# A Tribute to Our Fallen Leader, Leon Trotsky ". . . mankind is shorter by a head, and the greatest head

of our time at that . . . Well, we must see it through. What else are we here for?"

— Engels to Sorge on the death of Marx

Whenever a great leader dies, his followers and particularly his close collaborators, always proclaim that the best tribute to the illustrious dead is to carry on undauntedly in his spirit and tradition. So words are easy. Stalin said the same of Lenin. Yet by murdering Trotsky, Stalin has culminated his crimes by placing the revolutionary socialist movement in the gravest crisis it has faced during nearly a hundred years of its existence.

The movement was born in the decade that followed the emergence of the proletariat as an organized force in the class struggle. The Lyons insurrection took place in 1831; a few years later, Chartism challenged the power of the English bourgeoisie. During the early forties, Marx and Engels were clearing their way to the fundamentals of Marxism. In 1848 appeared the greatest pamphlet in all political literature—The Communist Manifesto and our movement was launched.

Since that day we have never lacked a titanic intellect to guide, and a voice to speak, so that the message would be heard wherever class-conscious workers congregated. For nearly forty years Karl Marx taught the working class. By massive volumes, tracts, pamphlets and letters, he laid the foundation of our movement and guided the struggle all over the world. He was the mentor of the First International. During the American Civil War he lifted the English working class to the height of its historic task. When the bourgeoisie mobilized its battalions of liars and slanderers to drown the Commune in filth, Marx, from his modest home in London, spoke with such power and authority as to hearten and stiffen all who had to bear the burden in that black hour.

Upon Marx's death in 1883, Engels continued the same work until he died in 1895. Between 1895 and 1914, a group of brilliant Europeans-Plekhanov, Rosa Luxemburg, Kautsky, and specifically in Russia men like Lenin, Trotsky, and Martov maintained the movement not only among the workers but in the intellectual

With 1917, a new era began. From the high tribune of the Soviet state Lenin and Trotsky spoke so that their voices were heard in the farthest corners of the world. After Lenin's death Stalin usurped the leadership of the Revolution, and proceeded to crush it. Trotsky, ever raising the banner of international socialism, fought Stalin's corruption of internationalism relentlessly. Against Trotsky, Stalin loosed a campaign of slander and eventual murder.

### HIS LIFE IS A TESTIMONY TO OUR CAUSE

From the day Trotsky was expelled from Russia, untrammelled by Stalinist tyranny, he was beyond any doubt, the leading voice of the movement. His previous eminence, the personal force and brilliance with which he handled the Marxist method, his indomitable courage, and the power, expressed or latent, of the proletariat in modern society, all combined to give him a status and range in the political conflicts of this political age, out of all proportion to the meagerness of the political forces he personally directed. History has seen no similar phenomenon, a testimony certainly to the strength of our cause and to the passion of his advocates. A Stalin in exile would be consulted by the world press only on massacre, murder, and fake trials.

With the death of Trotsky, the movement is for the first time without an authoritative spokesman—and such a spokesman is needed now as never before. The movement and the international proletariat are like a ship on a vast ocean, not uncharted, but sown with perils old and new; and has lost the pilot who had guided it through many stormy seas. Today, for the first time since we began nearly a hundred years ago, the internationalists are thrown on their own resources. Only by the fullest recognition of what we have lost are we able to brace ourselves to meet the future. True, the principles of Marxism are far more easy to grasp than they were forty years ago. But each generation has not only to learn them afresh but recreate them in its own experience. The principles may be old and well-tried; their application is eternally new.

In this sense, we, in whose hands the torch has been left, suffer a special and, in a literal sense a personal loss. Trotsky did more than speak and analyze. He taught those who had our independence of spirit, never to forget that slavish repetition never created anything but slavish repetition in unending sequence. He was an inexhaustable source of ideas, of theoretical inspiration, of energy, of devotion. Every line he wrote was suffused with confidence in the mission of the proletariat and in our ideas however sparsely distributed, as a vital force in the cataclysmic social conflicts of our time. To know that he would hear what we said, or read what we wrote, was an ever-present spur to the best in us.

For those who sometimes disputed with him and finally came to his conclusions or, occasionally, rejected them—the only way to strength, the way he came finally to Leninism-the loss is irreparable. Not only his theories, his voice to the workers, but something internal in the equipment of all of us is gone, something that all previous Marxists had, and which we, for the most part an untried generation, facing awful responsibilities, needed more than any other.

### LET US MEET THE CRISIS IN HIS WAY

When we face these things squarely, we shall be able to do more than repeat the traditional exhortation to carry on in his spirit. Only when we know the gap that now yawns in us collectively and individually can we set about the task of filling it as far as it can be filled. We know that if he remained alone, a chained and solitary representative of our creed against all the states and armies of bourgeois society, he would spend his last half hour elaborating with scrupulousness and care a last defiance and a message of hope and solidarity for whoever might in a new generation grope for the ideas of socialism.

It is not given to many men to produce an epoch-making analysis of social forces, to lead a great revolution, to organize an army in its defense, to touch the peaks of human achievement as he did. But we can equal him, if not in the magnitude and scope, at least in the tenor and temper of his devotion. Marxists draw the lessons of every experience, and his life was a great experience. Let us meet this crisis as he would have met it, with a full realization of its import, and with unshaken confidence in the victory of

J. R. JOHNSON

# LABOR ACTION

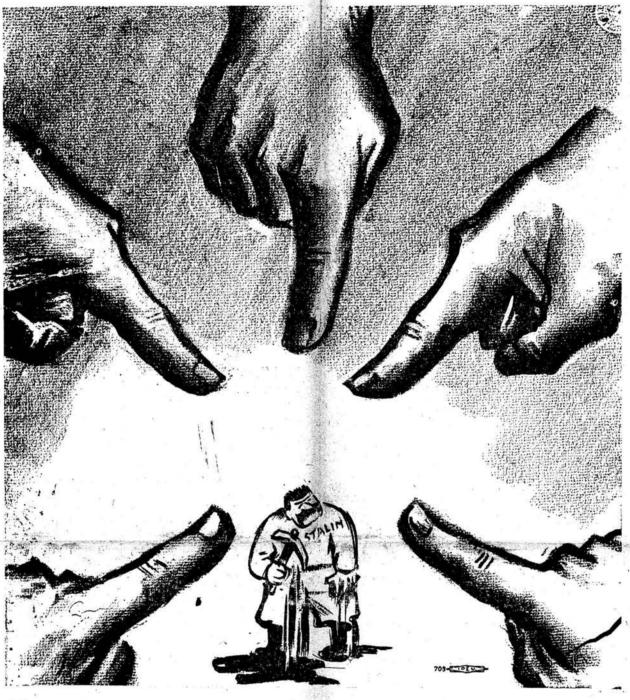
SEPTEMBER 2, 1940

Organ of the Workers Party, Section of The Fourth International

THREE CENTS

# F.D.R. PUSHES U.S. INTO WAR

We Accuse!



# **Mexican Masses Honor Trotsky**

By DOUGLAS CONLEY

MEXICO CITY, Aug. 27-For five days the body of Leon Trotsky has lain in state in the parlors of the Alcazar Funeral Home, and for five days and nights an endless file has passed his bier-the workers of Mexico City and their families paying their last respects to this great revolutionary, felled by the hand of the GPU. Later today Trotsky's body will be cre-

It is indeed a touching scene, to watch these people passing before the body of Trotsky and standing in great crowds in the street before the funeral home, discussing the tragedy in hushed tones. It brings tears to the eyes of many a revolutionary. In the first days the line was blocks long; one person passed every second and a half. Even now the endless stream continues, and it is estimated that the total number of visitors will run into the hundreds of thousands. Watch the line a few minutes.

There are all kinds of people; but the majority of them are from the working class. Here comes a group

of women in black shawls, carrying their children with them. Then some workers in over-alls. Here are some young workers who have been here before; they have returned with their friends. Here comes a ragged group of children. Now comes a boot-black with his little boy who is a newsboy. "Please leave the box and the bundle of papers here in the hall" a policeman requests. The boot-black removes his hat, takes his son by the hand and quietly enters to pay his humble respect to the great working class leader.

Here and there appear persons of other classes. That man is evidently a foreign diplomat, and there comes a family of American tourists. But the majority are the workers of Mexico City. Almost all of them think that Jackson was the agent of the GPU. You ask this one and that one his opinion: you ask them what the people of the city generally believe, and the answer is invariably the same. "Who else but the GPU.

wanted to kill him?" they reply. Particularly distraught is one young man of about twenty-four. His extremely nervous state attracts the attention of the crowd. All night he has been standing there in the street, he says. What is the matter? "Till yesterday I was a Stalinist, but now am convinced that this murder is the work of Stalin and the GPU.

What can I do?' At the head and the foot of the casket stands a constant guard. Day and night they stand, workers and friends of Trotsky. Endlessly the public marches by. They see a face, still full of intelligence, but hardened by hours of suffering. They see the mortal remains of the greatest revolutionary of his day. They see him pale, in a black suit.

