In the Labor

By B. J. WIDICK

France in the present war.

ing. English unionists are won- been, in and of itself, of great emphasized the fact that in one timism" and "invincibility". in store for them. American unionists are confronted by similar tendencies; and because Mr. cialist revolution." thoughts.

Shop Stewards

tary machine recently ordered retainer, Stalin. the abolition of the shop steward My letter contained the affirmsystem, among other drastic de- ation that Lenin and the whole ing it to function.

been recognized as the real life, in one as backward as Russia; the heart, and the backbone of a and that only at the end of 1924 good union. In France, the crea- did Stalin make an about-face of good union. In France, the creation of the shop 180 degrees thereby branding his but because they are the short- proach. In discussing lags in col- "scholastics" and muddleheads steward systems was one of the viewpoint of yesterday as "counmajor victories of the famous ter-revolutionary Trotskyism."

through the shop stewards. They time in erecting their own 'so-

and prevent the workers from international nature of socialist having committees capable of revolution. functioning in times of social un- A SINGLE QUOTATION

War Taxes

to "contribute" fifteen per cent tract to itself the oppressed lette, and the others are people ed. . . ("Leninism," by Joseph

lation of grievances, the French single country. workers are building up a terri- By the "victory of socialism" ism can be definitively establish- as follows: "Having consolidated

England Too?

The rank and file workers in ment under the guise of war emergency measures.

of a pact between the government and the labor bureaucrats which brings the application of ciety throughout the whole plancompulsory overtime and wage et. The quotation contains no sified Lenin's position; and (2) cuts, coupled with longer working hours? Are concentration camps for militant workers, and trol the next step in England? struction of socialism in a single tial agreement with him. Obvi-And are the shop committees in

that indicates how the English ed by the Bolsheviks in 1917. workers are feeling. Union bu- During the five years in which reaucrats agreed with an industrial concern not to press for the the Soviet nation he expressed 1938. pp. 343, 348.) solution of certain grievances himself innumerable times in and a wage dispute. However, the rank and file through the shop conditions for realizing a socialcommittee organized a strike ist society. In my History of the shinsky. that was averted only with the Russian Revolution, Vol. III, pp. HOW STALIN TRIED TO greatest difficulty. The shop 378-418, I gave dozens of Lenin's CHANGE LENIN'S THOUGHT stewards are still sore about the sellout. Orders from the union 1917-1923. Permit me to quote a tion belongs however not to Vy- Unfortunately one can be certain bureaucrats are being disregarded. Another strike is threatened. INSTANCES OF LENIN'S

How many more of these REAL POSITION events occurred which do not es- When departing for Russia aft- wrote: "The overthrow of the December 6, 1939 cape the censorship? Undoubted- er the February revolution, Lenin power of the bourgeoisie and the Coyoacan, D.F. ly many. The seeds of unrest are inherent in the war production proletariat cannot with its own does not, per se, mean the com-

care of S. Stanley, 116 Univer- the European and American so- the final victory of socialism be sity Place, N.Y.C.

On Lenin's Program Trotsky

Editor, The New York Times New York City, N. Y.

Times is replete with unproved ers of other countries." insinuations." A very serious acmovements in England and and her agents bring into misap- continue." prehension an important section dering if the same tragic lot is interest to every intelligent per- country it is impossible to ac-Hamilton-through ignorance or carelessness-seized a wire high-

The political reason for Stalin's DECISION ON THIS

break the backbone of the unions shevism on the question of the ers.

nothing more than the element- tive investigation, especially for Stalin concluded this explana-Under the pressure of the ris- ary idea that the socallist revolu- American public opinion could tion with the words: "Such, in ing costs of living on the one tion cannot surge up at the same not have been made. Here are the broad outline, are the characterhand and the cut in wages on the time in all the countries of the findings of the Commission on istics of Lenin's theory of the other hand, combined with long- world but must inevitably begin this particulra point: er hours, speed-up, and accumu- "first" in a few or even in a

