Post Office Holds Up Two Issues Of "The Militant"

Our Only 'Crime' Is Loyalty To Working Class

An Editorial

The Post Office authorities have refused to permit the Nov. 7 and 14 issues of THE MILITANT to go through the mails.

They made this arbitrary decision without any notice or explanation of their action to THE MILI-TANT office. The business office had no knowledge of the interference with the delivery of these issues until letters and telegrams began to pour in from many cities complaining about the failure to receive the above-mentioned issues of THE MILITANT.

Only after our direct inquiry were we informed that the paper had been withheld from the mails. Even then we were given no official reason, but were told that we must apply to the Washington authorities for an explanation.

Whatever technicalities or alibis the authorities may offer, it is clear that the suppression of these two issues of THE MILITANT is a direct attack by the Roosevelt government on the democratic right of a working class newspaper to write and criticize from a working class viewpoint.

This blow by the government strikes directly at the democratic rights of all sections of the working class. There is only a short step between holding up the mailing of the socialist MILITANT and suppressing a CIO or AFL paper. Only last week the newspapers reported a plan by the Washington authorities to curtail the quantity of newsprint for labor papers.

What is the reason for withholding the two issues of THE MILITANT from the mails? The attack on THE MILITANT arises first of all from the uncompromising position taken by THE MILI-TANT on all issues facing the working class and in championing the interests of the labor movement against all its enemies.

What crime has THE MILITANT committed?

THE MILITANT fights for the preservation of all democratic rights of the working class, including the right of collective bargaining and the right to strike.

THE MILITANT fights for the extension of democracy to the millions of soldiers and sailors in the armed forces and demands that workers be given military training under trade union control.

THE MILITANT campaigned against wagefreezing and the heavy taxation on the wage earners and is opposed to all such moves to regiment the workers as are now being attempted in the current manpower mobilization bills before Congress.

The MILITANT advocates the confiscation of all war profits and the expropriation by the government of all war industry to be operated under workers' control.

THE MILITANT is fighting against every form of Jim Crowism and for full economic, social and political equality for the Negro masses.

THE MILITANT'S advocacy of this program is not a crime, but a proof of loyalty to the working

This is not a private quarrel between THE MILITANT and the government. It is only the first measure of suppression of the rights of free press guaranteed in the Bill of Rights and proclaimed by Roosevelt as his aim in this war. If they can get away with this attack on THE MILITANT, no labor paper will be safe to utter the slightest criticism or stand up for its democratic rights.

Protest the interference with THE MILITANT'S mailing rights!

Preserve the right of all labor papers for a free press unhampered by reactionary bureaucrats!

Guard all democratic rights of the workers against fascist and reactionary suppression!

Shipowner-Dominated Gov't Board **Again Strikes At Maritime Unions**

Emergency Board notified the ation that would abrogate any unions of its intention to revise tive bargaining agreements." the "Statement of Principles" duration of the war.

Board is proposing a revision have been smashed.

Another step toward the com- which can, in the words of John clause or clauses in our collec-

forcement of existing collective contracts, may indicate the govbargaining contracts for the ernment's intention to use this more palatable to the workers Board in forced arbitration of whom these delegates were sup-The Maritime War Emergency ALL questions once the contracts posed to represent.

THE MILITANT

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FIVE (5) CENTS

U. S. 'Democrats' Find It Easy To Do Business With French Fascists

Is The FBI Concocting A Frameup Against The SWP?

An Open Letter to Attorney-General Biddle

By James P. Cannon

NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Mr. Francis Biddle Attorney-General of the United States Washington, D. C.

A few days ago two agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation appeared at my office at the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York City, and inquired of me whether I had had anything to do with a train wreck that occurred about a year and a half ago. They also expressed their intention to question other leaders and members of the party on the same subject.

What is the meaning of this fantastic inquisition? How could the FBI ever arrive at a theory that we, members of a workers' political party with openly declared political aims, could be interested in wrecking trains? All our writings show clearly that we are opposed to individual violence and sabot-

It appears that in the train directly following or preceding the one that was wrecked there was a car carrying engineers and officials of the Soviet Union.

It is possible that an agent of the FBI, completely unacquainted with what our movement stands for, assumed that the Trotskyists, being enemies of the Stalinists, might have recourse to violence and sabotage. But it is also possible that, when Stalin became friendly with Washington and London, the GPU became friendly with the FBI, and that the GPU has suggested to the FBI the concoction of a typical Stalinist frame-up against the Trotskyists.

In either case, I want to protest at being subjected to questions which imply that Trotskyists resort to sabotage and violence against individuals. The American workers, and all decent citizens, must recoil with horror from the implication that the federal government is going into the business of imputing fantastic crimes of violence and sabotage to political opponents and critics, and of framing up such charges against them, when the real purpose is political persecution.

Our political ideas can be read in all our papers and pamphlets openly published and distributed. Any attempt to attribute ideas and practices to us outside of those that are openly advocated by us must be publicly called by its right name: a prelude to a frame-up.

Very truly yours,

JAMES P. CANNON, National Secretary Socialist Workers Party

Huge New Tax Bill

Steep as last month's tax

bill was; it is only the begin-

ning. Huge new taxes threat-en the worker and dirt farm-

The Treasury and Federal

Reserve Board last week pre-

sented the policy board of

James F. Byrnes, director of

economic stabilization, with

the tentative figure of 16 bil-

lion dollars in new taxes and

compulsory savings as the ad

ditional amount to be raised in

Byrnes asked the Treasury

to continue its work and to

bring him a more definite plan.

The new levy would be add-

ed to the already staggering

tax burden of the masses. The

added taxes would come exclu-

sively, or nearly exclusively,

The head of the Senate Fin-

ance Committee, the poll-tax

Senator George of Georgia,

from the lower-paid groups.

Planned for 1943

Deals Strengthen Foes Of The French Masses

Rulers of 'Liberated' North Africa Picked From Rogues Gallery of Reaction

By GEORGE COLLINS

The American occupation of North Africa aroused great rejoicing on the part of government officials, so-called public figures and the press of this country. For them it signified the turning of the military tide in the war with the Axis.

But far different must have been the reaction of the oppressed masses of metropolitan France and of French North Africa. They had listened to the grand promises

made by American radio speakers of "freedom from fascist tyranny" and an Atlantic Charter. But the very first actions of the American forces in organizing the conquered African territories told a far different story.

The American command in North Africa is collaborating

with the recent collaborators of Hitler. It is appointing to high eral of Tunis, stooge of Darlan position and dignifying military and colonial satrap. and civilian positions held by arch-reactionaries, pro-fascists, enemies of the Soviet Union and slave-masters of colonial peoples. Here is a partial list:

NOW "OUR" ALLIES

General Giraud, French fascist and anti-Soviet, appointed commander-in-chief of French force in North Africa. Appointment

confirmed by Admiral Darlan. Admiral Darlan, leading Vichyite collaborator with the Nazi conquerer in its subjugation of France and in its brutal reprisals sumes responsibility for French interests in Africa" with "the ap- retreat. Following attacks by the proval of the American authorthe consent of General Nogues,

General Nogues, who in the words of Darlan was "appointed by the Marshal to be his delegate in Africa on Nov. 10, before the entry of German troops into the free zone of France . . .

further comment necessary. Ives Chatel, Governor-General of Algeria, Vichyite and colonial satrap.

Admiral Esteva, Resident Gen-

General Alphonse Juin and General George Catroux, former lieutenants of Petain and Darlan and

present lieutenants of Darlan.

If an army of liberation, that is, an army of a workers' state came into contact with this scurvy, reactionary crowd the only "collaboration" that would occur would take place in the chambers of a revolutionary tribunal where the reactionary and fascist officers would be tried for high crimes against the French masses. But Roosevelt and his commanders have other

aims than "liberation." Nevertheless, the flagrant character of the collaboration between "Fighting French," Willkie and ities." He takes the post with the outraged liberals, Roosevelt declared that "no permanent arrangements should be made with former administrator of North Admiral Darlan." He described the present deals as only temporary and made for military expediency.

> Yet the very character of Roosevelt's explanations tear the mask off any liberationist pretensions of his administration or war aims. Darlan is given the brush-off (although he still remains in command!) because he is too discredited. Only two weeks ago he was a bosom colleague of Petain

GIRAUD AS BAD AS DARLAN But what about Giraud, no

Roosevelt approves: "French troops, under the command of Gen. Giraud (are) fighting by the side of American and British soldiers for the liberation of their country."

The only difference between Darlan and Giraud is the degree of their loyalty to U.-S. and Britain. There is no difference between them in their violent enminity to the real interests and democratic rights of the French masses. Roosevelt says that "the future French Government will be established by the French people themselves . . .

How deceptive this promise is can already be seen in the intention of Roosevelt and Co. to allow fascists like Giraud, provided with military equipment and Allied backing, to carry this freedom to the French people on the payonets of mercenary troops.

Not so many years ago General Francisco Franco carried his murderous "freedom" to the Spanish North Africa. It should be noted that the same Roosevelt raised an arms embargo against the vast majority of the Spanish people who wanted none of France's

Despite the talk about the "4 freedoms," the French masses will not give the fascist puppets of American imperialism a better reception than they gave the Quislings of Adolf Hitler.

CIO Convention Reveals Effects Of Support Of The Roosevelt Program

By FELIX MORROW

BOSTON, Nov. 14-The five-day convention of the CIO concluded its sessions last night, with President Philip Murray's closing address insisting that the record will show that this convention will undoubtedly go down in history as perhaps the greatest parliament of labor ever conducted anywhere, any place, any time in the history of this country."

Perhaps these words—like a dozen similar boasts with which Murray punctuated the convention proceedings-were an attempt to dispel from his own mind and those of the delegates the all-too-clear fact that this convention had been the most apathetic of the CIO's five conventions. Nothing that Murray could say could conceal the truth that the Boston convention marked the low ebb of the CIO and the labor movement as a whole, thanks to the false policies of the CIO and P

AFL top leadership. sented here had held conven- along under the pompous and unleast in part. Some of those speeches by government officials of the real condition of the CIO conventions—like the United and clergymen and even duller Auto Workers'—had resounded to the voices of workers fresh ers. Differing points of view were expressed and the clashes

gave life to the proceedings. SHARP CONTRAST

In sharp contrast to the conventions of the CIO unions was this convention of the CIO. There were no differences expressed and there was no life. The delegations were constituted by the top officers of the various unions, and relatively rare was a delegate who still works in a plant. Many of these delegates ers' demands were scarcely heard n this convention hall.

There was still power repreented in this hall-the concenlabor unions was taken this the AFL Seafarers International were excruciatingly dull because week when the Maritime War | Union, "bring about an interpret- no policies were being determined here. The policies of the CIO were being determined in Washington by Roosevelt and his as-The injection of the MWEB sociates. All that was being done which had guaranteed the en- into the fight upon the union in Boston was to dress up those policies to make them a little

reader with a day-by-day account speeches by Murray and Van Most of the unions repre- of how the convention drifted Bittner. tions recently. Those conven-certain direction of Murray, said-and what was not saidtions had been interesting, at whiling away the hours with dull emerged, upon analysis, a picture

Nevertheless, out of what was

has openly declared that new taxes will have to take the form of a tax on wages (with holding tax) and sales tax. (Continued on page 4)

from the plants, militant and awake to the needs of the workawa Differing points of view British Refuse To Give Up Hong Kong

By ALBERT PARKER

The American daily, liberal and Stalinist press gave a big play last month to the announcements by the United States and British governments that they were undertaking to give up their extraterritorial

The renunciation of extraterritorialitythe "rights," gained by force and intimidation, which exempt foreigners from trial by Chinese courts and place them under the during the past year had spent jurisdiction of the consular courts and laws more of their time hobnobbing of their own countries-was cited by these with government officials and papers as proof that the "democratic" imemployers than in listening to the perialists were really fighting for demoworkers' grievances. The work- cracy and freedom and the equality of

A few days later the British government made an equally important statement relattrated power of five million work- ing to imperialist privileges in China. ers, mainly in the great in- Richard Kidston Law, Parliamentary Undustries. But that power was dersecretary for Foreign Affairs, anparalyzed by the policy and sub- nounced in the House of Commons that the plete emasculation of maritime Hawk, Secretary-Treasurer of servience to the government and government did not intend to surrender the Atlantic & Gulf District of its boards. The proceedings here Hong Kong along with extraterritoriality. (Time, Nov. 9.)

This information was suppressed by virtually the entire American press. There was little that they could say about it that would jibe with the significance their previous comments had assigned to the surrender of extraterritoriality.

The truth is-and Law's statement on Hong Kong confirms it-that the imperial-There is no need to burden the ists have no intention of relaxing or diminishing their exploitation of China. On the contrary, their post-war plans envision a more intensive exploitation of China than ever before. For them the economic aspects of this exploitation are fundamental and far outweigh all others, including legal

Today, with Chinese national self-confidence higher and Chinese distrust of imperialism greater than ever, British and American imperialism feel it necessary to make some "concessions" to the demand for China's independence. So they give up some of the legal rights which they used to facilitate the initial penetration of China. But they will not and cannot make any fundamental changes in policy which might interfere with their post-war plans.

The crown colony of Hong Kong-which was seized by the British 101 years ago in the same way that legal privileges were taken-plays an important strategic part in Britain's plans, not only as a military but also as an economic base. A small island in the South China Sea, it is regarded as the gateway between the east and the west, and one of the greatest trans-shipment ports in the world.

"Straddling sea lanes linking Europe to the Orient, this imperial outpost collected a huge tribute from the Far Eastern trade (before the Sino-Japanese war). From Hong Kong British banks and huge merchant houses branched out inland, into the

crowded provinces of South China, British investors poured funds into railways, commerce and industry. British salesmen combed the market and British engineers built power plants, cement factories and mills. . .

"100,000 vessels with a total tonnage of 43,000,000 entered its spacious harbor annually. . . Between a third and a fourth of China's entire export trade passed through the colony. . ." (From The Fight For The Pacific, by M. J. Gayn, 1941.)

The populous and rich South Chinese provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, dominated by Hong Kong because of its strategic location at the mouth of the Canton River 60 miles below Canton, alone provide a market of more than 50,000,000, which is greater than Britain's own popula-

In short, Hong Kong is the key to the economic domination of South China and the profits to be wrung from the commerce of the Far East. It is a hundred times more valuable to British imperialism than legal privileges. And that is the very reason British imperialism, will never peacefully give it back to China.

The liberal, Stalinist and other apologists for "democratic" imperialism pretended they saw a great significance in the statements regarding extraterritoriality. We challenge them to explain to the masses the significance of the British statement on Hong Kong!