Not only a great revolutionary leader, but a great personality has been taken from us. None can take his place. But watching the masses of Mexico City file past his dead body, we know that the workers' movement which he led can never

# More Than 2,000 at N.Y. Memorial Meeting

### Gather in Heart-Felt Farewell to the Great Genius of Revolution

2,000 workers last night crowded into the Hotel Diplomat to pay deepfelt tribute to the memory of Leon Trotsky. The memorial meeting was, organized by the Socialist Workers 'Party with the support of the Work-

After the singing of the Workers Memorial Song, Farrell Dobbs, as chairman, opened the meeting. Dobbs told of how the State Depart-

### **Picket Soviet Embassy**

LONDON, Aug. 22 (UP)-Carrying placards reading "Stalin murdered Trotsky but the Fourth International lives on!" several demonstrators picketed the Soviet Embassy

(N.Y. Times 8/23/40)

NEW YORK, Aug. 29-More than ment had blocked the efforts made to bring the body of the murdered revolutionist to this country. Even in death, as in life, said Dobbs. capitalist nations fear the revolutionary inspiration of our leader, Leon Trotsky

Albert Gates, speaking next for the Workers Party, echoed the sentiment of every person in the hallthose who were fortunate enough to know Trotsky personally, those who knew him only by his work-when he spoke of the great' loneliness felt by all at the loss of our great comrade. So too he echoed the spirit of all who heard him when he said that "comrade Trotsky would not have us abject or sorrowful. His was the spirit of the proletarian warrior . . . There is but one way to avenge the murder of our heroic Trotsky: to carry on the struggle with audacity,

Gates spoke on the invitation of the Socialist Workers Party, though the Workers Party, for which he spoke, would have preferred a regularly organized joint memorial meeting by the two organizations who looked to Trotsky as teacher and guide. The Workers Party gave the S.W.P. its fullest collaboration in organizing this farewell meeting. Members of the W.P. distributed leaflets and otherwise aided the S.W.P.

Trotsky's last recorded speech, delivered on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Trotskyist movement, and at the time of the founding conference of the Fourth International, was transmitted. His stirring voice, speaking out once more, deepened the sorrow of each indivi-

(Continued on page 2)

### Without the People's Consent, The United States Has in Effect Entered the World War

You're against the war, aren't you? You don't think that the United States ought to enter the war? Good, we're with you on

But do you realize that Roosevelt and his boss-politician cronies put a fast one over on you last week? In virtually all respects, except official decree, the United States last week entered the war. What other meaning could the formation of the United States-Canadian Defense Board possibly have!

Canada is at war. It is a belligerent. As a belligerent, it is bound to expect acts of war committed against it. Yet Roosevelt has promised Canada, a dominion of England and a nation at war, that if it suffers any military attack the United States will

Trotsky Killer,

Frank Jackson, alias Jacques Mor-

and Van Den Dreschd, agent of Stalin's murderous GPU has been formal-

ly indicted in Mexico City following

a week of intensive investigation by

the police into his Stalin-inspired at-

Jackson, whose criminal act stirred

the conscience of the world, con-

essed to the Mexican police last

Colonel Leandro Sanchez Salazar,

chief of the Mexican Secret Service,

in a statement to the press during

the investigation of Trotsky's killer,

confirmed the belief that Jackson is

"This has all the ramifications of

an international plot," declared the

A search into Jackson's movements

in and out of Mexico revealed that

he had twice entered that country

as an American and once as a

Canadian, despite his admission to

the Police that he is a Belgian. Jack-

son's ability to disguise his real iden-

tity throws light on the fact that he

was helped in this matter by the

passport forging mills of the GPU. In

this connection, Salazar's reference

to an "international plot" indicates

that Mexican authorities may have

substantial information as to Jack-

Meanwhile, Sylvia Ageloff, who is

Please say to our

friends I am sure of

the victory of the

Fourth Internation-

— Trotsky's last words.

reported to have introduced Jackson

to his famous victim, vehemently re-

pulsed all efforts to link her to the

killer, Miss Ageloff stated to the police all during last week that she

had no previous knowledge that Jack-

son was either a GPU agent or that

he had intended to kill Leon Trotsky. She added that his actions left no

doubt that he is a GPU agent who

Familiarity with the unscrupulous

methods of the GPU leads to the

belief that Jackson made a special

and successful effort to befriend Miss

Ageloff in order to obtain access to

the Trotsky villa in Coyoacan. Close

associates of the fallen leader of the

Fourth International have already

stated that Miss Ageloff was an in-

nocent tool of the insidious Jackson.

That she was indeed an innocent dupe

of the confessed killer is unquestion-

Jackson, who has been officially ar-

raigned in a Mexican Federal Court,

faces a maximum sentence of thirty

years of hard labor unless the GPU

finds some way of springing him.

Mexico does not have capital pun-

had made use of her.

al. Go Forward!"

GPU Agent,

Is Indicted

tack upon Leon Trotsky.

an agent of the GPU.

Mexican police chief.

son's real identity.

undertake to work with the Canadian Army. In the meantime the "Defense" of both nations is to be jointly undertaken.

Churchill, speaking on the increasing collaboration between Britain and the United States, referred to the "mutual advantage" gained thereby. The Defense Board is indeed an act of "mutual advantage." It's for the "mutual advantage" of the imperialists of both lands.

"Mutual advantage" for the masses there will be none. The masses, that's you who are working in a steel mill, and you who are picking peaches for almost nothing a day, are going to get damn little "mutual advantage" out of it. Your pocket won't be lined with gold at the end of the slaughter. Instead, your body will itself be a lining

for a wooden dress.

The Joint Defense Board is only the most flagrant of the acts of Roosevelt - taken in defiance of your wishes, and without making the implications clear. Ever since the war began, Roosevelt with the support of most of the politicians (that goes for Willkie, among others) has been working as a British ally. Roosevelt sealed the alliance when he released planes and other instruments of war destined for Britain. Some day the secret files of the State Department will become public property. The secret treaties between Britain and the United States will then be fully exposed.

· Of the same nature and intent was the "leasing" of the British colonies in America to the United States. These will be used to guarantee Wall Street's grip on South America. They are the springboard for military operations in that arena which the U.S. expects to be its principal battlefield: South America, Thus, Britain has, out of the compulsion of war, given its ally military bases for the war which, we repeat, the United States has already entered-save for the actual declaration and for actual firing of guns.

(Continued on page 4)

#### CHILEANS PAY HONOR TO TROTSKY

SANTIAGO, Chile, Aug. 22-Leon Trotsky's death caused a stir here today in a section of the masses where he had many supporters. Members of the Revolutionary Workers party and the International Workers party paraded the streets last night visiting newspaper offices and voicing protests.

A committee composed of leaders repudiated Joseph Stalin's methods throughout the world, asserting his agents were responsible for the crime. (N.Y. Times, Aug. 23)

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!

# With the Labor Unions——— On the Picket Line

### WE WANT MORE THAN WE HAVE NOW

Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie, the twins who are running for president on virtually twin political platforms, have been saying a few encouraging words to labor, Mr. Roosevelt wrote to Bill Green to reassure him that he need have no worries because the New Deal "shall hold steadfastly to every advance gained, and not permit present safeguards to be whittled away by yielding to the specious arguments of those whose lip service to labor is loud and eloquent before election, but whose ears are deaf'to all appeals to justice the rest of the

We suspect that Bill Green feels better now and can urge the AFL to throw its support and votes to FDR. Labor will not lose a thing that has been gained. Suppose this turns out to be true, which of course we doubt. But let's assume that it will be true. So what? Labor doesn't lose any gains during the course of preparation for war and during the war. How about further advances? . Are the trade unions and the workers going to allow themselves to be trapped by sweet talk about not having a single gain taken from them? Are the workers going to adopt the policy of fighting only to keep what they have gained? There is certainly a tendency in this direction: a tendency to pose the question of keeping what we have and not allowing it to be taken

It is correct for the workers to fight like hell to hold their gains but they cannot stop there. Not only must they fight to keep the Wagner Act, the Walsh-Healy Act, the Public Contracts Act and all other legislation that benefits the workers, but right now it is necessary to make the main trade union fight the demand for higher wages and shorter hours. Standing on the advances already made the workers must gird themselves for even greater advances.

When the 12 hour day was under

attack by those who wanted to return to the "sunrise to sunset" day, what simpletons the workers would have been to stop with a simple demand for holding on to the 12 hour day. Suppose in 1885 the workers had been satisfied with such an advance as the 10 hour day. Such docility would never have produced the 8

Why should the workers of U.S. Steel and other steel corporations be satisfied merely to hold on to the 8 hour day and a \$5.00 daily wage? Why not a 6 hour day at a \$5.00 minimum? And if an 8 hour day why not a six or seven dollar minimum? And how about all the millions of workers who are below a five dollar minimum and who work a ten hour day. Why shouldn't these workers organize and strike if necessary for more wages and shorter hours? This is the time for both the AFL and the CIO to demand a national six hour day and five day week with a \$30 minimum wage. All time above 30 hours a week should be paid for at time and one half and double for Sundays and holidays.

There is no argument which can be made against this that any worker or any workers' organization should accept. There are millions of unemployed and part time workers. The War Preparations Program will create more work. It is necessary to continue and expand the production of consumer goods along with military planes and bombs. Shortening the hours will give every worker a job and there is ample money to raise wages and still give the bosses a bigger slice than they deserve.

This is the time for the trade unions to make these demands. Profits are going higher and higher. The bosses will surely take care of themselves and their class. Every board of directors will be raising the salaries, bonuses and dividends of the big

### HEADS OR TAILS - IT'S ALL THE SAME TO US

Mr. Willkie finds it difficult to conceal his open shop company union position even while campaigning for office. He says that "every man and woman in America must be protected in his or her constitutional right of free choice in joining or not joining a union" and "for my part I pledge myself to help the principle of free

In these two expressions is wrapped all of the union busting scabherding philosophy of the big industrialists and bankers. What does Willkie mean by the right not to join a union? He means that he is against closed shop agreements and for company unions. What does he mean by unions being free from government control? He would favor Roosevelt

means by unions being free from government control is free from and of the Wagner Act and the Wages and Hours Act Both Roosevelt and Willkie want

at one of his power plants. What he

to get the workers' votes. Roosevelt hands out a few sugar pills. "We" (me and the workers) will not give up our gains. Willkie posing as one just down from Sinai hopes to get votes by promising to lead "the people" out of the New Deal wilderness.

