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FIVE (5) CENTS

WAGES FROZEN, ECONOMIC CZAR NAMED, COLLECTIVE BARGAINING RESTRICTED

Trotskyists Hold Tenth Convention Roosevelt's Oct. 3 Order Is

Reaffirm The Socialist Line On Imperialist War

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

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

skvism. the party, was also the largest 107 regular, alternate and fraternal delegates and by more than 200 guests from out-of-town and from New York.

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

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

CONTRAST WITH 1941

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

The Second and Third Internationals gave advance warning of their treachery long before the outbreak of the present war, but even Lenin was surprised by almost universal socials patriotic betrayals of the socialist and labor leaders at the beginning of the first imperialist therefore had to begin almost dia. from the beginning in elaborating a program for the war and in (Continued on page 2)

Cannon, Breitman To Speak On Radio | gave its itili support to charter | with us in the highly struggle to free India and Burma of all imperialisms." In N. J. Campaign

NEWARK, N. J., Oct. 7-George Breitman, Socialist to open new negotiations with the Workers Party candidate for Congress leaders. Washington U. S. Senator from New Jersey, hoped that new and James P. Cannon, National would quiet down India. But Secretary of the Socialist Work- Washington remains, fundameners Party, will be the speakers | tally, the supporter of Churchill in the series of election radio in India; any illusion that pressbroadcasts arranged by the ure by Roosevelt on British In7

Breitman will speak on Saturday, Oct 17 and 24, and Cannon independence. It is absolutely will make the final broadcast on Saturday, Oct. 31. The time of Britain agrees to his mediation, all the speeches will be from 5:15 will be an impartial judge beto 5:30 P.M., over Station WPAT, tween the contending forces in 930 kilocycles.

The first address of Breitman will deal, among other things, with Roosevelt's latest executive order freezing wages and limiting the rights of collective bar- tive agents."

The convention, which followed a two month discussion period in Fourth International Issues in the history of the American Trotskyists, being attended by Manifesto To Masses Of India

World Party of Socialist Revolution Offers Program to Achieve Independence

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

Although primarily addressed to the workers and peasants of India, the 6,000-word Manifesto will be of vital interest to the workers of all countries. 9-

al liberation, the Manifesto notes that the Fourth International is the only international labor-organization which is supporting the present struggle for independence, while the Second and Third Internationals are aiding Churchill by condemning the present struggle. In this connection the Manifesto reviews the principal documents of the Fourth International s i n c e 1934, on the basis of which the best revolutionists of India have come together during the last two years to form the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India as a section

of the Fourth International. BRITISH IMPERIALISTS WILL NOT GRANT FREEDOM

An important section of the Manifesto is devoted to proving that under no conditions will British imperialism voluntarily agree to Indian independence. The only road to independence is the overwar. The internationalists of 1914 throw of the British power in In-

"Beware of American 'Mediation'" is the heading of the next assembling the vanguard of the section, which shows how illusory do to turn their arms against were the hopes of the Indian their own imperialist masters, bourgeoisie, who thought Wash- the best way we can persuade the ington would support them. From the time of the Cripps Mission who are fighting alongside the until the last weeks, Washington | Japanese army, to join instead gave its full support to Church-

"It was only when it became clear that the British were failing to crush Indian resistance that Washington changed its tacnegotiations Breitman Campaign Committee. dian policy will benefit India's masses can be fatal to Indian

false to think that Roosevelt, if India. On the contrary, we can predict in advance that in that case Washington will conduct a mock trial ending in a decision in favor of Britain and its na-

The Manifesto also warns In- diers' committees.

mediation by Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek who, for their own antiinternationalist and bureaucratic motivation, "would be certain to hand down a decision acceptable to Churchill and Roosevelt."

WEAKEST LINK IN CHAIN

"India - Weakest Link in the Imperialist Chain" is the heading under which the Manifesto shows how the masses of India may play the same role in this war that the Russian revolution played in the last war, but with the additional factor that Asia was quiescent during 1914-1918 while today its teeming millions in China and India are in the forefront of the struggle against

imperialism. The Manifesto quotes the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India on the best way to aid China and defeat Japanese imperialism. "Just as much as the first task of the Chinese masses is to overthrow Japanese imperialism, the first task of the Indian masses is to overthrow British imperialism. This is the best example we can set the soldiers of the Mikathousands of deluded Burmans with us in the mighty struggle

Under the heading, "The New Spirit of the British Workers." the Manifesto tells the Indian masses that they need not fear that the British workers in uniform constitute an insuperable obstacle to overthrowing British imperialism. These British workers, already discontented with the British government, as expressed in the many strike struggles of the past year, can be won to the side of the revolutionary struggle, as happened in Russia in

The last sections of the Manifesto are a critique of the Indian National Congress methods of waging the struggle, counterposing to it the achievement of national liberation through the agrarian revolution under the leadership of democratically elected workers', peasants' and sol-

On the Stalingrad Front



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

Hitler's Speech

Taking its stand on the side of dia's masses against agreeing to he struggle of India for nation-mediation by Stalin and Chiang To Hold What They Have Won

Discontent Shows 'New Order' Is Far From Stabilization

By C. CHARLES

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

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

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

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

He stated that his aim was to consolidate his gains, while remaining on the defensive:

"Under all circumstances, we must hold whatever must be held. That is to say, we must let the others attack as much as they wish wherever we have no intention to advance. We must hold everything and must wait and see who tires soonest."

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

in the coming year. Hitler was (Continued on page 4)

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

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

quite clear that he now charges his allies with having failed to live up to their promises, pledges and agreements. The second front, asserts Stalin, comes first.

carry out an alleged agreement previously arrived at. More than that, they even failed to provide viet Union has so far been little effective."

To Lie About L. Trotsky

The statement further declares their obligations fully and on quite clear: these obligations have was in glaring contrast to his neither been adequately fulfilled nor on time.

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

masses were also promised relief

Depending On Imperialists to Save USSR

Whatever else may be obscure in Stalin's answers, it is

implication is obvious: the promised material aid, or, as 'the aid of the Allies to the So-

STALIN PREPARES ALIBI

side and outside the USSR.