Military Journal Gives **Advice To The Officers**

Among the important lesson's to be drawn from the debacle of France is the danger of leaving officers' training in the the crucial battles, the officer of other men; and a devotion that caste capitulated to the Nazis.

Yet this same system remains entrenched in the United States seemingly with as high approval of official circles today as a quarter of a century ago. The October number of the Military Review, published by the Command and General Staff School, for instance, reprints as its leading article an address on "Leadership" delivered by Major Christian A. Bach before a group of student officers in 1918. "The thoughts expressed," affirms an editorial note, "are as true today as they were 24 years ago."

What concerns the Major is the difficulty of getting the ranks of ranks. the armed forces to accept as been placed over them.

WHEN OFFICERS ARE NOT TRUSTED BY THE RANKS

battle officers who are not leaders," declares the Major, "but the They go with doubt and trem- the instructions received." bling, and with an awful fear tugging at their heartstrings that prompts the unspoken question, 'What will he do next?'

their orders but no more. Of devotion to their commander, of ex- how democratic selection of ofalted enthusiasm which scorns personal risk, of their self- ables and give an opportunity for class alien in outlook to the oversacrifice to insure his personal advancement to promising in- whelming majority of the popula- Non-Union safety, they know nothing. Their dividuals of the ranks, who, as legs carry them forward because the Major points out, might know their brain and their training tell them they must go. Their spirit does not go with them."

The "personal safety" of the officer. to which the Major teristics of the officer such as factory and farm workers could sion and aboard army transports, delicately refers, included in the case of the French officer caste the "safety" of the capitalist of achieving these desirable class. This urge for self-preservation proved more powerful than officer should never apologize to safety of the nation.

"Great results," continues the

Next Week's Classes

of the New York School of Social Science

Wed., Nov. 25, 8:15 P. M. The Government and the War Economy

C. CHARLES, Instructor

Fri., Nov. 27, 8:15 P. M.

China in the Second World War

JOHN G. WRIGHT, Instructor

At 116 University Place—2d Fl. destroy the workers' state.—Ed.

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cold, passive, unresponsive sol- the face, knowing full well that diers. They don't go very far and the man cannot strike back." they stop as soon as they can. Since an officer cannot be held Leadership not only demands but accountable so far as the ranks receives the willing, unhesitating, are concerned, even to the extent hands of the capitalist class. In unfaltering obedience and loyalty of an apology in the opinion of Major Bach, no recourse is

will cause them, when the time

provided for men whose lives are

Unable to inspire the armed

forces with great ideals in view

perialist war, the capitalist

system is forced to rely upon

paternalistic relations between of-

ficers and men. If the officers

such relations in face of the

death agony of the system they

represent, then they tie the men

to a tree with ropes of disci-

pline." Paternalism is preferable,

as the Major indicates, but they

make sure the way is completely

Only if they are actually

.. But a long step toward this

example, the products of officers'

In place of officers taken

open for the other.

comes, to follow their uncrowned endangered by overbearing, in-

king to hell and back again if sulting, and incompetent officers.

Apparently the present system of officers' training produces of the sordid character of imenough "uncrowned kings" incapable of insuring their "personal safety" through the "selfsacrifice" of the ranks to cause concern to the editors of the prove incapable of establishing Military Review. Otherwise why republish this article?

IF THE OFFICER DOES NOT KNOW. . ."

Major Bach advises the "uncrowned king" on how to achieve "exalted enthusiasm" among the

First he advises the man who defending a new society will the "leaders" the officers who have has been given an officer's com- armed forces develop an enmission that it is necessary to thusiasm that will prove invinbecome skilled in the military cible. Only the establishment of arts: "If the officer does not a Workers' and Farmers' Governknow, and demonstrates the fact ment is capable of inspiring the "Men must and will follow into that he does not know, it is en- armed forces with great ideals. tirely human for the soldier to TRADE UNION CONTROL say to himself, 'To hell with him. OF OFFICER SCHOOLS driving power behind these men He doesn't know as much about is not enthusiasm but discipline. this as I do,' and calmly disregard goal is possible. Contrast, for

The Major does not mention schools as described by Major how many officers remained un- Bach, with the type of officer skilled in his day, nor do the that would be fostered in traineditors of the Military Review ing schools run at government "Such men obey the letter of give figures for the present, expense under control of the Above all, he does not describe trade unions. ficers would weed out undesir- largely from a small well-to-do more than their officers.

The Major, however, wastes the vast resources of the working little time with skill. He places class and poor farmers. more stress on personal charac-"self-confidence," moral force," "courage," etc. Among the ways qualities the Major advises, "An "exalted enthusiasm" for the his men." The recipe for "exalted enthusiasm," it seems, is very simple!

Of greatest concern to the officer should take toward the rank and file. "Above all things," he warns, "don't cheapen yourself by courting their friendship or currying their favor."

"ROPES OF DISCIPLINE"

At the same time he does not harsh: "For an officer to be overbearing and insulting in the the country. treatment of enlisted men is the act of a coward. He ties the man to a tree with the ropes of

HOW SOVIET UNION CONDUCTED WAR UNDER LENIN AND TROTSKY

In the near future THE MIL-ITANT will begin a series of articles showing how the policy of revolutionary warfare carried by the first Soviet government defeated the efforts of the most powerful imperialist powers to

Differently Than Workers

The limitation of "salaries" to \$25,000 a year, which was proclaimed with so much ballyhoo as bringing into reality the 'equality of sacrifice" program, is as full of holes as a Swiss

Tax Bill Handles Bosses

The worker is told that the employers' income is frozen just as is the workers' wages. Thus, it is hoped, the workers will take wage freezing and tax increases without protest.

But the fact is that the worker's wages are frozen first, and then, after that, from his wages upon which the limit has been imposed, he is supposed to pay all his expenses including insurance payments, mortgage payments (if he is lucky enough to own a home), and repayment on loans as well as the huge taxes.

Contrast this to the treatment the bosses get. The capitalist is entitled to receive \$25,000 after present insurance, mortgage and loan payments as well as federal taxes. Barring the small state income taxes, he gets \$25,000 clear.

Another method by which the capitalists can get around the salary limitation is by placing additional members of the family on the payroll.

Thus many capitalists now receiving a salary of \$100,000 a year after taxes, can put three relatives on the payroll at salaries of \$25,000 after taxes, and completely escape the limitations of the salary ruling.

The edict only sets a limit on salary, but does not touch any other kind of income. Thus a capitalist can get, besides a salary of \$25,000 a year after taxes, any amount of profits, dividends, interest, rent and similar income.

Since the so-called salaries of the capitalists are their least important source of income, practically all of them will continue to receive huge incomes from the profits resulting from the war.

While the workers' wages will be slashed to pieces by wage freezing, taxes and rising living costs, the capitalists will continue to grow fat on "profits as usual."

ORKERS'

tion, officers schools under trade Conditions at Sea union control would select the

most promising material from Editor:

Since the start of the war, many seamen are shipping In such schools, where qualified through the Maritime Commisbecome skilled officers, close both of which are non-union teamwork between officers and They do this, first because they ranks in action would come as need the jobs, but also because easily and naturally as similar cheir unions don't protect them teamwork between leaders and the way they used to. ranks in strike action. The armed

The maritime unions, like forces would have every reason others the land over, are going for confidence in officers who through a fire of reaction. The wore the union button and who seamen haven't been blind to the Above all, the system of trade fakery of the Stalinists in the union control of officers schools NMU.

blocks at the source the insidious Despite the constant sellouts of instilling of class and racial out- the union leadership, the men looks of the capitalist class which would still rather ship through in France led the officer caste to the unions, and do so when they prefer capitulation to Hitler can, but the union ships are often believe officers should be too rather than permit the working the slow and unsafe ones. A lot class to organize the defense of of the big fast ships have been

taken by the government. A freighter I was on was so slow she lost the convoy three days out of New York. For weeks she was all alone on the way to Africa. She was so overloaded that on reaching over the side you could almost touch the

Recently aboard an army transport the waiters and mess men were given the worst quarters aboard the ship, one deck above the keel, rat-infested and damp. If torpedoed, these men would have about as much chance as their room mates, the rats. Assuming that they could survive the initial blast, their chance of getting up to the boat deck in time would be pretty slim. Hundreds of soldiers, who sleep directly above them. would further impede what little progress they might make otherwise. This was not alone a question of poor quarters, but one of racial discrimination.

All of the men confined to these subterranean quarters were Negro or Puerto Rican!

When the men brought these conditions to the attention of the superintendent of the base, his reply was, "If you don't like it, you can get off." Of course, that NOT EVEN FROM HIS may change too, because the gov- OWN POINT OF VIEW ernment is now trying to fix it so you can't get off if you don't

Once aboard an anti-union govdeas is talk of organizing the ond front assistance." army transports and all govern- | That Stalin does not regard it ment shipping. The seamen who as such was made clear in his talk about this know themselves Nov. 14 reply to a letter from how difficult this would be and an AP correspondent, in which he they are at a loss on where to

Your paper has a slogan about ond front in Europe nearer to the government expropriating Germany's vital centers, which and how the crews shall work. Why not eliminate the shipowners entirely? They don't do anything

I'm all for running the merchant marine under the control of that effective aid for the USSR ism, that they must fight to today.

the unions. . . and I'll bet a lot of seamen will feel the same way once they understand it.

British Stalinists Sabotage Tyne Strike

LONDON, Nov. 6 (By Mail) | Commons by Bevin who said, - Tyne shipbuilding workers returned to work on October 13. after an eight day strike which involved (censored) workers in all trades employed on the yards. This was the biggest sintive unimportance of the issue and irritable mood of the work- against them. ers as a result of provocations by the boss class.

The action of the workers was provoked by the maneuvers of the union leaders of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions with the employers' organization, the Tyne Shipbuilding Association, who sprang a new agreement without prior consultation with the workers.

The new agreement altered the day which wages were made up, from Tuesday to the previous Sunday, thus leaving two extra days' pay lying in the hands of the em- to smash the strike. Prior to the

In view of the serious shipping shortage, the workers did not want to hold up production and proposed that the old agreement tand until the new proposals could be studied. At a mass meeting in all shipyards the workers decided not to work the following Monday if their plea was refused. COMBINED ATTACK The employers remained ada-

mant. When the workers turned up on Monday morning, the notices were still posted and 80% of the men adhered to their decision and refused to work. Meanwhile, they attempted to influence the government to undertake an inquiry. The government's attitude was soon New York City made clear in the House of

"We do not intend to depart from the agreement made between the two parties."

The following day the shop gle strike since the outbreak of ally by a representative of the

> The boss press also attacked the workers from every angle. "The Most Stupid Strike Ever!" "The Craziest Strike in Trade Union History!" screamed the headlines. However, the tone of the articles were pretty shrill and betrayed a distinct nervousness. They were dealing with a solid and determined body of men.

HOW THE STALINISTS TRIED TO BREAK THE STRIKE

The Communist Party marshalled the whole of its apparatus commencement of the strike every Tyneside worker who was a member of the party received a personal telegram from National Secretary Harry Pollitt, stating that it was imperative that he attend a special meeting which Pollitt was to address. At this meeting Pollitt said that "any shipyard worker who goes on strike is a raitor to his country.'

Thousands of leaflets and daily issued under the signature of Malcolm MacEwen. They carried the headline: "Give a Courageous Lead." The line laid down was

"At every yard meeting our comrades should take part and forcefully put the case for returning to work, announce their

appeal to the workers to follow them."

As a result of this campaign the Tyneside shipyard workers became more and more hostile to stewards were addressed by the the Stalinists. The workers Labor Advisor to the Admiralty, threatened to toss the leading the Admiral of the Port and fin- Stalinist shop steward into the Tyne when he tried to address a the war. Considering the rela- CSEU. All charged the workers meeting. The strike committee with "playing Hitler's game." All condemned the Communist Party it is indicative of the restive warned that "public opinion" was and the Daily Worker, characterizing it as a "rag" and refusing to give it a statement.

THE BUREAUCRATS' FEARS Ellen Wilkinson ("Red Ellen" now tinged with Royal Blue) addressed a meeting at Newcastle where she delighted the hearts of the shipowners. Attacking the strikers in the most violent terms,

she said:

"Nothing could be so disastrous to the future of the strikers themselves as that they should win this strike. . . Temporary leaders thrown up by the present strike will be the first victims of such mob rule. They will be displaced as they themselves have displaced the shop stewards who are work-

A victory for the strikers would have administered a defeat for the trade union leaders who must demonstrate to the bosses that they still maintain control over the workers. Ellen Wilkinson faithfully reflected the fear of the office seekers who felt bulletins to party members were their jobs endangered by a victory for the workers.

In face of this unholy alliance, the workers were undaunted. At the outset of the strike the

overwhelming majority of the workers believed that they would be out for a day or two days at the most. They did not visualize a really vicious struggle and were not prepared for a long drawn out strike. As the strike lengthened into the second pay week it was obvious that the workers were going to suffer hardships.

THE STEWARDS' STAND

In consequence, the stewards met to sum up the situation and decided to advise the workers to return to work. In putting their case to the men for returning to work, they took the view that they had come out as a solid body other parts of the country or have

it ended as an adventure. It was decided that every shop Stalin tried in his recent speech steward should immediately ers by a re-election. In this way and strikebreakers among the shop stewards could be eliminated

RANKS' REACTION

The feeling of the workers was adequately expressed by the reelection of every steward who stood with the workers in the course of the strike and by the unceremonious way in which the Stalinist strikebreakers were pitched out of the workers' committees.

The present policy of the Stalinist leadership is resulting n the sifting of the genuins working class militants in the C. P. from the Pollitts and their stooges. A strong bloc signified that they were quitting the Party and throwing in their cards. These workers will keep the trust and confidence of their fellow workers on the Tyne, for they demonstrated in practice that when the Stalinist Party puts forward an anti-working class policy, they choose to stand with their class.

LESSONS OF THE STRIKE The main weakness of the

workers was that their official mion machinery stood behind the osses all the time. Against the expressed democratic will of the overwhelming majority of the Tyne workers, the union officials pursued a course of action in violation of every function for which the workers' organizations were set up. In withholding strike funds on the grounds that the strike was illegal, the union officials gave the capitalists the weapon that meant victory.

peared a leadership which showed pushed to oust the present chair warmers who control the unions and hold the workers down.

through bitter struggle and a prerequisite for this struggle is a renewed interest in the union by all the militant workers. Past ferings of pre-war Europe and troops of the imperialist interven- union defeats have discouraged many workers and lessened their interest in their organizations. To save the unions is the first Although Stalin had promised they must not fight for social- which can save the USSR again task of every militant industrial worker in England.

