

WORKERS ARM TO SAVE LENINGRAD

Leningrad in Danger...

Revolutionary Policy Can Bring Victory

AN EDITORIAL

Leningrad is in danger. The imperialist wolf-pack is closing in upon the city. Workers, understand what this means!

Leningrad is the second largest city and industrial district in the Soviet Union. Leningrad is the hearth of the October Revolution. The most glorious traditions of revolutionary struggle cluster around this proletarian center. Here Lenin's Bolshevik Party grew strong; here Trotsky led the insurrection and the Russian Revolution of 1917 began; here the first victorious banner of the Socialist revolution was unfurled.

Despite the degeneration of the workers' state under the Stalinist regime, these glorious traditions inspire the working class of Leningrad. Once again, as in 1905 and 1917, the Leningrad workers are rising and arming themselves to cope with their class enemy. The outward signs of proletarian resistance are visible in its streets. Barricades are going up. The factory workers who constituted the Red Guard of Lenin's day are practicing armed drill. As during the Paris Commune and the 1917 revolution, working class women and youth are by their side. The veteran combatants of 1917 are coming forward to teach the younger generation how to fight.

This mass rising of the Leningrad working class is the supreme manifestation to date of the resurgence of the revolutionary spirit of 1905 and 1917. The proletarian power that created the USSR now springs forth to save it from destruction.

The proletarian revolution within the Soviet Union exhibits irrepressible vitality. After all the injuries inflicted by Stalin's regime upon the revolutionary proletariat, its living forces well up in a mighty stream. Stalin, who disarmed the workers years ago, is now compelled to rearm them. The Stalinist bureaucracy takes this step with misgivings, at the most critical hour of its existence, in order to save its own skin. But that does not lessen the objective significance of the act.

The arming of the people gives testimony that the workers' state endures. Leningrad is not, like Paris and Brussels, ruled by a powerful capitalist clique which could oppose the arming of the people and their fight to the death against the fascists. The workers have no selfish private property interests to protect at the expense of others. The readiness of the Leningrad workers to offer up their lives to save their city demonstrates that they know they are defending, not the privileges of Stalinist bureaucrats, but the nationalized property and other remaining conquests of the revolution.

The Stalinist regime fears the people in arms as the forerunner of new revolutionary struggles. But even more do they fear the loss of Leningrad and further victories for the fascists, which would endanger their rule from within and from without. Under these compelling circumstances they have been obliged to approve the arming of the masses. But they did not permit the people to take arms until the danger was poised at their heart. Until yesterday the Stalinist leaders took cover behind empty optimistic assurances that everything was going splendidly at the various fronts. Now suddenly they sound the alarm and call upon the workers to save them from the consequences of their own ruinous policies.

The Stalinist leaders still refuse to release the staunchest and truest defenders of the Soviet Union. Lodged in Leningrad's prisons are experienced revolutionists, military leaders and party organizers, who helped save Leningrad when it was last attacked by Yudenich in 1919. Foremost among them are the Trotskyists. Their presence would strengthen the ranks of the workers' army as the presence of Trotsky rallied the Petrograd population to repulse the interventionists over 20 years ago. But no matter how the Soviet defenses suffer thereby, Stalin fears to liberate revolutionary vanguard who would kindle rather than quench the revolutionary ardor of the proletariat and thereby pave the way for Hitler's defeat.

The Stalinist propaganda machine strives to conceal the real character of this mass uprising. The people of Leningrad, the Stalinists say, are fighting for "democracy against fascism." In reality, the workers are waging a class war against their class enemy, continuing the armed struggle against the capitalist imperialists which ended with victory in 1921.

By suppressing the class character of the struggle, Stalinism deprives the Soviet people and the Red Army of their most valuable weapon. Hitler's legions can be disintegrated and the German workers and peasants aroused against him only through a program of international proletarian solidarity and class fraternization.

The masses of the USSR lack the necessary class organs through which to exercise their creative energies and mobilize their maximum forces. The Soviets, the trade-unions, Lenin's Bolshevik Party, the Young Communist League—all these indispensable class agencies have been destroyed by the Stalinist regime which does not dare to restore them.

These institutions must be reborn and resume their commanding place in Soviet life. The arming of the people is the first step in this direction. The class in arms possesses power to demand and to win the restoration of its political rights and its democratic institutions. The Soviet proletariat is in a position

(Continued on page 6, editorial column)

Kearny Plant Taken Over By the Navy

No Assurance Given That Union Demands Will Be Granted

KEARNY, New Jersey, August 25 — The Navy Department today completed preparations to take over and operate the Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Company yard here, which has been closed since August 7 by a strike of 16,000 workers affiliated with the Industrial Union of Marine Shipbuilding Workers (CIO). President Roosevelt last Saturday issued the order to take over the plant.

The union has voted to terminate the strike. Plant operations are expected to be resumed by tomorrow.

While union officials expressed the belief that the government would grant them the "maintenance of membership" clause, which was the main issue of the strike, Navy officials assigned to manage the plant have given no assurance that this would be the case.

Admiral H. G. Bowen, technical aide to Navy Secretary Knox, declared on this point:

"I was sent here to operate the plant under the terms of the President's executive order. I have no further instructions since the original order from the Secretary of the Navy.

"My instructions at that time were to take possession of the plant and operate it under the schedule of hours and wages which were in effect before the strike, with such changes as had been agreed to by the labor unions and the management. Some questions remain to be settled, such as reclassification of workers. That will require some study."

Roosevelt, prior to the issuance of the seizure order, had attempted to put pressure on the strikers to accept the company's terms and go back to work. He addressed a letter to the union last week declaring that: "The importance of the national defense of the production of ships in your plant is so much greater than the point of difference between you and your employers that I am asking you both to return to work at once."

The strike was provoked by the company when it refused to accept a recommendation of the National Defense Mediation Board to include a clause in the union contract which would require workers who are members of or who join the union to continue in good standing in the union or forfeit their jobs.

The union has returned to work with no guarantees that it will now get this demand.

7500 Sign For Cannon As Mayor

The New York City campaign to place James P. Cannon on the ballot as Trotskyist Anti-War candidate for Mayor, reached its halfway point this week with a total of 7,500 signatures collected. This is the legal minimum required by law to nominate a candidate.

Cannon is the only candidate with a long and consistent anti-war record behind him. The workers, looking for an answer to the war, are rallying in increasing numbers to the support of the Socialist Workers Party in this campaign.

Four weeks remain for the drive and the New York local has pledged itself to a grand total of 15,000 signatures.

All Fight to Defend USSR



Armed workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, like these shown in this radio-photo from Moscow, have formed numerous guerrilla detachments which are harassing and slowing up the Nazi armies, cutting lines of communications, etc., and creating increasing difficulties for the Nazis behind their own lines.

Tobin's Terrorism Hit By Minneapolis Drivers

MINNEAPOLIS, August 26—The Tobin-employers-government attempt to smash Local 544-CIO motor transport workers union, met with further reverses this week as the CIO union hammered away on its demand for democratic industry-wide elections to determine the choice of bargaining agency for the truck drivers of this city.

A parade of CIO witnesses has appeared in the past two days before the hearings being held by state labor conciliator Blair on Tobin's AFL-544's petition for certification as the exclusive bargaining agent for all the local drivers. The CIO witnesses — drivers from a number of different firms — gave testimony to the terroristic tactics of Tobin's hoodlum "organizers" in compelling them to remove CIO buttons and sign applications for the AFL outfit.

A score of drivers appeared at the hearings Monday to give damaging testimony against the claim of Tobin that his union represents the Minneapolis drivers. Hundreds of other witnesses have offered to testify on behalf of 544-CIO and the desire of the drivers for a democratic election.

The claims of Tobin's agents were knocked out completely Monday night when over 1200 drivers packed the 544-CIO headquarters at the regular membership meeting, in the largest turnout since the union disaffiliated from the AFL Teamsters and joined the CIO. At the last reported AFL-544 meeting there was an attendance of only 56.

V. R. Dunne, 544 organizer, told the membership that the local was

prepared to continue the parade of CIO witnesses before the hearings indefinitely.

"We'll keep Blair sitting there and hearing the testimony of the Minneapolis drivers, warehousemen, platform men and inside workers until everybody in Minneapolis, by simply counting noses, will see for themselves that the CIO represents the workers in the industry, and Blair will then have to agree to an election," said Dunne.

Last Monday Local 544-CIO attorneys filed charges of unfair labor practices with the National Labor Relations Board against 43 transfer concerns and four cold storage houses. Similar charges had been filed previously against 17 wholesale grocery firms.

The CIO union has charged that contracts which the representatives of AFL-544 claim to have signed with a number of Minne-

1500 Strikers Picket Gimbel's

In the largest department store strike in the history of New York City, 1500 employees of Gimbel Brothers continue for the second week to maintain their firm and colorful picket-lines. Undaunted by slanderous press reports, the strikers amplify from day-to-day their humor-tinged barrage of strike-publicity, and are steadily winning New York public opinion to their side.

In addition to picketing all doors of Gimbel's store with squads of seven, they have made an especially dramatic weapon of mass picketing.

Assembling at the beginning and end of the business day and during the lunch hour all along both sides of the giant store, the strikers circulate in a long line up and down on the sidewalk, chanting slogans that bring sympathetic smiles to the faces of on-lookers.

The particular target of their gibes seems to be the multi-millionaire, "Freddie" Gimbel, who stands at a window high above the street and looks down mournfully.

The strikers, fighting for a 5c an hour blanket increase, and for a forty-hour, five day week, turn out tirelessly, rain or shine, and gleefully taunt him. "Oh, FRED-die! You can't take it with you!" they sing out. And for variation, "Freddie, Freddie, don't be naughty! Give your workers Five-and-Forty!"

They parade with dogs who wear small signs saying, "It's a

len feet.

The fine morale of these strikers, going through the experience for the first time, is something to remark about, as is the solidarity demonstrated by the workers of such unionized stores as Bloomingdale's, Stern's, and Hearn's, who swell the picket line during their off-hours. Workers from Macy's warehouse join with the Gimbel strikers in all-night vigils at the Gimbel warehouse in Queens, appealing to truck drivers not to haul merchandise in and out of the warehouse.

Picketing contingents in motor-cades have been dispatched to other stores owned by Gimbel's in Philadelphia, Milwaukee and elsewhere. Two other New York stores owned by Gimbel's, Saks-Fifth Avenue and Saks-34th Street, are also being picketed.

A number of New York's department stores are already unionized—among them Wanamaker's, Namm's, Bloomingdale's, Stern's and Hearn's—and their employees enjoy the higher wage scale for which Gimbel's workers are striking. At Gimbel's the 45-hour, 5 1/2 day week is maintained, with most wages as low as \$16 per week.

The United Department Store Employees of Greater New York

Masses Inspired By Memories Of October 1917

Kremlin Finally Compelled To Make Appeal To Traditions Of The October Revolution As Workers Rally For Defense To The Death

Demurrers To Be Filed In St. Paul Suit

On or before Saturday, August 30, the legal staffs of both the Socialist Workers Party and the Local 544-CIO defendants will file demurrers to the indictment obtained against the defendants by the Roosevelt administration.

The demurrers consist of approximately 20 objections to the indictment. Challenging the legal validity of the indictment, some of the points attack the constitutionality of the Smith Act, while others contend that the indictment is too vague and uncertain, giving the defendants no definite idea as to the nature of the alleged crime.

The date of hearing on the legal questions involved will be set later on. If the judge sustains the demurrers (and this is not expected), the defendants are discharged with the government having the right to appeal or obtain a new indictment. If the judge overrules the demurrers, then he sets a date for trial.

polis employers are invalid, because they were signed while a CIO petition for an election was pending, in violation of the labor relations code.

Conciliator Blair held the first conciliation meetings Monday on strike notices filed by 544-CIO against four cold storage and ten concrete block manufacturing firms. The reactionary labor laws of Governor Stassen contain a 30-day no-strike clause compelling unions to give 30 days notice.

From every factory and shop, picked units of workers are leaving for the front lines, joining the regular troops to help hold the battle lines or filtering through to the enemy's rear to aid the guerrilla detachments.

From the surrounding countryside, peasant women, armed with every type of weapon, are pouring into the city, while their menfolk remain behind to hold up and harran the Nazi forces.

STALINISTS HELD MASSES BACK TO THE LAST MINUTE

Up to the last moment, the Kremlin had held back the mobilization of the workers. Up to the last moment, Stalin suppressed the traditions of the October Revolution, appealing instead to the traditions of the Napoleonic era and the Russian defeat of the Teutonic Knights in the 12th Century.

Today, however, a Voroshilov is compelled to proclaim to the workers of Leningrad: "Dig yourselves in. Leningrad was and is and shall forever remain the city of the great October Revolution."

The masses of Leningrad are demonstrating that that is the appeal for which they have been waiting. Once again, as in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, they are surging forward, ready to die in defense of the conquests of the October Revolution.

Trotsky predicted that in the hour of mortal peril a wave of Soviet patriotism would sweep the Soviet masses, inspiring them to renewed revolutionary struggle. That prediction has come true.

In the hour of gravest danger to Leningrad, birth-place of the October Revolution, its more than 2,000,000 proletarian inhabitants are mobilizing arms in hand to defend their city to the death against the approaching armies of Nazi imperialism.

A tremendous revolutionary resurgence is sweeping the masses. Leningrad today is witness to scenes having their only parallel in the heroic days of the civil war, when, in October 1919, Yudenich's army was crushed by the aroused might of the armed Leningrad proletariat.

The city, according to all reports, is turned into a huge workers' training camp. On the left bank of the Neva, on ground hallowed by the blood of revolutionary fighters of the civil war, tens of thousands of men and boys are being drilled by veteran barricade fighters in the use of the bayonet and hand grenades, and in the tactics of street and house-to-house fighting.

Metal and shipyard workers, including participants of the assault on the Czar's Winter Palace in Leningrad in 1917, are practicing sham battles on the Neva's right bank.

THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS PREPARES

No hand is idle. Tens of thousands of workers, old men, women and children, are toiling with heroic energy, night and day, erecting barricades in every street, making every ditch and wall a fortress.

Throughout the city, throngs of workers parade the streets and squares, organizing new fighter detachments. In tremendous mass meetings the workers are shouting forth their defiance of the imperialist enemy and calling for a defense in the spirit of the October Revolution.

From every factory and shop, picked units of workers are leaving for the front lines, joining the regular troops to help hold the battle lines or filtering through to the enemy's rear to aid the guerrilla detachments.

From the surrounding countryside, peasant women, armed with every type of weapon, are pouring into the city, while their menfolk remain behind to hold up and harran the Nazi forces.

