

## Trotsky's Speech On October Revolution

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# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. VII—No. 45

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1943

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

# NEW MINE CONTRACT REFERRED TO WLB

## 5th Wartime Plenum Of SWP Meets In New York

Fifteenth Anniversary of the Founding of American Trotskyism  
Celebrated at Banquet in New York As Party Records New Gains

Meeting one year after the Tenth National Convention in 1942, the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party held a four-day plenum in New York City from Oct. 29 to Nov. 1. The great historical developments of the past year comprised the principal point on the plenum agenda.

These developments included the downfall of Mussolini and the collapse of Italian fascism, signaling the beginning of the Italian, and consequently the European, revolution; the growing preponderance of Anglo-American military power over that of the Axis camp; Wall Street's aspirations to replace Nazi Germany as master and oppressor of Europe; the colossal victories of the Red Armies and the basic class antagonism between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American allies; and the formal dissolution of the Communist International.

The National Committee analyzed these great historical developments from the standpoint of the tasks and perspectives of the international working class and its revolutionary vanguard. The problems of the Italian and the developing European revolution were submitted to an especially thorough discussion. The basic line on revolutionary socialist policy was unanimously reaffirmed by the plenum. The final draft of the resolution embodying this line will appear in a forthcoming issue of *The Militant*.

### ANALYSIS CONFIRMED

The major events of the past year have confirmed the Trotskyist analysis of the world situation. Events have reinforced the party's position that the workers in alliance with the peasants and colonial peoples will prove capable of overthrowing capitalism and organizing the foundations of an international socialist society of peace, security, human solidarity and unbounded progress.

Meeting a month after the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis sustained the convictions of the outstanding party leaders in the Minneapolis Smith "Gag Act" trial of 1941, the plenum demonstrated that the Socialist Workers Party has withstood the blows and pressure of the class enemy during wartime. Leadership and membership stand firm and united. The party has adhered to its principles and program; and it is moving forward and gaining new members throughout the country.

The plenum voted to launch a drive for a \$15,000 fund to expand the party's activities, publications and press.

### ANNIVERSARY BANQUET

The indomitable revolutionary spirit of Trotskyism was thrillingly demonstrated at the fifteenth anniversary banquet of the Socialist Workers Party held at Werdermann's Hall in New York City, Saturday, Oct. 30. Speakers at the banquet included comrades representing both the oldest and the youngest generations of revolutionary fighters in the Trotskyist movement. Antoinette F. Konikow, honored Trotskyist veteran who has devoted 55 rich years of her life to the revolutionary movement, spoke for the older generation. Louise Langston, latest recruit of the New York local of the party, spoke for the young, vigorous, courageous working class fighters who are just finding

## Telegrams to Natalia Trotsky From the Plenum and Banquet

The Plenum of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, meeting for the fifth time during the Second World War reaffirms the basic program of Trotskyism.

Our analysis shows that Europe is now on the verge of proletarian revolution, that already the beginning of this revolution can be seen in Italy. In the very near future full confirmation will be given to Trotsky's theses that for the oppressed toilers the Socialist United States of Europe will prove the only road out of totalitarianism and war.

Despite the worst efforts of our enemies, despite their lies and slanders, their prisons and their assassins, our party has become firmer and stronger.

In extending greetings to you, dear Natalia, our Plenum also salutes all our friends and co-thinkers in other lands who have borne the brunt of cruellest blows. We assure them that the long period of reaction is rapidly drawing to a close and that their day is now dawning, the day of a great world-wide upsurge of the working class.

Nothing can stop the development of our movement. Ideas cannot be slain. As Trotsky predicted, the program of Marxism will prove invincible.

JAMES P. CANNON  
For the Plenum

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Two hundred workers and friends gathered at a joyous and enthusiastic banquet in celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the American Trotskyist movement, send you warmest greetings.

The campaign to raise \$15,000 to expand party activity was officially launched in a manner worthy of Trotskyists. Those present contributed \$1,600.

Again we pledge ourselves to carry on the program which brought success to the October revolution, the program of Lenin and Trotsky. The new October, now on the order of the day, will find us in our places, ranks firm and united, ready to do our part in opening the communist future of mankind.

With Trotsky's program as a guide and your example as inspiration we are sure of the victory of the Fourth International.

LOCAL NEW YORK  
Socialist Workers Party

their way into the Trotskyist vanguard movement.

Other speakers represented those groups of members who have come into the Trotskyist party from other working class political movements: the Communist Party, Young Communist League, Socialist Party, American Workers Party.

### THE GATHERING STORM

Albert Goldman, attorney for the Socialist Workers Party, who presided at the banquet, declared that, "although American Trotskyism is celebrating its fifteenth anniversary, our movement is really 95 years old and dates its birth from the Communist Manifesto of 1848."

"The Trotskyists were expelled from the Stalinized Communist Party fifteen years ago because they were devoted to the principles of the Communist Manifesto," Comrade Goldman said. "They have carried on their work since to realize those principles

in life. The events in Italy were but the lightning - flashes of the gathering storm of the European revolution. The United States cannot possibly be immune to these revolutionary shocks, and the day is not far off when the Trotskyists will play their historic role and fulfill their historic mission."

Vincent Dunne, Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, recounted his experiences in the pre-war IWW struggles; the influence of the October revolution of 1917 and his adherence to the program of October, which led to his joining the Communist Party of Lenin and Trotsky; and which later brought about his expulsion from the Communist Party of Stalin in 1928 because of his opposition to Stalinist policies.

### CORRECT PROGRAM

"We are proud to know," said Comrade Dunne, "that we are working in a movement which not only has a correct program but has men and women organized around that program with the courage to fight against great odds to make this world a better place to live in. And we have the satisfaction of knowing that we're making the good fight—and a fight that's going to win."

Comrade Konikow, introduced by the chairman as "eternally young because eternally revolutionary," related several interesting experiences in her 65-year career in the socialist movement. "I have always been a rebel and have led a life of struggle," she said. "But it has been a thrilling life."

She recalled her request to the younger comrades at the tenth anniversary celebration five years

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## Red Army Sweeps Back Nazis



Under protection of machinegunners in the foreground, Red Army troops move across the Dnieper river while enemy guns on the opposite shore lay down a shell barrage. The whole southern flank of the Nazi line is crumbling under the hammer blows of the invincible Soviet fighters.

## Stalin Strikes Another Bargain With His Allies

By Ralph Johnson

After prolonged and elaborate negotiations conducted in strictest secrecy, the Kremlin has arrived at another diplomatic deal with London and Washington. The Hull-Eden-Molotov joint communique, made public amid great fanfare on Nov. 1, is a typical product of secret diplomacy.