Defend Soviet Union

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to turn to for any leadership. industries and the unions running them. No industry is riper for this than maritime. The shipowners have already had all their work taken over by the government who decides what cargoes

but take in the profits anyway.

Stalin's Policies Hamper The European Revolution

ous struggles on the picket line. played, notably the political military advantages enjoyed by Hitler. Aid would be forth-

> The first, on which he placed this war demonstrate that he state. the greatest emphasis, was a never had any serious intention REPARATIONS? second front by British and of trying to win them as allies

coming, he said, from two

United States imperialism. The second source of aid Stalin had to admit in his Nov. Stalin referred to was the op- 6 speech this year that the masspressed peoples of Europe in es of Europe are "burning with both Germany and the occupied countries.

"In this war of liberation we shall not be alone," he said in a radio broadcast on July 3, 1941. "In this great war we shall have loyal allies in the peoples of Europe and America, including the German people who are enslaved

by Hitlerite despots." "Only the Hitlerite self-adulating fools fail to see that the 'new order' in Europe and the notorious 'basis' of this order constitute a volcano ready to erupt at any moment and bury the German imperialist house of cards. . .

"Only Hitlerite fools can fail to understand that not only the European rear but also the German rear of the German troops represent a volcano ready to erupt and bury the Hitler ad-

"Another few months, another half year, one year perhaps and Hitlerite Germany must collapse under the weight of its own REPELS AND CONFUSES crimes." (Stalin's speech in Red THE EUROPEAN MASSES Square, Moscow, Nov. 7, 1941.)

In his recent speech to the Moscow Soviet (Nov. 6, 1942), Stalin again complained that the Soviet losses were due to 'the ernment ship, seamen don't give absence of a second front." Rooseup their union ideas, they merely velt took pains to emphasize that are unable to put them into the North African invasion bepractice. Among many of the gun on Nov. 7 was "effective sec-

declared that the African "cammove next. They don't know who paign creates the prerequisites for the establishment of a secwill be of decisive importance for organizing the victory over Hitlerite tyranny."

In other words, Stalin's policy of relying on the imperialists has not brought any important rethe ships carry and where they go sults to date, not even from his

own point of view. WHY ARE THEY STILL WAITING?"

By ANTHONY MASSINI In 1941 Stalin promised the would come from the oppressed bring back the regimes which led Soviet masses that the USSR masses of Europe as well as from them into this war. It is not sur-Major is the proper attitude an had proved themselves in previ- role that their leaders have would be saved despite the a second front, his policies have prising that under these condihad the opposite effect. Despite tions the fierce anti-fascist hatred and as such they should go back. the speeches he made last year, of the European masses has not They made no bones about it, Stalin has had no confidence in yet been translated into a revolu- they had been defeated. There the European masses for almost tion that will sweep away the was neither the mood nor the

in the war against Hitler.

nity to take revenge on their conquerors for the humiliation and violence they are suffering." But why is it that after 17 months of the Soviet war they

are still "waiting?" A good part of the answer to this question is to be found in the policies of Stalinism. Stalin stakes the fate of the USSR on aid from the imperialists, and he tries to promote such aid by constantly assuring the imperialists that they have nothing to fear from him and that he has no intention of encouraging in Europe the socialist revolution which the imperialists fear far more than

Following this line, he covers up and endorses the war aims of the imperialists, signs his name venturists." (Stalin's speech to to the Atlantic Charter, insists the Moscow Soviet, Nov. 6, 1941.) that he is not fighting for socialism and fails in every way to distinguish the Soviet Union from the democratic imperialists.

> masses find it hard to see any are able to get close to them. difference between the Soviet

Union and the imperialists. perialists when they attempt to pro-Soviet, anti-fascist revolt. impose a second and worse Versailles Treaty on the German peo-

workers hesitate, not knowing state. This was quite natural. what path to follow. As a result, | rear, is left unattacked.

But the Stalinists tell them

20 years now, and his policies in imperialist foes of the workers' desire to extend the strike to

to clear his skirts a little of the resign on returning to work and responsibility for not mobilizing seek the confidence of the workmasses. "It is not our aim to de- the feeling of the men could be hatred" for the fascists "and are stroy Germany. . . It is not our properly tested and the waverers waiting for a favorable opportuaim to destroy all military force in Germany," he said.

> But everyone recognizes this from their ranks. as just words, repeated in a ceremonial fashion once a year, and contrary to the actual policies pursued by the Stalinist regime on all the other days of the year. Week in and week out the Stalinist press and propagandists try to nurture an undiscriminating hatred by the Soviet masses of everything German.

Indeed, only two days before Stalin's speech, the Soviet gov ernment announced the appointment of a committee "to investigate the loss of life and damage to property resulting from the German occupation" and "to assess the amount of reparation due to Russia." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 5.)

In other words, Stalin wants Germany to pay war damages. But who in Germany will pay this? Hitler? Goering? Goebbels? There is little reason to expect that these people will be around to do anything if Germany loses The result is that the European the war and the German masses

Who then would have to pay reparations but the German mass-The result is that the German es? How does their reaction to people, who hate Hitler more this news differ from their rethan anyone else because they've action to the threats of a new had to suffer under his rule for Versailles? Only a fool would beso long, fear that the Soviet lieve that this is the way to in-Union will go along with the im- spire the German masses into a

WHY STALIN KEPT MUM

The most notable thing about Fearing the sufferings of a new Stalin's speech on the twenty-Versailles as much as they do the fifth anniversary of the Russian continued rule of Hitler, the Ger- Revolution was his failure to man masses are confused. Not mention any of the lessons of the being offered a program in the revolution and of the war that German masses, the German tried to overthrow the workers'

Stalin has to keep quiet about Hitler's most vulnerable spot, the the lessons of those days because he has completely abandoned the Similarly with the masses in the occupied countries. They do 1918-20 policies of revolutionary not want to return to the suf- warfare which infected the the possibility of a third world tionists with revolutionary ideas, and thus saved the USSR, and

Out of the workers' ranks apgreat capabilities as well as interests of both the Soviet and followed it when the imperialists fighting spirit. These men will be

But this can be done only

25th Anniversary Of The Russian Revolution

We meet on the twenty-fifth anniversary of that great day when the world-encircling chain of imperialism snapped at its weakest link, and the workers of Czarist Russia, supported by the peasants, broke through to victory and established the first workers' state. We are meeting tonight, as we and our kind have been meeting on each succeeding anniversary throughout the years since 1917, as partisans and defenders of the Russian revolution and of the workers' state which the Russian revolution

We are not alone today. The whole world is taking notice of the USSR on this anniversary. Everybody is recognizing the Soviet Union, each in his own way. Churchill, who tried his best to overthrow it in the early days, and Roosevelt, who to judge by the indictment which his administration drew up against us, was, to say the least, not very friendly to the Russian revolution -Churchill and Roosevelt pay hypocritical tribute today to "the great Russian people" and "the heroic Red Army." Hitler looks toward the East through dark glasses tonight, with fear and trembling, wondering whether his insane dream of empire hasn't been shattered on the Russian front.

Remembering the Russian revolution of 1917, the workers of Europe and the colonial slaves lift up their hearts in hope once more today. Each in his own way, for reasons of his own, takes notice of this twenty-fifth anniversary. But the differences in the reasons-and they are whole worlds apart -change nothing in the decisive fact that everybody is saluting, recognizing, or cursing a state and an army which issued from a victorious revolution of the workers. This revolution is in the greatest crisis night-November 7, 1917.

of its entire history at this hour, in its greatest peril. We know this and we say it openly. And we say also, and with truth, that in its greatest crisis and danger, we Fourth Internationalists, we disciples of Lenin and Trotsky, remain the best defenders of the Soviet Union. The fact that we are celebrating the revolution and not announcing its funeral shows that we are still fighting. We are fighting for a revolution that is still living.

War and revolution are the most authoritative of all tribunals. It is there, in war and in revolution, that all the great questions are decided in our epoch. The outbreak of the first World War in August, 1914, demonstrated that capitalism, as an economic and social system, had exhausted its progressive historic mission. The Russian revolution of November, 1917 served notice that a more powerful class than the class of capitalists had come to maturity. The modern proletariat, the progressive force in modern society, the herald and representative of a new social order-this class, as demonstrated by the revolution, took the offensive in the class battle which can only end in world-wide victory.

November 7, 1917. The death sentence on the old order of capitalism and the beginning of the new order of world socialism were both proclaimed on that day. And whatever vicissitudes, whatever set-backs, betrayals or defeats may overtake the proletariat on the road to that final goal; however sharp and deep may be the zigzags in the line which charts the course of the struggle through which humanity shall pass from capitalism to socialism: whatever may befall, the starting point in the line of development will always be traced to that great day which we commemorate to-

THE INTERNATIONAL EFFECTS

I can remember the dark days of the first World War, 1914-1917. Then, as now, all the hopes for humanity's progress seemed to be drowned in the blood of the war. Reaction seemed to be triumphant everywhere. The enemies of the proletariat gloated over the treachery and capitulation of the socialist parties, and to many-to the great majority. I venture to say-the theory and the hope of socialism seemed vanished like a utopian dream. And then, as now-as has already been remarked here tonight - faint hearts and deserters mocked at those who continued the stubborn struggle and held on to their revolutionary faith. The whole world labor movement was overcome with depression and despair in 1914-15-16 and 17.

But the Russian revolution of November 7 changed all that overnight. At one blow the revolution lifted the proletariat of Europe to its feet again. It stirred the hundreds of millions of colonial slaves who had never known political aspiration before, who had never dared to hope before. The

Here in the United States, the progressive sections of the socialist and labor movement were reinvigorated by the Russian revolution. The morale of the movement grew stronger than ever before. For the first time, concentrated in revolutionary action, we had a demonstration of the real meaning of the doctrines of Marxism. For the first time, we learned from the example and teachings of Lenin and Trotsky and the leaders of the Russian revolution, the real meaning of a revolutionary party. Those who remember that time, whose lives became welded to the Russian revolution, must think of it today as the greatest inspiring and educational force that the oppressed class of the world has ever known.

Marx and Engels lifted the conception of socialism from utopia to science. The Russian revolution developed scientific socialism from theory into action, and proved several things which before had been abstract generalizations and predictions. The Russian revolution proved in action that certain things were true beyond all further doubting. The first of these things that were proved by the revolution was that it is possible for the workers to take power. It is possible for the workers to forge out of its ranks a party that is capable of leading the struggle to victory. And the workers in all countries will everlastingly remember that. Nothing can erase from history that example. Victory of the proletariat is possible-the Russian revolution in action, in blood and fire, proved that it

We all know that the authentic leaders of the revolution, Lenin, Trotsky, conceived of it not as an end in itself, but as a first step, the first stage, in the world had been started in the Soviet Union. The conditions objectively were already mature in 1917, 18 and 19, for such a world revolution, beginning in Europe. What was lacking was the leadership, the party, without which the workers cannot succeed. The leadership of the old-party, the Social-Democrats, who had betraved the workers under the test of war, supported the bourgeoisie in their counter-revolutionary fight against the workers in the period following the war. The young and hastily organized communist parties, which had been formed in European countries in response to the example of the Russian revolution, were as yet too weak and too young, too inexperienced, for their historic

THE WORKERS' POST-WAR DEFEATS

Thus the revolution, which objectively had every possibility to succeed on the whole continent of Europe, failed in the post-war years. The workers today have to pay for that failure, and for the consequent isolation of the Soviet Union, with another and even more terrible World War.

The capitalist world surrounded and isolated the Soviet Union. For three years, 1918 to 20, the revolution had to fight for its life in the civil war financed and supported by the world imperialists, and in the interventionist attempts in which the great majority of the capitalist powers participated. The economy of Russia, terribly backward when the war began, a heritage from Czarism, was almost completely ruined in the war and the civil war which followed. Hunger and famine ravished the whole land, But the first workers' state survived all of that. It survived the isolation and the blockade imposed upon it by world mperialism. It survived the civil war, the intervention, the famine, the hunger, the economic disorganization and demoralization. The Soviet Union survived because, contained within that effort of the proletariat of Russia, there was a dynamic power such as had never been released before in the whole world, the power of the revolutionary proletariat.

The revolution survived, but not without terrible cost. On the basis of the hunger, and the scarcity, and the backwardness, and the isolation, arose the reactionary privileged bureaucracy personified by Stalin. The crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy are known to everyone present here. They

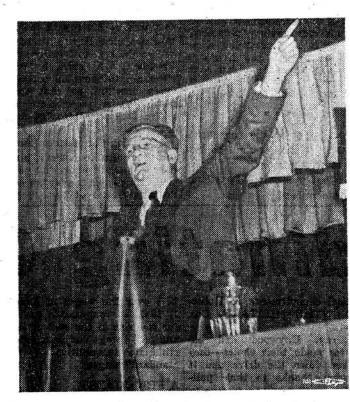
debased the theory which had guided the revolution. They destroyed the party that had made the revolution. They destroyed the Soviets and the trade unions as selfacting organisms of the workers. They assassinated a whole generation of the leaders of the revolution. They beheaded the Red Army, and they capped their series of unprecedented crimes against the people by the assassination of the most authentic representative of the revolution-Comrade

But they haven't, in spite of all of that,

been able to kill the revolution. There is something there that proved itself to be stronger than all the imperialist powers of the world in the early days: something stronger than the corroding and degenerating bureaucracy. We alone know the full extent of the bureaucratic degeneration that has taken place in the Soviet Union since the death of Lenin. And we, following Trotsky, exposed it and explained it before others and without any embellishments whatever. We know the full extent of the degeneration but we also know the limits of the degeneration. We know that the basic conquests of the revolution, the nationalized industry and the planned production, remain at the base of the Soviet state. That it why the revolution stays alive in spite of all the

premature announcements to the contrary. The vitality of the revolution is demonstrated in every test. First of all, in the most decisive field, the field of economy, the base of society. The Russian revolution proved for all time, in spite of bureaucratic mismanagement, the superiority of the

Text Of James P. Cannon's Speech At New York Anniversary Meeting, Nov. 8



JAMES P. CANNON, NATIONAL SECRETARY, S. W. P.

Soviet system of planned economy over the capitalist system of private property and anarchy in production. This superiority of Soviet economy was first demonstrated. most dramatically and convincingly, in that very period, after 1929, of the world-wide crisis of the capitalist nations. When capitalist economy was plunging down to unheard of depths of stagnation and demoralization-in that very period, in spite of the backwardness of Russia, in spite of the isolation of Russia and its unworthy leadership, in that very period the Soviet revolution showed its power in a tremendous advance and development of industry.

