

# WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

### EDITOR:

We workers in the dye shops here in Paterson are just waking up to the royal trimming we have received at the hands of Sidney Hillman and Co. When our last contract expired we were confronted with a demand of the bosses for the elimination from the contract of the clause limiting the work load. The workers here suffered a lot of broken heads in 1933 and 1934 successfully striking for that clause. Without it, the bosses could put us on a stretch-out, eliminate a lot of workers and sweat us until our tongues hang out. To our surprise, when the question of the contract came up, our own officers put the heat on us, the international officers pounded us, and the men were driven into a bargain with the bosses that a year ago no one would have had the nerve even to mention in the union.

Joseph Knapik, one of our own local boys who made "good" and became president of the Dyers Federation of America with which Local 1733 is affiliated, did a good bit of the dirty work. Behind the scenes lurked Hillman himself, dragging into line the local officers. What surprised us was that the drive against us was more vicious than even forcing us into line behind a phoney contract seemed to require. It had all the earmarks of an attempt to crush the local completely.

Every form of threat and intimidation was used by Hillman's stooges, not merely to gain acceptance of this new contract, but with the seeming intent of destroying every vestige of our union morale. They threatened to pull our charter, warned us in advance we would receive no strike funds if we insisted on fighting for the old terms, frightened us with a threat of permitting the bosses to move into other towns without interference by our sister locals. Twice in huge mass meetings we tore up these proposals. But two days before the expiration of the contract, a hit the over a month ago, the Hillman machine packed a third meeting with every sort of illegal vote

and jammed the new contract down our throats.

But we are beginning to understand what was behind this whole sell-out and why Hillman personally intervened in what is really a secondary labor dispute in a secondary industry.

Local 1733 has been the militant backbone of the whole labor movement in this area. It was formed from a fighting spontaneous walk-out of the dyers in 1933, the first to protest against the low wage standards fixed under the N.R.A.

It was necessary to smother us at all costs, not because of our own demands on the bosses, but because it was feared that we would plant the seeds in a more fertile spot—the national defense industries.

Our fighting example had begun to "contaminate" the huge Wright Aeronautical Corporation plant here, employing 15,000 workers, and now the chief industry in Paterson. Encouraged by our stand against the bosses, the workers in this key plant were beginning to organize. The bosses became panic-stricken. The open-shop condition at the Wright plant is the driest sort of fuel to catch fire from any struggle in this area.

That's why Hillman moved to smash us! That's why we have been robbed of the conditions which we won in seven years of bloody battles! That's why our great local has been wrecked and demoralized!

I hope your paper will tell this story. I hope you will help me and my union brothers to spread the truth about this outrage. Tell them we have been betrayed, BUT WE ARE NOT LICKED! We can still re-organize our ranks. We can still draw on the memory and traditions and fighting courage of our past to rebuild on stronger foundations than ever. We will yet win back our conditions, yes, and organize the Wright workers and every other plant in this town. It is necessary only that every worker know what has happened. Then Hillman and all his dirty kind, all the bosses and their government will not stop us. Paterson, New Jersey E. R.

## Penn. Joads Are Victorious In "Blitz-Strike"

MORRISVILLE, Pa.—Led by a group of youth ranging in age from 16 to 22, a "blitz-strike" of several hundred Pennsylvania Joads employed on the vast Starkey Farms near here, won them a complete victory in 48 hours.

As a result of the workers action wages were increased 25 percent and more. Though the new wages range only from 25-30 cents an hour, that represents a great gain for a group of workers who have been accustomed to 17-21 cent rates and 80 to 90 hour weeks.

Only a few had been in on the plans or had advance warning, but not a single worker scabbed, as the strike caught the Starkey Farms Co. by surprise in the midst of a rush to get vegetables picked for the metropolitan markets. Jubilant over their success the farm laborers, many of whom are children as young as ten years of age, are going about setting up a permanent organization to protect their gains.

## LARRY MURPHY

Larry Murphy, 21, militant fighter in the Federal Workers Section of General Drivers Local 544 of Minneapolis, died last week as a result of injuries in an automobile accident near Delano, Minn.

Larry, seriously injured, was refused admission to a hospital for more than eight hours while officials argued over which hospital had to take him. The injured boy had joined the State Militia a month ago, but he was refused admission to the Veterans Hospital on the grounds that the Militia had not yet become part of the regular army. He was also refused admission to the county hospital, and only after many hours he was finally admitted to Minneapolis General Hospital. After the long delay, it was too late to save his life.