Secret diplomacy was so discredited during the First World War that it had to be hypocritically disowned at the time even by capitalist statesmen. The first of President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" called in words for the abolition of secret diplomacy, only to retain it in imperialist practice. Churchill and Roosevelt have consistently continued these practices in the name of the "four freedoms." Stalin has long employed secret diplomacy; Lenin denounced and fought secret diplomacy as did Trotsky and all genuine disciples of revolutionary socialism.

### "DEMOCRATIC" JUBILATION

The consensus of capitalist opinion in Britain and the United States is that the "democracies" have scored the greatest diplomatic victory of the war through this completely reactionary deal. Roosevelt—with good reason—expressed his gratification.

Pell-tax Senator Connally, co-author of the infamous Smith-Connally "slave-labor" law, is also quite happy and feels sure that his proposed resolution on foreign policy is wholly in the same spirit as this agreement. Connally said, "The Moscow agreement confirms and approves

the same things expressed in [my] impending resolution." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 3.)

"The capitalist press is gleeful. 'Triumph at Moscow,' exulted the usually restrained editors of the N. Y. Times. David Lawrence, commentator for the American Tories and in this sense violently anti-Roosevelt, credits Hull with having won 'a major triumph' at Moscow. (N. Y. Sun, Nov. 2.)

### STALINIST LIES

But the expressions of greatest satisfaction and joy appear in the Stalinist press. In the scheduled Stalinist celebrations of the 26th anniversary of the October Revolution, slogans have been included hailing the gist of the "Moscow Agreement." In Moscow and abroad the Stalinists are also claiming a "tremendous victory," characterizing the deal

as one of the "great peaks in History," and deluding their followers with the "great new perspectives of the future." (Daily Worker, Nov. 2.)

The Kremlin and its Browders were just as enthusiastic and mendacious about the Stalin-Hitler pact, not to mention the previous deals: the one with Laval, the Soviet entry into the League of Nations, and so on.

But have the workers any cause for rejoicing? Emphatically, no! For example, they gain nothing at all from Stalin's agreement to place, for the first time, his official seal of approval on the Casablanca-Quebec formula of "unconditional surrender" for Germany. Stalin's pledge not to make a separate peace with Germany excludes for the next period peace with a workers' socialist revolution in Germany, which the Allies most certainly intend to drown in blood.

Moreover, Stalin has underwritten the first steps toward the projected dismemberment of Germany by accepting an "independent Austria." That this step is really an integral part of a plan to dismember the whole of Germany is openly discussed by newspaper commentators in England and the United States. In the eyes of the German people this prospect must appear far worse than the Versailles Treaty after the last war. It helps sustain the bestial regime of Hitler which is beginning to totter under the blows of the Red Army and under the impact of the revolutionary upsurge in Italy, and the growing wave of resistance in occupied Europe.

### "EUROPEAN COMMISSION"

To supervise the provisions of the Moscow Nov. 1 agreement a "European Advisory Commission" with headquarters in London has been established. The French imperialist Giraud-De Caullist committee has been excluded from this body.

Another special committee has been set up for Italy. This broader body does include the French imperialists. It further provides for representation from Greece and Yugoslavia but omits to say just who will be represented. Will it be King George of Greece who ruled through the bloody Metaxas

## Badoglio Calls For Abdication Of King

Roosevelt and Churchill are moving to revamp the Quisling Badoglio government and to embellish it with democratic veneer in an attempt to make it more palatable to the Italian masses and to allay the popular hostility and discontent.

The leaders of Anglo-American capitalism used their prestige as well as their bayonets in the attempt to prop up the authority of the present feeble Badoglio dictatorship. Their out-and-out reactionary campaign to "freeze" the rule of Badoglio and the House of Savoy reached a climax on Oct. 13, when the U. S., Britain and the Soviet Union recognized Italy as a co-belligerent state.

In turn, Badoglio, who is smeared with his association with Mussolini and the hated fascist regime, made desperate attempts to gain popular support by demagogically promising the Italian people to guarantee free elections four months after "peace is restored," restoration of democratic rights etc. etc.

### VIOLENT CRISIS

But all to no avail. The Italian masses, seething with dissatisfaction, are already obstructing the reactionary program of the Allies. The fires of the revolution, which flared up so mightily after the fall of Mussolini have not been

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## Ickes Signs Pact Providing Wage Rise Of \$1.50 Per Day

Action Follows Walkout of 530,000 Miners  
In Defiance of WLB Order to Stay On Job

By Art Preis

Nov. 3. — The United Mine Workers Union signed an agreement today with Secretary Ickes, Government custodian of the coal mines, providing a daily wage increase of \$1.50, and a daily basic wage of \$8.50. The new agreement cuts the miners' 30 minute lunch period to 15 minutes.

The UMW International Policy Committee unanimously ratified the contract at its Nov. 3 meeting and instructed the miners to return to work "at the earliest possible moment."

The new agreement must be approved by the War Labor Board and the OPA before it goes into effect. The WLB is scheduled to meet Nov. 5 to consider the new mine contract.

Nov. 2—Ignoring the Smith-Connally "slavelabor" bill and President Roosevelt's threat of "decisive action" against them, 530,000 militant coal miners began their fourth wartime general strike last Monday to wrest a just contract from the operators and government.

The miners left the pits as one man in answer to the brazen attempt of Roosevelt's War Labor Board to thrust down their

throats a contract rejecting their minimum demands based on the proposed Illinois contract and providing an actual hourly wage cut.

"No contract, no work!", the traditional battle-cry of the miners, swept through the mine fields in 26 states in defiance of Roosevelt's order instructing Secretary of the Interior Ickes to take immediate possession of the struck mines in the name of the government and force the men back into the mines by any means he saw fit.

### HARSH COMMAND

The order was accompanied by an "appeal" to the miners which amounted to a harsh command that "every miner return to work without a day's delay." Roosevelt revealed himself as an agent of the employers prepared to use the most brutal methods if necessary to whip the miners back to work under the terms dictated by the employer-dominated War Labor Board.

Roosevelt's "seizure" order authorized Ickes to do "all things necessary" and to call upon any "public or private instrumentalities"—not excluding federal troops—to smash the strike.

He further promptly indicated that his punitive strikebreaking "sanctions" edict of August 16 still stands. This order empowers Stabilization Director Vinson to take retaliatory measures against strikers and striking unions, through abrogation of dues, check-offs, cancellation of draft deferments and establishment of national black lists.

### STAGGERING PROFITS

At the same time, Roosevelt included a piece of bait in his seizure order. He granted Ickes full powers to sign a contract with the United Mine Workers. But the hook is that any such contract must first have the approval of the WLB and be in conformity with its provocative decision which set the spark to the latest strike.

