

**Nov. 7, 1917 --
Greatest Day
In All History**

AN EDITORIAL

Twenty-five years have passed since the most glorious event in all history. Down-trodden, oppressed workers, peasants and soldiers rose in their might, toppled the rule of capitalism and established their own workers' government. That was on November 7, 1917. The country was Russia. The leaders were Lenin and Trotsky. The inspiration: socialism.

Years later a bureaucratic clique fastened itself on the revolution, sucked it of its lifeblood, murdered its spokesmen, trampled its ideals, destroyed it. BUT LET US NEVER FORGET THAT MAGNIFICENT ACHIEVEMENT AND TRIUMPH WHICH OPENED THE PORTALS OF THE WORLD TO THE MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL EMANCIPATION OF MANKIND.

That triumph is the most cherished lesson in the history of the working class, a lesson pregnant with meaning for the future of the world. No event in all history compares with it. Here in backward Russia, germinating under the bitter persecution of the Czarist Ochrana, spreading its roots under the inept and outdated rule of Kerensky capitalism, the workers' movement grew powerful and defiant and burst into flower under the leadership of the Bolsheviks.

The "wise men," greybeards who knew all the ins and outs of logic, said it couldn't be done—not in backward Russia, anyway. But the workers and peasants of Russia spurned the "wise men" whose "wisdom" perpetuated war and capitalist servitude. They proved it COULD be done, because they DID it.

They wanted peace, they wanted bread, they wanted land. Kerensky replaced the Czar in February. He gave them none—not peace, not bread, not land. He couldn't, because capitalism in Russia couldn't. Capitalism could give them nothing but the continuation of war and starvation and exploitation.

Only a socialist society could satisfy these elementary desires. Taking power into their own hands, creating their own government, they proceeded to build the socialist society. And in so doing they ended the war. They, not military victories by rival imperialists, not capitalist peacemakers, brought World War I to an end. They transformed the specter of revolution into a reality and in that reality soldiers fraternized, the fires of revolutionary inspiration spread, the morale of the capitalist armies crumpled, and the war ended. This they did by their revolution, by creating their own institutions of power—the soviets; this they did under the leadership of men and a party whose principles were guided solely by the interests of socialist emancipation.

The World War ended, but the armies of imperialism were turned against the Soviet Government. Every breed of reactionary, including many who called themselves socialists, waged war against the infant, impoverished, exhausted workers' government. The workers and peasants of Russia had to withstand attacks on twenty-one fronts. Withstand them they did, because what they lacked in men and material they made up for by revolutionary ardor and comradeship with the soldiers and workers of other lands. British dockers refused to load ships with cargoes aimed

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1. From Agreement to Decree

Growth of Administration's Anti-Labor Policy

By Harry Allen

Step by step the government has proceeded, in the name of "war necessity," to handcuff labor into greater helplessness.

The Administration is not accomplishing this strangulation of labor's living standards and labor unionism by quick, direct smashing blows, as carried through, for instance, by Hitler. In this country, such a method would have resulted in too great a social, industrial and political reverberation. The American ruling class has at least learned that lesson from fascism. Hence American capitalism has gone ahead more subtly with the development, from its viewpoint, of favorable objective circumstances, before resorting to government decree and force.

The most recent and significant

act of the government in enchain-ing labor was accomplished through President Roosevelt's order of October 3, as contained in the Price Control Law. Roosevelt's decree (1) virtually nullified labor's right to strike; and (2) abolished, in fact, labor's right to genuine collective bargaining. A new peak—its highest so far—in the evolution of government labor policy has thus been reached in the climb toward a complete authoritarian policy against labor.

A summary of the main steps and measures of government policy toward labor in the past period, particularly since America's direct entry into the imperialist war, is necessary now so that the labor movement and the workers generally will

awaken to their extreme danger. Labor must re-orient its course soon, before it is too late!

Labor's standard of living must come down—that has been Roosevelt's view since the United States joined the war. Therefore, in actuality, and by design, "wage stabilization" (which has today reached the stage of "frozen" wage scales generally) has at all times meant a consideration of the ways and means of driving the living standard down. Essentially, this end could be accomplished only if the workers could be prevailed upon, or compelled, not to struggle for their rights—specifically, not to strike and organize. The Administration has therefore proceeded on a direct offensive against the workers' right to strike.

1. The government swiftly accomplished a major objective when it obtained a voluntary agreement with the officialdom of the CIO and AFL and their respective national affiliates to give up the weapon of the strike for the duration of the war. The leaderships of the various unions have worked with might and main to carry out the government's desires. They have cracked down on those workers who have gone on strike to defend union and living conditions, despite government edicts and agreements of their leadership. The record of the official union leaderships, it can be flatly stated, has been almost consistently a record of betrayal and surrender of labor's needs and rights. But "agreements" were only the beginning.

Government Breaks Strikes

2. Where agreement with the union officialdom failed to stop strikes in defense industries, the government soon showed its teeth through direct intervention of either the Army or Navy to break certain strikes: beginning with the Army's intervention in the North American Aviation strike in Los Angeles, followed by similar strike-breaking actions by the Navy in Kearny, N. J., shipyards, Bayonne, N. J., and other places. All, of course, in the name of the "war emergency," and, ironically enough, "class peace."

3. Still another government goal was attained when the AFL and CIO labor officialdom agreed to the establishment of labor-management committees. The labor-management committees have uniformly proved to be instruments in the hands of the bosses, as is shown by their record and by the resentment of rank and file workers against their operations. It is no wonder or accident that the EMPLOYERS hail the formation and development of this class collaboration medium as the greatest gain of the war in respect to employer-worker relations. And it is that, indeed, for their continuation and extension, both in numbers and scope of function, means the scuttling of bona fide labor union organization and functioning.

4. But the government is well aware that class collaboration instruments, in which the workers are in direct relation with the bosses, can blow up in face of the undoubted needs of the workers. Therefore, the government proceeded to establish several agencies for intervening in labor-employer issues and conflicts, notably the War Labor Board and its conciliation service.

A full examination of the record of the War Labor Board (not in place here) would show that WLB policy itself has evolved and expanded in many directions. An appeal board at first, mainly for consideration of wage and hour issues, the WLB quickly took over powers of deciding the degree and character of a union itself in a given plant. For example, union maintenance clauses; then "wage stabilization" rulings irrespective of the merit of the wage demand; and even penalization of unions for striking—all these are decisions not clearly established as WLB powers at the outset.

More precisely and significantly, from the worker's standpoint, the evolution of the War Labor Board consistently has resulted in: (1) The lowering of labor's living standards in accordance with the Administration's outlook on wage standards; and (2) union "maintenance" by governmental sufferance or permission, instead of by active union function.

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Next Week:

We will begin publication of a series of articles on India by J. R. Johnson.

In addition we will publish the latest information on price finagling and other articles of great interest. Be sure to get your copy!

LABOR ACTION

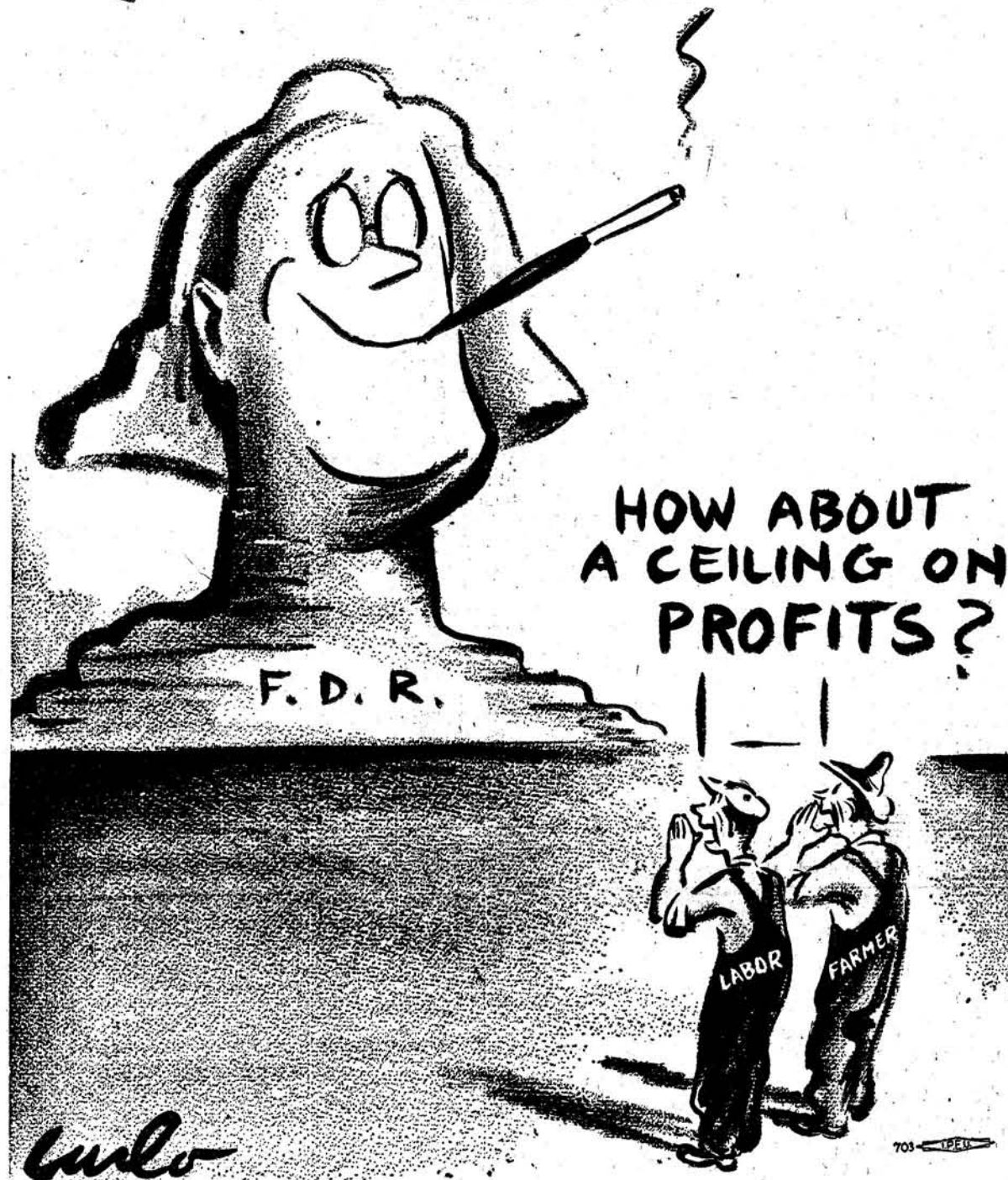
NOVEMBER 9, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

McNUTT COMMISSION ASKS NEW DICTATORIAL POWERS

All Quiet on the Home Front!



