

Long Live the Heroic Achievements of 1917!

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Fresh examples of how the labor bureaucracy becomes part and parcel of the war machine appear almost daily.

The Canadian section of the CIO announces its autonomy because it wants a completely free hand to aid the government for Britain.

The Canadian CIO leadership publicly declares it will do its part to help British imperialism keep over five hundred million colonial peoples in virtual slavery.

Chauvinism permeates the labor bureaucracy so deeply that it even wants to discard a semblance of internationalism expressed by the unity of the American and Canadian sections of the CIO.

Serve Masters

British and French labor leaders are doing their best in the service of their capitalist masters. A special committee headed by Sir Walter Citrine, prominent British faker, and Leon Jouhaux, French sell-out artist, are going to confer monthly to work out a close solidarity of the workers in these two countries behind the war machines.

Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, doesn't have to perform quite that openly yet for his masters. However, he is doing a fairly good job of warming up.

Naturally, Green would go after the militant workers who are fighting for their elementary rights, namely the autoworkers.

The crime of the CIO autoworkers, according to Green, is that they resorted to slow-down or sit-down strikes in protest against the terrific speed-up in the auto plants.

Of course, the effectiveness of the auto workers' tactics and their solidarity are what Green is really objecting to.

But there is something much more insidious in Green's blast against the auto workers. After all, he always opposed militant action.

Green's criticism of the auto workers in reality is a bid to the American war machine for becoming "the outstanding labor leader in war time." That is, Green says in so many words, if you played ball with us we guarantee there won't be any strikes. We'll keep labor pacified. The CIO leaders won't.

The whole purpose of the Green statement is to express his willingness to be the agent of the bosses and the military machine during war-time.

These examples serve to indicate what revolutionists mean when they classify the labor bureaucracy as agents of the capitalist class.

But Not the Workers

The attitude of the rank and file, however, is different.

The attitude of the rank and file on the question of war is not given any vocal expression because of the censorship and persecution.

A hint of how the British workers are reacting is contained in a brief dispatch telling the story of a young worker who was called before a special court after refusing to be drafted.

"I am a slave of the capitalist system. It is their war, not the workers. I refuse to shoot down my fellow workers, even though you line me up against a wall and shoot me," the worker declared.

How many other unknown heroes of the proletariat are there in England, France and Canada? They are the real voice of the proletariat. The labor bureaucrats merely repeat their master's voice.

Chicago Holds Anniversary Meet On the Revolution

CHICAGO—Nearly 250 people attended the 2nd anniversary of the October Revolution meeting held here last week by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International).

Albert Goldman, labor attorney, and B. J. Widick, organizer of the Chicago SWP, were speakers. The movie, "Ten Days That Shook the World," completed the program.

The Russian Revolution Paved The Way for the World October

(Continued from Page 1)

imperialist masters of the world.

But the working class has seen treachery within its ranks before. Labor has seen the huge machine of the German social democracy drag the workers into the last war and smash the German revolution. The treachery of the German social democracy—and of the French and British, now being repeated—flowed from the same source as that of the Stalinist bureaucracy: having arrogated to themselves special privileges, not shared by the workers, they sought to preserve those privileges by conniving with the capitalists against the workers.

Shall we despair because there are traitors in our ranks? The Russian Revolution answers that question too! While faint-hearted pessimists despaired as the Second International joined the war-makers, the Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky, wasted no time in bewailing what had happened. Three years after the black day on which the German social democrats voted for war credits, the Bolsheviks were able to achieve the October revolution, and thereby proved that the forces of the working class are strong enough to overcome even the blackest treachery within its own ranks. The betrayal perpetrated by the social democracy was answered in the only way it could be answered—by the launching of the Third International.

Why the Bureaucracy Triumphed

Today the Third International is as treacherous as the Second International. It is a mere appendage of the Stalin bureaucracy, a corrupt tool of its foreign policy. That foreign policy consists of an uninterrupted series of betrayals of the independent interests of the international working class. Whichever imperialist power it suits Stalin to curry favor with at any given moment, that power has delivered to it, bound hand and foot, as many workers as the Communist International can delude. Yesterday Daladier and Chamberlain were the beneficiaries; today it is Hitler.

But they lie—the social democrats, the "liberals", the reformists of every stripe—who say that the treachery of the Soviet bureaucracy is an outgrowth of the doctrines of Lenin and Trotsky. The responsibility for the degeneration of the first workers' state rests first of all upon the reformists who, as lackeys of the capitalists, destroyed the German, Austrian and Hungarian revolutions and left the Soviet state isolated amid capitalist encirclement. The reformists seek to justify their treachery by pointing to the treachery of the Stalinists; but to every thinking worker—especially today! when the Second International is repeating its treacherous role of 1914-1918!—there is no choice between the reformists and the Stalinists.