In effect, Roosevelt has thrown his full backing behind the WLB's tyrannical ruling and has closed the door in advance to any acceptable agreement, such as some of the operators have contended they are willing to make.

The sole inducement, outside of outright force, which Roosevelt offers the miners is the privilege of working "for the government," which, in effect, is the operators wrapped in an American flag. The miners would be denied their justified wage demands while the operators would continue to reap their staggering profits and, as stated in the presidential order, private management would be permitted "to continue its managerial functions to the maximum degree possible."

Close to 100,000 miners had quit work prior to the Oct. 31 deadline, despite an appeal from Lewis and the mine union officials. Their complete shut-down of the mines Monday, without any instructions or any formal meetings and agreements among themselves, demonstrated their desire to fight the issue through this time.

Even the capitalist press has been compelled to admit that Roosevelt's political capital among the rank and file miners is exhausted and that his appeals carry no weight. This was already revealed in the previous strikes, although not admitted by the capitalist press. The N. Y. Times, Nov. 2, glumly conceded that the possibility of any response to Roosevelt's edict was a "matter

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### BITTER MOOD

Meanwhile, it is clear that the miners themselves are in a bitter mood, and there is considerable doubt on the part of the bosses, their press and government, whether even an order from Lewis and the Policy Committee will get the miners back to work, in the absence of a contract.

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## CRDC Locals Schedule Activities to Get Funds for Supreme Court Appeal

Three more local committees of the Civil Rights Defense Committee have sent in their full quotas in the three-month drive to raise \$25,000 for the preliminary expense in the Supreme Court appeal of the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis labor trial. These are St. Louis, Mo., Los Angeles, Calif., and Bayonne, N. J.

The appeal will test for the first time the constitutionality of the infamous Smith "Gag" Act under which the 18 were the first to be convicted. The American Civil Liberties Union is collaborating with the CRDC in

carrying the fight to the Supreme Court.

Among the activities planned by local committees, Newark, N. J. reports that it will present the play "Trial by Fury," a satire based upon the Minneapolis trial proceedings.

Los Angeles, Cal. is planning both a Halloween Party and Thanksgiving Day dinner.

New York has set the date of Dec. 4 for its huge International Bazaar, in which objects donated to the CRDC from all parts of the world will be offered.

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## Michigan CIO Supports Fight To Free Postal

The denial by the Minnesota State Pardons Board of Kelly Postal's petition for pardon will be met by an intensification of the national campaign to win an unconditional pardon for him, the Civil Rights Defense Committee announced this week. Postal, secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Motor Transport Workers Local 544-CIO, is now serving a five year sentence in Stillwater state penitentiary on a framed-up charge of "embezzlement."

Over a score of Michigan CIO unions have contributed generously to the Postal Pardon Fund

in response to a mailing sent out for the CRDC by the Michigan State CIO Council. Among this week's contributors are UAW-CIO Local 637, Muskegon, Mich. The UAW-CIO Fisher Body Local 596, Pontiac, Michigan, has sent a resolution to the Governor of Minnesota protesting the conviction of Postal and petitioning for his pardon.

Social activities planned for the Kelly Postal Pardon Fund include a big dance and party to be held by the Chicago CRDC on Nov. 20, to which 300 trade unionists and their families will be invited.

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# The Russian Revolution And Its Conquests

By LEON TROTSKY

[Reprinted below are extracts from the speech, "In Defense of the Russian Revolution," delivered by Leon Trotsky at Copenhagen early in December, 1932.—Ed.]

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"Yes," some opponent will say, "the adventure of October has shown itself to be much more substantial than many of us thought. Perhaps it was not even quite an 'adventure.' Nevertheless, the question remains its full force: What was achieved at this high cost? Were then those dazzling tasks fulfilled which the Bolsheviks proclaimed on the eve of the Revolution?"

Before we answer the hypothetical opponent, let us note that the question in and of itself is not new. On the contrary, it has dogged the heels of the October Revolution, since the day of its birth.

The French journalist, Claude Anet, who was in Petrograd during the Revolution, wrote as early as October 27, 1917:

"The Maximalists (which was what the French called the Bolsheviks at that time) have seized the power and the great day has come. At last, I say to myself, I shall behold the realization of the socialist Eden which has been promised us for so many years. . . . Admirable adventure! A privileged position!" And so on and so forth. What sincere hatred behind the ironical salutation! The very morning after the capture of the Winter Palace, the reactionary journalist hurried to register his claim for a ticket of admission to Eden. Fifteen years have passed since the Revolution. With all the greater absence of ceremony our enemies reveal their malicious joy over the fact that the land of the Soviets, even today, bears but little resemblance to a realm of general well-being. Why then the revolution and why the sacrifices?"

Esteemed listeners—permit me to think that the contradictions, difficulties, mistakes and deficiencies of the Soviet regime are no less familiar to me than to anyone else. I personally have never concealed

them, either in speech or in writing. I have believed and I still believe that revolutionary politics, as distinguished from conservative politics, cannot be built up on concealment. "To say what is" must be the highest principle of the workers' state.

But in criticism, as well as in creative activity, perspective is necessary. Subjectivism is a poor adviser, particularly in great questions. Periods of time must be commensurate with the tasks, and not with individual caprices. Fifteen years! How much is that in the life of one man! Within that period not a few of my generation have been borne to their graves and those who remain have added innumerable gray hairs. But these same fifteen years — what an insignificant period in the life of a people! Only a moment on the clock of history.

Capitalism required centuries to maintain itself in the struggle against the Middle Ages, to raise the level of science and technology, to build railroads, to stretch electric wires. And then? Then humanity was thrust by capitalism into the hell of wars and crises! But Socialism is allowed by its enemies, that is, by the adherents of capitalism, only a decade and a half to install Paradise on earth with all modern improvements. No, such obligations were never assumed by us. Such periods of time were never set forth. The processes of great changes must be measured by scales which are commensurate with them. I do not know if the Socialist society will resemble the biblical Paradise. I doubt it. But in the Soviet Union there is no Socialism as yet. The situation that prevails there is one of transition, full of contradictions, burdened with heavy inheritance of the past, and in addition under the hostile pressure of the capitalistic states. The October Revolution has proclaimed the principle of the new society. The Soviet Republic has shown only the first stage of its realization. Edison's first lamp was very bad. We must know how to distinguish the future from among the mistakes and faults of the first Socialist construction.

The most deep-going, the most objective and the most indisputable criterion says — progress can be measured by the growth of the productivity of social labor. The evaluation of the October Revolution from this point of view is already given by experience itself. The principle of socialistic organization has for the first time in history shown its ability in a short space of time to record unheard-of results in production.