STALINISTS HELD MASSES BACK TO THE LAST MINUTE

Up to the last moment, the Kremlin had held back the mobilization of the workers. Up to the last moment, Stalin suppressed the traditions of the October Revolution, appealing instead to the traditions of the Napoleonic era and the Russian defeat of the Teutonic Knights in the 12th Century.

Today, however, a Voroshilov is compelled to proclaim to the workers of Leningrad: "Dig yourselves in. Leningrad was and is and shall forever remain the city of the great October Revolution."

The masses of Leningrad are demonstrating that that is the appeal for which they have been waiting. Once again, as in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, they are surging forward, ready to die in defense of the conquests of the October Revolution.

Trotsky predicted that in the hour of mortal peril a wave of Soviet patriotism would sweep the Soviet masses, inspiring them to renewed revolutionary struggle. That prediction has come true.

Workers Pay Tribute To Trotsky's Memory

Memorial Meetings Throughout Country In All Large Cities Show Teachings of Trotsky Inspire Advanced Workers To Go Forward

New York

NEW YORK, August 22 — Several hundred members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party here paid tribute tonight to the memory of Leon Trotsky, in one of the most stirring meetings in the history of our party.

James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary and Trotskyist-Anti-War candidate for mayor of New York, roused the meeting with a powerful address on the meaning of Trotskyism and its challenge to world capitalist reaction.

The speaker, one of the 29 defendants in Roosevelt's "seditious conspiracy" frameup against the SWP and Local 544-CIO, analyzed the reasons for this attack on our party and defied the imperialist war-mongers to silence the voice of the Trotskyist anti-war fighters.

The full text of the Trotsky Memorial Meeting address of James P. Cannon appears on Page 3.

The meeting opened with a beautiful violin solo by Betty Cassidy, accompanied on the piano by Gordon Jones. The entire assembly then rose and sang the Workers' Memorial Hymn, the song sung in the days of the October Revolution to honor the martyrs of the workers' struggles.

Large banners flanked the meeting hall, proclaiming "Defend the Soviet Union," Trotsky's final exhortation to the Fourth Internationalists: "Go Forward!", and "Defend the 29 Indicted Trotskyists and Trade Unionists." Individual placards commemorated each of the co-workers of Trotsky who fell victims of Stalin's murderous attacks during Trotsky's life.

Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, August 24 — Members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party here, met today in Memorial Meeting to salute the memory of Leon Trotsky.

Charles Cornell, former secretary to Trotsky, spoke on the Old Man's life and his ideas. Art Sharron, member of the SWP, spoke on the Soviet-Nazi war and its implications for the American workers. Jack Wilson, member of the Workers Party, also spoke briefly.

A telegram of greetings was sent by the meeting to Natalia Trotsky.

Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, August 24 — Revolutionary workers of this city met here last night at the Trotsky Memorial Meeting of the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party to honor the memory of the great Bolshevik leader murdered a year ago by Stalin.

John G. Wright, translator of Trotsky's works and outstanding authority on the Soviet Union, was the principal speaker. He told of Trotsky's contributions to the world labor movement and particularly of his great role in correctly analyzing the nature of the Soviet Union, its development, and in pointing the way toward the best defense of the first workers' state.

Detroit

DETROIT, August 24 — The Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party and its sympathizers gathered here last night to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky. A very attentive and interested audience listened to comrade Stevens from Chicago as he reviewed the life and work of Comrade Trotsky.

"Were Trotsky alive now," Stevens said, "he would offer his services and his military genius to the Red Army, and the memories of the heroic years of the October Revolution would again be awakened in the minds of the Russian workers. But Stalin fears this reawakening of the Russian masses and the restoration of workers' democracy as much as he fears a victory of Hitler. And it is for this reason that Stalin had to do away with Trotsky, who remained as the living symbol of that revolutionary tradition.

"By putting a pickaxe into the brain of Trotsky, Stalin delivered a fearful blow to the workers'

Boston

BOSTON, August 22 — The Boston Branch of the Socialist Workers Party observed the anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky with a memorial meeting here today.

Comrade Antoinette Konikow, comrade and friend of Trotsky, spoke on his life and her recollections of her visit to him in Mexico before his assassination.

Comrade C. Charles, of New York, spoke on the subject, "Trotskyism Lives." He showed that the ideas and program of Trotsky live today and cannot be destroyed. He reported the steady progress made by the Socialist Workers Party in the year since Trotsky's death.

The meeting cabled a pledge of revolutionary solidarity to Natalia Trotsky in Mexico.

Chicago

CHICAGO, August 22 — The Socialist Workers Party of Chicago commemorated the death of our comrade and teacher, Leon Trotsky, at a meeting here tonight with Grace Carlson, one of the 29 defendants of the Federal government's prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544, as speaker.

Comrade Carlson was warmly received by an audience of about 100 people who solidarily themselves with the 29 defendants and the teachings of Leon Trotsky.

Al Garber, chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee of Chicago, made an appeal for funds for the 29 defendants and the audience responded to the appeal of Mr. Garber with a goodly sum of \$53.

Clarence Hoffman, bass baritone of Chicago, sang the Workers Memorial Hymn in commemoration of Comrade Trotsky and for all revolutionary martyrs who have died on the battlefield of the class struggle.

Akron

AKRON, Ohio, August 24 — A Trotsky Memorial Meeting was held here today under the auspices of the Akron branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Rubber workers, truck drivers and other workers of this industrial city attended the meeting to honor the memory of the founder of the Fourth International.

The principal speaker was Comrade McLean of Youngstown. A recording of Trotsky's famous speech delivered by wire in 1938 to the New York mass meeting on the founding of the Fourth International was a feature of the meeting.

Reading

READING, Pa., August 24 — The Reading Local of the Socialist Workers Party held an inspiring meeting this afternoon in commemoration of the life and work of Leon Trotsky.

John G. Wright, translator of Trotsky's writings, described Trotsky's monumental contributions to the world working class and the imperishable ideas which he bequeathed the revolutionary workers to guide them toward the goal of world socialism.

Memorial Telegrams Sent To Natalia Sedov Trotsky

From New York:

The Memorial Meeting held in New York to honor the memory of Leon Trotsky, genius of the proletarian revolution, extends its comradesly solidarity to you. We shall strive to stand shoulder to shoulder with you in the fight to realize our Old Man's exhortation to go forward. Forward to the world socialist society.

From Minneapolis:

One hundred comrades and friends, gathered tonight in memorial meeting for Comrade Trotsky, send you our greetings. On this first anniversary of the death of our comrade and teacher we are more certain than ever that his immortal program, his inspiring example, will lead the workers of the world to victory. As he taught us we are fighting the capitalist foe, we are defending the Soviet Union by continuing the class struggle on every front. Out of the crucible of this war will come the Socialist world for which Trotsky lived and died. One year after Trotsky's death his comrades and friends here are indicted by the Federal Government for honoring his ideas. That is the testimony of the class enemy that although Trotsky is gone Trotskyism lives and advances toward the final triumph. We share with you the saddest thoughts of this day. But we also have the consolation that we still have with us not only Trotsky's ideas but also you, his loyal companion. We fervently hope that you will continue to be with us for many years, for you are our closest link to the great friend whose memory we honor tonight.

Chicago

CHICAGO, August 22 — The Socialist Workers Party of Chicago commemorated the death of our comrade and teacher, Leon Trotsky, at a meeting here tonight with Grace Carlson, one of the 29 defendants of the Federal government's prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544, as speaker.

Chicago

CHICAGO, August 22 — The Socialist Workers Party of Chicago commemorated the death of our comrade and teacher, Leon Trotsky, at a meeting here tonight with Grace Carlson, one of the 29 defendants of the Federal government's prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544, as speaker.

Comrade Carlson was warmly received by an audience of about 100 people who solidarily themselves with the 29 defendants and the teachings of Leon Trotsky.

Al Garber, chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee of Chicago, made an appeal for funds for the 29 defendants and the audience responded to the appeal of Mr. Garber with a goodly sum of \$53.

Clarence Hoffman, bass baritone of Chicago, sang the Workers Memorial Hymn in commemoration of Comrade Trotsky and for all revolutionary martyrs who have died on the battlefield of the class struggle.

The following telegram was sent to Natalia Trotsky: "On this first anniversary of the death of our great leader and comrade, Leon Trotsky, we re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle for the great principles, for which he lived and died. We are confident as he was in the victory of the world working class."

Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, August 22 — Militant workers of this steel town tonight paid tribute to the memory of Leon Trotsky at the Trotsky Memorial Meeting held by the Youngstown Branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

Comrade Wilson of Cleveland spoke on the revolutionary life and work of Trotsky, stating:

"We shall carry on the fight led and organized by our great teacher, Trotsky, who taught us how to fight and who organized the Fourth International—the instrument that will lead the masses of the world in their struggle for emancipation."

The gathering sent a telegram to Natalia Trotsky pledging anew the devotion of the revolutionary Youngstown workers to the cause for which Trotsky fought and died.

Mass Picketing At Gimbel's



Part of the mass picket line of 1500 Gimbel workers, on strike for a 40-hour 5-day week and a five-cent an hour increase. Present hours are 45 per week, with coolie wages of \$16 per week.

CP-Hillmanite Clash Faces UE Convention

Unprincipled Fight For Union Control Is Only Issue Between Both Pro-War Groups

The Seventh Annual Convention of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE), starting Labor Day at Camden, New Jersey, will bring to a climax an unprincipled fight between the Stalinists and the Hillmanites for control of the union.

This convention is important because it will clearly show the effect of the pro-war change of line of the Stalinists on their trade-union policies. The Stalinists are a powerful force in the UERMW, one of the fastest growing CIO unions and they will be contending for control with the Hillmanite group of James B. Carey, present UERMW president.

During the People's Front period prior to the Stalin-Hitler pact, Carey and the Stalinists worked together in suppressing rank-and-file militancy. After the signing of the pact, the Stalinists, with their isolationist policies, came into conflict with Carey's pro-war sentiments.

Carey precipitated an open break with the Stalinists by publicly sanctioning a motion, passed by a local, which called for barring of communists from holding office in the union. The Stalinist-dominated General Executive Board answered Carey by ruling such motions unconstitutional.

The Carey forces have been pushing anti-communist motions in the locals in preparation for the convention, where they will seek to shove through a constitutional amendment barring communists from union office.

The Stalinists and Carey came into further conflict, before the recent Stalinist turn, over Carey's acceptance of a post on the employer-dominated National Defense Mediation Board. When Carey attempted to slip a phoney NDMB agreement over on the Phelps-Dodge strikers at Bayway, New Jersey, the Stalinists attacked him as a boss's stooge and demanded his resignation from the NDMB. Today, with their pro-war line, the Stalinists will not raise this vital issue at the convention.

In reality, the Stalinists and the Careytes are now in essential agreement on all basic issues. Nevertheless, Carey fears the Stalinists as rivals for posts and control, and he is using the unpopularity of the Stalinists in the shops, due to their cynical flip-flops, to drive them out of positions of influence and to consolidate his own personal control.

The rank-and-file union militants recognize, however, that the attempt to bar Stalinists is aimed in the long run against the genuine militants and anti-war elements in the union.

In several local unions where the members have had the chance to express themselves, they have rejected overwhelmingly Carey's red-baiting amendment. Resolutions endorsing Carey for reelection as international president have been rejected in some locals, although the Stalinists did not express themselves on this issue.

The sole argument raised by the Stalinists against Carey is "factionalism," the point they raised in attacking the Carey-inspired "Inter-local Trade Union Progressive Committee" of District 4. They do not attack the truthfulness of the statements of Carey, with which they are in ab-

solvent agreement. They wish to tie the union to the bosses' war machine, stifle its militancy and make it an appendage of the government agencies like the Mediation Board.

A progressive program would oppose all collaboration with the government agencies and demand that no union officials serve on the government-employer boards. It would reaffirm the right of the workers to strike. It would answer the problem of priorities unemployment with the demand for expropriation of the war industries and their operation under the control of the workers.

New thousands of workers in the expanding war industries are ripe for organization into the UE. Only a genuinely militant program and a union free of government domination can successfully organize these workers in the face of the anti-labor policies of the war administration.

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.

Kearny Shipyard Strikers Help Newark Cigar Workers

EDITOR: I want to tell you about some of the things that happened in our strike at the I. Lewis Cigar factory in Newark, N. J., where about 1000 of the 1200 people are girls.

We have been trying to organize for a long time into Local 302-CIO Union. It has been pretty bad in the plant. Some of the workers getting as little as \$12 a week or 30c an hour. The place is dirty, full of rats and roaches. The girls don't even want to use the toilets. The bosses and the foremen always tried to scare us away from joining a real union. They would come around and ask us if we had joined the CIO union.

Finally the workers in different departments signed cards for the union and we sent a committee to talk to the boss. The bosses wouldn't have anything to do with the union at all. The only thing left for us to do was to go on strike.

About 5 o'clock in the morning we had a bunch of the union workers come down to keep the other workers from going into the plant. The place was surrounded by cops, in radio patrol cars, on foot and on horses. The cops on the horses were the worst of them all because they tried to scare the workers on the picket line by rid-

ing up on the sidewalks. We could have stopped most of the workers from going into the plant but the cops took the scabs by the arm and hustled them through the door. About 150 scabs got through out of 1200 workers. The cops were very mean, they slapped and pushed the pickets around. They picked on the girls and the women more.

One of the girls told a mounted cop that he was only a servant of the public and he pulled her out of line and slapped her face. Another girl tried to stop a scab from going through the picket line. A mounted cop pushed his horse against the picket line so our girl slapped the horse's nose to get him away from her. The cop cursed her, leaned over and hit her on top of the head with a blackjack. She was knocked down and lay in the street unconscious. The cops wouldn't let us get near her but let her lay there. Finally one of our boys got to her and tried to help her. Then the cops took her away in the pie-wagon. There were about 10 or 11 arrested. In the jailhouse they put 4 girls in a cell together but as one of them told me later, "we weren't afraid and joked and sang until they let us out. Then we went back to the picket line."

The workers were terribly mad by now, all of us, because we knew that the cops were on the bosses' side and that they would try to break our strike. So we sent a committee to the headquarters of the Shipyard Workers

War Chest At 90% As Drive Reaches End

By JAMES P. CANNON National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

The campaign for our Party War Chest of \$10,000 ended on the deadline, August 21, the anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky, with a total of \$9017.99 collected. Most of the branches made or exceeded their quotas. First place went to the new Buffalo branch with a score of 167%. Fresno brought up the rear with 33%.

Minneapolis had hard sledding for quite well known reasons; they have a battle on their hands. New York and San Francisco are tied at 83%. The inability of these three branches, which had heavy quotas, to reach the goal, accounts for the 90% windup of the campaign instead of the 100% or better which is more or less the rule on all Trotskyist undertakings.