That economic strength of the Soviet regime, and the strength of the revolutionary tradition, are being reflected now in the military field. The whole world has been surprised and astounded by the military prowess of the Red Army. All the military experts counted upon a defeat of the Russian armies in the space of a few weeks or months. But this Red Army has

stood up for 17 months, despite bad leadership and almost continuous retreats and defeats, without cracking, I say, the whole world has been surprised, including Stalin, who had no more confidence in the Red Army than he had in Soviet economy, than he has in the revolutionary powers of the workers generally. The Trotskyists were not taken by surprise. Trotsky predicted that imperialist attack on the Soviet Union would unleash marvels of proletarian enthusiasm and fighting capacity in the Red Army. He could do that because he, better than others, understood that the great motive power of the victorious revolution had not all been expended. The Red Army which the world hails is an army created by a proletarian revolution. This revolution lives in the memory of the Soviet people. That, and the basic conquests which they still retain and upon which they stand, constitute the basis upon which the Red Army has unfolded such unparalleled capacity for defense and resistance and heroic sacrifice.

FASCISM AND THE WORKERS'STATE

followed by the fascist victory in Germany -all these events gave rise to a fetish of fascism as of some new, great, invincible power which might possibly have a progressive historic role to play. Along with that, we have seen developed in recent years the theory of the identity of fascism and sovietism. The identity of the political methods of Stalinism and fascism led philistines and renegades to identify the Stalinist and fascist regimes altogether, to say they are the same thing, national sectors of a new social order that is developing, creating some new class of "bureaucratic collectivists," or something of that sort.

Our movement, the movement of the Fourth International, long ago refuted these superficial theories. Trotsky's analysis has been fully confirmed in the war. Trotsky, in his analysis, did not proceed from the estimation of single events or isolated symptoms. Reasoning as a Marxist, he took this theory of the identity of fascism and the Soviet Union, and he put the question first of all: How did each one arise? Here the most profound difference is revealed at the very start. In Russia the Soviet regime arose as a product of the proletarian revolution, as a victory of the workers against the Czarist police, Black Hundreds and White Guards. Fascism in Italy, on the other hand, arose as a counter-revolution of Black Hundred gangs, financed by the big capitalists, against the workers. Italian fascism did not come to power as an imitation of the Russian revolution, but as a counter-revolutionary answer to it.

Secondly, Trotsky put the question: How did each regime-the Russian and the

The war put to a test the fetish of fasc- fascist-develop in its first stages, and ism. In the period of the great reaction whom did it benefit? In Russia, the Soviet following the death of Lenin, the betrayal regime developed as a power of the workers of the Chinese revolution, the defeat in and peasants, expropriated the capitalists Germany, and the fascist victory in Italy, and landlords and enhanced the strength of the workers and the peasants. In Italy, the counter-revolution of fascism immediately and directly strengthened and benefited finance capital at the expense of the interests of the workers and the peasants and all the poor.

> What was the world attitude toward Soviet Russia and fascist Italy in the beginning? That part of the world which is made up of workers and colonial slaves hailed the Russian revolution with enthusiasm and surrounded it with their sympathy in the early years. The capitalists, the foreign money sharks, the exploiters of all lands, ardently supported Mussolini. American money-Wall Street moneyhelped to prop him up in the earliest days.

Next, take the most important criterion, the economy of the country. What was the effect of the fascist counter-revolution on the one side, and the workers' revolution on the other, on the development of the productive powers of the workers, which is the decisive and basic criterion for all regimes? In fascist Italy, economy was stifled, put in an iron grip of the big monopolists and twisted to serve their private interests at every turn. The hideously distorted and declining economy has cursed Italy ever since the fascist counterrevolution. The Soviet revolution in Russia liberated the forces of production from the strait-jacket of private ownership and made possible a development of the productive powers of the workers and an expansion of industrial development on a scale never seen before in history, through the medium of nationalized industry and planned eco-

BANKRUPTCY OF THE FASCISTS

All these profound differences in the two regimes, which superficial people wanted to identify, show their significance now under the test of the war. And what does the war say about the theory that fascism and Sovietism are the same thing? Ten days ago Italian fascism celebrated its twentieth anniversary-October 29. But it wasn't much of a celebration. It was more like a funeral. Mussolini didn't even appear in the arena to puff out his chest and make threatening speeches. Very little was said because all the dreams of the fascist Roman Empire of Mussolini are gone with the wind. The people of Italy are starving. The economy is bankrupt. The country seethes with revolution. The fascist masters of Italy are no longer able to control the people;

they have to rely on Hitler's troops and

The soldiers of Italy will no longer fight any more anywhere in the world. And we have this absurd explanation of cowardice. Every time a serious military struggle begins, the Italian soldiers retreat or surrender. We hear this stupid chauvinistic explanation that this is due to the racial inferiority of the Italians, to their cowardice. But, of course, it is ridiculous to speak about the cowardice or the military incapacity of the Italian soldiers. There are no braver people than the Italians. They are the equals in every way of any other nationality in Europe or America. The true explanation of the Italian military debacle is very simple.

want to fight because they have not got a particle of confidence in the regime and don't consider it worth fighting for. That is the explanation of the Italian military defeats everywhere. In Greece the Italian soldiers on one front laid down their arms and marched in as prisoners, not with their heads bowed, seeking pardon from the conquerors; they marched in singing "Bandiera Rossa," the great suppressed marching song. of the Italian workers' movement. That song will resound again in mighty chorus in the streets of Italy.

The truth is that the fascist regime of Italy, after a brief twenty years, is bankrupt through and through and cannot stand defeats, while the Soviet Union, the product of a proletarian revolution, has shown a mighty strength in war in spite of the most terrible defeats caused by bad leadership. And if the German fascist, Hitler, brooding over the Eastern front and the steadily growing wave of discontent and revolt throughout the mass of the people at home, wants to know the fate of his dream of a thousand years of German fascist domination, he can look to Mussolini-there he will see the image of his own future. Fascism cannot stand the test of war, cannot stand defeat. Those who say that fascism and Sovietism are the same are completely refuted by the realities of the war.

Fascism and the Soviet system are not the same. Fascism is a desperate and shortlived, final expedient of a dying social system. In a brief twenty years Italian fascism has exhausted its economic, its military, and all its moral reserves. On the other hand, the Soviet system is the historically necessary birth of a new social order, better and more progressive than capitalism either in its democratic or its fascist form, and historically destined to supercede capitalism.

The Russian revolution proved three things for all time. Two of them have been mentioned. First, it proved that the party and the leadership necessary for victory other petty-bourgeois thinker.

The Italian workers and peasants don't can be created by the proletariat, as they have been created by the Russian proletariat.

Second, the Russian revolution proved-I am now repeating what I said beforethat the system of nationalized industry and planned economy, introduced by a Soviet revolution, is superior, more progressive, more productive, than any device of capitalism, whether democratic or fascist.

And the third thing which we can say is demonstrated by the revolution, and proved now in the test of war, is that only one class is capable of solving the great social problems of our epoch. That class is the proletariat.

The Fourth International with its program and its tactics anchored to these three propositions, has been proven correct by the whole test of events. Therefore, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the revolution, we do not change our course. We see not only the terrible weakness of the Soviet regime which derives from the bureaucratic mismanagement and control. We see also the strength and the power which derives from the revolutionary origin of the Soviet Union and its basic conquests.

I think it is quite clear that Hitler made a mortal error in attacking the Soviet Union. Fascist thinking was far too superficial for the complicated problem involved in the attempt to destroy the Soviet Union and its Red Army and its economic system. Hitler made a very common mistake. He saw only the bureaucracy which is weak, inefficient and cowardly, and he did not see, and did not understand, the vitality of the still living revolution, and the mighty sources of achievement and heroism that this revolution could call forth in time of war. All the petty-bourgeois political thinkers overlook this point-the difference between the Soviet Union, which is the product of a great revolution, and the usurping bureaucracy, which is a parasitic tumor on the Soviet Union. I is onite obvious that Hitler is no genius but just an-

CLASS NATURE OF THE USSR

For our part, we have always rejected these superficial conclusions of the vulgar thinkers, who judge every feature or incident out of its historic context, without regard for what went before and what must come after. To our way of thinking, to the Marxist method of analysis, the origin of the Soviet state had to be taken as the point of departure. This origin was in revolution. We studied it, aided and directed by Comrade Trotsky. We studied the Soviet Union, not as an isolated static phenomenon but as a process. We studied it in its changes, and tried to determine in each case what was fundamental and what was secondary, what had been gained and what had been lost in that changing process. And by this method of thinking we arrived at our conclusion: that the Soviet Union does not and cannot represent fascism, nor a social order ruled by a new exploitive class. but a deformed and degenerated workers' state. And from that we proceed to our fighting motto: "Never surrender a position before it is lost!" We know all the defects of the Soviet Union. We know all the crimes of the bureaucracy. But we know also all that mighty power of those conquests of the progressive revolution which remain still intact, and therefore we continue to defend the Soviet Union.

Some may say, "Defense of the Soviet Union in the present circumstances can be only moral support. Of what use is it?" We can answer-and I can tell you from my personal knowledge and recollection—that the moral support of the international proletariat was the force which saved the Soviet Union from destruction in its earliest years, and even later. The interventions against the Soviet Union could not succeed because the sympathy of the masses of the people of Europe for the Soviet Union was so great. It was impossible for the imperialist to organize mass armies or take any serious military measures because of the threats of the workers against any government that would try it.

Moral support is what we give here in America, as always since 1917, but our policy is not only for the United States. Our policy is a world policy, as that of the Marxists and Bolsheviks has always been. Our policy is the policy of the Russian section of the Fourth International, which lives and fights. And they continue at their task -to defend the country, to rebuild the Bolshevik party, to revive the Soviets and the trade unions, and to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy. Whether, with the help of the international proletariat, they shall succeed or fail, history has yet to show

Stalin's speech the other day, printed in all the capitalist newspapers, only shows that he is still doing all that he can to ensure the defeat of the Soviet Union in the war with Hitlerism. Stalin rejects the real allies of the Soviet Union-the workers of Europe and America and the colonial people, and above all, the workers of Germany -and he directs his appeal and his alliances to the imperialists of the United States and Great Britain. He looks for the salvation of the Soviet Union, rather of the bureaucracy, in a victory of the so-called United Nations against the Axis powers. If they defeat the Axis, if America and Great Britain crush fascist Germany in the war, would that ensure the safety of the Soviet Union? Those who may be deluded by that thought for a moment, should remember 1918-20.

No sooner had an armistice with the Central Powers been arranged, before peace was concluded, than the former allies of Russia, the champions of democracy-England, France and America-turned all their force against the Russian revolution. If they succeed in establishing a front in the Balkans and defeat Hitler, who can imagine in the absence of a European revolution, that the sword of Hitler having been broken, it will not be replaced by the sword of Anglo-American imperialism pointed at the Soviet Union, as it was in 1918-20? How can it be otherwise? The conflict between the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers is something different and more profound than the rivalry between one imperialist power and another. Here is involved the clash, the irreconcilable conflict of two contrasting social systems. One or the other must prevail in the world; one or the other must go down. And whoever preaches trust in the Anglo-American imperialists is a traitor to the Soviet

We, for our part, turn to the workersabove all, to the German workers-and to the colonial people, and we say, they are the only true allies of the Soviet Union. They are the only true allies because they alone have their fundamental interest bound up with the preservation of the Soviet Union, just as the fundamental interests of the Soviet Union are indissolubly connected with the fate of the uprisings of the colonial masses and the victory of the workers in the world. And let those doubt who will. We believe in the workers. We believe in the colonial slaves awakened to new life by the Russian revolution.

We don't doubt that in India tonight. millions of the colonial insurgents are thinking, on this anniversary day, of the Russian revolution. They are thinking, simply but strongly, and saying to themselves: "The Russians did it; why can't we?" Once the oppressed masses of the world begin to think that way the realization of that aspiration will be placed on the order of the day. We believe that before this bloody carnage is over, the workers, the people, will say their decisive word. And when they speak to the imperialists, they will speak Russian.

The Russian revolution is in the greatest peril today. We do not delude ourselves about that. We do not deceive ourselves or others with any false optimism about the danger confronting the Soviet Union. We see the situation as it really is. We know that the fate of the Soviet Union hangs in the balance, that it depends now, more than ever, on the world revolution of the proletariat and the colonial masses. But we have faith in the world revolution, and because of that, we retain our hope in the ultimate regeneration of the Soviet Union. We keep undimmed our faith that world revolution will release humanity from this terrible vise of the war, and open up a new stage of progress on the way to the communist future. Because of that, here on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary, as we celebrate the living revolution, we can still express the confident hope that the funeral of the Russian revolution, which so many renegades and traitors are announcing, will not merely be postponed, but will never take place.

Sidelights At The Fifth Annual Convention Of The CIO

in a dull convention when the delegates really pricked up their ears was when Walter Reuther started telling CIO how the Big Businessmen in Washington really feel about the Soviet Union:

"I came back from Washington about three weeks ago in a plane," Reuther said, "and there were two representatives of the War Production Board in front of me, big automobile executives.

"They were reading the news about Stalingrad, and Hitler had gained that particular day, and they were rejoicing because the Nazis had pushed the Communists back on the Stalingrad front. One of them said:

"'All we have to do is just give the Russians enough so they can hang on, and they will destroy one another.'

"That was the attitude," con-

tude permeates the biggest levels of our war production activities in Washington."

Senator Pepper of Florida has quite a veneer of civilization en- savages. ameled on over his Southern Bourbon hide, but the veneer cracked at one point during his speech at the CIO convention.

ous crimes of the Axis powers. Finally he came to Mussolini's he carcasses of the savages of sion. But first Murray let Hill- ness of hamstringing labor.

mal; the word is never applied sion on "total war mobilization" to the human body - except by - as "delegate Hillman." Hill-Southern Bourbons referring to man was on the platform and prothe bodies of Negroes.

delegate remarked to me that Pep- record during the time he was the common herd.

tion was Hillman's would-be come-Pepper was describing the vari-back speech on Wednesday. His man down, merely recognizing A carcass is the body of an ani- him - it was during the discusceeded to make a full-dress Bitterly humorous, one Negro speech, attempting to justify his

about Negroes being carved up, very able speech by Reuther.

continued. Neither by personal the rule. qualifications nor by machine politics and least of all by program The biggest flop of the conven- did Hillman have any standing. Most of the delegates actively dislike him for having "pioneered" cribed how Mussolini "carved up and tried to dress up the occa- tion strike - in the ugly busi-

> Rule No. 3 of the convention provided: "Speeches shall be limited to five minutes."

