

# The Only Way To Defend The Soviet Union

AN EDITORIAL

Jack Tanner, president of the powerful Amalgamated Engineering Union of Britain, on Tuesday cited Moore-Brabazon, Minister of Aircraft Production, as an example of the "people in high places who declare they hope that Russia and Germany will exterminate each other" while Britain becomes master of Europe. Tanner demanded that the British government remove from its ranks those who "desire the defeat of the Soviet Union."

If Tanner's demand were to be carried out, not only Moore-Brabazon but the entire cabinet would have to be ousted. Nor could a cabinet be constituted out of the Conservative, Liberal and Labor parties which would wholeheartedly desire the victory of the Soviet Union. Neither the capitalists of Britain, nor their labor lackeys, want to see a definite victory for the Workers' State.

Tanner's charge has brought into the open merely one concrete case of the anti-Soviet attitude which is held by the entire "democratic" ruling class both in Britain and the United States. Even the New York Times of Sept. 3, in its dispatch on Tanner's charge, admits: "Regardless of whether the remarks imputed to the Aircraft Production Minister were actually made by him or not, they are a reflection of the general attitude held two months ago by many important persons."

The Times goes on, however, to claim that this attitude has changed since the Red Army and the armed workers of the Soviet Union have fought so well.

But the attitude of the British and American ruling class has NOT changed. Their attitude toward the Soviet Union two months ago was motivated, not by the shifting battle lines, but by their CLASS outlook and that CLASS outlook remains the same yesterday, today and tomorrow.

The "democratic" capitalists are basically as hostile to the Soviet Union as are the fascist capitalists. They tried to destroy it in 1917-1921 by financing the Russian White Guards and sending their own armies against the Red Army of Lenin and Trotsky. Since 1921 they have kept the Soviet Union isolated as much as possible.

Today, it is true, Roosevelt and Churchill "accept" the Soviet Union as an "ally." But only in the sense that they would like to see the Red Army hold out long enough to weaken Hitler's forces sufficiently so that the "democracies" can conquer their imperialist opponent.

Neither Roosevelt nor Churchill desire to see a still-powerful Red Army roll the Nazi forces back to Berlin. They want to see just what Jack Tanner accused Britain's Minister of Aircraft Production of working for—"that Russia and Germany will exterminate each other."

When the Nazis are beaten to their knees, Roosevelt and Churchill will try to deal out to the war-weakened Soviet Union the fate which the "democracies" unsuccessfully sought to impose in 1917-1921—destruction of the Workers' State and parceling out of its territories as "spheres of interest" among the imperialist powers.

And this terrible danger to the Soviet Union is being facilitated by the treacherous policy of the Stalinist parties. Instead of warning the workers against the real aims of the "democracies" the Stalinists are painting Roosevelt and Churchill in rosy colors. The Stalinists, by their support of the Roosevelt and Churchill war policies, are endangering the very existence of the Soviet Union.

The only loyal allies of the Soviet Union are the workers of the world. They can best defend the Soviet Union by continuing the irreconcilable class struggle against all the imperialists, "democratic" as well as fascist. Only Workers' and Farmers' Governments can be true allies of the Soviet Union. Only if such revolutionary governments come to power in the United States and Britain can the Soviet Union be assured of security when Hitler is crushed.

That is why we, who have always been the staunchest defenders of the Soviet Union, put no trust whatsoever in such "allies" as Roosevelt and Churchill. On the contrary, for the sake of the Soviet Union, for the sake of the international working class, we continue, in war as in peace, to carry on the class struggle against the ruling class.

Because we carry on that struggle, the leaders of our party, together with the leaders of Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis, have been indicated by the Roosevelt government for "seditious conspiracy."

The government's indictment charges us with adhering to the revolutionary doctrine of Lenin and Trotsky. We proudly affirm that charge. In the spirit of Lenin and Trotsky we carry on our irreconcilable struggle against the ruling class. That was the way Lenin and Trotsky taught us to defend the Soviet Union. That is the only way to defend the Soviet Union.

# THE MILITANT

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## MASSES DEFEND SOVIET CITIES

### A Tale Of Two Cities



## Hold Nazi Army At Odessa, Kiev And Leningrad

Traditions Of October 1917 Inspire Masses To Fight To Death Against Imperialists

Surrounded by vast, heavily mechanized Nazi forces, the armed workers of Odessa, side by side with the Red Army are holding the invaders at bay.

As in Leningrad and Kiev, the proletarian masses of Odessa are rallying to the defense of the Soviet Union, spurred on by the memories and traditions of the October Revolution.

Eye-witness reports from the beleaguered Ukrainian city relate the tremendous effect produced on the workers' morale last week when a unit of Black Sea Marines paraded through the city's streets singing the "Kablochka," famous fighting song of the Civil War of 1918-1921.

Stirred by this revolutionary song, the populace danced in the streets and morale soared to a high pitch.

For almost two months, the Odessa workers have fought and toiled heroically against seemingly insuperable odds. They have erected barricades, machine-gun nests and artillery emplacements on every street and boulevard in preparation for street-by-street defense.