Just two "slickers" battling for the right to be front man for the 60 Families. Perhaps a few weeks before election day old J.P. with a few of his cronies will gather at the Harvard Club. Lamont will flip a coin: "heads it's Roosevelt, tails it's Will-

### REFUGE FOR RUBBISH IN THE UNITED STATES?

One again the United States is about to become the land of refuge from political oppression. Of course, we are not talking about English hunting dogs or blooded stallions or the cows of Jersey. Sure these aristocrats are finding refuge here but we are talking about human beings. Not the children of the British fish peddlers of Billingsgate, of the dock workers of London, the miners of Wales or the bar maids of Southhampton, but the broken down, run out ex-kings, queens, dukes, princes, countesses and pretenders from every country of Europe. The latest arrival is Prince Wladyslaw Sapieha of Poland and his helpmate Princess Mathylda. All of this horde of royalty is fleeing from Hitler. They are scattered all over the Atlantic seaboard and most of them seem to be loaded with money. Those that don't have any are being picked up and wined and dined by our own rich at Newport and other loafing places of the bosses. The 60 Families have a few spare dollars these days because the workers here produced many millions of dollars in wealth the past six months, that went to the boss class in big salaries, dividends and interest. They have enough to feed, house and clothe all of Europe's royalty; their children, flunkies, dogs, horses, and cats.

The workers in the U.S. have been generous enough to provide the goods out of their own sweat and blood.

Some of the workers whose toil produced the wealth that this European royal rubbish will consume, came to this country to escape oppression and terror instituted by this same royalty that is now fleeing

They are coming from Hungary, what was Austria, czarist Russia, Poland and all the other hell holes of Europe and Asia. It was these people, who are seeking asylum here today, and their ancestors who set up the ghetto, the pale, the yellow ticket, the pogrom. These royal cattle that are flocking into the U.S. today are the people who rode their horses over the workers, who lashed out at the workers with their royal sabers; who tortured the old women of the working class and raped their daughters. These are the gilded morons and near imbeciles who for centuries have kept the workers of Europe and Asia in ignorance, misery and degradation.

It will be a great day when these people have to run again. Not from their present hosts but from the working class of the U.S.: they and their present hosts together.

### BEWARE OF FALLING INTO THE BOSSES' TRAP

The Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen has joined hands with the Maintenance of Way and other unions in passing resolutions barring "Communists, Nazis and Fascists" from membership. Anyone now in the union belonging to "either of the subversive groups" may be expelled. The resolution was passed at the recent convention in Denver. "Labor" reports that sentiment was unanimous for the action taken.

We suppose that all the Coughlinites, Christian Fronters, Christian Mobilizers, Knights of the White Camelia, Klansmen and unionists who are members of other native near fascist organizations vote for these resolutions barring "communists, naz-

What are the union leaders going to say to members in New Jersey

who belong to the Klan that just held united front meeting with the German-American Bund? What is the attitude of the union leaders toward the Klan with its black record of flogging and murder right here in the U.S.? Do these resolutions cover the Coughlinite members of the unions?

We don't advocate expelling any worker from the unions except for anti-union activity. We are opposed to these resolutions and all that they mean. They are not union resolutions. They are FBI-Employer resolutions. In the long run they will benefit no one but the bosses, police, and a few thousand scabs, strike-breakers and private detective agencies. Union leaders in attempting to be good patriots are leading their organizations into a trap set for them by the em-

# How the Two Old Parties, the Democrats And Republicans, Treated Organized Labor

Prior to the Philadelphia and Chicago conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties, By David Coolidge the executive council of the American Federation of Labor met in Washington, D.C., and drafted a series of proposals embodying organized labor's demands upon the two old parties.

The top officials of the AFL, we believe, were far too modest in their demands. Nevertheless, these officials remain at the helm of the American Federation of Labor, they speak for a large section of organized labor, and we defend their right to be heard and respected. Below we print the major recommendations of organized labor, and the treatment labor received at the hands of the platform makers of the old boss-dominated parties:

			What the AFL Demanded	What the Demo- crats Said	What the Repub- licans Said
	1.	NATIONAL DEFENSE	Wage and Hour and so- cial legislation must not be lowered.		No pledge to preserve labor standards.
	2.	UNEM- PLOYMENT	Relief for all in need. A long range program of public works.	Will continue same program of insufficient WPA jobs at scab wag- es.	Would return relief administration to states.
	3.	SOCIAL SECURITY	Expansion of social se- curity program, more in- clusive coverage, more adequate benefits.		Extension "where practicable."
	4.	SHORTER HOURS	Urge shorter work day, work week.	Nothing.	Nothing.
	5.	HIGH WAGES	Urge higher wages to meet higher prices.	Nothing.	Nothing.
	6.	ANTI-TRUST PROSECUTION	Urge pledge to cease us- ing anti-trust laws against unions.		Silent.
and a solution of the second	7.	EDUCATION	Increase federal aid to schools.	Will give youth NYA and CCC and Army education.	Silent.
1 020020 E	8.	RIGHT TO ORGANIZE	Urge declaration in fav- or of labor's unrestricted right to organize.	Will work for "peace- ful settlement of la- bor disputes."	Will "maintain" la- bor's right to organize.
	9.	INJUNCTIONS	Urge declaration in favor of state anti-injunction laws.	Silent.	Silent.
	10.	HOUSING	Urge expansion of feder- al housing program, at union wages.	Will continue same meager program.	Will cut public expenditures.
	11.	CIVIL LIBERTIES	Urge strong declaration in favor of civil and workers' rights.	Will "continue" to protect civil liberties.	Silent.
	12.	CHILD LABOR	Urge declaration recom- mending states ratify	Silent.	Silent.

Readers, the above is an honest picture of the reception the Republicans and Democrats gave the modest demands of organized labor, of the working class of people in this great nation. We should just like to ask a few questions of any worker or union official who still defends the Republican or Democratic parties:

In view of the treatment organized labor received from the old parties, how can you maintain labor should support either old party?

Just how LITTLE for labor will you be satisfied with from the old parties?

child labor amendment.

You argue that now is not the time for the unions to organize a labor party? Please give us your opinions on WHEN WILL BE A GOOD TIME TO ORGANIZE A LABOR PARTY? A year or two from now, when this nation is already engaged in a war to protect and extend the profits of the rich? In 1944? In 1948? In the year 2000?

Well, what guarantees can we give that a labor party will be immediately successful? None, none at all. THAT DEPENDS SOLELY UPON EACH MEMBER OF ORGANIZED LABOR, UPON EACH UNION IN THE NATION. If enough workers are by now convinced that labor has everything to gain and nothing to lose by cutting away from the old parties, and by launching a program for a national labor party based upon and controlled by the unions, then a national labor party will give to labor a strong political arm to add to our economic arm. Then we shall be in a better position than ever before to defend ourselves and strike out for bold aims.

(From the Northwest Organizer, August 8)

### Stalinists Routed at Teachers Convention But Convention Goes Too Far Along Path Marked Out by Flag-Wavers

Special to Labor Action

BUFFALO, Aug. 23-The cnief feature of the American Federation of Teachers annual convention just concluded in this city was the complete rout of the Stalinists, not only ideologically, but in the actual machinery of the Union. The anti-Stalinist slate, headed by George S. Counts of Columbia University, swept every single place on the National Executive Council; and the most debated resolution of the convention, condemning "all totalitarian dictatorships, whether they be Fascist, Nazi, or Communist, whether they be of Italian, German, or Russian origin", passed on a roll-call vote by 358-250.

Outside of routing the Stalinists, the convention accomplished almost nothing. A resolution condemning the Thurman Arnold union-busting drive brought on a disgraceful performance by a large bloc of non-Stalinist delegates, who objected to the resolution as a criticism of the New Deal, and entered a substitute which in effect invited the government to move in on "racketeering" unions. Fortunately, for the good name of the Teachers Union, a compromise which eliminated the loose wording of the original and preserved its attack on Arnold's investigations was passed almost unanimously. But the furious debate started by this resolution and that on totalitarianism made it impossible for the Union to deal with the paramount questions of war and conscription.

### Anti-Stalinist Slate

The election of the anti-Stalinist slate was of especial significance. At last year's convention, when the Stalinists were at the height of their power, they were unable to prevent progressives from electing Counts as president, though they did take every other contested place on the slate.

This year despite their almost successful attempt to pose as the only anti-war force in the Union, they were defeated by an average of 100 votes, the largest margin (Counts's) being 180 and the smallest being 30, out of a total of 646 cast. The usual lies and slander of the Staliinsts had been counteracted in advance by a well-run campaign of the opposition.

On the totalitarian resolution, the test came on a Stalinist amendment to eliminate the mention by name of Russia and Communism. For two days the C.P. machine twisted and turned, using every parliamentary dodge to confuse an ineptly managed meeting, dividing the weaker or less experienced elements of their opposition by appealing to unity and fair play, before the more experienced anti-Stalinists and the war advocates forced a direct vote by roll-call. After defeat on the crucial amendment, the Stalinist floor leadership alienated itself from its followers by accepting defeat on a standing vote, 169-168, in order to avoid the delay of another roll-call.