fic resentment that will turn into Lenin means here, as is clear ed in a single country only if one its power, and taking the lead of a gigantic explosion. Not since from the quotation, the conquest leaves out the crucial phrase 'at the peasantry, the proletariat of the days of Louis Fourteenth of power by the proletariat and the beginning' (or 'first' in the the victorious country can and have the French ruling classes the nationalization of the means quotation cited by Mr. Hamilton) must build a socialist society." been sitting on such a powder of production but not at all the and wrenches the quotation from Can and must! And this diametconstruction of an isolated so- its context in the matter under rically contradictory explanation Is it a wonder that the French cialist society. On the contrary, discussion: (2) that Trotsky and of Lenin's position ends with the Foreign Legion and other picked Lenin directly states that the Lenin are in essential agreement same words: "Such, in broad outcolonial troops are "judiciously" conquest of power would place in that the socialist revolution can line, are the characteristics of distributed behind the front the hands of the proletariat begin on a national basis but that Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution on an international ally. . .' scale. The whole argument of Mr. Hamilton like that of his Moscow teachers is based upon the iden- rial has convinced this Commis- fundamental question of revolu-England are worrying about the probability that the Chamberlain challest revolution with the challest revolution wit government, with the approval of struction of the socialist society. socialist revolution could triumph prove the correctness of the new the labor fakers, will further cur- It is a grotesque sophism! More initially in a single country, it tail the rights of the union moverevolution a great "victory of so- ful without the aid of successful cialism" but we saw in it only the socialist revolutions elsewhere. Do they also face the signing beginning of a new historic epoch which over a period of generations would transform human so-

that on the question of the concountry Mr. Hamilton is incap- ously, if Trotsky had not held able of finding anything aside this position he would have op-England going to be suppressed? from a falsely interpreted quota- posed instead of vigorously sup-A story appeared last week tion of 1915? Power was conquer-porting the October Revolution." Lenin remained at the head of Harper & Brothers; New York. speeches and articles about the peated the long-ago unmasked

few of them here:

wrote in a farewell letter to the establishment of the power of the Mexico Swiss workers: "The Russian proletariat in one country alone forces victoriously achieve the plete victory of socialism. The socialist revolution. But it can chief task, the organization of so-COUPLE desires furnished room . . . improve the situation in cialist production, still lies ahead.

On April 23 (1918) he said at a session of the Moscow Soviet: On November 25, The New "Our backwardness has pushed York Times published a letter us forward, and we shall perish signed by John Stuart Hamilton if we cannot hold out until we which begins with the words: meet a mighty support on the "Leon Trotsky's letter in The part of the insurrectionary work-

"For us it is easy to begin a cusation. You will permit me, I revolution and harder to continue is watching with considerable to unmask in passing some of the west it is harder to begin a

THE DEWEY COMMISSION

Daladier seeks to kill two birds taken of the question as to how that Prosecutor Vyshinsky intro- evils among themselves, if they inites and Gamarnikites." with one stone in his order abol- and why Stalin and company duced the 1915 quotation in his seek seriously to study the reaishing the shop steward system: broke with the tradition of Bol- indictment against me and oth-

the Commission of Dd. John Dew- most advanced countries? No, ow the shop committees became there was no break whatsoever, John Dewey and his collaborators shows that the proletarian the embryo Soviets in 1936. It is Mr. Hamilton takes the follow- in the sphere of philosophy and strength of one country alone this eventuality that he tries to ing quotation from Lenin's ar- politics, that is precisely the case can overthrow the bourgeoisie of ticle written in 1915: ". . . The with me, but there is scarcely one that country. But for the final system is indicated by two other and organized its own socialist ters. His collaborators: Professor this, the united strength of the decrees of the Daladier govern- production, would confront the Edward Alsworth Ross, John proletarians in several of the ment. All industrial workers have rest of the capitalist world, at- Chamberlain, Suzanne LaFol- most advanced countries is need- pany hired an extra force of With steel operations up to 94 motion leading branch comrades anybody, instead of seeing in it of their wages to a war chest, classes of other countries. . " of high intellectual and moral Stalin. New York: International and 40 per cent of all overtime is and so on. These lines express qualifications. A more authorita- Publishers, 1928. pp. 52-53.)

"Lenin's article (1915) . . . can be taken to mean that social- changed this explanation to read means for the development of it will be completed internation- revolution." Thus during the

of the relevant historical mate- opposed conceptions on the most

. . We are not in the least concerned with the correctness of Lenin's view. What does concern that Trotsky, far from opposing Is it moreover not astonishing Lenin on the question of 'socialism in one country' was in essen-(My emphasis-L.T.) (Not Guilty. Report of Dewey Commission,

falsification of Prosecutor Vy-

Mr. Hamilton thus has only re-

pronouncements during the years The initiative for the falsifica- ture, theater, films, and so on. shinsky but to Stalin. In April in advance that my opponents 1924 in a pamphlet entitled "The will not accept my challenge. Foundations of Leninism" Stalin in Bronx with comrades. Write which its chief, its reliable ally, Can this task be performed, can cialist proletariat, will enter the gained, in one country alone, and York Division YPSL.