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Socialism does not leap in its perfected form from the Five Year Plan, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, or Venus

of world-historical importance, cannot be taken away from us by anybody or anything.

After what has been said, it is scarcely worth while to spend time on the complaints, that the October revolution has brought Russia to the downfall of its civilization. That is the voice of the disquieting ruling houses and the salons. The feudal-bourgeois "civilization" overthrown by the proletarian upheaval was only barbarism with decorations à la Talma. While it remained inaccessible to the Russian people, it brought little that was new to the treasury of mankind.

But even with respect to this civilization,

the steel of the people's character.

"Who will believe," wrote a Czarist general, Zaleski, with indignation, shortly after the upheaval, "that a porter or a watchman suddenly becomes a chief justice; a hospital attendant — the director of a hospital; a barber — an officeholder; a corporal — a commander-in-chief; a day worker — a mayor; a locksmith — the director of a factory?"

"Who will believe it?" They had to believe it. They could do nothing else but believe it, when the corporals defeated the generals, when the mayor — the former day worker — smashed the resistance of the old bureaucracy, the wagon-greaser put the transportation system in order, the locksmith as director put the industrial equipment into working condition. "Who will believe it?" Let them only try not to believe it!

For an explanation of the extraordinary persistence which the masses of the people of the Soviet Union are showing throughout the years of the Revolution, many foreign observers rely, in accord with ancient habit, on the "passivity" of the Russian character. The revolutionary masses endure their privations patiently but not passively. With their own hands they are creating a better future and they want to create it, at any cost. Let the class enemy only attempt to impose his will from the outside on these patient masses! No, he would do better not to try it!

Let me now in closing attempt to fix the place of the October Revolution, not only in the history of Russia, but in the history of the world. During the year 1917, in an interval of eight months, two historical curves intersect. The February upheaval — that belated echo of the great struggles which had been carried out in past centuries on the territories of Holland, England, France, almost all of continental Europe — takes its place in the series of bourgeois revolutions. The October Revolution proclaims and opens the domination of the pro-

letariat. It was world capitalism that suffered its first great defeat on the territory of Russia. The chain broke at its weakest link. But it was the chain that broke, and not only the link.

Capitalism has outlived itself as a world system. It has ceased to fulfill its essential mission: the increase of human power and human wealth. Humanity cannot stand still at the level which it has reached. Only a powerful increase in productive force and a sound, planned, that is, Socialist organization of production and distribution can assure humanity — all humanity — of a decent standard of life and at the same time give it the precious feeling of freedom with respect to its own economy. Freedom in two senses — first of all, in the sense that man will no longer be compelled to devote the greater part of his life to physical labor. Second, he will no longer be dependent on the laws of the market, that is, on the blind and dark forces which have grown up behind his back. He will build up his economy freely, that is, according to a plan, with compass in hand. This time it is a question of subjecting the anatomy of society to the X-ray that penetrates through and through, of disclosing all its secrets and subjecting all its functions to the reason and the will of collective humanity. In this sense, Socialism must become a new step in the historical advance of mankind. To our ancestor, who first armed himself with a stone axe, the whole of nature represented a conspiracy of secret and hostile forces. Since then the natural sciences, hand in hand with practical technology, have illuminated nature down to its most secret depths. By means of electrical energy, the physicist passes judgment on the nucleus of the atom. The hour is not far when science will easily solve the task of the alchemists, and turn manure into gold and gold into manure. Where the demons and furies of nature once raged, now rules ever more courageously the industrial and industrious will of man.

## Addressing the Comintern



Leon Trotsky addressing the Third World Congress of the Communist International — one of the few remaining portrayals of Trotsky as honored leader of the Revolution and the Soviet State.

from the foam of the sea. Before it are decades of persistent work, of mistakes, corrections and reorganization. Moreover, let us not forget that Socialist construction in accordance with its very nature can attain perfection only on the international arena. But even the most unfavorable economic balance-sheet of the results obtained so far could reveal only the incorrectness of the preliminary calculations, the errors of the plan and the mistakes of the leadership, but could in no way refute the fact established empirically and firmly — the possibility, with the aid of Socialist methods, of raising the productivity of collective labor to an unheard-of height. This conquest

which is so bemoaned by the White Guard enigmas, we must put the question more precisely—in what sense is it ruined? Only in one sense; the monopoly exercised by a small minority over the treasures of civilization has been destroyed. But everything of cultural value in the old Russian civilization has remained untouched. The "Huns" of Bolshevism have shattered neither the conquests of the mind nor the creations of art. On the contrary, they carefully collected the monuments of human creativeness and arranged them in model order. The culture of the monarchy, the nobility and the bourgeoisie has now become the culture of the museums.

## BALANCE SHEET OF OCTOBER

But the unhappiness that rains on living men? Do the results of the Revolution justify the sacrifice which it has caused? A fruitless question, rhetorical through and through; as if the processes of history admitted of an accounting balance-sheet! We might just as well ask, in view of the difficulties and miseries of human existence, "Does it pay to be born altogether?" To which Heine wrote, "And the fool waits for answer". . . . Such melancholy reflections have not hindered mankind from being born and from giving birth. Suicides, even in these days of unexampled world crisis, fortunately constitute an unimportant percentage. But peoples never resort to suicide. When their burdens are intolerable they seek a way out through revolution.

Besides, who becomes indignant over the victims of the Socialist upheaval? Most often those who have paved the way for the victims of the imperialist war, and have glorified or, at least, easily accommodated themselves to it. It is now our turn to ask, "Has the war justified itself? What has it given us? What has it taught?"

The reactionary historian, Hippolyte Taine, in his eleven-volume pamphlet against the Great French Revolution describes, not without malicious joy, the sufferings of the French people in the years of the dictatorship of the Jacobins and afterward. The worst off were the lower classes of the cities, the plebeians, who as "sansculottes" had given up the best souls among them for the revolution. Now they or their wives had to stand in line throughout cold nights only to return empty-handed to the extinguished family hearth. In the tenth year of the revolution Paris was poorer than before it began. Carefully selected, artificially pieced-out facts serve Taine as justification for his annihilating verdict against the revolution. Look, the

plebeians wanted to be dictators and have precipitated themselves into misery!

It is hard to conceive of a more uninspired piece of moralizing. First of all, if the revolution precipitated the country into misery, the blame lay principally on the ruling classes who drove the people to revolution. Second, the Great French Revolution did not exhaust itself in hungry lines before bakeries. The whole of modern France, in many respects the whole of modern civilization, arose out of the bath of the French Revolution!

In the course of the Civil War in the United States in the 'Sixties of the last century 500,000 men were killed. Can these sacrifices be justified?

