

WAGES FROZEN, ECONOMIC CZAR NAMED, COLLECTIVE BARGAINING RESTRICTED

Trotskyists Hold Tenth Convention

Reaffirm The Socialist Line On Imperialist War

Largest SWP Convention Marked by Unanimous Agreement On Basic Principles of the Movement; Delegates Hear Report of Union Work and Organizational Gains Since Last Convention

NEW YORK, N. Y., Oct. 5—The three-day national convention of the Socialist Workers Party—the first since United States entry into the war and the tenth in the history of the American Trotskyist movement—which concluded its sessions at the Cornish Arms Hotel here last night, was marked by complete, unanimous and enthusiastic reaffirmation of the revolutionary internationalist principles of Trotskyism.

The convention, which followed a two month discussion period in the party, was also the largest in the history of the American Trotskyists, being attended by 107 regular, alternate and fraternal delegates and by more than 200 guests from out-of-town and from New York.

The main business of the convention was to discuss and adopt a political resolution to guide the party in its activities and to answer the problems and tasks of the workers in World War II. The resolution that was adopted was fully in line with and a continuation of "the tested program of revolutionary struggle thought out and fought out over a period of many years" and elaborated in the fundamental theses of the Fourth Internationalist movement.

The discussion on this resolution was opened with a report for the National Committee by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the S.W.P. and founder of the American Trotskyist movement.

CONTRAST WITH 1941

Comrade Cannon spent the first part of his report in contrasting the situation of Lenin's Bolshevik Party at the beginning of World War I and of the Trotskyist movement, the continuators of Leninism, in World War II.

The Second and Third Internationals gave advance warning of their treachery long before the outbreak of the present war, but even Lenin was surprised by the almost universal socialist patriotic betrayals of the socialist and labor leaders at the beginning of the first imperialist war. The internationalists of 1914 therefore had to begin almost from the beginning in elaborating a program for the war and in assembling the vanguard of the

Cannon, Breitman To Speak On Radio In N. J. Campaign

NEWARK, N. J., Oct. 7—George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator from New Jersey, and James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will be the speakers in the series of election radio broadcasts arranged by the Breitman Campaign Committee.

Breitman will speak on Saturday, Oct. 17 and 24, and Cannon will make the final broadcast on Saturday, Oct. 31. The time of all the speeches will be from 5:15 to 5:30 P.M., over Station WPAT, 930 kilocycles.

Fourth International Issues Manifesto To Masses Of India

World Party of Socialist Revolution Offers Program to Achieve Independence

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International has issued a Manifesto "To the Workers and Peasants of India," which appears in the October issue of the monthly magazine, Fourth International, which came off the press last week.

Although primarily addressed to the workers and peasants of India, the 6,000-word Manifesto will be of vital interest to the workers of all countries.

Taking its stand on the side of the struggle of India for national liberation, the Manifesto notes that the Fourth International is the only international labor organization which is supporting the present struggle for independence, while the Second and Third Internationals are aiding Churchill by condemning the present struggle.

In this connection the Manifesto reviews the principal documents of the Fourth International since 1934, on the basis of which the best revolutionists of India have come together during the last two years to form the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India as a section of the Fourth International.

BRITISH IMPERIALISTS WILL NOT GRANT FREEDOM

An important section of the Manifesto is devoted to proving that under no conditions will British imperialism voluntarily agree to Indian independence. The only road to independence is the overthrow of the British power in India.

"Beware of American 'Mediation'" is the heading of the next section, which shows how illusory were the hopes of the Indian bourgeoisie, who thought Washington would support them. From the time of the Cripps Mission until the last weeks, Washington gave its full support to Churchill's policy in India. Then, the Manifesto states:

"It was only when it became clear that the British were failing to crush Indian resistance that Washington changed its tactics, privately urging Churchill to open new negotiations with the Congress leaders. Washington hoped that new negotiations would quiet down India. But Washington remains, fundamentally, the supporter of Churchill in India; any illusion that pressure by Roosevelt on British Indian policy will benefit India's masses can be fatal to Indian independence. It is absolutely false to think that Roosevelt, if Britain agrees to his mediation, will be an impartial judge between the contending forces in India. On the contrary, we can predict in advance that in that case Washington will conduct a mock trial ending in a decision in favor of Britain and its native agents."

The Manifesto also warns In-

Trotskyists Hold Tenth Convention

On the Stalingrad Front



Soviet machine-gunners hug the wall of a blasted building as they rush to new positions in street fighting somewhere on the Stalingrad front. The Soviet masses struggle heroically because they have something to defend — the remaining conquests of the Russian Revolution which ended capitalist ownership, control and oppression. (Radiophoto for Federated Pictures.)

Hitler's Speech

Nazis To Try To Hold What They Have Won

Discontent Shows 'New Order' Is Far From Stabilization

By C. CHARLES

The two chief representatives of the German capitalist class, Adolf Hitler and Hermann Goering, have spoken to Germany and the world during the last week.

Behind the boasts and promises, the threats and tirades, that composed their speeches, the truth looms: German capitalism, represented by the Nazis, is by no means a firm and stable system.

Hitler's speech on Sept. 30 was in glaring contrast to his speech made nearly a year before on Oct. 3, 1941 when he declared, referring to the USSR, that "this enemy has been broken and never will rise again."

The Soviet masses, defending the remaining conquests of the Russian Revolution, despite the handicap of the Stalinist bureaucratic regime, have taught Hitler to speak with a certain amount of caution. This time he limited himself to declaring that Stalingrad will be taken and held.

He stated that his aim was to consolidate his gains, while remaining on the defensive: "Under all circumstances, we must hold whatever must be held. That is to say, we must let the others attack as much as they wish wherever we have no intention to advance. We must hold everything and must wait and see who tires soonest."

In these words Hitler attempts to allay the fears of the German people who have been appalled at the long casualty lists. He holds out the hope of a diminution of the slaughter, at least for a year. The hungry and cold German masses were also promised relief in the coming year. Hitler was

(Continued on page 4)

Stalin Complains That USSR Gets 'Little Effective' Aid From Allies

This Is Also Indictment of His Policy of Depending On Imperialists to Save USSR

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Replying to questions obviously inspired by the Kremlin itself, Stalin has released through an American correspondent in Moscow a statement which touches upon the key issues of his entire policy of conducting the war.

Whatever else may be obscure in Stalin's answers, it is quite clear that he now charges his allies with having failed to live up to their promises, pledges and agreements. The second front, asserts Stalin, comes first.

But there is no second front. The implication is obvious: Churchill and Roosevelt did not carry out an alleged agreement previously arrived at. More than that, they even failed to provide the promised material aid, or, as the text of the statement puts it: "the aid of the Allies to the Soviet Union has so far been little effective."

The statement further declares that the Allies should "fulfill their obligations fully and on time." Again the implication is quite clear: these obligations have never been adequately fulfilled nor on time.

From the charges contained in this statement it is an easy bridge to the next charge: that Stalin has been double-crossed by his allies. It is this ominous hint that caused confusion and alarm in London.

STALIN PREPARES ALIBI

The polite and devious language of diplomacy employed by Stalin only serves to underscore one of the main purposes of his answers: To prepare an alibi for himself. He needs an alibi for the catastrophic defeats suffered by the Red Army despite its heroic resistance. He needs an alibi for the desperate conditions which confront the peoples of the USSR during the coming winter, independently of whether Stalingrad stands or falls.

The Red soldiers, workers and peasants have achieved unprecedented feats on the military arena. They want victory, they can be victorious. Why then is the Soviet Union faced with disaster? More and more workers are asking this question both inside and outside the USSR.

By his campaign for the second front, and by his current charges against Washington and London,

Roosevelt's Oct. 3 Order Is Blow At Masses' Standards

Next Step In Placing Costs of War On the Workers Will Be A Stiff Taxation Program

By JOSEPH ANDREWS

President Roosevelt struck a heavy blow against the rights and standards of the workers on October 3 when he issued an executive order freezing wages, limiting the collective bargaining rights of the unions, and appointing an economic dictator with power to rule over the living standards of the people.

The order set up the Office of Economic Stabilization, with the anti-labor Supreme Court Justice James F. Byrnes as director.

Cloaked in the guise of a program to preserve the living standards of the workers and poor farmers at the present level, the order in reality deprives the workers of important rights for protecting their standards and lays the basis for slashing those standards through increased taxation and compulsory savings.

The authority vested in Roosevelt by Congressional action, to rule by decree on wages and prices, upon which he based his October 3 order, makes it possible for him to decree further attacks on the standards of the masses.

WAGES ARE FROZEN AT SEPT. 15 LEVEL

The order freezes wages of the overwhelming majority of the workers at the September 15, 1942 level. "The National War Labor Board shall not approve any increase in wage rates prevailing on September 15, 1942, unless such increases are necessary to correct maladjustments or inequalities to eliminate standards of living, to correct gross inequities."