Hemmed in by the capitalist world, deprived of systematic access to the technology of the advanced countries, the first Soviet state, built upon the meager resources of backward Russia, fell victim to degeneration. A bureaucracy rose and triumphed, thanks to the passivity into which the Soviet masses had fallen after their heroic efforts of 1914-1923. Lenin and Trotsky foresaw this danger, fought against it, and explained its causes.

ANNOUNCEMENT

NEW YORK—The Greeks had a word for it—Olympics. The Y.P.S.L.'s had a word for it, too—Anti-War Olympiad—the first in the series.

What are we talking about? It's the November 12th fracas which will include—

1. A heated football fracas between the Erber Ebullient Ends starring Bone-crusher Ernie, the terror of the Trembling Trepidichoreans and Gould's Burlesque Bolsheviks, featuring the set-backs and wrong ends of Bolshevik football dom.
2. A Penta- and Decathlon, including the "Reactionary foot race" and a special relay, the nature of which cannot be divulged at the present time.

Time: Nov. 12, 11:00 a.m.
Place: Entrance to Alley Pond, State Park, Queens, N. Y.
Bus Q43 goes to entrance.

DOUBLE ROOM WANTED for two people. Must be furnished. Address all letters to S. Stanley, care of Socialist Appeal, 116 University Place, NYC.

Revolution to End Bureaucracy

The Kremlin bureaucracy, like the social democratic and all other bureaucracies, more than anything else in the world fears a workers' revolution in the advanced countries. For such a revolution will awaken the Soviet masses, give them outside support, provide the Soviet Union with the economic collaboration it needs, and thereby put an end to the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The international revolution will put an end to all bureaucracies by putting an end to all special privilege. For the existence of all bureaucracies flows from the scarcity of goods, which makes control and consumption of them a privilege. Science and technology have provided the foundations for an economy of plenty. The forces are at hand which make possible abundant satisfaction of the needs of humanity. What stands in the way are the old, obsolete forms of property relations, and the ruling classes who are their beneficiaries. What is needed is a world revolution that will throw on the garbage heap of history these strangulating obstacles to human progress.

Assets of Russian Revolution

In our struggle for world revolution, we have at our disposal the invaluable assets bequeathed to us by the Russian Revolution. The Bolsheviks marked out the road for us! And, not least among the assets they have left us, are the conquests of the October Revolution that still remain in the Soviet Union.

State property, the indispensable condition for building socialism, still remains in the Soviet Union in spite of all Stalin's undermining of the conquests of the October Revolution. Even if Stalin were finally to succeed in destroying the nationalized property, the record of the accomplishments of nationalized means of production would remain as irrefutable proof of the superiority of that form of production over capitalist anarchy. Fortunately Stalin has not yet succeeded. That asset of world revolution remains.

Capitalism during the course of this war or after will undoubtedly seek to overthrow the Kremlin oligarchy in order to reintroduce capitalism and divide the Soviet territories into capitalist colonies. The world working class will defend that asset of world revolution as part of its struggle against capitalist reaction. It is our task to destroy the Kremlin clique, for that is what defense of the remaining conquests of the October Revolution means. The only real way to defend the Soviet Revolution is to make the world revolution.

The Trail Has Been Blazed!

There were few voices raised at first against the First World War: Lenin and Liebknecht, Trotsky and Luxemburg and so few others! But their voices became the voices of the great masses who, by the Russian Revolution and its reverberations, put an end to the war. So today there are few enough voices raised against the Second World War. But those voices begin where the revolutionists of 1917 left off. We shall complete what they began. We shall do it in the spirit of the Russian Bolsheviks who carried out the first successful workers' revolution. Long live the Russian Revolution! It has blazed the trail to the world revolution!

Labor and The Second World War

By J. R. Johnson

VI

The Treachery of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

In the early years the Soviet government maintained a truly Marxist policy, building up the internal economy and working with the Communist International for the world revolution.

But the bureaucracy quickly became so satisfied with its position, so anxious to avoid the international complications of a revolution, and, as is the way of bureaucracies, so short-sighted and cowardly, that it missed opportunity after opportunity to assist the workers in the overthrow of their own capitalists. The Communist International assumed the leadership of the revolutionary movement in nearly every country, and the Communist leaders took their guidance from Moscow. But in Germany in 1923, in China in 1925-1927, Stalin and his bureaucrats, at the critical periods, restrained instead of encouraging the workers. The climax came in Germany in 1933, when the bureaucracy, after three years of vacillation, once more gave the signal for retreat. Always obedient, the German Communist Party, without even a show of resistance, allowed Hitler to take power.