Existence of Opposition In U.S.S.R Revealed by Soviet Newspapers

It is becoming more and more sons for the lag of this or anoth-name in this instance is of speanxiety the fate of the union the methods by which Moscow revolution but it will be easier to verbiage of the Stalinist Russian On the third anniversary of the late. The newspapers are filled REVEALED BY PRESS The facts of the situation in of public opinion throughout the October revolution, Lenin con- with glowing reports of successes This drive against the local marnikites" is of particular France have trickled into Eng- whole world. This case is ex- firmed this: "We always staked in every field, paeans to Stalin- party leaders is undoubtedly meaning to the Red Army ranks land and also America, and the tremely favorable because the our plan upon an international with the war news pushed to the closely connected with the recent where thousands have been purg-

At the tenth Congress of the which supply a key to the real ism" and a "onesided view on the tember there has been a consist-Russian Party, March 1921, Len- situation. Hints are forthcoming methods of struggle against Fas- ent campaign in favor of lengthly charged with disagreeable sur-Daladier and the French mili
Daladier and the French miliand an enormous majority of pet- many grave weaknesses. Who is of Stalin's latest policy? ty land-owners. In such a coun- to blame? No longer do we hear The clearest indication of actu- and to remove "outdated" retry the social revolution could that it is the fault of "wreckers" al opposition to Stalin's moves is strictions for the employment of system, among other drastic descriptions of the employment of the crees. This is like cutting the leavy industries. This is like cutting the heart out of a body and expectexception considered it impossible to build a socialist society by a social revolution in one or elements. Not at all. Local and gan of the Soviet Young Commuthe city of Lvov (recently sovietthe Appeal on the downtown Comrades, it can be done, let's sible to build a socialist society several advanced countries. ." regional directing bodies are nist League. In issue No. 213 of in one country, all the more so the streets. At the expiration of the do it. I limit myself to these few quo- blamed, especially the party or- this paper it is stated that in the removed to the Don Basin to campaign we relapsed back into tations not because they are the gans. We cite only the latest in- ranks of the party and especially work in the mines. (Pravda, No-

Mr. Hamilton refers to the fact shoulders of the collective farm- (existence of the) army are in-Protection for the rank and me cracy had succeeded by that that Lenin's quotation of 1915 is ers, but the leaders of the region compatible." The involved and by that that Lenin's quotation of 1915 is ers, but the leaders of the region compatible." "familiar" to me and that conse- and of the collectives seek in ev- cautious comment nevertheless negotiate and settle the day to cialism," that is, in firmly assur- quently I am hiding it consciously ery way to shield themselves. Yet makes it quite clear that there is day grievances that constantly ing their power and well-being from the readers of The New the real reasons for the lag of disapproval of the use of the Red . . in one country. This question York Times. As a matter of fact, the collective farm . . . are rooted Army in the execution of Stalin's Miliukov's paper, Poslednya long ago passed the bounds of I am acquainted not only with in nothing else but the inept lead- foreign policy, that is, the inva- Novesty, (published in Paris) in addition to that vital lune to that vital lune internal Marxist discussion. It is this quotation but with Lenin's ership of the labor force both on sion of Poland! This is attacked carried an interesting interview and the labor force both on sion of Poland! This is attacked carried an interesting interview and the labor force both on sion of Poland! This is attacked carried an interesting interview and the labor force both on sion of Poland! This is attacked carried an interesting interview and the labor force both on sion of Poland! This is attacked carried an interesting interview and the labor force both on sion of Poland! This is attacked carried an interesting interview and the labor force both on sion of Poland! system in France was the basis not possible to understand either work in general and with his the part of the regional leaders as the viewpoint of Trotskyites with a recent "arrival" from for the workers committees that the evolution of the ruling party whole historical conception. For as well as of the administration and Bukharinites. And the Kom- Moscow who stated that Molotov virtually took power in 1936—a of the U.S.S.R. or the character the agents of the Collective itself. . . Leaders somolskaya Pravda warns the and Zhdanov did not expect the lyzing weakness was the inabilfact that Daladier has not for- of the present Soviet power's for- is reduced to a falsified quotation of no small number of other re- dissidents to bear in mind the outbreak of war and refused to eign policy if clear account is not from 1911. The thing went so far gions can easily lay bare these fate of the "Trotskyites, Bukhar- believe the war news when first

proletarian revolution."