There is absolutely no reason to believe that "gross inequities" will be corrected under the anti-labor Byrnes' supervision any more than they have been corrected under the general policy pursued by the War Labor Board, which also paid only lip service to the need to raise the wages of the most underpaid workers.

GOES EASY ON BOSSES

Roosevelt attempted to soften the anti-labor effect of his order by throwing in an ambiguous measure authorizing Byrnes to "limit" employers' salaries. "No increases in salaries now in excess of \$5,000 per year (except in instances in which an individual has been assigned to more difficult or responsible work) shall be granted, unless otherwise determined by the Director." This provision is armed with no one, but two loopholes (both underlined) to see to it that employees will not be seriously affected by this fake limit on salaries.

The section of Roosevelt's order which pretends to limit salaries to \$25,000 a year is equally fraudulent. The order states: "Insofar as practicable, no salary shall be authorized to the extent that it exceeds \$25,000 after payment of taxes, PROVIDED HOWEVER THAT SUCH REGULATIONS SHALL MAKE DUE ALLOWANCE FOR THE PAYMENT OF LIFE INSURANCE PREMIUMS, REQUIRED PAYMENTS ON FIXED OBLIGATIONS, . . . AND SHALL MAKE PROVISION TO PREVENT UNDUE HARDSHIP."

If it is considered by former poll tax Senator Byrnes that a limit of \$25,000 is an "undue hardship," the measure will of course be set aside.

Moreover, this provision does not deal in any way with the huge profits of corporations, which can go on unbridled, or the huge incomes of the big capitalists derived in the main from dividends and income from investments in the big corporations.

Even if this measure effectively restricted incomes to \$25,000 a year, it would still leave the employers plenty of money to live in the style to which they are

(Continued on page 2)

Who Is Byrnes? What Is His Labor Record? —SEE PAGE 4—

Goldman Protests Film To Lie About L. Trotsky

Albert Goldman, attorney for Leon Trotsky and the latter's widow, Natalia Sedov Trotsky, protested vigorously last week the announcement that the motion picture film based on ex-Ambassador Davies' book, Mission To Moscow would in effect be a justification by Hollywood of Stalin's Moscow frameups, containing all of the GPU's monstrous lies and slanders, and perhaps a few additional ones.

In a letter to the N. Y. Post, which printed it only in part on Oct. 2, the noted labor attorney declared:

"Sept. 28, 1942

"Dear Editor: "In her column of September 22, Elsa Maxwell writes about the film that Warner Bros. is making of the book 'Mission to Moscow' by Joseph E. Davies. Miss Maxwell states that Leon Trotsky 'will be proved to have been in the pay of Adolph Hitler' by certain documentary proofs which have been furnished to the maker of this film.

"As attorney for Leon Trotsky while he was alive and for his widow, Natalia Trotsky, I wish to protest against such a monstrous libel.

"It is indeed strange that in your paper there should be printed the filthy Stalinist lie about



# Trotskyists Hold 10th National Convention

(Continued from page 1)

revolutionary party on the basis of that program.

The Trotskyist movement, on the other hand, guided by the experiences of the first war and the revolutions and betrayals that followed, was fully prepared for and even predicted the present war. They were therefore politically steered and organizationally prepared in advance, and United States entry had absolutely no social-patriotic repercussions or defections in their ranks. While Lenin had to hammer out the program, the Trotskyists had their program long before the beginning of the war; while Lenin had a handful of people, the Trotskyists had well-tested and experienced cadres in all parts of the world.

For this reason, Cannon said, the present situation facing the revolutionists is different from that in 1914, and the advantages are all on our side.

## POSITION ON WAR IS UNAMBIGUOUS

Commenting on the "symbolic coincidence" that the capitalist class "declared war and sentenced the party leaders to prison in the same hour" on Dec. 8, Cannon declared: "There is not and never has been the slightest possibility of misunderstanding our position on the war." The party's first response to the war was by an action in the Minneapolis courtroom; this was followed by Cannon's statement in the January, 1942 Fourth International and by Grace Carlson's statement in the St. Paul elections.

And now, in the resolution under discussion, the party "once again restates the program of Bolshevism. I repeat: No misunderstanding is or has been possible. Neither friend nor foe

could have any doubt of our position. Those who pretend otherwise are liars or provocateurs."

Comrade Cannon then took up those sections of the resolution dealing with the main world events since the last regular convention of the S.W.P. held in April, 1940.

## MAIN WORLD EVENTS SINCE APRIL, 1940

Hitler has conquered all Europe, he said, and some people see cause only for despair or hope only in the program of the Anglo-American bandits. But the resistance of the oppressed peoples and their aspiration for national freedom prevent any stabilization of Hitler's "New Order" and can and very likely may be the starting point for a new series of revolutions. "But that," he said, "is only on the condition that the workers' vanguard sticks to its own program and does not adapt itself to the program of bourgeois nationalism." We are and should be the foremost fighters against Hitler — "but with our own program, with the central guiding slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe."

Cannon reviewed the attack of Germany on the Soviet Union, and showed how of all groups in the labor movement the Trotskyist policy alone had been proved correct. He also explained the heroic defense of the Soviet masses, despite the strangulating policies of Stalinism, as a sign that the masses were fighting to preserve the conquests of the October Revolution.

In the first world war, he went on, the masses of Asia were passive and politically unheard from — "this time they are at the center of events. Here is the source of the most optimistic

revolutionary hope." And naturally the Trotskyists support every effort of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of India and China to free themselves from the domination of imperialism.

"It is 14 years ago this month," Cannon said, coming to the end of his report, "that we raised the banner of Trotsky and the Russian Opposition in the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Behind us are 14 years of rich and varied experience, of the testing of programs and the testing of people. Out of that crucible has come a party that is strong and unafraid and confident."

We dare to challenge the most powerful imperialism in the world, he said, because we see not only its strength but also its internal weakness and its hopeless contradictions. "Our enemies are strong. But our program, our cadres, our discipline are stronger and will prevail."

The report was followed by discussion of various aspects of the resolution, and then was adopted unanimously. (This important resolution will be printed in full in an early issue of THE MILITANT.)

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## DOBBS REPORT ON PARTY'S ACTIVITIES

The second day of the convention heard an inspiring report of the party's organizational work in the last two years given by Comrade Farrell Dobbs, National Labor Secretary.

One of the most heartening parts of his report was the information he gave relative to the growth of the party membership, especially since Pearl Harbor. The recruitment of new party members, he showed by the figures, was not an isolated phenomenon, but was taking

place in all parts of the country, and was a tribute to the Trotskyist type of party which meets its tasks and continues its work even in the periods of worst reaction.

He also reported the organization of a number of new branches in industrial centers where the party had had no strength previously, and the hard spade-work that had been laid for the growth of branches in a number of centers including various cities in the South where party work is extremely difficult.

Comrade Dobbs also gave figures about the composition of the party by occupation, and showed that the overwhelming majority of the party ranks, as of the delegates at the convention, was working in industry and engaged in trade union work. He stressed the role of the women comrades in the period of the war, noting that they are playing a bigger role in the party's branch and union work, and emphasized the importance of continuing and extending this practice.

A section of his report dealt also with the quantities of Trotskyist literature published and distributed since April 1940—a total of 17 new pamphlets alone, totaling 125,000 copies. In addition the Trotskyist press has increased its circulation by 100%.

## TRADE UNION WORK

Following the organization report, Comrades Dobbs gave a trade union report, outlining the strategy of the government and the capitalist class and the moves they were making to destroy the independence of the union movement. He laid great stress on the need for preserving democracy in the unions and resisting all efforts to destroy the unions' independent role.

Proceeding from this analysis of the present objective situation, he outlined the general tactics to be pursued by militants in the unions today, pointing out that these tactics were intended for the present period only, and would be replaced by another tactical approach in a new objective situation. His report on various problems in the local union work of the branches and the party's approach to them, was listened to with great interest by the delegates.

The discussion that followed the report gave the party as a whole the benefit of the experience of some of the delegates' work in the past 31 months, and greatly clarified the general line to be followed by the party in the next period. An amendment on trade union work which had been introduced at the beginning of the discussion was withdrawn because of this clarification, and the Dobbs' report was adopted unanimously by the delegates.

One of the highlights of the convention was the report on the third day by Comrade C. Charles on the organizations of the Fourth International all over the world. Although forced by the Voorhis Act to disaffiliate from the Fourth International, the Socialist Workers Party remains in complete solidarity with its co-thinkers throughout the world.

The report showed that the Fourth International, contrary to those who predicted its dissolution and in spite of the most brutal oppression ever visited on a workers' organization, is alive, functioning and growing. It now has sections in 32 countries on every continent of the globe.