Control of Draft and Hiring Could Be Used to Sneak Over Job Freezing, Forced Labor

In a report submitted this week to President Roosevelt, a War Manpower Commission labor-management policy committee asked wider powers for Paul McNutt, director of the WMC.

If the recommendations in the report are accepted, selective service would be placed under the direction of the WMC, that is, under the direction of Paul McNutt, who has sometimes been called the Hoosier Hitler. Further, the United States Employment Service would be made the clearing house for all employment, "with proper exceptions made for union hiring halls satisfactory to the WMC."

There are other recommendations as well, but let us stop to examine the two cited. The first seems innocent enough. In fact,

the ostensible purpose attributed to this recommendation is to halt the drafting of essential workers—and thus fits in with other widely publicized proposals made by McNutt. We don't doubt that in part this is actually the purpose of the proposal. But what, exactly, does it mean for labor? Does it give the worker greater or lesser freedom? The answer is: LESSER!

With a closer and dictatorial tie-up between the Manpower Commission and the draft, a double sword is hung over the head of labor. Already, in many cases, the draft has been used as a weapon against labor. Striking or recalcitrant workers have been threatened with the draft. Deferments, it is reported, have been denied union militants. Thus, the entire scheme of putting the draft skids under labor militants, would be facilitated in the direct coordination of WMC and selective service.

Should a worker, for good and sufficient reasons, refuse to shift jobs as directed, the very agency which is ordering him to move could order his drafting. Should a worker ask for higher wages, the draft would be right on his neck without any intermediary action required by the boss or any other agency.

Labor throughout has damned the policy of utilizing the draft as a club against unionists. That practice is becoming more frequent and it has to be FOUGHT. Under the set-up proposed by McNutt's commission, the threat would be increased and the difficulties of fighting it multiplied.

The second proposal we listed above is equally nefarious. Its obvious intent is to emasculate the unions and to fetter, even more than it does now, the ability of labor to seek a better job and higher pay. Job freezing has not yet been enacted into law, nor has it yet been ordered by the increasingly frequent decrees of the Roosevelt Administration. This proposal, however, could be used to the same effect; that is, IT COULD BE USED FOR JOB-FREEZING.

Further, and perhaps more important, the authority which McNutt has, indirectly, here given him. The unanimous protest of the labor movement spiked for a while the McNutt demand for compulsory "draft labor" legislation. The most tepid union leaders in the country saw its manifest danger and denounced this piece of proposed "mailed fist" legislation. And it goes without saying that militant unionists were up in arms. Under the pressure of this active opposition, Roosevelt evidently decided to lay off the idea for the present.

But here, in this WMC report, the same thing is proposed—though in less complete form and in a more round-about way. The U.S. Employment Service would superintend all hiring. In other words, it could FORCE labor to accept any job, regardless of the location, conditions or pay. Very, very interesting in this connection is the little appendix to the proposal making exception for union hiring halls "satisfactory to the WMC." The value and purpose of the union hiring hall is that it will be satisfactory, in other words, to the

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Stalin's Strikebreakers at Work in India

By HENRY JUDD

It is well known that the Stalinists (Communist Party) do not support the fight of India's 389,000,000 people for national independence from England; not so well known are the lengths of treachery and strike breaking to which the Indian Communist Party has gone in its efforts to break up, sabotage and confuse the movement.

In the principal cities of the country (Bombay, Cawnpore, Ahmedabad, etc.) where the textile and steel workers went on strike against the British, the Communist Party leaders did their best to force the workers back into the plants "to produce for the United Nations against the Axis."

A typical illustration of what happened, worth describing in detail, is contained in the Daily Worker of October 30. When the struggle began, the Congress leaders went to the Stalinists in the city of Delhi, where some of the major demonstrations occurred. They asked the local representatives of Joseph Stalin for help in organizing the movement. The Stalinists "tell them our way out of this mess (1), but they (the Congress leaders) are still not quite prepared to give up the Gandhite 'struggle' against the British and follow our plan of unity among all factions of the Indian people to defeat the Axis."

So the Stalinists, since the people aren't quite ready to surrender, show them how to do it!

On August 9, a demonstration of 50,000 students and workers of the city is organized. The Stalinist student

leader who addressed the crowd (urging them to drop the fight) is arrested by the unappreciative British police. "...He was the one student leader who could have got the students to keep cool and patriotic at the same time," moan the Stalinists. What ungrateful wretches these British police are!

Then the violent, semi-revolutionary struggles began between the British and the people of Delhi; struggles in which many were killed and hundreds wounded by police fire. The counter-revolutionary Stalinists write: "The leadership of the movement slipped quickly from Congress to non-Congress hands, such as the 'Forward Blocists' (a Trotskyite-fifth column combination)." The workers and radical students, who, pushing aside the Stalinists and the conservative Congress leaders, led the people in militant demonstration against imperialism are fifth columnists! The Stalinists say so, so it must be so. All credit must go to the militant leaders who came up from the ranks of the people and refused to subordinate India's fight for freedom to the imperialist aims of England, or the requirements of Stalin.

And finally, when the students struck and refused to attend the schools and colleges, the Stalinists developed this strike-breaking line: "Therefore, keep the peace. Keep organized, fight your way back into the schools. Instead of continuing the strike, strive to get the colleges reopened, and that will be victory."

Has there ever been such scabbery and treachery—even from the Stalinists?

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Camp

BELGIAN COAL MINERS THREATEN GENERAL STRIKE

In Belgium the threat of reprisals and the holding of hostages proved of no avail when the Nazis attempted to force striking coal miners at Roux, Souvret, Anderlues and Bas-coup back into the pits. The Nazis seized hostages, but the miners did not yield. On the contrary, they threatened to call a nation-wide strike.

1. The Nazi war economy is in desperate need of coal; 2. Belgian coal production is the most important industry of the country and among the first in Europe, but, 3. the Belgian coal miners always had a very militant stand. They were in the fore of the great strike wave of 1936 and they have not forgotten the lessons learned then. The Nazis considered the situation very thoroughly; they weighed 1 and 2 against 3... and released the hostages.

The miners, said the Belgian News Agency, struck in protest against dangerous working conditions and long hours. Because of lack of materials there were insufficient pit props, but the need of the Nazi administration is so great that they insisted on running the mines despite the hazards. This was the immediate cause of the strike for this and similar actions of the Belgian miners is their long tradition of militant union and po-

litical action. The experience gathered in their great strikes against "democratic" Belgian owners now serve them in their fight against the Nazi administration.

Even postmen recently started a strike in Brussels against the Nazi administrator, according to Overseas News Agency. But postmen are not quite as essential to the Nazis. They were warned that they would all be arrested if the strike, called to get a salary increase, did not end immediately. This, of course, is a very good indication that under present conditions it is almost impossible to lead small isolated strikes of one specific branch with any chance of success. The totalitarian apparatus is everywhere and all powerful, as long as he is confronted with some isolated enterprise, like this strike of postmen in Brussels. A strike can only have success if it is waged not by an isolated group or craft but by powerful industrial units or by the class as a whole. Threat of coal miners to stop producing coal all over Belgium made the Nazis think twice before trying to settle it by shooting some leaders. An isolated strike, on the contrary, particularly among unessential workers, faces gigantic obstacles. This is a global war; similarly, on the class front little skirmishes are weapons with only limited usefulness.

DANES ARE POLITE; NEWSPAPERS FORBIDDEN JEWS

A Danish Nazi paper recently complained that typed notices were posted at the Danish railway shops saying: "As the following workers are Nazis (here followed a list of names and addresses), it is the duty of every Danish worker to see to it that such persons are daily brought home in an ambulance." The Nazis are temporarily in power, but still it is a rather dangerous thing for

your health to belong to a Nazi organization.

Because of the paper shortage, the German control office has issued a decree forbidding the sale of newspapers to Jews. Instructions have been issued that clothing and hats may no longer be made of paper... nobody thinks of forbidding the use of wool or cotton. There is none, anyway. **Europaews.**

A Report on Conditions in England

Working Class Grows More Restive

The British working class becomes more radical and more impatient with capitalism every day. By so doing it daily increases the difficulties of the union and labor leaders, the Stalinists and the ruling class.

The Union Leaders

On the defensive from the workers are, first, the union leaders. At the recent Trade Union Conference, Resolution 28 "called on His Majesty's government to arrange for more active participation by trade union representatives in the administration and management of all vital war industries." Now, this is not only a moderate working class demand in any country during a war, but is of particular importance in Great Britain, a heavily industrialized country, where nearly 70 per cent of the population is proletarianized and where so much of the burden of the war, air raid wardens, home defense, airplane spotting, etc., is borne by the working class.

But the General Council opposed the resolution! Why? Because the last thing these union bureaucrats want is for the workers to exercise even the pretense of independent action. The bureaucrats and their friends, the Labor Party members in Parliament, are well represented in posts of government and on all boards, committees, etc. Bevin, a union bureaucrat, is Minister of Labor. Morrison, a Labor Party leader, is Home Secretary, etc., etc.

