the Great Depression to Roosevelt whose responsibility from the Republicans. By this for a host of anti-labor measures exchange of recriminations, both adopted in recent years was care-

(Continued on page 3)

candidates aimed to obscure the fact that crises and wars are an

ON PAGE 6:

"Who Really Won"

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1944



Close-up View Of Stalinist Skullduggery

As practitioners of bureaucratic | First, the leadership anskullduggery and violence to un- nounced through their Local 101 ion democracy, there are no more News that admission to the meeting would be not only by membrazen and unrestrained elements in the labor movement than the bership card but also by plant Stalinists. These reactionary ex- badge. When the members came ponents of the capitalist "war to the meeting hall, they were for democracy" are conducting confronted by a huge Stalinist a ruthless war of their own goon squad, displaying arm against democracy in the trade bands. There were 45 goons lining the stairway and parading unions.

Several weeks ago we received the aisles demonstratively. Ina description from a Chicago In- cluded among the "sergeants at ternational Harvester tractor arms" were Stalinist recruits plant worker of what the Stalin- | from other locals. Bona-fide memist machine did in Local 101, CIO bers without plant badges were Farm Equipment and Metal excluded; Stalinist "reliables" Workers Union. This description were admitted even though not of how the Stalinist goons stole members. The meeting was as an election in Local 101 typifies "packed" as a can of sardines. the methods they employ * * * wherever they gain a strangle-Even so, the Stalinists took no

hold on a union body.

chances. Here is what happened One of the issues before the according to the eye-witness ac FEMWU-CIO convention last count of the Local 101 member month at South Bend, Ind., was the appeal of six Local 101 memwho wrote to us:

"Two leaders of the Rank and bers who had been expelled without a membership trial by the File caucus were kidnapped and International Executive Board on imprisoned in rooms below. When the basis of charges trumped up one of them, Harry Deveraux, by the local Stalinist leadership. went to the wash room on the floor below, two Stalinist 'ser-The expulsions were part of the campaign of the Stalinists to re-|geants-at-arms' strong-armed him tain control over the FEMWU. and locked him in a room by Naturally, the expelled workers' himself. Being a daring charappeal never got before the conacter, Deveraux jumped out of the window from the second floor vention delegates, being ruled out in advance on a flimsy techniand tried to get back into the But the Stalinist tops meeting. But the 'sergeants-atcality. arms' locked the street door and did seat their own local henchrefused him entrance. men who stole the election for

Local 101 delegates in a fashion "He shouted up to the members at the meeting which was on the that deserves to be recorded as an object-lesson for all honest, third floor. Those at the winmilitant workers on how Stalinism operates in the trade unions.

* * *

the hall. The members were all Last summer, prior to the elecstirred up. Finally, a 'sergeant-attion of convention delegates, the arms' and a rank and file mem-Stalinist - dominated executive ber had to go down and escort board of Local 101 trumped up Harry back into the meeting. charges against 6 workers of the When Harry tried to take the anti-Stalinist tendency, whose floor and tell what had happensummary expulsion after a farci- ed, the Stalinist Chairman, cal "kangaroo court" trial by a Isadore Lind, refused him the committee of international rep- floor. When this decision was challenged and a vote taken, the resentatives was announced. The expelled workers were accused of 'sergeants-at-arms' hastily made "organizing a faction" and con- a show of counting the votesstituting a "dual movement" to 'one for you and two for me'the CIO, the Stalinist method of and announced the chair was misrepresenting every rank and upheld."

file opposition. The Stalinist Before the vote on the elections clique itself is an unscrupulous committee the chairman handfaction operating under the guise picked 5 loyal henchmen to tally of union office and using union the vote. The result was a forefunds and facilities to further its gone conclusion. They reported factional purposes. a 100% Stalinist slate elected.

When at a subsequent membership meeting the local Stalinist officials, backed by several international representatives, tried to

8026

Car

Pione

TRADE UNION Pamphlet Sales Reach 90 Percent NOTES With one more work to comparison Manager

branches are too busy completing their quotas to send in detailed reports. But indications are that they will finish the campaign in fine style. Meanwhile, we publish from our recent mail more of the interesting comments made by readers of The Militant who are showing an ever-greater appreciation of the ideas of Trotskyism. The Minneapolis Case pamphlet set, including "Socialism on Trial," "In Defense of Socialism," "Who Are the 18?" and "Why We Are In Prison," comprise the simplest, quickest introduction to Marxist ideas that we have yet seen.

From Our Mailbag

Buffalo: We sold 72 more Minneapolis Case pamphlets this week -much of interest, but we will make the report later.

Los Angeles: Our total to date includes 369 pamphlet sets, plus 46 individual Minneapolis Case pamphlets. This puts us over the top. One friend has sold 19 sets in his plant within the last month, in addition to obtaining 25 new trial subs. 6 sets, as well as 22 single copies of "Socialism on Trial," were sold to a meeting of longshoremen in San Pedro. Our Sunday mobilization, which had such great possibilities, was cut short by heavy rains. However, in about an hour we did sell 40 pamphlets and obtain 5 subscription renewals.

It is interesting to observe that several readers of The Militant who had previously said they were "not interested," have showed a change of mind in the period of a month, and now like The Militant and are interested in the pamphlet sets. Very few people are antagonistic.

Minneapolis: We have sold 320 Minneapolis Case pamphlets so far, most of them at union meetings. Five sets were sold this Sunday noon at a local UAW-CIO meeting.

Seattle: We have already sold a hundred sets of the Minneapolis Case pamphlets and in the next couple of weeks we should sell a lot more. Not included in the score are a number of copies of "Wartime Crimes of Big Business" and the various Negro pamphlets which were also sold in visiting Militant readers. One reader we spoke to said he likes Kovalesky's column because it expressed the sentiments he felt when he worked in the steel mills in Birmingham for seven years

Detroit: Some of the reports jotted down by our comrades after visiting readers of The Militant are interesting: "Likes Jackson column very much. Wife reads paper too. Asked us to stop by again for names of friends for premium subs." "Bought set of Minneapolis Case pamphlets. 'History of American Trotskyism,' and renewed his subscription for 6 months. This reader, active in the UAW, voted for rescinding the no-strike pledge." "One subscriber bought THREE sets of the pamphlets. Incidentally, practically all of the Minneapolis Case pamphlets we have sold have been in complete sets."

Toledo: We meet with good response in our sale of pamphlets. dows heard him and in turn informed the meeting of Harry's Our lack of time and forces limit our work, but we will not let up kidnapping and exclusion from until the deadline arrives. We have yet to receive any comments critical of the pamphlets or The Militant.

New York: We spent the week concentrating on inviting readers of The Militant to the Charles Jackson meeting, where we sold six sets of the Minneapolis Case pamphlets, as well as other literature, and had some very good discussions.

One of the many new readers of the paper who came to the meeting was a longshoreman who had been reading The Militant for the Trotskyist union militants. only six or seven weeks. He first saw a copy of the paper when his wife found it in the mailbox and brought it to him. He read his first copy while taking care of the children that night, and liked its ideas. He found out later that his brother, a Militant subscriber, had sent the paper to him as a premium sub. This worker is a great admirer of the Soviet Union because the workers have taken power there, and is 100 percent for a labor party in New York. He felt that the hun-

dreds of thousands of workers who voted for Democratic candidates on the ALP and Liberal Party line showed that what they really wanted was an independent candidate for labor. At the meeting he bought a six-month sub to the paper.

The New York totals to date are: 2672 pamphlets sold; one 2-yr. sub; 13 one-year subs; 392 six-month subs; 257 premium subs for friends and shopmates of the new subscribers; and 83 new trial subscriptions. When the actual voting for del-





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,

Branches Celebrate October 1917 Revolution Anniversary

CHICAGO. Nov. 5 - An en-1 quoted the following passage the October Revolution, and of thusiastic audience of more than from Trotsky's speech to the 10th the Bolshevik leaders, Lenin and Anniversary Meeting of the Trotsky, who pioneered the way. 150 persons joined in the celebration of the 27th Anniver- | S.W.P. in 1938. This was the theme of Com-

"Our party takes each one of sary of the Russian Revolution, us wholly. But in return it gives ing held tonight by the Detroit held in Buckingham Hall in Chicago this evening under the to every one of us the highest auspices of the Chicago Local of the Socialist Workers Party of a better future, that one car-Most of the celebrants were ries on his shoulders a particle workers from the industrial of the fate of mankind, and that plants in the Chicago area where one's life will not have been lived hey had come into contact with in vain.

"The fidelity to the cause of Speaking on the Russian Revthe toilers requires from us the olution of 1917, Comrade Lydia highest devotion to our Interna-Bennett showed how the first tional party. The party, of world war culminated in a series course, can also be mistaken. By tor in the morale of the Red Arof revolutions, which, starting in common effort we will correct its Russia threatened to sween the mistakes. In its ranks can pen- my are giving new confidence to whole continent of Europe before etrate unworthy elements. By their powerful onrush and how common effort we will eliminate the same movement is taking on them. New thousands who will life today in the revolutionary enter its ranks tomorrow will actions of the masses of people in probably be deprived of necessary Italy, France, Belgium, Greece, education. By common effort we Jugoslavia, etc. But this time, will elevate their revolutionary she pointed out, the masses will level. be led by the Trotskyist parties

"But we will never forget that of Europe. Workers everywhere in the various countries, and not our party is now the greatest lev- are rising to their feet to throw by the Stalinists who are playing er of history. Separated from off the decaying system of unorganized companies such at the role of agents and stooges for this lever, everyone of us is noth- capitalism-in the streets, in the Badoglios, King Emanuels,

NMU Officials Aim To Scuttle Union Hiring Hall System

(Continued from page 1)

manded this conference, they said, to get a decision on the following questions:

"1) Stop the exodus from the industry and retain to a man the full labor force active in the industry.

"2) Enforce wartime shipping rules strictly on a uniform national scale.

"3) Use every available man at his top skill.

"4) Set up centralized manning apparatus, able to handle large shifts of manpower from one area to another, to pool all available manpower, no matter where registered for shipping, and to guarantee the availability of seamen in all ratings to every company in the industry, including the Army Transport Service."

Such well-known Stalinists as Joseph Curran, Frederick N. Myers, Howard McKenzie, Joseph Stack, and Walter Avellar came to the conference, prepared to prove the need for a governmentcontrolled shipping pool by presenting facts to show that the NMU is the only union in the field that has substituted the wartime shipping rules of the War Shipping Administration for the union system of rotary shipping. According to the government's wartime shipping rules a man cannot stay on the beach longer than thirty days. If

he has been aboard ship less than four months before quitting, he is allowed one week ashore for every month at sea.