Pierce persecution, manifested in arrests and executions, is meted out to the Trotskyists, not only in the Axis nations but also in the so-called democracies and by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

"The relative strength of the Fourth International in India and China," Comrade Charles pointed out, "is of great significance for a workers' organization which is rooted among and can win the confidence of the most oppressed toilers of the world, will be able to draw upon a source of strength great enough to shake imperialism to the ground." The Trotskyists support and are active in the anti-imperialist struggles which are going on in these countries and strive to transform these struggles into social movements of the workers and peasants.

Growth of the organization in France, both occupied and unoccupied, and in England has also been registered in the recent past. "The oppressed masses of conquered Europe," said Charles, "are moving toward the position of the Fourth International which teaches that the freedom of all European nations, large and small, can be assured only in the framework of the Socialist United States of Europe."

Socialist internationalism is bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of the Socialist Workers Party. This had often been proved in the past by the aid it gave to its co-thinkers, and once again at the convention by the enthusiastic reception Comrade

Charles' report received from the delegates.

## FINAL ACTIONS OF THE CONVENTION

On the last day of the convention the delegates also voted to send a telegram of greetings to Natalia Sedov Trotsky, widow of the founder of the Fourth International. The telegram said:

"Tenth party convention, the largest in the history of our movement, adopted unanimously this resolution and report. This is our reaffirmation of Leon Trotsky's ideas and program. Together with you we continue our march to the socialist future. With communist greetings..."

The work done by the arrangement committee in preparing the excellent housing and eating con-

ditions and other technical arrangements that so facilitated the work and comfort of the delegates was gratefully acknowledged and commended in a special resolution adopted by the convention.

The last point on the convention agenda was the election of members and alternates to the new National Committee of the party. When this was concluded, the gathering adjourned with the singing of The Internationale, and the delegates departed for their respective homes inspired by the convention's decisions, with increased confidence in the ability of the party to meet its great tasks in the spirit of Lenin and Trotsky, and with renewed determination to carry on the work of the coming socialist revolution.

## Concentration Camp For United Nations Seamen

The United States Immigration authorities, with their Storm Trooper minds, have established their own concentration camp on Rikers Island in New York's East River. This camp has been dubbed, by the inmates, "Dachau-on-the-River" and "Devil's Island."

The immigration authorities have thrown into this camp, not German or Italian Fascists, but 700 seamen from the "United Nations" of Norway, Greece, Holland and China. The crime these men committed was to protest the miserable living conditions aboard their ships.

The existence of this concentration camp has been known along the waterfront for some time, but the conditions within the camp were revealed for the first time in an exclusive story appearing in the N. Y. Post on October 2. The Post revealed that the men live under the most primitive conditions in cold barracks and are denied the most essential health services.

"Each prison building contains four overhead radiators, totally inadequate in winter," wrote the Post reporter. "There are 100 men in each building now, and they sleep on steel cots without mattresses. The bedding consists of two small sheets and four dirty cotton blankets, one of which serves as a mattress."

"The men are subject to strict prison discipline. They are marched to and from the mess hall in formation and while eating must maintain silence. Most of the detainees have lost weight and many complain of weakness because of poor food. They are not allowed to receive mail, food or cigarettes from outside."

"There have been several small demonstrations of protest... the leaders of these demonstrations

have been put in solitary confinement on bread and water. One man died after pleading vainly for medical attention."

## CHARGES AGAINST THE SEAMEN

Some of these men are held for the crime of losing their seamen's papers, others for overstaying shore leave, others for insubordination aboard a ship, others for outright desertion of their jobs which had imposed upon them slave hours and wages and working conditions.

What the Post story did not reveal was the miserable conditions aboard the "United Nations" ships and the fact that this "Dachau-on-the-River" is a deliberate campaign of terror on the part of American authorities in an effort to drive these seamen back to their jobs.

The United States government has pledged to England and to the governments-in-exile located in London, that the comparatively good conditions on American ships will not be allowed to spread to the "United Nations" ships coming into our ports. It has pledged further that all steps possible would be taken to prevent desertions of the exploited and desperate alien seamen.

"Dachau-on-the-River" is the U. S. Government's method of fulfilling these pledges. The conception of the camp could be fully endorsed by Herr Himmler. Its purpose is to make living for the men so unbearable that they will return to their ships — broken and docile.

The power of the U. S. government has been placed at the disposal of the Norwegian and Dutch and Greek shipowners in their drive for greater profits at the expense of the wages and living conditions of their seamen.

## Roosevelt Covers Anti-Labor Moves With 'Liberal' Veneer

By A. ROLAND

One of Roosevelt's admirals spoke recently before an AFL convention in Toronto, Canada. The reactionary naval officer showed his contempt for the gathering of workers by stating harshly that if the unions dared to get in the way of the war effort, the 'people' could do very well without unions. He bade the union to look at Italy, Germany and Japan where they seemed to be doing nicely without unions.

Roosevelt himself has not used this method of threats to keep the unions in line with his ideas of national unity for the war. The President realizes better than the military leader that to destroy the organizations of eleven million workers would take the same kind of civil war here as it did in Germany. At the same time Roosevelt understands the vital necessity of having the support of the unions for the war.

He proposes to secure this backing for his war program, not by reliance on the voluntary cooperation of the workers and their leaders. That would require the winning over of the unions at each new stage to whatever measures Roosevelt felt to be necessary to carry on the imperialist war. The president wants to be assured in advance that there will be no opposition from the organized workers that might seriously endanger the chances of American capitalism.

## CONCESSIONS AND INFILTRATION

The government has therefore stretched out innumerable tentacles to lay hold of the unions and thereby gain direct or indirect control over them. Roosevelt's method of making certain concessions—the right to organize, the prohibition of interference by the bosses—has enabled him, it must be acknowledged, to accomplish a large part of his aim of controlling the unions.

This gradual process of government infiltration, with the conscious aid of the opportunist union leadership, is slowly sapping the independence of the trade unions. The working class has been all too slow to realize that the government is after all not itself an independent force, but only the political arm of the capitalist class. Subordinating themselves to Roosevelt, the workers are subordinating themselves through him to the bosses.

Roosevelt has been shrewd enough (with the aid of his "experts") to utilize every opportunity to cover over with a liberal veneer his acts of direct intervention in union situations. It is made to appear that the administration is pursuing an even more just and liberal policy towards workers than do the unions.

Witness the question of jobs of all categories for Negroes.

The AFL union in control of the Kaiser shipyards refused to permit Negroes to work on skilled jobs, but only as porters or in subordinate capacities. Roosevelt's boards are quick to seize on this situation. The reactionary sections of the unions thus play right into the hands of the administration by making it appear that the government's interference in the affairs of the union has in it the desire for justice and equality.

## ONLY IN THE CASE OF UNIONS

It takes an effort to remember that this intervention for the "benefit" of the Negroes is only made in the case of the unions. Roosevelt relies politically on the worst Southern elements and he has never made the slightest real fight to rid the South of Jim Crow and lynch law. The demand for jobs for the Negro happens to fit in at this time with the great need for more labor in the war industries. Otherwise the matter never would have been raised—as it was not during the terrible period of economic crisis.

In addition, the servants of the boss class are not at all averse to creating a certain amount of division in the ranks of the workers, particularly between whites and blacks. It is the great fear of the capitalists that sooner or later the white and black workers will unite solidly against their common oppressors. The bosses are glad to use anything that will serve to foster racial division in the ranks of the working class.

The real aims of Roosevelt in seeking control over the unions will become more and more apparent as the war continues. The very fact that the government makes such great efforts to bring the unions to boot, is itself the proof that Roosevelt and the capitalists are aware that the measures taken to carry on the war are bound to create resistance among workers.

## TO MAKE IT LOOK PALATABLE

Take the matter of wage fixing. Roosevelt makes vague references to the cost of living and to inflation in demanding the fixing of wages. But as a matter of fact, we have been warned for the longest time that the American standard of living must inevitably be reduced. Roosevelt himself has assured us time and again of this fact. If wages were tied to the real cost of living, it would be possible for the masses by and large to maintain their present standards, or at any rate to escape some of the worst consequences of price rises. But this is precisely what Roosevelt refuses to do to commit himself to.

The fixing of wages is therefore intended to prevent earnings from rising with costs. In this way Roosevelt proposes to place the entire burden of the war on the backs of the working class. All the talk about keeping down the cost of living was for the purpose of making wage fixing look a little more palatable. Even the labor lieutenant Murray saw the real meaning of wage fixing and had to protest that the CIO was unalterably against wage stabilization unrelated to the cost of living. But Murray's entire course of placing the unions under the domination of the administration had already undermined any possibility of resisting Roosevelt's blow at the toilers.

The workers in general have not yet understood the true meaning of wage fixing. They tend to accept Roosevelt's demagogic and apparent promises as good coin. Only as the war develops further will they begin to see how they have been duped. The struggle will then center around the slogan of higher wages to meet the higher cost of living. To wage this fight successfully the unions must regain their complete independence from government domination. Otherwise Roosevelt will be enabled to complete his program at the expense of the masses without any opposition.