But that was only observed for

sympathy in his own mind for never a good orator, but he is man or Murray or the like started the other old wheelhorses from minute of your time talking about usually very scrupulous - much the victims of Mussolini. He pretty terrible now. Unfortunt to talk, he talked as long as he the miners. When they broke the matter, and I want to assure more so than AFL conventions couldn't think of feeling bad aly for him, too, he followed a pleased. The big shots simply with John L. Lewis, they didn't you that tonight I am going to but there was one astonishing came to the platform and talked do it under the leadership of have a perfectly good, honest to omission. but could feel a little sorry for Delegates drifted out of the hall from there, without even the pret- Murray. Roosevelt is their leader. God night's rest." No doubt bethe Ethiopians by calling them in increasing numbers as Hillman ense of asking a majority to waive

Van Bittner, officially second in - he was at Roosevelt's elbow Workers, obviously thinks of him- tricks of bureaucracy, they fear lieutenants had informed the when he ordered the troops to self as the heir to Murray as CIO some new bold adventure of his invasion of Ethiopia. Pepper des. press he would speak that day break the North American Avia- President. As such, he felt it will catch them flatfooted. necessary to spout on practically

> the time, next to Murray, his de- through. meanor made it plain that he con-

A FEW JOKERS

Pressman described:

John L. Lewis' former lieutenants fear him still, despite their legates rising in silence, in mock Transport Service Employees Unbrave words. Themselves bereft command to Murray in the Steel of anything but the ordinary Freudian touch about it. They the case of "a prominent CIO

Van Bittner said: "I think John every question, so that endless L. Lewis is fast committing suipages of the record are filled cide for himself, so I have nothwith his unbelievably dreary ing personal to say concerning him." Sitting on the platform most of could be sure Big John was to the pre-PearlHarbor attitude

sider Murray as merely an equal. vention, at the end of a long troversial," the Committee on of any kind that his speech is not So, as a matter of fact, do Allan speech about John L. Lewis: "I Publicity reported.

cause he has spent many a sleep- the resolution on racial discrim-John L. is cooking up for him.

memory of John L. Lewis, had a ion (the Negro red caps) cited just wished he were dead and leader" in the South who had told

ing radio time. "A number of Meaning, he wished he local radio stations still adhere

In calling for recommitting less night thinking about what ination in order to have it strengthened, Williard S. Town-That silly business of the de- send, President of the United him: "We organize in this section of the country according to the established pattern" - that CIO is still having trouble buy- is, catering to the doctrine of white supremacy.

Townsend's speech appears on page 48 of the Tuesday minutes - but without the paragraph of refusing to sell time, on the about that "prominent CIO lead-And Murray assured the con- ground that our material is con- er"! Nor is there any indication reproduced as a whole.

Effects Of Subordinating CIO To Roosevelt

today after a year of war. That figures.

picture is worth describing in

NO ITEMIZATIONS

speech with fervent declarations achieved no substantial growth. year thanks to Roosevelt.

GIO and the whole labor move-

ship of the CIO? One would auto and steel plants. Thanks to think that the first duty of the the kind of contracts negotiated leadership would be to present by their leaders, the auto workthe convention with exact figures, ers, upon being shifted to newlyrecording gains or losses, and to built war plants of the same comexplain them. Instead, Murray's pany, had had to go through new lengthy written report included Labor Board elections to reno figures for total CIO member- establish their right to union Director of Organization, achiev- steel plants, previously organized ed the signal feat of making an men were voting.

In the 1936 and 1940 elections, better in the coming year and

the trade union leaders in cam- should do so." . Which, coming paigning for Roosevelt gave him from people who vociferously credit for every advance made congratulate themselves for every by the organized struggles of the small advance, simply means that workers against the bosses. By in a year of unprecedented inthe same token, the CIO leader crease of employment in the

Failure Of The Southern Drive

delegates pledging the support to correct his picture of failure of their unions.

Speaking on that resolution, too plain. Murray had said in Detroit:

National CIO for the ensuing | DRIVE COLLAPSED year is going to be one of organizing the great South. The petered out? Murray's and Hay- World War and we can point out, press the bankruptcy of the CIO great South must be organized wood's idea of their stewardship too, that they will join these 13 top leadership. before this convention meets next of the CIO is indicated by the million unemployed after this year! There is not going to be fact that no explanation was war unless there is a labor union anything to stand in our way of forthcoming from them. we are going to do it!"

have been, therefore, to report on | CIO convention: the progress of the CIO drive in the South, Strange to say, how-Roosevelt administration is load-nodded their heads in agreement. Board? ever, the subject was taboo. ed down with labor-baiting poll Quite apart from the absurdity Strenuous attempts to justify as you know, have clogged up Murray did not mention the tax Congressmen, and their pur- of trying to organize new work- the War Labor Board were made the docket of the Board to a de-South except, in passing, an pose is above all to keep the ers with post-war promises, these by Lee Pressman, CIO Chief gree that it takes weeks before swering a Negro delegate who labor movement out of the South. CIO leaders seemed unaware of Counsel; and by CIO board mem- you can get a panel. Dr. Steelwas pressing for more action The Roosevelt party's firmest the picture that Frankensteen bers and alternates R. J. man (head of the concentation against racial discrimination, he base is these Southern Demo- was painting of the "just peace Thomas, Bittner, and Rieve. service) told me that to save the said: "Unfortunately for us, our crats. A CIO drive in the South after victory" which they refer Each of them felt it necessary to clogging of the War Labor Board's organizations are not too strong would mean, therefore, opposito as their justification for sup- defend it—and no wonder, con- dockets he had merely certified the President's order of October in the South." Director Hay- tion from the Roosevelt ad- porting Roosevelt. A "just peace" sidering what they had to report about five or six hundred cases wood's "report" on organization ministration, in response to the of chronic unemployment and about its anti-labor consequences! as against his docket, which vailing as of September 15 shall agreements by the employer with didn't even name the South.

The taboo about discussing the gressmen and industrialists. failure of the CIO drive in the South was broken only by one the CIO will face in the South

The most that Haywood could

say was: "The CIO hasn't done so bad in the last year in organizing workers. It can do ship, ending every convention mass industries the CIO has

by the workers during the last Committee on Officers' Reports boasted of the "impressive list of But there were no such itemiza- Labor Board elections won." That might deceive some workers Instead, there emerged a pic- back home, but every delegate ture of setbacks suffered by the present knew that most of those elections did not constitute new workers brought into the CIO. What is the present member- The bulk of the elections were in ship. Likewise Haywood, the representation. Likewise in the

the CIO had to concentrate for pointment at the fact that the its next gains. The South was resolution on organization did still open-shop territory, with not even mention the South and strike policy during the war." many new gigantic war plants that he felt 'that the organizing built or being built there. The drive in the South had not unorganized South was dragging received the support it should down the conditions of the work- have had. I have to report at this ers elsewhere. Hence the decision time that the efforts in the at Detroit that "Point No. 1" for | South have been a repetition of the coming year was the South. the story of too little and too A militant resolution was adopted | late." in Detroit to launch a great CIO | Neither Murray nor Haywood drive, in the South with many attempted to answer Crawford or

in the South. The truth was all

"Yes, the slogan of the WHY THE SOUTHERN

year, THE MILITANT cor- fore the war effort." "Point No. 1" at Boston should respondent wrote then from the

delegate, Crawford of the At- the same anti-labor campaign

every major struggle to bring 6, 1941.) bargaining rights and union conditions to war industries.

thus facing a break with the Adbasis of the CIO leadership's was taboo in Boston!

"The CIO has the choice of suc- watered down the drive and it standard" wages. cessfully organizing the South collapsed, thanks to their poliand smashing the greatest tical commitments to Roosevelt. reservoir of open-shop strength, No wonder the Southern camministration, or watering down paign, the principal feature of the drive and retreating on the discussion last year in Detroit,

speech with fervent declarations of support for Roosevelt, should have itemized all the gains made have itemized all the gains made thing to indicate progress, the Growth In CIO

union leaders find little basis on the CIO. He said: which to induce the workers to "When CIO was organized in

we are unsuccessful in bargain-

consequences of the AFL-CIO in the country." tions now. But:

that has been built up strong

MORE WORKERS IN INDUSTRY—BUT NO GAINS

Country Win the War."

fact that, having surrendered the while echoing Murray's line, strike weapon, and having ac- nevertheless gave the figures cepted wage "stabilization," the which show the real situation of

join the hamstrung unions. One 1935 there were some 48 million of the very few references to wage earners in the United this situation was made by States. As a result of the or- simply had not made any record tell you." Frankensteen of the UAW, who ganizing campaign of CIO, the confessed his difficulties in try- organized trade union movement ing to organize the West Coast: today represents between 11 and 'We no longer have the ap- 12 million people, but it has proach we once had of telling represented substantially that these workers that if they join number since the conclusion of up with us we have a very tangible something to put in their
hands, that we can get them a month of November, 1942 the gible something to put in their in 1936 and 1937. Today, in the wage increase, that we will get total wage earning force in the them five, ten or fifteen cents an United States is 59 million peoor many other avenues that we of 1943 there will be 62 million wage agreement. previously had. No longer can we wage earners. The ratio of or-This is a grim picture of the tion of the total working force lowing procedure:

He brightened up and went on added some eleven or twelve mil- invariably refusing. to offer his solution to the situa- lion workers to the population. tion. It is true the unions cannot Moreover, of the 59 million offer wages and working condi- total of all wage earners, a larger proportion is working in "We can give the workers the mass production industries-due message of what is going to to war contracts—than in 1935 happen in the post-war days if or 1939, so that actually CIO we do not have an organization remains at five millions after to protect their interests. We about 15 million 'more' workers can point out the 13 million un- have been added to organizable Why had the Southern drive employed that followed the last big industry. These figures ex-

A PICTURE OF THE WAR LABOR BOARD

organizing the South during the In reporting the CIO decision enough to step in and make the | What about the section of the current year. We have to do it, for a Southern campaign last fight that labor was making be- workers who are organized in the unions? How are they faring tion service, where you had to Such was Frankensteen's bril- under the CIO-AFL policies? go first, had certified about five one delegate, Rieve, mentioned the liant solution, and Murray, Hay- What are the results of their sub-"The whole apparatus of the wood and all the others sagely ordination to the War Labor tional War Labor Board, and

point they offer for getting new that "we ought to be extremely is supposed to assign conciliators." "Added to this is the fact that workers to join the unions now! careful not to fall into the trap

leadership to the problem of or- conclusion logically followed ganizing new workers during the from his description of the War war was epitomized in the slogan Labor Board. which Murray proposed at the convention should therefore be, Labor Board has been its aid "in

beaten by the employers at the morale by a wage freeze." game of wrapping himself in Old | But this claim was given the Glory. Nevertheless that is all he lie by what CIO Counsel Press- gether with the employer involved Labor Board. If our organization Reuther only meant the big busihas to offer as a program in the man had to report: greatest crisis that has ever con- Theoretically, the Board in and there were many cases they to the War Labor Board, the covering up for Roosevelt.

that our enemies would like us to fall into and come to the con- will get a hearing before a panel clusion that the Board ought to from the War Labor Board. The bankrupt approach of the be scrapped." For precisely that

The convention resolution would have seriously impeded war For 40 years Murray has been production and impaired labor

division that was handling these increase, that wage contract, be- rising prices and mounting taxes. time policy were being felt, Murvoluntary wage agreements had fore you can get final Board ap- THE OPA AND PRICES stopped looking over the agree- proval, must go to the Office of ments, looking toward their ap- Price Administration for 'their'

sociates made their choice—they eliminate inequalities or "sub-tried to find out something about these grievances." your wage agreement, you were lucky if you got an answer.

"Most of us did not get The joker in this setup is that answers, because they did not and the boys say, 'What are we By "appeasers" Bridges means no wage agreement may go into know how to answer us. They going to do about it?' and maneffect until it is approved by the Roard What happens in these Board. What happens in those from a couple of weeks to six or cases where an employer does eight months to get the approval is the employer's way of saying THEIR OWN POLICY negotiate such an agreement, of the Board for a wage agree- that, having surrendered the ment voluntarily entered into by union's own weapons, the union

"As of a week ago there was in Washington, in the offices of down to such a degree that the necessary if he grants the wage wage is being chopped down by first effects of Roosevelt's war-

employer and union." Nor is this the end of the runthe National War Labor Board, around. Even after the Board's ers. about three or four thousand regional director approves an wage agreements. The entire ad- agreement, then, "if the employer able to secure wage raises or get Roosevelt administration. ministrative machinery of the has indicated that he believes the employers to observe exist-Board has completely broken that a price increase may be ing agreements, the workers' the CIO last year, when only the

proval. These agreements piled approval. How much time 'that' is up in some room over in some going to take I don't know and tion, but Murray's written report

warehouse somewhere. They I don't believe anybody else can stated: The War Labor

All the foregoing applies to tion of their cases and the preshour and their retroactive pay. ple, and government authorities cases in which the employer entation of reply briefs. We do not have that avenue left, advise us that in the early part agrees with the union on a new

step in and organize a plant, and ganized labor to the new working agree, the unions, have surrend- did not get the decision of that tempt to explain. class that has been brought ered their strike weapon, have no ing we can no longer strike, be- forth in this country has been means to compel the employer. we did not get the decision of cause we are committed to a no- obviously in the direction of In return for this surrender, the War Labor Board until some representing a smaller propor- the government provides the fol- time in July."

(1) The union requests the surrender of workers' rights to In other words, CIO remains services of a federal conciliator, in the War Labor Board, Pressthe government. But Frank- at about five million members at who attempts to bring the parensteen did not dwell on it long. a time when there has been ties together, with the employer

Service certifies the case to the National War Labor Board. (3) The Board appoints a three-

man panel (one each representing labor, industry and the "public") to hold hearings. (4) The panel submits its findings and recommendations to the

(5) The Board hands down a decision. This is the long, involved pro-

Board.

cedure. But even this exists only take this necessary road. on paper. The real situation that results was described by Pressman as follows:

"As of a week ago the conciliaor six hundred cases to the Nademands of the Southern Con- hunger-this is the sole talking Pressman began by declaring showed 8,000 cases to which he be considered as the proper wage the taunt, "Take us to Washing-

> In short, the war will be over before most of the local unions

THE PANEL

As for those cases which do get before a panel, Pressman stated: declared that "outstanding in the up against in these panels. Until ganization: "The slogan of this accomplishments" of the War recently, with the exception of ions surrendered the strike weathe West Coast and one or two pon: Join the Union and Help our defeating the efforts of those who other cases, all cases had to be ington. There are no rules as to how the case should be presented before that panel. An employer on grievances the management lows down there in Washington representative on the panel, to says to us, take it up to the War who are doing a job on us." But in the case, if they wanted to — were to take all of our grievances nessmen in WPB. He is still fronted the American workers. specific cases may approve wage did want to - could have de- Board would be doing nothing Harry Bridges is still covering

"In the Little Steel case, we started out in February present-Where the employer does NOT ing our case before a panel. We Roosevelt? Murray does not at-

> Having presented this annihilating analysis of the run-around man hastened to say again:

"I must again emphasize that there is a danger that in under-(2) Having exhausted concilia- standing the weakness of the adtion, the Federal Conciliation ministrative procedure we may lead to criticising the Board to such a degree that it will be interpreted to mean that we want the Board terminated. Nothing

can be further from the truth." For, as Pressman well knows scrapping the Board could only mean a break with Roosevelt, and the revival of the union militancy which built the unions and won them everything they have. But the CIO leadership will not

Pressman and the rest of the CIO officialdom pretend that the cause of the situation is "the weakness of the administrative procedure" of the Board. Only fact that prevention of wageraises is the fixed policy of the War Labor Board.