This Is Also Indictment of His Policy of

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

that the Allies should "fulfill time." Again the implication is

this statement it is an easy

The polite and devious language of diplomacy employed by Stalin only serves to underscore one of the main purposes of his answers: To prepare an alibi for himself. He needs an alibi for the catastrophic defeats suffered by the Red Army despite its heroic resistance. He needs an alibi for the desperate conditions which film that Warner Bros. is makconfront the peoples of the USSR ing of the book 'Mission to Mosduring the coming winter, independently of whether Stalingrad | Maxwell states that Leon Trotstands or falls.

The Red soldiers, workers and in the pay of Adolph Hitler' by peasants have achieved unprecearena. They want victory, they can be victorious. Why then is the Soviet Union faced with disare asking this question both in-

By his campaign for the second front, and by his current charges | your paper there should be printagainst Washington and London, ed the filthy Stalinist lie about

But there is no second front. Stalin seeks to distract attention away from himself, away from Churchill and Roosevelt did not his own responsibility: at the (Continued on page 3) the text of the statement the set. Goldman Protests Film

alarm in London.

certain documentary proofs which dented feats on the military have been furnished to the maker of this film. "As attorney for Leon Trotsky while he was alive and for his aster? More and more workers widow, Natalia Trotsky, I wish to protest against such a monstrous libel.

"It is indeed strange that in

Blow At Masses' Standards

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

By JOSEPH ANDREWS

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

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

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

savings.

workers.

The authority vested in Roosevelt by Congressional action, to rule by decree on wages and o prices, upon which he based his rected under the general policy October 3 order, makes it pospursued by the War Labor sible for him to decree further Board, which also paid only lip attacks on the standards of the

WAGES ARE FROZEN

AT SEPT. 15 LEVEL The order freezes wages of the overwhelming majority of the workers at the September 15, 1942 level: "The National War Labor Board shall not approve any increase in wage rates collective bargaining, arbitration prevailing on September 15, 1942, or otherwise shall be auiniess such increases are necessary to correct maladjustments or inequalities to eliminate substandards of living, to correct

gross inequities." There is absolutely no reason to believe that "gross inequities" will be corrected under the antilabor Byrnes' supervision any

Who Is Byrnes?

What Is His Labor

Record?

-SEE PAGE 4-

including Stalinist and fascist.

"Let me call your attention to

the fact that in the infamous

mentary proof whatever was pro-

"The Commission of Inquiry to

investigate the charges against

Leon Trotsky, headed by the fa-

mous educator and philosopher,

John Dewey, after a thorough in-

vestigation, wrote an exhaustive

report analyzing the charges, and

the 'evidence' produced in the

Moscow frame-up trials. The

commission completely cleared

Leon Trotsky and his son of the

charges made against them by

Stalin and flatly declared that the

Moscow Trials were nothing but

"All open and concealed Sta-

linists hope to take advantage of

the heroic resistance of the Red

Army to white-wash Stalin and

Red Army that fought victorious-

publish this letter but an edito-

rial note apologizing to the mem-

ory of Leon Trotsky and to his

"Very truly yours,

ALBERT GOLDMAN"

frame-ups.

Revolution.

any of the defendants.

Leon Trotsky and the latter's to fighting all forms of reaction,

widow, Natalia Sedov Trotsky,

protested vigorously last week

the announcement that the mo-

tion picture film based on ex-

Ambassador Davies' book, Mis-

sion To Moscow would in ef-

fect be a justification by Hol-

lywood of Stalin's Moscow

frameups, containing all of the

GPU's monstrous lies and slan-

ders, and perhaps a few addi-

In a letter to the N. Y. Post

which printed it only in part

"In her column of September

22, Elsa Maxwell writes about the

cow' by Joseph E. Davies./Miss

sky 'will be proved to have been

on Oct. 2, the noted labor attor-

ney declared:

"Dear Editor:

such increases or decreases." The union movement by this order is thus deprived of its right to bargain with the employers, independent of government inmore than they have been cortervention.

GOES EASY ON BOSSES

Roosevelt attempted to soften the anti-labor effect of his order by throwing in an ambiguous measure authorizing Byrnes to "limit" employers' salaries. "No increases in salaries now in excess of \$5,000 per year (except n instances in which an individual has been assigned to more difficult or responsible work) shall be granted, unless otherwise determined by the Director." This provision is armed with not one, but two loopholes (both underlined) to see to it that employers will not be seriously af-Albert Goldman, attorney for | a man who devoted all his life

service to the need to raise the

wages of the most underpaid

Roosevelt's decree specifically

limits the right of collective

bargaining previously guaranteed

a result of voluntary agreement,

thorized unless notice of su

increases or decreases shall have

been filed with the WLB and

unless the WLB has approved

"No increase in wage rates as

by law. The order states:

salaries. The section of Roosevelt's order which pretends to limit Moscow frame-up trials no docu- salaries to \$25,000 a year is equally fraudulent. The order duced against Leon Trotsky or states: "Insofar as practicable, no salary shall be authorized to the extent that it exceeds \$25,-000 after payment of taxes, PROVIDED HOWEVER THAT SUCH REGULATIONS SHALL MAKE DUE ALLOWANCE FOR THE PAYMENT OF LIFE INSURANCE PREMIUMS, RE-QUIRED PAYMENTS ON FIXED OBLIGATIONS. . . AND SHALL MAKE PROVI-SION TO PREVENT UNDUE

fected by this fake limit on

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

HARDSHIP.

Moreover, this provision does not deal in any way with the revive the Stalinist slanders huge profits of corporations, against a man who organized the which can go on unbridled, or the huge incomes of the big capitally against such tremendous odds ists derived in the main from in the first years of the Russian dividends and income from investments in the big corpora-"I hope that you will not only tions.

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

(Continued on page 2)

Moves With 'Liberal' Veneer

Trotskyists Hold 10th National Convention Roosevelt Covers Anti-Labor

revolutionary party on the basis of that program.