**WHY we Defend The Soviet Union**  
By ALBERT GOLDMAN  
Pioneer Publishers  
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## Navy Admiral Threatens Unions With Extinction

By MILTON ALVIN

The American workers were threatened last week with the destruction of their trade unions unless they stopped resisting the attacks and provocations of the bosses. This threat — to institute what virtually amounts to fascism — was made by an official representative of the U. S. Navy, Admiral Ben Moreell, chief of the U. S. Bureau of Yards and Docks, speaking before the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL in Toronto.

Admitting that "some" employees were "unscrupulous" enough to provoke strikes "for selfish purposes," Moreell demanded that labor must "refuse to be incited." And he added: "Your answer may be, 'They cannot live without us.' I will admit that no one can live without labor, but they certainly can live without labor unions. They are living without them in Germany, and in Italy, and in Japan and they seem to be doing right well — at least for the moment — and, in my opinion, they will damn well live without them here if all of us don't get in there and pitch."

In other words — according to this naval representative of the government's "war for democracy" — labor can continue to have its organizations, for a while anyhow, if it is willing to let it-

## Says We Can "Well Live Without Them"

self be stepped on and kicked around by the employers; but the government agencies and the bosses will try to smash the labor unions here, just as in Germany, if they exercise the function for which they were created — resistance to wage-cutting, speed-up, refusal to negotiate grievances and other attacks on labor's rights and conditions.

## SILENT ABOUT BOSSES

While Moreell complained bitterly about labor's war-time record, which he claimed "in many instances does not make the best reading," he had nothing to say about the extremely unsavory wartime (and peacetime) record of the industrial giants such as Standard Oil, General Electric, duPont, etc.

These monopolies, it has been shown, have cartel agreements with the Nazi monopolists to divide markets, raw materials, patent rights and profits before, during and after the war. Their insistence on maintaining their post-war monopoly privileges and on holding out for higher prices for planes, tanks and guns have lost a thousand times more production time than all of the strikes of the last two years. Furthermore, their refusal to grant the justified demands of the labor movement is the real

reason for those strikes which have been called.

But the Navy spokesmen, and the other government agents, have no complaints and no threats to make against the monopolists. What better indication could there be that the government and Big Business are working together under cover of the war to weaken the labor movement and to let the employers get away with murder?

The press did not mention the reaction of the audience to Moreell's threat. Most likely the AFL bureaucrats sat there in silence instead of booing this brass-hatted spokesman for Big Business off the stage. That an attack of this nature could be made openly at a union meeting is the result of the previous weak-kneed policies of the official labor leaders.

Their cringing withdrawal before the pressure of the boss class, their surrender of labor's most effective weapons of struggle have facilitated the government-Big Business moves against the working people. Having a docile and cowardly labor leadership to deal with, the spokesmen for America's Sixty Families do not hesitate to openly threaten the crushing of the labor movement.

## WHAT WORKERS CAN LIVE WITHOUT

But a far different reaction to the threats of the ruling class will come from the ranks of the labor movement. The capitalist rulers look longingly at the state of the labor movement in Germany and Italy and Japan and they cherish hopes of being able to accomplish the same here. But there is good reason for believing that they will never be able to accomplish it.

For the American labor movement, despite the betrayals of its leaders, is the strongest in the world today. Deep in the American working class is imbedded the consciousness that through their unions they have made a start toward a better life. The American workers have learned something from the fate that has befallen their European brothers and they will not permit the destruction of their organizations without the most bitter struggle.

In the course of that struggle, we are confident, the workers will forge a new leadership. In addition, they will learn that the ruling class, which has outlived its usefulness and is a brake upon progressive development, is trying to perpetuate its rule by every possible means and at whatever cost to the democratic rights of the masses. As the ruling class moves ever more openly, in this country as elsewhere, toward the establishment of fascism, the workers will learn that what they can "damn well live without" is the brass hats and the class they represent, and they will act accordingly.

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The Negro Struggle

LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED - KARK

By Albert Parker

Last week I discussed in this column the interesting question: Can the Negro people win social, political and economic equality under the capitalist system? My own opinion was that they cannot.

That the capitalist system, now decayed and in its death agonies, is unable to grant the most elementary democratic rights, and on the contrary tries to destroy those already won by both white and Negro workers. And that while the capitalist class and the federal government were at one time interested for their own reasons in breaking the power of the Southern ruling class, they are today tied up with the Southern rulers both financially and politically, and are ready to do everything in their power to maintain Jim Crow rule in the South and elsewhere.

This doesn't mean, I added, that Negroes cannot win certain of the rights which are today denied them. They certainly can.

I have not raised this question in order to argue against the day-to-day struggle against Jim Crow in the plants, in the armed forces and everywhere else. That day-to-day struggle should be continued by all means, wherever and whenever possible, and whether or not it produces small or large victories.

For even if it did not win any victories — which is not the case — we must realize that if the Negro people were to halt such struggles, their conditions would not remain the same, but would rapidly become worse.

The real reason why I raised this question was first of all to show the need for class-conscious Negro militants to rid themselves of all illusions about the intentions of the capitalists, even the capitalists who talk about a "war for democracy," and secondly, to show the need for such Negro fighters to join the revolutionary socialist movement.

The fact that the capitalist class does not intend to grant equality to the Negroes is only one reason why advanced Negroes should join the revolutionary movement. There is another reason, which is just as valid and just as important as the one I discussed last week, and I intend to raise it here.

The Negro must fight for more than equality with the white worker. For let us suppose for the sake of argument that the Negro could win and did win this equality while the white worker's conditions remain the same as they are now, that is, under capitalism. What would the Negro worker have then?

He would have what the white worker has. Like the white worker, he would still suffer periodic depressions and unemployment and go hungry much of the time.

Like the white worker, he would still be threatened by the oppression and brutality of fascism.

Like the white worker, he would still be driven to fight and

die for imperialist wars that benefit only the bosses.

Like the white worker, he would still be kicked around by the officers in the armed forces — probably not as much as at present — but still plenty.

Like the white worker, he would still get low wages — undoubtedly a little higher than he gets now — but still too low for decency and comfort, as the worker does.

Clearly then, it is not enough for the Negro to fight only for equality with the white worker. He certainly must fight for that equality. But at the same time he must fight to improve the conditions of all the workers — he must fight for a system which will be free of the other evils of capitalism such as war and fascism and unemployment — he must fight for a socialist society where equality with the white worker will mean that both he and the white worker will be able to live decent, peaceful, secure lives.

And furthermore, it should be pointed out, it will not be any harder for the Negro to fight for socialism than it will be for him to fight for equality.

For, as a matter of fact, the struggles for these two objectives are closely connected and even intertwined. The masses have to fight the same enemy to win both struggles — they will have to use militant anti-capitalist methods of struggle to achieve both objectives.

Thus the militant Negro who wants to achieve equality should join the revolutionary movement regardless of what he believes about the possibility of winning full equality under capitalism.

In order to guard against all misunderstandings about my column of last week, I want to say again that we Trotskysts do not advocate the abandonment of the day-to-day struggle against Jim Crowism because the Negro cannot achieve full equality while the capitalist class remains in power.

We urge the Negro masses to continue this struggle just as we tell the white workers to continue their trade union and other struggles even though we know that their basic problems cannot be solved under capitalism.

Only a fool or blind man would deny the inherently revolutionary character of the struggle for Negro equality. That struggle serves the interests not only of the Negro masses but also of the socialist revolution, and we wholeheartedly support it both because it defends the Negro's conditions and rights today, and prepares and educates the Negro people to take their place in the wider socialist struggle.

Last week I offered space to the readers of this column — both Trotskyist and non-Trotskyist — for an expression of their views on the question raised.

Here I make the same offer again, and wish to assure our readers that we welcome their opinions on this and all other aspects of the Negro struggle.

Stalin Complains That USSR Gets 'Little Effective' Aid From Allies

(Continued from page 1)

same time he must unload the blame on other shoulders — this time, on Churchill and Roosevelt. Each time that Stalin has established similar alibis in the past, he simultaneously provided irrefutable proof of the bankruptcy of the then-prevailing policy. This is precisely the case today.

Since Hitler's attack, Stalin has depended solely on the aid of the "democratic" imperialists. He assured the masses of the USSR and the world working class that his policy would bring victory through material aid and a second front.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS OWN BANKRUPTCY

Today he declares that the aid of his allies has been "little effective." But this means that Stalin's policy of depending on these allies has likewise been "little effective." Once again, Stalin has been compelled to acknowledge the complete bankruptcy of his policies and leadership.

In the past, Stalin was able to cover up the fatal consequences of his policies by the fact that despite them the Soviet Union still survived. Each time, however, he brought the country closer and closer to disaster. Today the reality can no longer be hidden by appearances and by hollow boasts. Today, the ruinous consequences of Stalin's leadership and false policies are tragically self-evident.