Contributions This Week			
Los Angeles	.....	\$150.00	
New York City	.....	181.00	
Seattle	.....	10.00	
Milwaukee	.....	9.00	
New Haven	.....	5.00	
Minneapolis	.....	4.60	
Rochester	.....	1.00	
TOTALS	.....	\$319.60	

\$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	%
BUFFALO	\$ 60.00	\$ 100.00	167
READING	25.00	36.30	153
SEATTLE	25.00	36.00	144
CLEVELAND	150.00	186.50	124
BALTIMORE	10.00	12.00	120
AKRON	50.00	60.00	120
BOSTON	350.00	403.75	115
LOS ANGELES	500.00	545.50	109
ST. PAUL	300.00	325.80	108
ALBANY	25.00	27.00	108
YOUNGSTOWN	150.00	160.00	107
QUAKERTOWN	25.00	26.00	104
FLINT	200.00	207.00	103
CHICAGO	1200.00	1238.12	103
ROCHESTER	50.00	51.00	102
NEW HAVEN	50.00	51.00	102
San Diego	100.00	100.00	100
Portland	30.00	30.00	100
St. Louis	25.00	25.00	100
Toledo	10.00	10.00	100
Detroit	500.00	500.00	100
Louisiana	25.00	25.00	100
Newark	500.00	500.00	100
Philadelphia	125.00	125.00	100
Pittsburgh	40.00	40.00	100
Milwaukee	55.00	55.00	100
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	908.83	83
New York City	2500.00	2066.08	83
South Chicago	125.00	95.00	76
Texas	20.00	10.00	50
Minneapolis	1200.00	588.56	49
Fresno	30.00	10.00	33
MEMBERS-AT-LARGE	475.00	511.30	108
TOTALS	\$10,000.00	\$9017.99	90%

Union who are also on strike at the Federal Shipyard in Kearny. We told them we needed some help.

In a little while several carloads of shipyard workers came down to our picket line. We all were glad to see them there, the girls cheered when they showed up. Most of the cops moved over to the other side of the street when these men started to march in our picket line. Everybody had a new spirit and we shouted to the scabs to come down. Either the bosses got scared or the scabs when they saw that now we meant business and we could fight back if we had to. About 12 o'clock all the scabs came out of the plant.

We sang and marched on the picket line until about 6 o'clock, then most of us went home but first we left an all night picket guard to watch the plant to see that no scabs could come in.

Saturday morning we had a big picket line and the shipyard workers were in the line to help us again. There was no trouble from the cops or the scabs this time. The cops acted a lot different with the shipyard workers there.

After 12 o'clock we had a meeting of all the workers in a hall. The President of the Shipyard Workers Union spoke to us and

In NEWARK, N. J. Buy the MILITANT at Cohen's Confectionery, 11 SPRINGFIELD AVE near Court House.

In AKRON, O. the MILITANT may be obtained at: NEWS EXCHANGE, 51 S. Main St. PORTAGE CIGARS, cor. Howard & West Market

For the truth about how Negroes are treated by the Jim Crow Officer caste, READ 'The Negro and the U. S. Army' By EUGENE VARLIN 29 page pamphlet . . . 5c PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York, N. Y. Also obtainable through all Branch literature agents of the Socialist Workers Party.

TROTSKYISM LIVES - by J. P. Cannon

Comrade Chairman and Comrades:

In his theoretical elucidation of the post-Lenin reaction in Russia which swept the Stalinist bureaucracy into power, Comrade Trotsky referred to the history of revolutions and derived his thesis from that history. Revolutions throughout history, in the ebb and flow of history, have always been followed by counter-revolutions, but the counter-revolution has never succeeded in throwing society back to the original point of departure of the revolution. Every revolution has signified a permanent advance of mankind's social organization. Trotsky never departed from this thesis, but reiterated it at every new turn of events.

The reaction against the great French bourgeois revolution which, after Napoleon, went even so far as the restoration for a time of the monarchy, never succeeded in restoring feudal property relations, and consequently the revolution remained essentially victorious in spite of the long sweep of reaction against it. Capitalism was firmly established by the initial victory of the bourgeois revolution.

Here in America there was a tremendous reaction against our second revolution in the Sixties, the revolution which overthrew chattel slavery. The reaction in the South went a long way in the years and decades following the military victory of the bourgeois North. The emancipated Negroes were virtually deprived of all political and social rights. But the reaction never went back so far as to restore private property in human beings which had been destroyed by the revolutionary victory of the Northern armies. Chattel slavery was not restored.

If we keep these historical facts and this thesis in mind, we can see more clearly beneath the superficial appearance of things and understand what is taking place in the Soviet Union, what is taking place in the world. Reaction set in against the Russian revolution about 1923. The terrible event that we commemorate tonight, the assassination of the great leader of the Russian revolution, was itself a product of that reaction, which is still sweeping the world today. But if we keep our theory in mind, if we understand the teachings of all the great Marxists that the march of history, in spite of everything, is forward and not backward, we can find our bearings even in these heavy days. And only we can do it.

REACTION OF 1917 REPEATED TODAY

In many respects one can find a certain analogy between events that are unfolding today, and those of 24 years ago this summer, when it seemed, indeed, that the blackest time had come. The World War had been raging in Europe for three years, devouring men by the million on the bloody battle-fields of the war. The apparently invincible conquering army of the German Kaiser was then, like Hitler's army today, in occupation of the Ukraine. A stalemate had come in the war of the imperialist powers, and they poured out the blood of a million men in the madness of Verdun in an attempt to break it. The United States had formally entered the war and the mad, patriotic mob spirit was running rampant in this country. Raids on radical labor organizations were taking place and the Department of Justice, under the same J. Edgar Hoover who is framing us today, was preparing the indictments against the IWW which were to be announced in the early part of September.

Then, out of the night of that black reaction, that time of desperation, a few months later came the brightest light the world had ever seen—the light of the October revolution in Russia. Since that time we have lived by that light. And the whole world, friends and foes, whether they liked it or not, have also lived under the sign of the Russian revolution of 1917. With that victory of the workers under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, the world revolutionary movement came to life again. The movement which had been beaten into the dust by the war and the capitulations and the betrayals of all the traditional leaders—then as now—the world revolutionary movement rose again, raised its head and began to recruit a whole new army of young people inspired by the Russian revolution.

We felt it here in this country. We began again on one fundamental premise, established and demonstrated in Russia: that the way out of the madness of capitalist war is by the revolutionary victory of the workers; that the workers can and will accomplish that victory and free the world, not only from war, but from the horrible, decaying system of capitalism that breeds the war.

Twenty-four years have passed since that time. Those who have remained on the fundamental premise I have just mentioned—the premise of the adherents of the Bolshevik revolution—they can understand events today better than others, and they can see the prospect of new advances throughout the darkness of the reaction. They understand that the reaction has set back but not yet overturned the Russian revolution. Those faint-hearted, those traitors who said the Russian revolution has been killed, that the Soviet Union is not worth defending, are being answered on the battle fields of Russia today by millions of men in arms. Millions of Soviet soldiers, pouring out their blood, say the revolution still lives and not even Hitler's army can kill it! That is the meaning of this thing that is inexplicable to all

STRUGGLES OF THE AMERICAN TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT

Here in the United States since 1928 we have fought under the banner of Trotsky. Thirteen years ago we raised that banner here. It seems but yesterday. The fight has been so intense, so uninterrupted, so full of interest and passion, we have never had time to reminisce about it. For thirteen years we have waged our struggle, and I think it is now clear to everybody, to friend and foe on both sides of the class barricades—it is now clear to everybody that the movement founded on the program of Comrade Trotsky in this country thirteen years ago, which is represented today by the Socialist Workers Party, is the authentic movement of Bolshevism, the movement that remains true to the Russian Revolution of October, 1917, to the people who led it, and to the principles embodied in it.

The one authentic movement is our party. The hatred of all traitors, of all deserters and renegades against Trotsky and the Trotskyists, confirms it. And it is now certified, so to speak, by the Department of Justice in Washington. Of all the parties and individuals in this country, the Roosevelt War Party, has singled out this group of disciples of Trotsky for special attention. Our organization is the first selected for persecution under the Smith Act and under another act passed in 1861 against the Southern Confederates.

We have suffered many blows since 1928. We have never lived or worked at any time without pressure upon us, without persecution against us, without hardships and material lacks. But a year ago today the hardest blow of all fell upon our movement in this country and the Fourth International throughout the world, including its Russian detachments. The hardest blow of all that could possibly be dealt to us was the assassination of the Trotsky a year ago yesterday by an agent of the traitor and murderer, Stalin.

You remember when we gathered in the Memorial meeting a year ago, when we summoned all our courage and said, in spite of everything, we would survive that terrible blow because Trotsky had left us the program and the ideas and the example that will enable us to do it. Many people were skeptical. But we did survive. Just to have remained alive after such a calamitous loss,

Speech Delivered At New York Trotsky Memorial Meeting

the others, this tremendous Soviet morale. What did they all say? First, they said the two systems—fascism and Sovietism—are so interlocked that Russia and Germany make natural partners against the "democratic" world. We heard such a monstrous thesis in our own party a little more than a year ago. We were informed by no less an authority than the great Professor Burnham that we Trotskyists were a "left cover" for Hitler because we wanted to defend the Soviet Union unconditionally. Burnham and his retinue never dreamed of the war that was to burst with full fury two months ago.

Then, when it happened, there was one universal expectation, one common prediction. Nobody believed in the fighting capacities of the Soviet army except the Soviet workers themselves—and the Fourth Internationalists. Stalin didn't believe in the fighting ability of the Red Army which he had beheaded. The only reason he didn't capitulate to Hitler and give him all the concessions he wanted, is that he didn't get a chance. Hitler thought it would be so easy to smash the Red Army, he didn't bother to parley about it. All the statesmen and military experts expected and freely predicted a Russian collapse on the French pattern in a few weeks. What they all overlooked was the one most important and most fundamental element in war, the one that was elucidated by Comrade Trotsky in our last talk with him in Mexico, fourteen months ago, the element of morale.

In the course of our visit of a week or more—this was, at the time when the great battle of France was raging, before Paris had not yet fallen—we asked him more than once to give us his opinion of the military prospects of that fight. And again and again he repeated, "It depends on the morale of the French army. If the French army really has the morale to fight, Hitler cannot win, not even if he comes as far as Paris."

But the French soldiers did not have the morale to fight. That was explained in an article in our magazine, "Fourth International" as well as by many other correspondents. Our own comrade who was there and had intimate contact with great numbers of French people in the course of his journalistic duties, explained it about as follows: The French workers and the French soldiers, if you asked them if there wasn't some difference between the Hitler regime and the rotting bourgeois democratic regime in France, would say, "Yes, there is a difference, but the difference is not worth dying for." That was one reason for the catastrophic defeat of the French bourgeois army.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION IS STILL ALIVE

Those who made an equation between Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union could not understand the psychology of the Russian workers and peasants. You can write all the books, wise-acre theses, explaining there is no difference between the degenerated workers' state in Russia and the fascist regime in Germany. But the Russian workers and peasants think there is a difference, and they think the difference is worth dying for. They know better than all the renegades, better than all those who have turned their backs on the Soviet Union in the hour of danger, the hour when people are really tested as to the value of their ideas, opinions, theories and promises.

Trotsky said more than once, that the beginning of a war of imperialism against the Soviet Union would undoubtedly arouse a veritable outburst of genuine revolutionary patriotism and fighting spirit in the Russian masses. That is precisely what we have seen there. And as we wait breathlessly from day to day, and even from edition to edition of the newspapers, to see what is the further course, the further fate of the armies locked in combat, we know one thing for sure. We know that by their tremendous demonstration of fighting heroism, the Russian masses have said once again that the revolution in Russia is still alive, and still has the possibilities of reinspiring the world and starting a new upswing of progress which revolutionary victory alone can bring.

The reaction against the Russian revolution presented so many complexities, phenomena entirely new in history, that it was not easy to understand the real course of events and their meaning. The great service of Trotsky to humanity, to history, was that he EXPLAINED to the revolutionary vanguard of the world the complex processes of the degeneration of the workers' state, of the rise of the privileged bureaucracy, of the reasons for it, and of what remained fundamental and secure in spite of the reaction of the bureaucracy. He explained it, he led the fight against the reaction, and even more than that, he organized on a world scale the nucleus of the revolutionary party of the future, which will complete the work which remained uncompleted in Russia. Trotsky's crowning achievement was the foundation of the Fourth International.

to have remained intact for a year, and not only in this country but on a world scale—that in itself would be a colossal achievement. But not only to have survived; to have made progress; to have gained in numbers and in activity—as we have done—that is the brightest promise for the future that this party which Comrade Trotsky founded cannot be destroyed!

OUR WORK SINCE TROTSKY'S DEATH

In the past year we didn't do sensational things, but we moved forward on every front. Our trade union work was developed, better organized, more widely extended; the party became more firmly established with a larger percentage of its members in the trade unions than ever before. Our press did not go down; it went forward—increased its circulation, increased its size, its effectiveness, its popularity, and its influence throughout the entire militant labor movement. Our organization grew a bit. We took a number of young men and developed them into professional organizers. We have today a bigger staff on the organizational side of the party than we ever had in our thirteen years.

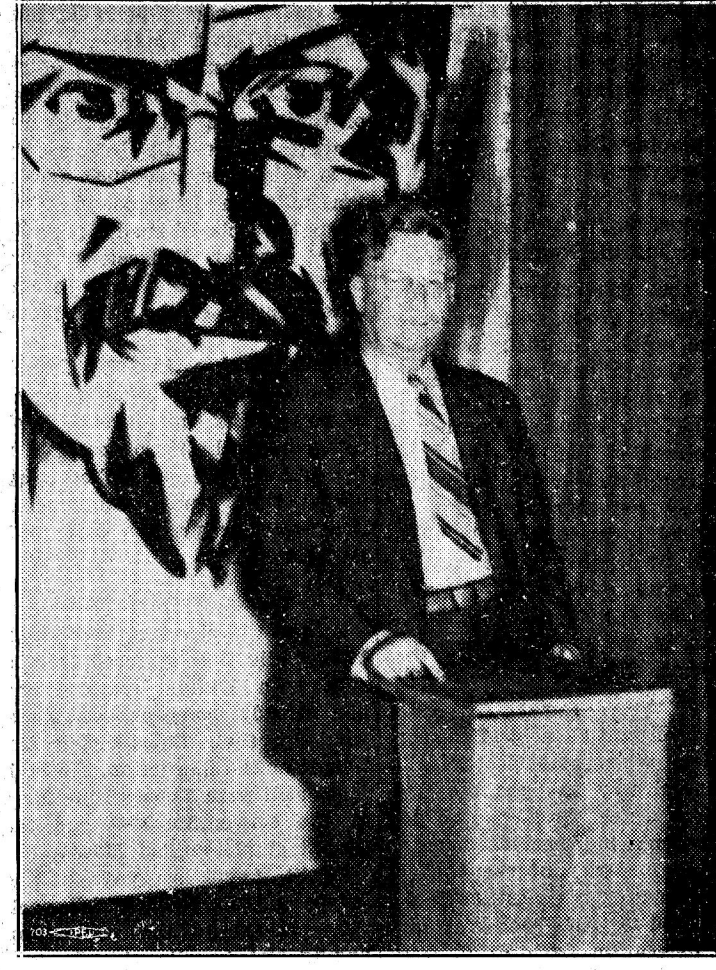
We didn't neglect our international obligations. Bearing in mind the more favorable position we occupy in the richest capitalist country in the world, we gave help to our Chinese comrades, to the refugees in Europe, to our comrades in Latin America—not by any means adequate, not by any means what we should have done, but more than we had been able to do before.