The Trotskyist movement, on the other hand, guided by the the revolutions and betrayals that followed, was fully prepared | held in April, 1940. for and even predicted the present war. They were therefore | MAIN WORLD EVENTS politically steeled and organizationally prepared in advance, and United States entry had absolutely no social-patriotic repercussions or defections in their ranks. While Lenin had to hammer out the program, the Trotskyists had their program long before the beginning of the war; while Lenin had a handful of people, the Trotskyists had well-tested and experienced ca-

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

POSITION ON WAR IS UNAMBIGUOUS

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

And now, in the resolution

threatened last week with the

official representative of the U.

the Building and Construction

Admitting that "some" employ-

"Your answer may be, 'They

labor, but they certainly can live

mit that no one can live without | duPont, etc.

in Toronto.

And he added:

destruction of their trade unions | self be stepped on and kicked

the attacks and provocations of government agencies and the

the bosses. This threat — to bosses will try to smash the la-

institute what virtually amounts many, if they exercise the func-

to fascism — was made by an tion for which they were created

S. Navy, Admiral Ben Moreell, speed-up, refusal to negotiate

chief of the U.S. Bureau of grievances and other attacks on

labor must "refuse to be incited." about the extremely unsavory

In other words — according to lost a thousand times more pro-

this naval representative of the duction time than all of the

SUBSCRIBE NOW

READ

THE MILITANT

Yards and Docks, speaking before labor's rights and conditions.

Trades Department of the AFL SILENT ABOUT BOSSES

wise are liars or provocateurs."

resolution dealing with the main experiences of the first war and world events since the last regular convention of the S.W.P.

SINCE APRIL, 1940

Hitler has conquered all Europe, he said, and some people see cause only for despair or resistance of the oppressed peoples and their aspiration for national freedom prevent any stabilization of Hitler's "New Order" and can and very likely and does not adapt itself to the and will prevail." program of bourgeois nationalof the Socialist United States of Europe.

Cannon reviewed the attack of Germany on the Soviet Union, has been the slightest possibility and showed how of all groups in the labor movement the Trotskyist policy alone had been proved tion heard an inspiring report of response to the war was by an correct. He also explained the the party's organizational work masses, despite the strangulating policies of Stalinism, as a sign 1942 Fourth International and by that the masses were fighting to Grace Carlson's statement in the preserve the conquests of the October Revolution.

In the first world war, he went sible. Neither friend nor foe source of the most optimistic phenomenon, but was taking

bor unions here, just as in Ger-

- resistance to wage-cutting.

While Moreell complained bit-

terly about labor's war-time rec-

for planes, tanks and guns have

effort of the colonial and semi- ist type of party which meets its Comrade Cannon then took colonial peoples of India and tasks and continues its work even up those s e c t i o n s of the China to free themselves from in the periods of worst reaction. the domination of imperialism.

testing of programs and the test- extremely difficult. hope only in the program of the ing of people. Out of that Anglo-American bandits. But the crucible has come a party that agures about the composition of is strong and unafraid and con- the party by occupation, and fident."

powerful imperialism in the of the delegates at the convenworld, he said, because we see tion, was working in industry may be the starting point for a not only its strength but also its and engaged in trade union work new series of revolutions. "But internal weakness and its hope- He stressed the role of the that," he said, "is only on the less contradictions. "Our enemies women comrades in the period of condition that the workers' van- are strong. But our program, our the, war, noted that they are guard sticks to its own program cadres, our discipline are stronger playing a bigger role in the

The report was followed by and emphasized the importance ism." We are and should be the discussion of various aspects of of continuing and extending this foremest fighters against Hitler the resolution, and then was practice. -"but with our own program, adopted unanimously. (This imwith the central guiding slogan portant resolution will be printed also with the quantities of Trotin full in an early issue of THE MILITANT.)

DOBBS REPORT ON PARTY'S ACTIVITIES

The second day of the conven- creased its circulation by 100%. heroic defense of the Soviet in the last two years given by Comrade Farrell Dobbs, National Labor Secretary.

One of the most heartening parts of his report was the information he gave relative to the growth of the party membership, under discussion, the party "once on, the masses of Asia were pas- especially since Pearl Harbor, again restates the program of sive and politically unheard from The recruitment of new party Bolshevism. I repeat: No misun- - "this time they are at the members, he showed by the derstanding is or has been pos- center of events. Here is the figures, was not an isolated

Navy Admiral Threatens Unions With Extinction reason for those strikes which have been called.

By MILTON ALVIN
The American workers were
Live Without Them" the other government agents, was listened to with great inhave no complaints and no terest by the delegates. unless they stopped resisting around by the employers; but the threats to make against the monopolists. What better indica- the report gave the party as a tion could there be that the gov- whole the benefit of the exernment and Big Business are perience of some of the delegates' working together under cover of work in the past 31 months, and the war to weaken the labor greatly clarified the general movement and to let the employ- line to be followed by the ers get away with murder?

ers were "unscrupulous" enough ord, which he claimed "in many brass-hatted spokesman for Big to provoke strikes "for selfish instances does not make the best Business off the stage. That an purposes," Moreell demanded that reading," he had nothing to say attack of this nature could be made openly at a union meeting convention was the report on the wartime (and peacetime) record is the result of the previous third day by Comrade C. Charles of the industrial giants such as weak-kneed policies of the offi- on the organizations of the

cannot live without us.' I will ad- Standard Oil, General Electric, cial labor leaders. Their cringing withdrawal be-These monopolies, it has been fore the pressure of the boss without labor unions. They are shown, have cartel agreements class, their surrender of labor's the Fourth International, the Soliving without them in Germany, with the Nazi monopolists to di- most effective weapons of strug- cialist Workers Party remains in and in Italy, and in Japan and vide markets, raw materials, pat- gle have facilitated the governthey seem to be doing right well ent rights and profits before, ment-Big Business moves against thinkers throughout the world. at least for the moment - during and after the war. Their the working people. Having a and, in my opinion, they will insistence on maintaining their docide and cowardly labor leaddamn well live without them here post-war monopoly privileges and ership to deal with, the spokesif all of us don't get in there on holding out for higher prices men for America's Sixty Families do not hesitate to openly threaten the crushing of the labor movement.

government's "war for democra- strikes of the last two years. WHAT WORKERS - labor can continue to have Furthermore, their refusal to CAN LIVE WITHOUT

its organizations, for a while grant the justified demands of anyhow, if it is willing to let it- the labor movement is the real will come from the ranks of the of the labor movement in Germany and Italy and Japan and they cherish hopes of being able there is good reason for believing that they will never be able to accomplish it.