By the end of the same year he

elapse of half a year Stalin as-

Mr. Hamilton tried to accuse

collection of such a series of fal-

sifications, The History of the

Communist Party of the U.S.S.

of humanity there is not a single

book more dishonest than this

"History" which serves now not

only as the basis of political

propaganda but also as the direc-

tive for Soviet painting, sculp-

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L. TROTSKY

point of view.

hope, to prove that it is false and it," he said in May (1918). "In difficult to penetrate behind the er collective in their territory." clal significance. Gamarnik was thick veil of secrecy and official (Pravda, November 21, 1939). head of the Political Department

story of the strangulation of the theoretic and political question revolution and this was uncon-French labor movement is shock- touched upon in my letter has ditionally right. . . We always that of "calm assurance", "op- a blow against opposition to the only be a warning to dissidents Stalin-Hitler pact. Very frequent within the Red Army itself! Interspersed with these ritual- reference has been made in the son regardless of his ideological complish such a work as a so- istic reports, however, are ex- press to those who adopt an "ov- Industry still suffers from

> most striking-far from that- stance at hand of this new ap- the youth are to be found many vember 21). ism and hold the view that such "Everything is unloaded on the things as communism and the

of the Red Army, purged togethpress, which now arrives weeks EXISTENCE OF DISSIDENTS er with the other Marshals of the

tremely cautious comments ersimplified approach to Marx- acute labor shortage. Since Septo draw in women into industry ers' neighborhoods. I can't offer in point. The last several issues

dustry has not improved. The party or social and managed to -IF THEY'RE REACHED leading article in Pravda for No- send in a few dollars. Then, with Editor: vember 12 places the responsibil- sighs of relief at the narrowness In a recent issue of the Appeal,

reported. (Poslednya Novosty,

This necessarily made it the without the joint efforts of the by proletarians in several of the Harrison Steel Workers unctioning in times of social unest. AND THAT ONE DISTORTED In order to demonstrate that AND THAT ONE DISTORTED Cow trials. One can disagree with history of the Russian Revolution cow trials. One can disagree with history of the Russian Revolution cow trials. One can disagree with

victory of socialism is possible, reasonable man in the world who victory of socialism, for the orfirst in a few or even in a single would dare to deny the outstand- ganization of socialist production, will remember for years to come the future, the older men voted sons for exemption were detercapitalist country. The victorious ing intellectual honesty of John the strength of one country (es-How much social dynamite is proletariat of that country, havpacked in the French industrial ing expropriated the capitalists capacity to analyze textual mat-

in all Crucible Steel plants.

Join Protest Walkout spite of the fact that the CIO this winter." has fallen down miserably in organizing the fight for adequate relief standards for the unemployed, joined the older men in a protest walkout against company attempts to institute the stagger system. The new men solidarized themselves with the work Saturday and Sunday without time and a half for overtime. The stagger syste mrequres these men to work these days for straight time.

And further: "A careful study cribed to Lenin two diametrically the grievance committee, on Dec. When the management met 1, the company offered a "compromise" to the union, which included a provision to fire the new men at once. Thus the company hoped to precipitate a split in the ranks of the men involved.

Men Stick Togther me of the concealment of one The electric furnace men held quotation from Lenin,-we have a meeting that afternoon to vote just seen with what success. I on the "compromise" proposals. accuse the Comintern school not Since most of the new men had of the concealment of one quota- not yet received a pay check and tion but of the systematic falsi- were financially unable to joinfication of ideas, facts, quota- the union, the officers decided to tions in the interests of the The stagger system resuires these Kremlin ruling clique. A codified

Speech of Leon Trotsky

recorded on two discs; made for the New York meeting celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International in this

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Comrade Editor:

will agree with me on this. I would lay the blame primarily the work. However, the National upon the branches and not the Office is not entirely blameless. National Office. Let me cite the As the letter from comrade Curcase of Toledo (with which I am tis testified, the Appeal in the most familiar) as an example. not--too-distant past has not During the time I have been in been very suitable for popular the branch (approximately a consumption. The headlines deyear) we have most certainly not voted to Shachtman's council-

our old lethargy. Whenever the Toledo, Ohio Appeal bill began to assume The situation in the coal in- alarming proportions we threw a WORKERS READ APPEAL branch. We conducted classes, ions of value, it appears to me discussion groups and the like, that many of the statements in our attendance was regular, our the letter are unjust. I do not be-But our definite and most para- paper twice.

of the workers!

of concerted effort and determin- ers week after week. ation, we succeeded in breaking Perhaps if Curtiss would check tofore everybody had claimed ex- of workers consistently.

rade will be on hand. The ice has been broken, dis- I take the liberty to speak in