The C.P. floor leaders further infuriated the C.P. rank and file by accepting adjournment instead of fighting a principled battle on the war question. The original resolution introduced by committee to the convention was a weak plea for American neutrality, the maintaining of neutrality laws, and prohibiting of loans to belligerents. It called for "adequate defense" but asked for continuation of social services. Amendments were passed adding demands that vocational training in defense industries be undertaken only with trade union participation, and that Congress take steps toward nationalizing the munitions industries. But even this gentle resolution was too much for an ominous bloc of flag-waving delegates: they demanded the omission of the plea for neutrality, and spoke at length in favor of aid to England, "the last bastion of human freedom" in the words of

A long and furious battle developed on this question, with the Counts supporters splitting into a small number of anti-war and a huge bloc of pro-English delegates. The latter refused even to accept the compromise offered by the Stalinists, that the Union ask Congress to keep America out of the war. The Stalinists held firm until their floor leaders accepted the compromise of adjournment, leaving the war question up to the newly elected Executive Council, which will declare for aid to England and the William Allen White Committee if it dares to say anything at all.

The sorry mess of unparliamentary shouting, speaking out of order, and speaking on evey conceivable point of order broke up on the fifth day of the convention and left untouched the question of conscription, the central problem of organized labor in the war crisis.

Conclusions to be drawn from the convention are partly hopeful and partly dangerous. The Teachers Union, which has lost membership during the past year in every section in the hands of Stalinist or stooge vice-presidents (and that includes almost every district of the country), stands a good chance of gaining in organization, particularly since William Green promised heavy AFL subsidy for organization if the Stalinists were thrown out of control of the machinery.

The C.P. now holds only two large locals, and there is some chance of their being ousted from office in these. On the other hand, it is likely that the new Executive Council will

# They Pay Tribute to Comrade Trotsky

I know of no words strong enough to be employed in condemning the murder of Leon Trotsky. And I am convinced that he was murdered by an

For Leon Trotsky, I felt both admiration and affection, I was not a follower of his in the strict and literal meaning of this term. But I was influenced by him. The Old Man educated some of the members of my generation: I was one of those whom he educated. Were it not for his writings, I would be a different person than I am, and I would think differently than I do. The loss of Leon Trotsky at this particular moment is tragic. In this black and bitter period of reaction, Trotsky was needed, and needed not merely as a symbol, but even more so as a leader. Now, those points on which one disagreed with him fade in importance. One sees now his greatness ,the inspiration which was gained from his very life, from his indomitable fight, and from his brilliant writings. Leon Trotsky was a great revolutionist, a great writer, a great man, a great spirit. Edmund Wilson, the literary critic, once remarked that since his exile from Soviet Russia, Leon Trotsky had served as "the Marxist conscience of the world." The pickaxe blow of Stalin's hired assassin struck down "the Marxist conscience of the world." With grief, I say farewell to the Old Man. He is dead in the flesh. The spirit that animated his work will not die.

James T. Farrell

Now that Trotsky is gone it is possible perhaps to forget a few things and to remember a few others. One may forget, for example, the harsh intolerance of his polemics and remember the simple and spontaneous kindness of his nature as it was revealed in his personal relationships. One may forget his brutal murderers and remember only the perfect courage, the matchless discipline of the spirited aristocrat whom they could neither terrify nor corrupt. He was a great man, and a great writer. Politics, he once complained, had seriously interrupted his literary work. It was true, and quite possibly regrettable. It was also true that he dignified both politics and literature by the power of his mind and heart. August 28, 1940. James Rorty



With his lifelong companion, Nathalia

# N. Y. Meeting--

(Continued from page 1)

dual, made more poignant the realization of loss. No longer will that voice ring out over vast squares, rousing humanity to action. Still, the very tenor of his message, the quality of his words, infused as each one of them was with the fire of rebellion, erased all lamentations, discouraged all wailing. As the audience listened to the voice now silenced by the murderer's axe, backs were stiffened, shoulders squared. Leon Trotsky was breathing a message of struggle, not sorrow—calling aroused hearts to the field of battle. "Our aim is the material and spiritual elevation of mankind. Nobody will guide it or prepare it but ourselves. We are the world party of the so-

cialist revolution." Fittingly, a revolutionist of over fifty-years standing followed Trotsky's speech. Antoinette Konikow, still a fighter in the army of human liberation despite her seventy-odd years, spoke out of her knowledge and experience. "What a fool-said she—is Stalin to think that Trotsky is dead. To us Trotsky is alive . . . to us Trotsky will live forever."

Unanimously, the audience voted to send a telegram of solidarity and

try a bureaucratic reorganization of these locals, without consulting the majority of the membership. Such a procedure, though beneficial in getting rid of C.P. control, and probably in gaining hundreds or thousands of new unionists, has definite dangers.

And above all, the spirit of the anti-Stalinists at the convention and on the new Executive Council was full of war-mongering, flag-waving (some of the speakers actually pointed to the flag and blared forth their Americanism), and opposition to the C.P. simply because it is "un-American". If the convention was my indication, even a much larger American Federation of Teachers, unshaken by Stalinism and internal strife, must learn to take seriously the problems of a union in time of war

sympathy to Nathalia Ivanovna Trotsky, his devoted companion through so many difficult years. A telegram was also dispatched to President Cardenas of Mexico expressing gratitude to the Mexican people for the hospitality accorded the great revolutionist during the last years of his

James P. Cannon, delivering the main speech of the evening, flayed the murderer. Stalin, and appraised the everlasting achievements of Trotsky. Cannon told of how Stalin had with the murder of Trotsky's seven secretaries and four children, each time struck a deadly blow at Trotsky. Trotsky survived each of these blows. until the last one. But even there, Stalin will be cheated. Because all that Trotsky was, teacher and leader of the international socialist movement, he had feverishly-working against time-set down in imperishable writings from which mankind will ever draw inspiration and guidance. "Comrade Trotsky gave us an anticipatory picture of the future man. Comrade Trotsky was the Communist man," carrying on in the cause of humanity, and under the banner of Marxism, in the face of gravest persecution and direct deprivation. With dry eyes and clenched fists, with a song of victory on our 'lips, we say farewell to comrade Trotsky." Singing "Arise ye prisoners of starvation", the meeting ended.

READ, SUBSCRIBE TO NEW INTERNATIONAL

We buy radical pamphlets and periodicals. Lists given careful consideration.

> UNIVERSITY PLACE **BOOK SHOP** 69 University Place New York City

# Why Trotsky **Was Murdered**

In his final argument before the Dewey Commission of Inquiry, investigating the charges made against him in the Moscow trials, Trotsky discussing the "why and wherefore of the Trials," said of the terror directed at revolutionists:

My exile from the U.S.S.R. was officially motivated by the allegation that I had prepared an "armed insurrection." However, the accusation launched against me was not even published in the press. Today it may seem incredible, but already in 1929 we were confronted with accusations against the Trotskyites of "sabotage," "espionage," "preparation of railroad wrecks," etc., in the Soviet press. However, there was not a single trial involving these accusations. The matter was limited to a literary calumny which represented, nevertheless, the first link in the preparation of the future judicial frameups. To justify the repressions, it was necessary to have framed accusations. To give weight to the false accusations, it was necessary to reinforce them with more brutal repressions. Thus the logic of the struggle drove Stalin along the road of gigantic judicial amalgams.

They also become necessary to him for international reasons, if the Soviet bureaucracy does not want revolutions and fears them, it canot, at the same time, openly renounce the revolutionary traditions without definitely undermining its prestige within the U.S.S.R. However, the obvious bankruptcy of the Comintern opens the way for a new International. Since 1933, the idea of new revolutionary parties under the banner of the Fourth International has met with great success in the Old and New Worlds. Only with difficulty can an outside observer appreciate the real dimensions of this success. It cannot be measured by membership statistics alone. The general tendency of development is of much greater importance. Deep internal fissures are spreading throughout all the sections of the Comintern, which at the first historic shock will result in splits and debacles. If Stalin fears the little Bulletin of the Opposition and punishes its introduction into the U.S.S.R. with death, it is not difficult to understand what fright seizes the bureaucracy at the possibility that news of the selfsacrificing work of the Fourth International in the service of the working class may peneterate into the U.S.S.R.