In their campaign around Sta-

lin's statement, the American Stalinists are becoming more and more outspokenly pessimistic in relation to the USSR. By order of the Kremlin they are publicly declaring that without the second front the very existence of the Soviet Union becomes dubious.

"Next year may be too late," howls the Oct. 6 Daily Worker in its first editorial comment after the publication of Stalin's statement. Next year is less than 90 days off. To be sure, they have made similar declarations before. But this time, they link their "prediction" not only with Willie but with Stalin himself. It is no longer "semi-official." It now bears the seal of the Kremlin.

But it is merely another Stalinist lie that the fate of the Soviet Union is inseparably linked with the opening of an imperialist second front.

REVOLUTIONARY POLICY NEEDED

What is decisive is not the existing relationship of forces on the military arena, but rather the basic policy under which the war is being conducted. A change to correct policy can turn defeats into victories, safeguard the Soviet Union, and extend the conquests of the Russian revolution to the whole of Europe. The Soviet Union cannot be successfully defended by any other policy except the one that carried the workers and peasants of Russia to victory in 1917.

Terrible as the consequences of Stalin's policies already have been, the complete bankruptcy of

The Present Status Of The "Jacson" Case In Mexico

Lawyer for Leon Trotsky's Assassin Tries to Postpone Trial Decision

By WALTER ROURKE

MEXICO, Sept. 14 (By Mail)—The New Leader of September 5 published a report on the trial of "Frank Jacson," the murderer of Leon Trotsky, which shows that the author is either badly misinformed or that he printed the product of someone's imagination as the reality. Jacson, we are told, was sentenced to 23 years in prison after a secret trial for "Mexican law forbids public trials;" this same trial was supposed to have brought out that Jacson's real name is "Turkov" and that he has a mother and sister in Moscow who are held as hostages to prevent his revealing his GPU connections and background.

It must always be remembered that penal procedure in Mexico provides for a very different sort of trial from what is known in the United States. The prisoner's trial begins 48 hours after his arrest and can continue for as much as one year during which time the prosecution and defense present the evidence and witnesses each considers necessary. There is no jury, but rather a court composed of three judges.

Thus it is incorrect to say that the GPU wished to prevent Jacson's "coming to trial;" what they want to prevent, or at least postpone, is his being sentenced. After the year for investigation has elapsed, the trial is closed and the prosecution and defense present their conclusions. The time allowed for drawing up these conclusions depends on the number of pages in the court record. In the case of Jacson, this record is extraordinarily long, the psycho-analytical report alone being 1,000 pages.

PRESENT STATUS OF CASE

As the case now stands, the prosecution has presented its conclusions in which it asks for a penalty of 23 years. Last month the defense should have presented its conclusions. But at the last minute Jacson's lawyer, Octavio Medellin Ostos, pulled the latest of his legal maneuvers to drag out the case. He presented a "recusacion" of the judge, that is, he accused the judge of partiality, of having manifested hate toward the accused. This matter must be decided by the higher court before the trial can proceed; it is for this decision that we are waiting now.

There appears to be little doubt as to how the higher court will decide this accusation since the slight pretext that Ostos seized upon has already vanished. The basis of his accusation was a magazine article appearing in a weekly called Estampa which quoted the judge as expressing some unfavorable opinions about the GPU murderer. The writer of this article was called by the court and testified that he had written this on pure rumor and had not attributed the "offensive" opinion to the judge. He could not understand why the editors of the magazine had changed his article and put words in the judge's mouth.

Since the GPU tactic has been clear ever since Ostos took over the case, there is no indication that the court will declare that Judge Rivera Vazquez, a well-known and highly respected judge in Mexico, is partial. Should they do so, they would thereby provide the foundation for further delaying tactics by the defense who no doubt would then say that a new trial was necessary because a large part of the present trial was conducted under a "partial" judge.

NOT A SECRET TRIAL

The idea that the trial was secret is, of course, absurd. There is no provision in Mexican law for such a trial. Jacson's trial has been followed very closely by the Mexican press and each new step is reported—right up to and including the "recusacion." The trial sessions do not occur on consecutive days as in the U. S., but newspaper reporters have access to the court record and write their reports from this.

The only indication that Jacson might have a mother in GPU hands was his words uttered immediately after striking Trotsky to the effect that "they" have his mother and made him do it. However, he soon regained his composure enough to shut up and has stayed shut ever since. It goes without saying that the GPU always holds weapons in reserve

Stalinism does not automatically entail the collapse of the Soviet Union. There is still time to return to the program of the proletarian revolution and to launch the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, with the workers, peasants and soldiers of the USSR taking the lead.

to prevent its agents from talking.

The story that Jacson is in reality "Turkov" is very old and very unfounded. On November 30, 1940, there appeared reports in the Mexican press that Jacson had been identified as Salvador Torkoff by one Jorge Putea. The two were supposed to have been engaged in a racket of smuggling people across the Mexican-U. S. border. Although this was reported in great detail, in the end it never amounted to more than rumor and never appeared in the official court record.

However, every now and then some reporter remembers it when he has to write a note on the case. Apparently the New Leader informant heard this unsubstantiated report from someone and published it also as established fact. Jacson's real identity remains as unknown as ever and today, as two years ago, the only conclusion one can reach from his testimony is that he lies about this detail.

THE LATEST DEVELOPMENT

The one new angle in the case was completely omitted by the New Leader reporter. According to a newspaper statement by Jacson's lawyer, he does not intend to present a "legitimate defense" theory in his conclusions. The new line is that Jacson is some sort of "political criminal." (It will be recalled that David Alfaro Siqueiros, leader of the May 24 machine gun attack on Trotsky, also tried this story in the beginning of his trial.)

Jacson's lawyer says that it must be remembered that there is a lot of political struggle going

on now and that political leaders such as Trotsky make enemies: "Trotsky was a man who provoked the hate of many and the support of his sympathizers. Basing myself on this point of view, I can assert that Trotsky provoked in Jacson the crime for which he

is now a prisoner." In other words, Trotsky is the one to blame for his own murder for he provoked Jacson into killing him! Such a defense seems incredible for its absurdity, but then what possibilities are still left open to the GPU?

GPU ASSASSIN GETS SETBACK

Higher Court Throws Out Charges of Bias On Part of Trial Judge

By WALTER ROURKE

MEXICO, October 1. — The "recusacion" presented by Jacson's defense against Judge Rivera Vazquez has been rejected completely and categorically by the eighth chamber of the Superior Tribunal. Medellin Ostos, Jacson's lawyer, had accused the judge of having expressed hate toward the prisoner and in general of having made various decisions during the trial that demonstrated his partiality against Trotsky's murderer.

The decision of the higher court is unmistakable in its terms: "The court, on the contrary, regards as unfounded those considerations, since in the trial itself, there exists no proof which demonstrates that the 16th judge of the sixth Penal Court has expressed hate toward the accused, and the resolutions or decisions dictated by this judge both in denying acceptance of such evidence as well as those made during the course of the trial have been in keeping with juridical norms and are based on the law; they do not suggest even the slightest indications of animadversion against the accused and in virtue of this, the court considers that the reasons for recusacion presented by the accused have not been demonstrated and are unfounded."

The defense has gained about a month and a half by this maneuver. It must now present its conclusions immediately for they were due at the time the "recusacion" was made. Once they are presented, there remains only the refutations by the defense and the prosecution of the opposing arguments and then the decision and sentencing. Barring other legal moves to further drag out the case, it should be wound up within another couple of months.

EVERY WORKER SHOULD SUPPORT MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

By Arthur Preis

During the past few years I have been privileged to attend a number of important Negro gatherings. Last June I reported for THE MILITANT the impressive and inspiring mass meeting of the March-on-Washington Movement in New York's Madison Square Garden.

But the most significant and important Negro meeting which I have ever attended, and which gave promise of having a truly historic bearing on the future course of the struggle for Negro liberation in America, was the September 26-27 policy conference in Detroit of 63 leading representatives of the March-on-Washington Movement.

(A complete report of this conference was printed in last week's MILITANT—Ed. Without any superficial dramatics or oratorical flourishes, in an atmosphere of quiet discussion and dead-serious intent, decisions of far-reaching importance for the Negro people and the American masses as a whole were reached.

The decision to establish a mass Negro organization, based on a program of mass action, to conduct an uncompromising battle for the democratic rights of the Negro people, marks a new epoch in the long hard struggle for Negro emancipation.

It was not merely that a sound and bold program was laid out, nor that for the first time a correct organizational implementation was given to this program. Above all, listening to the debate of the local delegates from many parts of the east, mid-west and south, and speaking with them privately as well, I said to myself: "These people mean business."