In Washington, Roosevelt and Nelson continually kick around the labor leaders. The situation in Britain is very different. The British ruling class could not run the war at all without the help of the labor leaders.

In Britain there are councils of labor and management, but these naturally are working badly, with the workers being kicked around. The workers are reaching out for more power and their own General Council tries to turn them down. But the resolution was triumphantly carried, 2,454,000 to 2,261,000. This vote means much more than meets the eye. The Amalgamated Engineering Union, with nearly 600,000 members, has only one representative on the General Council, while the Transport and Municipal Workers, with just over a million members between them, have six instead of the two you would expect. (Bevin is the leader of the Transport and Municipal Workers.) This accounted for the heavy vote against Resolution 28. But the miners, the engineers, the railway workers, the electricians, all were for the resolution and hostile to the General Council. These men do the work. They feel the pinch. They want to take over themselves. The union bureaucrats say NO. They are scared of the workers.

The Construction Engineering Union pointed out that the Essential Work Orders were used to control the workers only. It asked the government to take over essential war industries. The National Union of Railwaymen demanded that the General Council alter its rules so as to make progress "both now and in a visualized socialist economy." Now, these workers are making a serious mistake. If the British government takes over war industries, this will not mean a socialist society. Only the workers can take over industry and make real a visualized socialist economy. But these demands are very significant. They come in the midst of a great war.

The General Council is feeling the pressure. What does it do? Does it attack the ruling class? Does it seek to carry out the wishes of the workers? No sir! As bureaucrats do all over the world, these gentlemen seek more power to control the workers. The council demanded powers to

make alterations in the standing orders between congresses, these powers to be binding until "overruled" by the next congress. The word "overruled" is very striking. They are preparing to take drastic measures against all who oppose them and they are so conscious of the hostility of the workers that they expect their decisions to be "overruled" and not "confirmed" by the following congress! If that is not the jitters, then it is a very good imitation.

The "Red" Menace

Naturally these union bureaucrats are fierce against the Reds, by whom they mean the Stalinists. Although the Stalinists are the greatest warmongers in every United Nations country, the union bureaucrats do not like them. They once spoke in very revolutionary terms. Nobody knows what they will be saying tomorrow. For years the bureaucrats have stuck to Circular 16, known as the Black Circular, which prohibited "Communists," even though elected by honest voting, from serving as delegates to the Trades Councils. Russia, too, is very popular today among the British workers. And the Amalgamated Engineers (Stalinist controlled), with 600,000 members, the miners and many other unions, supported the withdrawal of the resolution. It was lost by 2,550,000 to 2,137,000.

The bureaucrats have another red herring—the Labor Research Department. This is a Stalinist organization which publishes material on union and labor problems. This material is sometimes good, sometimes bad, depending on the Stalinist line at the moment. But it always has an anti-ruling class dress and if special information is required by workers on any topic, the Labor Research Department will supply it and with reasonable speed. The bureaucrats

Heavenly Discourse

At the Golden Gates of Heaven, God received Stalin, Hitler and Churchill.

"What can I do for you, Mr. Stalin?" inquired the Almighty.

"Destroy the German Army," "Done," replied Omnipotence; "and for you, Mr. Hitler?"

"Exterminate the Russians," replied the Fuehrer.

"Granted, also," said the Lord; "and for you Mr. Churchill?"

"Nothing more, thank you," answered the Prime Minister. "You have just done all I wanted!"

—British New Leader.

have been out to drive the department from the union movement. The voting was 2,210,000 in support of the General Council and 1,980,000 against. The miners, with 500,000 votes, had decided to vote against the council but somehow their vote was not cast.

The Stalinist Poison

It is clear that we have a powerful leftward movement among the organized workers. Who will lead it? Who will give it political direction? The Stalinists, capitalizing on the showing of Russia in the war, are actively campaigning, not only to drive the workers further and further into the clutches of the ruling class, but for membership and influence. Foremost in their program is their campaign against "the Trotskyists." They distinguish two kinds of fifth columnists and pro-Nazis, the rich ones like Lady Astor, who are easy to find, and those in the working class. "How can the agent of Hitler be spotted in the factory?" asks the Stalinist paper, News and Views. The best way, says the journal, "is on the basis of his attitude toward production here and now."

Then, in thick black print:

"This means that all those who are desirous of defeating Hitler must set the example in time-keeping, efficient workmanship and so on." Now, any worker knows what that means. The bosses are always driving for "time-keeping" and "efficient workmanship." That is what they sing in the ears of the workers all the time. The workers are getting fed up. They say we must have a share in the management; the laws to control the bosses are being evaded; we are the ones who are being controlled. Only a socialist society can help us really.

The Stalinists vote for some of these resolutions, especially those attacking the bureaucrats. By these means they gain a great popularity. But immediately they turn around and accuse any worker who does not work his guts out of being a Trotskyist and an agent of Hitler. What more can the boss want?

The Class Struggle

But the Stalinists are not getting away with it easily. This same issue of their paper boasts of all the new members they are getting and how they hold classes, one in the factory yard and another in a main shop. But after all the boasting comes a remarkable paragraph.

"Difficultly has been experienced in almost every case when dealing with fundamental subjects through the class struggle AP-PARENTLY (their emphasis) conflicting with our national unity policy. Each lecture must necessarily explain the seeming contradiction."

Read that paragraph again. Never was there a finer testimony to the spirit which is moving the workers of Britain today. Thousands of them, attracted by the Stalinist noise and fakery, join them. They want to prepare for the revolution. But as soon as the Stalinists begin to talk against the class struggle these workers begin to kick. They feel in their bones that this is what they want. To hell with national unity! They are burning with class feeling.

Says the Stalinist report: "Difficultly has been experienced in almost every case..." The British working class is fighting for some education, for some understanding which would correspond to its rising wrath against the ruling class. The Fourth Internationalists in Britain have their work cut out for them. If, with Hitler at their very gates, this is the temper of the British workers, one can wait with confidence for the violence with which they will turn on the British ruling class as soon as it feels that its hands are free, or events face it with the immediate choice: workers' power or slavery.

The Ruling Class

Meanwhile, the British ruling class watches all this and wonders where it is going to end. It is following out two tactics. First, it is addressing itself seriously to the task of neutralizing as large a section of the workers as possible by trying to promise a New World in Britain after the war. The New York Times of October 28 announces that the report of Sir William Beveridge, commissioned eighteen months ago, is now nearly ready. Beveridge used to be head of the London School of Economics and gained some notoriety a few months ago by shouting against the evils of "private" capitalism. Coming from so conservative a man this naturally created a great stir.

Beveridge's report is skillfully planned. It is perfectly planned. It is very obvious today in Britain and will be in America tomorrow that an economy which was planned for

use and not for war or profit could develop the economic resource of the world and raise people to a standard of development undreamed of today. Beveridge does not oppose this. He is not so stupid. Everybody KNOWS what can be done. So Beveridge says, "We must continue to plan after the war, just as we plan now." His plan promises to give every worker and wife \$8.00 a week and \$1.75 for each child after the first. That would be a minimum wage and nobody would ever go below it. This, plus sickness insurance, unemployment insurance, etc., will be the new heaven.

This program is not only idiotic in itself. It is pernicious, because much of the money is to be paid by heavy subscriptions coming from the workers themselves. The values of the scheme, however, is to make the workers believe that great plans for a new order in Britain are being prepared by the government. It is easy to predict the result. They will fool nobody.

But there is a more sinister streak in the antics and maneuvers of the British ruling class in the face of the gathering concentrating hostility of the British workers. It has faded recently but the trend has been shown. I refer to the boosting of Lord Mountbatten, leader of the Commandos. Some weeks ago you could not open a paper without seeing his name. Noel Coward made a film of him. It was as clear as day that he was being groomed for the post of military dictator of Great Britain. In the clamor, the Stalinists also joined, though cautiously. However, for some reason or other which is not yet clear, the Mountbatten boosters stopped boosting. They are biding their time. But the trend showed very clearly what the rulers have in mind in case of accidents.

People believe that Churchill's main aim is to defeat Hitler. Never was there such an illusion. His aim is to preserve and extend the British Empire. His first concern, therefore, is to keep the British working class where it is, under his heel. To keep them there he has to rely on the labor bureaucrats. And as the workers begin to turn from these, they meet the Stalinists with their lies and demagoguery.

But there are active revolutionists at work in Great Britain; and, more important, win, lose or draw, Britain is destined for terrific shocks at home and abroad. The showdown will not be averted by bureaucratic fear, Stalinist juggling or the tricks of the bourgeoisie.

A. A. B.

Portrait of Our War Leaders

"...Something of this attitude became apparent in the War Department in 1942. The Army Intelligence was shot through with contempt for Britain and China, and with hatred for Russia. In the supply services, some officers openly asserted that the Russians were finished; that the Chinese were corrupt and hopeless, and that we were fighting so that the United States might emerge as the strongest power in the world, able to dictate the terms of peace to the Allies or, if need be, to the Axis. These men represented a part of the group of ruthless and aggressive American imperialists, the development of which is one of the most dangerous concomitants of the war. ...Now, in Lieut.-Gen. Brehon Somervell this attitude has found a harsh and outspoken champion. In officers such as Brig.-Gen. Clay, who is in charge of requirements, Brig.-Gen. Gross, who is in charge of transportation, and Colonel Robinson, who is in charge of planning in the Services of the War Department, General Somervell has surrounded himself with men of his own kind. Officers who disagree with this group do not get very far in Washington."

—(The New Republic, November 2.)

ILGWU Opens Canteen for Service Men

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union recently decided to open a union-operated social center for men in the armed forces. This is the first center for service men under the auspices of a large and significant labor union. The Theater Department of the ILGWU will be in active charge of the center, which has been named "Labor Stage Dances." Women needle trades workers will act as hostesses.