The Stalinists Embrace "Democracy"

Every defeat of the workers weakened the Russian workers in their struggle against the bureaucracy. And every defeat of the workers weakened Soviet Russia in the struggle against its unsleeping enemy, world imperialism. After the German defeat, Stalin began to look for salvation by an alliance with either fascist Germany or the "democracies," soliciting now one and now the other. His policy in face of the workers' revolutions in China and Germany had forced him into this position, and there was no escape. But to further his ends he committed yet another terrible crime against the working class. Seeking an alliance with France and Britain, he converted the Communist International into an agency for the support of the "democracies" against fascism. For five years the whole force of the Stalinist International, supported by the resources of the Soviet state, was directed to making the workers support one group of imperialists against the other, condemnation of which distinguishes the revolutionary movement from all others.

The Stalinists could not stop at words. To secure his alliance with the "democracies," Stalin and his Communist parties perpetrated some of the most cynical betrayals in history. In France in 1936 the workers seized the factories. Stalin used the Communist Party to stifle the movement for the sake of his alliance with French "democracy."

The most powerful revolution of modern times broke out in Spain a few months later. Stalin's Communist Party and the agents of the GPU hounded down, murdered and imprisoned thousands who were leading the struggle for socialism. The Spanish revolution, he insisted, was a revolution for "democracy" and no more. Had either of these revolutions followed their normal development, the result would have been such a resurgence of working class militancy all over Europe and elsewhere that we would have been saved the second world war. In France in particular the workers turned to the Communist Party, thinking it was the party of revolution. The French capitalists were helpless. But it was Stalin's Communist Party that saved French capitalism.

Stalin Seeks A New Ally

Capitalists do not deal in gratitude. At Munich the "democracies" made obvious their international policy for years past: to encourage an attack on Soviet Russia by Hitler. Stalin turned hastily and negotiated again with Hitler, this time secretly, and got his alliance. The revolutionary workers had been deflected from their real enemy, the enemy at home, for five years. The incipient French revolution, the triumphant Spanish revolution, had been destroyed by Stalin's agents, all for the sake of his alliance with "democracy" in the cause of peace. Then suddenly the workers were told that peace and "democracy" were best served by the pact between Stalin and the most powerful fascist state in Europe. Hitler, given the green light by Stalin, marched. At that moment of desperate crisis the revolutionary workers in Europe, stunned by the pact, were thrown into helpless confusion and the imperialists slid them smoothly into war.

In the United States the Stalinists, hoping to include Roosevelt with Chamberlain and Daladier in the alliance with Stalin, lay on their bellies for five years licking the dust of Roosevelt's boots. They clamored in favor of the New Deal. They rooted for every move Roosevelt made toward war. They opposed the Ludlow amendment. They were ready to shed the blood of millions of American workers to defeat fascism in Germany. Came the Stalin-Hitler Pact. The American Stalinists turned about face, and today they are as active for Hitler's victory as yesterday they were for his defeat, are busy whipping up workers everywhere in the "democracies" to oppose the war—to make things as easy as possible for Hitler, Stalin's ally. But if Stalin is forced to an alliance with Britain tomorrow, vernal robots as they are, the Stalinists will once more clamor for a holy war of "democracy" against fascism. Long over are the days when they were leading the revo-

WORKERS' FORUM

COMPLAINS ABOUT APPEAL ARTICLES

Dear Comrade Editor, I am writing you to protest certain errors made in the Appeal.

First, the issue of Tuesday, Oct. 24. The headline reads: 1. J.L. Lewis Opens Drive In CIO to "Clean House" of Stalinists. 2. Strikes First Blow by Removing CP Clique From Strategic Posts. 3. Lewis Crusade Spells End of Stalinist Union-Wreckers in CIO. This sounds as though the SWP approves of Lewis' actions in clamping down on the CP. All of our comments are directed against the CP, calling them cliques, union-wreckers, etc. We know this is true, but nevertheless, we don't approve of Lewis' bureaucratic actions against the CP. Our positions always was and should be that when the CP is to be kicked out, the militant, progressive union men will do that job.

Now for a little constructive criticism. Much too often the

front page carries news that concerns New York mainly or altogether. Now we realize that NY has the biggest section of the party and sells the majority of the Appeals. But that hampers the rest of the party. So I thought of this idea to handle the situation. Make the front page full of national news, all headlines denouncing the war and the warmakers. But on the fourth page also have headlines that concern New York and include specific NY news. For instance, the Appeal of Oct. 27 carries the headline Shachtman On New York Ballot, Boss Politicians Drop Challenge. What significance has that outside of NY? But it is very important that NY have that headline. If it were on the fourth page the comrades could hold the paper with the fourth page facing the public.

To sum up, let our paper have two front pages.