From the standpoint of the American slave-holder and the ruling classes of Great Britain who marched with them — no! From the standpoint of the Negro or of the British workingman — absolutely yes! And from the standpoint of the development of humanity as a whole — there can be no doubt whatever. Out of the Civil War of the 'Sixties emerged the present United States with its unbounded practical initiative, its rationalized technology, its economic élan. On these achievements of Americanism humanity will build the new society.

The October Revolution penetrated deeper than any of its predecessors into the Holy of Holies of society — into its property relations. So much the longer is the period of time necessary to reveal the creative consequences of the Revolution in all the domains of life. But the general direction of the upheaval is already clear: the Soviet Republic has no reason whatever to hang its head before its capitalist accusers and speak the language of apology.

To evaluate the new regime from the standpoint of mankind's development, one must first answer the question, "How does social progress express itself and how can it be measured?"

## WHAT THE PEOPLE GAINED

The people visit these museums eagerly. But they do not spend their lives there. They learn. They build. The fact alone that the October Revolution has taught the Russian people, the scores of peoples of the Czarist Russia, to read and write, stands immeasurably higher than the whole former hot-house Russian civilization.

The October Revolution has laid the foundations for a new civilization, which is designed, not for a select few, but for all. This is felt by the masses of the whole world. Hence their sympathy for the Soviet Union, which is as passionate as once was their hatred for Czarist Russia.

Esteemed listeners—you know that human language is an irreplaceable tool, not only for giving names to events but also for evaluating them. By filtering out that which is accidental, episodic, artificial, language absorbs that which is essential, characteristic, of full weight. Notice with what precision the languages of civilized nations have distinguished two epochs in the development of Russia. The culture of the nobility brought into world currency such barbarisms as Czar, Cossack, Pogrom, Nagaika [Cossack's whip]. You know these words and what they mean. The October Revolution introduced into the language of the world such words as Bolshevik, Soviet, Kolkhoz [Collective farm], Gosplan [State Plan], Piatiletka [Five Year Plan]. Here practical linguistics holds its historical supreme court!

The profoundest significance, but the

hardest to submit to immediate measurement, of that great Revolution consists in the fact that it shapes and tempers the character of the people. The conception of the Russian people as slow, passive, melancholy-mystical, is widely spread and not accidental. It has its roots in the past. But in Western countries up to the present time those far-reaching changes have not been sufficiently considered which have been introduced into the character of the people by the Revolution. Could it have been otherwise?

Every man with experience of life can call to mind a picture of some youth, he has known, a youth receptive, lyrical, all too susceptible, who later, all at once, under the influence of a powerful moral impetus, became hardened and unrecognizable. In the development of a whole nation, such moral transformations are wrought by the revolution.

The February insurrection against the autocracy, the struggle against the nobility, against the imperialist war, for peace, for land, for national equality, the October insurrection, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and of those parties which sought agreements with the bourgeoisie, three years of Civil War on a front of 5,000 miles, the years of blockade, hunger, misery and epidemics, the years of tense economic reconstruction, of new difficulties and privations — these make a harsh but a good school. A heavy hammer smashes glass, but forges steel. The hammer of the Revolution forged

But while he wrestled victoriously with nature, man has built up his relations to other men blindly, almost like the bee or the ant. Belatedly and most gropingly he has approached the problems of human society. He began with religion, and passed on to politics. The Reformation represented the first victory of bourgeois individualism and rationalism in a domain which had been ruled by dead tradition. From the church, critical thought went on to the state. Born in the struggle with absolutism and the medieval estates, the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people and of the rights of man and the citizen grew stronger. Thus arose the system of parliamentarism. Critical thought penetrated into the domain of government administration. The political rationalism of democracy was the highest achievement of the revolutionary bourgeoisie.

But between nature and the state stands economic life. Technology liberated man from the tyranny of the old elements — earth, water, fire and air — only to subject him to its own tyranny. Man ceased to be a slave to nature, to become a slave to the machine, and still worse, a slave to supply and demand. The present world crisis testifies in especially tragic fashion how man, who dives to the bottom of the ocean, who rises up to the stratosphere, who converses by means of invisible waves with the Antipodes, how this proud and daring ruler of nature remains a slave to the blind forces of his own economy. The historical task of our epoch consists in replacing the uncontrolled play of market by reasonable planning, in disciplining the forces of production, compelling them to work together in harmony and obediently serve the needs of mankind. Only on this new social basis will man be able to stretch his weary limbs and — every man and every woman, not only a selected few — become a full citizen in the realm of thought.

But this is not yet the end of the road. No, it is only the beginning. Man calls himself the crown of creation. He has a certain right to that claim. But who has asserted that present-day man is the last and highest representative of the species homo

sapiens? No, physically as well as spiritually he is very far from perfection, prematurely born biologically, sick in mind and without organic equilibrium.

It is true that humanity has more than once brought forth giants of thought and action, who tower over their contemporaries like summits in a chain of mountains. The human race has a right to be proud of its Aristotle, Shakespeare, Darwin, Beethoven, Goethe, Marx, Edison, and Lenin. But why are they so rare? Above all because, almost without exception, they came out of the upper and middle classes. Apart from rare exceptions, the sparks of genius in the suppressed depths of the people are put out before they can burst into flame. But also because the processes of creating, developing and educating a human being have been and remain essentially a matter of chance, not illuminated by theory and practice, not subjected to consciousness and will.

Anthropology, biology, physiology and psychology have accumulated mountains of material to raise up before mankind in their full scope the tasks of perfecting and developing body and spirit. Psycho-analysis, with the inspired hand of Sigmund Freud, has lifted the cover of the deep well, poetically called the "soul." And what has been revealed? Our conscious thought is only a small part of the work of the dark psychic forces. Learned divers descend to the bottom of the ocean and there take photographs of mysterious fishes. Human thought, descending to the bottom of its own psychic sources, must shed light on the most mysterious driving forces of the soul and subject them to reason and to will.

Once he has done with the anarchic forces of his own society, man will set to work on himself, in the pestle and the mortar of the chemist. For the first time mankind will regard itself as raw material, or at best as a physical and psychic semi-finished product. Socialism will mean a leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom in that other sense too, that the present-day contradictory and disharmonious man will pave the way for a new and happier race.

## Stalin Strikes New Bargain With Allies

(Continued from page 1)

dictatorship, or the Greek Partisans now engaged in civil war against King George's men? Will it be King Peter of Yugoslavia or the Yugoslav Partisans who have been fighting Mikhailovich's "White Guard" detachments since the spring of 1942?

But if there is silence on these and many other critical issues (the Baltic states, Poland, Bessarabia) on which apparently no final agreement has yet been reached, the program designed by Roosevelt-Churchill and accepted by Stalin offers little cause for rejoicing to the Italian masses whose revolutionary surge has been obstructed but not halted.