"Frankly," said Rieve, a mem ber of the Board, "I am of the opinion that since October 3. while wages have not been frozen. it will be more difficult to secur 3, says that the wage scales prescales.'

ENFORCING AGREEMENTS

So much for the run-around in getting new agreements. Once a union gets them, how about enforcing them so that they do not become scraps of paper?

Speaking of the auto plants, R. "Let me explain what you are J. Thomas of the UAW confessed

"In many of these plants, collective bargaining has completely broken down. It has broken down due to the fact that even

defense' which has characterized velts." (THE MILITANT, Dec. 1, 1941, to compensate partially catalogued, so that if during the most vicious managements in this Said Bridges: for the rise in the cost of living past few weeks you had gone over country, managements who are Murray, Haywood and as- and (2) wage adjustments to to the Board or had written and absolutely refusing to settle this convention to relate a lot of

Similarly Walter Reuther of the UAW reported:

"Take it to Washington." That is helpless, while the War Labor ingly revealed by the CIO leader-Board connives with the employ-

While the workers are thus un-

The question of rising prices was not discussed in the conven-

"Measures taken by the Office of Price Administration have not been sufficiently effective to prevent substantial and unwarranted increases in the cost of consumers goods comprising the major portion of the wage earner's living costs. OPA has raised established price ceilings without more than a superficial examination of the need or justification for such increases and with too little concern for consumer interest."

How does this happen in the government of "labor's friend."

The other method of gouging have betrayed them. labor, taxes, was also not discussed in the convention, but Murray's written report states concerning the measure signed by

Roosevelt on Oct 21: "The 1942 tax measure will ac tually deprive the workers of the the delegates: means to purchase sufficient nec essities of life with which to mains the first legislative problem of the CIO. Reactionary Congressional leaders have made very clear the fact that they are not yet finished with their vicious work . . . The working men and increase." women of America will recognize in 1943 that the Revenue Act passed this year has meant a nation-

wide wage cut which creates se rious dangers to food budgets." As in the case of rising prices Murray ignores Roosevelt's responsibility for the tax bill he

A GRIM PICTURE

Such, then, is the grim picture sively." of the situation of the CIO membership after a year of war under Roosevelt's administration. No substantial growth in the or- are the victims of the unholy alganization; an actual lessening liance of their elected leaders of its size in proportion to the with the government and big bussize of the working class in the iness. heavy industries; almost all wage raises now prevented by the War Labor Board; collective bargaining "broken down"; violation of ton": the workers' standard of living increasingly cut down by

rising prices and higher taxes. And, let the reader keep in mind, this is the picture only insofar as it is put together from CIO leadership which, committed to Roosevelt, tells as little as pos-

sible. The whole story has yet to be told. The CIO leaders are quite conscious that they have been covering up the facts. At one point Walter Reuther blurted out: "I think the time has passed when we should protect these fel-

One delegate, Merrill of the rises (1) totalling not more than layed and did delay the presenta- else but settling grievances. We up, not only for Roosevelt but

"I would even hesitate before the things that we know are happening in the industry. I am afraid it would furnish too much "Management refuses to move ammunition for appeaser forces." anybody in the labor movement

THEIR WORDS DAMN

The whole story, then, would be far worse than what was grudgship. But they told enough to damn their policy of subordinating the labor movement to the

At the Detroit convention of ray addressed this servile appeal

to the government: "And to you, Mr. President, I ask you in the spirit of justice, in the spirit of righteousness, to sit down and ponder just a little more than you have, the need of

giving labor in America a chance." A year ago Murray could thus pretend that Roosevelt needed to ponder just a little more than ou have." This year Murray dared not answer the question, what had been the result of

Roosevelt's pondering. Smug and conscienceless, leaders like Murray, Haywood Bittner, Thomas and Reuther, etc., have no compunctions about the effect of their surrender policy upon the workers. What is worrying them, however, is the specter of the coming days when the workers add up the score and move against the leaders who

WHAT THE BUREAUCRATS

WORRY ABOUT Pressman, at one point, broke away from his prepared report on

the War Labor Board, to say to "You know better than I do (Pressman is an appointee, they maintain their strength and are elected) the problems you health . . . The tax situation re- are going to have in the field (that is, from the workers) where the employees feel they are entitled to a wage increase now and they may have to wait six months before they get that wage

And Walter Reuther warned his

fellow-bureaucrats: "There is a feeling on the part of many workers throughout the country in the various plants that the Labor Board machinery to date has not been adequate, and that the movement towards creating an adequate machinery has been too late in coming and ought to be pushed much more aggres-

Or, more plainly, many workers throughout the country are beginning to understand that they

As the convention was closing, I looked down on many faces there, I am sure, for the last time. Before another CIO convention rolls around, there will be housecleaning in many of the unions. Too many of these gentlemen have been away from the shops too long. It is time to send them back to the bench again!

(Another article by Felix Morrow on the CIO Convention will the reluctant admissions of the appear in THE MILITANT next

IN DETROIT

THE SATURDAY **BOOKSHOP**

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116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker =

U. S. Soldiers Are Jim Crowed In Britain

invited readers of this column to more numerous. express their views here and to report important developments that have not come to our atten- asked the British government, the tion. We are sure that all our British Army command, the Lonreaders enjoyed the instructive don Town Council, and through column on the Russian Revolu- them the British population gen- is the newcomer. Giraud, the man tion by John Saunders printed here two weeks ago. Below we prejudices. These British govern- German prisons. But also there are presenting an article sent us by W. Miller on Jim Crow treat- mediately requested pubs, dance miral whose orders ended armed ment of U. S. soldiers in Britain. halls and hotels to comply with resistance to the American and We repeat that our request for the U.S. Army Command re- English invaders of French Morcommunications from our readers quests. is a standing offer.

Recently I got a letter from a friend in Britain, describing the imposition of Jim Crow practices on the unwilling British people and refuting the whitewash statements recently made by General B. O. Davis, who was sent to Britain by the Army brass hats here in an effort to put an end to the indignation of the Negroes in this country.

My friend points out that the British working class, the small shopkeepers, etc., have never been educated in the spirit of color discrimination. Imperialist Britain, ruling the millions of black and brown slaves of her it economically necessary to intion in the "mother country" because of the small number of Negroes there.

During the last half year the U. S. government has sent large numbers of troops to the British in June of this year. The British people were immediately very hospitable toward these American troops, and black and white to them were alike.

troops, many of them southern- English soldiers openly consorted ers, when the British people with Negroes. In many "white" treated them as equal men. They pubs Englishmen could be heard to British girls, welcomed in all soldiers who irrationally defendpubs, and in general treated cor- ed discrimination. dially and decently.

friend, the anger of many U. S. may have to comply with Jim officers and white soldiers at this Crow practices-but they certaindisregard of U. S. "tradition." ly hate these practices, he says. Numbers of white soldiers im- When they get the chance, they mediately became the self-ap- will show the world that unlike pointed "guardians" of British the British and American ruling ing so. womanhood. Assaults on Negro classes, they believe in the true soldiers, in dance halls and pubs brotherhood of man.

On several occasions we have or out on dates with girls, became

Soon after the arrival of Negro troops, the U. S. Army command as "representing France?" erally, to respect U. S. Jim Crow who knows how to escape from ment agencies officially im- is Darlan, the collaborationist Ad-

Labor and independent Members of Parliament demanded to know of Churchill why the gov- question of relations is of the ernment was complying with the greatest interest to workers. It U. S. brass hats' requests. Churchill's hypocritical formula for compliance was that "The point of view of all concerned will be mutually understood and respect-

The proprietors of numerous pubs, where the average British advantage. workers often spends the evening over a pint of beer, refused to segregate Negro troops. However a number of them complied, and "colored troops-side entrance" became a standby at many pubs.

Dance hall owners under the pressure of certain white soldier crumbling Empire, has not found elements, barred Negroes from dance halls. Many restaurants troduce vicious race discrimina- and hotels started practicing discrimination. British troops, my friend confirms, were told by their commanders to be 'civil" toward Negro troops, but not to get too friendly.

At the institution of open discrimination, the resentment of as Dorothy Thompson. Isles. Among them were many the English people rose to a new Negro troops that started coming high. Negro troops were more and asked to English homes for His negotiations with Vichy in dinner. English girls more openly the past were coldly calculated to insisted on dating up Negro soldiers. Certain pubs resentfully Imagine first, says my friend, put up signs reading "English the astonishment of the Negro and colored troops only invited." were invited to homes, introduced stubbornly arguing with white NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE

My friend ends his letter on a Imagine further, continues my hopeful note. The British people

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The November issue of Jewish down the traditional antagonism Frontier. Zionist magazine, is de- between the Poles and the Czechs voted to eve-witness reports of in the Cieszyn district of Silesia. the torture the Jewish people are where guerrilla warfare is being suffering under Nazi occupation. waged jointly by Poles and These reports indicate that in Czechs, according to the magazine their struggle against the Nazi Poland Fights. heel, the peoples of the occupied countries are moved to sympathy with those Jews that remain, and on a great part of the working even risk great danger to help class Nationalist area of Western

the masses of Holland seem to to 6 A.M. without a permit," the be most active in taking the part | British New Leader reports. of the Jews. Their persecution by the Nazis led to a spontaneous strike on February 25 which dam).

rested Jews were not released: no

Joint struggle against a com-

sound like something out of the

the end of farm landlordism,

and was sent to the charity ward

the victim of a scheme of tor-

ture and revenge inspired by ha-

tred of his organizational activ-

left - eleven months - he was been shut.

dark ages.

one knows what happened to classes in normal times is rice mon enemy has likewise broken ican imperialism.

Carwile entered until the day he after the window and door had

tim of a series of tortures which and boasted of the act.

his home state of Virginia for drunken attendants.

"A curfew has been imposed Belfast with 50,000 population. No Of all the occupied countries, one is allowed out from 8:30 P.M.

can colony of Puerto Rico, comes Gibraltar or North Africa to join "passed to all the large cities of news that "the battle for rice con- the Allied naval forces, been ob-Northern Holland and lasted for tinues to be Puerto Rico's most eyed — then Darlan would today two days . . . Martial law was strenuous war activity, with po- be the leader of the "Fighting proclaimed, and a curfew insti- lice guarding stores where new French." Only when it became tuted from 7 P. M. Machine guns shipments are on sale to prevent clear that the navy had not lisdispersed meetings held by the disorder, wrecking property and tened to Darlan, but had remainworkmen of the city" (Amster- panic. Nearly a thousands per- ed at its French base, did there sons lined one street half an hour some a distinct cooling-off to-The strike was broken, the ar- after rice was put on sale...

"The island's daily meal for all and red kidney beans, both boiled." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 13). Such are the blessing of Amer- this means is that the United

rectly under a powerful light

Carwile finally escaped from

Persecuted Worker Appeals for Funds to Sue State Howard Carwile, an ex-share- resulted in a hemorrhage of the zen to sue without the consent will let me steal Tripoli." Thus cropper and organizer of agri- left eye. A nurse willfully scald- of the State itself. On Sept 7 the was a vast continent invaded, dicultural workers, was the vic- ed the eye when examining it, Supreme Court of Virginia upheld the State's position in refusing

He was then forced to lie di- to grant consent. Carwile is now attempting to which further injured his eye. He carry his fight to the Supreme After fighting for years in was berated and attacked by Court of the United States. He is being assisted by the labor at-Gasoline torches were lit in his tornies, Francis Heisler and he fell sick with tuberculosis room, filling it with acrid, eye Thomas H. Stone. The issue in- say about all this? Their protests searing smoke. On the hottest volved is the right of the people of the Blue Ridge Sanatorium, a days the furnace was lit and to seek redress in court from a state institution. From the day steam pumped into his tiny room government body without first

Carwile has issued an appeal the invading Empire builders. his tortures, half-blind and still for funds to aid him. All contribsuffering from tuberculosis. He utions should be sent to Howard less as Britain or Germany. After attempted to sue the State of Carwile, Charlotte Court House, 1860 big sections of Africa were With poor eyes, he was forced Virginia, but the State hid behind Va. His appeal must be filed with turned over to concessionaires, big

securing the permission of that



The invasion of North Africa has created a ticklish political situation for the administration. Which of the various military figures involved on the French side shall be recognized

There is de Gaulle, long recognized as the leader of the "Fighting French." Then there occo and Algeria.

The manner in which the United States is handling the tends to reveal beyond the shadow of a doubt the shoddy nature of the war propaganda. The basic aims of the war, one would correctly think, cannot be forgotten or laid aside the moment a situation presents itself that involves an immediate interest or

If the war were really a war for democracy and against fascism, the question of recognition of Darlan could not have risen for one moment. Here is one of the handful of figures, including Laval and Petain, that was ready to sacrifice France to fascism for his own personal

The American press has felt its style cramped in explaining the treatment of and the treating with Darlan. The explanations made through and for the State Department have aroused to protest even such ardent supporters of the war

Hull, that idealist among diplonats, had suddenly to forget his frequently stopped on the streets role and to blurt out the truth. mislead the Vichy regime while the United States was preparing to take over the French colonies. Hull, in short, played the same kind of part that he so virtuously denounced in the case of the infamous Kurusu.