Although only 21, Larry had taken his place in our ranks in the fight against oppression. Minneapolis workers will long remember how bravely he fought in the 1939 WPA strike. Our last greetings to a fallen comrade.

## SWP Candidate On Minneapolis Radio

### Funds for 3 Radio Programs Provided By Friends

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 21.—The Socialist Workers Party of Minnesota's candidate for United States Senator, Dr. Grace Carlson, will speak over Radio Station WLOL on Monday evenings October 21, October 28 and November 4 at 10:00 P.M.

The many contributions which have come in to the campaign headquarters from comrades and sympathizers, eager to have the party's program reach the people of Minnesota, have made the purchase of this radio time possible.

Along with senatorial and congressional candidates of other political parties, Comrade Carlson addressed a meeting of the Saturday Lunch Club on October 19. She emphasized the fact that WAR is the central issue of the election campaign and that the ability of the candidates to meet the problems posed by the War is the basic measure of their fitness for the leadership of the workers and farmers.

### Our Military Policy

Contrasting the proletarian military policy of the Socialist Workers Party with the pacifist policy of the Communist Party and other so-called anti-war groups, Comrade Carlson created a sensation when she insisted that serious workers take advantage of the compulsory military training program in order to prepare to take over the power from the capitalist war-makers. To a Citizen's Alliance member who charged that this policy was vicious and inhuman, she retorted:

"When the truck drivers of Minneapolis asked for only 42½¢ an hour, the Minneapolis bosses did not hesitate to use vicious and inhuman action against them. The workers of the country must be prepared with military training and equipment so as to beat back the attacks of the capitalists when the workers decide that the time has come for them to take over the control of all the factories."

A number of meetings and campaign rallies have been scheduled for the last two weeks of the campaign. On Nov. 1 an Election Rally will be held in St. Paul, at the Odd Fellows Hall at which Dr. Carlson will speak; on Nov. 3d, she will speak at an election rally in Duluth.

## Food Store Men Strike Chains In Four States

### 20,000 Butchers and Clerks Have Closed Down Their Shops

TRENTON, N. J., Oct. 18.—Over 20,000 workers employed in 1100 stores of the great A & P chain the American Stores, and the Food Fair chain are out on strike in a four-state area composed of Pennsylvania, Southern New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland.

The strike was initiated by the Butchers Union (AFL) and it has received the full support of the Retail Clerks Union, Teamsters Union, and the Philadelphia Central Labor Union, all of the AFL. The cooperation of these unions has caused the strike to be 100% successful with all the stores involved shut-down tighter than a drum.

John Kelly, local strike leader of the Retail Clerks Union, has announced that his international union would call for a general nation-wide strike, if necessary, to back up the demands of the workers in the four-state area.

The Butchers Union, seeking a new contract to replace one which expired Oct. 1, is asking a reduction in working hours from 51 to 48 a week. Wage increases for managers of "one-man" stores are also being sought, along with two weeks vacation with pay, instead of one.

The companies have countered the union demands with insistence that hours be increased from 51 to 53.

In NEWARK, N. J. buy the APPEAL at: Newsstand, Broad & Wm. Sts. Cohen's Confectionery, 11 SPRINGFIELD AVE near Court House. or write for delivery to S.W.P. P. O. B. 352, Newark, N. J.

## United Front to Defend C.P. in Calif. Is Asked

### Socialist Workers Party Offers Aid In Fighting Ban

LOS ANGELES—A letter has been sent to over 250 rank and file Stalinists here by the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party, appealing to them to pressure on their leadership to undertake a united front action with the SWP to secure the repeal of the ban against the Communist Party on the California ballot.

This action was taken after the Stalinist leadership had ignored two previous appeals for a united front and had concealed them from their membership.

The SWP letter urged the Stalinist workers to continue the struggle against the attempts of the California boss class to deprive them, as workers, of their political rights, and described the ban as merely the beginning of a wave of persecution against the entire labor movement in preparation for war-time suppressions.

"There is but one way to oppose this persecution—the United Front of all forces in the labor movement," stated the letter. "No matter what political differences there exist between us, a United Front can be made on this specific issue. All workers would be tremendously inspired and encouraged by the organization of United Front committees to combat raids on political freedom. This is the purpose of the offer of the Socialist Workers Party. The United Front is the classic method of working class organizations with different programs to meet a common danger."