This union project is commendable and should be duplicated by other labor unions. (The Stalinist-controlled Office Workers Union has taken the cue and has opened a center in New York.) Despite the motivation of the union officialdom in sponsoring a union social center for service men, such centers can have genuine value in the maintenance of labor consciousness and interest among the several hundred thousands of unionists in the Army and Navy. For there is a real need to tie the service men more closely to their labor organizations at home.

Canteen "Equality" Today there are various canteens and other social bodies to which men on furlough can repair for amusement and relaxation. In their manner of functioning, their surroundings and interests, they serve employer interests.

These service men centers serve the end of keeping the men from thinking directly about their own labor and class problems (both as soldiers and workers). This is accomplished in a measure through the "Hail, fellow! We're all equals here!" spirit and hogwash of the social centers and canteens. "Meet Bill Doake, a Broadway celebrity! He's your dishwasher tonight!" Of such stuff, too, is compounded the hypocrisy that makes up capitalist society, which gives occasional demonstrations of the association of the highest and lowest in order to maintain the illusion of equality of opportunity.

Soldier-Union Relations On the other hand, labor union centers for returning service men can be the means for maintaining interest and contact with THEIR OWN organizations and class of people at home. In addition to the social facilities provided through the union centers, the men can be kept abreast of their union activities. Arrangements can be made for union literature to get regularly to camp; and, if such publications are barred from the camp, to get the union to insist that the authorities allow the admission of these publications. And further, union leaders could speak regularly at the centers on labor problems.

The formation of union-operated social centers for service men today can serve to keep alive labor and union consciousness; give them the education necessary to resist the anti-labor propaganda spread in the camps; and maintain their elementary relations with the labor movement.

H. A.

Buy LA and NI in Harlem at:

- 125th STREET
 Northeast corner (9th Ave.)
 Northeast corner (8th Ave.)
 Northwest corner (7th Ave.)
 Northwest corner (Lenox Ave.)
 Southwest corner (Lenox Ave.)
- 116th STREET
 Northeast corner (Lenox Ave.)
 Southeast corner (Lenox Ave.)
 Southwest corner (Lenox Ave.)

In Detroit: LABOR ACTION can be bought each week at the newsstand at the corner of Fort and Woodward.

Indian Diary

SEPTEMBER 22

Official estimates of Indian casualties grow. Stated in the Senate to be 721 deaths and 1,219 injured. Military and police: 43 killed and "large number" injured. Railway stations destroyed, 258, mostly in Bihar and eastern United Provinces.

SEPTEMBER 23

Bombay Stock Exchange did business for first time in six weeks. Police fired on crowd armed with spears at Nawabganj, near Dacca. One policeman killed, several injured. Indian casualties unreported.

SEPTEMBER 24

In Central Provinces action was taken to prevent Indians listening to "enemy broadcasts." Deputy commissioners were authorized to cancel wireless licenses where necessary.

In "Legislative" Assembly, K. C. Neogy moved for inquiry, alleging troops and police "have on occasion been guilty of unnecessary shooting, looting, burning villages and ill-treating women."

Supported by Indians who gave details from documents signed by witnesses and victims. One declared that a "whole village was beaten up and looted."

Press reports few of these allegations, but reports fully counter-allegations of Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law member in government, including massacre of crew crashed from military plane, hacking to death of two Air Force officers, and burning of policemen.

Atrocities stories, whichever side, not convincing unless facts investigated. Obscure issue. Figures sig-

nificant, however. Law member referred to "a mob of 5,000" behind Congress flags at Minapur in Bihar and of 10,000 at Rupauli, who hoisted Congress flag on police station.

Disturbances continue at Bombay, where police, after failing to break up illegal meeting, fired. Crowd then stoned police and smashed buses and lamps. Forty arrests, including girls. Casualties not reported.

SEPTEMBER 25

General Sir Alan Fleming Hartley, deputy commander-in-chief, states that "on five occasions mobs have been machine-gunned from the air during the recent disturbances."

SEPTEMBER 26

Five Indians sentenced to death and four to transportation for life at Nagpur, Central Provinces, on charge of killing a policeman, firing a police station, destroying government property and stealing guns and ammunition.

Forced labor is now the law in India.

Military commanders empowered to call on any local labor supply available for war work necessary for defense or attack. Usual wages will be paid.

SEPTEMBER 27

Thirty persons arrested in Bombay in connection with ceremonies honoring Congress flag.

Premier of Sind, Allah Bakhsh, denounced British-conferred titles because of Britain's "imperialistic attitude."

—F. B. in the British New Leader, organ of the Independent Labor Party, October 23.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Local 9 Officials Eye Union Elections

Dear Editor: After cramming the hiring hall surrender down the throats of the membership without the slightest regard for democracy or union principles in any form, the union pie cards have suddenly remembered that a new election is coming up soon. Accordingly, these incompetent bureaucrats have become oh-so-democratic and oh-so-militant.

For weeks the union negotiating committee dickered in deepest secrecy with the company on surrendering the leadership and the hiring hall. Not only was no publicity on negotiations given the membership, but the members of the committee were supposed to be bound to strictest secrecy even in private conversations. Now, after the most valuable horses in the union barn are stolen, there is a hasty effort to lock the door. The "democratic" union officials are now distributing at the Los Angeles shipyard a three-page report of details of negotiations with the company on the question of the ten-hour day, showing that the union representatives now propose the "pick-up" system in place of either ten hours or the staggered shift.

But this phony effort to appear democratic in time for the elections backfires on its authors if carefully read. In the first place it states that the company proposed the ten-hour day during the recent contract negotiations—a fact which was never reported to the membership, even in the report on the contract. Secondly, it points out that the present staggered shift is thoroughly unsatisfactory to all parties concerned—government, company and union. We should like to remind these bureaucrats and Stalinists who put over the staggered shift that they did it in direct defiance of the instructions of the membership. Do these birds remember how "necessary" they said it was then, and how it would increase production? Where were these gentlemen and their fight for the pick-up system at the time when the staggered shift was being bitterly fought out, with an aroused membership fighting against it?

After months of forgetting completely about Bethlehem, suddenly a special meeting of Bethlehem workers is called. Here Adkins makes a campaign speech for his own re-election. Over and over again he assured his audience that there is no discrimination in Local 9, that all groups have full and equal rights in the union, whether they be Republi-

cans, Democrats, non-partisans, or Trotskyists.

Okay, Brother Adkins! If you are so democratic, why do you try to rule off the floor, or refuse to recognize union brothers whom you think are Trotskyists? Why do you and all your pals, reactionary and Stalinist alike, carry on such a vicious campaign to try to suppress the "Trotskyist" paper, LABOR ACTION?

Even worse than the present officials on the score of sell-out policies and bureaucratic dictatorship in the union are the clique of Stalinist fanatics who would like to sneak into union office. Lately they've been playing a pretty smart game of letting the reactionary officials and Pollard do most of the dirty work in putting over the rotten deals, while they sit back trying to maintain a better standing for the elections. It will be a sad day for the membership of Local 9 if they are misled by this subterfuge. For the truth is not only that actually this Communist Party clique has been most influential in putting over every single surrender that has been made by the local, but worse than that, this gang can be counted on for certain to help the company and the government agencies win any concession they may demand of the members. As long as Stalin remains

on the side of the United States in the war this Bridges-Lopez-Alexander clique will be in favor of every retreat that the bosses seriously demand.

Let no union member think that the demand for union retreat is over. With the ten-hour attack at the LA yard, watch out for your shift premiums and time differentials! The company proposes to put in what labor-hating, dictatorial Bethlehem did. That means chiselling on the day shift and grand theft on the night shift! And watch out for an attack on the shop stewards. The stewards are the basis of union strength in the yard. They must be kept or made to represent the membership. And if they do represent the rank and file, the company will try to break them down! The stewards must be defended by determined action of the members!

Shipyard Worker.

San Pedro.

Liked Articles On Parity

Dear Editor: Enclosed please find one dollar to pay for the subs. Someone sent me the sub some time ago and I am cer-

tainly well pleased with the paper. I am farming for a living and the article dealing with parity was good. I certainly agree that it will be an issue to keep the farmer and labor confused and fighting each other. I am saving your parity article for future reference. I can send you some more subs later.

Hudsonville, Mich.

E. B.

Negroes May Pay Carfare... But May Not Drive Buses

Down in Baltimore, colored people spend \$3,000,000 each year riding the street cars and buses. They have been fighting to get colored street car motormen, conductors and bus drivers. The newspapers there are advertising for men to fill such jobs every day—but their skin must be white. The white folks of Baltimore seem to think that Negroes are not capable of operating a street car, driving a bus or collecting fares from passengers.—Detroit Tribune, October 31.

Press Action

NEW READERS:

- LABOR ACTION—now printing and circulating 25,000 copies each week—is now receiving MORE than twenty-five new subscriptions each week! New York City and Buffalo have taken the lead in setting this new subscription rate. Here are the results for the last TWO weeks:
- | | |
|-------------------|----|
| New York City | 24 |
| Buffalo | 11 |
| Detroit | 4 |
| Cleveland | 4 |
| St. Louis | 3 |
| Washington, D. C. | 1 |
| West Virginia | 1 |
| Akron | 1 |
| Columbus | 1 |
| Reading | 1 |
| Philadelphia | 1 |
| Los Angeles | 1 |
| Total | 53 |

Working Class Politics—Or Capitalist Politics?

Should Labor Have Supported Dean Alfange in the Elections?

At the very last minute, in The Militant of October 31, the Socialist Workers Party issued a statement on "The New York Elections in which it argued for the policy of casting the working class vote for Dean Alfange, gubernatorial candidate of the American Labor Party in New York. We quote in detail from this statement to show the reasons given by the Cannonites for their decision, so that the reader may get the full flavor of this crass piece of opportunism committed in the name of revolutionary socialism:

"In most of these elections (in the past few years) the ALP has found it necessary to nominate some candidates for minor offices independently of the capitalist parties. In every case where this has been done the SWP, making it clear that we oppose the program of the ALP, has given electoral support to such independent candidates while rejecting those candidates of the ALP who ran also as candidates of one or another of the bourgeois parties. The guiding line which determined our position in each case is our support of independent political action by the workers. There is no principled reason to change this position in the present election.