Branch of the Socialist Workers happiness; the consciousness that Party, in commemoration of the In their attempts to enforce one participates in the building 27th anniversary of the Russian these rules the Stalinists do nothing to maintain union standards Revolution. Comrade Andrews aboard ship but instead have indiscussed the importance of nationalized property to this first stituted a permanent trial comworkers state. He showed how mittee in the NMU which hauls it has resulted in the develop- up all delinquents and, if they ment of Soviet economy in spite

Standard Oil.

rade Joe Andrew's talk at a meet-

can provide no excuse for being a few days over-leave, reports of the counter-revolutionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, them immediately to their draft boards. This dictatorial practice and how it is the underlying fachas created wide-spread revulsion in the NMU ranks against the my. The victories of the Red Ar-Stalinist leadership. The revulthe Russian proletariat whose sion has so far expressed itself day of revenge against the crimes | through the exodus from the industry of large numbers of seaof the Stalinist bureaucracy is men who have shipped through NMU halls, and by NMU men "The Russian Revolution," con-

cluded Comrade Andrews, "is dropping their books to ship through the Army Transport alive today not only in the Soviet Service where they are allowed Union, but all over the continent more time on the beach after long trips, or by signing up with

pronounce expulsion of the six, watchers The Stalinist elections the membership demonstratively committee was free to accept the rejected the star-chamber "Kangvote of anyone-particularly the aroo court" action of the Stalin-'ringers" who in the absence of ists. The leadership arbitrarily watchers could walk in and cast adjourned the meeting, preventballots. The Stalinists had ruled ing the expelled workers from the names of several Rank and receiving an open hearing and File candidates off the ballot. trial before the membership. Rank and File supporters were

* * *

egates took place, there were no

The next scheduled meeting compelled to vote for their canhad as the main order of business didates by pasting a sticker with the selection of the elections com- their names on the ballots. Three mittee to supervise the coming hundred and eighty such ballots election of convention delegates. were thrown out as "defaced." Having expelled leading spokes- After five hours' opportunity to men of the opposition, the Stalin- rig the election, the election comists then proceeded to secure an mittee finally permitted the election committee which would watchers to observe the counting be certain to see that the election of ballots. The election commit-"went right" regardless of how to the voting

t fight regardless of now	1 too opposite of a complete vietewr		-0	00	
oting went.	for the Stalinist slate.	Detroit	1000	876	1
	Our correspondent concludes:	Seattle	500	400	
LOS ANGELES		Chicago	700	376	
	"The watchers, after seeing how	Newark	700	216	
SOUTH SIDE	the election was being run,	San Diego	80	24	~
	refused to sign their names to	Akron	70	20	
Bookshop	anything connected with it, say-	Bayonne	180	44	
026 SEVILLE AVENUE	ing they didn't want to take	Boston	230	40	
	responsibility for an obviously	New Haven	40	0	
SOUTH GATE	stolen election."	Pittsburgh	10	õ	
Carries a Full Line of	That's a real close-up view of	Quakertown	10	0	
ioneer Publishers Works	how the Stalinists operate in un-	St. Louis	10	. 0	
	ion locals on which they are able	Texas	30	0	
All Marxist Classics	to fasten their bureaucratic and	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		· · · · · · ·	_
	terroristic claws.	Total	10,000	8956	

Flint

Toledo

Milwaukee

Philadelphia

San Francisco

Los Angeles

Rochester

Minneapolis

Youngstown

New York

Allentown

Reading

Buffalo

St. Paul

Cleveland



CityZone

State

SUPELISUALS

Quota

10

160

80

90

80

400

 $\frac{140}{350}$

200

1500

140

330

120

2800

Sold

32

464

156

152

100

492

156

388

212

1524

140

320

116

2672

READ

'THE FOURTH

INTERNATIONAL'

320

228

195

169

125

123

112

111

.106

102

100

97

97

95 90

88

80

54

31

30

24

17

De Gaulles and the like. The speech was followed by the Percent

Revolution, including the capture SWP was held. of the Winter Palace in Petrograd and the taking over of state power from the capitalists in the name of the Workers' and Sol-

diers' Soviet. After the meeting many stayed did for the belief that the world for refreshments and conversa- was round—it proved the theory

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 5-Honoring the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Russian Revolution the Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party held a meeting this afternoon with Beatrice Janosco as the speaker.

Thomas Files Suit talism."

For Libel Against **Daniel J. Tobin** (Continued from page 1) against these Tobin-Stalinist at

tempts to introduce the poisonous methods of slander, lynch incitation, and political character

assassination into its ranks. These vile methods which belong in the arsenal of capitalist reaction must be exposed and expelled by the entire labor movement.

ing. With this lever in hand, we factories, in their demonstrations are all."

As a result of this meeting showing of the motion picture four people joined the party. At ideas of Bolshevism are also alive seeking to protect their pie-cards "Ten Days That Shook the the end of the meeting a social and spreading. World," which reproduced graph- for the delegates leaving for the ically the events of the Russian 11th National Convention of the champagne, five sections of the

Fourth International were meeting together secretly in Nazi-oc-DETROIT, Nov. 5 - The cupied France to organize for Russian Revolution did for Marxist theory what Magellan

not far off.

Trotskyist parties dedicated to this combat are alive and grow-ing everywhere As the continue. At Canada Meeting tion during which they showed in action. It showed that a work- ing everywhere. As the continua-

their interest in the activities of ers' revolution could be won, and tors of Bolshevism, they will rise the organization, some express- today we live by the lessons of to leadership in coming struggle.

The Stalinists, in attempting to and their strikes, they are raising have more rigid government conthe red banner. And the great trols applied to shipping, are against the rising wave of revolt "While Stalin was toasting in the NMU which their sell-Churchill in the Kremlin with out policies have engendered.

Trotskyist Action

the developing revolution for the Socialist United States of Europe. Program Is Mapped

(Continued from page 1)

nized the necessity for overcoming the war-imposed isolation, coordinating their activities and placing the program of Trotskyism before the workers of Canada.

A drive was begun for a national organizational fund, over 25% of which was immediately raised. In addition, a regular national monthly sustaining fund was pledged by all branches.

Two of the major activities acquire names from comrades and planned are a national recruiting drive and a coordinated program of Marxist education through the branches. The national committee was instructed to draft the organizational details of the program of action and initiate it as quickly as possible.

The conference sent fraternal greetings to their Trotskyist cothinkers in the United States and England and messages of solidarity to Comrade Natalia Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International.

The whole tone of the conference was one of confidence in the ability of the Canadian Trotskyist movement to expand its influence among the Canadian workers and realize the excellent possibilities for the growth of the party in the Dominions.

The conference marked a big tioned above: "As I was a step forward for the Canadian at Grand Rapids I have been en- political questions were clarified joying The Militant views on the and the practical organizational the relation of the party to the sulted in one subscription to The who are for the rank and file guard party which will play a labor.

of the International.

versary of the Russian Revolution brought out the essential

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 8 -

of almost 100 friends, at the section headquarters of the Socialist We urge every subscriber to Workers Party, Murry Weiss in write us immediately if even one

Particularly interesting to the

"The workers of Russia created a government built upon work-In answer to our Special Offer to extend The Militant in Toledo ers,' soldiers' and peasants' councils, the most democratic form of letter, one subscriber wrote as and surrounding territory. We government the world has ever follows: "What do you mean my three-sympathizers whom we think known," the speaker said. "The Russian Revolution proved to the month subscription is up. I haven't would like to subscribe to the

world that nationalized industry received even one paper yet. How paper. We mail them a sufficient

role of the revolutionary party.

lation of the individual to the "I would like to explain this I voted against the no-strike struggles of Canadian and world party. In this connection he one of several methods we employ pledge at the Convention."

that only revolutionary parties per, even if it is an old back issue to receive The Militant at all. The modeled on Bolshevik lines will that has been kicked around the letter with these attached quesbe able successfully to carry office for the last couple of tions can be answered by clipping through a program for the build months. Thanking you for the en- the questionnaire part and mailing of a socialist world. The joyment I could have had if I ing it in to us. Space is allowed meeting ended with the singing had received The Militant that I on the questionnaire for their didn't get because my three comments. I am sending with months' subscription was up be- this letter a questionnaire re-

turned to us with comments. This Speaking to an overflow meeting to see that this subscriber gets and our stand on the no-strike We will do everything possible is a fitting tribute to The Militant

We quote the comments menissue of the paper fails to arrive, delegate to the UAW Convention organization. Many important

so that we can check our records. * * *

individual, and the reciprocal re- Militant from a militant unionist: members. I am proud to say that major role in the forthcoming

Our Toledo agent writes about Convention. I believe that your program was set into motion for audience was his description of an idea which to date has re- paper is a big help to the Unions the building of a proletarian van-

fore I received it."

Citing the numerous betrayals of for the envelope. At least I am subscribe, whether they would he Social Democrats and the Stal- not stuck for a stamp to send in care to have a comrade call on inists, the speaker pointed out this request for at least one pa- them, or whether they do not care

and planned economy is more long does this sort of a thing go number of Militants to make sure progressive, more productive and on. I send two bits, get no paper. they are well acquainted with ar superior to any device of capi- Send more money, get paper? them and then we send a mimeo-Maybe so, maybe no. Well thanks graphed letter asking them to

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1944

DHE MILITAND

Spanish Trotskyists Commemorate American Trotskyism--Anniversary Of The "Red October"

(In October, 1934, a general strike and armed insurrection swept over Spain in spontaneous protest against the entrance of three Fascist ministers into the government. In the vanguard of the strike were the militant miners of Asturias, surrendering only after weeks of attack by air and land troops decimated their ranks. The following article commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of this Spanish Red October was published in the most recent issue of Contra La Coriente, official organ of the Trotskyist Spanish Section in Mexico).

Exactly ten years ago, the heroic Spanish proletariat wrote in its own blood an unforgettable date in the struggle for its emancipation. The Spanish Red October cannot help but awaken in the world proletariat a profound respect for the revolutionary actions and perseverance of the Spanish revolutionists who will fight on until the establishment of a new society shall give to every man, woman and child the opportunity to live in brotherhood.

October 1934, a tragic date written in blood and grief, is also a glorious date of optimism and confidence. The road to the liberation of the working class is marked with such red dates, which recall each year the living protest of the working class against a society dominated by private property. Each year these dates proclaim anew the optimism and confidence of the proletariat in the building of a new society which shall realize the freedom and brotherhood of all peoples and all races.

October 1934, the date on which the Spanish proletariat irrefutably demonstrated its aspirations for liberation, makes us recall how the Spanish workers gave their blood and their very lives for the struggle to make a living reality of their hopes for the future of humanity. That red blood shed by the heroic proletariat, those lives sacrificed in the battle, are immortal. They find new life in the revolutionary action of the working class that is inspired by the deeds of the past. And each new revolutionary action is stronger, and clearer, a sharper expression of the determination to wipe out the monstrous and ignominious exploitation of man by man.

the "democratic" varieties-has so far degenerated that it threatens all humanity with a return to barbarism-now the blood and the lives of the martyrs of October have more meaning than ever before. Today capitalism organizes collective death, spreads hunger in lands of abundance, and destroys all the treasures accumulated in centuries of civilization. Now capitalism celebrates its impending exit from the historical scene by piling up mountains of cadavers, as it amuses was: Dewey and Depression or itself with the hunger of men, women and children, with the destruc- Roosevelt and Reform. Cutbacks tion of cities, peoples, and races.

Only the revolutionary action of the working class, written in the specter of mass unemployits very blood, can put an end to this barbarism of capitalism. The ment in the "post-war" period. dead of Asturias speak today in a living voice accusing all the The workers were greatly contraitors of yesterday, today, and tomorrow. The hands which fired cerned over jobs. Every other the shots against capitalism, still point the way to the revolutionary of economic security. In his road, and reach out in solidarity to all those who today take that road.

UNITE. BROTHER WORKERS! was the slogan of the red lion more than were employed at Spanish October. The slogan of yesterday is the slogan of today and the peak of war-time production tomorrow as well, for it was born in the heat of proletarian struggle. and seven million more than are And today, more than ever before in Spain-and in all Europe-the employed today. Dewey promised workers' organizations which do not respond to the call for unity will full employment on the basis of be unable to exist, for the alternative that faces them is clear-cut: either they must take the high road of proletarian revolution, or they will be destroyed.

The Spanish group of the Fourth International in Mexico, reaffirms once again its fidelity to the Spanish proletariat which spoke plan are already embodied in lein revolutionary terms in October 1934-in July 1936-and in May gislative form. This legislation 1937, and pays its deepest homage to the fallen martyrs of October. provides generous payments for

BIG BUSINESS SPEEDS OPEN SHOP OFFENSIVE ployed. Both candidates agreed that "Business" was to be given to work of the work



The Lessons For Labor harper expression of the determination to wipe out the monstrous lignominious exploitation of man by man. Now in October 1944, when capitalism—of both the fascist and In The 1944 Elections (Continued from page 1)

fully screened by the labor "statesmen." The choice as presented by the

union bureaucrats to the workers

and plant shutdowns had raised issue was subordinate to the one Chicago speech, Roosevelt prom-

ised 60 million jobs - five milgovernment assistance. How were these promises to be

and party. realized? Both candidates endorsed the Baruch plan. The major sections of the Baruch off the growing sentiment for labor's independent political action.

war contractors, the "free enter- of the fact that the workers were been elected. prise" disposal of governmentturning their backs on the disowned plant and equipment, and credited capitalist parties. This 800,000 voters cast their ballots "states rights" compensation as tendency was manifested by an for the candidates of Hillman's low as \$2 a week for the unem- apathy on the part of the workers American Labor Party and

can lead to no better results than | droves - with the exception of is the developing European Revolution. Cannon before. That is why it was pos- New York and Minnesota where reminds his readers that "As far back as 1928 sible for such outspoken agents | they were given the opportunity it had been recognized by our enemies, even the

most ignorant, that Trotskyism is no provincial dogma. Trotskyism is a movement of world scope CIO-PAC was intended to create and world perspective. Trotskyism proceeds from the standpoint of internationalism and concerns itself with the problems of the proletariat in all parts of the world."

The Program And Its Application

The basic lesson of Cannon's book is summed up in one phrase - program is decisive. There is no substitute for a correct program whatever the field of activity - whether in the arena of world revolution or in the local trade-union scene. Trotskyists never compromise on programmatic questions. That is what distinguishes them from all others.