I want to urge every branch The return of the Appeal to in the country that has difficulty once-weekly publication can only in solving this problem to try signify for us an unfortunate and our tactics. (1) Exempt only inopportune retreat. At this time, those who have very valid exon the very eve of a world war, cuses; (2) let the leading comit is absolutely imperative that rades (this is most important!), we reach an ever greater number the executive committee, etc., set of workers with our message and the pace and show by example our progam. The Appeal, as the what can and must be done; (3) best bearer of that message and impress upon every member the Red Army. The "fate of the Ga- program, should, nay must, re- vital necessity of carrying on ceive a wider and wider circula- this work.

tion among the working classes. I stated above, the primary Every comrade worth his salt reason for our retreat lies in the failure of the branches, by and What has caused this retreat? large, to carry on their share of any excuses; we just failed to have been decidedly improved, perform this fundamental task. which shows that the staff is fol-For a short period during the lowing our criticisms and profit-

DOYLE CLARK

this one all-important respect: Appeal consistently for the last taking our paper into the homes three months selling from 15 to 25 papers at each meeting and About three weeks ago, by dint repeating sales to the same work-

out of the rut. How did we do it? on the local situation which he I'll tell you. First by establishing discusses, he may find that indefinitely who was and who was sufficient effort has been made to not exempted from the job. Here- sell our paper to the same group

emption on one pretext or an- Capable and nationally known other. Clearly, all were not en- leaders of our party often travel HARRISON, N. J .- The New | ner which served notice to the titled to exemption. After the hundreds of miles for the opporintended to use as scabs if a has chosen an opportune time to of such action. Motion passed rades to contact workers. The walkout materialized. Strike votes act on a national contract with unanimously. Next Sunday at ten problem of improving our paper are now being taken by the Steel Crucible Steel, as an opening gun sharp five comrades showed up. is an important one but in addi-Workers Organizing Committee in a drive for blanket organiza- They disposed of the papers on tion, we must realize that our pation of big and little steel. As hand in a little less than twenty per, not any more than any of one rank and filer put it, "We minutes with enough money col- our comrades, can succeed in con-The newly hired workers, in ain't depending on Santa Claus lected to more than defray the tacting workers unless they concost of the papers. Last Sunday sistently go to those workers at we had seven comrades on the their places of meeting and do job. Next Sunday we feel confi- not expect the workers to come dent that every available com- to the party office for their pa-

> tribution turns out to be very this manner because I know from simple and doesn't take over an personal experience that the Sohour or so, and the comrades ac- cialist Appeal is today better retually get a kick out of it! Which ceived by workers than our press all proves that the Appeal can be has been in any former period. Oakland, Calif.

WORKERS' FORUM

To the Editor:

takes this opportunity to inform Memphis. his friends and well-wishers that couraging.

edonia Prison Farms, Halifax, and West. North Carolina. Fred likes candy, cake, genuine Jewish pumpernickel, books, magazines, a pair of earphones for a radio, winter

and the work entailed in the fu- chased out of town, and many of ture necessitate an appeal for the people who are for them (esfunds. We can conceive of no pecially the CIO) have had very more worthwhile cause in the in- little or no union experience and terests of American labor toward are all waiting for someone else which a Christmas contribution to tell them how to do it. can be made than to the Beal Defense Fund. May we urge readers to send their donations to our office, Room 610, 19 West 44th Street, New York, N. Y.

HUGO POLLOCK, Secy. Non-Partisan Committee E. Beal.

Southern workers in the Forum, ion town. but I know you must have some readers in the South because I ern workers occasionally. have met some in this town. If you have them here, you must have them in other places in the Memphis, Tenn

South, because they do not make The Non-Partisan Committee places much tougher for workers for the Defense of Fred E. Beal and progressives than Crump's

I suppose people in other parts efforts are being continued unre- of the country think that workmittingly for his release with ers here like to be slaves and do prospects that are distinctly en- not care to build any unions, but that is not so. We, no more than Those who desire to express workers in the East and West, their good-will toward Fred E. want to be slaves, but circum-Beal and the spirit of the Christ- stances over which we have no mas season by a gift or a letter control have made this a tougher may send same to him at the Cal- spot to unionize than the East

There are lots of people in this town trying to organize progressive unions, but it isn't easy to build healthy unions in a town, where your leaders are either The efforts exerted thus far killed, jailed, or badly beaten and

> Several likely looking movements started in this town recently, but they are all suffering from New Dealitis.

As soon as enough people here discover that the NLRB is not a For the Defense of Fred Board whose sole purpose is to help the workers organize, but is just an organ created for the purpose of preventing strikes, even I never see any letters from this town can become a good un-

Let's hear from a few South-

Just call me Memphis