The moral authority of the leaders of the bureaucracy and, above all, of Stalin, rests in large measure upon the Tower of Babel of slanders and falsifications erected over a period of thirteen years. The moral authority of the Comintern rests entirely and exclusively on the moral authority of the bureaucracy. In its turn, the authority of the Comintern as well as its support, is necessary for Stalin before the Russian workers. This Tower of Babel, which frightens its own builders, is maintained inside the U.S.S.R. with the aid of more and more terrible repressions, and outside the U.S.S.R. with the aid of a gigantic apparatus which, through resources drawn from the labor of the Soviet workers and peasants, poisons world public opinion with the virus of lies, falsifications and blackmail. Millions of people throughout the world identify the October Revolution with the Thermidorian bureaucracy, the Soviet Union with Stalin's clique, the revolutionary workers with the utterly demoralized Comintern ap-

The first great breach in this Tower of Babel will . necessarily cause it to collapse entirely, and bury beneath its débris the authority of the Thermidorian chiefs. That is why it is for Stalin a life-and-death question to kill the Fourth International while it is still in embryo! Now, as we are here examining the Moscow trials, the Executive Committee of the Comintern, according to information in the press, is sitting in Moscow Its agenda is: The struggle against world Trotskyism. The session of the Executive Committee of the Comintern is not only a link in the long chain of the Moscow frame-ups, but also the projection of the latter on the world arena. Tomorrow we shall hear about new misdeeds of the Trotskyites in Spain, of their direct or indirect support of the fascists. Echoes of this base calumny, indeed, have already been heard in this room. Tomorrow we shall hear how the Trotskyites in the United States are preparing railroad wrecks and the obstruction of the Panama Canal, in the interests of Japan. We shall learn the day after tomorrow how the Trotskyites in Mexico are preparing measures for the restoration of Porfirio Diaz. You say Diaz died a long time ago? The Moscow creators of amalgams do not stop before such trifles. They stop before nothingnothing at all. Politically and morally, it is a question of life and death for them. Emissaries of the GPU are prowling in all countries of the Old and the New World. They do not lack money. What does it mean to the ruling clique to spend twenty or fifty millions of dollars more or less, to sustain its authority and its power? These gentlemen buy human consciences like sacks of potatoes. We shall see this in many instances.

From the Case of Leon Trotsky, pages 582-58 1.

"As long as the Old Man lives, there will be no security for the triumphant bureaucracy."

# --A Quotation Leon Trotsky--As Seen by Others New Machine

Mrs. Spencer put on her bonnet and coat and appeared early in that office the next morning know why her boy should be expelled from

"Bronstein!" said the old German. "You want us to take that boy back? Let me tell you that's a bad boy. He has all the boys in the school under his power. That boy is going to be a dangerous member of society. We don't want him

"How can you say that about a child eleven years old!" said Mrs. Spencer.

"Madam, I have an experienced eye. I tell you that when that boy grows up he will be

"But you have no right to deprive such a brilliant child of an education."

"Oh, he is brilliant all right. That's just the Max Eastman: Leon Trotsky: the Portrait of a

The experts are gone. Two men remain at the center of the Supreme Council.

Youth, P. 24-25.

With its careworn faces, and papers covered with specialists' figures, the Council resembles the directors' meeting of a firm that is terribly in the red. Debit: the White terror in Budapest, the defeat in Hamburg, the silence of Berlin, the silence in Paris, the vacillations of Jean Longuet, the loss of Orel, the threat to Tula. More debit: that yesterday we were nothing: that we have arisen from poverty, from darkness, from continuous defeat. . . .

At the moment, amid the silence of the toiling masses, the entire struggle is embodied in these two leaders . . . Both of them were sarcastic but there the resemblance ended: the one, good-natured with a large, bald forehead, rather prominent cheekbones, a prominent nose, a wisp of reddish beard, a striking air of health, simplicity, sly intelligence. When he laughed, his eyes narrowed and sparkled green. He had an enormous prominent forehead, a big mouth, a jovial expression revealing Asiatic traits mingled with

The other was a Jew. At times he had about him the forceful ugliness of an eagle; in his glance there was piercing intelligence. He carried his head like a leader of men; and had an air of inner certainty that shortsighted observers might have taken for pride; his laugh was a Mephistophelian mask-and in it there was something misleading-for this man retained the capacity for joy of a young man with all life's struggles ahead of him.

Victor Serge: Ville Conquise, a novel of the Russian Revolution. the same of the same of

Trotsky's mind is the international mind. . . . Trotsky is against all the present governments of Europe, and the "bourgeois system" everywhere in the world. He isn't pro-Allies; he isn't even pro-Russian. He isn't a patriot at all. He is for a class, the proletariat, the working people of all countries, and he is for his class only to get rid of classes and get down or up to —humanity. . . .

I find upon inquiry here in New York that while he was living and working as a journalist on the East Side, he refused to write for any paper to the editorial policy of which he could not conform. He would not compromise. He was "stiff-necked," "obstinate," "unreasonable." In other, kinder words, Trotsky is a strong man, with a definite mind and a purpose of his own, which he has the will and the nerve to pursue.

Lincoln Steffens: preface to Trotsky's The Bolsheviki and World Peace, P. 8, 16, 17-18.

All the work of practical organization of the insurrection was conducted under the immediate leadership of the President of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Trotsky. It is possible to declare with certainty that the swift passing of the garrison to the side of the Soviet, and the bold execution of the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee, the party owes principally and first of all to Comrade Trotsky.

Josef Stalin: "The Role of the Most Eminent Party Leaders", Pravda, No. 241, 1918.

Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand Comrade Trotsky, as was proved by his struggle against the Central Committee in connection with the question of the People's Commissariat of Ways of Communication, is distinguished not only by his exceptional abilities-personally he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee; but also by his too far-reaching selfconfidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of

These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might, quite innocently, lead to a split; if our party does not take measures to prevent it, a split might arise unexpectedly. . . .

Postscript: Stalin is too rude, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority-namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may seem an insignificant trifle, but I think that from the point of view of preventing a split and from the point of view of the relation between Stalin and Trotsky which I discussed above, it is not a trifle or it is such a trifle as may acquire a decisive

From the "testament" of Lenin, written shortly before his death in 1924.

Thus, in Trotsky's manner of posing the question, there is the whole secret of his greatness as organizer of the Red Army. . . .

It needed a man, an incarnation of the summons to the struggle, who, submitting himself to the necessity of the struggle, became the bell which calls to arms, the will which exacts, from all, absolute submission to the great, bloody necessity. Only a man who works as much as Trotsky, only a man who knows how to speak to the soldier as Trotsky spoke, could become the standard bearer of the armed workers. He was all these in one person. . . .

If our Party goes down in history as the first party of the proletariat which knew how to build a great army, this burning page of history of the Russian Revolution will always be allied with the name of Lev Davidovitch Trotsky. . . . Karl Radek: article in Pravda, March 14, 1923.

I always considered Trotsky a big man. . . . The chief external endowments of Trotsky are his oratorical gift and his talent as a writer. I consider Trotsky probably the greatest orator of our times. I have heard in my day all the great parliamentary and popular orators of Socialism, and very many of the famous orators of the bourgeois world, and I should have difficulty in naming any of them, except Jaurès, whom I might place beside Trotsky.

Effective presence, beautiful broad gesture, mighty rhythm of speech, loud, absolutely tire-Iess voice, wonderful compactness, literariness of phrase, wealth of imagery, scorching irony, flowing pathos, and an absolutely extraordinary logic, really steel-like in its clarity-those are the qualities of Trotsky's speech. He can speak epigrammatically, shoot a few remarkably wellaimed arrows, and he can pronounce such majestic political discourses as I have heard elsewhere only from Jaurès. I have seen Trotsky talk for two and a half to three hours to an ob-

solutely silent audience ,standing on their feet, and listening as though bewitched to an enormous political treatise. . . .

It is often said of Trotsky that he is personally ambitious. That is of course pure nonsense. I remember one very significant phrase spoken by Trotsky at the time when Chernov accepted a place in the Government: 'What contemptible ambitiousness-to abandon his historic position for a portfolio!' In that you have the whole of Trotsky. There is not a drop of vanity in him. . . .

Trotsky treasures his historic role, and would undoubtedly be ready to make any personal sacrifice, not by any means excluding the sacrifice of his life, in order to remain in the memory of mankind with the halo of a genuine revolution-

When a really great revolution comes, a great people always find for every part a suitable actor, and one of the signs of the greatness of our revolution is that the Communist Party advanced from its midst, or adopted from other parties and strongly implanted in its body, so many able people suited to this and that governmental function.

Most of all suited to their parts are the two strongest of the strong-Lenin and Trotsky.

A. Lunacharsky: Revolutionary Silhouettes (Moscow, 1923)

Only the Old Man remains.

He is all the greater since not a drop of the blood that has been shed lies at his door. And

Exiled to Alma Ata; banished to Prinkipo; interned in Norway; the butt of all conceivable insults and the systematic revision of history; his name expunged from the dictionaries and removed from the museums; all his political associates in prison-perhaps massacred tomorrow in one way or another—the Old Man remains as he was in 1903 with Lenin, in 1905 as president of the first Soviet in the first revolution. He remains as he was in 1917, with Lenin at the head of the masses, in 1918 at the battle of Sviajsk; in 1920 at the battle of Petrograd; during the entire civil war at the head of the Red Army which he formed; at the head of a true party uncompromising despite persecution; at the head of an international party with neither masses nor money, but preserving the tradition, preserving and renewing the doctrine-a party overflowing with devotion. The Old Man is only fifty-seven -not so old at that. Everyone thinks of him, since it is forbidden to think of him; and he has everything that the Leader has not: a revolutionary soul, a brilliant pen, and men willing to go through fire with him.

As long as the Old Man lives, there will be no security for the triumphant bureaucracy. One mind of the October revolution remains, and that is the mind of a true leader. At the first shock, the masses will turn towards him. In the third month of a war, when the difficulties begin, nothing will prevent the entire nation from turning to the "organizer of victory." Everyone, knows how trials are made, and what the crown prosecutor's words are worth. A single gust of wind will dispel all these stagnant vapors.

All his life the Old Man has served the revolution with unflagging firmness and devotion. His very mistakes were made with so much honesty and passion that they do not diminish his stature. As early as 1920 he counseled the N.E.P.; in 1922 he was for industrialization; and ever since 1923 for the renovation of the party through inner party democracy and the struggle against the bureaucracy. In 1927 he foresaw the defeats of the Chinese revolution. In 1931 he stood for the united front of proletarian parties, which might have saved Germany from Nazism; he condemned the "economic adventure" of forced collectivization and the execution of the five year plan in four years; in 1930 he foresaw that Stalin would decimate Lenin's party.