The program is essential, but it alone will not suffice. Given a correct program upon which to build, the important question for any political party or group at every stage of its development is: What to do next? How this question was answered at various stages in their movement by Congress although the results in. the American Trotskyists is told by Cannon in The labor skates were well aware dicate that a number could have the informal manner of a teacher who knows how to high-light the lessons with intimate details of

"The answer to this question" Cannon points out, "is not and cannot be determined simply by the desire or whim of the party or the party leadership", but by "the size and canacity of the a free hand to perform "miracles for the candidates of the Repub. dates represented the labor group, the period of the development of the class of production." But this was lican or Democratic parties. In movement. Each faction had en- struggle, the relation of forces in the political precisely Hoover's method of the 1942 elections the workers dorsed the candidates of the movement...." These were the factors that dealing with the problem and it stayed away from the polls in Republican and Democratic par- in the final analysis determined the development ties. Despite the lack of inde- of the Trotskyist movement in this country. pendent labor candidates, 800,-Following the expulsions from the official Com-000 New York voters expressed munist Party in 1928, the next ten years were their preference for labor's own political party, by casting their an against-the-current struggle to build a party. ballots for the ALP & LP. Where This job was completed with the founding of the workers had a chance to do the Socialist Workers Party on New Year's day so, they showed their opposition 1938. The tasks of these ten years differed acto the two-party system under cording to two clearly defined periods, which which the political agents of Wall were divided by the world-shaking events of 1933. For the first five years (1928-33) the original Trotskyist nucleus remained a handful. Stalin-Having performed the perfidiism, clothed in the prestige of the Bolshevik reous task for which it was estabvolution of 1917 in Russia, consequently attrac-We took time in those days of lished, the question arises as to decision that the open-shoppers burned into the consciousness of but in practice; its ignorance of isolation to study the Chinese what course the CIO-PAC will ted the most militant section of the American working class. The Communist International, suffering Stalinist degeneration, still lived. The labor movement here was quiescent, not yet labor with a black skin is in theory. These faults were cor- erty and weakness, managed to "third party" movement - which ready to launch a counter-offensive against the employers' open-shop drive of the earlier '20s. These were the basic conditions that dictated Trotskyist strategy and tactics during the first five years of their existence as a clearly defined tendency in the radical labor movement. During these first years the Trotskyists addressed themselves almost exclusively to the rank Negro people who had an oppor- were solved by our movement. In unfolded, you may say, behind dollars campaigning to elect vari- and file of the Communist Party, attempting patunity to express themselves on article after article, pamphlet the backs of the blindfolded mem- ous and sundry capitalist politi- tiently to explain and win them back to the program of International Socialism. Despite Stalinist slander, ostracism and gangsterism (Cannon's penditure? stories of how the Trotskyists protected them-In commenting on the expendselves by organizing workers defense guards during this early period are among the most interesting pages of his book), the Trotskyists the November 13 issue of Time made quite a few converts from among the best elements of the Communist Party. But this was olution. That is one of the im- could try to collect dividends on slow work, carried on for programmatic clarity over questions that seemed far away to the average worker, even those with the revolutionary courage and conviction to join the Communist Party of that time. These early days of the depression were a time of world-wide reaction. This weighed heavily upon the vanguard groupings in the workers' "plague on both your houses" movement. Nevertheless the Trotskvists stuck moves to illegalize the union showdown between fascism and peoples can have for the inter- Strike. Hillman and Murray will doggedly to the limited tasks imposed upon them shop. And organized labor must communism. Before anyone else, national proletarian revolution is collect a similar "dividend" in the by the circumstances. They continued to propagandize for a return to the program of interna-The CIO convention must retionalism, directing their main attention to the most radical section of the American working class within and around the Communist Party. The new period of work opened up in 1933. Conditions changed sharply, both in America and on the international arena. The strategy and similar measures throughout the broke out in December 1930, was Publishers, 116 University Place, to advance labor's own program tactics of the Trotskyists changed accordingly. for economic security The rise of Hitler to power in that year without

A Record Of Struggle

By F. J. Lang

In the spring of 1942 James P. Cannon, na-

tional secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

delivered a series of lectures for comrades and

sympathizers of the party. As one of the found-

ers of the Communist Party of America and

leader of the Trotskyist movement in this country since its inception, he drew upon his experi-

ences to teach young workers the significant les-

sons of the past so they need not repeat the

mistakes of earlier days but can go forward to

build the revolutionary party on the tested prin-

ciples of Bolshevism. In book form these lec-

tures are now available under the title of "The

History of American Trotskyism" to the wide,

problems of the Chinese Revolution (1925-27)

also became a "Trotskyist issue." Similarly the

events in Spain (1936-38) were studied and an-

alyzed more carefully by the Trotskyists than

any other group in the radical labor movement.

It was the Trotskyists who exposed the Moscow

Today the first point on the Trotskyist agenda

frame-up trials of the same period.

movement of this country.

munist International."

opposition from the strong German Communist Party demonstrated the total bankruptcy of the Stalinized Third International. The world-wide depression was arousing a whole new laver of American workers to revolutionary action.

-TRRED

This new awakening was manifested in the formation of independent radical groupings, the development of a left wing in the Socialist Party, an organized mass movement of the unemployed, and sporadic strikes. These strikes were harbingers of the great wave of resurgence that swept through the labor movement in the following year and culminated in the 1934 strikes that occured in every section of the country and affected such vast industries as maritime, rubber, textile

In the face of these changed conditions the Trotskyists called for the formation of new revolutionary parties throughout the world. "From a faction of the Communist International we announced ourselves as the heralds of a new party and a new International," Cannon notes. Summarizing the decision of the American Trotskyists, he adds: "The time had come to transform our whole activity, to make the turn to mass work. Just as in our first days we had rejected the premature demand that we - with our little handful of people - drop everything and jump into the mass movement, so now, toward the end of 1933, having completed our preliminary work and prepared ourselves, we adopted the slogan: "Turn from a propaganda circle to mass work"."

This decision marked the beginning of a new period in which the Trotskyists were to demonstrate for the first time before the entire labor movement of America the power of their program and the practical advantages of its application to the immediate problems that the workers face in their union struggles for better wages and conditions.

The Trotskyists undertook to consolidate the whole leftward moving section of American radicals into a powerful combat party. The first step was fusion with the American Worker's Party under the leadership of A. J. Muste. When the time was opportune to enter the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas and carry the program of Trotskyism to the young workers who had recently joined that party, the Trotskyists went in.

Throughout both these maneuvers on the political field - the fusion with the Muste group and the entry into the SP - the Trotskyists paid close attention to trade union work. They were able to demonstrate in the strike situations of that period the advantages of a correct revolutionary program. In this way they won the core of worker militants in the Muste group to their banner and took hundreds of promising youngsters -the YPSL en masse-with them when they were expelled by Thomas and his group from the moribund Socialist Party.

Cannon's book is not for tired radicals who want to read and reminisce about old faction fights, although he presents incisive portraits of all the leaders of the Communist Party and many other prominent renegades from Marxism. But these people are dealt with only insofar as they "were significant as representatives of the ideological currents within the movement' as is so well explained by Joseph Hansen in his excellent introduction to the book. In this light many well known figures in the American radical movement are introduced as they cross the path of American Trotskyism - William Z. Foster, Jay Lovestone, Ben Gitlow (I Confess), Joseph Zack, B. J. Field, Hugo Oehler, A. J. Muste, Professors Hook and Burnham, the infamous Salutskv-Hardman ("half and half" man), Herbert Zam, Eugene Lyons, Ludwig Lore, Paul Porter, and Norman Thomas.

of Wall Street as the New York of voting for independent candi-Times and Walter Lippman, to dates. The establishment of the endorse Roosevelt. FEAR OF FUTURE

the illusion of independent political action by mobilizing the The workers were primarily workers behind Roosevelt, separconcerned about the future. Un- ately and apart from the apparader the circumstances the labor | tus of the Democratic party.

fakers found it more expedient to The frenzied campaign of the talk about the past. Not of the CIO-PAC to get the workers to immediate past, to be sure, but register and vote was launched of the economic crisis of the '30's. with the knowledge that the Finding it impossible to inspire workers had broken irrevocably the workers or arouse their en- with the Republican Party but thusiasm for the Big Business still had illusions about Roosevelt program which both candidates - illusions that have been sedulespoused, Hillman and Co., re- ously fostered by the labor bursorted to the weapon of fear to eaucrats. A large labor vote

shake the apathy of labor's ranks. would therefore mean the reelec-Fear was Hillman's substitute for | tion of Roosevelt. That was the an independent labor program meaning of the vigorous campaign to register the labor vote.

The CIO-PAC was formed for But although millions of labor the express purpose of heading votes were cast, not a single labor representative was elected to In New York, for example, the struggle.

audience of militant workers in the trade-union and motor transportation. From page one to his closing remarks Cannon's theme is that Trotskyism "is not a new movement, a new doctrine, but the restoration, the revival, of genuine Marxism as it was expounded and practiced in the early days of the Com-International solidarity of the working class is the battlecry of scientific socialism. Thus the Trotskyist movement began to take shape here in America around the "Russian question" because "it is the question of the revolution itself, one that actually took place and still lives." The

(Continued from page 1)

scum is to concentrate their ac-

provided by the war reaction, the tivity in those states where the open shop fraternity has been coupling of their Jim Crow propushing forward its program of paganda, their race incitation and legislating the unions out of ex- anti-union agitation, is most efistence. Since the outbreak of fective. It is precisely in those the war, 14 states have adopted states where the labor movement designed to strangle the unions of a campaign has gone the furthest. Thus the most vicious antiin a legislative noose. Such measures had previously been labor laws in the country have adopted by both Arkansas and Florida and were being fought in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida and American Communist movement all with the assistance of the monopoly. the courts by organized labor.

It was with the intention of averting an unfavorable court portant lesson which must be tional-mindedness, not in theory submitted the proposals as conin those states for all time. The Arkansas amendment, which is branded.

particularly vicious. would even ban the WLB "maintenance-ofmembership" clause, for which 'away labor's right to strike. The union-busting campaign is native fascist-minded scum organized under the name of the "Chris-Christian American Association." writes a labor investigator, "some of whose professional promoters have long dealt in anti-Semitism, anti-Negro activity, and the organization of anti-union lobbies, has sponsored antilabor laws in forty-four states and has succeeded in having them passed in nine."

This combination of anti-Semitism, anti-Negro activity and anti-unionism, - the unmistakable mark of the fascist beast is nourished by liberal contributions from the coffers of Big Business. This is the reality behind the fraudulent slogan of "national unity" under which reaction advances the interests of the exploiting class.

The Militant may now be purchased at 242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal. | country.

the measures intended to destroy

which provide the precedent for

the labor movement in the South for the fatal test.

The strategy of this fascist



Texas. The labor movement has in the past, as I have mentioned theoretical writings and interonce again been taught an im- in previous lectures, was its na- pretations of Comrade Trotsky. every worker: Race prejudice is international events and uncon- question. I mentioned last week pursue in the future. Both Hillstitutional amendments, thereby a weapon of reaction! Labor with cern about them; its lack of real that during this difficult period man and Murray have disclaimed hoping to banish the union shop a white skin cannot be free where instruction and of serious interest our movement, despite all its pov- any intention of fostering a

rected in our young movement. publish a full-sized book, Prob- means that they remain commit-In California, where the or- We educated a group of people lems of the Chinese Revolution. ted to the support of the twoganized labor movement has who proceeded in all questions This book contained suppressed party system. Hillman announces taken tremendous strides forward from fundamental considerations theses, articles and expositions of that the coming CIO convention the top union leaders traded in recent years, the open shop of theory, from international ex- the Russian Opposition, written in will decide the fate of the CIOamendment was defeated. The perience, and learned how to the decisive days of the Chinese PAC after hearing its report. The staunchest supporters of the analyze international events. The revolution, 1925, '26 and '27. That report will show that the CIObeing fronted for by a group of unions in this fight were the mysteries of the Russian problem great world historical battle had PAC spent many thousands of tian American 'Association," this question without fear of re- after pamphlet, and book after bers of the Comintern, who had cians to office. What benefit will which has its stronghold in the prisals. In Florida and Arkansas, book, Comrade Trotsky opened up never been permitted to learn the workers derive from this exsouthern, poll-tax states. "The where the paralyzing terror of for us a world view on all ques- what the great masters of Marxrace hatred hovers over the head tions. He gave us a clear under- ism in the Russian Left Opposiof every Negro, the anti-union standing of the complexities of a tion had to say about these ev- iture of effort and money of the program of the ultra-reactionaries workers' state in capitalist en- ents. We published the docu- CIO-PAC in the recent election, was carried a long step forward. circlement, a workers' state ments.