"To be sure, the miserable and treacherous leaders of the ALP find themselves conducting an independent campaign this year very much against their will. They are doing so only because the Democratic Party rejected their modest request that it nominate one bourgeois scoundrel (Mead) instead of another bourgeois scoundrel (Bennett), and because the sentiments of the workers forbid them to dissolve the ALP at Roosevelt's command.

"But the reasons which prompt reformist labor leaders to sponsor an independent labor ticket are of no fundamental concern to us. Not is the personality of the candidate the decisive question. Alfange, the candidate for governor, is a political adventurer from Tammany Hall. But he is no worse and no better than the other leading figures of the ALP. We do not distinguish between good and bad fakers. What is important and decisive is the fact of an independent ticket nominated by a party based on trade unions. We don't support the leaders or their program. We support independent political action by the workers. For that reason, and that reason only, we vote for the independent candidates of the ALP in the present election."

SHAME-FACED SUPPORT OF ALP

As can be seen from this ample quotation, the opportunists who wrote the statement are still pretty shame-faced about their policy. They don't have the courage to come forward with the flat declaration—"Vote for Alfange, representative of the idea of independent working class political action"—and therefore the statement is not really addressed to the workers in general. The Cannonite leaders have their own ranks to contend with first. That is why, as the language and tone of the statement show, they are really addressing themselves to the members and the sympathizers of the SWP. That is whom they are trying to convince of their policy! That is why the statement is not forthright in tenor, but essentially polemical and defensive in tone. Against whom are they polemizing? From whose criticisms are they defending themselves? Why is the statement on the New York elections signed by the National Committee of the SWP instead of, as would normally be the case, by the New York Committee?

Now let us get to the question of the policy itself. It is quite permissible, given the state of the working class movement in this country, for a small revolutionary party, which is unable to put a ticket of its own in the field, to call upon the workers to vote for the candidates of another, non-revolutionary, political party. But only under certain conditions.

First, that the other party is based upon the labor movement, in other words that it is a working class and not a capitalist party. Secondly, that in calling upon workers to support it, the revolutionary party makes it perfectly clear that it criticizes the reformist character of the other party, of its program and its leadership—since, in such cases (Labor Parties, Farmer-Labor Parties, etc.) it is always a reformist party that is involved.

Thirdly, and most important of all, in each concrete case, voting for the reformist party ticket must serve this REVOLUTIONARY end: it must contribute to bringing the workers into conflict, as a class, with the capitalist class and its political parties; it must serve to separate the workers, as a class,

from the capitalists and their political parties and factions; it must serve to heighten the class consciousness and feeling of solidarity of the workers. If, in the concrete, a vote for a reformist party does these things, even if in the smallest substantial degree, it is proper for a revolutionary party to endorse the other party.

Failing to meet these conditions, a vote for another political party, even if it goes by the name of "Labor," is opportunistic, is a disavowal of revolutionary principle, is sometimes downright betrayal of socialism and at all times in conflict with the best interests of the working class. The revolutionary socialist then frankly prefers not to vote at all, indifferent to the epithet of "Abstentionist!" because he is merely abstaining from playing CAPITALIST POLITICS. He confines himself to utilizing whatever interest there is in the elections to stimulate the interest and support of workers in the socialist program for which his own revolutionary party stands.

AN OPPORTUNIST, POLITICAL DECEPTION

Did the ALP ticket, or even the nomination of the "independent" candidate for Governor, in the New York State elections this year meet these conditions? Did it, as the Cannonites say, represent "the idea of independent political action by the workers"? Is the Cannonite analysis of the ALP position correct? No, it is an opportunistic political deception through and through. Everybody seems to have understood the real situation, but not the leaders of the SWP.

When the Cannonites write that "the sentiments of the workers forbid them (the ALP bosses) to dissolve the ALP at Roosevelt's command," they show that they either do not understand what happened right before their very eyes, or they don't care to understand. Roosevelt had not the faintest desire to see the ALP dissolved in the present election. Exactly the contrary! The ALP's "independent" nomination for Governor was absolutely indispensable to the plans of THE REAL ROOSEVELT PARTY. That is how things were in reality and that is how every intelligent person understood them. We give the facts for readers outside of New York, whose local newspapers may not have given them the details familiar to everybody in the Empire State.

Ever since the last presidential election, a stiff internecine conflict has raged in the Democratic Party between the "progressive" Roosevelt group and the conservatives, best represented by James A. Farley. Farley sought the presidential nomination, but lost it to Roosevelt, who ran for a third term and was elected. For the past two years Farley has been laying the grounds for a more successful fight against Roosevelt at the Democratic nominating convention in 1944. There Farley intended (and perhaps still intends) to win the nomination either for himself or for one of his men, against the nomination of Roosevelt again or of a Roosevelt man, in case a fourth term is out of the question.

The fight for the Democratic nomination for Governor of New York was a decisive stage in this open struggle for control of the national party and the coming presidential nomination. Farley, as New York Democratic state chairman, put forward the candidacy of John J. Bennett, a docile nonentity. Roosevelt promoted the candidacy of the New Deal stooge, another nonentity named James Mead, senator from New York. Each side understood that control of the state meant control of the powerful and almost decisive state delegation to the 1944 nominating convention. Roosevelt pressed his candidate with the open hint that if Farley-Bennett won the nomination, the Democrats would lose the election because Roosevelt would not be behind him. Farley said, in effect, we can win with Bennett even if Roosevelt doesn't support him.

ALP PLAYS STOOGES ROLE FOR FDR

What role did the ALP play? Pure and simple stooge of Roosevelt! It shouted: We want Roosevelt's man nominated by the Democrats! If he isn't nominated, the Democrats can't win New York because we will not support Bennett or any other Farley man! If Bennett is put up, we'll put up a candidate of our own, that is, a genuine Roosevelt man, that is, a candidate of the real Roosevelt party!

Farley & Co. did not listen. They were out to break the control of Roosevelt, to break their past dependency upon the ALP bureaucrats and the votes they could snuggle for the Democratic candidates in the past (like Lehman and Roosevelt), and ride into power in New York on a wave of conservative reaction from New Dealism. So, in defiance of Roosevelt and his ALP henchmen, Farley licked Mead and put over Bennett at the Roosevelt-baiting Democratic convention in Brooklyn.

Now follow closely the ensuing events. They show a classic example of the cynicism of capitalist politics in general, and of capitalist politics in the labor movement.

What was Roosevelt to do now? What was the loud-mouthed ALP bureaucracy to do? Farley had called their hand. He demanded that they support Bennett, with the implication that even if Bennett wasn't an ideal liberal, he was better to have in office than the Hooveristic crew and mentality represented by Dewey and the Republican mob. Farley was especially convinced that he had Roosevelt hip and thigh, because he knew that Roosevelt's position in the Democratic Party as a whole is such that he DARES NOT pull a Teddy Roosevelt "Bull Moose" break right now, that he dares not "take a walk" out of the party as Al Smith did in 1936. Among other reasons, he dares not do this for fear of strengthening a precedent for other Democrats doing the same thing in 1944 should Roosevelt get himself nominated again. Farley was right, formally. But Roosevelt outsmarted him in the essence of the matter!

What about the ALP fakers? They sat in their convention back rooms biting their nails. They couldn't nominate Mead, because Mead would no more break with the official Democratic machine and ticket now than Roosevelt would. Yet they had no other purpose than to keep Roosevelt and the real Roosevelt party (i.e., machine) in power, locally and nationally. How accomplish it? We don't know what political shyster-genius suggested the idea, or whether it came right from the White House or not. But that's not important. The important thing is the way it was done.

The "honorable labor men" kept the ALP convention delegates cooling their heels and after several secret sessions of the very uppermost bureaucracy, they brought forth a dark horse named Dean Alfange, a nobody who makes such nonentities as Bennett and Mead look like titans of history. A Tammany Hall member, he wasn't even a member of the ALP. But that didn't matter to the ALP bosses. They weren't out for an independent ticket; they were out to serve the Roosevelt political interests, as they have done for ten years. And—give the devil his due—they made no particular effort to conceal the fact!

Mr. Nobody Alfange was put over on the bewildered ALP delegates. Roosevelt and his cohorts were delighted! The Smash-Farley-Save-Roosevelt plan was now airtight. Here is how it was to work out:

THE ROOSEVELT STRATEGY

The "independent" ALP candidate for Governor was to run and keep running in order to make sure Bennett was defeated. Most of the other state-wide Democratic candidates who were acceptable to Roosevelt and Lehman-like Poletti and O'Leary—would be endorsed (and presumably elected) by the ALP. This would show the Democratic Party people in New York that anyone Roosevelt okayed could be elected in New York, but that anyone nominated against his wishes would go down to defeat—thus depriving thousands of deserving Democrats of patronage and all other plums of office. It would show them that Farley is a jinx to all hungry Democrats and should be run out of control of the New York machine before the all-important 1944 nominating convention opens its sessions.

At the same time, by this clever plan, Roosevelt would "remain in the clear." Why? Because FORMALLY, he stayed "regular," that is, in spite of the defeat of his own man, he gave three public endorsements to Farley's man, Bennett. Thus he could say: You see, boys, once you turned down my nominee, not even my endorsements could get your nominee (i.e., Farley's nominee) elected. But as everyone with half an eye could see, Roosevelt's "endorsements" of Bennett were so frigid that it's God's wonder that the poor fellow wasn't stricken with pneumonia.

The Roosevelt strategy was positively double-edged in its cleverness. By defeating Bennett, the New Deal machine would dispose effectively of rival Farley in the 1944 campaign. But at the same time it would elect Dewey to the governorship, strengthen his claim to the Republican presidential nomination in 1944 and thus confront the Roosevelt candidate with what they consider a push-over, as compared with the more popular, "liberal" Republican possibility, Willkie.