Mention has been made here tonight of our election campaign in New York. And indeed it is an epochal event that in the past year, on two occasions, we have raised the banner of Trotskyism in important elections. In Minnesota the Fourth Internationalists put a candidate in the field for United States Senate. They managed to get access to the radio, to carry on a fairly wide public activity, so as to arouse the interest of thousands of people and gain eight or nine thousand votes for Comrade Grace Carlson, Senatorial candidate of our party in Minnesota.

And now, if we are able for the first time to have a candidate on the ballot for mayor of New York, if on the eve of formal

entry into the war and in the face of the indictments in Minnesota we are able to participate in the campaign with our own candidate on the ballot, we must say that for us it is a great step forward. It may not appear so important to others. If you judge things by comparative numbers, if you measure our party's numerical strength beside that of LaGuardia and Tammany Hall, it may seem a little ridiculous that only a few thousand people vote for the program of the Fourth International. But only the superficial people, only philistines, say that; only those people who see today prolonged indefinitely into tomorrow.

I venture to say that we will get more votes in New York, proportionately, for the candidate of the Fourth International than the Bolsheviks got in Russia in their first elections. We do not expect to get great numbers of votes in this election. We



James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, addressing the Trotsky Memorial Meeting in New York, August 22. In the background is part of a 12-foot sketched portrait of Leon Trotsky.

WHY THE TROTSKYISTS HAVE BEEN INDICTED

Why, in the United States Senate, the other day, in that fountain-head of American political wisdom, you had the floor leader of the Roosevelt War Party explaining to the middle-headed isolationists the difference between Stalin and Trotsky. And after all these years, even Barkley knows the difference. I am quoting from the Congressional Record of August 5, 1941. Senator Barkley said:

"When they (the Russian people after the revolution of 1917) started out, they had a vague, fantastic notion that they would socialize or communize the world; and the fundamental difference between Stalin and Trotsky was over that question. Trotsky, as I understand the matter, was a world revolutionist, while Stalin took the position that the Russian Government owed its first duty to the Russian people... the fight between Trotsky and Stalin revolved around the question whether they should undertake to revolutionize the world or should concentrate on Russia. Stalin won, and Trotsky had to leave the country."

And they would not let Trotsky into this country because, while they never understood the difference quite so well before, they had a pretty good idea that Trotsky was the kind of a "counter-revolutionist" that would not do them any good.

We have been indicted. And the question is asked on all sides, why have they indicted the Trotskyists? Why didn't they indict somebody else, or why did they indict anybody? Have they completely lost their heads in Washington? This is the theme of the social democrats and liberals, supporters of the Roosevelt administration, who want to sell the advanced workers a war for democracy, and are somewhat embarrassed by this attempt to scuttle democracy even before the war begins.

THE OPPOSITION TO WAR THAT WON'T STOP

Well, we are indicted for definite reasons, for essentially the same reasons that they have indicted the proletarian revolutionists in the past. Not because of our numbers, not because of our immediate power, but for what we represent, and because of the masters' fear of the future and the future things. They know in spite of all the noisy anti-war talk of the so-called isolationists, and pacifists, and Christian-Fronters and American-Firsters—they know that the only real and serious opposition to their imperialist war, the opposition that won't stop when war begins, is represented by the Trotskyists.

They had an immediate occasion to attack us in Minneapolis as a result of a trade union conflict. One single union in the Teamsters International of 500,000, one union of 5,000 members, in a part of the country which is not decisive economically—it is on the edge of the prairie, it is away from the great industrial strategic centers—one single union came into conflict with President Roosevelt's principal labor agent, Daniel Tobin, and left the Tobin organization and joined the CIO. And everybody in the country seems to understand, practically every newspaper that has commented on the matter mentions the fact, that the indictment represents a political favor to Tobin in his fight with Local 544-CIO. There is something in what they say. This is undoubtedly the immediate cause of the indictment.

But that doesn't really explain the thing fundamentally at all. The question one must ask is, why did Tobin have a fight with the leaders of 544, and why did he try to drive them out of the union in Minneapolis? And then you come to the real nub of the matter. Tobin is a right-hand man of the Roosevelt administration, his chief "labor lieutenant," and a member of the "Fight for Freedom, Inc."—an organization which is campaigning for an immediate declaration of "shooting war." Tobin couldn't line up the Trotskyists in Minnesota for the war. The Trotskyists are that breed of people who don't line up. They are stiff-necked about principle. And when Tobin tried to put the

expect to put our program on record. We expect to take advantage of the time that is left us between the filing of the candidates and the trial in Minnesota to make part of our public defense against their trial. Our "defense" will be to accuse the prosecutors of responsibility for the destruction of millions of human lives in the war; to proclaim the downfall of their system and the coming victory of socialism. That is our aim in the campaign.

Everything will naturally be concentrated on the question that dominates the world. That is, the question of the war which every month or so draws new territories and new peoples into its bloody vortex. This war is the expression of the incurable bankruptcy of an outlived system; that was the fundamental theme of Comrade Trotsky's work in his last years—that capitalism is in its death agony. The great programmatic document of the Fourth International, adopted in the World Congress of 1938, written by him, bears that title, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Proletarian Revolution."

THE WAR CLARIFIES ALL ISSUES

Comrade Trotsky never had the slightest confidence in the ability of world capitalism to escape from the war or to emerge from the war. He had no confidence in the ability of world capitalism to regain stability. He was not like those miserable social democrats, sceptics and renegades from radicalism. They are the only people who see a rosy future for capitalism. Not the capitalists themselves! Not in any of their parties or groups have they the slightest confidence; they live in fear of what the future will bring.

Trotsky said and repeated time and time again that the war will put an end to all pretenses, to all ambiguity; it will destroy all parties and groups which try to play tricks with principles and to cheat history. They will be demolished, there will not be left one stone upon another. International Stalinism and Social Democracy will be victims of the war which their betrayals made possible. And the "London Bureau," that miserable centrist caricature which made its task in life to fight the "intransigence" of Trotskyism and its "sectarianism." Where are their mass parties? Where is the mass party of the centrist London Bureau in the United States? It was represented once by a clique of bankrupt sharpers who never had any masses but were always issuing promissory notes to produce them in the future, the Lovestone group. Where are they now? I don't think you could find them, because the group held a meeting and adopted a resolution to this effect: that the best thing we can do in the interest of socialism is to dissolve. And that was the first correct statement the Lovestonites ever made.

I hear every week or so about some little pretentious sect that was more radical than Trotsky and bent on correcting the deviations of Trotsky, also, imitating the Lovestoneite example, "dissolving." And others don't even meet, they simply dissolve. And others make peace with capitalism, like the social democrats and the Stalinists. And others simply wither away, like the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas. We remain. We swim against the current. And that is not because of our personal superiority but because of the superiority of the program that we are organized to defend. Because we are the bona-fide representatives of the one viable political current in the world—the current that was released by the great Russian revolution of October, 1917. The disciples of Trotsky are the people who really mean it when they say they defend the Russian revolution and its conquests. Our struggle against Stalinism has always been a struggle in behalf of the Russian revolution and all that it signifies.

pressure on them to be good fellows, to get in line, and to go along with the war, they said, "No, we do not believe in your war. We are going to fight against it." That was what prompted the struggle with Tobin which was followed by the indictments against us.

ROOSEVELT'S PRECEDENT FOR THE INDICTMENT

There is a parallel in our American history for the prostitution of the presidential powers to help trade union conservatives against radicals. In 1917 when the IWW was making some headway in different parts of the country as against the AFL, Gompers, who was the chief labor agent of Wilson in lining up the labor movement for the war, received as his price for support, the prosecution of the IWW. That was a notoriously known fact at the time. It was common gossip among labor leaders that Gompers finally "got" Haywood through the Department of Justice. I was reading Bill Haywood's autobiography again the other night, and he refers to the same thing. This is the historic precedent for Roosevelt's assistance to Tobin and the prosecution against us.

One of the counts in the indictment alleges that we advocate the formation of workers' defense guards, and that where we have the opportunity, having sufficient union support, we actually organize such defense guards, who make it their business to declare war on fascist bands and train and drill the workers to fight fascism. That is true, and our policy is 100% correct. There isn't any other anti-fascist tendency in the whole country that really intends to fight fascism. We do. The Minneapolis unionists did actually organize a defense guard.

Don't think for a moment, however, that President Roosevelt and his Biddles in Washington are foolish enough to imagine one group of defense guards or 29 people were immediately threatening the government. No, that is a part of the frame-up. The ideas, and the knowledge that these ideas can really grow and become powerful when the conditions mature for them—that is what they are really shooting at. They want to put us in the penitentiary because we alone really proclaim the socialist society and summon the workers to fight for it. We alone counterpose to this bankrupt system of capitalism an alternative system of classless socialist society. That idea they want to outlaw.

Of course what they are doing is against the Bill of Rights, against that part of the Constitution, those amendments to it, which were designed to secure the rights of the people to free speech and a free press. The indictment violates the Constitution, violates democracy. But do not have any illusions that because it breaks their own Constitution, and because it breaks down their own pretensions to free speech and democracy, do not have any illusions that they are not going to go through with it. They are not interested in formality or consistency. They are interested in stamping out opposition to the war. They are interested in suppressing people who can't be brought into line.

WHY THEY FRAME A SMALL GROUP

The Social Democrats don't care very much about democracy except as a slogan to dupe the workers and farmers into a war in Europe. The Social Democrats who are supporters of Roosevelt, with a greater enthusiasm than Roosevelt himself in his sober moments could ever display, are somewhat at a loss to explain this indictment and they call it fantastic. "This little sect of 29 people are going to overthrow the government? Ridiculous!"—and so on. They would like to make a joke out of it and lull us with the idea that because in their eyes it is utterly fantastic, nothing will come of it. Well, I will tell you something. If we were strong enough to be a "real and present menace" to the

(Continued on page 5)

Auto Convention Posed Labor's War Problems

Contradictions Created By War Totalitarianism Revealed At Convention

By E. R. FRANK

The sixth annual convention of the CIO auto workers' union, concluded August 16 in Buffalo, served to highlight and dramatize all the underlying contradictions which characterize the CIO movement as a whole in this critical war period. In no previous convention has the dilemma of the labor movement, faced with the governmental preparations for totalitarian war, been so clearly revealed.

In many respects this convention was the most militant and most progressive in the whole fighting history of the UAW. But, at the same time, the delegates at Buffalo put on the books of the UAW constitution the most reactionary provision it has ever contained—the amendment barring members from elective or appointive posts because of their political beliefs.

On the one hand the debates on political issues of the day were the sharpest and clearest in the union's history, the speeches of the delegates showing the great strides forward in the political consciousness of the membership; on the other hand the International Executive Board was left unchanged by the election—the few board members who were defeated being replaced with essentially the same type as before.

Riddle of the Convention

What is the riddle of this powerful and vital union which has made great advances both in organization and in political understanding, and yet has returned Thomas and Addes and all the other leaders, with a few exceptions, to office? This leadership is certainly the democratic choice of the delegates, since democracy reigns in the UAW as in no other international union.

Does this mean that the auto workers are content with their leadership? That cannot be so, since the delegates placed plenty of restrictions on leadership, and more than once voted down the unanimous recommendations of the International officers when the interests of the rank and file were endangered. R. J. Thomas, who was elected by acclamation himself complained several times during the convention that every proposal he made was turned down. The behind-the-scenes maneuvering of the top leaders were attacked by many delegates; even the capitalist press was forced to comment that in the UAW, unlike in so many other unions, the leadership sits on an uneasy throne. The answer to the contradictions lies in two main underlying facts:

First, while there is a great opposition to the Roosevelt war party and to the whole administrative apparatus of the war machine, the OPM, the Mediation Board, etc., this opposition has not been thought out to the end. While a great body of UAW militants oppose the OPM and the Hillman type of unionism, they are nevertheless wholly in favor of the national defense program. The obvious contradiction between these two positions has not yet occurred to the union membership.

Secondly, while the membership as represented by the delegates at the convention, have no great faith in the present UAW leadership, they have not yet formed a new leadership in whom they have faith and confidence and whom they will follow along the path of struggle in defense of the union.

Background of Conflicts

Ever since the St. Louis convention last year, there has been a fierce clique fight in the UAW International Executive Board. Addes and his group have fought bitterly with Reuther and Thomas Frankenstein and their clique. What was this fight about? It began purely as a struggle for posts and prestige, nothing more.

But in the course of a year, the UAW, propelled by its own organizational progress, collided head on with the war machine, and the militant membership set up a howl against the strike-breaking union-busting government apparatus which had been hurled at their heads.

The struggle in the CIO between Sidney Hillman and John L. Lewis, over the important and basic union issues relating to the attitude of labor toward Roosevelt and to the war apparatus of the administration dominated by the dollar-a-year men, had already come out into the open and revealed as a basic issue the question of the independence of the labor movement.

The Lewis group was far more progressive and reflected more

tuted a hard and conscious group who, because of previous political training, propagated their policy clearly and formed a tight and well-organized caucus propagating the full-rounded Hillman program on all issues. They used their training in the Socialist Party to fight for the most reactionary tendency in the labor movement.

The Addes group cannot be said in that sense to have existed as a caucus at all. This group was and remains a top clique of job politicians, whose policy it was never to let the membership in on the secret of why they were fighting Reuther.

Addes Group Folds Up

In the whole past year the leaders of the Addes group took a stand only on questions of job power and prestige. On all the basic issues they went along with Reuther. They upheld Frankenstein in his strikebreaking role at North American, they voted to bully the GM workers back into the plants without an agreement in their recent strike, and have in general been no more and no less conservative on the important issues than the Reuther group.