The letter further adds, "With the refusal of the leadership of the C. P. to make public our offer; with their refusal to reply to our communications; with their contemptuous disregard of the right of the rank and file, who as far as we know are kept in ignorance of our offer and not consulted in this matter, we have one recourse—to make our offer public to the members and sympathizers of the Communist Party in the hope that they can bring pressure to bear within their own organization so that a necessary unity of forces can be established in opposition to our capitalist oppressors."

Join the Socialist Workers Party

## TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND

The total pledged to the Trotsky Memorial Fund rose this week to \$3,345, with the following branches still to be heard from: Allentown, New Haven, Omaha, Quakertown, Rochester, St. Louis and Texas. Upward revision of branch pledges is still on the agenda in several places.

The first payments on pledges came in this week, amounting to \$312. That's a good start, but it will have to be equalled every week to fulfill the pledges by the end of the year. Here's the scoreboard:

	Quota	Amount Paid	% Paid
Rockville	\$ 5.00	\$ 5.00	100%
Lynn	100.00	75.00	75%
Chicago and Ind. Harbor	150.00	65.07	43%
San Francisco	100.00	35.00	35%
Toledo	50.00	15.00	30%
Boston	100.00	27.00	27%
Newark	150.00	40.00	27%
Flint	150.00	25.00	17%
Detroit	200.00	25.00	13%
Akron	10.00	00.00	00
Baltimore	10.00	00.00	00
Cleveland	70.00	00.00	00
Los Angeles	150.00	00.00	00
Milwaukee	5.00	00.00	00
Minneapolis and St. Paul	1000.00	00.00	00
New York	1000.00	00.00	00
Philadelphia	30.00	00.00	00
Portland	10.00	00.00	00
Reading	5.00	00.00	00
Youngstown	50.00	00.00	00
TOTAL	\$3345.00	\$312.07	9%

## Fire Prevention Teachers Made Quite A Bonfire!

JERSEY CITY, N. J.—Mayor Hague, the Jersey City Hitler, recently did his bit for Fire Prevention Week by sending his lieutenants around to every local factory to advise the workers to be on the look-out for "fifth columnists" who might try to start fires. It might have been more suitable to have delivered these "Fire Prevention" lectures before Hague's henchmen had made bonfires of the evidence which a senatorial committee was seeking for its probe of election frauds in Hudson County and elsewhere in New Jersey.

Just Opened! Just Opened! Armenian Restaurant Enjoy the best there is in delicious Armenian food. Prices consistent with the proletarian tastes and pockets of yourself and your friends. CHARLES' Armenian Restaurant 137 East 27th St. N. Y. C. Between Lex. and 3rd Ave.

## MARXIST SCHOOL

Lectures for the Coming Week How Hegel Revolutionized Logic Monday 7:10 to 8:40 Lecturer: William F. Warde Trotsky's Theory of the Russian Revolution Monday 8:50 to 10:20 Lecturer: Felix Morrow The Materialist Conception of History Tuesday 7:10 to 8:40 Lecturer: Murry Weiss Trade Union Leadership Tuesday 8:50 to 10:20 Lecturer: Farrell Dobbs To be held at IRVING PLAZA Irving Place and 15th St. New York City Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

# James P. Cannon's Summary Speech on Military Policy

(The following is an excerpt from the speech by Comrade James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, summarizing the discussion on Military Policy at the Sept. 27-29 Plenum-Conference of the Party at Chicago.)

In summary, I will take up the questions in reverse order of their importance. The Stalinist question is a question of tactics and is by far secondary to the main problem of our military policy. Nevertheless, it has considerable importance. The discussion has shown one thing clearly, that there is in our ranks today very little misunderstanding of the fundamental aspects of the question of Stalinism. That is far different from the situation a year ago.

It is important to remember in this connection that our fight with the petty bourgeois ideologist, Burnham, began over the question of the characterization of the Stalinists. It will be recalled that almost two years ago, at the time of the auto crisis, the first real clash with Burnham and his satellites was precipitated by their attitude toward the split in the auto union. Despite the fact that the great mass of the auto workers were going with the CIO—and thereby at that time with the Stalinists—Burnham wanted to divert our support to Martin, even in the direction of the AFL, on the theory that the Stalinists were not really a part of the labor movement.