Well, the strategy worked like a charm, except for the fact that the Dewey sweep was so strong that it carried the rest of the Republican ticket and defeated, by a very narrow margin, the Democratic state candidates who were also endorsed by the ALP. What role did the ALP play in the election? It was assigned by the New Deal machine to carry out the task of... doing its dirty work, that's all. We repeat: everybody in New York who understands anything, understood the whole scheme—everybody but the Cannonites.

"Dewey is the lesser evil," was the frank statement of David Dubinsky, president of the Ladies Garment Workers Union and one of the REAL bosses of the ALP, in calling upon the workers to vote for Alfange. "Some may ask: is it to the interest of President Roosevelt to have Dewey elected Governor? Is not Dewey a potential candidate for President in 1944? Well, between the two evils of losing his own party or of having Dewey the candidate for President on the Republican ticket in 1944, it is more important that Roosevelt retain control of his own party." (New York Times, October 27.)

The Stalinists, who also ran an "independent" candidate for Governor, also understood this obvious strategy. One of the CP spokesmen, Gilbert Green, put it this way in the text of an election speech over WQXR, in answer to a question of the meaning of a Dewey victory: "As for the President, his prestige will be all the greater, for then it will be abundantly clear that had his choice, Senator Mead, been the Democratic candidate, his election would have been assured... If the policy we suggest is pursued, Bennett will trail far behind the other Democratic state-wide candidates. Once again it will prove that the President's strength in New York State far exceeds that of Farley and Hoover."

Even pro-Alfange PM understood the scheme. "If Dewey wins, he at least will have pulled most of the teeth with which Jim Farley bit out control of the Democratic Party in New York." (October 29.)

In a word, NOBODY with political understanding was deceived by the "independence" of the political action represented by Alfange's nomination—nobody but the Cannonite politicians.

Alfange's nomination DID NOT serve the cause of independent working class political action—he was nothing more and nothing less than the stalking horse for the New Deal's determination to keep control of the Democratic Party. To separate Alfange's "independent" nomination from all the real and overwhelming circumstances in which this candidacy originated and grew is sheer abstractionism; it is not revolutionary politics or intelligent thinking of any kind. At best, it is political amateurishness and ignorance of Marxist politics in general and current politics in particular; at worst—and that's what the growing right wing tendency in the SWP leads us to believe—it is the crassest opportunism.

Alfange's nomination and campaign, a vote for Alfange, did not meet the elementary conditions outlined above for working class support of a political party or ticket. It did NOT represent independent working class political action. It was a cynical continuation by the ALP bureaucracy of the capitalist political action they have imposed from the very beginning upon the rank and file who make up the party.

As for the Cannonite endorsement of the Alfange candidacy, it is an opportunist deception of revolutionary militants who make up the supporters of the SWP. It cannot be considered an isolated or episodic error, however. It is of a piece with the right wing trend which has grown in the SWP since the war began and which became especially pronounced after Leon Trotsky was murdered and the SWP was left to the sole leadership of the theoretical sterility and political opportunism represented by Cannon and his satellites. M. S.

The Profit System -- the Fly In Mr. Willkie's Ointment

By GERTRUDE SHAW

Wendell Willkie returned from his trip around the world and made what sounded like a very liberal—if not revolutionary—speech.

"Down with the Colonial System"—"Down with Imperialism"—"Up with the Freedom of the Asiatic People"—these, presumably, are Willkie's brand-new slogans.

Unless one believes in Santa Claus, he knows instinctively that there is a fly in this ointment—or two or three. There is no Santa Claus—and the would-be President of this imperialist nation does not come out for the end of world imperialism—that is, NOT REALLY.

Hand-Writing on the Wall

There are two reasons behind Willkie's venture into "revolutionary" international politics. One is immediate, connected with the urgent need on the part of the United Nations to change the course the war has thus far taken. The other reason is more far-sighted, and has to do with the future of American imperialism—in short, with feathering its nest.

As to the first point, it is obvious to Mr. Willkie, as to everyone else who doesn't wear blinders, that the far-Eastern colonial people will not fight to defend their status quo. To enslaved peoples it naturally does not seem worth while to give up their lives in the fire of war for the privilege of continuing to be exploited and tortured by the somewhat slower processes of imperialist rule.

If the colonial peoples fight the Japanese, it will be as independent peoples, battling to maintain and make secure their independence. Willkie is intelligent enough to see the hand-writing on the wall—and politician enough to pretend that the hand-writing is his own slogan.

His "Anti-Imperialism"

To understand the second reason for Willkie's messianic-posturing one must know a wee bit about the history of American imperialism. It must be remembered that America is a comparative newcomer among the imperialist nations. It came upon the scene as an independent nation when the old capitalist systems of Europe were already well established—with their world empires seemingly locked in their safe deposit vaults.

As the United States grew in economic power, as its expanded and

branched out into the world market, it had to batter down the closed doors of British, French, Dutch, German and other imperialisms. In that perverted sense, America has always been "anti-imperialist." But this kind of "anti-imperialism," when translated into realistic language, simply meant "ME TOO!" Strident, young Yankee imperialism was pushing through the closed doors barred to it by the old-time world-wide exploiters.

This is the explanation, for instance, of the open-door policy of the United States in China. On the face of it, it sounded like freedom itself—the open door. In actuality, it meant only freedom for the American merchants and investors to exploit the Chinese masses along with the British, German and French exploiters. When the American breed did ease into China, they grabbed the same kind of extra-territorial privileges that the other capitalist nations enjoyed, and merrily proceeded to rake in profits out of the sweat of the Chinese people.

Where the United States capitalists did not have to buck up against the superior forces of the European empires, its "anti-imperialism" was put under the mattress for safekeeping. That happened, for instance, when the "outposts of democracy" were established in the Philippines, in Hawaii and other Pacific islands. Also when, with the aid of the "keep off the grass" sign known as the Monroe Doctrine, the American strain of imperialism took roots in the Caribbean, in Central America, in South America.

"Me Too"—"Me Alone!"

In a word, American imperialism is "anti-imperialist" when it is knocking at the doors to trade and profit locked by other powers. But it forgets all about "anti-imperialism" when its own exclusive hunting grounds are involved. The determining force, in both cases, is just for profits and interest, for investments, markets and expanded capital, for raw materials and cheap, exploitable labor.

Does Mr. Willkie's fine-sounding speech mark a departure from this proved imperialist policy? On the contrary—IT IS RIGHT IN LINE WITH THIS POLICY!

American imperialism stands to gain only if British, Dutch, French colonial masters are permanently driven out of their colonies. The Japanese and German military machines have successfully attacked the European empires on the war front. The peoples of the colonies have themselves successfully attacked on the internal political front. European imperialism is caught in a vise. Mr. Willkie gives the screw a little turn.

Now if, in addition, the up-start imperialist gang of Japan and the die-hard imperialist gangsters of Germany are licked by the "arsenal of democracy," then, for the first time in history, all the doors of the world will be wide open to economic penetration and domination by American capital—without the bother of climbing over the numerous barriers set up by those powerful old-time competitors, the British, Dutch, French and German colonial masters.

The Spider and the Fly

To Mr. Willkie, representative of Morgan interests and would-be President of capitalist America, the vision of such limitless opportunities for exploitation brings high enthusiasm. Certainly, down with the BRITISH colonial system. Definitely, down with JAPANESE imperialism. And up with the freedom of the Asiatic peoples to be under the tender mercy of American capitalism alone. Once the "anti-imperialism" of American imperialism meant "Me Too!" Today it means "Me Alone!"

This is the correct interpretation of Mr. Willkie's new-found "idealism." His palm itches and his heart overflows with "friendship" for the Asiatic peoples—the kind of friendship that the spider has for the fly.

Any AMERICAN who comes out with the slogan "Down with Imperialism" can be sincere only if he means to begin at home. "Down with Imperialism" coming from the mouth of an American must mean "Down with AMERICAN Capitalism" and "Down with the Profit System HERE." Therefore, neither Mr. Willkie nor Mr. Roosevelt nor any other prophet of the profit system can be sincere about freeing the colonial peoples.

But the American working class can be sincere. It has no reason to exploit its fellow workers anywhere. It can help the Asiatic peoples in their splendid struggle for freedom—but not by taking the slippery hand of a Willkie. Socialism IS Freedom. The working class must make its stand against its own capitalist sys-

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The News in Brief Form
"Children between the ages of seven and thirteen reflect the cynical, disillusioned attitude prevalent just after World War I, with no positive idea of what we are fighting for this time, according to a study made... by two Bellevue Hospital psychiatrists. 'Glorification of war was conspicuous by its absence and surprisingly few thought of war in terms of bravery, heroism, freedom and patriotism,' these observers found. 'If anything, there was a glorification of peace.'—Scientific American.
This younger generation!
"David K. Niles is an administrative assistant to the President who does all kinds of special jobs that are not supposed to be talked about... Right now he is working on the fourth term."—Life.
Not for the present, anyway!

Anti-Labor Policy--
(Continued from page 1)
ing and demonstration of its own strength.
Decreases Nullify Workers' Rights
5. However, powerful and influential as the WLB has proved, the Administration was still fearful of labor's resentment and the possible outbreak of labor actions: strikes. Therefore, it took still another measure, far more meaningful than any hitherto, to hog-tie labor's interests and needs.
By Roosevelt's Executive Order, as enunciated in the general Price Control Order, the right to strike under any circumstances became a dead letter so far as government policy is concerned. Second, direct negotiations between the bosses and the workers in regard to wages, working and union conditions, etc., also became a dead letter. For any wage contracts arrived at through this customary procedure are VOID unless the government itself sanctions and approves the agreement!
Thus the institution of collective bargaining, already reeling from government blows and from the abandonment by the union leadership of the use of striking power, is formally buried—presumably only for the duration of the imperialist war.
Revive Fighting Policy!
But it must be further noted that when reactionary, anti-labor legislation (e.g. the Smith Bill) was introduced in Congress before Pearl Harbor it failed of enactment because of strong, vocal and militant opposition by organized labor, which recognized the deadly significance of such legislation. One year later, the bitter enemies of labor have achieved the same end through Roosevelt's executive order.
Hence, by decree and dictatorial practices—in a process as yet far from completed—the Roosevelt Administration steadily and persistently marks out its course in relation to labor's needs and demands. In next week's article we shall show how deeply and far-reaching government labor policy has developed in these directions; and the dire consequences of this policy to the labor movement unless the working class turns consciously to a militant policy of resistance.