Inspires Hope and Respect

It is, of course, impossible to predict in advance that the MOWM will realize all, or even a great part, of its organizational and programmatic objectives. But it is my opinion that no movement of the Negro people that has yet arisen gives more room for hope or inspires more wholesome respect for its possibilities than the movement which was given a permanent organizational form and program in Detroit two weeks ago.

One aspect of the decisions and discussion at the policy conference which impressed me profoundly, was the extremely progressive and enlightened viewpoint expressed toward the labor movement and the problems of the working class as a whole. While the March-on-Washington Movement is an all-Negro organization, it solidarizes itself with the aspirations of all organized labor, and invites the collaboration of all progressive labor and liberal organizations. And more, it directly urges its members and the Negro

workers generally to join and participate actively in the bona fide organizations of labor struggle.

In its initial phases, the MOWM had incurred some criticism because it was run from the top and had no genuine membership base. The actions of the delegates at this conference, however, made it clear that more and more militant elements from the ranks are making themselves heard and that it is the will of the vast majority of the active participants of the movement to establish a fully democratic organizational structure.

In the past, THE MILITANT and the Trotskyist movement have felt obliged to level a measure of criticism at certain policies and tendencies revealed by the leaders of the MOWM. This grew out of a profound concern for the fate of the most promising Negro movement that has yet appeared if it did not adopt sound organizational forms and democratic policies which could draw upon the initiative, the imagination, the courage, the mighty will to struggle of the Negro masses.

The policy conference in Detroit has placed the March-on-Washington Movement on the course which we have hoped it would travel. It is the course which the very needs and desires of the Negro masses impel it to take.

Should Be Supported By All Workers

We have been convinced all along that every Negro worker and militant should join the March-on-Washington Movement and lend it his most active and devoted aid; the Detroit policy conference only strengthened our opinion in this respect. It is not a movement that is ready-made; it is still, in the main, to be built. But by participating in the building of it, by helping to mold and shape its policies in the formative stages, the Negro militant will be helping to forge a weapon of tremendous power, a weapon which he needs more desperately than ever in these days of war-borne reaction and ever more vicious Jim Crowism.

It is also the duty, in our opinion, of the militant, progressive-minded white workers and of every section of the labor movement to give wholehearted support and moral backing to the March-on-Washington Movement, and, when called upon, to give every measure of material aid. For the fate of the white workers in America — it cannot be stressed too much — is inevitably bound up with the fate of the Negro workers. So long as the Negro worker is branded, the white worker will never achieve his own emancipation.

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Revolutionary Perspectives In The Indian Struggle

By M. Morrison

When, about two months ago, the Indian Congress decided to inaugurate a civil disobedience movement; when the British authorities arrested Gandhi and other leaders of the Congress; and when sections of the masses began to demonstrate against the government in different parts of India, the temptation was great to declare that the Indian Revolution had begun.

No doubt, if, within the immediate future, a great revolutionary wave engulfs India, historians will designate the decision of the Indian Congress to launch a civil disobedience movement as the beginning of the Indian Revolution. Whether or not the revolution is fully successful is immaterial, for even an unsuccessful revolution is a revolution.

A realistic evaluation of all the factors involved in the Indian situation dictates the necessity of a certain amount of caution in predicting the emergence of a revolution from the present revolutionary situation. It is impossible of course to be certain about the course events will take in India. A great revolutionary wave is not at all excluded and assuredly the revolutionary Marxists in India are taking that possibility into serious consideration. But it is also necessary to take into account the factors that are operating against an immediate revolution in India.

All indications point to the willingness and readiness of the Indian masses to get rid of the British rulers. Enough has leaked through the tight censorship of the authorities to justify the assertion that the Indian masses are willing to go the limit to obtain freedom for India.

The oppressed peasants, although primarily interested in getting land for themselves in British rule a prop to the system which makes their lives so utterly miserable. To fight for the independence of India is, for the peasant, a struggle to get rid of the landlords. It is this factor which places the landlords in the camp of the British and makes the capitalists whose interests are tied up with the landlords unwilling to conduct a serious struggle for independence.

Both history and theory have proved over and over again that a scattered peasantry, in the absence of urban leadership, cannot achieve a successful revolution. The mobilization of the Indian peasants for struggle against the native landlords and the British authorities would guarantee the victory of the revolution. No force that the British imperialists are capable of mustering could withstand the scores of millions of peasants. But the peasants must be mobilized, which means that they must be given leadership. The leaders of the Indian Congress, representing the native capitalists, are unwilling to mobilize the peasants for a real struggle against the British. Such a struggle would not only expel the British but threaten the interests of the Indian landlords and capitalists.

That the Indian capitalist class wants independence can be taken for granted. Independence for India would mean not only that the native capitalists would assume complete political power but would substantially reduce the share of profits at present siphoned off by the British capitalists. But the native capitalists want to achieve independence without involving the masses in a serious struggle, for they are afraid that the masses will not stop when they achieve political independence for India.

Gandhi and other capitalist representatives use the masses for the purpose of exerting pressure on the British authorities. The pacifism of Gandhi is admirably adapted for the purpose of exerting pressure and at the same time avoiding a serious struggle to achieve independence.

At present the Indian capitalists hope to achieve independence by agreeing to aid the imperialist democracies against Japan and Germany. That is the extent to which they are willing to go in utilizing the difficulties of the British imperialists. The Indian masses, on the other hand, demand unconditional independence and have no interest whatever in supporting

the war of the democratic imperialists.

While the American ruling class is perfectly willing to have the British grant India its independence on condition that it becomes an active ally in the war, the British imperialists who derive huge profits from India, show no desire to surrender their booty. They see no great benefit in winning the war and losing India. It seems safe to predict that the Indian capitalists will not achieve freedom for India by promising to help the democratic imperialists.

Only under the leadership of the working class could the peasants be mobilized for an outright struggle for Indian independence. But for the working class to furnish leadership to the peasants, it is necessary that it follow a revolutionary Marxist leadership.

In spite of the censorship, news has come through of a substantial number of strikes indicating that the workers are ready to come out on the streets for a determined struggle to expel the foreign exploiter. It is the lack of leadership that explains the failure thus far for any struggle to develop on such scale as would assure victory. It is this lack of leadership that necessitates the exercise of caution in predicting a large-scale revolutionary uprising in the immediate future.

But it can be argued that not every revolution was made by the masses when they had capable leadership. The February Revolution in Russia was spontaneous in the sense that the masses had no organization that called them out to struggle. Yet they came out on the streets and brought about the downfall of the Russian monarchy. Why can we not expect the same to occur in India?

The conditions that prevailed in Russia in 1917 do not prevail in India at present. In the first place the Russian working class had in its midst many more class-conscious workers educated in the school of Bolshevism. While it is true that no organization, as such, led the Russian masses in February 1917, the class-conscious workers, trained in the revolutionary Marxist doctrine, took the leadership in the struggle. The Indian workers did not have the opportunity the Russian workers had of receiving such training.

Another factor of great importance leading to the spontaneous revolution in February of 1917 was the unendurable suffering of the masses caused by the war. The millions of dead, the disorganization and hunger resulting from the war, created a situation in which a spontaneous uprising was inevitable.

The present revolutionary situation in India, if not caused by the call of the Congress for a campaign of civil disobedience, has been set into motion by it. It is a situation demanding leadership and not one where spontaneous action of the masses can be expected.

The situation is so tense that, regardless of the hesitating character of the Congress party, an explosion would not be very surprising. The severe repressions of the authorities may yet lead to such an explosion. In which case the capitalist representatives will try to assume leadership and control the masses.

The Trotskyists in India, hoping for the most favorable outcome, will not depend on it. With feverish haste they must and will prepare the forces that will give leadership to the masses not only in their struggle against British imperialism but also for the expropriation of the Indian landlords and capitalists.

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## International Ties In Midst Of The War

The capitalist classes of Great Britain and the United States never lose an opportunity to proclaim their pious indignation against the Nazis. All this indignation melts away, however, when their finances are concerned.

This was illustrated once again on October 1, when Sir Kingsley Wood, Chancellor of the British Exchequer (Treasury) stated in the House of Commons that Great Britain would continue to participate in the Bank for International Settlements situated at Basle, Switzerland.

On this bank the capitalist classes of various nations are represented. Its stock is now German controlled. Among the capitalists represented are British and American. The Chancellor stated:

"This country has various rights and interests in the Bank under international trust agreements between various governments and it would not be in the national interest to change our connection with the Bank as presently constituted and conducted."

The incumbent head of the bank is an American, Thomas McKittrick. He was reelected to the post on February 4. The *N. Y. Times* reported at the time that "in view of Mr. McKittrick's excellent management it is understood both the Italian and German commission requested that he be allowed to retain his post." Fascists and "democrats" all agree that, war or no war, business must go on as usual.

In spite of their cynical patriotic fervor, the capitalist classes always continue to maintain profitable contacts with one another across the battle lines while millions of workers of the contending countries die.