The dangling promises of democracy for Italy in some distant future run counter to the real rule of this Allied Commission which proposes to stabilize Allied military occupation

with Badoglio and the monarchy as Quistings. The popularity of the Stalinists in Italy will not be increased by their support of such a course.

The Moscow deal demonstrates that Stalin is ready to aid in the suppression of the Italian and European revolution. This is implicit in the entire agreement which calls for the establishment of a "general international organization" along the lines of the present "European Advisory Commission" and its Italian sub-committee not only for the duration but in "the period following the end of hostilities," and thereafter during the "peace" to come.

London and Washington intend to police Europe. This means that they must try to nip in the bud the impending socialist revolution in Europe, as they are now trying to do in Italy. Stalin agrees to help them in these counter-revolutionary conspiracies. There

is no other meaning to Stalin's acceptance of "collective security" with the imperialists in a "general international organization."

Lenin correctly branded the old League of Nations as the "thieves kitchen" — not an agency for peace, but a gangling up of imperialist robbers. In 1935 Stalin marched into this thieves kitchen and lied to the workers that this was "Leninism." Today he adds his signature to a reconstitution of a body whose reactionary character is much more patent from the outset.

The communiqué asserts that only in this way "could peace be maintained and the political, economic and social welfare of their [the world's] people fully promoted." The only "welfare" that Churchill and Roosevelt have promoted or will ever promote is the welfare of capitalism. Agreement between them and Stalin could not have been reached on

any other basis. In other words, the Kremlin has pledged itself to help the capitalists remain in power in Europe. Small wonder that Secretary of the Navy Knox who announced that he was ready to police the world "for 100 years" hailed the agreement as "equivalent to 'all-out victories' in Europe and Asia." (N. Y. Times, November 3.)

But that is not the way American soldiers feel. A dispatch from Allied Headquarters in Algiers stated that troops reacted with little enthusiasm to the news of the Moscow agreement. Most American soldiers "shrugged shoulders. . . . Their one great concern is in getting the war over and going home, and their great worry is that they may be kept in Europe as occupation troops." (N. Y. Sun, Nov. 2.)

It can be stated with assurance that the European masses are far less than enthusiastic about the

prospect of Allied occupation. As they rise to overthrow the Nazi oppressors they will react forcefully against any attempt to replace one set of bayonets by another.

It is impossible to say now how far-reaching the present agreement between Stalin and his Allies is—nor how long-lived it will be. There may be further agreements. But no less likely is the prospect that the present harmony may turn out to be only a brief interval. The same forces that blew up the previous "harmony" between Stalin and his Allies continue to exist. Instead of diminishing in power, these forces are beginning to assert themselves more and more decisively, despite all the protestations of complete accord.

What will really decide the further development of relations between the Kremlin and Washington-London is not their tran-

sitory diplomatic deals, but the basic and irreconcilable class antagonism between decaying capitalism and the Soviet Union, with its nationalized property and resurgent masses.

Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill are doing their best to conceal and deny this basic antagonism, but it will break through their lies and subterfuges, as was the case with the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Every success of the Red Army — and the whole structure of Hitlerism is beginning to crumble under the blows of the Soviet giant — acts to accelerate the revolutionary uprising of the European masses. The thundering locomotive of the socialist revolution is on its way. Once the many-millioned masses enter the political arena — and the legions of the revolutionary working class are already mobilizing — all the plans of Stalin and his Allies will become nothing but waste paper.

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of

## THE 26th ANNIVERSARY

of the

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Spéaker: OSCAR WILLIAMS

Saturday, November 13, 8:15 P. M.

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Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

Boston Branch

# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the  
Working People

VOL. VII—No. 45 Saturday, November 6, 1943

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N  
at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.  
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547  
FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

Application for entry as second-class matter is pending.



To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

## War Millionaires

OPA continues to play ball with Big Business and to raise the price ceilings every time the rapacious monopolists say the word. OPA goes one better and runs interference for the great corporations by suppressing its own War Profit Studies, which expose the criminal war profiteering.

Although its own secret War Profit Studies revealed that the hosiery industry, dominated by fifteen large manufacturers, has cleaned up profits averaging 290%, and in some cases running as high as 704% above the pre-war levels, OPA permitted the industry this week to increase its prices an additional 19 to 29%.

Will Allen, Washington correspondent of *Justice*, organ of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, reports that the latest War Profits Study on the canning industry has been suppressed by the OPA. Allen discloses that the report reveals war profits ranging as high as 1,000% above the pre-war levels and averaging more than 500% above the pre-war levels of the entire industry.

The previous OPA reports on the meat packing and the wholesale food grocers industries showed a similar profiteering.

The conduct of the OPA proves that it is not an agency to control prices and stop profiteering. It is an agency to lend legal cover to the ravenous, greedy monopolists in their drive for super profits.

This unconscionable ravenous profiteering on the part of the billion dollar corporations tells us one of the main reasons why prices are constantly rising.

Roosevelt however is a man with a one track mind. He is concerned exclusively with keeping wages frozen. As far as corporation profits go, he is deaf, dumb and blind. Roosevelt permits OPA to suppress the War Profit Studies and to hide from the people the crimes that are being perpetrated against them. At the same time he has the nerve to tell the CIO convention that labor will have to make even greater "sacrifices."

A. F. Whitney, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen is a thousand times right in his statement that under Roosevelt war millionaires are being made "at a rate which will make the profiteering of World War I look like a WPA payroll."

Under Roosevelt, the poor are getting poorer and the rich are getting richer.

## Shameless Liars

The Moscow conference issued a declaration on Italy full of beautiful phrases, lavish promises and democratic assurances.

"It is essential," the declaration states, "that the Italian government should be made more democratic. . . Freedom of speech. . . of press and of public meeting shall be restored in full measure to the Italian people, who shall also be entitled to form anti-Fascist political groups," etc., etc.

What shameless liars these "statesmen" are. Roosevelt and Churchill feed the Italian masses high-sounding, sonorous pronouncements about "democracy" but all the while they practice ruthless reactionary military dictatorship.

In Moscow, Anglo-American representatives are busy making pious, hypocritical statements about democracy and mouthing promises that "Fascist chiefs and Army generals. . . shall be arrested." In Italy, other Anglo-American representatives are busy hatching a conspiracy with Badoglio, for twenty years Mussolini's right hand man, in order to perpetuate the universally-hated Badoglio military dictatorship under some form of a regency. These "democrats" are working with might and main to save the rotten dynasty of the House of Savoy by a timely abdication of the thoroughly discredited, thoroughly despicable King Victor Emmanuel.