Seeks Dictatorial Powers --

(Continued from page 1)

advantage of, THE WORKER—not to the WMC or the boss! The proposal is therefore a threat to unions with hiring hall power: "Knuckle under, take my directions, or else..."

Now it is quite possible that neither of these proposals will be legis-

tem—whose lust for profits and interest, for investments, markets and expanded capital, for raw materials and cheap exploitable labor, can mean only exploitation at home and abject slavery for the backward peoples.

At its best the "freedom" Mr. Willkie dangles before the nose of the Asiatic peoples could be what was promised the Filipinos under the false label of "independence." The economic domination of those islands by American capitalism was so complete that any "independent" government could be nothing more than a puppet on the strings of American control.

Mr. Willkie is right about the progressive role to be played by America today—but not through the Willkies. Progress lies only in America's working class. Yes, the American working class can be the pioneers of a new freedom—the freedom which only international socialism can today bring.

The lead of the American workers will be eagerly followed by the workers of England and Germany, of France and Italy, or Russia and Japan. Then world imperialism will collapse. Then ALL the peoples of the world will indeed be free.

lated or decreed in the form presented. But we would be foolish to minimize the danger. The New York Times, reporting the recommendations, gave them an unusually prominent place on its front page, second only to the fighting on Guadalcanal. The editors of the Times were evidently enthusiastic for the general idea behind the recommendations, and for good reason. They represent Wall Street, the big bosses. Anything that fetters labor, restricts its ability to function militantly, is right up the Times' alley.

By the same token it is no good for labor. We should now be doubly vigilant. From the start, labor has been opposed to a manpower dictator. Gradually, however, that dictatorial noise has been and is being slipped over labor's neck. Carelessness or foolish confidence that "it won't be passed" is precisely what will result in the enactment or decreeing of these recommendations. It doesn't matter if the specific recommendations are not followed to the letter. What does matter is that, regardless of the changes that may be made in

the specific text, the possibility remains that the CONCEPTS and general purpose they advance will be adopted.
We are opposed to any kind of manpower dictator. We would be opposed to it no matter who held the dictator's seat. The fact that McNutt is in the saddle merely makes us more suspicious. McNutt, we repeat, was when he was governor of Indiana, known in the labor movement as the Hoosier Hitler. About all that labor can find in his favor is summed up in a phrase reported to have been used by a Filipino when McNutt was High Commissioner to the Philippines: "He's a very handsome man." In accordance with that judgment, we propose that he be made chief profile for the collar ads.
Labor has spiked, FOR THE PRESENT, the "draft labor" legislation. Spiked it by raising a furor. That same kind of furor is necessary to spike the latest McNutt idea. And it must be done NOW, BEFORE the proposals wheedle their way through in one form or another. It may be too late if we wait for it to be incorporated in legislation or Roosevelt decree. The time to act against a recommendation is when it is still a recommendation, BEFORE it becomes legislation.

Attention, Los Angeles Workers!
The address of the Labor Action office in Los Angeles is:
233 South Broadway, Room 415

November 7, 1917 - - The Greatest Day in History

On the Twenty-Fifth Year of the Russian Revolution

Lenin and the Russian Revolution

There were a great many men associated with the Russian Revolution which brought the working class to state power for the first time in modern history, but none were so important to its success as N. Lenin. Lenin was the outstanding leader of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks), the organization of the Russian workers. He organized that party, directed its growth over many years, prepared it for the struggle to liberate the Russian masses from the slavery of Czarism, educated its members and leaders and led it in the revolution which brought the workers and peasants to power. This revolution freed them from exploitation by Russia's corrupt and decayed capitalist class, the degenerated nobility and rent-hungry landlords.

As a man, Lenin was unique in history. From early manhood he devoted himself to the aim of organizing the masses of his country for the purpose of freeing them. All his life was spent on that single task. He wished to destroy poverty and exploitation. He sought to abolish the wage system which enslaved the workers in the factories; he fought to free the millions of peasants from the cruel tortures of the Russian landlords.

To realize this aim, he knew that the overthrow of the nobility and landlords and the establishment of a "democratic" capitalist nation would merely signify exchanging one set of masters for another, the class of financiers and industrialists. He fought for a socialist revolution, one which would forever eliminate the exploitation of man by man, one which would free the people economically, politically and socially. Lenin's great contribution to history is the proof he presented that under the conditions of modern world capitalism no freedom can be won for the people except through the establishment of the direct political power of the workers and the reorganization of economy along socialist lines, preparing the development of society on a completely socialist basis.

PROPOSES "ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS"

Lenin was not interested merely in freeing the Russian people. Socialist internationalism was his creed. He knew that even if the Russian workers and peasants established their power, it could only be the first step in the liberation of all humanity. For the task of socialists is to establish socialism over the entire globe, since socialism could not be built in a single country. Did this mean postponing the job in one country? Not at all! Lenin showed that imperialist capitalism is a world economic system, therefore the victory of the workers in one country marked the first step, but an INDISPENSABLE step in the struggle for the genuine freedom and equality of all peoples! The socialist revolution would come in that country which was the weakest link in the imperialist chain. That weakest link was Czarist Russia.

Thus, when the imperialist war of 1914-18 broke out, all the rottenness of Russian capitalism was spewed forth. Corruption ruled the country; the industrialists were gorging themselves with war profits; the landlords increased their wealth, and the army was graft-ridden. In contrast to the well-being of Russia's upper classes, the workers, peasants and soldiers suffered greatly. The workers and peasants were poverty-stricken; the soldiers were ill-clad, ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-armed!

Hardly a person in the world did not know that an explosion must come in Russia. Two years after Russia had entered the war, the storm broke out. In February, 1917, the masses took to the streets and the Czarist government was overthrown. But in its place was set up the provisional government headed by a new set of capitalists and landlords. No real change followed for the people. There was no improvement in their economic conditions; the new government had no intention of stopping the war which was destroying hundreds of thousands of their helpless comrades. Land, Peace and Bread! These were the things which the Russian people wanted most. But these were things which the new government would not give to its people.

At this time Lenin was in Switzerland, exiled by the Czar. He watched the events from afar and tried to communicate his views and his program to his party. Without him, his party floundered. It had no decisive program except that of critical support to the Provisional Government. Lenin tried to change the direction of his party. He did so by a sharp criticism of its leadership in Russia (Stalin, Kamenev and Molotov) and proposed a new policy; the Bolsheviks must prepare to take state power and put into effect the program of the masses.

When Lenin arrived in Russia he presented his program to his party and fought until that program was adopted. It called for an extension of the revolution. "All Power to the Soviets" was the slogan which Lenin put before the people. As the organization of the workers, peasants and soldiers, such a government would be the only truly democratic government for the Russian masses.

"Land, Peace and Bread!" This, the capitalist government, tied to the capitalists of other countries, would never grant to the people! Therefore, the people must take power themselves! Lenin won the party to his side; the party won the people and on November 7, 1917, the Russian masses took power and established the Soviet Republic.

DEATH MARKS A TURNING POINT

The actions of this Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Government were to grant economic, political and social freedom to all the peoples which inhabited the country. Freedom of organization, freedom of speech, freedom of assemblage and, above all, economic freedom. They were to be the masters of their own fate.

Before he finished his great work, death took him. His death marked a turning point in Soviet Russian history. The bureaucracy, led by Stalin, usurped the power of the Russian masses. The Bolshevik Party was destroyed. The trade unions were completely emasculated. The Soviets lost their power. Thus, more than fifteen years of Stalinist has resulted in a defeat of the glorious Russian Revolution and the rise to power of a new class of bureaucrats and the destruction of the power of the workers.

But Lenin left an unblemished mark on history. He was the greatest historical figure of modern times. He taught the workers and the poor how to achieve freedom. He showed the way to socialism. He was an internationalist who built a party in one country which had an INTERNATIONAL purpose. He built an international party.

A simple man, completely devoted to the cause of humanity, a man of penetrating intelligence, an enormous political thinker and an intelligent propagandist of socialism, Lenin served his class and laid the foundation for its eventual liberation.

(Continued from page 1)

against the soviets. American soldiers and workers gave evidence of solidarity. The German workers cheered them on. They were fighting the battle of the workers all over the world, and workers everywhere knew it. The capitalist governments knew it too, and feared them.

They did not, however, expect to fight this battle alone. They knew that what they had begun had to be continued and spread, had to be consolidated in other countries, notably in Germany, where, as one of the first effects of the Russian Revolution, the Kaiser's government had been toppled, Germany's workers were ready to go further, and they did go out in rebellion. But the same "wise men," who called themselves "socialists" and who had told the Russian masses "it can't be done," smothered the German Revolution, trained guns on the rebelling workers and assassinated the leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

The revolution in Russia could not live by itself, particularly in a country so impoverished as Russia. Lenin and Trotsky knew that, taught that and fanned the flames of revolution in Germany. But in the failure of the revolution in the West, that is in the criminal assault of the "wise men" of German "socialism" on the revolution—in this failure the Russian Revolution suffered its first great defeat.

Under Lenin and Trotsky property was nationalized, that is, taken over by the state as the instrumentality of the class rule of the workers. Slowly they began to build that democracy which is the essential lever of socialist production and life—that REAL democracy

LENIN



"Democracy" at Work in Chicago

Democracy is on the march in Chicago. At the head of the procession are an obscure little police lieutenant and an equally obscure little local police court judge.