> and they will not permit the de- and peasants. struction of their organizations without the most bitter struggle.

In the course of that struggle, we are confident, the workers will forge a new leadership. In addi- past. "The oppressed masses of ces. That is the heart of our intion, they will learn that the ruling class, which has outlived its usefulness and is a brake upon progressive development, is trying to perpetuate its rule by rights of the masses. As the rul- United States of Europe." ing class moves ever more openly, in this country as elsewhere, bone of the bone and flesh of the toward the establishment of fas- | flesh of the Socialist Workers | veals in advance what Roosevelt what they can "damn well live ed in the past by the aid it gave near future to "selve" the danger without" is the brass hats and to its co-thinkers, and once again of inflation. the class they represent, and they at the convention by the enthuwill act accordingly.

tion. Those who pretend other- ally the Trotskyists support every and was a tribute to the Trotsky- delegates.

He also reported the organiza-"It is 14 years ago this month," tion of a number of new branches Cannon said, coming to the end in industrial centers where the of his report, "that we raised the party had had no strength previbanner of Trotsky and the Rus- ously, and the hard spade-work sian Opposition in the Central that had been laid for the growth Committee of the Communist of branches in a number of Party. Behind us are 14 years of centers including various cities in rich and varied experience, of the the South where party work is

Comrade D o b b s also gave showed that the overwhelming We dare to challenge the most | majority of the party ranks, as party's branch and union work.

> A section of his report dealt skyist literature published and distributed since April 1940-a total of 17 new pamphlets alone, totaling 125,000 copies. In addition the Trotskyist press has in-

TRADE UNION WORK

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

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

The discussion that followed party in the next period. An The press did not mention the amendment on trade union work adopted unanimously

delegates. One of the highlights of the Fourth International all over the world. Although forced by the Voorhis Act to disaffiliate from complete solidarity with its co-

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

Fierce persecution, manifested But a far different reaction to in arrests and executions, is methe threats of the ruling class ted out to the Trotskyists, not only in the Axis nations but also labor movement. The capitalist in the so-called democracies and rulers look longingly at the state by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

"The relative strength of the Fourth International in India to accomplish the same here. But and China," Comrade Charles mers. pointed out, "is of great significance, for a workers' organiza-For the American labor move- can win the confidence of the preliminary to even more drasment, despite the betrayals of its most oppressed toilers of the tic attacks on the workers. leaders, is the strongest in the world, will be able to draw upon world today. Deep in the Amer- a source of strength great enough | tion Roosevelt will have to atican working class is imbedded to shake imperialism to the tempt to make deep inroads on the consciousness that through ground." The Trotskyists support the purchasing power of the their unions they have made a and are active in the anti-impestart toward a better life. The rialist struggles which are going October 5 editorial correctly ex-American workers have learned on in these countries and strive plains the immediate cause for something from the fate that has to transform these struggles into the danger of inflation: "There befallen their European brothers social movements of the workers exists a great inflationary gap

France, both occupied and unoc- amount of money available to cupied, and in England has also spend and the amount of goods been registered in the recent available to buy at current priconquered Europe," said Charles, flationary problem." "are moving toward the position of the Fourth International which the country more and more turnteaches that the freedom of all European nations, large and goods, the supply of consumers every possible means and at small, can be assured only in goods is reduced. The gap widens whatever cost to the democratic the framework of the Socialist between purchasing power and

Socialist internationalism is ket.

| could have any doubt of our posi- | revolutionary hope." And natur- | place in all parts of the country, | Charles' report received from the | ditions and other technical ar-

FINAL ACTIONS OF THE CONVENTION

On the last day of the conven- resolution adopted by the convention the delegates also voted to tion. send a telegram of greetings to the founder of the Fourth International. The telegram said:

With communist greetings. . ."

rangements that so facilitated the work and comfort of the delegates was gratefully acknowledged and commended in a special

The last point on the conven-Natalia Sedov Trotsky, widow of tion agenda was the election of members and alternates to the new National Committee of the "Tenth party convention, the party. When this was concludlargest in the history of our ed, the gathering adjourned with movement, adopted unanimously the singing of The Internationle, political resolution and report, and the delegates departed for This is our reaffirmation of Leon | their respective homes inspired by Trotsky's ideas and program. To- the convention's decisions, with gether with you we continue our increased confidence in the abilmarch to the socialist future. ity of the party to meet its great tasks in the spirit of Lenin and The work done by the arrange- Trotsky, and with renewed dements committee in preparing the termination to carry on the work excellent housing and eating con- of the coming socialist revolution.

United Nations Seamen The United States Immigra- have been put in solitary confine-

Storm Trooper minds, have esfor medical attention.' tablished their own concentration camp on Rikers Island in CHARGES AGAINST New York's East River. This THE SEAMEN camp has been dubbed, by the inmates, "Dachau-on-the-Riv- for the crime of losing their seaer" and "Devil's Island." The men's papers, others for over-Immigration authorities have staying shore leave, others for thrown into this camp, not Ger- insubordination aboard ship, to be assured in advance that there man or Italian Fascists, but 700 others for outright desertion of seamen from the "United Nations" of Norway, Greece, Holand working conditions. land and China. The crime What the Post story did not these men committed was to pro-

Concentration Camp For

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

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

serves as a mattress. "The men are subject to strict prison discipline. They are marchmation and while eating must maintain silence. Most of the de- en and docile. tainees have lost weight and

leaders of these demonstrations | men.

tion authorities, with their ment on bread and water. One man died after pleading vainly

> Some of these men are held their jobs which had imposed upon them slave hours and wages

reveal was the miserable conditions aboard the "United Nations" ships and the fact that this "Dachau-on-the-River" is a stretched out innumerable tenta deliberate campaign of terror on cles to lay hold of the unions and the part of American authorities thereby gain direct or indirect in an effort to drive these sea- | control over them. Roosevelt's men back to their jobs.