The maintenance of numerous international connections on the part of the capitalists of all countries offers a lesson and an example to the workers of the world. They too must become so class conscious that they will find ways, especially in wartime, to establish and extend their own international ties, and build their own international organization.

The capitalists expect that after the war their system will continue functioning and that such organizations as the Bank for International Settlements at Basle will play an important role in post-war international finance. This is an important reason why they wish to keep this World Bank alive.

However, what the capitalists expect and what will actually take place are two different things.

But during the first world slaughter, in one country, in Czarist Russia, the workers and peasants chose another path — the path of ridding themselves of their oppressors and exploiters and establishing a workers' state. The millions of workers of both the "democratic" and Axis countries, the vast multitudes in the colonies, above all in India and China, have yet to have their say.

Once they make their decision capitalism with its perpetual wars, oppression and degradation will be abolished. When the workers' rule is established, the world economic institutions, including

banks, will be operated not for the profits of the capitalist class but for the benefit of the masses.

## Roosevelt's Order And The Labor Leaders

From the beginning of the war crisis it has been evident that the policies of the Murray-Green union leadership have hampered and thwarted the efforts of the American working class to maintain its living standards and democratic rights.

The basic line of their policies has been to submit to the pleas and commands of the government and the ruling class, to surrender whatever Roosevelt demanded of them, to retreat on every issue on which they were pressed, and above all to prevent initiation of independent action by the powerful union ranks.

They justified this policy on two grounds: The first was that it was necessary for the workers to join the capitalists in "national unity" for the sake of winning the war.

But the workers know, from evidence of their every-day experiences in the factories, that while the employers also call for "national unity," they never miss an opportunity to attack the unions and to try to destroy them. No militant worker is interested in a "national unity" which means that the employers will be permitted to do everything in their power to undermine the unions while the workers will be able to do nothing to resist.

Because of this the Murrays and the Greens had to offer a second reason as justification of their servile policies. It is true, they said, that the employers are using the war to attack the unions, but the only way we can escape their attacks is by going along with our "friend in the White House" who will protect us from the employers so long as we do what he urges.

And so when the corporation-dominated Congress threatened to pass anti-strike legislation, the Murrays and the Greens (and the Lewises) gave up the right to strike when Roosevelt asked them to.

When the employers demanded additional anti-union legislation, the Murrays and the Greens supported the speedup in the factories when Roosevelt asked them to.

When the forty-hour week came under attack, the Murrays and the Greens gave up premium pay for week-ends and holidays because Roosevelt asked them to.

And when some of the more militant workers protested that Murray and Green were gradually giving up everything that the employers wanted to get, the reply of the union bureaucrats was that this was a lie, that by their policy they had won the friendship of Roosevelt and as a result had "shrewdly" prevented even greater attacks. And they pointed to the fact that wages had not been frozen despite the clamor of the employers.

The "effectiveness" of their policy was conclusively demonstrated last week when Roosevelt issued his executive decree freezing wages, appointing an anti-labor economic dictator, and sharply limiting the right of unions to bargain collectively for increased wages.

Never has the American labor movement been struck so powerful a blow. Not only are wages frozen, but the unions — even the most powerful — are now denied the right to win a single cent's increase from the employers without the permission of Czar Byrnes. And this blow has been struck by the same "friend in the White House" who Murray and Green said would protect labor from the attacks of the bosses!

Is any more proof needed that the Murray-Green leadership is bankrupt? If so, Murray and Green themselves will provide it tomorrow when they will again try to restrain the masses from resistance and when they will again insist that it is necessary to continue retreating in order to escape still other and worse anti-labor blows.

Class-collaborationists, advocates of "national unity" can never lead such independent action in the interests of the masses. The workers need a fighting leadership above all in wartime if they are to successfully resist the increased attacks of the employers aided by the government.

The Murrays and the Greens can never provide that leadership. The workers must seek it out in their own ranks. This is the first step toward combatting the effects of the worst blow ever delivered against American labor.

## Hitler Says Nazis Will Hold What They Have

(Continued from page 1)

forced to admit that the last year was a terribly hard one, but claimed that this winter conditions will be improved:

"The entire past year was a year of battle—a gruesome winter—and winter comes again but the coming year will open up that region (the conquered Soviet territories) for utilization."

The speech of Goering on October 4 was without great interest except in two details. He frankly told the people of the occupied countries—whether conquered by Hitler or allies of Hitler—that the Germans would eat first and whatever remained would go for the conquered peoples. Since the Germans are on hunger rations, the lot of the conquered peoples is horrible beyond imagination.

The hunger and suffering of the masses of the conquered nations create and continue the conditions and the desire for revolt. This means that Hitler, far from being able to secure the conquered peoples as collaborators, must continue to terrorize them as he starves them.

Goering also gives a measure with which to gauge the terrible conditions within Germany. As an extra special gift for Christmas he promises every German soldier a package that will contain a kilo, (about two and one-half pounds) of flour, a kilo of peas or beans, a kilo of sugar, a pound of butter and a large sausage. "These rations, however," said Goering, "are not for the soldier himself. He does not need them. They are more particularly for his family."

If this is what a German family is to get for Christmas, what must they be eating the other 364 days of the year!

At the same time, Goering's speech clearly indicates that the soldiers at the front are gravely disturbed by the news of suffering at home.

In an effort to whip up the masses of Germany into continued support of the war, Hitler again used his most potent argument that if the Allies conquered, they would impose another Versailles treaty on the German and Italian peoples:

"We know exactly what would

happen to our two countries from the aims expressed by our enemies. We know what the idiotic and mad fate of the German peoples would be were it up to their set aims."

Anybody attempting to revolt against the terrible conditions within Germany would be dealt with summarily, Hitler threatened: "We will destroy pitilessly every saboteur of this community."

Knowing that threats alone will not be effective in keeping the masses in submission, Hitler demagogically, attempts to utilize the hatred of the masses against capitalism by posing as an adversary of the system. He proclaimed as his "aim" the annihilation not only of Bolshevism but of the capitalists and plutocracy.

However his fake anti-capitalism is easily seen through and doubtlessly will have little effect on the masses of German workers who see that their living standards have constantly fallen. In 1933, when Hitler came to power all wages were frozen to 1933 levels. Meanwhile, the cost of living has been soaring.

In contrast, even the Nazi figures for the profits of the capitalist class have shown a steady rise in the profits and the values of stocks and bonds since Hitler came to power and smash the working class movement. German economy is more than ever owned and controlled by the capitalist class.

The part of his speech where Hitler refers to the program of holding on and consolidating his gains in the Soviet Union has been taken as a hint that he would like to come to terms with the Allies on the basis of the recognition of his present conquests, particularly in the East. This has been the interpretation given by numerous spokesmen of the capitalist press.

To give added weight to his peace feelers, Hitler throughout his speech addressed the capitalist classes of Europe, saying to them that only he could eradicate the working class movement, which he called Bolshevism. Particularly were his remarks pointed at the English ruling class, when he stated:

"Let England watch out for

herself and safeguard herself against Bolshevism."

The war which, according to Hitler, was going to last only a few months has now entered its fourth year. The conquered countries are scenes of constant seething rebellion, as the masses resist the oppressors. Within Germany too the people are discontented.

Howard K. Smith, who left Germany a few hours before Pearl Harbor in his book "Last Train from Berlin" writes: "Hitler did not, and—I am convinced of it after living in Germany for two war years—has not yet won the German workers to his rule." If this was true in November, 1941, it is much more true after 11 months of terrible war and suffering on the Eastern front. It is only in the light of these facts that Hitler's speech can be understood.

Hitler is able to keep power, above all because of the fear of the German masses of their fate at the hands of victorious Allied capitalism.

By playing on this fear, he succeeds in keeping the masses from rising—for a while. The Churchills and Roosevelts give support to this fear. As representatives of capitalism, they will wreak terrible vengeance, not primarily on the German ruling class to whom they feel very close, but on the German masses.

A workers' government in England and in the United States would be able to say with honesty to the German masses: Overthrow your oppressors and join us in creating a free world of labor.

Churchill and Hitler are spurred by the German masses, but a workers' and farmer's government, because of its policy at home would be listened to.

The brutal speeches of Hitler and Goering undoubtedly aroused hatred among the masses of the Allied nations. They correctly want to sweep Hitler and Mussolini away. But the best way they can do this is by supporting the forces of international socialism represented in the United States by the Socialist Workers Party. To support the capitalist class means helping Hitler in his campaign of demagoguery among the German masses.

## The Workers' Bookshelf

WHITHER THE SOVIET UNION? by C. Govindan. Published by The Lanka Samasamaja Party, Ceylon Section of the Fourth International. 108 pages.

This is a pamphlet presenting the position of the Indian Trotskyists on the Soviet Union and its war against German imperialism. C. Govindan, the author, is one of the leaders of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, to which the Lanka Samasamaja Party of Ceylon now belongs. He is one of the four Ceylonese Trotskyists who were jailed by the British and escaped from their jailers a few months ago.