The dangerous progress of the degenerating and throwing up a made serious headway through retaining its basic foundations. the very election campaign pro- Germany was already then beall the forces of capitalism if it ing growth of fascism and the dependence. The significance that

fight with all its powers against and clearer than anyone else, he clearly understood by our party. months to come. the Jim Crow system which has analyzed what was coming in That is part of its heritage from

also studied and comprehended New York 3, N. Y.)

Our comrades were educated on | magazine remarks: "Now Hillopen shop offensive, which has retrograde bureaucracy but still the problems of the Chinese rev- man, like Miner Lewis after 1936, portant reasons — in fact, it is P.A.C.'s' investment." Lewis used claimed as a "great victory" by coming the center of the world the important reason - why our Labor's Non-Partisan League plus the pro-Roosevelt labor leaders, problem. Trotsky as far back as party has such a clear and firm \$500,000 of miners funds to elect points up two major lessons for 1931 wrote a pamphlet which he stand on the colonial question to- Roosevelt in 1936 only to have the labor movement. Labor must called Germany, the Key to the day; why we do not lose our his "friend" in the White House immediately take the road of in- International Situation. Before heads over the defense of China turn on labor almost immediately dependent political action against all others he perceived the menac- and the struggle of India for in- following the election with his is to beat back the legislative inevitability of a fundamental this great uprising of the Asiatic statement in the Little Steel

permitted the Southern ruling Germany. He educated us to an those days of isolation and study. ject this bankrupt policy of class to keep the Southern masses understanding of it and tried to (From "The History of Amer- depending on the capitalist divided and incapable of halting prepare the German Communist ican Trotskyism," by James P. "friends" of labor to defend the Party and the German workers Cannon, pp. 102-104. Pioneer Pub- interests of the workers and lishers, 1944, 268 pp.; cloth \$2.75, take the necessary steps to

The Spanish revolution, which paper \$2. Order from Pioneer launch labor's own political party

Pointed To The Future Of American Labor

But these are all people of the past. This book is addressed to the class-conscious militant worker who looks to the future. He will be more interested in the names of such men as Vincent R. Dunne (to whom the book is dedicated), Farrell Dobbs, Oscar Coover, Karl Skoglund and others who together with Cannon, are now serving prison terms for their revolutionary ideas. These are the type of men who represent the future. It was they who demonstrated that the ideas of Trotskyism have real meaning for all American workers. They were among the leaders of the great Minneapolis truckdrivers' strikes of 1934.

Cannon devotes an entire lecture to this strike, one of the most instructive of the series of twelve. Here we see the relation between the revolutionary workingclass party - the organization of the most serious and advanced socialist workers — and the mass movement, the unions. The Trotskyists organized the 1934 strikes in Minneapolis. These strikes were directed within the framework of the AFL against one of the most powerfully organized groups of open-shoppers in this country. The 1934 strikes transformed Minneapolis from an open-shop town into a union fortress. The new unions under Trotskyist leadership reduced the hours of work, created new jobs for the unemployed, won substantial increases in pay.

Within the unions the Trotskyists are the most selfless fighters, striving always to strengthen the unions and prepare them for the bigger struggles ahead. Their tactics are determined by the needs of the workers and the possibility for action within any given situation.

"The Great Minneapolis Strikes" is a chapter in Cannon's book which every union militant will want to read. It is a chapter in the history of American Trotskyism that points to the future of our movement. These "Minneapolis strikes" will occur again on a higher level of development in a hundred different cities throughout this country in the period ahead.

THE MILITANT

What The October 1917 Revolution Signifies For The Workers Today

The following is the full text of the speech delivered by Comrade E. R. Frank at the meeting held at Irving Plaza, Sunday, Nov. 4 by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Rarty in celebration of the 27th Anniversary of the October 1917 Russian Revolution.

FOUR-

By E. R. Frank

We meet tonight to celebrate the 27th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, amidst the thunder and ruin and death of the second world slaughter, which is now already entering into its sixth year. We celebrate this 27th anniversary as the European peoples, repressed, tortured, starving and dying, are beginning to revolt against their exploiters and enslavers, are beginning to revolt against the imperialist barbarians, against the war-makers. Europe is moving forward with all the finality and grim invincibility of a glacial formation to the greatest revolutionary crisis in history.

We have celebrated the Russian Revolution for many years and under many different circumstances. But today we celebrate it in a spirit of revolutionary optimism, with joy and hope that after so many years of darkness and black reaction and sorrow, the skies are again clearing, a strong invigorating wind is again beginning to blow, and the clear outlines of the new red dawn are again visible on the horizon. We celebrate the Russian Revolution on its 27th anniversary with the conviction that the masses of France, of Italy, of Greece, of Belgium, of all Europe are beginning the fateful revolutionary march which will lead them to their own October Revolutions, where they, like the workers and peasants of Russia in 1917, will overthrow their landlords and capitalists, take over the factories and the farms, and proceed to build a new society on socialist foundations.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 is one of the greatest events of human history. The Russian Revolution took the body of theory of socialism, perfected by Karl Marx and Engels and added to by other brilliant Marxist theoreticians and publicists, and proved its correctness in action, without the possibility of any further doubts. It proved that the working class can take the power and can run society. This great idea of Marx, which set him off from all the utopians, the pacifist do-gooders, middle class social workers and uplifters, this idea so often scoffed at and laughed at by intellectuals and middle class snobs, was gloriously and in the most thoroughgoing fashion vindicated in the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Russian Revolution proved furthermore that the working class can create a revolutionary party out of its ranks that is fully capable of rallying the masses behind its banner and leading the struggle to victory.

THE WORLD STRUGGLE OF THE TOILERS

The Russian Revolution exerted its magnetic influence over the working masses the world over. What enthusiasm, what new hope, what courage, what heroism it evoked in the peoples of the world, especially among the youth. All of humanity was stirred to its very depths. It inspired and lifted up to its feet all the millions of downtrodden, of despised, the wage slaves, the household drudges, the plodding farm laborers, the colonial coolies and slaves, and it showed them that they can fight and win a new world, a new and better life. The Russian Revolution was thus not simply a Russian affair. It was the beginning of the great world struggle of all toiling humanity to organize, to gather its forces, to prepare for the heroic work of destroying the rule of the tyrants and bloodsuckers and to build a new government of the toilers, build the foundations of the socialist society, a society of equality, of peace, and of opportunity for all. .

The celebrations of the Russian Revolution in the early years after 1917 were tremendous, tempestuous events. The working masses poured out by the thousands and tens of thousands, to pledge their support to the Russian Revolution and to the Soviet Union, the first workers' state, which emerged from the revolution. But these celebrations were far more than that. They constituted the oath of the revolutionary masses that they were prepared to march and fight and die, if need be, under the banner of the Russian Revolution, under the banner of its leaders, Lenin and Trotsky. Hopes ran high in those days. And the working class militants were convinced that the workers' revolution which had started in Russia, would spread from country to country, sweeping away the rapacious rule of the capitalists and landlords and replacing it with the rule of the toilers. Well, they were not utterly wrong. The working class revolution did sweep like a terrible storm throughout Europe, in Germany, in Austria, in Italy, in Hungary. It looked for a time as if the whole rotted and putrid capitalist system which had brought the world the calamity, the blood bath of the world war, would go down under the blows of the revolutionary onslaught. But the path of human progress, of human advancement, is not an easy one. It is not strewn with roses, but rocks and it has many pitfalls and obstructions. The revolutions in Germany and every other country all went down to defeat.

Trotsky Addressing Soldiers' Soviet



A remarkable photograph of the Council of Soldiers' Deputies in session in the Duma at Petrograd, 1917. Comrade Trotsky, addressing the session, is at the speakers' rostrum in the upper left hand section of the picture.

The superiority of the soviet system over capitalism, its greater | tary forces of Anglo-American imperialism and of the Kremlin lynamic power, was demonstrated in the most dramatic fashion bureaucracy, is the fraternization of the revolutionary masses with possible in peace and now in war. While the whole world was the rank and file soldiers and the flames of the revolution leaping mass action on the part of the over and catching fire in England and in the Soviet Union and Negro people. hurtling downward in the convulsive economic crisis that gripped capitalism in 1929, the Soviet Union, despite the Stalinist bureau- making its effects felt even across the Atlantic. Because the tinder cracy, was recording economic progress and achievements, in the is dry and awaits but the spark.

period of the Five-Year Plans, on an unheard of scale. And in the crucial and decisive test of war, the Russian Revolution has proved itself, has vindicated itself once again. The whole capitalist world, including all the generals, admirals, all of its military experts, all of its statesmen and publicists and advisers have been astounded by the invincible power displayed by the Red Army. The whole capitalist world, including Hitler and his Nazi gang, counted on a rapid defeat of the Soviet Union. They, just as we Trotskyists, understood the lack of viability of the murderous Stalinist caste. They, just as we, understood that the Soviet masses

hated and despised the greedy and tyrannical Kremlin oligarchy. **FUNDAMENTAL CONQUEST**

OF REVOLUTION REMAINS

But we saw further, we saw beyond that. We saw that the be defended. And that is exactly the way the Soviet masses understood it too. They performed miracles in beating back the enemy, in saving the Soviet Union from capitalist depradation. The whole history of military warfare has no precedent of a nation that was able to absorb the defeats and blows which the Red Armies suffered, survive despite these defeats, and then unleash an offensive of such superb proportions, and in such a sustained manner. With the unprecedented victories of the Red Army, the Soviet Union has

In 1917, only Lenin and the Bolsheviks were prepared for action. The revolutionary forces throughout the rest of Europe were weak,

scattered and unprepared. Far different and far more favorable is two evils; that is, regardless of the situation today in the camp of the revolutionary vanguard. The how badly they were being parties of the Fourth International were organized throughout treated, the Republicans would be Europe with a common program and an International organization, no better and probably would be long before the outbreak of the war. The great founder and teacher worse. They remembered that of the Fourth International had done his job well. The treachery Northern Republicans had united of the Social Democrats and Stalinists did not catch us off guard with the Southern Senators to this time, but was fully comprehended and taken into account even before humanity was thrust into the slaughter.

With the outbreak of the war, of course, we lost all contact with Europe. We did not know what the Trotskyists, what the Fourth were out of power. Internationalists were doing, whether they even survived the double

blows of the imperialist war and the Nazi oppression. Europe was were aligned publicly with Big but we saw further, we saw beyond that. We saw that the fundamental conquest of the Russian Revolution still remained, that therefore despite Stalin and against Stalin, the Soviet Union had to some heroic Tratskyist who had have had have bed have



Lessons Of November 7th

Why did Negroes in the indus- | kick them because the ideal of trial and metropolitan centers socialism is opposed to exploitaturn out and vote overwhelming- tion for profit.

ly for Roosevelt in the recent Final and foremost was the election regardless of the fact fact that the CIO bureaucrats had that under his administration sold out their organization to they have experienced segrega-Roosevelt instead of adopting intion in the armed forces and of- dependent political action. At the ficial relegation to second class present stage of development, citizenship? many Negro workers don't under-

stand the treacherous role of The first, and least significant, eason is that some of them were their CIO leaders. They have duped by Roosevelt's slick poli- tremendous faith in the CIO betical maneuvers. For example, as cause it is the greatest factor tothe campaign was going into the day in fighting race discriminahome stretch, he has his brass tion. For that reason most of the hats in the Navy announce that Negro CIO members carried out henceforth Negro women would the policy of the PAC-CIO withno longer be barred from the out question, believing as they WAVES and SPARS. This act, did that the labor leaders were although set forth as a conces- acting in the workers' and the Negroes' best interests. That sion, reminded thinking Negroes shows us that one job is already that the reactionary policy had half done. The Negroes already existed all along without previous will unfailingly support labor as remedy. Furthermore there were opposed to Capital. Now they indications that both of these need to realize that the strength groups were soon to be disbanded of labor in gaining civil rights for and that what few Negro women them is within the rank and file were accepted would, in general, membership and not the leaders. be used on a segregated basis. The treacherous role of oppor-Then there was the order abolishing discrimination on the arbe exposed. my post exchanges and the

change of plans in regard to segregated rest centers for returning veterans. These were puny midgets of concession compared to the complete equality in the armed forces that the Negroes had demanded.