At the convention, therefore, the Addes group was immersed in the problem of their own jobs. They thought without a doubt that they could win supremacy in the UAW by exposing Reuther as a factionalist and by posing as the great defenders of unity. Not only did they give leadership, but they had to be practically black-jacked by leading militants from Flint, who understood the need for a basic fight, into calling a caucus meeting to discuss the problems. They called a caucus only after terrific pressure.

The militant element at the convention, who came prepared in a general way to fight the Hillmanism which threatened to sap the union's independence, constituted a majority of the convention delegates. This militant element, led by the well-knit and able delegation from Flint, were attracted on several issues to the Addes group when it showed mer-

ely a half-hearted pretense at fighting Reuther.

These militants fresh from the picket lines, came to the convention with a great desire to get a crack at the Hillman program. The first few Addes caucus meetings for that reason were big enthusiastic gatherings which discussed in strong terms the basic questions of the independence of the union from administration domination, and pilloried the Hillman tendency for belly-crawling to the government, stooging for Wall Street, and the like. Addes and his top clique did not lead this group, they were pushed around by it in spite of themselves.

The Communist Party people during the whole period since the St. Louis convention of the UAW were the extreme supporters of Addes, paralleling in the auto union their support of John L. Lewis in the CIO as a whole.

However, any discussion of the Stalinists in auto in terms of two or three years ago is totally unrealistic. Precisely because the auto union has been such a militant union, and because the Stalinists have played such a big role, they exposed themselves more thoroughly in auto than in any other section of the labor movement.

At Milwaukee, in 1937, the CP members were the organizers and leaders of the Unity group which commanded the major portion of the union, and throughout this period they were considered as the great progressive and militant in auto.

Stalinists Lose Ground

At the Cleveland convention in 1938, while they suffered from a split with Walter Reuther, and had already compromised somewhat by their unprincipled factionalism and disruption, the Stalinists still were a controlling force at the convention and had the largest single unified bloc.

In St. Louis last year, at the height of the Stalin-Hitler pact, they arrived at the convention having lost heavily in Detroit, having paid a heavy price as a result of their flip-flop off the

Roosevelt bandwagon. They voted at the convention against the prevailing pro-Roosevelt mood and were a minority also on the Red issue.

Only the fortitude circumstance that John L. Lewis's policy was similar to theirs in opposition to Roosevelt, enabled the Stalinists to balance themselves. In addition, their new line enabled them to attract the great anti-war elements among the militant membership, and made it possible for them boldly to take a hand in the organization of aircraft and establish new bases for themselves as a result.

No such happy accident and no such opportunity accompanied their recent new turn. On the contrary, the Stalinists in auto stand now completely exposed before the whole conscious membership and at the convention their nakedness was displayed before all the informed delegates.

In the first phase they arrived at Buffalo with a line opposed to Lewis. Secondly, their new flip-flop lost them all standing as a union group and cost them their popular support among the auto workers who now saw them as tricksters who were puppets of the Stalin regime in Russia. Third, their numerical strength had catastrophically decreased. While the Stalinists still control a few large locals, they are unable to use them any longer as a base for bigger endeavors, and this was shown at Buffalo.

All of this resulted in great demoralization of their own people and in boundless confusion. The idea that the Stalinists today act as a highly disciplined force in auto is untrue; that is only a memory of the past.

One must remember that in the UAW the Stalinists have not been able to sail ahead as they have in the National Maritime Union, the Transport Workers etc. In these unions the Communist Party had a monopoly of leadership and faced only the out-and-out reactionary opposition, by and large.

In the auto union they had to face competition with every tendency in the labor movement, in the presence of a highly militant

and aroused workingclass engaged constantly in class struggles. Here, faced with real tests, the Stalinists starting with their largest, most conscious and most experienced organized group, have squandered their capital month by month and year by year until, at Buffalo, they hardly dared to open their mouths.

The Stalinists' strategy, carefully worked out in advance, completely missed fire in actual performance at the Buffalo convention.

Previously the supporters of Lewis and Addes, and bitter opponents of Hillman and Reuther and Thomas, they were forced to try to efface the memory of this on the eve of the convention, to switch completely around, forget the North American strike, and try, in order to save themselves, to get harmony and unity between the warring groups. They had the end in view of gradually drawing Addes and his friends to the support of their pro-war program, and uniting with Reuther and Thomas. This done, they would have been able to speed the union along the rails of Roosevelt's war machine. But alas... their power did not correspond to their big plans!

No sooner did the convention open than Thomas rudely hurled back the CP support offered him. Reuther pressed his campaign against the Stalinists with renewed intensity, bent on unseating their delegates and on crucifying them on the West Coast. In sheer desperation, the Stalinists had to trudge along shamefully with the Addes group, the only group that would tolerate them.

At the present juncture, in order to keep their dwindling base, the Stalinists cannot drop Addes and his people, without first coming to an understanding with Reuther and Hillman. Will such an understanding be forthcoming? All indications are negative. The Roosevelt administration, and Hillman as part of it, will not tolerate the Communist Party people precisely because they are weak and discredited. To hang on, they must continue in a way to oppose

Reuther and Hillman, although that is contrary to their whole program. In any case, as a major force the Stalinists are through in auto. Discredited as they are, they cannot mobilize the militant elements with their present line. The great body of union fighters who are moving forward towards a progressive program cannot be won by the CP.

The Coming Clash

While Reuther had a tight caucus functioning all through, and Addes tried weakly to form one, the chief aspect of the convention was the fluidity of the delegates. Caucus lines were crossed and recrossed on different questions, and on many issues almost the whole convention opposed the unanimous leadership at the top. Some of the most militant and well-thought out speeches on the OPM, on government control of labor, were delivered by rank-and-file delegates at this convention.

This militant element, clearer on basic issues than ever before, represented a great positive weight at the convention. With unequalled boldness this positive weight put to the forefront the big organization problem—the organization of aircraft. The insistence upon this organization exceeded the demand at St. Louis for the organization of Ford. An assessment will be voted to pay for the aircraft drive, and the whole convention centered to a large degree around this problem.

The Roosevelt and Hillman program for aircraft is to adopt a scheme similar to the shipyard agreements which freeze wages. Inevitably, the aircraft organizational drive will clash with the Roosevelt administration, and will bring out all the militancy and fight of the auto union. That is the positive road the union is really going to take in spite of the top leadership. Couple this fact with the fact that this is also the road of the whole CIO in its fight for complete domination of the American labor movement, and you can say for sure that this fight started at Buffalo, which began as a clique fight, will deepen and clarify, and in the course of clashes with the apparatus of the

war machine will become the major aspect of the labor movement and its advancement in the year ahead.

The leadership is forced to propel the union into the aircraft drive not only because of the insistence of the rank and file, but in the interests of their own preservation. The AFL threatens to capture aircraft and that cannot be tolerated by the UAW; moreover, priority curtailment of raw materials for auto threatens to drastically cut down employment in auto and face the UAW with a vastly reduced working membership. The aircraft drive will be pushed and pushed hard.

Temper of Membership

In spite of the desire of the UAW Board members to patch things up and build a unified top machine to their mutual benefit, the aircraft drive will sharply pose all the basic issues confronting the auto union today; this, plus the accumulating bitterness of the Lewis-Hillman fight is bound to split the UAW board more widely than ever in the past year. Reuther has the majority of the board today. But in the ensuing struggles, the problem of who controls the majority of the board will be decided by the temper of the membership and only by that factor.

Addes can still be expected to work closely with Lewis. What direction will he get from him? The Lewis machine in the CIO is made up of the old line wheel-horses of the Miners union. In the Buffalo convention, Lewis did not attend and throw his personal weight behind the Addes group; he did not do this because Lewis is a prestige politician, and would not risk his prestige and standing where he was not sure of victory. He sent instead his man Alan Haywood, whose contribution, with or without Lewis's aid, was the unprincipled horse-trade by which Frankenstein was assured a board job in exchange for his support to Addes, dumping Reuther, and making some deals as to appointments in the aircraft set-up. The North American fight was hushed up as a result of this deal.

Such a deal cooked up by the boys in the back room might have smoothly gone over in an AFL convention, or even in the Mine Workers or Steel Workers, but when it reached the red hot floor of the UAW convention its rottenness was exposed and derided and bitterly resented by the militant delegation. This type of tactic is typical of the Lewis machine.

But events are unquestionably going to propel Lewis toward more progressive positions as the struggle for the building of the CIO progresses, because he is staking his future not on Roosevelt and his war adventure, but upon the future and strengthening of the CIO. This may tend to force Addes in his turn also to take a more progressive stand.

Reuther on the other hand, to meet the new militancy of the aircraft drive, will use his new majority if possible to kick out the radical and militant elements, under the constitutional amendment passed at the convention. This is his only defense against the new onrush and the auto union may witness, while it is surging forward organizationally, an attempt by the top group to behead the militants and isolate them.

Know What They Want

But the militants from Cleveland, Flint and elsewhere, at this convention showed the greatest solidarity of ideas in the history of the union, and demonstrated that they know what they want. There is no question that many of this fighting group will break in the coming period decisively with the war machine, and this fighting core of men who pushed Addes as it did at the Buffalo convention, will push further in the coming months, for a program to build the union in the face of any and all opposition. To understand the auto union, it is necessary to understand the courageous fighting men who make up its heart and sinews. They are determined to build. Those who go along with them they will accept. Those who stand in their way they will brush aside; the veterans of the sit-downs and scores of labor battles, are determined that the UAW shall march forward, organize aircraft, solidify their gains, and protect and defend the most powerful labor union in the history of the country. In the course of this struggle, these union men who have learnt so much in the past years, who have developed so far, will grow in stature and will insure a fighting leadership for American labor.

Why The Draftee Army Lacks Morale

Soldiers Have No Faith In Cause For Which Ruling Class Wants Them To Fight

By ART PREIS

"Morale is to materiel as three is to one." This famous observation of Napoleon was recalled last week by the United States Chief of Staff, General Marshall, in commenting on the low morale in the new draftee army.

Disciplinary examples, threats, appeals to patriotism or army tradition have not sufficed to stem the tide of draftee discontent. The flood of protests against the army term extension from the draftees, swelled by the clamor from the folks back home, has compelled Roosevelt and the War Department to modify their plans. Last week the administration had to promise the soldiers concessions, the release of 200,000 men from army service by Christmas, and the right of the draftees to apply for release after 14 to 18 months service, instead of the 30 months set by Congress. In addition, General Hershey, director of Selective Service, has directed local draft boards to assist draftees at the end of their service to get back their old jobs, as promised.

The army stuffed-shirts have come reluctantly to admit that army morale is "not what it should be."

Lieutenant General Ben Lear, of "Yoo Hoo!" fame, voiced the typical officer caste point of view last week, when he said:

"If morale is not high, it is no fault of ours. We have done everything within reason to promote the welfare and comfort of the trainees. If the morale is poor, it is only because the morale of the people is poor."

There is truth in this statement, in so far as it deals with the effect of popular moods on the army. The morale and attitude of a conscript army parallels that of the civilians.

By and large, the attitude of the draftees is one that has been expressed repeatedly by the people in polls, letters to Congressmen, and the other limited means of expression permitted them. The American people—three-fourths of them at least—are opposed to entering the war.

This sentiment of the people is not an alien force operating upon the morale of the troops, as the officer corps pretends. These are the feelings that the men bring with them into the army.

The officer staff wants the "ideal" soldier, i.e., one who is cut off from all civilian life, and who asks no questions provided he gets his three "squares" a day and a comfortable bunk at night.

The draftees resist. They have—or believe they have—the right to say something about how the army is run. They do not enter the army for a career. And they will fight willingly only for a cause in which they believe so deeply that they will not hesitate to sacrifice their personal welfare and lives to achieve it.

Real Reasons for Low Morale

From several authoritative sources we have been able recently to get an indication of the real factors underlying the poor morale of the army.

Pearson and Allen, in their syndicated "Merry-Go-Round" column, wrote on August 8:

"And to date, judging by our poll of selectees, plus the War Department's own frank fears, the American Army lacks morale...."

"...the War Department has given the boys no conception of what is happening in the world, has made no attempt to show them why they are called upon to serve. It has fallen down on the one big weapon which makes a modern army fight."

Life magazine, August 18, 1941, reported the things that the soldiers themselves, in one of the large and typical training camps, gave as their reasons for wanting to get out of the army.

"Not more than 5% of the men in this division believe that the emergency is as serious as President Roosevelt insists. They do

not want to fight because they do not see any reason for fighting. Accordingly they see little point in their being in Army camps at all. There is very strong anti-Roosevelt feeling.

"A second reason for trouble is that the men have no faith in the officers who are commanding them... The men complain about junior and senior officers indiscriminately. They say most of them do not know their jobs. The officers argue with the noncoms on tactical points and are frequently out-argued, losing the respect of the men."

The draftees see that they are commanded by incompetent officers, who look down on them and won't hesitate to sacrifice the lives of the privates.

As Life indicates, the men are coming to realize that this is not their army; that it is the army of class rule. If officers are incompetent, if the general staff is ignorant, the soldiers must nevertheless submit. There is no way to replace the present officer caste with competent, responsible men from the ranks.

"The men complain that there is no way to get ahead in the army. They say that very few draftees are given a chance to take officers' training courses. They say that initiative on the part of the privates is discouraged."

The War Department and the army staff cannot do those things which would eliminate the basic reasons for the low morale.

They cannot, first of all, provide the soldiers with a cause worth dying for. The draftees sense that they are not being called upon to fight for real democracy or for the "defense" of the nation. They see the preparations being made to send them to Europe or Asia to fight for colonies and markets. They observe the war profiteers growing fatter at their expense. They take account of Roosevelt's broken promises, the trend toward repression of civil rights, the secret diplomacy and arbitrary acts of the administration driving toward war, the threat of post-war chaos.

Nor can the War Department change the class character of the army rule, for that rule is simply an extension of the rule of the bosses. The first criterion for an officer in this army is loyalty to the ruling class.

That is why the government makes no effort to assist men from the ranks—workers, trade unionists—to rise to positions of leadership in the army. The government seeks, above all, to preserve the army as an instrument of the ruling minority.

Thus, the method whereby the War Department and the officer caste seek to "build" morale is savage discipline and punishments.

A striking instance of this is the court-martial sentence passed last week against Private John Habinyak, who was sentenced to ten years and nine months of hard labor, on five counts of "insubordination": spitting on the floor; refusing to clean up the spit; refusing to clean his mess kit; refusing to sweep the floor; disobeying an order to pick up some broken concrete. (As we go to press, we learn that Habinyak's original sentence has been reduced to three years and six months as a result of popular pressure.)