The United States government has pledged to England and to prohibition of interference by the the governments-in-exile located in London, that the comparative- be acknowledged, to accomplish a ly good conditions on American spread to the "United Nations" | This gradual process of governships coming into our ports. It ment infiltration, with the conhas pledged further that all steps scious aid of the opportunist union possible would be taken to prevent desertions of the exploited and desperate alien seamen. "Dachau-on-the-River" is the

U. S. Government's method of fulfilling these pledges. The conception of the camp could be fully endorsed by Herr Himmler. Its purpose is to make living for to and from the mess hall in for- the men so unbearable that they will return to their ships - brok-

reaction of the audience to Mo- which had been introduced at the many complain of weakness be- ment has been placed at the dis- tunity to cover over with a liberal large to maintain their present reell's threat. Most likely the beginning of the discussion was cause of poor food. They are not posal of the Norwegian and veneer his acts of direct interven- standards, or at any rate to escape AFL bureaucrats sat there in withdrawn because of this clarifi- allowed to receive mail, food or Dutch and Greek shipowners in tion in union situations. It is some of the worst consequences "There have been several small the expense of the wages and ministration is pursuing an even what Roosevelt refuses to do of demonstrations of protest. . . the living conditions of their sea- more just and liberal policy to-

By A. ROLAND

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

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

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

CONCESSIONS AND INFILTRATION

The government has therefore method of making certain concessions—the right to organize, the bosses-has enabled him, it must large part of his aim of controlling

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

Roosevelt has been shrewd enough (with the aid of his "exwards workers than do the unions.

Witness the question of jobs of all categories for Negroes.

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

ONLY IN THE CASE OF UNIONS

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

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

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

TO MAKE IT LOOK PALATABLE

Take the matter of wage fixing. Roosevelt makes vague references to the cost of living and to inflaion in demanding the fixing of wages. But as a matter of fact, ve have been warned for the longest time that the American standard of living must inevitably be reduced. Roosevelt himself has assured us time and again of this fact. If wages were tied to the real cost of living, it would The power of the U. S. govern- perts") to utilize every oppor be possible for the masses by and their drive for greater profits at made to appear that the ad- of price rises. But this is precisely to commit himself to.

The fixing of wages is therefore ntended to prevent earnings from rising with costs. In this way Roosevelt proposes to place the entire burden of the war on the backs of the working class. All the talk about keeping down the eost of living was for the purpose of making wage fixing look a little more palatable. Even the labor lieutenant Murray saw the real meaning of wage fixing and had to protest that the CIO was unalterably against wage stabilization unrelated to the cost of liv-The October 3 decree - and had already undermined any possibility of resisting Roosevelt's - will go far toward disillusion- blow at the toilers. The workers in general have not

yet understood the true meaning of wage fixing. They tend to accept Roosevelt's demagogy and apparent promises as good coin. Only as the war develops further have been duped. The struggle The workers cannot depend on will then center around the slogan of higher wages to meet the dence from government domination. Otherwise Roosevelt will be enabled to complete his program at the expense of the masses without any opposition.

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WAGES FROZEN, CZAR APPOINTED, COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LI

(Continued from page 1)

accustomed, while the increased taxes on workers' incomes, affect | rial stated. their living standards directly. It should be noted that workers' incomes are frozen without any regard to their "obligations" while the bosses are conceded the right to take care of their obligations before their incomes are af-

HEAVY TAXATION IS NEXT STEP OF GOVERNMENT

This order is only the first step by Roosevelt in his attempt to unload the heavy burdens of the war onto the backs of the mases of workers and exploited dirt far-

The provisions freezing wages and attacking the basic rights of tion which is rooted among and unions to bargain collectively are

In order to try to curb inflamasses. The N. Y. Times, in an estimated betw'n \$20,000,000,000

With the productive forces of ed toward production of war goods to be bought on the mar-

The N. Y. Times editorial re-

"We must siphon off the ex-

and compulsory savings, putting war program and their surrender it to work financing the produc- of labor's rights. tive effort of the war," the edito-

And that precisely is the program of the capitalists. It has nothing to do with "stabilizing" the cost of living. It is a program to reduce the union movement to servile agents of the government, and to tax away the wages of the workers, pushing ing the workers in this false idea. the income of the workers down to the subsistence level.

UNION DEPENDENCE THREATENED

To achieve this end it is necessary to reduce the union movement to an appendage of the government, to undermine and destroy its independence and to attempt by this means to prevent the workers from struggling in defense of their interests.

Roosevelt's assumption of decree powers - signalized in his Labor Day speech to Congress, abolishing premium pay, orderand non-ferrous metal industries frozen to their jobs, and abrogating civil service legislation has now been utilized to freeze Growth of the organization in and \$30,000,000,000 between the wages and restrict bargaining ing standards which the inevita-

The decree powers of the president have thus far been used primarily against labor. This is part and parcel of the war program. Roosevelt, as the wartime representative of Big Business, is leading Wall Street's war, not only against Germany and Japan, but against the masses of workers and dirt farmers. Not one voice was raised in

Congress in defense of the workers during the whole debate on Roosevelt's "anti-inflation" pro- IN DOWNTOWN cism, the workers will learn that Party. This had often been provise going to attempt to do in the gram. The union leadership, NEWARK Murray and Green at their head paved the way for Roosevelt's siastic reception C o m r a d e cess purchasing power by taxes servient support of Roosevelt's field Avenue (near Court House.)

LABOR NEEDS OWN

The American workers have been deluded into believing that ing. But Murray's entire course of Roosevelt will protect their liv- placing the unions under the ing standards and their unions. domination of the administration its operation under Czar Byrnes

It will become more and more apparent that if the workers are to defend their hardwon gains, and their organizations, they will have to look to their own ranks for a program and for leader- will they begin to see how they

the capitalist government to control prices and to insure the higher cost of living. To wage this democratic rationing of goods. fight successfully the unions must The capitalist government, like regain their complete indepenthe class it represents, is interested only in protecting the profits and privileges of Big Business. Only committees chosen and implemented by his decrees from the workers' and farmers' organizations, and including reping the workers in the lumber resentatives of housewives, can prevent profiteering and administer a price control program in the interests of the masses.