And now everything is permissible against

Victor Serge: From Lenin to Stalin, P. 103-105.

# **Build a Brand**

We're Out to

"There's one thing you can't get away from," said Johnny during the half-hour rest period. "You can talk all you want about how socialism would mean this and

BILL: "This and that" means things like a decent living for human beings and no international mass murders.

JOHNNY: All right, all right, you told me that before. What I mean is, the system we got now may be screwy here and there, but it WORKS, don't it? While socialism might sound good when you talk, but how do I know it can be made a go of? I don't see why we should jump off the deep end when we don't even know what we'd be jumping into.

BILL: Socialism isn't so deep, but we'll leave that for the union picnic Sunday. So capitalism is screwy

JOHNNY: Sure, look at what a great country it's

BILL: Look at what a great country WE made IT. -The horse and buggy worked too and it never ran out of gas, but the street cleaners have had an easier time of it since they went out of style. Before that happened, the professors proved that airplanes couldn't fly. Last thing I heard, some of them still think capitalism works,

JOHNNY: Well, don't it?

### It Works-But For Whom?

BILL: Slavery worked too, in the old days,-for a while. So did Feudalism-for a while. About a thousand years to be specific. That isn't much of a recommendation for either system. A few hundred years ago Capitalism came in with a broom and cleaned up the street after them.-I can just see Baron Paté de Foie Gras dusting off his lace in the good old days of twelvehundred-umpteen and saying to his old friend the Duke of Champagne: "See those serfs working in the fields? They can't afford to buy two rags on the instalment plan, but they're all slap-happy. Who said Feudalism doesn't

JOHNNY: You've got to admit that workers are better off now than they were then.

BILL: Maybe I'll admit it, if we leave out the fact that no serf ever starved because he couldn't get a job, and got thrown on the scrap-heap like a used can; or that the wars in those days were fought mostly by men who made a business of it; and a couple of other things. JOHNNY: Come on now, you can't tell me you think Feudalism was better. Why, look at-

BILL: All right, you're right, I'm wrong. Workers today ARE better off than serfs; all I mean is that Capitalism has added new terrors to living that never existed before. But even so-what I say about socialism is that it'll raise the common people as much above their miserable life today, as we are above the serf. Is that something to fight for, in these capitalist Dark Ages?

Here's another angle: slavery worked too, remember. THAT WAS JUST THE TROUBLE WITH IT, AS FAR AS THE SLAVE WAS CONCERNED. Because all he had to do was ask himself, "Slavery works, but WHO FOR"? OK, shoot-who for?

JOHNNY: The slave-owner, I guess; but what's that got to do with it? We ain't slaves like them.

### Wage Slavery Is No Better

BILL: You're right, we're a new kind of slave. The bosses don't own our bodies any more, they just own our jobs. Either way they sit back and live off our work, JOHNNY: Say, let's get away from ancient history. So far you've been admitting that this system DOES

work, and that's all I said in the beginning. BILL: Well, seeing you insist on it, I've got to say

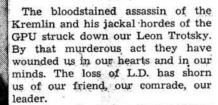
JOHNNY: I'll bite:

BILL: That's when Capitalism breaks down. The machine stops working smoothly. Thousands of businesses go smash, millions of workers get thrown out of work. Wall Street speculators lose their shirts, and the professors start writing articles about how it wasn't supposed to happen according to the laws of Capitalism —just an accident—'scuse it please. Only it's been happening regularly, every so often, ever since Capitalism was knee-high to a sweatshop. Right now, the system has been limping along on one cylinder since 1929, and the capitalist medicine-men are trying to oil it up with blood. Do you call that "working"?

JOHNNY: All that shows is that something's got to

BILL: We're going to fix it, all right! Same way we'd fix any other machine that kept on breaking down all the time-THROW IT OUT. The workers built this one with their eyes blind-folded. We're out to build ourselves a new one, with our eyes open!

# Speech Delivered at N.Y. Memorial Meeting by Albert Gates



We knew Trotsky as the co-worker of Lenin, the leader of the October insurrection, the organizer of the Red army, and with Lenin, the initiator of the once glorious Communist International.

But he was much closer than that to us. He founded the International Left Opposition which began the historic struggle against counterrevolutionary Stalinism. He taught us to fight this cancerous affliction in the workers movement with revolutionary weapons. He founded the Fourth International as the movement of Marxist regeneration. Through all the periods of our exstence we came to know our Trotsky. What we have learned we learn-

### August N. I. Out

The August issue of The New Inernational is off the press and ready for sale. Featured in this number is an editorial on the French Republic. The editorial analyzes the revolutionary history of France, the role of the eactionary ruling class, and shows that the proletariat of France will vet arise to smash the bourgeois sys-

ed from him for he was the Marxist theoretician of our time!

Driven from country to country, a man without a visa, hounded by the decaying ruling classes of Europe, stalked by Stalin and his GPU, he came nearer to us.

Our relations to Trotsky were not impersonal. We came to know him as our genial L.D., warm-hearted, full of pleasant wit, intensely human -the friend of all of us.

There is not a person in the movement of the Fourth International who does not feel a great loneliness, an overwhelming personal loss-this is true for those of us who had the good fortune to know L.D. personally and those who knew him only through his gigantic work.

On so sad an occasion as this we re-echo the words of Friedrich. Engels, who, upon the death of Marx, had written:

"BE THAT AS IT MAY, MAN-KIND IS SHORTER BY A HEAD, HAS LOST THE GREATEST HEAD OF OUR TIME. THE PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT WILL CONTINUE ON ITS COURSE, BUT WE NO LONG-ER HAVE THE CENTRAL FI-GURE WHOM THE FRENCH, THE RUSSIANS, THE AMERI-CANS AND THE GERMANS SPONTANEOUSLY TURNED IN DECISIVE MOMENTS, AND ALWAYS RECEIVED CLEAR AND IRREFUTABLE COUNSEL SUCH AS NOTHING BUT GEN-IUS AND PERFECT KNOWL-

EDGE COULD SUPPLY."

Comrade Trotsky would not have us abject or sorrowful. His was the spirit of the proletarian warrior and that is the spirit he would have of

He has left an enormous heritage. His active life alone would guide us in the days to come. But he has also left us brilliant Marxist writings which will serve as enriching searchlights to guide us in the approaching future, in the struggle for the liberation of mankind.

There is but one way to avenge the murder of our heroic Trotsky: To carry on the struggle with audacity, devotion and courage! To fight

for the victory of the oppressed masses of the earth! To fight for the victory of the world socialist society! That would be his way, that is how he would have us be. It is in this spirit that we mourn

our loss and pay tribute to the memory of Leon Trotsky, the titanic figure of our time. And it is in this same spirit that

we pay tribute to our Natalia Ivanovna, his great comrade and companion whose life was one with his, through the long decades in which they marched side by side in victory and defeat.

Farewell Leon Trotsky . . . We are marching on!



Trotsky Lenin



Zinaida Trotsky unable to withstand any longer the persecution of herself and her family by Stalin, committed suicide in Austria, in 1933. Leon Sedov, hounded constantly by the GPU, died suddenly in Paris in 1938 under mysterious circumstances which have never been fully cleared up, but through which the unmistakable hand of Stalin could be seen plainly. Son and daughter of Trotsky, both were murdered by Stalin.



# Editorials-

### **OUR PROGRAM AGAINST** THE WAR

- 1. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war. All war funds to the unemployed.
- 2. For a rising scale of wages to meet increasing cost of living. Thirty Thirty

  \$30 weekly minimum wage

  30hour weekly maximum for all workers.
- 3. Expropriate the Sixty Families. For Government ownership and workers control of all war industries-aviation, steel, chemicals, railroads, public utilities, etc.
- Against both imperialist war camps. For the Third Camp of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples.
- 5. Let the people vote on war. For the right of youth to vote at the age of
- Abolish secret diplomacy. Open the files of the State Department.
- 7. Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America.
- 8. Against compulsory military training and conscription. 9. For the defense of civil liberties and
- workers' rights. Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day Plans and war-time dictatorship. 10. For full social, economic and political
- equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and
- 11. For an independent Labor Party.
- 12. For Workers' Defense Guards against Fascist and vigilante attacks.
- 13. No confidence in the Roosevelt government. For a workers' government and a people's army.
- 14. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, and for the World Socialist

### Storm Troopers.

About two weeks ago the Ku Klux Klan and the German-American Bund held a joint meeting at the Bund Camp near Andover, New Jersey. This united front meeting between the Klan and the Bund was announced as an "Americanism" gathering. The meeting was held on a Sunday in order that the largest possible crowd of klansmen and bundists could be present. The fiery cross and the Hitler salute mingled freely and fraternally. They seemed to be made for each other.

In fact there is something very appropriate in the Klan and the Bund getting together for a love feast. They have similar programs and platforms. Both the Klan and the Bund are organizations dedicated to the principle of race hatred. terror and murder. Both are anti-Jewish, anti-Negro and anti-union. The Bund is an arm of Hitler fascism, which is German capitalism stripped of any democratic pretensions. The Klan is an arm of United States capitalism in the raw, which tolerates and often encourages the Klan in its anti-Negro, anti-Jewish and anti-union activities. Keeping the workers divided into warring racial and religious camps is good for capitalist profits in the U.S. just as in Germany. .