Comradely,
J. D.

An Unusual Opportunity Offered Workers in Marxist School Courses

The Fall Term of the MARXIST SCHOOL, which begins on Monday, Nov. 20, offers the prospective student a splendid opportunity to get the Marxist viewpoint on a number of the important problems of the day.

Do you want to find out about America's role in the war? James Burnham and Dwight Macdonald will give you the inside information in a course on "THE WAR DEAL IN ACTION". In the intimate style of their columns in the Socialist Appeal, they will discuss with you the Administration's drive to get the U.S. into the war, Neutrality legislation, M-Day plans, the latest financial and industrial trends in relation to the war, etc.

Have you ever been puzzled over why Marxists condemn some wars and justify others, what defeatism and defensism are, how the social conquests of the U.S.S.R. can be defended in the present conflict, what Marx, Lenin, Luxemburg, Kautsky, etc., thought on the war problem? Max Shachtman will tell you. In a course on "SOCIALISM AND WAR" he will consider the war problem in its historic and theoretic aspects.

For the trade unionist the course to be given by E. R. Frank on "ORGANIZING LABOR" is all-important. The lectures will deal with the tremendous events in recent labor history. E. R. Frank as a participant in the great organizing drives in auto is well qualified to give first-hand accounts of the great strike struggles and close-ups of the leading personalities involved.

We believe J. R. Johnson to be the foremost authority on the Negro question in the labor movement. Author of a number of books and pamphlets on the subject, he now gives a course on "THE DESTINY OF THE NEGRO" for the Marxist School in which the chief solutions advanced for the Negro problem will be examined.

Have you ever taken a course in economics and been disappointed because what you learnt had no apparent relation to the everyday world about you? We are sure Frank Demby's course on "HOW CAPITALISM OPERATES TODAY" will not disappoint you in this manner. For this course takes as its starting point the everyday realities. How does a Fascist economy function, what is the relation between war and inflation, what is wrong with the farmer? The lectures will apply key concepts of Marxist economics to these and other questions.

We urge all students to register at once. Registration can be made at the Labor Bookshop, 116 University Place, New York City, between 1 and 6 p.m. or by writing to the same address in care of the Marxist School. All courses consist of 6 sessions and cost one dollar per course. Some scholarships are available for unemployed.

The following is the schedule of courses:

- I. HOW CAPITALISM OPERATES TODAY
Mondays, 7:15 p.m.-8:40 p.m.
- II. SOCIALISM AND WAR
Mondays, 8:50 p.m.-10:15 p.m.
- III. THE DESTINY OF THE NEGRO
Tuesdays, 7:15 p.m.-8:40 p.m.
- IV. ELEMENTS OF SOCIALISM
Tuesdays, 8:50 p.m.-10:15 p.m.
- V. ORGANIZING LABOR
Wednesdays, 7:15 p.m.-8:40 p.m.
- VI. THE WAR DEAL IN ACTION
Wednesdays, 8:50 p.m.-10:15 p.m.

ALL CLASSES WILL BE HELD AT THE WORKERS CULTURAL CENTER, ROOM 201, 125 WEST 33rd ST., N. Y. C.

Socialist Appeal

116 University Place
New York City.

I would like to get better acquainted with your paper, the Socialist Appeal. Please send me sample copies for the next few weeks.

Name

Address

City

lutionary workers in every combat against imperialism in all its forms. Never before has such shamelessness, such degradation, such corruption been a part of the workers' movement. In less than twenty years Stalin has transformed the world revolutionary vanguard into a procurer for the prostitution of the international working class, in the interests of Russian bureaucrats. No institution in human history has fallen so fast and so far.

This cynical deception of the workers, this pushing them about, like pawns on a chessboard, here and there and even into war for the sake of the bureaucracy, well explains not only the opportunist zig-zag of the Stalinist parties. It indicates also the bureaucracy's role inside the Soviet Union.

(Continued in Next Issue)

HARLEM EDUCATIONAL FORUM
186 LENOX AVENUE

Lectures Every Thursday at 9 P.M.

NOV. 16—Why Negroes Should Oppose the War.
NOV. 23—The Negro and the Trade Unions.
NOV. 30—The Heritage of Slavery.

Prominent Speakers
Questions & Discussion
ADMISSION FREE

Auspices: Harlem Branch, S.W.P.

1939 Bound Volumes of SOCIALIST APPEAL now ready!

52 issues of this year neatly bound together. Have a first-hand survey of the historic events of this year right at your elbow.

(\$2.00—including postage)
SPECIAL!
1938 Bound Volume NOW ONLY \$1.00

ORDER NOW FROM:
Socialist Appeal
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
New York City, N. Y.

Let the People Vote on War!

Join the Socialist Workers Party