To prevent the slashing in livble inflation will bring, the union movement must fight for a rising scale of wages to meet increased living costs.

Roosevelt's order shows very learly that the capitalist government in prosecuting its war must attempt to drive down the workers' standards.

Only a militant program and an independent union movement can prevent this attempt from being successful.

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City State

Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

column the interesting question: benefit only the bosses. Can the Negro people win social, political and economic equality under the capitalist system? My ficers in the armed forces own opinion was that they can-

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

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

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

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

The real reason why I raised this question was first of all to show the need for class-conscious full equality under capitalism. Negro militants to rid themselves of all illusions about the intentions of the capitalists, even the capitalists who talk about a "war for democracy." and secondly, to again that we Trotskyists do not show the need for such Negro advocate the abandonment of the fighters to join the revolutionary day-to-day struggle against Jim socialist movement.

The fact that the capitalist class does not intend to grant equality to the Negroes is only power. one reason why advanced Negroes should join the revolutionary just as important as the one I struggles even though we know tend to raise it here.

The Negro must fight for more than equality with the white deny the inherently revolutionary worker. For let us suppose for the character of the struggle for Nesake of argument that the Ne- gro equality. That struggle serves gro could win and did win this the interests not only of the Neequality while the white worker's gro masses but also of the socialconditions remain the same as they are now, that is, under capitalism. What would the Negro worker have then?

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

Last week I discussed in this | die for imperialist wars that

Like the white worker, he would still be kicked around by the ofprobably not as much as at present — but still plenty.

Like the white worker, he would still get low wages - uner does. Clearly then, it is not enough

for the Negro to fight only for equality with the white worker He certainly must fight for that equality. But at the same time he must fight to improve the conditions of all the workers - he must fight for a system which will be free of the other evils of capitalism such as war and fascism and unemployment - he must fight for a socialist society where equality with the white worker will mean that both he and the white worker will be able to live decent, peaceful, secure

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

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

Thus the militant Negro who join the revolutionary movement regardless of what he believes about the possibility of winning

In order to guard against all misunderstandings about my column of last week, I want to say Crowism because the Negro cannot achieve full equality while the capitalist class remains in

We urge the Negro masses to continue this struggle just as we movement. There is another rea- | tell the white workers to contison, which is just as valid and nue their trade union and other discussed last week, and I in- that their basic problems cannot be solved under capitalism.

Only a fool or blind man would ist revolution, and we wholeheartedly support it both because it defends the Negro's conditions and rights today, and prepares and educates the Negro people to take their place in the wider socialist struggle.

Last week I offered space to the readers of this column both Trotskyist and non-Trotskyist - for an expression of their Like the white worker, he views on the question raised. would still be threatened by the Here I make the same offer oppression and brutality of fas- again, and wish to assure our readers that we welcome their Like the white worker, he opinions on this and all other aswould still be driven to fight and pects of the Negro struggle.

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

(Continued from page 1)

blame on other shoulders - this relation to the USSR. By order time, on Churchill and Roosevelt. of the Kremlin they are publicly

tablished similar alibis in the front the very existence of the past, he simultaneously provided Soviet Union becomes dubious. irrefutable proof of the bankruptcy of the then-prevailing policy. howls the Oct. 6 Daily Worker This is precisely the case today.

depended solely on the aid of the statement. Next year is less than "democratic" imperialists. He as- 90 days off. To be sure, they have sured the masses of the USSR made similar declarations before. and the world working class that But this time, they link their his policy would bring victory "prediction" not only with Willthrough material aid and a sec- kie but with Stalin himself. It is ond front.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS OWN BANKRUPTCY

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

cover up the fatal consequences to correct policy can turn defeats of his policies by the fact that into victories, safeguard the Sodespite them the Soviet Union viet Union, and extend the constill survived. Each time, how- quests of the Russian revolution ever, he brought the country to the whole of Europe. The Socloser and closer to disaster. To- viet Union cannot be successfully entail the collapse of the Soviet day the reality can no longer be defended by any other policy exhidden by appearances and by cept the one that carried the turn to the program of the prolehollow boasts. Today, the ruin- workers and peasants of Russia ous consequences of Stalin's to victory in 1917. leadership and false policies are tragically self-evident.

In their campaign around Sta- been, the complete bankruptcy of the USSR taking the lead.

llin's statement, the American Stalinists are becoming more and same time he must unload the more outspokenly pessimistic in Each time that Stalin has es- declaring that without the second "Next year may be too late,' in its first editorial comment Since Hitler's attack, Stalin has after the publication of Stalin's

> bears the seal of the Kremlin. But it is merely another Stalinist lie that the fate of the Soviet Union is inseparably linked with the opening of an imperial-

no longer "semi-official." It now

REVOLUTIONARY POLICY NEEDED

What is decisive is not the existing relationship of forces on the military arena, but rather mother and made him do it. Howthe basic policy under which the ever, he soon regained his com-In the past, Stalin was able to war is being conducted. A change

Stalin's policies already have workers, peasants and soldiers of

The Present Status Of The "Jacson" Case In Mexico

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

By WALTER ROURKE .

MEXICO, Sept. 14 (By Mail)—The New Leader of which shows that the author Jacson had been identified as in Jacson the crime for which he the GPU? doubtedly a little higher than he is either badly misinformed or Salvador Torkoff by one Jorge gets now — but still too low for that he printed the product of decency and comfort, as the work- someone's imagination as the reality. Jacson, we are told, was Mexican-U. S. border. Although sentenced to 23 years in prison after a secret trial for "Mexican law forbids public trials;" this same trial was supposed to have brought out that

> hostages to prevent his revealing his GPU connections and background. It must always be remembered that penal procedure in Mexico provides for a very different sort of trial from what is known in the United States. The prisoner's trial begins 48 hours after his arrest and can continue for as much as one year during which time the prosecution and defense

Jacson's real name is "Turkov'

and that he has a mother and

sister in Moscow who are held as

each considers necessary. There is no jury, but rather a court composed of three judges. Thus it is incorrect to say that the GPU wished to prevent Jacson's "coming to trial;" what they want to prevent, or at least postpone, is his being sentenced. After the year for investigation has elapsed, the trial is closed and

present the evidence and witnesses

wants to achieve equality should the prosecution and defense present their conclusions. The time allowed for drawing up these conclusions depends on the number of pages in the court record. In the case of Jacson, this record is extraordinarily long, the psycho-analytical report alone being 1,000 pages.