As the introduction to this pamphlet states, the need for its publication was made especially urgent by the fact that "the program and publications of the Fourth International are not readily available in India, Burma and Ceylon."

"Its point of view," continues the introduction, "and its declarations on matters whether of a fundamental or a transitional character are therefore not as well known as they need to be in revolutionary circles. Indeed they are often gravely misunderstood, especially as unscrupulous opponents, principally the Stalinists, have taken advantage of the situation to give currency to gross misrepresentations and rank falsehoods."

Trotskyist Position On USSR Brilliantly Restated by Govindan

For this reason comrade Govindan succinctly restates the Trotskyist position toward the USSR at the same time sketching in the historical background of the Trotskyist struggle against Stalinism. The introduction points out that this pamphlet is "not a history of the Fourth International or of the Soviet Union. It is an attempt to answer from a Marxist point of view the question 'what is the Soviet Union', and 'where is it going?'"

Comrade Govindan compresses a vast amount of material into his 108 pages. This is brilliantly accomplished by dividing the subject matter into six parts, namely:

1) After reviewing the gains of the October revolution, comrade Govindan explains clearly the reasons for the instability of the proletarian dictatorship in a backward and isolated country and, in conclusion, draws up the balance sheet of the consequences resulting from this isolation of the Soviet Union.

2) A summary of the economic successes of the country and the role of the ruling bureaucracy in the process of the degeneration of the workers' state. This part is concluded by an analysis of the "political deformities in the Soviet Union."

3) Part III is entitled, "The Nature of the Soviet Union." In it are presented the historical, political and theoretical reasons refuting on the one hand the Stalinist myth of the triumph of so-

cialism, and, on the other, the position of petty-bourgeois confusionists who deny the proletarian character of the Soviet Union. It is a firm, or more correctly, an irreconcilable defense of the only correct appraisal — that of Marxists who view the Soviet Union as a "society in transition" — a society which while degenerating nevertheless still retains the essential features of the workers' state.

4) This part is devoted to a recapitulation of the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism. After explaining the meaning of the infamous Moscow frameups and the role of the Communist International under Stalin, comrade Govindan adduces the reasons why the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy is an international task. He concludes this part with a summation of the historical needs and tasks which have led to the formation of the Fourth International.

5) "The Theory and Practice of Stalinism." The contents under this heading are self-explanatory.

6) The sixth and concluding part presents the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against all imperialist attacks.

Pamphlet Written After Nazi Invasion of USSR

This pamphlet was written after the Nazi invasion. Comrade Govindan states that "today the Soviet Union is at war with Germany, Italy and their satellites." He continues:

"The correct policy to be adopted in this situation by the international proletariat is therefore no academic question. It is vital. As to the general duty of the international proletariat in case of foreign capitalist intervention in the Soviet Union, there can, of course, be no doubt. The international proletariat must promptly and unconditionally come to her aid. This obligation flows from the characterization of the Soviet Union as a workers' state, though a degenerated one. Since foreign capitalist attack places not only the Stalinist bureaucracy but the workers' state itself in danger of extinction, the international proletariat defends the Soviet Union in spite of the bureaucracy."

The petty-bourgeois confusionists who head the self-styled "Workers Party" have persistently claimed that the Indian section of the Fourth International supports their betrayal of the USSR. This is a brazen lie. Here is still another refutation of these liars.

This pamphlet is a noteworthy contribution to the revolutionary movement of India, and of the entire Fourth International. It is something that our world movement can well be proud of. It testifies to the caliber of the leadership of the Indian Trotskyists who have every reason to look to the future with confidence.

It is to be hoped that an American edition of comrade Govindan's work can be published in the near future.

Reviewed by John G. Wright.

## Who Is Byrnes? What Is His Labor Record?

By HOWARD ALLEN

Who is James Byrnes, the newly-appointed Director of Economic Stabilization, the man who has been given power to formulate and to carry out a dictatorial policy covering wages, prices, rentals, rationing of necessities of life and powers over related matters? What is the record of this man of whom the October 4 *N. Y. Times* said that "the toughness of the wage controls would depend on the toughness of Mr. Byrnes in dealing with the problem?"

Byrnes spent 14 years in the House of Representatives and 10 years in the U. S. Senate thanks to the poll tax system which in 1940, for example, disenfranchised all but 5.2% of the voting age population of Byrnes' state, South Carolina.

He was a true blue Southern poll-tax Congressman and Senator. No one could rise faster than he, and no one speak more forcefully, when "white supremacy" was endangered. On August 25, 1919 he made a speech in Congress which marked clearly the course he was to follow. In it we can read all the contempt and hatred for the poor, the oppressed and the down-trodden that characterizes the genuine Southern Bourbon; although Byrnes himself was the son of an Irish immigrant family.

"If the two races are to live together in this country," warned Congressman Byrnes, "it may as well be understood that the war has in no way changed the attitude of the white man toward the social and political equality of the Negro. If, as a result of his experiences in the war, he does not care to live in this land without political and social equality, then he can depart for any country he wishes, his departure will be facilitated by the white people of this country who desire no disturbing factor in their midst."

Byrnes has not changed since then. Nineteen years later he was leading the filibuster against the Anti-Lynch Bill and to make sure that there could be no misunderstanding he told James Roosevelt to tell his father Franklin that he would continue to filibuster until the year 2038 unless the bill was withdrawn.

This is the man of whom Roosevelt said in his White House statement on October 3: "I know the American people can be sure that in keeping down the cost of living he will be fair to every one."

Fought Labor, Unemployed And Negroes

In the summer of 1937 Byrnes led the fight against the Wage-Hour Bill. Bitterly, ceaselessly he slashed away at the rights of the workers. Ever considerate of the welfare of the employers in the South, fearful of the invasion of the CIO, Byrnes fought every step of the way against any and all labor legislation. It was Byrnes who introduced the anti-sitdown strike rider on the Guffey Coal bill.

Two years later he introduced a resolution into the Senate to cut in half the appropriation for the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee. While on the one hand he attacked the interests of the workers and the Negro people, on the other he took special pains to prevent the people from learning the truth about the union-smashing activities of Big Business.

It was Byrnes' Special Committee on Relief and Unemployment that called for the repeal of the Undistributed Profits Tax and for a modification of the Capital Gains Levy. His conception of the function of the Committee on Relief and Unemployment was relief for Big Business and unemployment for the workers.

Byrnes' callous indifference to the plight of the Negro people was matched by his contempt for the poverty-stricken and oppressed Southern workers. Writing for *Colliers* he said, "Local labor in the South, where uncontaminated by outside influences is, generally speaking, very well satisfied."

In 1939, working through a coalition of reactionaries organized largely by himself, Byrnes carried on a successful fight to cut the emergency WPA grant. Three years later, President Roosevelt describes him as the man who "knows the economic problems of this country, whether they concern labor, the farmer, the consumer, the small retail store or the manufacturer."

In 1941—in return for services rendered—the president appointed him Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court. From this lofty position Byrnes could demonstrate without fear of political reprisals just what he stood for.

His Role On The Supreme Court

Inside of one year he participated in three momentous decisions, vitally affecting the rights of workers and minorities, which showed without any question that Byrnes is an out-and-out reactionary.

In the Southern Steamship Company versus the National Labor Relations Board case, Byrnes wrote the opinion that Congress had mandated that "... a rebellion (a strike — H. A.) by seamen against their officers on board a vessel anywhere within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the United States is to be punished as mutiny." This opinion overruled the lower court decision allowing the right to strike when the ship is at the dock.

While in the Senate, Byrnes had fought bitterly and desperately to prevent the passage of the Wage-Hour Bill. As a Justice he found his opportunity to emasculate it. In the infamous *Belo* case, involving the Wage-Hour Law, Byrnes upheld the right of companies to evade the meaning of the law through a tricky method of computing hourly wages. Thus, hundreds of thousands of Southern workers, far under the substandard minimums of that law were deprived of the meager wage-raises involved.

A third decision of Byrnes involved the convictions of members of Jehovah's Witnesses for refusal to pay license fees for the sale of their religious literature.

Byrnes, former member of the persecuted Catholic faith hated in the South almost as much as the Negroes, ruled that the convictions should stand. Byrnes believes that supporters of a religious minority should be forced to get peddlers' licenses! Here is a great democrat indeed!

This is the man who is to decide what wages workers shall get, what prices they shall pay for their food and clothing, what rental for their home! Representative McCormack, House majority leader stated that in his opinion the president had chosen "the best-equipped man in the nation" for the post.

Byrnes is indeed well equipped. Well equipped to drive down the living standards of the masses of workers and poor farmers.

CONTENTS OF OCTOBER

### FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

EDITORIAL COMMENT

TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF INDIA  
THE REAL SITUATION IN CEYLON  
THE U. S. GOVERNMENT OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE  
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