At the very time that Hull was signing the declaration promising the Italian people "freedom of press," newspapers were being suppressed in Allied-controlled Naples and the editors thrown into jail.

At the very time that Hull was signing the declaration promising the Italian people the right "to form anti-Fascist political groups," anti-fascist political parties were forced to work underground and issue their literature in clandestine fashion.

The Moscow conferees may justly call themselves hypocrites, or liars or worse, but they cannot claim to be democrats.

"President Roosevelt still has a habit of making promises to labor leaders who come to him in the White House with their wage-increase troubles. When promises do not square with the Government's wage-stabilization policies, the President lets Fred Vinson, as Economic Stabilizer, take the heat." (U. S. News, Nov. 5.) The capitalists know the score!

## Passports In Georgia

The city government of Moultrie, Georgia, has just enacted a "work or fight" program which is to be administered by the bosses and enforced by the police and courts. Cards are to be distributed to all workers showing their place and hours of employment. Workers are required to carry these cards at all times.

The police department has been authorized to make a check of all persons caught "idling or loitering" on the streets. If an individual has no card or is away from his job during normal working hours, he will be arrested and arraigned in court. The Chief of Police said his department was making plans "to rigidly enforce this ordinance for the duration of the war."

Since the war for the "Four Freedoms" started, the American workers have been losing more and more of their freedom every day. They have lost the right to strike. They are no longer permitted to quit their jobs. The penalty for violating McNutt's "labor freeze" has been extended to sixty days. The Selective Service boards have been instructed to act as strike-breaking agencies.

Now the bosses of Moultrie, Georgia and their compliant local officials think the time has come to take another big step in the direction of bringing Hitler's system of slavery to the United States.

Again the Southern Bourbons have taught us: the fight for democracy begins at home.

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# Agents Of Wall Street In Federal Government

By William F. Warde

Criticizing the administration's handling of the unions' wage dispute with the railroads, Alexander Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, remarked last week: "The war agencies with which we have to contend are not staffed by men who have sympathy for the working people. . . Nearly all the positions in our government are now held by Big Business reactionaries or at best by ultra-conservatives, and the President has put them there."

Recently Roosevelt dumped Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State, and replaced him with E. R. Stettinius, ex-chairman of U. S. Steel, a Morgan millionaire. The President appointed the railroad and mining magnate, W. A. Harriman, as Ambassador to the Soviet Union. "Harriman was," according to Anna Rochester in "Rulers of America," "one of the first American capitalists to seek new industrial opportunities in the disorganized countries of Europe in the early post-war years. . . The most important Harriman interest in Europe is held jointly with the Anaconda Copper Mining Co. and Morgan's Guaranty Trust Co. They control the Silesian Holding Co., whose subsidiaries have metal mines, chemical works, and coal reserves in Polish Silesia." The new U. S. Ambassador to the USSR has great personal interest in maintaining capitalist property rights in "independent" Poland!

### ARMY OF OCCUPATION

This process of Big Business infiltration into the government apparatus has been going on at an increasing rate since the beginning of preparations for the war. Knudsen of General Motors was one of the first moguls of Big Business brought to Washington by Roosevelt. With him and after him swarmed an entire division of corporation executives, "dollar-a-year men," and Wall Street wolves.

They invaded and took over the contract and purchasing departments of the armed forces, headed and directed the various agencies concerned with industry, commerce and shipping. This Big Business army of occupation elbowed out the New Dealers, fused forces with the professional politicians, and took over the War Production Board, the Bureau of Economic Warfare, the OPA.

Roosevelt, in his headlong drive toward reaction, has enlisted more and more Big Businessmen as his direct aides. These capitalists are now being moved up from economic departments into im-

portant diplomatic posts in the administration. Stettinius, Harriman, Rockefeller, Crowley, Fisher, Bowles—all find themselves at home in the presence of businessman Frank Knox, banker Jesse Jones, banker Herbert H. Lehman, Sears-Roebuck-Morgan man Donald Nelson and many, many other Big Business appointees of Roosevelt.

In 1932 Roosevelt promised "to drive the money-changers out of the temple" at Washington. Today the finance capitalists dominate his administration. Under cover of the war, Wall Street has taken personal charge of the key government agencies in order to tighten their stranglehold on the national economy and to supervise the administration's plans to subjugate the world.

### OPEN MERGER

This constantly growing open organizational merger between Big Business and the government is not a passing phenomenon. It is in line with Roosevelt's policies and with the main trend of capitalist politics. Big Business is determined to convert the government into an utterly pliant tool of its reactionary domestic and foreign program.

So long as the trade union movement supports Roosevelt and the capitalist political parties, it will not find a way for an effective struggle against Big Business. In order to take the first step in their struggle against the Roosevelt-Big Business combination, the workers must organize an independent labor party with a program of militant action in defense of the workers' interests.

### ROOSEVELT APPOINTEES

Nelson Rockefeller, Coordinator of Latin-American Affairs, has become increasingly prominent in administration circles. Leo Crowley, Wisconsin banker and utilities president, is given Wallace's powers as czar of all foreign economic dealings. Ernest Fisher, ex-research director of the American Bankers Association, is put in charge of "future economic operations" in the Low Countries. Chester Bowles, advertising tycoon who serviced General Foods Corporation, is made head of the OPA.

# Badoglio Raises Demand For Abdication Of Italian King

(Continued from page 1)

however, that the present Badoglio dictatorship is just a shadow of a government, that it possesses no authority and that it cannot win even a semblance of support among the masses. The Badoglio government is unable to stabilize its rule.

### ANTI-MONARCHIST SENTIMENT

Herbert Matthews, N. Y. Times correspondent, reports that his friend Senator Benedetto Croce, Italian scholar, liberal monarchist politician and "elder statesman" had told him that "the political situation has been deteriorating rapidly and something must be done before a state of political chaos develops underneath the lid on which the Allied Military Mission is sitting." Matthews reports that Badoglio likewise is "distressed at the deterioration of the political situation."

When the leading capitalist politicians are beginning to complain about the "deterioration of the political situation," it is clear that the Italian masses are on the move again and are exerting pressure by their own independent activities.

"It is unquestionable," Matthews writes, "that sentiments against King Victor Emmanuel and Crown Prince Humbert in all circles except those still clinging to Fascist roots are overwhelming

and the Allies have to decide whether the King and the Crown Prince are not developing into military as well as political liabilities."

### DEMAND ABDICATION

Badoglio held several important conferences with Anglo-American representatives in Naples on Oct. 31 to canvass plans to avert the and perfect plans to avert the threatening political developments. The conferees apparently reached the conclusion that the Badoglio government cannot survive in its present form. In an attempt to allay the popular opposition, the Anglo-American representatives and the Italian Quislings have decided to demand the abdication of King Victor Emmanuel and to provide the present military dictatorship with a thin veneer of "liberalism and democracy" under the rule of a regency.