The thing came to a head again over the invasion of Poland when Burnham wanted the party to take an outright stand against the Red Army on the theory that the Soviet Union is "imperialist." The issue grew sharper with the Finnish invasion. Then, when Browder was indicted by the government on an obviously trumped-up passport charge, Burnham opposed any defense of Browder on the ground that he did not represent any legitimate labor tendency. He overlooked the fact that as an agent of the Soviet bureaucracy, Browder indirectly represented the biggest labor organization in the world, that of the Soviet State.

Burnham in this case was fundamentally motivated by the pressure of democratic imperialism in the United States. The Stalinists were for the moment at loggerheads with the Roosevelt administration, and the "intransigence" of the Burnham faction against the Stalinists simply represented a cheap and easy form of adaptation to the clamor of the bourgeois democrats. Their opinions were shaped against any kind of recognition of the C. P. as a tendency in the labor movement. We haven't heard such an expression here today from anybody.

### UNITED FRONTS WITH THE C. P.

Comrade Morton gave us a speech here today which was very informative about his experiences in the CIO union of Electrical and Radio Workers. He said something that we must heed—that the Stalinist rank and file in this union do not distinguish between us and the red baiters, that they tend to regard us as a part of the general reaction. If that is true, we must take heed and correct such an impression.

First of all in the press. Our press must have a more precise line, a line that cannot be misunderstood. On each and every important occasion it must be made clear to the readers of our

press that, while we are irreconcilably hostile to Stalinism—more now than ever before—we recognize that it does represent a current in the international labor movement, and as such we defend it against the attacks of the red baiters. Our press is our most important medium of clarification. But the press campaign must be reinforced by united front proposals to the Stalinists on suitable occasions which provide us the possibility of approaching the Stalinist workers and advancing the revolutionary cause.

Of course we must not forget that the present line of the Stalinists is only a year old. I will be very much surprised if it has another year to last. It was the opinion of Comrade Trotsky that Moscow is already turning in the direction of the Allies, and particularly in the direction of the U. S. The Soviet Union is caught in a vise between Japan on the one hand and Nazi Germany on the other. If the Axis powers suffer military reverses, if American imperialism moves more aggressively against them, Stalin is very apt to shift over into the orbit of democratic imperialism led by the U. S. You can be sure, in this event, that the line of the Stalinists in this country will very soon change accordingly.

Such a prospect does not speak against approaching the Stalinists with united front proposals on the basis of their present line. The more deeply we penetrate their ranks on a united front basis in connection with their pseudo-radical policy, the better possibility we will have to influence the workers against the swing back to bourgeois democracy and the Popular Front ballyhoo when the bureaucrats make the switch. Such an over-night reversal of policy will inevitably provoke a crisis in the C. P. We should strive to be in a good position to influence the revolting elements—and this time they will be the best, not the worst—in a revolutionary direction. Everything speaks in favor of a serious, carefully worked out, realistic and practical united front policy. It is obligatory that we devote a properly proportioned amount of our time and energy to the Stalinists.

### UNITED FRONT IS NO PANACEA

But let us not go crazy over this issue. One could notice a slight tendency in the discussion to overemphasize this secondary tactical question at the expense of our main business, that of orienting the Party for a military policy which has nothing in common with the policy of the C.P. We must not begin to dance around this question like jitterbugs. We must not paint up the C.P. and make it appear to be something different than it is. We should correct our one-sided policy of the past, but not over-correct it. There is a danger of our making a sort of panacea of united fronts with the C.P.

I got a little bit scared today when I heard some of the speeches. I had a horrific vision of the Party pacing back and forth and around in circles and so preoccupied with C.P. united fronts that we would not have anything else to do. Whiskey looks like tea but cannot be consumed so freely without bad effects. This business of united fronting with the C. P. is also a strong medicine. We must condition ourselves to the self-control of the man who can "take it or leave it alone." Don't forget that

Stalinism is an agency of imperialism no less than the bureaucracy of Green and Lev's. It is only another variety. Like the traitors of traditional reformism, the Stalinist bureaucracy also tries to defend its own interests against the imperialists. It is this contradiction in each case which opens the way for the united front tactic. But never forget that the main blows of Stalinism are directed against the international working class.