The record of the Klan in this country is just as gruesome, oppressive and horrible as the Nazi record in Germany, the fascist record in Italy or the Stalinist terror against the Russian workers. The difference is one of numbers murdered. This is due of course to the fact that the Klan does not yet control the state, the army, and the FBI. Given power and these forces, the Klan would move as swiftly against Negroes in the U.S. as Hitler did in Germany against the Jews. Not only this but we would witness the same reactionary regime all along the line: suppression of the unions, burning of books, exaltation of race, the concentration camp, the lash and the rack for those who dared dissent.

And so we say, why shouldn't the Klan and the Bund get together? This is what the workers in the United States should understand. To be sure the love feast between the Klan and the Bund will not continue. But the reason for the breakup will not be any divergence in fundamental principles but only for nationalist patriotic reasons. The Klan will be forced into star spangled support of our own imperialist bandits for the duration of the war, while the Bund will heil Hitler for similar nationalist motives.

Workers in the U.S. must look upon the Klan as the same kind of snake as the Bund. It is just as poisonous and deadly to the working class. This goes for all fascist and the other near-fascist outfits: the Christian Mobilizers, the Christian Front, Knights of the White Camellia, Crusader White Shirts.

The Klan, the Bund and all of these organizations are enemies of the workers' organizations. They seek to cover up their

anti-union position by race superiority myths, flag-waving, religion, the sanctity of the home. As the U.S. draws nearer to war the Klan will become more active, more "patriotic" and more dangerous. Outwardly the Klan will differentiate itself from the Bund. But the workers should not be misled. The Klan and other native organizations of the type named above are the hoodlum advance guard of our own budding fascists in the ranks of the big bosses. As soon as they dare, if they catch the workers asleep, the big bosses will use the Klan and the others to batter down the working class and destroy the unions. The Klan and the other outfits are the potential storm troops of the Hitlers here in the United States.

### **Labor Day**

This Labor Day finds the workers of Europe, Africa and Asia in a death grapple with each other for the benefit solely of international capitalism. The marching armies, the murderous bombers and the lumbering, but deadly, tanks are all manned by the workers of Europe and the colonial peoples of Africa and Asia. The captains and the kings of finance have organized this terrible slaughter for one purpose only: PLUNDER and PROFITS. They want to keep their decayed and stinking system going.

Roosevelt and Willkie conspire and prepare with all haste to hurl the United States into this war on the side of England: dear Britain, GIVER OF DEMOC-RACY and DEFENDER of SMALL NA-TIONS. Ask the black colonials of Africa, the brown people of India and the poverty ridden Chinese millions what they think of this democracy.

And what of the United States, with its group of flag draped, hymn singing hypocrites, arming again to "defend the rights of minorities," to "make the world safe for democracy?" Where is this democracy for the Negro people? In Georgia, in New York? Let the thousands of Negroes who have been mobbed, lynched and murdered answer from the grave. Let the countless men and women of the labor movement who have been clubbed, jailed, kidnapped and murdered by boss gangsters, national guard and army say what is their opinion of this democracy. Ask all these and they will tell a story like that of the Jews and workers of Germany, the African and Indian natives and the Chinese coolies.

Roosevelt-Willkie and Churchill on one side. Hitler and Mussolini on the other. Each a front for his own imperialists who sit out of sight and call the tunes. The Hitler gang wants more room, more raw materials, more markets, more colonies to exploit. The Chuchill gang, fat and bloated after centuries of pillage and rapine, attempts to hold on to its loot. The Roosevelt-Willkie gang, fatter and more swollen than all the rest from financial conquest all over the earth, delivers an ultimatum to Hitler that all the western hemisphere belongs to Wall Street.

On this Labor Day, the workers of the United States must think of these things. As they march on September 2 under the banner of their unions, they must remember that it is up to them to say what the next Labor Day will be like. No one can give an answer to this question that will be of benefit to a single worker except the organized working class. This Labor Day like May Day-labor's real day, should be a day of protest and action. Action against the war. Action against peacetime or war-time conscription for the Wall Street army of Roosevelt and Willkie. Action against the bosses for higher wages and shorter hours. Action for unity of the labor movement on a militant, democratic and mass organization program, in order to increase the striking power of the union movement against the bosses. Such a Labor Day will have meaning and signifi-

The workers must do these things because it is they who pay the price of imperialist war. The working class is not defeated. They have the numbers, the power and the courage to change the Wall Street war into a struggle for the liberation of the working class and all humanity. On this Labor Day let the call be:

FOR A WORKERS GOVERNMENT AND A PEOPLE'S ARMY

FOR PEACE THROUGH SOCIALISM. FOR THE SOCIALIST U.S. OF THE AMERICAS, FOR THE SOCIALIST U.S. OF EUROPE, FOR THE WORLD SO-CIALIST FEDERATION.

# By F.D.R.'s Acts the U.S. Has, In Effect, Entered the War

This declaration is not far off. There are still a few things that Roosevelt has to achieve before he can send an army into the field. Modern war is a great devourer of men. He needs an army large enough to wage war on the modern scale—an army with millions of young men ready, each in his turn, for the sacrifice.

Impatient with the delay in

the Senate, Roosevelt has given the order: quit fooling around, get the draft bill passed! And faced with an ultimatum from the real bosses of this country, the industrialists and the financiers, to get the war machine oiled for action, Willkie has momentarily dropped his dribble about debating Roosevelt on non-essential differences, and joined in demanding Congress to get some steam up.

Therefore, before this issue of LA-BOR ACTION comes off the press, the Senate, which has been meeting

# Our Readers\_ Take the Floor ...

SEES MUCH TO LEARN IN AMERICAN PAST

May I say that I have been very happy to see you pointing out and seizing upon the revolutionary elements in our American heritage, elements that have been overlaid and buried by official bourgeois mythologists. In any period it is one of the most vital tasks of the revolutionary movement to establish a community with the past. And nothing is more powerful than the historical affiliation, the creation of "a usable past" for the struggle for a socialist world.

But there is more radicalism in the American tradition than is dreamt of even in the Marxian philosophy. And it would be well for the socialist movement, particularly in this period of crisis when the entire status quo has become a reactionary mass, to unearth in some systematic fashion these revolutionary elements.

You may be interested in one item I have run across. It is of especial interest today in the light of the super-pressure campaign for national unity and the cessation of the class struggle. The National Association of Manufacturers is preparing a billboard blitzkrieg along the lines: No Industrial Troubles! Look at France. . . The bed has been made, and Capital and Labor must lie down together. Well, exactly a hundred years ago, in 1840, when American capitalism was torn by depression and radical ferment, a similar campaign was made. And, then, a good, solid, American,-no alien,-indeed, a Godfearing citizen .- offered the following parable in bitter comment. Wrote Orestes Brownson, one of America's greatest radicals:

"The Lamb is necessary to the wolf; for without the lamb the wolf might want a dinner; and the wolf is necessary to the lamb, for without the wolf the lamb might fail to be eaten "Therefore" says the benevolent wolf to the lamb, 'do not be hostile to us, nor excite your brother lambs against us; for you see we wolves and you lambs are mutually necessary to each other. We are dependent on you for something to eat, as you are on us to be eaten.' 'But I don't want to be eaten!' exclaims the lamb in great trepidation. 'Not want to be eaten!' replied the wolf. 'Now that's odd. You and I are very far from thinking alike, and I must needs consider you very unreasonable and radical in your mode of thinking . . ."

Rest assured, there have been no radical agitators like American radical agitators-and there will be no revolution like the coming American

With best wishes, J.M. New York, August 13.

FROM A WORKER

TO OTHER WORKERS

One of the fellows I work with at the National gave me a copy of LABOR ACTION. In fact, he has

given me a copy every week for the last six weeks. I can't tell you what all has gone through my mind since I started reading your paper. I am still rubbing the sleep out of my eyes. I am sore at myself for not having started thinking sooner. I get worried when I try to count other workingmen who are not thinking. I want to write you in the hope that other men like myself will read what I have to say and in turn rub the sleep out of their eyes.

I fell like shouting from the housetops "for chrisakes workingmen wake up." Do you think it is a natural state of affairs that you do all the work and barely get a living? Are you satisfied with being unemployed, on WPA or relief? Have you no kick coming when the boss says he don't need you next week but your rent and groceries go on just the same? Don't you ever ask how come the boss can turn you off and on like he does the water spiggot.

Have you ever stopped to think that the boss doesn't give you a job because you are cold or hungry or your family is in need, but that you get a job only when the boss can make a profit from your labor? How come he is boss and you take his orders? By what standard of fairness does he dominate every detail of you life? You say he doesn't do that -that you are free to come and go as you please-that you can work or not work as the mood moves you? Try that line of argument on your wife who meets the bill collectors while you are working or tell that to your kids who are soon to go back to school. Don't you see the whip of need and hunger is the weapon your boss uses on you and all other workingmen? Why should that be so? I realize

that if everybody quit working we'd all soon starve and go naked. But why are some people exempt from this rule? Oh-you say-that's easy -because they have money. But, I ask, where did they get the money? It doesn't grow on trees. Somebody, always working people, have to work before money can be given to people who do not work. I have a friend who is a valet or personal servant to a very rich young man. This very rich young man never works, has a good time, the best of everything including cars, liquor, clothes, women books, theatre tickets and enough left to make all the crazy bets on the horses he can think of. My friend opens the mail for his boss. Checks from nationally known corporations come in the mail-far bigger than you or I ever dream of getting for a year's work. And he never turns a tap. My pal draws the bath and shaving water for his boss. While all this is going on you argue with your wife over getting two bits for some beer or can we afford a

Since reading LABOR ACTION I have come to believe that nobody should be permitted to take any goods or services from what we make in mills, factories, mines or shops unless he produces some kind of goods or services in return.