Major S. Murrell, judge advocate of the army post where Habinyak was convicted, on August 22 amplified the reasons for the savage sentence. He admitted that the five offenses cited were considered minor. But, he added, Habinyak was sentenced, in reality, for his "attitude."

The officer staff knows that Habinyak's "attitude" is similar to that of 95 per cent of all the draftees. And that "attitude" is the essence of their morale.

Morale is not, as the bourgeois officer caste thinks, simply a question of Prussian discipline, good food, fine equipment and training, or recreational facilities.

Pearson and Allen, in the article previously quoted, draw this comparison between the French and the Soviet Russian armies:

"In France, battalions, companies, entire regiments, surrendered en masse. The world was astounded. The French Army had been heralded as the best in the world. Its officers had been trained for years. Its equipment, while not as good as the Nazis', was the next best in Europe.

"Yet the French Army collapsed in 11 short days. "...One year later an entirely different story comes from Russia.

"There, a huge, unwieldy, green army facing the pick of Hitler's mechanized veterans, has retreated, but not surrendered. At times isolated and hopelessly cut off, Russian troops have continued fighting—fighting so desperately that the Germans have complained that they did not obey the rules of war.

"OBVIOUSLY RUSSIAN TROOPS HAVE BEEN DEFENDING SOMETHING WHICH THEY CHERISHED. THEY HAVE HAD WHAT THE FRENCH LACKED—MORALE."

The Soviet soldiers are indeed "defending something which they cherished"—i.e., their nationalized property, their freedom from capitalist exploitation, their free socialist future, which, in spite of the Stalin bureaucracy, still remains a living reality for them.

The French soldiers were defending the COMITE DES FORGES (the French Steel Trust) and the 200 Ruling Families of France.

The American officer staff professes to "marvel" at the morale of the Red Army. It cannot hope to achieve a similar morale in its own armies. American working-class youth cannot be made eager to die for America's Sixty Families.

The draftees may be whipped together into some semblance of a disciplined fighting force by intimidation and terrorism. But that is not the type of army which will stand up under intensive fire and against imposing odds.

Only A Workers' Army Will Have Morale

An army directed and ruled by the capitalists and their officer caste can never be trusted to fight fascism, whether of the domestic or foreign variety. But the workers of this country must be prepared to repel fascism by the only effective means.

Those means are military. They are blind men or knaves who counsel the workers to pacifism. Those who speak against the workers obtaining military training and learning the techniques of modern warfare would have the workers stand meek and defenseless against the onrushing world-wide capitalist reaction and fascism.

The only kind of army that can defeat fascism is an army which the ruling capitalist class cannot achieve, an army with morale. Morale can exist only in an army which fights for a cause in which it believes.

The American workers and farmers must have such an army. Their very lives and liberties depend on it. It must be an army responsive to the will of the masses, fighting in their interests, controlled and directed by the masses.

Such an army is possible only under a workers' and farmers' government. But even before this government is instituted, the workers can take effective measures to safe-guard their vital interests in the military field. That is the purpose of our military program, which advocates:

1. Military training of workers financed by the government, but under the control of the trade unions.
2. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government, but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.

The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

Is This the Negroes' War?

No one will dispute the right of the Communist Party to say of the bosses' war which the United States is about to enter that it is their war too. In fact, they can say so with the greatest justice, for they are subordinating everything else to support of the imperialist war.

But when they presume to speak for the Negro people too, and to say for them, "This is our war," then they are taking just a little too much upon themselves and have to be brought to order—above all, of course, by the masses of Negroes themselves.

Last Wednesday in Chicago, William Patterson, old time Stalinist Negro leader who has successfully weathered a half dozen changes in the Communist Party line without blinking an eye, attempted to identify the sentiments of the American Negro people with the views of Stalinism.

According to the Daily Worker, Patterson, who was speaking at a rally with William Foster to whom it up for Roosevelt's war plans, "pointed out that the Negro people were behind the war because it was a war against slavery just as much as the war of 1861."

He said, "This is our war. Black America will play its part today just as it did in 1776 and again in 1861."

We do not care at this point to enter into a discussion of why Patterson and James Ford say such things today and why they are trying to round up the Negro people for support of the war. Everybody who keeps up with them knows that three months ago they were calling Walter White and William Pickens and A. Philip Randolph all kinds of names because they were trying to get the Negroes to support the war. And that they would still be doing this except that the Soviet Union was attacked by Hitler, and the Stalinists, instead of continuing the struggle against the ruling class here, are now currying favor with them and dropping all opposition to the capitalists and their treatment of Negroes.

Even less room do we have to devote to the preposterous idea that the masses of Negroes are supporters of the war plans of the government. Anyone who is not blind or dishonest admits that all groups the Negroes are the least enthusiastic about this war that will be fought with Jim Crow airplanes and a Jim Crow armed force. Only among people like Pickens, a paid stooge of the government, and now the Stalinists, does one hear the phrase, "This is our war."

What do we want to discuss is not whether the Negroes now think this is their war—an idea which they may accept in the future as a result of the pressure and propaganda of the Uncle Toms and Stalinists—but whether they should think so.

What the War Will Mean

What is the war about? Is it a war for democracy? The capitalist governments that claim it is do not seem very much worried about democracy in their colonies or at home. The politicians who are beating the war drums the loudest in this country, the southern poll taxers, have never been known to seek any democracy for the Negroes and poor white workers. The British imperialists who oppress, shoot and arrest the colored people in the colonies, are not much interested in democracy in those countries either.

No, it is simply a war for profits, for colonies, for markets to sell goods. Britain and the United States have control of these markets and colonies today, while the Nazis want to get them to exploit themselves.

Who will gain from the war? The bosses in the countries that win will be able to exploit the masses of the world. They will try to disarm the other bandits so that they continue this exploitation for as long as possible. That will be the kind of "peace" they will give us. One thing is sure: under neither imperialist rule will the colonial people of Africa, India, etc., be given freedom or security.

What will the war bring the Negroes? Temporarily it may bring a few jobs that will be vacated by white workers getting into the expanding war industries. It will bring insult and segregation and death to large numbers of young Negroes. It will bring increased prices and a lowered standard of living for 95% of the Negroes. And then when the war is over, it will bring the biggest depression in history, in which as usual the Negroes will suffer the greatest hardships. After that there will be only the prospect of World War III.

All we need do is state the problem as simply as that, and the answer is obvious: the Negro people, least of all, have any reason to say, "This is our war."

We are not claiming that this answer solves all the problems of the Negroes. It is clear that it doesn't. It can tell the Negroes what they shouldn't do willingly, but that isn't enough. Wars can't be prevented just because the workers don't want them, because as long as the capitalists hold economic and political power, they can force the workers into their wars even against their will.

But nevertheless the Negro must hold fast to his position: this is not his war, it is a war for the bosses who Jim Crow him. He may be forced to fight in it, but unwillingly and with the understanding that it is not in his interests. Only if he understands this, can he really fight in his own interests by supporting a different kind of war.

Next week we will discuss the kind of war the Negro people should support, as well as the reference by Patterson to the Negro's role in the wars of 1776 and 1861.

Famous American Labor Trials
The State of Massachusetts versus Sacco and Vanzetti

By Lydia Beidel

NICOLA SACCO
BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI

Electrocuted by the State of Massachusetts on August 22, 1927, at midnight

Statements made by the prisoners upon hearing the death sentence pronounced against them by Judge Thayer on April 9, 1927:

SACCO:

"I know the sentence will be between two classes, the oppressed class and the rich class and there will always be collision between one and the other. We fraternize the people with the books, with the literature. You persecute the people, try them and kill them. We try the education of people always. You try to put a path between us and some other nationality that hates each other. That's why I am here today on this bench, for having been of the oppressed class. Well, you are the oppressor!"

VANZETTI:

"If it had not been for these things, I might have live out my life talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have die, unhonored, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man as now we do by accident. Our words—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler—all! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph!"

BACKGROUND OF THE CASE:

At the end of World War I, upon the demobilization of the A. E. F., a crisis hit American economy. Unemployment and starvation led first to panic and then to unrest among the workers. To crush the rebellious spirit of the masses, the federal government launched a vicious assault upon trade unions and radical organizations and especially against those foreign-born workers who had militant influence among the unskilled in the basic industries of the country. Headquarters were wrecked, meetings broken up, homes raided, workers mercilessly beaten and subjected to "third-degree" tortures. This brutal period is known in labor history as the time of the Palmer raids, named for the then Attorney-General of the United States.

Among the victims of this attack was an Italian immigrant, Andrea Salsedo, whose body hurtled fourteen stories to a New York pavement on May 3, 1920, after a "third degree" questioning by the police. The crime

aroused Italian workers in every city. In the neighborhood of Boston, two friends of Salsedo's, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, prepared to conduct an investigation into Salsedo's violent death and to urge their comrades to protect themselves against similar outrages.

BASIS OF THE FRAMEUP:

On December 24, 1919, at Bridgewater, Massachusetts, a payroll holdup was attempted by a gang of bandits driving a Buick car.

On April 15, 1920, at South Braintree, Massachusetts, a successful payroll robbery resulted in the fatal shooting of Frederick A. Parmenter, paymaster, and Alexander Berardelli, guard, for the Slater and Morrill shoe plant. This holdup was also conducted by a gang using a car for their get-away.

THE ARREST:

On May 5, 1920, Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested as they rode on a streetcar in Brockton, Massachusetts, on their way to the homes of some of their Italian comrades to organize a meeting

of protest against the terror which had resulted in Salsedo's death. Each of them carried a gun, a practice which the nature of their work had demanded for many years. Their first reaction to the crude questioning of the detectives was to protect the identity of those associated with them in the arrangements of the meeting. Believing that they were being arrested for a political crime, they lied about their destination and purposes. When these statements were proven false, the behavior of the men was entered into the court as "consciousness of guilt" and their explanations entirely disregarded.

They admitted having tried to borrow a friend's Buick car, which happened to resemble the one used in the South Braintree crime. This car, the "consciousness of guilt," and the "foreign" appearance and behavior of the men, constituted the bulk of the case against them.

THE VICTIMS:

Nicola Sacco was a skilled shoemaker, active in union organization among his fellow-workers.

Bartolomeo Vanzetti was a fish peddler, seriously devoted to the radical education and organization of Italian workers. He was an avid student of revolutionary philosophy.

THE TRIALS:

Vanzetti was rushed to trial for complicity in the robbery at Bridgewater. He was bewildered at the conduct of the trial and was foolishly not permitted by his attorney to testify in his own defense. Witnesses offered perjured testimony for the prosecution; the testimony of nine witnesses who testified to having bought eels from Vanzetti miles from Bridgewater on the day of the crime was disregarded. The court was viciously anti-radical and anti-Italian; conviction with a fifteen-year jail sentence resulted.

Later developments made it clear that this conviction on a lesser charge was secured in order to establish a "criminal record" for the more important of the two prisoners when the Braintree case came to trial.

Indictments against the two prisoners in the payroll murders at South Braintree were brought on September 14, 1920. From May 31 to July 14, 1921, the farce of this notorious trial went on before Judge Webster Thayer at Dedham, Massachusetts.

Visitors to the courtroom were searched. Bomb scares were thrown out. "Witnesses" for the prosecution poured out fantastic and obviously perjured testimony; witnesses for the defense were terrorized and fired from their jobs after testifying. Snobbish and hatred of the foreign-born and the "agitator" thickened the atmosphere. The prejudice of Judge Thayer appalled even his reactionary associates.

After five hours' deliberation of the mountainous record of testimony, cross-questioning and debate, the jury returned a verdict of guilty and sentenced the two men to death in the electric chair.

THE SEVEN-YEAR DEFENSE:

The more alert organizations of the working class — militant trade unions and radical political parties — sensed at once that this case was something beyond the simple framing of two Italian workers; that it was an act of terror on the part of the bourgeois state against the working class.

The liberal American bourgeoisie was horrified at the crass misconduct of the case. It organized for the defense of two unfortunate Italians.

Two defense committees launched their campaigns: the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, composed of indignant liberals with Eugene Lyons as secretary; and the International Labor Defense, with James P. Cannon as secretary.

The Defense Committee oriented itself on the court record. It publicized the flagrant errors and evidences of prejudices on the

part of judge, specialists, and witnesses. It sought to force a reversal by legalistic maneuverings and indignant speeches.

The International Labor Defense, on the other hand, played every legalistic angle to its limit and went further. It handled the case as an encounter in the class war: the capitalist state vs. the working class.

The Defense Committee compiled a long list of impressive names of intelligent, highly respected people of means and social station who considered the conviction a miscarriage of American justice. They fired the attorney for the men — a fighting westerner connected with a number of I.W.W. cases. To them his presence in court was an affront to the culture and dignity of Judge Thayer. He was replaced by a man whose cultural background did not clash with the judge's.

The I.L.D. fought with revolutionary vigor. Street demonstrations were organized not only in every American industrial center but in every city where there was an organized proletariat. Moscow, London, Berlin, Paris, Vienna, Canton, Shanghai, Rio de Janeiro, Sydney — all of these and more shook with demonstrations against American class justice. In Paris, the proletariat threatened to take the American consulate building apart brick by brick. The names of Sacco and Vanzetti became the tocsin of an aroused working class fighting the bourgeois state.

For seven years the fight raged. Motions for a new trial were denied; higher courts of the State of Massachusetts upheld their Judge Thayer; Governor Alvan T. Fuller reviewed the case and stood behind his class brother, denying a pardon. The liberals on the U. S. Supreme Court bench, expressing a cowardly sympathy with the defendants, refused to stick their necks out and move to review the case.

THE COUNTER-CAMPAIGN OF THE BOURGEOISIE:

The ruling class was frightened. It resorted as always to terror and further frameup. Black-jacks and night sticks, even tear-gas (then relatively untested in civilian disorders) were given a good work-out on the demonstrators. Mysterious, unexploded bombs were "discovered" under circumstances that cast a shadow on militant workers. "Anarchists" and "bolshheviks" were uncovered in every alley. Sacco and Vanzetti were almost forgotten and the assault of the state went directly where it was intended — to the organized working class.

Almost two years before the execution, a fellow prisoner, Celestino F. Madeiro, confessed to Vanzetti and the police that he had been involved in the South Braintree murders. He swore that neither Sacco nor Vanzetti was implicated and although he declined to name any of the participants, the police were able to identify them as members of a certain Morelli gang which operated in the neighborhood of Boston. Despite this spectacular turn in the case, a new trial was denied and Madeiros died in the electric chair with Sacco and Vanzetti.

THE EXECUTION:

Twice, the fury of an aroused working class forced the State of Massachusetts to grant a reprieve, once to the week of August 10 and again to August 22, 1927.

A wild hope surged in the breast of the proletariat. Its sense of power and determination to fight grew. For a while it forgot that the bourgeois state was still on top and believed that the two symbols of working class strength and revenge might be released.