PRESENT STATUS OF CASE

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

decision that we are waiting now.

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

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

NOT A SECRET TRIAL

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

The only indication that Jacson might have a mother in GPU bands was his words uttered im mediately after striking Trotsky to the effect that "they" have his posure enough to shut up and has stayed shut ever since. It goes without saying that the GPU always holds weapons in reserve

Stalinism does not automatically Union. There is still time to retarian revolution and to launch the struggle for the Socialist Uni-Terrible as the consequences of ted States of Europe, with the

Puflea. The two were supposed to have been engaged in a racket of this was reported in great detail, in the end it never amounted to more than rumor and never appeared in the official court record.

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

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

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

this story in the beginning of his

such as Trotsky make enemies: words, Trotsky is the one to blame The story that Jacson is in "Trotsky was a man who provoked for his own murder for he reality "Turkov" is very old and the hate of many and the support provoked Jacson into killing him! September 5 published a report very unfounded. On Novem- of his sympathizers. Basing Such a defense seems incredible on the trial of "Frank Jacson," ber 30, 1940, there appeared re- myself on this point of view, I for its absurdity, but then what the murderer of Leon Trotsky, ports in the Mexican press that can assert that Trotsky provoked possibilities are still left open to

to prevent its agents from talk on now and that political leaders is now a prisoner." In other

GPU ASSASSIN GETS SETBACK Higher Court Throws Out Charges of Bias On Part of Trial Judge

By WALTER ROURKE

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

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

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

EVERY WORKER SHOULD SUPPORT MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

By Arthur Preis

leged to attend a number of important Negro actively in the bona fide organizations of labor gatherings. Last June I reported for THE MILI- struggle. TANT the impressive and inspiring giant mass meeting of the March-on-Washington Movement in New York's Madison Square Garden.

But the most significant and important Negro meeting which I have ever attended, and which on the future course of the struggle for Negro sentatives of the March-on-Washington Move-

(A complete report of this conference was printed in last week's MILITANT-Ed. Without any superficial dramatics or oratorical

flourishes, in an atmosphere of quiet discussion and dead-serious intent, decisions of far-reaching importance for the Negro people and the American masses as a whole were reached.

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

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

Inspires Hope and Respect

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

al form and program in Detroit two weeks ago. One aspect of the decisions and discussion at the policy conference which impressed me profoundly, was the extremely progressive and enlightened viewpoint expressed toward the labor movement and the problems of the working class as a whole. While the March-on-Washington Movement is an all-Negro organization, it solidarizes itself with the aspirations of all organized more, it directly urges its members and the Ne- pation.

During the past few years I have been privi- gro workers generally to join and participate

In its initial phases, the MOWM had incurred some criticism because it was run from the top and had no genuine membership base. The actions of the delegates at this conference, howver, made it clear that more and more militant gave promise of having a truly historic bearing elements from the ranks are making themselves heard and that it is the will of the vast majorliberation in America, was the September 26-27 ity of the active participants of the movement policy conference in Detroit of 63 leading repre- to establish a fully democratic organizational

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

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

Should Be Supported By All Workers

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

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

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Revolutionary Perspectives In The Indian Struggle

By M. Morrison -

the Indian Congress decided to lialists. naugurate a civil disobedience movement; when the British aulis perfectly willing to have the thorities arrested Gandhi and British grant India its independ. other leaders of the Congress; and ence on condition that it become when sections of the masses be an active ally in the war, the gan to demonstrate against the British imperialists who derive government in different parts of huge profits from India, show no India, the temptation was great desire to surrender their booty. to declare that the Indian Revolu- They see no great benefit in wintion had begun.

No doubt, if, within the immediate future, a great revolutionary Indian capitalists will not achieve wave engulfs India, historians will designate the decision of the to help the democratic imperial-Indian Congress to launch a civil ists. disobedience movement as the be ginning of the Indian Revolution. Whether or not the revolution is fully successful is immaterial, for be mobilized for an outright a revolution.

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

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

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

Both history and theory have roved over and over again that a scattered peasantry, in the absence of urban leadership, cannot achieve a successful revolution. The mobilization of the Indian peasants for struggle against the native landlords and the British The millions of dead, the disorauthorities would guarantee the ganization and hunger resulting victory of the revolution. No force from the war, created a situation that the British imperialists are capable of mustering could withstand the scores of millions of peasants. But the peasants must e mobilized, which means that they must be given leadership.

The leaders of the Indian Conress, representing the native captalists, are unwilling to mobilize the peasants for a real struggle against the British. Such a struggle would not only expel the British but threaten the interests of the Indian landlords and capitalists.

for India would mean not only that the native capitalists would control the masses. assume complete political power but would substantially reduce the share of profits at present siphoned off by the British capitalists. But the native capitalists want to achieve independence without involving the masses in a serious struggle, for they are afraid that the masses will not stop when propriation of the Indian landthey achieve political independence for India.

Gandhi and other capitalist rep resentatives use the masses for the purpose of exerting pressure on the British authorities. The pacifism of Gandhi is admirably adapt ed for the purpose of exerting pressure and at the same time voiding a serious struggle to achieve independence

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

corporation for whom such truste acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements em bracing affidavit's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and condi tions under which stockholders and ecurity holders who do not appear upor he books of the company as trustees hold stock and securities in a capacit other than that of a bona fide owner and this affiant has no reason to believ that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or in direct in the said stock, bonds, or other

REBA AUBREY, business manage this 5th day of October, 1942.

(Signed) CARNIG AIAMIAN

When, about two months ago, the war of the democratic imper-

While the American ruling class ning the war and losing India. It seems safe to predict that the freedom for India by promising

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

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

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

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

Another factor of great importance leading to the spontaneous revolution in February of 1917 was the unendurable suffering of the masses caused by the war in which a spontaneous uprising was inevitable.