It seems that some workers at the Wood Manufacturing Co. in Chicago were having some difficulties with their boss. So far as the press reports go, the trouble was of the kind that occurs day in and day out in numerous plants throughout the country. Most unions and most companies have a regular procedure for handling such difficulties. The federal government has established a procedure in labor disputes. There are federal and state laws for the determination of procedure in labor disputes. But it seems that neither the little local judge, one Oscar Caplan, nor the little cop, one George Barnes, ever heard of any of these laws or procedures.

Two Negro officers of the AFL Automobile Workers Union were arrested by Barnes, hauled before Caplan and fined \$200 each for taking part in a slow-down strike at the Wood plant. One was a vice-president and one a steward of the union. It was charged that not only did the two union officers take part in the slow-down but they refused to order the men to speed up production when Cop Barnes told them to.

It seems that Barnes—who is a member of something known as the "labor detail" of the Chicago police department—entered

which can only be achieved under socialism. They sought to wipe out the vestiges of inequality, they sought to develop the productive techniques and abilities of the country with the ultimate goal of economizing human labor and satisfying all wants under a structure of planned production. Above all, they looked forward to the revolution in the West which would free Russia from its isolation.

But Lenin, the genius of the revolution died. Reaction triumphed in Europe, the revolution seemed remote. And on the tidal waters of European reaction, the Stalinist bureaucracy, turning its eyes away from the revolution abroad, swept into power and began that process of strangulation which eventually resulted in the complete suffocation of the workers' state.

Where Lenin and Trotsky had fought bureaucracy, where they had encouraged the democratic participation of the masses in the institutions of the workers' state, Stalin nurtured bureaucracy, systematically destroyed the institutions of democratic control—the soviets and the Bolshevik party itself—and finally established his bureaucracy as the privileged, as the ruling class of Russia.

Lenin and Trotsky had seen the function of democracy not only as a splendid goal in itself, but as the very essence of economic advance, socialist planning, and the eventual liquidation of all classes in a brotherhood of man. In the workers' state they led and helped create democracy, and its continual extension, was an irreplaceable objective. But Stalin did replace it, replaced it with his own bureaucratic machinery, persecuted to the point of murder all who stood in his way and destroyed every last democratic right of the Russian people.

Lenin and Trotsky had been internationalists. But Stalin was a nationalist. Where Lenin and Trotsky had sought to promote the revolution abroad, Stalin blocked it. He crippled the Chinese revolution as he later stifled working class action in Germany when Hitler took power, and the workers' revolution in Spain when Franco challenged the Spanish people.

Stalin has destroyed the workers' state. He has depressed the living standards of the masses; he has widened the gap of economic inequality. He has created a new ruling class, in his bureaucracy, a ruling class which enjoys its privileges through its control of the state apparatus and the totalitarian subjugation of the people of Russia.

But while Stalin has destroyed the workers' state created in the fires of 1917, he has not destroyed the example it set, nor can he destroy its inspiration for all future generations. What the workers did in 1917 can and WILL be repeated. Monumental obstacles were in their way, the possibilities looked bleak—but only to those who lacked the conviction of socialist triumph.

The future looks bleak today too, in truth more so than in 1917. But the ground is stirring. We are faced with this alternative—either fascist barbarism or socialist freedom. We must be conscious of that and make others conscious of it too, and unitedly strive for our own objective.

The impulses toward freedom in socialist liberation are too great to be stifled. For that way alone lies freedom from want and despair. That way alone lies abundance and plenty and the fulfillment of humanity's desires. The revolution begun in 1917 WILL be continued. It will sweep aside the Stalinist betrayers as it will sweep aside all the tyrannies of the world.

The workers of Russia realized in 1917 the power that rests in their independent action. Let us keep the memory of that victory alive. Keep it alive in understanding the indestructible power of INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION. Keep it alive in working day by day, every day, for that noblest aspiration of all: SOCIALIST BROTHERHOOD.

the plant and took over the direction of operations in place of the management. The two union officials were arrested and charged with "disorderly conduct"—that time-worn charge which the cops use when they have no case or when they are stalling for time in which to fabricate a case.

This is proved by the remarks of the judge. Caplan said: "This is probably the first case of its kind in the country. THERE IS NO CHARGE TO COVER THE CASE; the crime is greater than the charge." Then Caplan in the manner of all fakers began to shed ears for organized labor: "I don't want to punish you men. I believe in organized labor. But we have to deliver for the government these days—union or no union. I, myself, have put in an application for a war job... A slow-down in a war plant is plain vicious sabotage. Any action like this for the benefit of the few is treason and we can say treasonable."

These men, according to Caplan are guilty of all these high crimes and offenses, yet "there is no charge to cover the case." They are fined \$200. But this little local police court judge knows full well that he can't make it stick, so the fines are held "in abeyance" until January 15. They will be vacated then if there are no more offenses; that is, if there is no more "vicious sabotage" for which, according to Caplan, there is no "charge."

This Caplan is nothing more than a vicious little local figure who seized on this case as an opportunity to exhibit his miserable little self and get his name in the papers. He is trying to make good as the best of the country's front rank and loudest yelling "patriots." The best he has been able to do so far in his desire to strut before the public is to ride the backs of two workers who were trying to improve the lot of the men they represented. Perhaps this little shyster thinks that he will get a better paying "war job" now that he has become a national figure.

There is one other comment that must be made about this incident. What kind of labor union is the AFL Auto Workers Union if it tolerates such action as this from a petty judge? What kind of labor movement is there in Chicago that a cheap little police judge has the effrontery to pull off such a trick as this?

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Trotsky and the Russian Revolution

The man who, next to Lenin, was most responsible for the victory of the Russian workers and peasants in the revolution of November, 1917, was Leon Trotsky. Lenin and Trotsky—these were the two names always associated in the reports and histories of the Russian Revolution. They were the two great leaders of oppressed humanity in the twentieth century, as Marx and Engels were the leaders of these people in the nineteenth century when they established the principles of scientific socialism.

Trotsky entered the Russian labor movement at a very early age when he sought to organize the workers in small industrial towns of Southern Russia. From that time on his entire life was devoted to the job of emancipating the oppressed peoples of the world from bosses' exploitation and imperialist rule.

At the age of twenty-six he was elected president of the St. Petersburg Soviet (workers' council). This was the time of the Russian Revolution of 1905. Even though the Russian masses lost in this struggle for freedom, they learned invaluable lessons in the battle against Czarism. For the revolution of 1905 served as a preparatory school for the revolution of 1917.

For his "crimes" of fighting on the side of the workers and peasants, Trotsky was many times arrested and twice exiled to Siberia. This only intensified his determination to fight against

TROTSKY



the cruel and corrupt system of capitalism in Russia. During the years he spent in Europe as an exile, he devoted himself to the one task of winning the victory in Russia.

ABOVE ALL—AN INTERNATIONALIST

Like Lenin, however, Trotsky was an internationalist, i.e., he pointed out that the conditions of the workers, the peasants and the colonial peoples of the world were all essentially the same. He wanted socialism in Russia because he wanted to free the Russian people. But he wanted socialism for the whole world so that all of humanity could be freed from poverty, exploitation and the greed of the capitalist profit-mongers.

He was against the imperialist war of 1914-18 and because he fought against it openly in the newspapers he edited, the governments of Europe—Austria, France and Spain—expelled him from their countries. Trotsky lived in New York for several months. When the revolution of February, 1917, broke out, he immediately returned to his country. And when he saw that the February revolution had fallen into the hands of people who intended to bring about no fundamental changes in the conditions of people, he allied himself with Lenin and Lenin's party to fight for the second revolution, for the genuine power of the soviets of workers, soldiers and peasants. No other people were as responsible for the victory of these oppressed people as were Lenin and Trotsky.

ORGANIZER OF THE RED ARMY

When the new government of the masses was organized, Trotsky was its first Foreign Minister. When the counter-revolution began, Trotsky set out to organize the Red Army, an accomplishment which was hailed throughout the world, and even grudgingly admired by his most hated enemies, the reactionary imperialists everywhere.

Once these great battles were fought, the Soviet Government, headed by Lenin and Trotsky, proceeded to reconstruct the country. They had won the revolution; they had won the war to defend it. Now they set about to win the peace, that is, to rebuild the country on socialist principles; to build up its industry and agriculture for the benefit of all the people.

But they faced the growing power of an unscrupulous bureaucracy which sought to destroy the principles and gains of the Revolution. Lenin and Trotsky united to struggle against this bureaucracy. But no sooner had they begun to fight than Lenin died. This task then fell upon the shoulders of Trotsky, and though he fought valiantly, he was defeated by this bureaucracy headed by Stalin.

FIGHTS FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM

Not only was Trotsky faced with this struggle against the bureaucrats, but he saw the principles of socialism violated by Stalin and his clique. The idea of international socialism, the liberation of all humanity, for which Lenin and he had fought, was cast aside by Stalin in favor of the reactionary theory of "socialism in one country."

The Old Bolsheviks were expelled from their party and from their government posts. They were arrested, exiled to Siberia, beaten and often killed. The final expression of the complete degeneration of Stalin was the deportation of Trotsky from Russia. Once more the great leader of world socialism found himself in exile, wandering from one European country to another until he found a haven in Mexico, where he continued his life work.

But the Stalinists could not bear to see Trotsky alive. In August of 1940, during the height of the Hitler-Stalin pact, he was murdered by an agent of Stalin's GPU. Thus was the life of Lenin's comrade ended.

But if Stalin thought that he could destroy—was a pick-axe—the ideas and work of Leon Trotsky, he was greatly mistaken. For Trotsky's ideas are the ideas of socialism, his work the aim of emancipating all humanity from imperialist capitalism and establishing world socialism. These cannot die!

New York Workers Attention!

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