The world-wide demonstrations for the two men were climaxed in a magnificent wave on the night of August 22. Tens of thousands of demonstrators milled through the streets of the citadels of capitalism, waiting for midnight. The police were apprehensive. At 12:19 the news flashed that Sacco was dead. Five minutes of stunned silence gripped the masses of waiting workers until word came that Vanzetti too had been burned to death by the class enemy. The silence broke in a torrent of rage and a bitter resolve that the names of the two great martyrs of labor must be inscribed on the red banners under which the working class marches to its final victory.

Hopkins Covers Stalin and the Moscow Trials
By JACK WEBER

Hopkins Investigates Russia

The significant meeting between Roosevelt and Churchill was preceded by the sudden trip of Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's present alter ego, to Moscow. Hopkins stayed in Russia just long enough to have one of those intimate chats with Stalin—and then returned completely enlightened concerning the whole situation in Soviet Russia.

Since the wording of the three points in his report to Roosevelt, as given in the press, has not been in any way denied, and especially since it fits in so well with the needs of the "Allies," we can accept the widespread accounts as fairly accurate.

First of all Hopkins reported that the Red Army was still intact as a fighting force. The High Command of the Russian army was still functioning well, and this command was in uninterrupted communication with the Soviet government in Moscow. That is all to the good, of course. This item in the report was intended to reassure those reactionaries who were using the argument that any aid given to Stalin would not only be useless, but actually harmful since what was sent might soon fall into the hands of the victorious Hitler.

Even the more recent retreats of the Red Army, particularly from the Ukraine, and the threat to Leningrad, are not looked upon as menacing the continuance of Russian resistance to Hitler. The seizure of the Ukraine by the German army and the possible fall of the great industrial district about and in Leningrad, will be very grave blows at the Red Army and at Soviet Russia, but they will not be immediately fatal. It seems quite certain by now that the war in Russia will continue during the coming winter.

The second point in the Hopkins report is also all to the good. It is certainly clear that Hitler had banked on two false premises. First of all, he had underestimated the strength of the Red Army and its power of resistance. In this he was not alone. The enemies of Russia hoped that the purges of the commanding staffs of the Red Army carried out by Stalin solely as a preventive measure to maintain himself in power, had so undermined the Red Army and so beheaded it that it would prove an easy victim for the fascists.

But Hitler had not only miscalculated concerning the strength of the Red Army. He had also miscalculated concerning the strength of the reactionary forces in the Soviet Union waiting for the chance to strike a blow at the USSR. Hitler had banked on the possibility of a counter-revolution directed against Stalin for the restoration of capitalism. Hopkins therefore brings the assurance that no such Fifth Column movement materialized and that the whole Soviet Union is united in the courageous struggle against the fascist foe.

Hopkins and the Purges

Had Hopkins stopped there, we might not have taken the trouble to comment on what is obvious. But the second point is tied up with a third. The third one is an attempt to "explain" the others. It is also an attempt to lend political aid to Stalin — for a return in kind! What brought about the "unity" of the Soviet Union in the desperate struggle against the fascists? Hopkins tells us that it was Stalin's remarkable foresight in ridding himself of all "dissident" and oppositional elements in the period before Hitler's march into Russia.

In this fashion Hopkins tries to uphold Stalin's hand in regard to all the purges and all the infamous Moscow trials. The Stalinists brazenly asserted after every purge that Stalin had strengthened the Soviet Union, not weakened it. They resorted to the fakery of amalgams, classing together the revolutionists with the counter-revolutionists. All opposition to the murderous Stalin was made to appear as opposition to the Soviet Union.

Hopkins wants us at this late date to accept this long-exposed Stalinist version. He wants us to believe that the present unity of the Soviet workers and peasants against Hitler, is the same thing as complete support of Stalin, past and present. Nothing could be more false.

The Soviet masses understand very well that the hordes of Hitler are the worst and most dangerous enemy to the Soviet Union. Their fight is now directed against this fascist imperialist, that threatens to deprive them of the last, most fundamental conquests of the October Revolution — the nationalized property and the monopoly of foreign trade. For the time being, until this fight against the main enemy is settled, or is near completion, the masses continue to tolerate Stalinism.

Hopkins Hates October Too

Evidently Stalin does not believe his own lies about the nature of the unified struggle against Hitler. For he is preparing betimes, while the attention of the workers is completely taken up by the life-and-death struggle against Hitler, to take all measures against any later attempts at his own removal. That is shown by the establishing of the war dictatorship and the renewed attempt to set up GPU control of the armed forces.

Why did Hopkins give Stalin this political support? Because he and Stalin have a common enemy—the October Revolution, the revolution of the working class. Roosevelt-Churchill have made it clear that they intend exacting from Stalin the promise (as though that were in his power!) that he will not attempt to foster any western European revolution during or after the present war. Clearly also the "Allies" fear any possibility of the resurgence of the revolution in Soviet Russia itself. They know very well that they can rely on Stalin to do everything possible to prevent this. Thus Roosevelt and Stalin are showing a united purpose to aim blows not only against Hitler but against the revolutionary workers. Stalin has already given evidence that he will continue his "purges" of revolutionists even during the present war. In this he will have the full support of the "Allies."

TROTSKYISM LIVES

(Continued from page 3)

government, Roosevelt wouldn't be indicting us, he would have been disposed of a long time ago. If we were strong enough to threaten the Democrats or Republicans or the fascists, they would not be indicting 29 people. Things would be at a far more serious pass, and the social crisis and the rise of fascism would have developed to a point where the transitory figure of Roosevelt would have been expunged from the political scene. The Social democratic philistines pretend not to know that revolutionists who are persecuted and put in prison are always minority groups, as a rule small minorities. When we get big enough, we won't let them put us in prison.

The prosecution is no joke for us. The Haymarket martyrs represented a group no bigger than we. Sacco and Vanzetti represented a very small group. The IWW in 1917 was by no means a powerful, million-strong movement. Neither were the pioneer Communists in 1919-20. All the cases in American history of persecution, of workers being arrested and thrown into jail and penitentiaries for long terms have always been cases involving small groups; from the point of view of the relationship of forces, "fantastically" small.

The FBI is not joking in our case. They know very well that we were not "conspiring" to overthrow the government. That is the frame-up part of the indictment. And frame-up is an inseparable part of American bourgeois justice. Why, do you remember, it is just fifteen years ago tonight that Sacco and Vanzetti, two very good and honest friends of the working class, forfeited their lives to American justice? Fifteen years ago tonight they were put to death in Massachusetts on an absolutely false conviction for crimes they had no connection with.

The most outstanding cases of persecution of labor people and unpopular sects in America have always been frame-ups. The real crime in our case is quite clear. It is only the sceptics, the wisecracks on the fringes of the movement, the apologists for the Roosevelt administration—only such people profess ignorance as to what it is all about. The prosecutors know what our real crime is. They have absent-mindedly put it in the indictment in one place, to remove any doubt. Paragraph 12 of the first count of the indictment gives the real crime of the SWP and the leaders of Local 544. If you haven't read it, I advise you to read the whole indictment in the August issue of the "Fourth International."

THE PRINCIPLES OF LENIN AND TROTSKY

Paragraph 12 reads: "12. The said defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, accept as the ideal formula for the carrying out of their said objectives the Russian Revolution of 1917, whereby the then existing Government of Russia was overthrown by force and violence, and the principles, teachings, writings, counsel and advice of the leaders of that revolution, chiefly of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, would be, and they were, looked to, relied on, followed and held out to others as catechisms and textbooks directing the manner and means by which the aforesaid aim of the defendants could, and would be, accomplished; and accordingly, certain of the defendants would, and they did, go from the City of Minneapolis, State and District of Minnesota, and from other cities in the United States to Mexico City, Mexico, there to advise with and to receive the advice, counsel, guidance, and directions of the said Leon Trotsky."

Count 12—that is right. That point is no frameup, that is no false accusation. That is what they really accuse us of, and that is what we are really guilty of! And we are proud of it,

and we are going to continue to be guilty of that crime as long as we live, whether we are in jail or out of jail!

"The Russian Revolution of 1917 and the advice and directions of Lenin and Trotsky"—yes, that is what we stand for. And that is the only way of salvation for America! We know we are right, and we know that nobody can stop us. No Roosevelt and no Biddle and their whole hypocritical treacherous gang can stop the march of history that is represented by the Fourth International. This rotten bourgeois democracy, trying to crush our movement in this prosecution, will deal itself some blows from which it will never recover. It will be exposed in the eyes of tens of thousands of workers as a rotten, hypocritical fraud.

A year after Trotsky's death we remember his words and we remain faithful to his teachings, inspired by his memory. We will have our say at the trial to Messrs. Roosevelt and Biddle and their war party. We will go into the court and answer to their indictments not as defendants but as accusers, accusers of them and of the system that they represent. We will put them on trial and accuse them of conspiracy against mankind by trying to plunge the people into another war, a war which will devour people by millions and destroy a large part of the cultural heritage of civilized people accumulated through so many centuries.

We shall go into the court confident because we Trotskyists have no doubt of our historic mission. We have no doubt of the destiny of the class we represent to be victorious. And we know we are the only party that can represent this class.

THE ALTERNATIVE: SOCIALISM OR FASCISM

Comrade Trotsky himself had a vast contempt for all other political organizations whether bourgeois or petty-bourgeois or so-called workers parties. In our last meeting with him a little more than a year ago we took occasion to discuss these questions with him—how in spite of all their adaptation and compromises, the reformist and centrist parties couldn't make any headway in this country. How the single party that showed continuous, even if modest, growth and stability, and retained its self-confidence, is our party—the party of Trotskyism. He said these other parties are completely hopeless because they all stand on ground that is crumbling away beneath their feet—the ground of bourgeois democracy. They do not stand on the rock of principle which alone could assure their future. They suffer by sympathetic action from all the diseases of bourgeois democracy and must perish with it. One blow of war can disperse their parties.

The real alternatives in America are Roosevelt's party—or we. That is what Comrade Trotsky said to our delegation a year ago. And then he corrected himself and said, that is not exactly precise. Because Roosevelt's party is a transitory thing which will be ground to bits as the social crisis develops. The real alternative in America, the real show-down, will be between the American fascists and the American Fourth Internationalists.

We believe that, and we are sure of our right to victory. Historical progress is not finished, but on the contrary is only beginning. Comrade Trotsky taught us to believe that. He taught us to believe in man, and his communist future. The memory of Trotsky, of all that he was and all that he left to us, the man, the teacher, the comrade; the memory of Trotsky which we and those who come after us will keep forever green, is our strongest support, our greatest heritage. Holding on to that heritage, we ourselves are strong and invincible. We can face any persecution, we can face any foe, with confidence that the future belongs to us. The future belongs to the Fourth International which has the name of Trotsky written on its banner!

THE MILITANT

Formerly the SOCIALIST APPEAL

VOL. V—No. 35 Saturday, August 30, 1941

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: Algonquin 4-8547

Editor:

FELIX MORROW

Business Manager:

LYDIA BEIDEL

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

"Registered as second class matter February 12, 1941
at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of
March 3, 1879."

To defend the USSR as the main
fortress of the world proletariat,
against all assaults of world imperial-
ism 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. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.
5. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
6. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
7. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Revolutionary Policy Can Bring Victory

(Continued from page 1)

to move forward and regain all that has been taken from it by the Stalinist reaction.

The program for victory presented by our party can be realized in life through the action of the Soviet masses themselves. We urge the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack as the elementary duty of the working class. The stubborn resistance of the Red Army and the mass rising of the urban proletariat demonstrate how both recognize the necessity for defending to the last ditch the remaining achievements of their revolution. The Russian workers exhibit no signs of defeatism. Such renegacy belongs to the petty-bourgeois radicals in the capitalist countries.

The independent revolutionary proletariat is moving to the forefront in the Soviet Union on the wave of a resurgent revolutionary tide. This class movement imparts a new dynamic force to the defense of the workers' state. This can be the beginning of the renewal of the Russian Revolution.

The defeats to date are by no means decisive. Victory can be won by the Soviet workers with the following program:

1. Release all pro-Soviet prisoners in Stalin's jails and concentration camps, and restore them to their rightful place in the armed forces.
2. Restore the democratic institutions of the working class, including the Soviets and trade-unions, and give full political freedom to all pro-Soviet parties.
3. Return to the international proletarian revolutionary course of Lenin and Trotsky.
4. Unfurl the banner of struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe.
5. Down with Stalin's ruinous policies! No faith in imperialist alliances! Rely upon the independent power, revolutionary policy and democratic institutions of the Soviet workers and the Red Army. In alliance with the international working class they can save Leningrad, hurl back the fascists, drive out the Stalinist bureaucracy and sweep capitalism off the face of the earth.

Who Profits At Kearny?

It was shrewd politics on the part of Roosevelt to order the "seizure" of the Federal Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company plant at Kearny, N. J. He is now in a position to claim that he is absolutely impartial. He seized the North American Aviation Company's plant in California and broke the strike by the use of troops and now he com-

manders the plant at Kearny and might even give the workers what they are striking for although that is highly questionable.

In the California case the blame for the seizure was laid upon the strikers. In Kearny the blame is laid upon the Company. Many workers, we fear, will be fooled by this show of impartiality.

But let us remember that in California the strikers did not want the use of troops—they were bitterly opposed to it. In Kearny the President of the Company asked the government to take over the plant. In the one case the President broke a strike and in the other the President relieved the employers of an embarrassing position.

What does the company lose by the government's action in taking over the plant? It loses none of its profits. All of the top managers will be retained. Actually it avoids giving in to the union at a time when the union is at its strongest. After the emergency is over, the company will get its plant back and then it will be in a better position to fight the union.

Obviously the employers are not happy about the "seizure." They would prefer to have Roosevelt break the strike as he did in Inglewood, California. But Roosevelt, in this respect, is much more clever than the employers in whose interests he governs. By his act in taking over the plant in New Jersey he has placed himself in a better position to crack down on strikers in the future.

The workers should not be fooled by Roosevelt's action. They should not be satisfied with a seizure which, in actuality, puts the government into the plant as an agent of the employer to run the plant in the interest of the employer. They should demand that the government expropriate the plant and that it be operated under the control of the workers.

Yes, Churchill, You Are Presumptuous

If Churchill or Roosevelt or Hitler would only confine themselves, in their speeches, to criticizing the words and deeds of their opponents they would then come near to speaking nothing but the truth.

When Hitler unmasks the hypocrisies of Churchill and Roosevelt there is very little that is false in his speech. When Churchill and Roosevelt show what a liar and cheat Hitler is they utter words of wisdom and truth.