Some comrades raised the question a little falsely, I think, today. They asked: "Who represents the main danger right now? What is the main danger? Is it represented by the out and out patriots of the Green and Hillman type? or is it the C. P.?" And they came to the conclusion that it is the jingoes, not the C. P. That only shows that the C. P. is an even greater danger than we realize; its duplicity creates a little confusion even in our ranks. Stalinism is the greatest danger to the international revolutionary movement precisely because the Stalinists discredit the great Russian Revolution and sow confusion and demoralization in the ranks of the proletarian vanguard which had rejected traditional reformism. A momentary diplomatic maneuver of Stalin—inspired by treachery—must not create the impression in our ranks that perhaps the C.P. is not as great a danger today as it was yesterday. Stalinism is treacherous to the core. It is the main obstacle in the path of the proletarian revolution. Our attitude towards Stalinism is that of irreconcilable war. We can conceive of the united front only in the sense of a flank attack against our most perfidious enemy.

### FIVE POINTS ON THE C. P.

The crux of the Stalinism question can be summarized under these five points:

FIRST, where is the main reservoir of future recruiting for the revolutionary party in this country? Is it in the ranks of the C. P.? Or, is it in the ranks of the half awakened working class in this country that has not been defeated and that has not been corrupted? We consider it self-evident that the main reservoir for recruiting is in the ranks of these non-Stalinist workers. It is only incidental recruiting that can be expected out of the Stalinist party. This is also an important source, but it is not the most important. Every move we make in regard to Stalinism has to be weighed by the criterion whether it will help or harm our possibility of recruiting in the ranks of the young, uneducated but militant proletariat.

SECOND, we have to be more careful, more precise and more militant in distinguishing our criticism of Stalinism from the attacks of the red-baiting jingoes. We must begin in earnest to emphasize this difference in our press. We have to clarify the whole problem for our membership; for our readers, for the Stalinist workers who sometimes read our press. We must make it clear on every occasion, sharply and categorically, that we have nothing in common with red-baiting attacks on the Stalinists by the capitalist newspapers, the old style labor skates and the social democrats.

THE THIRD POINT: Our chief problem in the political field is neither blocs with the Stalinists against the progressive jingoes

nor blocs with the progressive jingoes against the Stalinists on incidental day to day problems in the unions. Our main problem is to bring forward and develop more clearly and precisely the independent line of the revolutionary party.

THE FOURTH POINT: In the course of development, we will look for and take advantage of suitable and practical opportunities for united front actions directed toward the C. P. workers. But this must not become the dominant side of our activity with regard to them. We will write 99 attacks against the perfidies of the C. P. to one move that we will make in the direction of the united front with them. And even at the moment of approaching them for a united front, we will never relax for a moment, nor allow any worker to get an idea for a moment, that this tactic signifies any kind of reconciliation, or any softening of our attitude towards the treacherous murder machine of Stalinism.

THE FIFTH POINT: I am not as optimistic as some comrades about the number and quality of the recruits we will get from the C. P. There are some members in our organization—quite a few—who came to us from the Stalinists in recent times and who have developed into good revolutionists. We've also had the experience of recruiting Stalinists more than once, more than ten times, who tried to become revolutionists, but who had become so demoralized, and to some extent so corrupted, by the C. P. that they were not assimilable. One of the greatest curses of Stalinism is the enormous demoralization, disorientation, and corruption of the minds of the advanced militant workers it has brought about.

### THE MAIN QUESTION: MILITARY POLICY

Now I come to the decisive and basic question with which our party occupies itself, the question of military policy. During the discussion some comrades have asked: Was our old line wrong? Does the resolution represent a completely new departure and a reversal of the policy of the past? It is not quite correct to say that the old line was wrong. It was a program devised for the fight against war in time of peace. Our fight against war under conditions of peace was correct as far as it went. But it was not adequate. It must be extended. The old principles, which remain unchanged, must be applied concretely to the new conditions of permanent war and universal militarism. We didn't visualize, nobody visualized, a world situation in which whole countries would be conquered by fascist armies. The workers don't want to be conquered by foreign invaders, above all by fascists. They require a program of military struggle against foreign invaders which assures their class independence. That is the gist of the problem.

Many times in the past we were put at a certain disadvantage; the demagoguery of the Social Democrats against us was effective to a certain extent. They said, "You have no answer to the question of how to fight against Hitler, how to prevent Hitler from conquering France, Belgium, etc." (Of course their program was very simple—the suspension of the class struggle and complete subor-

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