Many Negroes, no doubt, also remembered the FEPC and the social security legislation which had been introduced under Roosevelt. What they didn't realize, of course, was that Roosevelt has not given these things of his own free will. Invariably, he did so to stave off mounting unrest in the labor movement, or militant

"LESSER EVIL"

The political program of 25 Ne-The second factor was that gro organizations which came out Negroes felt as a whole, that so militantly this summer with their "Negro demands" without which it was "impossible to get the Negro vote" withered away and died a pauper's death. Why? Because they did not follow up their original stand by exposing the fact that neither major party kill the anti-poll-tax bill and the anti-lynch bill. This had happened even under the Republican administration when the Democrats They saw that the Republicans

had even promised these "minimum concessions" in their respective conventions. These Negro leaders didn't even carry through the pseudo-militancy of a free and secure white man - Wendell Willkie. This would be comic, if it weren't so tragic.

The Negro press was largely split between the two camps

tunist labor leaders now needs to NEGRO LEADERS What did we learn from the actions of the race leaders? Almost without exception they flipped here or flopped there strictly for personal political gain and without consideration of the basic welfare of their constituents. No examples are necessary. The whole rotten story is there for everyone to read. A. Philip Randolph and George Schuyler properly exposed the nature and intentions of both major parties.

But they gave no clear, concise

and constructive alternative path

for the Negro worker to follow.

A sin of omission can have the

same result as a crime of omis-

sion.

Outside of Russia, the revolutionary leadership was lacking. The old socialist leaders who had sold out the masses to the war machines were able yet once again to betray the revolutionary struggles. The young Communist parties, first organized after the Russian Revolution and in response to its example, proved too inexperienced, too weak, too young to do the job.

With the defeat of the revolutions, the capitalists had a breathing spell in which to stabilize their rule. The Soviet Union thus found itself isolated, beset on all sides by enemies who were ready to tear it apart at the first opportunity. The country, which was impoverished and backward to begin with-its heritage from the Czarist days-was further ravaged by four years of imperialist war and three more years of ferocious civil wars and wars of intervention. The Russian people were starving, the economy of the country was wrecked. After the definitive defeats of the revolutions in Europe, and especially the dashing of the high hopes of successful revolution in Germany, a great apathy and tiredness seized the Soviet masses.

THE STALINIST BUREAUCRACY AND THE USSR

This mood of pessimism was accompanied by a sharp political reaction which saw the state power usurped by a new parasitic bureaucracy, headed by Stalin-a bureaucracy that was essentially nationalist. Stalin and his henchmen had lost faith in the European revolution, they had lost faith in the insurgent masses. The Kremlin bureaucracy gradually abolished the democratic rights of the Soviet hands, they become inured to hardship and contemptuous of death. masses, it ruled as an iron dictatorship. It began bringing back reaction inside the Soviet Union all along the line and it was attempting to make peace with the capitalists on the outside.

But despite the frightful reaction, despite all of the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucrats, despite the fact that they destroyed the Before the power of the revolution, armies have been known to melt Bolshevik party, the Soviets, the trade unions, a whole generation of the leaders of the revolution, capped by the murder of Lenin's co-worker, Comrade Trotsky, the founder of the Red Army, the hundreds of years old have perished. And the revolutionary wave organizer of the October Insurrection, despite all these crimes they | which will sweep across Europe in this coming period will be more still could not and did not murder the Revolution itself. Debased and widespread, more powerful, stronger than the wave of revolutions of desecrated though it is, the Revolution has still survived in its of 1917 to 1923. basic economic conquest, nationalized industry and planned production. So Herculean, so volcanic have been the powers unleashed by brutalities, the horrors of the war, of decaying and decomposing the Russian Revolution of 1917, that despite all these blows, it has still not been crushed and still stands as a labor bastion and as a monument of what the working class can do.

emerged as a first class military power.

But these victories, far from giving the Stalinist bureaucracy new hope and faith in the working class and in the working class revolution, has thrown them even further into the arms of world imperialism. Twenty years ago, Stalin and his gang of cynical bureaucrats lost faith in the working class revolution and proclaimed his nationalistic and utopian concept of building socialism in Russia alone. Today, Stalin and the Kremlin bureaucracy stand in deadly

fear of this same working class revolution which they denied and repudiated two decades ago. This bureaucracy stands in total contradiction to the economy of the Soviet Union and its needs, it i distrusted and hated by the Soviet masses. The Kremlin bureaucracy understands that a revolution in Europe would again lift up to their feet the Soviet masses, would revive their revolutionary courage

and perspective, that these masses would proceed to overthrow the infamous Stalinist caste and restore the Soviet Union on the political foundations of its founders, Lenin and Trotsky, on the foundations of Soviet, of working-class democracy.

It is this specter of the European revolution that has already clearly announced itself in Italy and France and elsewhere. It is this specter that strikes terror in the heart of Stalin just as it strikes terror in the hearts of all the imperialists. It is this specter that has thrown Stalin into the arms of Roosevelt and Churchill. It is this fear that has brought them together at Teheran to plot and scheme and conspire against the insurgent masses of Europe, to attempt to

side-track, to deflect and if necessary to strangle the revolution.

They have tremendous powers, these three evil old men, that met behind closed doors at Teheran. They have armies and navies and air fleets at their disposal and subject to their command. And it is this military power that they count on in their counterrevolutionary plans. But the revolution also has resources at its command. The Russian Revolution proved over and over again that once the people are determined to take their fate into their own

THE COMING REVOLUTIONARY WAVE

The hot breath of the revolution pervades everywhere, including the armies, which are made up in the main of workers and farmers. away; to go over at times to the side of the revolution; before the onslaught of the revolution, thrones have toppled and kingdoms

The rebellion has already started against the torments, the capitalism. The masses thirst for a decisive change; they are groping for a way out of the capitalist madhouse. Far more likely than the definitive crushing of this wave of revolution by the mili-

some heroic Trotskyist who had been shot by the Nazi firing squad no or some Trotskyist who had been caught in the Nazi dragnet. But Of course the Democrats are that is all we knew. But we know more than that today. We know agents of the same wealthy inthat our faith that the Fourth International was indestructible, that it would survive despite all blows and repressions and would cut a throw out "left cover" decoys. path for itself when things began moving, we now know that that This job was handled particularfaith is justified and has been vindicated.

ACTIVITIES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

backers resorted incessantly to Just a few weeks ago we learned that right in the heat of events a new Italian Trotskyist party, a section of the Fourth Inred-baiting. The Negroes don't like red-baiting when it comes ternational, had been founded with a considerable following, on the from the capitalists. Although basis of our world program. Just a few days ago we received the the Communist Party has degeninspiring news that five parties of the Fourth International representerated to the extent where it suping the French, Belgian, Greek, Spanish and German sections held ports American imperialism, the a conference in France in February of this year, right within the ideals of the Russian Revolution shadow of the Gestapo, to plan and coordinate their future work and and the Workers' State with its to prepare the forces of the European revolution. We now know that full equality for minority groups, the French Trotskyists played an important and an honorable role still have great prestige among

in the great Paris uprising in August, and that they took the leader-Negroes. The revolting red-baiting as well as foreign-born baitship in many places in seizing the factories and organizing the ing led by Hearst papers cost the factory committees.

Republicans many votes that We now know as a definite fact that the movement built by they might otherwise have glean-Trotsky has survived the blows of the war and the Nazi terror ed from disgruntled Negro Roosmachine, that it is active, that it is growing, that it is prepared to eveltists. This should further shoulder its historic responsibilities. This is the answer, the most serve to enlighten some of our effective answer, to all the skeptics, to the faint-hearts, to those Uncle Tomish civic leaders who of little faith!

We have not reached the position which we hold today without struggle and without sacrifice. Unfortunately our list of martyrs is already disproportionately long. Our French section alone, we have been told, has lost over 100 comrades. And there have been many other victims. Let us take this occasion to honor our martyred er revolutionary program; don't the capitalist vulture. dead. And let us vow, that through our work and through our self-

sacrifice, we shall keep their memory alive and that their death shall not have been in vain.

Above the din and roar of the battlefields is already being heard he voice of the revolution. Above the mad chorus of reaction, of jingoism and of hate is already being heard the program of the Russian Revolution-the program of Trotsky, the program of the Fourth International. And this voice of the proletarian revolution, this program of the Fourth International, will every day become more and more compelling, more and more insistent, ever louder, ever clearer, as the only answer that can save the peoples of Europe from ruin and enslavement and barbarism, as the only answer out of the madhouse of capitalism and imperialism and its bloody wars, as the only answer to building a new society which will give the people peace, prosperity and freedom.

The European revolution will save and revitalize the Soviet Union and will take the road of continuing the task of liberation that the Russian Revolution first started in 1917.

Notice To New York Readers

NO FORUM SUNDAY, NOV. 19 Hear CHARLES CARSTEN on November 26, Reporting "THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CONVENTION"

good for the minority groups. largely nullifying its total effect. They were fairly well taken care of, though, by the money-bags of terests as the Republicans but the ruling class which sprinkled its grass well on both sides of the fence. But what the hell, we ly well by Henry (you don't love

all have to live, don't we? One of the exceptions was the me, I still love you) Wallace. Los Angeles Tribune which ex-Then again the Republican posed both major parties and

> gave a pat on the back to Norman Thomas, the "polite leftist." Although the Socialist Party has become a negligible factor in the labor movement and is therefore able to do little in bringing us equality, yet support of the idea of Socialism reflected a far more principled position from the point

of view of Negro equality. If the CIO bigwigs had been forced by the ranks to throw the prestige and power of its unions behind an independent labor party, such a party would have received the support of not 75 percent but 95 percent of the Negro people. The fight for a labor party still lies ahead. The pressure must come from below.

are not yet aware of the decided The Negro workers, doubly op-(although politically adolescent) pressed, must be and will be in trend of radicalization among the the vanguard. They have felt and Negro masses. If you would kick will increasingly feel the meager the "Communists" - kick them protection and increasing oppresfor having abandoned their form- sion under the slick left wing of



THE MILITANT



SHOP TALKS Chiang Kai-Shek's Enmity To Agrarian Reforms SOCIALISM Explains His Blockade Of Former "Red" Areas

(Continued from page 1)

Slim went into the washroom a minute early at lunch time, just in time to catch Scissorbill Sam (the bosses' man) pinning up a troops, you will enter territory newspaper "ad" on the bulletin board. That's a favorite trick of where these partisan b and s Scissorbill's. He wants us all to read what Wilbur Whoozis says operate. At night they conduct about hard work being good for the soul, and all that stuff.

= By V. Grey 🚞

But this was different. This was an "ad" of the U. S. Steel disappearing in the peasant mass Company, telling how many owners they had. Do you think 86.743 before the punitive troops of the people own it? You're wrong. Do you think 204 people own it? Wrong invaders can discover them. again. U. S. Steel is owned by 222,602 people. You might have thought that J. P. Morgan and his buddies owned it, but how could you still think so when it says right in black and white that 222,-602 people own it?

Well, Slim was just starting in on Scissorbill, telling him what he'd do if he caught him pulling that stuff again. Then he started ilar to that of Arizona. Yenan, in on what a pile of crap the ad was anyway. By this time the fellows were coming in and opening their lunch pails on the benches. And Pop Philiber broke in. "Wait a minute Slim. You mean to say you doubt that company's word? You don't believe them?"

Slim said, "Of course I don't believe them. Don't tell me you do." He sat down and started unwrapping his lunch. And Scissorbill slunk over to the boiler room where he often eats with the janitor.

ONE OF THE OWNERS OF U. S. STEEL

"I didn't think I'd ever have to tell you boys. But you may as the industry of any kind. well know it now. Here on a dirty bench, eating a baloney sandwich, you see before you one of them 222 thousand owners." Somebody spilled his coffee all over from laughing into it too suddenly. "That is" continued Pop slowly, without paying this impoliteness any attention, "I am an ex-owner. I sold my interest in the firm. It all come about like this:

"I had been working along for years never getting anywhere. But I'm an ambitious cuss even if I am getting old. So when I saved tightened a cordon on their up 60 dollars back in 1937 I says to myself, 'Pop, we're not going to | Kiangsi stronghold, with its capihave any more of this foolish spending on clothes and furniture and tal at Juichin, and forced them doctor bills. We're going to put the eggs in a different basket. Yes | into new and less hospitable tersir! That's me. Nothing venture-nothing have.' So I looks around ritory. The Red Armies, predom for a week or two. And here's this U. S. Steel Co. It seems to be inantly peasant in composition an up and coming concern. I ask the insurance agent what he thinks. I ask the guard at the bank what he thinks. They both say it's all agrarian revolt which continued right.