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

The situation is so tense that regardless of the hesitating character of the Congress party, an explosion would not be very surprising. The severe repressions That the Indian capitalist of the authorities may yet lead class wants independence can be to such an explosion. In which taken for granted. Independence case the capitalist representatives will try to assume leadership and

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

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"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

International Ties In Midst Of The War

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Roosevelt's Order And The Labor Leaders

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

EDITORIAL COMMENT TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF INDIA THE REAL SITUATION IN CEYLON THE U. S. GOVERNMENT OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE MERCHANT MARINE A TRANSITION PROGRAM FOR INDIA

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FOURTH INTERNATIONAL 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

NEW YORK CITY

Hitler Says Nazis Will **Hold What They Have**

(Continued from page 1)

tions will be improved:

'The entire past year was a territories) for utilization."

The speech of Goering on October 4 was without great interest except in two details. He conquered peoples is horrible cracy. beyond imagination.

The hunger and suffering of must continue to terrorize them as he starves them.

Goering also gives a measure pound of butter and a large capitalist class. sausage. "These rations, howthe soldier himself. He does not ticularly for his family."

days of the year!

speech clearly indicates that the soldiers at the front are gravely the capitalist press. disturbed by the news of suffering at home.

"We know exactly what would "Let England watch out for the German masses.

the aims expressed by our against Bolshevism.' forced to admit that the last enemies. We know what the year was a terribly hard one, but idiotic and mad fate of the Ger- Hitler, was going to last only

to their set aims." year of battle-a gruesome against the terrible conditions seething rebellion, as the masses winter-and winter comes again within Germany would be dealt resist the oppressors. Within but the coming year will open up with summarily, Hitler threaten- Germany too the people are that region (the conquered Soviet ed: "We will destroy pitilessly discontented. every saboteur of this community."

will not be effective in keeping Train from Berlin" writes: "Hitfrankly told the people of the oc- the masses in submission, Hitler ler did not, and-I am convinced cupied countries-whether con- demagogically, attempts to utilize of it after living in Germany quered by Hitler or allies of Hit- the hatred of the masses against ler—that the Germans would eat capitalism by posing as an ad- won the German workers to his first and whatever remained versary of the system. He pro- rule." If this was true in Novemwould go for the conquered peo- claimed as his "aim" the anni- ber, 1941, it is much more true ples. Since the Germans are on hilation not only of Bolshevism after 11 months of terrible war hunger rations, the lot of the but of the capitalists and pluto-

However his fake anti-capitalism is easily seen through and the masses of the conquered na- doubtlessly will have little effect tions create and continue the con- on the masses of German workditions and the desire for revolt. ers who see that their living This means that Hitler, far from standards have constantly fallen. at the hands of victorious Allied being able to secure the con- In 1933, when Hitler came to quered peoples as collaborators, power all wages were frozen to 1933 levels. Meanwhile, the cost of living has been soaring.

In contrast, even the Nazi with which to gauge the terrible figures for the profits of the conditions within Germany. As capitalist class have shown a an extra special gift for Christ- steady rise in the profits and the mas he promises every German values of stocks and bonds since soldier a package that will con- Hitler came to power and smashtain a kilo, (about two and one- ed the working class movement. fifth pounds) of flour, a kilo of German economy is more than peas or beans, a kilo of sugar, a ever owned and controlled by the

The part of his speech where ever," said Goering, "are not for Hitler refers to the program of throw your oppressors and join holding on and consolidating his us in creating a free world of need them. They are more par- gains in the Soviet Union has labor. been taken as a hint that he If this is what a German family | would like to come to terms with is to get for Christmas, what the Allies on the basis of the must they be eating the other 364 recognition of his present conquests, particularly in the East. home would be listened to. At the same time, Goering's This has been the interpretation given by numerous spokesmen of

To give added weight to his In an effort to whip up the his speech addressed the capitalmasses of Germany into con- ist classes of Europe, saying to they can do this is by supporting tinued support of the war, Hitler them that only he could eradicate the forces of international socialagain used his most potent argu- the working class movement, ism represented in the United ment that if the Allies conquer- which he called Bolshevism. Pared, they would impose another ticularly were his remarks point- Party. To support the capitalist Versailles treaty on the German ed at the English ruling class, when he stated:

happen to our two countries from herself and safeguard herself

The war which, according to claimed that this winter condi- man peoples would be were it up a few months has now entered its fourth year. The conquered Anybody attempting to revolt countries are scenes of constant

Howard K. Smith, who left Germany a few hours before Knowing that threats alone Pearl Harbor in his book "Last for two war years—has not yet and suffering on the Eastern front. It is only in the light of these facts that Hitler's speech can be understood.

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

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

close, but on the German masses. A workers' government in England and in the United States would be able to say with honesty to the German masses: Over-

Churchill and Hitler are spurned by the German masses, but a workers' and farmer's government, because of its policy at

The brutal speeches of Hitler and Goering undoubtedly aroused hatred among the masses of the Allied nations. They correctly peace feelers, Hitler throughout want to sweep Hitler and Mussolini away. But the best way States by the Socialist Workers class means helping Hitler in his campaign of demagogy among

The Workers' Bookshelf

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

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

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

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

Trotskyist Position On USSR Brilliantly Restated by Govindan

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pamphlet Written After Nazi Invasion of USSR

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

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

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

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

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

Reviewed by John G. Wright.

Who Is Byrnes? What Is His Labor Record?

By HOWARD ALLEN

Who is James Byrnes, the newly-appointed Director of Economic Stabilization, the man who has been given power to formulate and to carry out a dictatorial policy covering wages, prices, rentals, rationing of necessities of life and powers over related matters?

What is the record of this man of whom the October 4 N. Y. Times said that "the toughness of the wage controls would depend on the toughness of Mr. Byrnes in dealing with the problem?"

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

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

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

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

until the year 2038 unless the bill was withdrawn. This is the man of whom Roosevelt said in his White House statement on October 3: "I know the American people can be sure that in keeping down the cost of living he will be fair to every one."

Fought Labor, Unemployed And Negroes

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

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

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

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

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

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

His Role On The Supreme Court

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

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

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

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

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

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

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