It is when the leaders of these imperialist countries speak of their own aims and purposes that they stray far from the truth. A world of hard facts rises to refute them.

In his speech on Sunday, August 24, Churchill, referring to his conference with Roosevelt on the Atlantic Ocean, asks rhetorically: "Would it be presumptuous for me to say that it symbolizes something even more majestic, namely, the marshalling of the good forces of the world against the evil forces, etc.?" Our answer is: Of course it is presumptuous. And not only presumptuous but a lie, nothing but a lie.

What "good forces" does British imperialism represent? The forces that keep millions of Indians and Africans in subjection are (to use the words of Churchill) just as wicked and evil as the forces represented by Hitler.

When Churchill pictures the English-speaking nations as undertaking "without any clog of selfish interest to lead the broad toiling masses in all continents... back to the broad high road of freedom and justice" the hypocrisy of it leaves us breathless. The leader of an imperialist nation that has enslaved the masses is not the one to lead them out of slavery.

Stick to criticizing Hitler, Mr. Churchill, and nothing more. You will then be somewhat close to the truth. As for your own purposes, conceal them and say nothing about them. They cannot stand the light of day.

Biddle Is Rewarded

Francis H. Biddle has received his reward for being faithful to Roosevelt. He has been nominated as Attorney-General by the President.

The latest act of Biddle by which he showed his willingness to carry out orders was to arrange for the prosecution of members of the Socialist Workers Party and leaders of the CIO truck drivers' local in Minneapolis. Roosevelt at the request of Tobin had given the word to Biddle and the latter responded immediately.

The Attorney-Generalship has been vacant for over a month and a half since Robert H. Jackson was elevated to the Supreme Court. Biddle, as Solicitor-General and Acting Attorney-General, was among the foremost aspirants for the post. A fierce fight was being waged however behind the scenes in administration circles and in the Department of Justice against Biddle's nomination. This fight was led by J. Edgar Hoover, head of the F.B.I. The main objection to Biddle was that he had been too long associated with liberal ideas and would be too lenient in the tasks of repression the Department of Justice must undertake against the labor movement.

His willingness to obey the order of Roosevelt to prosecute the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO enabled Biddle to scotch these objections, and to prove that he could be as servile a tool of repression as any other man.

In the gossip column of the New Leader the assertion was made that Biddle had lessened his chances of becoming Attorney-General because of the indictment of the Trotskyists. As if the responsibility for the indictment belongs to Biddle and not to his boss Roosevelt!

For the benefit of those who are unaware of the fact, it must be told that Biddle was considered quite a liberal. But that only proves that when a piece of reactionary work needs to be done, it is always best to get a "liberal" to do it.

How The Bolsheviks Defended Petrograd

In 1919 The Soviet Workers Defeated The Attacks Of Yudenich By Following The Revolutionary Policies Of Lenin And Trotsky

Twenty-two years ago, in October 1919, Petrograd—renamed Leningrad in 1924—was threatened by an army of imperialist brigands. One of the chief inspirers of this assault was none other than Churchill, who recognized in August, 1919 the "Northwest Government" of the Czarist General Yudenich; who financed and supplied Yudenich's army and promised him the aid of the British fleet. Churchill and Co. also planned to provide Yudenich with the support of Estonia and Finland. The Estonian and Finnish bourgeoisies were more than willing but this plan was disrupted by Yudenich's stubborn refusal to recognize the independence of Estonia and Finland.

Yudenich's offensive—timed to coincide with Denikin's drive on Moscow from the South—began on October 11, 1919 with the occupation of Yamburg. The Soviet armies retreated in disorder, without almost a show of resistance, abandoning arms and supplies. The situation seemed so hopeless that even Lenin favored the evacuation of Petrograd. It was Trotsky who insisted on a last-ditch defense of this key city of the revolution and northern gateway to Moscow. On the night of October 15—when Yudenich had already reached the very outskirts of Petrograd—Trotsky's resolution to defend Petrograd was adopted at the session of the Politbureau, attended by Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Kamenev, Krestinsky, Kalinin, and Serebryakov. Stalin has left only Kalinin among the living.

Trotsky's defense of Petrograd was organized not by decree from the top—as Stalin is now doing—but through the mass organizations of the Soviet proletariat and peasantry. The Moscow and Petrograd Soviets were immediately convened. (On October 19, when the situation was gravest, Trotsky made a report to the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.) It was through the party and the trade unions—as Trotsky's resolution specified—that a registration was immediately carried out "listing every member of the party, of the Soviet institutions and the trades unions, with a view to using them for military service." Today these mass organizations no longer exist. They are not even mentioned

in Moscow's dispatches.

On October 17, Trotsky arrived in Petrograd. Detachments of tested Communists and battalions of workers marched to the front. The commanding staff responsible for the retreat was replaced. The people and the whole world were told the truth.

On October 18, Trotsky issued an order "not to send in false reports of hard fights when the actual truth was bitter panic. Lies will be punished as treason. Military work admits errors but not lies, deception and self-deception. It is impossible to correct mistakes from below can produce only lies which seep downward from the tops." Stalin's regime rests on such lies.

The masses of Petrograd responded to the revolutionary summons for struggle. In his autobiography Trotsky recalls: "Detachments of men and women with trenching-tools on their shoulders filed out of the mills and factories. The workers of Petrograd looked badly then; their faces were gray from undernourishment, their clothes were in tatters; their shoes, sometimes not even mates, were gaping with holes.

"We will not give up Petrograd, comrades!"

"No! The eyes of the women burned with especial fervor... No, we won't give it up, the high-pitched voices of the women cried in answer and they grasped their spades like rifles. Many of them actually armed themselves with rifles, or took their places at the

machine guns." The spirit of 1919 is still alive among the workers, women and children of Leningrad.

In 1919, as today, the city was turned into a fortress. Petrograd was divided into sections under the command of specially appointed staffs. The vital points were surrounded by barbed wires; positions for artillery emplacements were chosen and prepared; all canals and squares, each fence, each yard, each house, was turned into a stronghold; barricades were erected in streets and avenues; trenches were dug in the suburbs and along the Neva.

But unlike today, when Stalin speaks of "Holy Russia," in 1919 the revolution raised high its unconquerable class banner. On October 20 Trotsky issued the following order:

"Red Army Soldiers! Commanders! Commissars! Tomorrow will decide the fate of Petrograd... Remember that the great honor of defending the city where the workers' and peasants' revolution was born has fallen to your lot.

Forward!
We are taking the offensive!
Death to the hirelings of imperialism!
Long live Red Petrograd!"

It is this banner of the international revolution that still inspires the heroic defenders of Leningrad today.

Yudenich never reached Petrograd. On October 22, 1919, one week after Trotsky's resolution was adopted by the Politbureau, the Red Army and the workers of Petrograd occupied Pavlovsk and Detskoye Selo, and the rout of Yudenich's army followed shortly.

The defenders of Leningrad must not be deprived today of their greatest weapon against imperialism attack—the banner of Petrograd in 1919, the banner of Lenin and Trotsky, the banner of the Socialist Revolution.

French Workers Fight Against Petain Terror

By MICHAEL CORT

An intensified terror is now descending upon France. Last week the stirrings of the French proletariat and of sections of the middle class thoroughly frightened and enraged the German forces of occupation and their French satellites in unoccupied territory.

After 16 months of vain pleas to the people for "understanding and cooperation," neither the Nazis nor Petain any longer attempt to maintain the fiction that their rule finds mass support. The latest expressions of French worker militancy have forced an end to all pretense.

Gen. von Schaumburg, Nazi war lord of Paris, announced last week that all French prisoners would henceforth be considered "hostages" and would be shot in numbers corresponding to the gravity of any future acts of sabotage committed by "Communists."

11,000 "communist Jews" were arrested in Paris alone, a week ago Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.

Petaun followed suit by creating special military courts empowered to impose death sentences upon "terrorists, saboteurs, and communists."

Pierre Pucheu, Petaun's Minister of Interior, liberated from prison thousands of syndicalists and pacifists who were considered anti-communist. This move was officially explained as an attempt to "counteract communist activity among the railroad workers."

This move by Pucheu is perhaps the most revealing of all. It demonstrates Petaun's complete inability to regiment and suppress the workers. He has been unable to crack their solidarity from the top, and so he attempts to do it from the bottom. There is no likelihood that this maneuver will succeed any better than the repressions from above. The "anti-communists, pacifists," etc., even if they agree to serve as Petaun's agent-provocateurs, will work among the hostile and aroused masses. This move can only serve to enrage them further.

The question now arises: what this sudden increase in sabotage. Things are bad, true. But they have been bad for some time. When Germany was battering England from the air, or invading the Balkans, there were no such wide-spread disorders in France. It is only when the Nazis

turn upon the Soviet Union that their rear is gravely threatened.

There can be no question that to a large degree these acts of sabotage are blows being struck in defense of the workers' state. French workers are aiding their proletarian brothers in the Soviet Union. The Stalinists have, of course, utilized this militancy. But as always they are using it only to further the aims of Stalin's foreign policy.

The Stalinists have joined forces with the partisans of General de Gaulle. They have formed the broadest sort of Popular Front. This gives them the initial advantage of greater strength in numbers, but it also plunges the proletariat into the quagmire of opportunism and class collaborationism. Such policies can produce reforms—but never a proletarian revolution.

The de Gaulleists, now so unreservedly embraced by the Stalinists, hate Hitler and Petain—but that is not enough. They love Churchill and they love capitalism. De Gaulle's program is to continue the enslavement of the French masses under the rule of "democratic" imperialists. The Stalinists are tied to this program.

Hitler and Petain are enemies of the people. But to fight them without at the same time fighting their masters, the French and German capitalists, is a senseless and criminal wasting of proletarian blood.

A revolutionary situation is once again developing in France. This time the crisis is tied intimately to the struggle of the Soviet Union against the fascist invaders. The French workers have an opportunity to liberate themselves, and to strike decisive blows in defense of the workers' state.

To accomplish this, however, the French workers must ever keep in mind the identity of their enemies. They must fight not only against Hitler and Petain, but against Churchill and Roosevelt and the entire capitalist class. All other roads lead only to defeat.

Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

Hitler's Motives in Attacking Soviet Union

The Stalinists are very anxious to prove that Hitler is not telling the truth when he claims that the German armies have attacked the Soviet Union in order to wipe communism from the face of the earth. Their anxiety springs from the justifiable suspicion that the Soviet Union is far from being considered as an ally of the imperialist democracies with equal rights and privileges of all other allies. While the dominant section of the ruling classes of Great Britain and the United States consider fascist Germany, at the present time, to be the main enemy of the imperialist democracies, there are powerful forces in both countries, especially in the United States, that would gladly come to some understanding with Hitler and permit him to do almost anything he wants with the Soviet Union.

It is not very difficult to prove that Hitler, in attacking the Soviet Union, did not do so merely because he is the champion crusader against communism; his claim to be fighting communism is primarily for the purpose of rallying the sympathies of all the reactionaries in the imperialist democracies and thus dividing his opponents. Both Churchill and Roosevelt see through his scheme and are not taken in by it. As realistic politicians they are willing to accept the help of anybody against their most dangerous immediate enemy.

What Hitler, representing German imperialist interests is after, is the resources of the Soviet Union. But these resources can not be obtained without first destroying the foundations of socialism laid by the October Revolution. Hitler is not fighting communism in the abstract, but he is fighting the proletarian revolution as embodied in the nationalized property of the Soviet Union. While German capitalism is interested in destroying all possible opposition, whether it comes from the Soviet Union or from Great Britain, in the case of the Soviet Union there is the added incentive of destroying a state that prevents the return of capitalism. Whatever Hitler's motives may be, however, the results of his possible victory would be to destroy everything that remains of the October Revolution.

From the premise that Hitler misrepresents his real motives in attacking the Soviet Union, the Stalinists draw the fanciful conclusion that the Trotskyists who contend that the Soviet Union should conduct this war in the interests of socialism are helping Hitler. In the article by Milton Howard in the Daily Worker of August 16, where he urges the government to change the character of the indictment against the Minneapolis defendants, he presents the following gem: "They (the Trotskyists) play with words about defending the Soviet Union on the ground that the present war is a war for world communism. This is how they try to carry on in their own way Goebbels' propaganda in this country that Hitler is conducting a war against Communism and should therefore be supported by all who are not for Communism."

We could point out to the Stalinists that from their viewpoint the Trotskyists are really helping the Soviet Union. Since the Trotskyists, according to Howard, are attacking Stalin for not waging a "war for Communism," it follows that they help Stalin convince the capitalist world of that very fact. Our attack on Stalin should then be welcomed by the Stalinists. The fact that the Stalinists consider us their main enemies shows that we are not doing what they say we are but that we are criticizing Stalin's method of conducting this war from a different and a really effective approach.

Are we asking that the Soviet Union conduct a war for communism? That would indicate that the Soviet Union should do on its side what the Nazis are doing on their side, that is, compel the various peoples and nations of the world, by force and violence, to adopt the system which they stand for. The Nazis are claiming to fight for a "new order." Aside from the fact that in reality they are fighting to establish the dominant position of German capitalism all over the world, they are trying to shove this new order of theirs down the throats of all the peoples. It is on record that the Trotskyists have always opposed any attempt to compel any nation to adopt the principles of socialism. It is on record that whereas the Stalinists defended the invasions of Poland and Finland partly on the ground that they subsequently nationalized property in those countries, the Trotskyists condemned those invasions.

What we say is that on the part of the Soviet Union the war should be waged in such a manner as to get the greatest sympathy and support from the masses the world over. It should be conducted in the interests of socialism because only in that way can there be an assurance that the Soviet Union will be defended successfully.

Real Crime of Stalinists

If Hitler can proclaim that he is fighting for a new order to be thrust upon the people by force, why cannot the Soviet Government proclaim that it favors a new order based on socialism and on the right of all peoples all over the world to self-determination?

If Churchill and Roosevelt have the right to present peace aims based on the acceptance of the capitalist order, why cannot the Soviet Government openly declare what kind of an order it believes in? And add that it excludes the use of force for the purpose of compelling any nation to accept that order?

Perhaps it may not be advisable at a certain moment for the Soviet government to proclaim that the eight points formulated by Roosevelt and Churchill are a snare and a delusion. But it is certainly not necessary to do what the Stalinist press has done—go into raptures over these eight points and create the illusion that their authors are sincere and honest men and that the problem of peace is now solved.

The crime of the Stalinist bureaucracy is not in its unwillingness to "fight for world communism" or in the fact that it makes practical agreements with or offers practical concessions to that section of the imperialist world which happens to be on the same side of the fence as the Soviet Union. Its crime consists in the fact that it creates illusions amongst the masses and that it has used its power to suppress the class struggle in those imperialist countries that are more or less allied with it in a military way.