"You see, I read an ad in the paper too-something like this great revolution of 1925-27 which one, it was. Some high and mighty at the bank had a seat on the the Stalinists led to defeat. stock exchange and he could buy a share of U. S. Steel stock for In the northwest, as earlier in me, and I'd be all set. Well sir, I became an owner of U.S. Steel the south, the Stalinist leaderfor 54 dollars and fifty cents. Oh, yes, and three dollars for a ship carried out a program of 'brokers fee.' Pretty steep. The man said it would have been less if agrarian reform. Since the area I'd bought more shares. But then what's three bucks when you're was so poor and at that time buying into a big outfit like that?

"Well I can tell you the problems of ownership set very heavy on my shoulders. I used to read up on all the new-fangled inventions er north and west through sparin steel and I'd send in suggestions to my general manager." Pop sucked up some coffee out of an old whisky bottle.

"But what do you think? Do you think they carried out my attempt to really liquidate "Red orders? No sir. They just went on like they'd always been doing. So I figures I been too easy going on my help. I send this general with establishing a blockade to manager a very sharp letter. And I stated the case right, too, I can prevent "Red" infiltration into tell you. I told him plainly that the woods were full of unemployed executives, and he'd better watch out and toe the line a little bit.

"That still didn't get a rise out of him. But in a week or two the peasants and peasant soldiers. I got a pretty important letter from my financial office saying that Some of the landlords' tracts-if a quarterly dividend was declared. And enclosed is a check for 25 the landlords were absenteescents. Well if they do that every three months, thinks I, I'll have my were broken up and given to three dollars back in three years' time. And I felt a little better peasant families. Landlords who about the company. So I keep watching the mail for the next 25 were permitted to retain their cent check. But I guess I counted my chickens before hatching time. lands and continue renting them ons, concentration camps and fir- equality of the Kiangsi "Red" Because when the next three months rolled around I got a letter saying the board decided to pass a dividend. That means no twenty-five cents. It was printed on pretty stationery too." Pop said as he

heavily garrisoned by Japanese swift raids on Japanese outposts.

The core of Stalinist China is a parched and forbidding land, part of the arid northwest which stretches through the barren wastes of the Gobi Desert and on to Mongolia. The climate is sim-

the capital, nestles in loess country and many of the people live in caves burrowed into the hills of yellowish-brown loam. The government offices, institutions and schools are in caves. The country is poor in natural resources and agriculture must be carried on largely by means of

artificial irrigation. There is lit-

It was here, in 1935-36, that the former Chinese Red Armies settled down after an epic march across the face of the country following their retreat out of Kiangsi province, and part of Fukien, in the south and southeast.

Chiang Kai-shek's troops had were the fighting forces of an

China as a belated echo of the of little strategic significance;

since, moreover, there were endless possibilities of retreat farthsely-populated country, Chiang Kai-shek virtually abandoned his

He contented himself China." richer lands to the south.

Within the "Red" area, land

and rapacious middlemen, pro-

ducer-consumer cooperatives were

Chinese 8th Army Soldiers



These are soldiers of the Eighth Group Army, which defends the Stalinist-controlled area in northwest China against both the armies of Chiang Kai-shek and the troops of the Japanese imperialists. Until the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, they formed part of what was known as the Chinese Red Army.

China" much of its former at- time, except when crops fail, ten with graft and corruption. tractive power. Landlords and when both sides share the losses. capitalists, although subject to Taxes are very much lower. There restraint, were now protected is little private trade, the bulk of out medical care. The workers against the people. Their lands it being handled by the cooper, are fearfully exploited and dewere declared inviolate. In the atives and state institutions. course of fighting against the Prices are fixed and controlled. | the right to organize. Japanese invaders, the Stalinists The currency is more or less staextended their domain, but in the ble.

newly - acquired territories the There is very little industry in only reforms carried out were the territory, but what there is reduction of land rents; abolition has been developed mainly since of the multifarious taxes and the the arrival of the former Red arsubstitution of a single, graduat- mies. Some pig-iron is made in ed tax: establishment of educa- primitive furnaces from available lution, continue to exert a contional facilities, etc. Property ores. Some steel is manufactured relations were left as before. and worked into light weapons Together with the back-track- and light machinery.

ing in the sphere of agrarian re-Because of the poor industrial form. and in line with the con- development, a high standard of that there is a way out of the tinuing degeneration of Stalinism living is impossible. But because, on a world scale, went a gradual as even the most prejudiced redestruction of the democratic lib- ports declare, there is still a erties which the Stalinists had singular honesty and cheapness inscribed on their banners. The of administration and little or no Soviets were converted into graft and corruption; because, hand-picked assemblies. A police too, everyone works (there is no regime, cast in the image of Stalunemployment or vagabondage), in's dictatorship, arose in Yenan, there is sufficient to supply the knows they are a menace complete with GPU gunmen, pris-

rights of the civilian. What a contrast this affords The tide of immigration into "Soviet China" which marked the with Kuomintang China, the years 1936-38 had by 1939-40 be- China of Chiang Kai-shek! There come a great exodus from the re- a voracious system of unbridled gion. They streamed back by the | landlordism takes 60 percent and thousands to be herded into con- sometimes more of the peasant's centration camps prepared for crop. Equally voracious taxes them by Chiang Kai-shek near take another big flice. The peasthe blockaded border. ants — and they constitute be-But what had already been tween 80 and 90 percent of the done in "Soviet China" could not population - have so little left be entirely undone. Some peas- over from their labor that they ants had received land taken can scarcely feed themselves and from the landlords. Land rents are always but a step removed had been reduced. They now aver. from real famine. The landlords age 40 percent of the peasant's and tax collectors take their crop as compared with 60 percent crops. The government takes and more in Kuomintang China. their sons for the army. The Tenants must pay their rents on 'government and the army are rot-

The soldiers are half starved, illclad and, for the most part, withprived of all liberties, including

In a backward country where appalling poverty is the general rule, even mild reforms tend to assume a revolutionary significance. That is why the Stalinistcontrolled areas, despite the abandonment of the agrarian revosiderable, though reduced, attractive power on the masses in the

rest of China. They are a living demonstration of the fact awful morass of deprivation, oppression and misery.

That is why Chiang Kai-shek blockades these areas with between 500.000 and 1.000.000 of his troops and sacrifices the defense of China against Japan in order to maintain the blockade. He basic needs of life. The earlier regardless of the reactionary present-day policies of the Stalindistricts has gone, but no one ists-not only to his regime, but starves. The soldier has all the to the whole system of landlord-

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

Tyrants have always been stupid. They have felt well-equipped and safe as long as they have had jails, hangmen, and firing squads. Somehow they never learned that ideas do not die with their originators.

When they shot Joe Hill to death twenty-nine years ago, their murky brains must have held the thought that they were striking blow against all of labor, against organization of the workers.

They were wrong. They had to be wrong, because they didn't know that Joe Hill wasn't just a man. They didn't know that he was a symbol of his class. The copper bosses pumped their bullets into Joe Hill's body, but the real Joe Hill, the laughter and song, went on to organize.

'Joe Hill ain't dead,' he says to me, 'Joe Hill ain't never died. 'Where workers strike and organize 'Joe Hill is at their side'."

So says a song about him. Joe Hill came out of Sweden as a boy into the plains and mountains of the American West. As a man he came into the American labor movement and into the hearts of all its fighters. In those days the I.W.W. was the banner bearer of the working class, so it was into the I.W.W. that Joe Hill brought his courage, his homely humor, and his ability as an organizer.



He became known as a writer of rebel songs. He was one of those who provided a means of expression of the ideals and aspirations of all workers who banded together to work and fight for a better world. To him, nothing was sacred but the fight, and he laughed at all else. He took the gray and solemn hymns from the churches, colored them with impudent words, and laughingly sang them back into the faces of the shocked preachers and moralists of capitalism. Imitating them, but with a most ungodly twinkle in his eye, Joe offered this advice:

> "Work and pray, live on hay, You'll get pie in the sky when you die."

Those workers who selfishly and fearfully took sides with the bosses, resisting organization, Joe Hill lampooned in "Scissor Bill" and "Casey Jones, the Union Scab," who "took a trip to heaven on the S.P. Line."

But always through his songs ran the constant refrain. "Organize! Organize!"

That was his life, and that was his death: to organize the workers, the dispossessed, into a great army to oppose and conquer the expropriators and parasites. During a strike which he organized against the Utah copper mine owners, Joe was arrested on a framedup murder charge, given a mockery of a trial, and speedily condemned to death by the firing squad.

So twenty-nine years ago tonight, November 19, 1915, Joe Hill sat in his cell, composing his "will": "My will is easy to decide," he wrote with a smile, "For there is nothing to divide." And the next day, before they shot him, he said, "DON'T MOURN FOR ME. OR-GANIZE!"

But Joe Hill, the real Joe Hill, didn't die. He lives today. Tomorrow he will be even more alive.

nts. It was printed on pretty stationery too," Pop said as he tenants. To protect the farmers sucked up some more coffee. against grain speculators, usurers

WHY POP SOLD OUT HIS INTEREST

"Well sir, you might guess I didn't like this much. No indeed. established. Schools free to all I wrote letters about it, and I figured and figured. This corporation were opened—and even a univerof mine just seemed to get the jump on me. But wait! That ain't sity. These reforms had a magnetic the worst. One day when this thing had me almost goofy trying effect on the rest of China. iust to figure it out, I gets another letter. Aha, I says, they're passing as had the earlier and more farup a dividend sooner than usual this time.

reaching reforms carried out by "But it wasn't that. Nope. It was all about what a wonderful the Stalinists in Kiangsi, but service Mr. Taylor had given the company. What a far-sighted man which Chiang Kai-shek liquidated he was and all that, which I didn't deny, never having met the after driving the Red armies gentleman. But that isn't the point. The letter winds up saying that from the province. By thousands the board decided to raise this guy's salary to a hundred and sixty- people flocked to the new Mecca. seven thousand dollars a year. Students, teachers, professors,

peasants, workers, shopkeepers "Well that stopped my clock! Pop Philiber, says I-You always begged or borrowed their way to thought you were a cagey fellow. But look at this. Here you are, Sian, the capital of Shensi provan owner of a big steel plant and you pay your head man about a ince. They rode in freight cars hundred and fifty times as much as you get yourself (for working or just walked. From Sian they in the shop, that is. I'm not counting the 25 cents dividend). There's trudged along the dusty paths something wrong here. So I just about give up. and through the wild, high moun-

"You fellows may think I should a tried harder to be firm with tain country to Yenan. Many my employees. But it just wasn't any go. You can't teach an old walked hundreds of miles to the

dog new tricks, you know. And I'm too foolish about high living and new land of hope. Meanwhile, the storm-clouds of extravagance to settle down and try to run a steel corporation. So war were gathering. The Stalin-I sold my interest and bought these here false teeth you see me eating with. I figured that was about the best thing to do."

Us fellows figured it was too.

0

ist leaders, acting on orders from Moscow, set their program of agrarian reform into reverse in order to achieve a "united front"

The sixty richest families in the United States control all the with Chiang Kai-shek against big corporations. Their wealth is so big that no working person-not Japan. The full story of this even a hundred thousand working people together-have as much traitorous about-face, and the momoney as the poorest of them. They can have complete control of tives underlying it, was told in great detail by the writer in an a corporation by concentrating their holdings in strategic combinaarticle. "The End of the Chinese tions with each other. Even when the "public" owns an actual Soviets," which appeared in the majority of the stock, it is too disorganized and spread out to be New International for January, effective in deciding policy, salaries, etc. And these sixty birds of 1938 prey easily manage to keep the voting strength in their own hands.