Immediately upon the conclusion of the Naples conferences, Premier Badoglio issued a public demand for the abdication of the King, declaring that he could not form a representative government while the King remained in power. Count Sforza, leader of the capitalist Action party, who had recently returned to Italy with the permission of Roosevelt and Churchill, announced that he favored a regency for the six-year old Prince of Naples, that he would support Badoglio and

was prepared to enter the reconstituted Badoglio government. Croce likewise declared for the regency under Badoglio.

The Italian capitalists have tyrannized and exploited the Italian masses under the bloody fascist regime. The capitalist class is therefore inextricably connected with Mussolini and the fascist regime in the minds of the Italian masses.

### RULE OF BAYONET

Virtually every leading capitalist politician in Italy has been a leading official of the Mussolini regime. That is why it is so difficult for the Italian capitalists to create a government that can win the support of the people and whose representatives are not already discredited with the people.

The Italian capitalists understand only too well that their only chance for survival is under the tutelage and with the aid of the bayonets of Anglo-American capitalism. Today, they have become the agents and Quislings of a foreign conqueror. Obviously they have been unsuccessful in stamping out the mass revolt, even under conditions of military occupation and war. That is why the capitalists are forced to dump Victor Emmanuel only three months after they were forced to dump Mussolini.

# The Fight Against Race Discrimination in Army

By David Ransom

It is pretty clear that events have dissipated whatever lingering hopes Negroes may have had about Roosevelt's willingness to further their struggle for equal rights. Several weeks ago this column mentioned the answers given by a typical cross-section of the nation's Negro population to the *Pittsburgh Courier* poll's question: "Do you believe race tensions would be allayed if President Roosevelt spoke frankly to the nation?" Of those asked, 83% said "yes."

Serving more than anything else to discredit the Roosevelt administration in the eyes of Negroes has been its sphinx-like silence on the persistence of discrimination in the armed forces. The resentment mounting among Negroes is reflected in the large-scale campaign of criticism of the armed forces being conducted by the Negro papers.

The *Pittsburgh Courier*, authoritative Negro weekly, recently featured an interview with Secretary of War Stimson on army policy toward Negroes. Stimson was quoted as saying that army policy would remain unchanged, and that "the war department feels that our present organizational policies serve the war effort to the best advantage and a deviation therefrom at this time would not be feasible."

Two weeks later the same paper attacked the Navy authorities with an editorial that scored Navy discrimination against Negroes. The editorial declared that discrimination had not been relaxed despite Knox's statement in April 1942, that Negroes would be given a chance to serve in the Marine corp and receive equal treatment in the army.

As if to emphasize their refusal to let down the color bar, Navy authorities this week ousted fifteen petty officer Seabees for "unfitness," "undesirability" and "ineptitude." Actually, they were thrown out of the service because they dared protest against mistreatment. Called in by their officers on the pretext of ironing out the situation, these courageous young sailors outlined their grievances. They charged that Negro sailors were forced to use Jim Crow buses to and from liberty; that white sailors lacking their qualifications were promoted while Negroes could not rise above the rating of petty officers second-class; that Negro officers were denied authority over white sailors.

The next day they were brought before their regimental commander who told them their meeting of the previous day was a form of mutiny. He threatened them with a court-martial that would sentence them to death or 15 to 20 years imprisonment. Aided by the NAACP these 15 Negro sailors are fighting for reinstatement in the Navy with full ratings.

The barrage of criticism which Negroes are leveling at the armed forces flows from the understanding that with their seven million men, the armed forces are the greatest school for the dissemination of race prejudice that exists. Without democratization of the armed forces they know that talk about progress in the struggle for equality, so freely indulged in by the Stalinists and Uncle Toms is ridiculous.

Moreover, an American army taught race prejudice represents a future menace to Negroes. Demobilized soldiers played a leading role in the anti-Negro riots which swept the country after the last war. In the economic crisis which is certain to come at a later stage in the present war, demobilized soldiers poisoned with anti-Negro prejudice can be used by reactionary forces to drive the Negroes out of industry. It will be one of the many ways in which the bosses will try to split the ranks of the workers.

But an army that is being taught Jim Crow is also being taught anti-unionism. And the soldiers who will be used against Negroes will be turned against the trade unions. In Italy and Germany after the last war soldiers served as shocktroops for fascist attacks on trade unions.

That is why we Trotskyists have insisted that the struggle of the Negroes for democracy in the armed forces is a direct concern of the trade unions. For race prejudice and anti-unionism are the stock in trade of the anti-democratic officer caste which governs the armed forces. That officer caste is a section of the capitalist class clothed in military dress. And that class in military as well as civilian life lives by the motto, "divide and rule."

To fight the undemocratic prejudices and practices of the army brass hats, we Trotskyists advocate trade union control over military training.

Our predictions on this subject have been verified by the case of Alton Levy. Here is an instance of a soldier being persecuted by army authorities for being a Jew, a defender of the rights of Negro soldiers, and a former union organizer. In defending Alton Levy, the trade unions find themselves in head-on conflict with the army on the anti-union propaganda and racial prejudice spread and practiced by the officer caste. Although the facts of the case are well-known they are worth retelling.

On August 16, an army trial board at the Lincoln, Nebraska air base found Levy guilty of spreading malicious rumors about the general in command of the post, and his wife. Levy, a staff sergeant, was reduced to the rank of private, sentenced to four months at hard labor and fined \$18 a month.

Letters written by Levy indicate the true nature of his "crimes." In one letter Levy says, "We have about 300 Negroes we are training. They segregated them in barracks about two miles from where we stay. Most of the whites in charge of them are southerners. . . the Negroes are treated like dogs. . . They are afraid to move. They get no sympathy and help. . . I've argued and protested but all in vain. . . at staff meetings and in sessions with the officers. . ."

The defense of Negroes by a former ILGWU organizer, who also happened to be a Jew, constituted "conduct unbecoming a soldier" in the eyes of the officer caste. One officer in the judge-advocate's office told Levy, "you had two strikes on you: you were a Jew and a labor organizer."

It is encouraging to report that CIO-AFL unions which have taken up the defense of Alton Levy are also giving support to the struggle of Negroes for their rights. A trade union conference held in New York two weeks ago, representing hundreds of thousands of workers, voted to raise a \$35,000 joint fund to free Levy and fight discrimination in the armed forces.

The unions are being forced to recognize how important the struggle for Negro rights is in fighting anti-democratic prejudices in the armed forces. They are moving from resolutions on the question to concrete action. That is the all-important consideration.

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