But that did not end American "opportunism." The public is informed in the "inspired" articles of the kept correspondents, that the United States representatives will continue to negotiate with Darlan so long as it is felt that some material advantage may be gained by do-

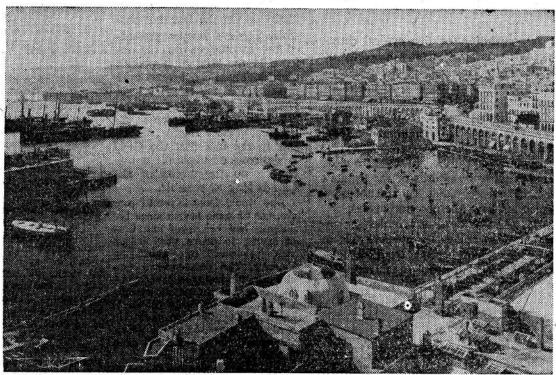
The question of recognition terests Roosevelt and Hull. It is the question of which of the "leaders" who present themselves as masses, or even of the French mil-

The short interval between the invasion of North Africa and the counter-invasion by Hitler of unoccupied France, gave the clearest kind of evidence that, had Petain come over to the Allied side, had he fled France and called on Frenchmen to resist the invader, he could easily have gained the full support of the Allies.

It made equally clear that had Darlan's radioed to the French From San Juan, in the Ameri- navy to leave Toulon and go to wards the infamous Admiral.

DARLAN'S STATUS

His status is now uncertain and remains to be clarified. What States will await further develop-



A view of the harbors of Algiers, French Algeria, which surrendered to the "United Nations" after United States Army troops had effected a landing. The Algerian masses, however, have still not got a taste of any Four Freedoms. They were enslaved before U.S. forces landed - they are still enslaved today. (Fed. Picts.)

ments which will help to clarify France and with regard to propashould be. Meantime it can once by presenting its attitude as one of disinterest and a desire not to interfere in internal French affairs. Nobody will be misled by this pose, least of all the principals involved on the French side. The Allies have been in an un-

enviable position with respect to

what its attitude towards Darlan ganda aimed at the French masses. All the figures who have been more assume its cloak of virtue played up as representatives of France have been tainted figures.

De Gaulle and Giraud, no less and no more personally ambiious than Darlan, are too well known to the French masses to arouse their enthusiasm. These generals are as much friends

IMPERIALIST "CIVILZATION"

Lusting for big profits, these

capitalists converted Africa into

a madhouse of oppression and ex-

in Africa; but it took the "civil-

ized" Europeans to show the na-

tives what real cruelty and op-

government had to appoint a com-

mission to investigate. At its

head was the famous explorer,

Count de Bruzza, who had ex-

plored large sections of West Af-

rica. It would seem that de

Bruzza was actuated by the high-

he saw what conditions the na-

tives were subjected to, "he dec-

lared that he would never have

explored this country and brought

it under European control had he

realized what suffering and dis-

aster European penetration was

going to bring the natives." ("New

The writers who apologize for

the imperialists cannot gloss over

these frightful conditions, but

they try to palm them off as a

result of "inexperience" in colo-

nization. When the French and

other imperialists got a little more

experience, you see, then things

would improve - so ran the hypo-

There was indeed quite a lot

of "improvement." Instead of

ed a world war to see which power

this talk about democracy, and de-

manded some for themselves.

there was more "improvement'

chine-gunned from airplanes!

Map of Africa.")

critical argument.

At one time, so inhuman was

The reaction of the masses was one of apathy, of disillusion. The

More Than A Century of French Rule in Africa

France's history has been inti- natives off the land; in place of mately connected with Africa for feudal serfdom they many times more than a century now. Gov- established slavery, chaining the ernments of the ruling class natives and forcing them to work changed from time to time dur- for a pittance on the plantations. ing that period, but never the The French military worked hand policy of invading the colonies, and in glove with the capitalists. enslaving and oppressing the co- shooting down those natives who onial peoples for the benefit of objected. France's rulers.

France invaded Algeria in 1830 during the rule of King Louis Phillippe. From that time on inder the rule of kings, dictators, two French Republics and the Pe- ploitation. Yes, there were backtain regime — the rape of Africa wardness and primitive conditions has steadily continued.

In 1850 only 10% of Africa had been invaded by the imperialists. boils down to one of pure Ameri- By 1914, over 90% of Africa was can capitalist self-interest. It is divided up; France took the lion's not French democracy that in-share, often at the risk of war with Italy, Britain or Germany. the question of power in France. All these powers established their colonies in Africa. Gibbons' "New Map of Africa," while praisready to "cooperate" can coming the rule of France and Britmand the obedience of the French ain, is nevertheless forced to admit: "The final argument in African colonization has always been

By such a process of force and armed invasion, France took Madagascar in 1850, the Dahomeys and the rest of Algeria in 1873, invaded Tunis in 1881, established sphere of influence in the Sudan in 1881, took the French Congo by 1904, and got most of Morocco by 1912. Her income from colonial possessions amounted to 60 billion francs in 1914.

CONFLICT WITH THE OTHER BANDITS

The establishment of such an empire brought her into conflict with the other robber powers. When Britain protested the seizure of Tunis, France pointed to Britain's invasion of Egypt; in a shooting down a few hundred natreaty they mutually recognized tives, the big imperialists launcheach other's plunder.

In 1902 Italy threatened war was most fitted to bring "civiliin which Italy recognized France's Africans began to take seriously "right" to Algeria in return for the French recognition of the Italian "right" to plunder Tripoli. Behind all the talk of the "white man's burden," of "bring- dier on horseback, they got maing civilization to the dark continent" - here was naked imperialism: "I won't fight with you over your stealing Algeria, if you vided and plundered!

In 1910 war threatened with Germany over the encroachments into Morocco. But war was postnoned two years by the Algeciras Conference where Germany yielded to French demands.

What did the Africans have to were drowned in blood by imperialist cannon. Ground down by backward feudal economic conditions and chieftains who often were bribed by the imperialists. the vast masses became yoked to

The French were just as ruthto read in semi-darkness. This the statute which forbids a citi- the Supreme Court before Dec. 8. capitalist trusts. They drove the workers of France are too deeply interested in regaining their de mocratic rights, to have their cause mocked in this fashion.

the Jews.

The reaction must have been the same among French sailors in the Vichy regime, they were to fight — for what?

of democracy as Hitler is of

Their appeals to Frenchmen in

drawing the French people closer

to the Allied cause, have served

rather to discredit that cause.

The sailors are undoubtedly willing to fight Nazism and all that it means. But under whose leadership and by what methods? To the sailors Nazism includes - Darlan! The Allies therefore merely showed ineptitude when they broadcast the appeal from Darlan. An appeal in their own name directed against Darlan and his ilk would have been far more effective.

AIM OF "UNITED NATIONS"

But there is the rub. The Al-French unity in the struggle against Hitler. Such unity means correct to say that Shachtman ture of the program of the Amerto Roosevelt and Hull that the French masses should follow some of the problem confronting a re- importance. The S.W.P. supports ruling class figure - whether De Gaulle, Giraud or Darlan is quite the oppression that the French immaterial to them.

> Such unity is no longer pos sible. It did not exist in the revolutionary period that preceded the war, and the defeat in the war widened the gulf between the ruling class and the masses into a veritable chasm.

est scientific interests; for when The Allies might achieve unity among the French masses by an pealing to the tollers over the heads of and against the ruling class. Such a revolutionary ap peal is absolutely unthinkable or the part of the capitalist democ racies. For that would reall; violate the basic aims of the United States in the war.

Those aims are to maintain and extend the power of American capitalism, which means above all to peserve the world system of capitalism. On that basis French unity can no longer be achieved.

Trotsky's Last Work MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on the IMPERIALIST over Algeria. A treaty was signed zation to Africa"; and when the PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION 5 cents per copy PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York City

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Independent Labor Politics

the election for the governorship tical action. of New York, indicates clearly It may well be that a struggle has accepted the tactic of favoring independent political action on the part of the working class, but it is an acceptance in words only.

This lack of understanding is best illustrated by his assertion that the S.W.P. didn't "have the courage to come forward with the flat declaration — 'Vote for Alfange, representative of the idea of independent working class political action'." It is obvious, from this assertion, that with Shachtman the determining factor as to whether or not to give support to a labor party is the ideas and intentions of the candidate running on the labor party ticket.

We, of course, made no such appeal to the workers, not only because we knew that Alfange does not represent the idea of independent political action on the part of the workers but because we do not consider the character of the candidate, his ideas and motives as factors of great importance in deciding whether or not to support the ALP. the name of democracy, far from

In the present stage of the political development of the American working class we are not confronted with the problem of supporting a labor party but rather of helping the movement for the creation of a labor party. Even the ALP is only the beginning of a labor party on a national scale.

ity of the working masses support cant that in all the differences when, after the history of Darlan a capitalist party, the organiza- between us and the followers of tion of a labor party would con- Shachtman in the recent past, besuddenly called upon by him to stitute a step extremely progress- ginning with the struggle involvsail the fleet out of Toulon and ive in character. A Marxist party ing our attitude to the Soviet Unstep may be. When Shachtman enumerates

he conditions under which a revolutionary party should support labor party, he comes fairly lose to being formally correct. The general tenor of his article. however, and the specific demand that the candidate of the labor party must consciously represent action negate the more or less cor- tion on the part of the working lied Nations would like to see rect general principles which he class, the question of the charenunciates. That is why it is acter of the candidate and the nafails to grasp the real meaning ican Labor Party are of third-rate reation of a labor party.

American Labor Party really are. t was only because of the fight t was only because of the fight etween Farley and Roosevelt of Alfange. hat they decided to run a candiate. In fact the very idea of running an independent candilate was, according to Shachtman. Machiavellian maneuver on the nart of Roosevelt.

The fact that Hillman, who, of all the labor fakers, is closest to the President, came out against supporting the American Labor Party, is almost conclusive eviience that Roosevelt was serious n urging everybody to vote for Farley's candidate. This factor. however, is of no importance and can be disregarded altogether We can even grant Shachtman's premise of a Roosevelt maneuver without affecting the argument in any way whatever.

For a revolutionary Marxist the immediate reason motivating leaders of organized labor in launching upon a course of independent political action is of no impor- the ALP, of the candidate and of tance. The American Labor Party the program is clearly and simply was originally organized for the expressed. Our basic reason for burpose of mobilizing the radical supporting the ALP can not be workers to support Roosevelt. But this did not prevent realistic Marxists from supporting candidates of the ALP if they were not also candidates of any capialist party.

We do not expect conservative abor leaders to organize a labor party because they have studied our theories and have come to the conclusion that independent political action is to be preferred to supporting capitalist parties. We can say that the basic reason for the organization of a labor party in this country will be the necessity for the workers to defend their class interests during

Shachtman's article in Labor to period of the decline of capi-Action of Nov. 9, attacking the policy of the Socialist Workers f etell the immediate cause im-Party in giving critical support pelling some labor leaders to acto the American Laber Party in cept the idea of independent poli-

that he does not in reality under- within the Democratic Party and stand the basic approach of a the victory of the most reactionrevolutionary Markist party to ary section of that party will be the problem of a labor party. He the immediate cause for the organization of a labor party on a national scale. Would we refuse therefore to support such a party? Merely to ask the question is to answer it.

If a substantial section of organized labor constitutes the basis of a labor party and if it presents candidates in opposition to capitalist parties, a revolutionary party without any substantial following among the workers is obligated to support such a party if for no other reason than to encourage the workers in tearing themselves away from the capitalist parties.

On a local scale the American Labor Party has substantial backing from organized labor. The more than 400,000 votes which it polled at the last election came argely from the organized workers. No one claims it is an ideal labor party. Alas, the labor movement does not begin with perfect organizations. Through painful struggles and devious paths does t achieve independence of organization and clarity of program.

Shachtman made no attempt to analyze the basic objective factors which Marxists should take into consideration in arriving at a decision whether or not to support the ALP. His arguments dealt exclusively with the motives of the leaders and the character of At a time when the vast major- the candidate. It is very signifiis obligated to encourage and sup- ion at the time of the Hitler-Staport every step in the direction lin pact, the arguments presented of independent political action on by the Shachtmanites involved the part of the workers, no mat- the motives of leaders. Stalin is ter how hesitating and weak that an imperialist; Chiang Kai-shek has betrayed the colonial people: the leaders of the American Labor Party are tools of Roosevelt. To base oneself on the motives of individuals is completely for: eign to Marxism.

From the fundamental aspect of supporting every tendency tothe idea of independent political wards independent political accolutionary party with respect to a labor party on its own program supporting the movement for the and not on the program of the labor party. Shachtman makes no Shachtman proceeds to tell us gram of the American Labor now rotten the leaders of the Party, but he does make quite a point about the infinitely less im-

> The ALP candidate for governor was an unknown Tammany politician. That is correct, although it is quite probable that personally he is more honest than many a labor leader. But we are not supporting the candidate; we are supporting the movement for independent working class political action. It would be better if the candidate consciously represented that idea and that movement. We may regret that Shachtman was not the candidate, but since for us the character of the candidate is not of overwhelming importance, we were not influenced by that factor.

The statement issued by our party explaining our support of the American Labor Party could not possibly be misinterpreted. Our opinion of the leadership of misunderstood. We are perfectly willing to let the class-conscious workers decide between our party taking advantage of every opportunity to support the formation of an independent labor party and the Shachtmanites who stand aloof on the side lines and tell them what terribile leaders they have.

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case as long as possible.

list of six points.

consideration."

GPU'S CONTENTIONS

THE MILITANT

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- 6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- 7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
- 8. A Workers' and Farmers' Govern-

Stop The Filibuster!

In Washington this week there was being staged an extremely shameless and yet instructive spectacle of the kind the nation has not witnessed for four years now - a full dress filibuster to prevent action on a legislative measure which undoubtedly has the approval of the overwhelming majority of people who are acquainted with it.

In 1938 the filibuster was successfully employed to prevent the U. S. Senate from taking a vote on a bill providing punishment for lynchings. Under popular pressure the House of Representatives had passed the bill, and a minority of the Senate fought it out to keep the bill from being acted on one way or another in the upper house.

At that time the poll tax Senator from South Carolina, James F. Byrnes, who has since been elevated to the U. S. Supreme Court and the post of national war-time economic dictator, informed James Roosevelt that he could tell his father that the anti-lynch bill would not come to a vote until the year 2038.

The strategy of the current filibuster - directed against a bill to abolish the poll tax laws of eight southern states which disfranchise 10 million people and result in the steady election and reelection of the nation's worst labor-baiters — is more limited than that of 1938. The House has passed an anti-poll tax bill, and the filibuster is intended only to hold off a vote on the issue until January of next year.

With the Southern Democrats holding the bal-

ance of power in the new Congress, and able to win greater concessions than ever before from both capitalist parties, the poll taxers know that to delay passage of the bill until January is equivalent to delaying it for at least another two years.