Programmatically, the submis-In order that they have all gravy and no gristle, they let sion of the Stalinists to the Kuomiddle class and occasionally even working class people buy small mintang was complete, but in the lots of stock-put their money in the company, so if a depression sphere of actual sovereignty there or partic comes, these small stock holders stand the whole loss. In was only a formal submission. "Soviet China" became a Special a depression their dividends are "passed," their stock depreciates Administrative District under the in value. And the boys at the top take what profits there are for nominal authority of the Kuothemselves in the form of high salaries and bonuses, "preferred mintang government. The "Red stock" dividends and what not. There are thousands of poor suckers Army" was renamed the Eighth like Pop who get fleeced every year that way. And often much worse Route Army (now it is the than Pop. "Letting the worker share in the profits" this way, is Eighth Group Army) and brought just another slick method for the rich to get richer at the expense nominally under Chiang Kaiof the poor. shek's command. But the Stalin-

Under Socialism, not 222 thousand, but a hundred and thirty ists retained administrative conmillion people will own U. S. Steel. And not only U. S. Steel, but trol of the former "Red" areas Bethlehem Steel, Republic Steel, Aircraft, Auto, Coal and Chemical, and control of their armed forces. and every industry you can name as well. We will all own a share Chiang, for his part, maintained the blockade despite the fact that in everything. The dividends will come in on tick-every week-in the form of a bigger and bigger income. There'll be steady work atives" sitting in the People's because we won't lay ourselves off. There will be new and better Political Council in Chungking. methods of production because we want to make it easier for our-The programmatic self-renunselves, and we'll have it done that way. ciation, however, lost for "Soviet

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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capitalist oppression that regime stands.

If, instead of renouncing their program at the beginning of the war and going cap-in-hand to Chiang for'a "united front," the Stalinists had raised still higher

the banner of the agrarian revo lution, a great nation-wide peasant struggle would have resulted. This would have brought the sor ely-oppressed workers to their feet once more. The workers would have provided the peas-

ants with the firm proletarian leadership they require in order to vanquish the landlords and complete the agrarian revolution. Together, the workers and peasants would have swept the rotted Kuomintang regime into limbo. In the searing flames of revolution the invading armies of Japanese imperialism would long since have melted away. The workers and peasants of both China and Japan might by now have their feet set firmly on the broad road leading to a new life under socialism.

The realistic nature of this perspective is sufficiently proved by the fact that sharp and bloody peasant revolts have taken place in Kuomintang China despite the desertion of the agrarian revolution by the Stalinists. In the spring of 1943 there was a violent peasant rebellion in Kansu, close to the border of the Stalinist area. In the summer of the same year there were similar outbreaks in Fukien, far to the southeast, followed by sporadic uprisings in. Szechwan (where Chiang's capital of Chungking is situated) and Hupeh. All these revolts were quelled. Leaderless, the peasants were driven once more into submission

The tasks of the Chinese revolution remain in all their urgency. Despite the Stalinists and against the Stalinists the downtrodden millions of China will take to the road of struggle for a better future, to free their country from imperialist domination and landlord-capitalist oppression. In this great struggle they will find no other leaders but, the Trotskyists, who are the consistent, unflinching banner-bearers of the liberating revolution the Stalinists have abandoned and betrayed.

Joe Hill lives in the grins of the American workers. A flash of white teeth in an oil-smeared or coal blackened face, a joke or a song shouted above the roar of machinery-that is Joe Hill.

He lives in every strike. When a worker and a scab swing punches at each other before the gate of a factory, Joe Hill is there.

In the fierce joy of the fight or the smouldering subterranean resentment of had times, in the laughter and in the anger of the workers, you'll find Joe Hill.

Yes, his will was easy to decide. And there was nothing to divide. What he left us we didn't have to divide, for there was enough to be shared among all workers. He left us his songs, his courage, and his portion of a great fighting tradition. How true are the words of the song:

> "Says Joe, 'What they forgot to kill 'Went on to organize'."



NOVEMBER 17, 1934

WASHINGTON-Under the growing pressure of hungry millions of unemployed, Roosevelt produced his "Social Security" plan to hoodwink the American workers. He proposed a fund for future unemployment insurance, to be set up by a payroll tax augmented by taxes on the meager pay of those workers still employed. He left untouched the entire problem of 12,000,000 already jobless workers. Labeling this scheme as "a sort of company union mutual benefit association with very little benefit at that," The Militant pointed out the hearty endorsement of the Big Business mouthpiece, the N. Y. Times: "Business leaders hailed the cautious policy enunciated by the President."

W YORK-Completing plans for a gigantic nation-wide demonstration of the unemployed to be held November 24, the National Action Committee in charge issued its program of demands. Eight points included: 1. Federal public works to provide work for the unemployed at trade union rates on the basis of \$30 a week for a 30 hour week. 2. Passage of the Lundeen Unemployment Insurance Bill. 3. Immediate direct relief of \$10 weekly for single persons, \$15 for two, and \$4 weekly for each additional dependent. 4. Guaranteed right of organization and collective bargaining for workers on public projects. 5. Recognition of representatives of the organized unemployed by relief agencies. 6. Disability compensation on all public works. 7. Diversion of war funds to relief. 8. A universal 30-hour work week without pay cuts.

Affiliated in the march were the National Unemployed League, Illinois Workers' Alliance, Eastern Federation of Unemployed and Emergency Workers, Minnesota Central Council of Workers, American Workers Union (Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska), Florida Federation of Unemployed Leagues, Wisconsin Federation of Workers' Committees, Texas Central Council of Workers, and Fort Wayne Unemployed League.



Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547 FARRELL DOBBS. Editor

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

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

- 1. Military training of workers, financed y 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.
- A Workers' and Farmers' Govern

crats operating through the apparatus of the CIO-PAC and the American Labor and Liberal Parties, the enemies of labor are riding high. There is not a single independent voice-not one-to speak for and defend labor's interests in Congress. That is the real consequence of the policies of the union bureaucrats who treacherously used the machinery of the CIO-PAC, the ALP and Liberal Party, to abuse the earnest desire of millions of workers for genuine independent labor political action.

But the misuse of the CIO-PAC to provide the illusion of independent labor political action in order to re-elect Roosevelt has succeeded only temporarily in side-tracking the real movement for a labor party. We can be sure that the labor rank and file will soon learn through bitter experience that they have been sold another shoddy political bill of goods. The full meaning of the treachery of the pro-Roosevelt labor leaders is bound to expose itself in the coming period. The realization of this betrayal will impart tremendous force to the labor party sentiment which is going to sweep the American working class.



American labor has received another imperious warning against the deadly menace of Stalinism. During the recent strike of 2,500 San Francisco CIO machinists, the traitorous west coast Stalinist CIO leaders publicly called on the capitalist government to use "armed forces and the appropriate government agencies. . . in any action necessary to halt this or any other strike.'

Every decent union man and woman must boil at this unexampled piece of treachery. Never, in the whole annals of the American labor movement, has an entire group of so-called labor leaders appealed openly and brazenly in advance for the big business government to turn bullets and bayonets against all workers striking for their rights.

Step by step, the Stalinists are unfolding the full character of their program for emasculating and disorganizing the independent labor movement. They brought the labor movement's wrath down on their heads when they supported Roosevelt's demand for a forced labor law. They have been the virtually exclusive champions within the ranks of labor of the corporation-sponsored "incentive pay" speedup system. Their notorious strikebreaking actions, as in the Montgomery Ward strike, won the well-merited denunciation of all sectors of organized labor. As exponents of the permanent no-strike surrender to the corporations, they have evoked the publicly-expressed scorn of even conservative union leaders. Now they have descended to the lowest depths of all-appealing for armed forces to strike down and murder their own union brothers.

Over and over again, the Stalinists demonstrate that they are the most malignantly reactionary force within the labor movement. They have not an ounce of responsibility or loyalty to the working class. They are the hireling tools of the despotic Kremlin bureaucracy which employs them to help cement Stalin's alliance with Wall Street imperialism. For that alliance, Stalin seeks to bargain off the American labor movement to its worst enemies.

In defense of its very existence, organized American labor must heed this latest sharp warning. Stalinism will poison and pave the way for the destruction of the militant labor movement unless it is promptly and ruthlessly scourged from the ranks of the working class.



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

derstand that the ideas that are | tescu's "democratic" regime did **Stalin And Lenin** used to make a revolution may not result in their release. As

sm, like they did in Russia?"

for

mean?'

Ed tor: not necessarily be the right ideas it may have "upset the economy," A militant auto worker friend for maintaining it. Lenin and their release was deferred until of mine related the following ex- his ideas made the revolution, now. Now, however, the Jews perience to me. Having become with the help of Stalin, but it are learning that they have interest in our ideas, he thought has taken Stalin's ideas to safe- neither homes nor jobs to return to. Both have been taken by e would buy himself some Stal- guard it. Of course Stalin's inist literature for purposes of ideas are different from Lenin's. "Aryans." Though the governcomparison. He looked up the You couldn't expect Lenin's ideas ment ostensibly abolished all Stalinist bookshop in his town, to be good for ever, could you? anti-Jewish laws, its real intenwent down, and got into the fol- We are not orthodox Marxists - tions are laid bare in that "it lowing conversation with the wo- that's the Trotskyists. They are does not take any action to rethe orthodox believers in the old store Jewish property and normal man who ran it. Auto Worker: "I am interested worn-out ideas of Marxism. They rights." (N. Y. Times). Employ

n Socialism, and I would like are the dirtiest bunch of traitors ers are not required to reinstate to buy some of your pamphlets to the progressive people in the Jews in their former jobs. Even world. They have been convicted the treacherous Stalinists and So to learn more about it." by the Soviet courts of the low- cial-Democrats refuse to inter-Stalinist: "Well - have you ead Browder's book, 'Teheran'?" est, rottenest, most criminal, fascist, reactionary .--- " Auto Worker: "I read some Auto Worker: "Lady-just a Jewish Rumanians. parts of it in a paper, and I have minute please! Are you trying to heard-people talking about it. But

tell me that Trotskyists, who you Jews now face starvation or can't get something straight;don't you people want to get rid say are orthodox Marxists and death from cold. They are withbelieve in Lenin's ideas, are also cut clothes and food. of Capitalism and put in Social-'criminals,' 'fascists,' 'r e a c tionary,' and so on? You sound Stalinist: "Well-----if you mean as if you mean that Lenin would pin their hopes of survival on an be all those things too, if he was Allied victory. Marxist analysis alive today?"

Stalinist: "Well-----how do you know how Lenin would have turned out? Look at what happened to all the others who work ed with Lenin. Most of them degenerated to the worst kind of criminals and confessed, too. No, we are for Democracy, and if you read Browder's book on the Teheran decisions you will understand everything."

M. C. Detroit

In 1940 Fascist Premier Anton-

don't match - what's going on?" Stalinist: "Well, I can see that nificantly enough, the substituyou are confused. You don't un- tion of his government by Sana-



CIO Economists Predict A Huge Decline In Wages

Most of the big corporations are conducting costly advertising campaigns forecasting a delightful future for its American people under the "free enterprise" monopoly capitalist system. We are treated to visions of plastic pre-fabricated houses, two helicopters in every garage, and new delicious edibles delivered fresh from the Indies in moisture proof pliafilm and quick-freeze units.

This rosy picture is never clouded by the one "little" problem confronting the wage-earning consumers: Will the workers be able to buy all the wonderful things promised in the full-page, fourtone, gloss paper displays of the corporations?

The October CIO Economic Outlook says "No!". On the contrary, it gives weighty reasons for the contrary expectation. Those reasons are deduced from an analysis of the factors making for the \$344 million increase in weekly payrolls from January 1941 to April 1944. Citing the findings of the WLB panel in the Steel Case, the Economic Outlook reports that 42.8 per cent of the payroll rise has been due to increased employment. Longer working hours at straight time accounts for 14.7 per cent of the rise, overtime pay for 6.1 per cent, piece rate and 'merit" system increases, 13.6 per cent; shifts to higher paid industries, 7.5 per cent. Wage rate changes have increased payrolls only 15.3 per cent. But, says the Economic Outlook, "as the nation changes back from war to peace, many of the special conditions that contributed to increased earnings

and total payrolls will cease. Indeed, only the general wage rate level will not immediately be affected bitter lesson for those Jews who by shorter hours, lay offs and shifts back to peacetime patterns of employment. And even basic rates are not safe from employer pressure."

What are the real prospects? "At full employment and present wage rates, but with 1939 hours and employment pattern (no overtime, shift to lower-paid jobs), payrolls would fall by \$14 billion from the \$90 billion now being paid in civilian nonagricultural industries. If we go back to the 1939 level of employment, they will fall by \$33 billion, or to 63 per cent of their 1943 level . . . Payrolls in manufacturing will drop by \$23 billion, or to 42 per cent of the 1943 level, if present rates are maintained but other 1939 conditions prevail."

The "brave new world" of the capitalist advertisements is a myth. Not television sets and such wonders are the prospects for the masses, but secondnand clothes, breadlines and evictions.