If your wife laid down on the job at home, refusing to get your meals,

900,000 men will be called into service first. This is one of those concessions" which LABOR ACTION has previously pointed out aren't worth a pinch of snuff. The U.S. does not have the facilities at hand right now to train more than that. With the regular army and navy, this will provide, in a short time, over a million men, trained for war. A few months from now, if more are needed, if the training facilities are expanded, and if Roosevelt and Willkie have decided that the moment for war declaration has come, it will be a simple job for the Congressmen to pass enabling legislation.

draft bill. The bill will then be rushed

into the House for quick approval.

It doesn't matter to these gentlemen that you are against conscription, that the majority of your unions -AFL and CIO-have shown their opposition. You may have elected them, but they are NOT your representatives. They represent the bosses. Sometimes, they will curry favor with you by pretending to act as you wish. But when the showdown comes, they most always show their true colors: a dollar sign painted in all the colors of the flag.

Senator Maloney put up a big show the other day with his amendment to the bill that conscription be delayed until January 1. Lest his masters boot him out when next election time comes around, he hastened to add "I have not and do not and will not condemn the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill. . . . I should prefer it (the amendment) to be referred to as a possible cushion against shock to our national life." That's it: a lot of these Congressmen proposing "concessions" are trying to take the "shock" out of it.

Phoney "concessions" won't take the shock out of the bill. However 'generous" the "offer", the bill remains a malignant scheme framed by representatives of Big Business (in the Harvard Club) to force an unwilling population to go to war for Misters Money Bags.

If conscription is to be blocked, action must be taken in the next few days. What earthly use is it for the mighty unions of the AFL and CIO to condemn the measure and then sit back and do nothing. Your unions must be made to act now-TODAY. Voices alone will not stop the draft. Fists raised in union demonstration can stop it.

NO SECRET DIPLOMACY! DEFEAT THE CONCRIPTION

NO DRAFT OF AMERICAN LIV-ES FOR WALL STREET'S WAR! LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WHETHER THEY WANT WAR! DOWN WITH THE BOSSES' WAR!

do the ironing and washing or keep the house clean while you work, you'd soon bust up. Why don't you bust up with the bosses? Why don't you say, let's have a new way o doing things whereby everybody will contribute according to his ability and receive according to his needs? We do that now in the schools. If I have four children and you have two, twice as much effort will be given to my children than to yours. And you don't envy me. Why can't we do the same thing with shoes and stockings and dresses and fuel and food and all the other things that are necessary to make life worth

We can do it-but the first task is to eliminate the non-workers - the parasites. If you want to know how to do that job, read LABOR ACTION. A Working Man.

St. Louis, Mo., Aug. 24.

### I am interested -

in learning more about the Workers Party... in joining the Workers Party\_

## Which Type of Leader Should **Negroes Follow?**

THE NEGRO'S FIGHT

Joe Louis, Congressman Mitchell and Leon Trotsky: these three names seem to have little in common except that they are well known to most Negroes. Joe Louis, a world-famous boxer of whom Negroes are justly proud. Congressman Mitchell, the only Negro in Congress. Trotsky, the great revolutionary, one of the greatest men of modern or of any other times, recently in the news account of his dastardly murder by Stalin -Stalin, who wants to destroy everything that remains of the October revolution in Russia, in order to cover up and disguise his own betrayal of everything the revolution stood for. What is the connection between these three?

#### TWO ARE STOOGES FOR IMPERIALISM

Last week we showed how Congressman Mitchell practically ordered out of his office some Negroes who came to protest against conscription. Mitchell, with his fat salary and privileges, finds Roosevelt's America a good enough place and is ready to drive Negro youth into the army.

Now comes Joe Louis. He told a reporter last week that he is ready to fight for his country. Says Joe: "Look at what this country did for me. It gave me a chance to win the heavyweight title . . . Uncle Sam can certainly depend upon me to do my part for my country if any foreign army tries to invade it. Because I'm grateful."

Joe, you see, has something to defend. He gets his share of the pickings. So he allies himself politically with Roosevelt, and all of those who are bent on driving the country into war. What will happen is that when war comes nearer, or actually begins, Joe will be dressed up in a uniform, given a title, Captain Louis, and sent around to help whip the Negroes into line. He and Congressman Mitchell and some others will be given the job of encouraging the exploited, oppressed, humiliated, starving Negroes, to die for a democracy that they have never had, and will never have under capitalism. These are the "prominent Negroes" the "leaders of their people", etc. Stooges for imperialism. That's what

### THE THIRD-A FIGHTER FOR FREEDOM

Compare another type of leader-Leon Trotsky. Trotsky was one of the most gifted men who ever lived. As thinker, as orator, as organizer, as writer, he had capacity which would have led him to success in any walk of life. He had energy enough for five men. The least of his achievements is stupendous. But early in life he decided that his life work would be with the workers and poor farmers of the world, for their emancipation from capitalist slavery, for socialism. He started to organize workers, was imprisoned, escaped and lived abroad, in exile, a refugee from country to country. In 1905 the first revolution broke out in Russia. Trotsky went back, became one of its leaders, and when the revolution failed, was arrested and sent to Siberia. He escaped once more and lived again the hard life of a refugee. When the 1914 war broke out he exposed it as a war for imperialist plunder and was forced to fly from Europe and take refuge in America. He want back to Russia in 1917, helped Lenin to overthrow the Tsarist tyranny and became one of the most powerful men in the world. But as soon as he felt that Stalin was beginning to oppress the workers and peasants of Russia, he started to fight against him. He lost his positions in the government, became once more a lonely refugee, was hounded from country to country, often he did not have enough to eat, could not find a place to stay. But he stuck to his principles, always preached what would help the workers and farmers of the world, and was finally murdered for his beliefs and his work. When the workers were powerful in Russia, Trotsky had great power; when they went down. Trotsky went down.

### WHO WILL LEAD US?

That is the kind of leadership the workers and farmers need. That is the kind of leadership the Negroes, more than any other oppressed group, need today in these critical times. Watch those Negroes who come to you offering to lead the race. Do they come to you ready to struggle, to sacrifice, to go to prison, to die for the cause? Or do they come with money, position, privileges, wealth-all gained from the capitalist class and trying to get you to carry out the will of your capitalist oppressors?

Congressman Mitchell and Joe Louis want to send you to die for Wall Street's war, and the things the capitalist bosses allow them to have. Trotsky preferred to suffer and die urging the poor of all countries to oppose Wall Street and all tyranny whether in war or in peace. He could have won great wealth, comfort, ease and security by joining the enemies of the workers. He scorned to do so. Who is the leader to follow?

Workers! This Is Not Our War! It Is a War for Boss Profits! Join Hands in Independent Labor Action Against the War!

# You Can Register Your Opposition to Boss War By Putting Max Shachtman on the Bronx Ballot

Neither capitalist tyranny nor to- main the symbol of emancipation, talitarian dictatorship will halt the march towards mankinds liberation, declared Max Shachtman following the news of Leon Trotsky's death at the hands of a Stalinist assassin.

The National Secretary of the Workers Party, who is running as Candidate for Congress from the Bronx, lashed out at the life-long persecutors and latter-day murderers of Lenin's great collaborator.

"Leon Trotsky bore in his spirit the unquenchable flame of revolt against capitalist tyranny and totalitarian dictatorship," declared Shachtman. "His tragic and untimely death places upon us the task of heightening and speeding the movement for mankinds liberation."

Turning to his candidacy for Congress, Shachtman stated: "The workers of the Bronx, to whom Trotsky's great name will re-

can repudiate in this election the foul hirelings of the Kremlin and the equally corrupt sinecures of Wall Street. A vote for a representative of the Fourth International will serve to show the combined hordes of reaction that Trotsky's hopes and labors in humanity's cause were not in vain; that his ideas remain as powerful as when he walked among

Meanwhile, stirred by the news of Trotsky's death, members and friends of the Workers Party responded generously to Shachtman's Congressional Campaign.

The initial drive to secure the necessary signatures which will place Shachtman on the ballot is progressing rapidly, the Campaign Commit-

One hundred thousand "Vote

Shachtman" cards are being widely distributed and street meetings are being held in all parts of the Bronx under the direction of the Committee.

As a result of the vigorous campaign, numerous requests for information have been received by the Committee concerning the Workers Party and its candidate .

Last Friday, August 23, the first in a series of indoor election rallies was held at Hollywood Gardens, Prospect Avenue at 161 Street, attended by a considerable number of white and Negro workers, many of them former members of the Stalinist Party. The meeting, addressed by Albert Gates in the absence of Shachtman, who left to represent the Workers Party at Trotsky's funeral in Mexico, stressed the necessity for workers' action against conscription

### LABOR ACTION

Official Organ of Workers Party (Section of the 4th International)

Published weekly by the National Council of the Young People's Socialist League of America (Fourth International)

**SEPTEMBER 2, 1940** 

Vol. 4, No. 21

114 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. (3rd Floor) Editor: Joseph Carter

Managing Editor: EMANUEL GARRETT Business Manager: ALBERT GATES Subscription Rate: \$1.50 per year, \$1.00 six months

(\$2.00 per year or \$1.50 six months for Canada and Foreign) Re-entered as second class matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.