For a week now, the Senate has been the scene of parliamentary skullduggery that has prevented even a vote on the question of whether the bill should be formally placed before the Senate. At the present rate the bill will never be voted on

The chief responsibility for this cynical disregard of the people's wishes lies on a minority of the Senate's members. But part of the responsibility for the filibuster must be laid on others on the leaders of the Republican and Democratic Parties, who can, if they really want to, put an end to the filibuster once the bill reaches the floor of the Senate.

All that is required is closure, a motion to close the debate that requires two-thirds of the Senate's vote. Between them the Republicans and the nonsouthern Democrats have the necessary votes.

The bill is as good as dead now, unless an indignant working class makes its pressure felt in Washington. This should become the first point on the agenda of every workers' organization in

The Four Freedoms In Algeria

Events are moving rapidly in French Africa. Immediately upon the heels of their "smashing successes" against the French, the U.S. Command launched punitive campaigns against the Arabs in Algeria. In the N. Y. Times of Nov. 16 Frank L. Kluckhohn reveals that the American troops, along with their new Vichy allies, raided a village near Oran. The purpose of the raid was to disarm the Arabs "who have been picking them (guns) up in the confusion around the recent battlefields" and using them to snipe at both the American and

This news indicates a rapid deterioration in the relationship between the American forces and the natives who had, at first, hailed their arrival.

Only last month Roosevelt said that the Atlantic Charter applied to the entire world. This statement is now revealed as pure demagogy.

Before conquering a territory, the propagandists of the "United Nations" assure the people that they will drive out the fascist oppressors and bring the blessings of the Four Freedoms. After conquering a territory, however, the application of the Four Freedoms is not only shelved, but in the case of Africa and Darlan, the fascists aren't even driven

When the American forces marched through Morocco they were cheered by the majority of the natives. They cheered because they knew Darlan and his rule, and they thought the Americans would bring them something better. The natives now find that Darlan is also cheering the American armies. When the slaves and the master both hail the same conquerer, one of them is usually mistaken. Those natives who have been shot at and disarmed know that it was not Darlan who made

The contrast between the "democratic principles" enunciated by Roosevelt, and his open-armed welcome of Darlan, has bewildered the "Fighting French" who had dreams of great plunder out of the Allied successes. They are being assured quietly, however, that Roosevelt is cleverly "using" Darlan and will discard him after the fate of the French fleet and Tunisia has been decided.

It is true that Roosevelt will "use" Darlan only so long as he is of any value. This is equally true of the President's attitude toward de Gaulle.

Whether Roosevelt finally decides to employ the fascist Darlan or the monarchist de Gaulle, his own aims remain the same and the plight of the Arabs will be unaltered.

The first real victory of the "United Nations" has resulted in the rescue of the French African Empire—not in the rescue of the colonial peoples

Lawyer Presents Case For Trotsky's Assassin

MEXICO, D.F., Nov. 7. (By | Sentence Should Be Mail) - On the last day pos-**Announced Within** sible, Jacson's lawyer presented the conclusions for the de- Next Few Weeks

murder. These conclusions were betrayal of confidence, etc. presented only after every legal the so-called "califications."

It is in relation to these "calipossibility to drag out and becloud the case had been exhomicide on the part of his client. hausted. They themselves at-. test to the fact that the GPU For Mexican law recognizes various degrees of homicide, the least is desirous of avoiding a disserious being simple homicidecussion on the merits of the which receives the lightest punishment.

One would have expected con-Jacson, however, has all the clusions of some length since the 'califications" against him: predefense had set itself the task meditation - he admitted having of trying to prove that Jacson planned the murder days in adwas "provoked" into murdering vance: betraval of confidence -Trotsky. The prosecution's conhis victim did not suspect murclusions, for instance, cover some derous intentions on his part; ad-70 pages. But the points submitvantage - Jacson struck from ted in Jacson's defense fill about one-half a typewritten page! No analysis or reasoning is given, the conclusions consisting of a last written statement, Jacson attempted to paint a picture of "My client committed the crime

simple homicide," writes Medellin Ostos, Jacson's lawyer, Profits Come First adding that, "In the case there

"Textile men expressed surprise exists external circumstances of incitement and the special cir- last week when it was reported cumstances of the accused that that approximately 100,000 pounds should be taken very much into of British lisle yarns made of Egyptian long-staple cotton, regarded as vital war material for balloon and flare cloth, had been This no doubt refers to the Sta- released quietly by the WPB to linist contention that Jacson was lace manufacturers in this coun-"disillusioned" with Trotsky and try." From N. Y. Times, Nov. 15. in desperation resolved to kill

Surprise is a mild word subhim. Aside from its falseness, it stituted by the Times' editor for is difficult to understand how what the textile men really said.

The Workers' Bookshelf

Trotsky's provoking him with insults and of a physical struggle preceding the murder blow in which Trotsky, says Jacson, reached for his revolver.

But since this is contrary to all his previous statements and since no proof was presented to show that the previous statements were fications" that Ostos denies simple false and made under duress, this rectification, made also at the last possible moment to prevent contravening evidence from being presented, has no legal value not to mention its lack of basis in fact and logic.

OSTOS' STRATEGY

Thus Jacson's attorney, Medellin Ostos, finds himself defending a criminal with all the facts, the legal advantages and moral sentiments against him. His arguments to prove simple homobehind against a victim that was cide will of necessity be extremein no position to defend himself. ly weak and he hopes by waiting It is true, of course, that in his until the hearing before the court - usually the occasion for answering the opponents' arguments — and by presenting his arguments orally, that he will have at least the advantage of

> This is highly improbable; his possible arguments are limited by the evidence in the court record and by the political necessities of defending a GPU assassin. His verbal defense of Jacson before the court will be met with capable refutation by Natalia Trotsky's legal representative as well as by the prosecution.

This hearing before a court of three judges will take place in this could affect the legal merits They had been trying to get the approximately 15 days. After that of the case where the important WPB to quietly release the liste there remains only the decision question is one of premeditation, to themselves for women's hose, of the judges and the sentencing.

And They Call It A 'War For Democracy'!

"When the devil was sick-The devil a monk would be; When the devil was well-The devil a monk was he!" That's how it is with Churchill!

When the British Empire was rocking on its heels and British imperial troops were being pounded and hacked from Dunkirk to Singapore, from Narvik to Tobruk, Churchill's speeches were all sweetness and light. He was the very apostle of democracy and his orations rang with the lofty eloquence of one who would release all humanity from bondage.

The British Empire? Why, it is nothing but a free commonwealth of nations.

India? A veritable paradise of self government which soon would realize the honeyed promise of complete independence.

Then the high and mighty British imperialsts were on the downgrade and throughout the Far East the Empire was falling into rival hands; its weaknesses were emboldening the Indian and other subject peoples to strike out for themselves. Lacking military victories, Churchill ladled out the rhetoric and attempted to fill in with talk the wide breaches of military inferiority-all the while hoping that time would bring a change in the fortunes of war that would enable him to speak more candidly and bluntly.

Now as the British imperialists exult in their first triumph over their German rivals in Africa, Churchill gives the world a foretaste of what to expect if and when the British imperialists win the war. He declares to the British parliament:

"I have not come to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."

Senator Pepper is outraged and says that Churchill would not dare look a dying soldier or sailor in the face and tell him this.

Yes, indeed. It was a grave indiscretion on the part of Churchill; it violates all the rules of capitalist warfare to tell the rank and file soldier what he is fighting and dying for. Neverthless, with all deference to the Senator's injured feelings, Churchill was telling the unvarnished truth.

British imperialism has no intention of voluntarily abandoning her colonies to the people who inhabit them-nor of making a gift of them to her American 'partners." So long as the Empire has arms in hand, it will fight to the death to preserve its plunder. And with each victory it will grow more arrogant in its warnings to "trespassers" to keep off its property.

But Churchill's speech is a little premature, His major battles are still before him. Whipping Hitler's European army is a task not even commenced-and it will not be easy to pull off. But even if he accomplishes that, at the cost of thousands of lives, he will still be faced with the revolt of his colonial slaves.

When these hundreds of millions of the world's most oppressed people throw their forces into the field it will be immaterial who "presides over the liquidation of the Empire."

Smith. Alfred A. Knopf, 1942, \$2.75. Smith examines what he considers the three Any information that seeps through the guardmain seeds of organized opposition to the Nazis. The Catholic church, the Regular Army Officers,

ed borders of Germany concerning conditions within the Reich since the outbreak of war is avidly received. Especially welcome is a report confirming the opinion that the German workers and soldiers, pressed by the burden of war, are moving in the direction of revolt. This hopeful estimate is the conclusion reached in Howard K. Smith's "Last Train From Berlin," a book meriting a careful reading.

LAST TRAIN FROM BERLIN by Howard K.

The author, who left Germany on December 7, 1941, states as his main thesis that by the winter of 1941 at least 90% of the German people were in passive opposition to Hitler. The main obstacle to their passage to active and organized opposition is their fear of a second Versailles Treaty in the event of a German dereat. But despite this fear of the Allies, the grumbling in the underground of Germany is becoming more audible.

Economic And Political Conditions

In support of his conclusion Smith reports on the economic and political conditions within the Reich since the outbreak of war and especially during the period following the beginning of the Russian hostilities. Despite victories that created an impression of invincibility and powerful unification, the picture of internal Germany is one of want, suffering and breakdown.

The author estimates that five months of the Russian war cost the German people four-fifths of their weekly meat ration. This campaign was accompanied by a similar decline in all other foodstuffs and a growth in the use of unpalatable and non-nutritious ersatz foods. A serious housing shortage developed; buildings deteriorated for lack of supplies for maintenance; transportation became difficult; the health of the German civilian, working in factories ten to twelve hours a day, sustained on foods deficient in vitamins, rapidly deteriorated. The author quotes his dentist on the decay of teeth: "They are decaying all at once almost like cubes of sugar dissolving in

This growing privation is not suffered by all the German people. The industrial and financial capitalists are amassing vast wealth. Profits are sky-rocketing. Taxes are high, but not sufficient to make a deep dent in the piling profits. Recordbreaking peaks for annual profits have been reached. The workers are not unaware of the gap between the Nazi promise of the destruction of capitalism and the reality of the enriched capital-

The morale of the people fell sharply on the outbreak of the Soviet war and the victories on the Eastern front did little to flag the lowering morale. The people had grasped at the hope of the end of the war after the fall of France, but the start of new battles in the East crushed this hope. The author declares that only a decisive Germany victory tending to bring an end to the war could raise them from their despondency.

Hitler is well aware of the growing loss of his support at home. In August, 1941 he virtually banned the Brown Army, the storm trooper mass base organization of the Nazis. Their newspaper, the S. A. Mann, no longer appears; their meetings were halted. He reports many rumors were afloat that several of the locals of the Brown Army had changed their color from Brown to Red. Hitler fears his former supporters.

The most concrete and dramatic clue to Hitler's concern was his move to fortify buildings as

Gestapo arsenals in the residential centers of the main German cities.

and the communists. Of special interest is his report on the communist movement.

He estimates that prior to his departure there were about 2000 organized party members funçtioning, supported by a much larger periphery of sympathizers. German communist and anti-Nazi slogans were appearing more and more frequently on the fences and walls of Berlin. Leaflets were distributed in blackouts. He knew of at least two saloons in Berlin where patrons exhibited the clenched first salute.

Unfortunately there is no word in the book about the program or affiliation of this German communist movement. Smith does point out that the Third International has not issued directives to the German party. He attributes this to their lack of confidence in the ability of the Germans to create revolt.

It is undoubtedly true that Stalin has no confidence in the German revolution. But the existence of 2,000 organized communists after ten years of Gestapo persecution and torture indicates that the German socialists do not share Stalin's cynicism. The German revolution is far

How To Arouse German Revolution?

The book concludes with the author's prescription for convincing the German people that a defeat by the Allies does not mean for them a second Versailles, "One of the best ways," he states "if not the best way of all, to defeat Hitler is to make our war aims, our blue-print for a new world, known as definitely and clearly as possible to our own people, to the German people and to the world right now! . . .

"Real proof of our democratic intent, like the nationalization of the mines, the socialization of the munitions and heavy industries; the banishment of privilege, the placing of less developed colonies under a truly international mandatenot a British or an American mandate-would convince Germany and our own people we are fighting a true war to make the world safe for

Smith's experience with the developments within Germany has led him close to the real method of defeating Hitler; foster and aid the German revolution by creating real democracy at home. Unfortunately he addresses the wrong

What section of the Allies can effectuate this proof of good intentions? Capitalist England, slave master of India? United States, Big Business, with its record of Negro discrimination, attacks on civil liberties and labor's rights? These governments can sanctimoniously show "good intentions" by "giving up" extra-territorial rights to Chinese territory now in the hands of the Japanese army. But democracy like charity starts at home.

Real democracy will not be instituted by these regimes. This task, this method of aiding the German revolution, is reserved only for the workers of the world. Yes, we must convince the, German workers and soldiers that there is an alternative to both continued fascist rule and the terrible yoke of a second Versaille treaty. But this alternative can only be the Socialist United States of Europe. This is the banner for the oppressed and embattled workers of Europe ,the only alternative that will mean lasting peace.

-Reviewed by MARK KNIGHT

Both Imperialist Camps Fight Among Themselves

By JOHN BATES -

Reports have trickled out of the Balkans that Hitler's allies, Hungary and Rumania, are at it again. Two weeks ago their troops clashed on the "new" Transylvanian frontier. Details are lacking, but it is obvious that the Rumanian capitalists want back some of the territory which was transferred to Hungary by Hitler two years ago.

The Axis' grandiose plans in Africa and the Soviet Union hold less interest for the Hungarian and Rumanian bosses than a little strip of land in the center of the Balkans. Victory for Hitler in the Soviet Union would mean profits for the German bosses primarily. The Rumanian and Hungarian bosses must scramble for their own plunder, even if it means fighting each other.

Nor is the Axis the sole victim of such internal rivalries. This week Canadian and United States business interests were in a full blown dispute over the domestic market for peanuts!

According to N. Y. Times' correspondent, P. J. Philip, American capitalists are threatening to reduce munition purchases in Canada unless the Canadians "accept desirable non-military goods from this country," namely peanuts.

"The Canadians cannot quite see," writes Philip, "why they should have to limit the export of their unlimited forest products to win the war and at the same time risk going into debt to help in the disposal of the unlimited supply of their neighbors peanuts."

Of course the United States and Canada are not at present using military tactics in the dispute, as are Hungary and Rumania. But that doesn't mean the conflict isn't serious. All conflicts are serious for the capitalists when profits are concerned.

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