Officials of General Motors, America's largest corporation, threw up their hands in "horror," figuratively speaking, when the CIO United Automobile Workers proposed that the company set up out of war profits a post-war security fund of \$150 million for its unemployed workers.

Only recently, however, GM issued a report of its financial health during the first nine months of this year. During this period, its net profits, after all taxes, were \$124,997,304, or about \$15,500,000 more han for the same period in 1943.

Of course, GM generously provided a security fund for its Big Business owners. Before computing profits, it set aside over \$300,000,000 for various "con-

so. We believe therefore, that we must support the progressive elements in both the Democratic and Republican parties who stand international collaboration with the Soviet Union for peace

Auto Worker: "I think I need and democracy, at home and a double-shot. Goodby!" abroad so why don't you buy Browder's book and see what we

Auto Worker: "For a hundred **Rumanian Jewry** years or so! Holy mackerel! And Editor support what progressive ele-

Allied occupation. The European ments in the Democratic and Re-Recent reports from Rumania capitalists, unable to provide publican parties? Why they are prove that Allied "liberation" their own population with jobs all phonies as far as labor is spells not "milk and honey" for and shelter, will certainly not be concerned. It's taken me a long | European Jewry, but the perpeconcerned with the "pariahs" of time to get that into my head, tuation of its misery, economic decaying capitalism — the Jews. Instead of futile appeals to the

but I know that now. But lady displacement and destitution. for God's sake, don't you people bourgeoisie, the Jewish masses in. believe in Lenin? I haven't read escu forcibly removed all Jews Europe will find their salvation all he's written, but enough to from professions and business, only in a common struggle with know that his ideas and yours dismissed the majority and sent the European proletariat in its 65,000 to forced labor camps. Sig- fight for socialism

make a revolution, with violence and that sort of thing,—well, no! We don't think that is possible or desirable, even. Of course, we are still for Socialism, but we don't think it is realistic to feel that such a change can be accomplished for a hundred years or

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

Who Really Won

The Hillman-Murray leadership of the CIO Political Action Committee boasts that it has won a "great_victory" for labor by electing Roosevelt and a "progressive Congress." A CIO-PAC statement proclaims that it was the decisive factor in returning 137 Democratic and Republican "friends of labor" to the House and Senate.

Unquestionably, the election campaign has conclusively demonstrated that the CIO-PAC, as an agency of the labor movement, could rally millions of labor votes for Roosevelt and the other capitalist party candidates which these parties themselves could no longer muster. The most conspicuous example of the workers' distrust of the capitalist parties and their eagerness to support independent political organizations of labor was the huge total of over 800,000 votes polled in New York state for Roosevelt by the American Labor Party and its rival split-off, the Liberal Party. This was more than double the vote secured in 1940 by the ALP.

But what has the working class actually gained by this vast outpouring of its human energies and financial resources, this demonstration of its indubitable power as a political force?

What is this "progressive Congress" of which Hillman and Murray brag? Of the 219 Congressmen who voted for the infamous Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Bill, 191, or 87 per cent, have been reelected, the majority of them Democrats. Among the 17 Senators they boast of electing are no less. than 5 Southern Bourbon Democrats, anti-labor champions of "white supremacy," and 2 Republicans who openly championed the interests of the corporations in their campaigns.

The big business reactionaries are as firmly fixed in political power as ever. Roosevelt has been handed a signed blank check by the labor leaders. For this he was not even required to give the customary pre-campaign commitments, meaningless as they are, and, indeed, he repaid the decisive support of CIO-PAC by contemptuously ignoring it through his entire campaign.

Despite organized labor's prodigious electoral activity, thanks to the policies of the labor bureau-

Stalin's Speech

Judging by press reports, the only celebration in the Soviet Union of the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution was the firing of 24-gun salvos to mark the expulsion of the German armies from the last of Soviet soil and a speech by Stalin which did not reflect in the slightest the real spirit and significance of the anniversary.

The Bolshevik Revolution, led by Lenin and Trotsky, put an end to capitalism and landlordism over one-sixth of the earth's surface. Stalin made not the slightest reference to this great historical fact. Nor did he even once mention the name of Lenin, whose political heir and continuator he always claimed to be.

Stalin spoke of the "long-term interests" lying at the basis of the alliance between the "democratic" imperialist* brigands and the Soviet bureaucracy. He made no mention of the common interests which should unite the Soviet masses with their class brothers throughout the world. This concept of working-class internationalism used to be the keynote of Bolshevik anniversary celebrations in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, before Stalin and his gang usurped the seats of proletarian power.

Under the Stalin regime, the great triumph of Bolshevism, which represented the beginning of the world-wide socialist revolution, is celebrated no longer in the Soviet Union. The revolutionary traditions of Bolshevism are covered up because they reveal in such glaring fashion the counterrevolutionary retrogression in the first workers' state.

But the ideas and the program of Bolshevism nevertheless live on. The great banner of Lenin, hope and promise of the socialist liberation of all mankind, is now held aloft by the Trotskyists, the revolutionary Marxists of the Fourth International. Only they now celebrate the Russian Revolution in the spirit of its original leaders and organizers.

The day will come when it will again be celebrated in that spirit in the Soviet Union — a Soviet Union cleansed of the reactionary filth of Stalinism, for we are sure that despite Stalin the traditions of Bolshevism continue to live on in the aspirations and innermost thoughts of the best Soviet workers and Red Army fighters.

Britain's class-conscious coal from London ever since the parti- | job, as of old, is to make capitalminers, fighting vanguard of the tion of the country by the Brit- ism palatable to the workers, to working class, have taken a great ish, the Stalinist party managed patch it up and try to make it on war contracts. step forward in the decision, an- to survive, but made no headway work. nounced in London on November among the masses. Now it has 3, to amalgamate all the mining made an open bid for British imtrade unions of England, Scotland perialist patronage by endorsing fuse to disarm. DeGaulle will and Wales into "one big union" to the partition against which the try to force disarmament with be known as the National Union people have fought from the very of Mineworkers. beginning.

The new union, which will have The source of the new "turn' a membership of 700,000, thus be- is the Stalin government in Mos- do the "socialists" stand? In adcoming one of the five largest scow. It is motivated exclusively vance they gave DeGaulle a clean unions in the British Isles, is by Stalin's desire to preserve and placing in the forefront of its strengthen his alliance with their "unconditional" support. program a demand for the ex- Churchill and the British imperpropriation of the mine-owners | ialists. The Irish Stalinists have and the establishment of "public abandoned the struggle for inde- France. The "socialists" are nervownership and control" of all pendence and allied themselves mines. exclusively in the interests of A vote among the British min-

ers resulted in 430,630 balloting in Stalin's diplomacy. favor of the amalgamation, with By this act of perfidy they have only 39,464 against. A sum equi- signed their own death warrant valent to about \$2,000,000 will be as a political force. In Ulster raised to establish the new na- they will meet the same fate that tional union on a country-wide befell them in Eire. The revolutionary workers and peasants will basis. The coal miners represent the turn their backs on the cynical

most advanced and militant sec- turncoats. tion of British labor. They were

in the vanguard of the great Gen- France eral Strike of 1926 and have been to the fore in the wave of renewed working class struggle which com-

Ireland

menced early this year.

and main to prevent the workers The Stalinist "Communist" from destroying capitalism. Party of Ireland has issued a Their organ, Le Populaire, pubstatement endorsing the partition of the country. Thereby it has I shed on Sept. 11 an address delplaced itself on the opposite side ivered by Daniel Mayer, the party tries. It is not a socialist proof the barricades in the struggle secretary - general, proclaiming, gram at all, but a program for of the Irish workers and peasants for independence from Britain the reactionary DeGaulle governand jumped openly into the camp ment which even now is trying to disarm the Workers' Militia of the imperialist violators. In Eire, or southern Ireland, in order to defend capitalism

he Stalinists dissolved their from the growing threat of soparty in the autumn of 1941 cialist revolution. after two years of fruitless cam-"The Government," Mayer

In the period ahead the French declared, "has the masses of the paigning to drag that nominally people behind it (and) it will independent section of the counscorn and disdain the fake pulled out of impending bankruptcy. have the unconditional support of try into the imperialist war on "socialists" of the Second Inthe Socialist Party."

the side of Britain. They opposed ternational. The Stalinist traitors, This statement was made be- who are playing the same reac-De Valera's policy of "neutrafore DeGaulle moved to disarm tionary role, will suffer a similar lity," thereby placing themselves in sharp opposition to the bulk of the workers, but the social-dem- fate. Trotskyism will come into the Irish workers and peasants ocratic traitors knew all along its own. Under the banner of the who refused to become cannon- that this was precisely what Fourth International the French fodder for their imperialist op-DeGaulle intended to do - if he workers will reach their socialist dustries, and establishes peacetime production under could. They never had any in- victory. pressors and exploiters.

which has been ruled directly the assault on capitalism. Their

vene in their behalf, as they do

not wish to "antagonize" the non-

As a result, 150,000 Rumanian

The Rumanian events carry a

long ago led us to predict events

omorrow will take place in the

rest of "liberated" Europe. Ab

rogation of all racial laws, so

proudly announcd by the Allies.

remains a hypocritical gesture.

unless followed by actions in the

economic field. Presently, by

the elimination of these racial

laws, the Jews are now "freed"

not only from concentration and

rom jobs and homes.

forced labor camps, — but also

The post-war problems of "lib

erated" European Jewry are by

no means solved, but more

sharply than ever posed by the

Dan Shelton

New York

that today occur in Rumania and

But the workers are revolutionary. They are armed. They re-Allied aid, to render the workers helpless before their class enemy. A stern clash is coming. Where bill of health and pledged him But the forces of the socialist

revolution are on the march in ous as they observe the leftward with the British colonial bandits swing of the workers, who, for Stalinists in the mistaken belief

that these agents of the Kremlin will lead them in revolution. Mayer took cognizance of this in his speech when he said: "I know of only one way to be stronger than the Communists, and that is to bring about a revolution before they do."

The type of "revolution" Mayer has in mind was disclosed in the government war handouts. same speech. He views the "So-

cialist" Party merely as a pressure group which, by judic'ous maneuvering, and exploitation of the mass discontent, will force the DeGaulle regime to institute certain "reforms" which will mollify the workers

Th's is the classic program of the social-democracy in all counamong other things, support for the rescue of capitalism. However, all possibilities for durable reforms in France — reforms which would satisfy, even partially, the most urgent needs of the French masses - have long since vanished.

\$32,000,000 more than before, for "taxes." Another \$72,353,000 was "reserved" for "price adjustments"

Naturally, the corporations like to play safe, and therefore always put far greater sums in their "reserves" than any anticipated taxes, price revisions or "contingencies" might require. This is a favorite method for concealing profits.



American capitalism is always heralding a "miracle man" with some new sure-cure for the ills of the system. Not infrequently he is what is known as an "industrial giant" whose bank balance is imthe time being, are following the pressive enough to ensure that his vaporings on economic and political problems will receive widespread publicity. Henry Ford, for instance, has provided many a headline and Sunday sermon text with his invariably wrong opinions on social issues. Now a new "prophet" is in our midst. He is the miracle man of war production," Henry J. Kaiser, usually described in the capitalist press as "a genius of a farflung industrial empire." His "genius" mainly consisted of getting in on the ground floor of

This now entitles him to air his views on all subjects, including "Jobs for All," which he recently expounded over the radio. His formula is very neat. To eliminate unemployment, jobs must be "created" for 30,000,000 workers during the first year and a half of "peace" - a condition he described profoundly as simply a "state of mind."

All that's needed, stated Kaiser, is a vast program of construction, houses, hospitals, highways, airports. Let the government continue to hand out oodles of money to industrialists like Kaiser, and they'll "get things done." But the question Kaiser skips is: Why haven't these things been done before? From 1933 to 1939, the best the New Dealersthen the "liberal" wing of the capitalist buzzardcould offer were largely "leaf-raking" jobs to a couple of million unemployed. A "privileged" minority of the 13,000,000 unemployed got brief starvationworkers will thrust aside with pay WPA jobs, while big business contractors were

> The projects Kaiser envisages are fine. Labor has advocated them for years. But they will be secured only against the profit-interests and opposition of all the Kaisers and other capitalists, when the government itself operates at full capacity its huge waracquired industrial plant, nationalizes the basic inworkers control.

The social-democrats of the French Socialist Party (Second International) are still busy at the job of deceiving and confusing the workers. They talk "so-

cialism" but strive with might