At Kiev, chief point of defense along the Dnieper River, tens of thousands of armed workers have poured into the battle-lines to bolster the Red Army.

In Leningrad, each factory is sending its best workers to join the Soviet troops on the Leningrad front, while almost the entire male population is being trained in street fighting, the manufacture of home-made anti-tank grenades, and in the use of the bayonet. Workers at the end of their factory shifts engage in vast defense drills.

An official Soviet communique of August 26 praises the Leningrad proletariat for "rising as a steel wall in defense of its native city—the cradle of the proletarian revolution."

Voroshilov likewise is compelled to call on the masses to defend Leningrad as the "city of the Great October Revolution." The atmosphere has indeed changed! In mortal fear for its own existence, the Stalinist bureaucracy is finally forced to rally the workers by appeals to the real tradition of the Soviet Union—the October Revolution. Now, instead of appealing to the traditions of "Holy Russia" and medieval history, as it did until the last weeks, the Kremlin oligarchy must speak to the masses in the language of the October Revolution.

The very menace to the Soviet Union has unleashed a mighty revolutionary spirit among the masses. Regardless of the attitude of the Kremlin, the workers are rising in defense of the conquests of the October Revolution.

All evidence points to the one inspiring fact: the October Revolution still lives and fights on. Even the bourgeoisie of the capitalist democracies recognize this. These new "allies" of the Kremlin are increasingly reluctant to give "aid" to the workers' state. Evidence of this is given in the almost daily complaints in the Stalinist press. Jack Tanner, president of the Amalgamated Engineering Union in England, this week publicly charged British ministers and officials with deliberately sabotaging shipment of supplies to the USSR.

As in October 1917 and in the Civil War, it is the workers, and they alone, who defend the Soviet Union.

## Local 544-CIO Drivers Press For Elections

Parade Of Witnesses At State Hearings Demands Vote To Choose Bargaining Agent For All Minneapolis Truck Drivers

MINNEAPOLIS, August 30—Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, Local 544-CIO, struck two powerful blows this past week in its heroic battle to preserve the union against the combined onslaught of the bosses, Tobin and the AFL hierarchy and the state and federal governments:

1. A special membership meeting held August 25 brought over 1,200 members together, once more demonstrating that the CIO has the membership. Despite an all-night rain, the attendance was over two hundred more than appeared at a membership meeting two weeks ago, a clear demonstration of the fact that the union's strength is growing despite the bosses' aid to the AFL, and the seventy federal and state indictments, on counts ranging from "seditious conspiracy" to "embezzlement," which the state and federal governments have handed down against the leaders of Local 544-CIO.

The "seditious conspiracy" indictment recently handed down by a federal grand jury against 16 union leaders also includes James P. Cannon, Felix Morrow, Farrell Dobbs, Albert Goldman and other Socialist Workers Party members. The two big membership meetings—the union had 5,000 members on June 9 when the membership voted overwhelmingly to disaffiliate from Tobin's Teamsters and affiliate to the CIO—demonstrates how little intimidated are the Minneapolis drivers and warehousemen by Roosevelt's intervention on the side of Tobin.

TOBIN MOVE BOOMERANGS

2. A move by Tobin, obviously in collaboration with Republican Governor Stassen, to have Tobin's "reorganized union" certified without elections as the bargaining agent for all motor transport and allied workers boomeranged this week, when Local 544-CIO turned the state labor board hearings on the Tobin petition into a forum in which a parade of witnesses from every section of the trucking and warehouse industry told how they and their fellow-workers were for the CIO and demanded an election to prove which union represents the workers.

The hearing opened Monday and by the end of the week some 175 representative workers had testified. They painted a picture of thugs and hopheads who "got" dues and AFL pledges with blackjacks and baseball-bats; how men who refused to sign were brutally beaten and others were driven from their jobs with the connivance of the bosses.

The testimony of these men was so unassailable that, after a few attempts at cross-examination, the Tobin attorneys gave it up. After the first morning session, the Tobin "organizers" no longer appeared in the hearing room; witness after witness had pointed them out as the men who had beaten and threatened them, waved baseball-bats and blackjacks, etc.

The capitalist press, which has sided with Tobin since the beginning of this battle 78 days ago, (Continued on page 3)

## Union Leader Bares Wire-Tapping FBI

J. Edgar Hoover's Labor Spies Are Caught In The Act By Harry Bridges And Reporters

Proof-positive that Roosevelt's Gestapo-FBI is spying on unions and labor leaders for the employers, was furnished last week by President Harry Bridges of the G.I.O. International Longshoremen's Union.

Bridges, together with a reporter and photographer of PM, New York newspaper, secured full evidence, that the FBI-tapped the phone in Bridges' room at the Hotel Edison in New York and made dictaphone recordings of all his conversations. This espionage was an attempt to "get the goods" on Bridges to aid the government's efforts to have him deported to Australia.

According to the evidence of Bridges and the reporters, whom Bridges called in as witnesses, a sensitive microphone had been installed in the telephone box of his hotel room, connected by wires to the adjacent room telephone in which two FBI agents for two weeks listened in on the union leader's telephone conversations and recorded them.

## Londoners Honor Memory Of Trotsky

A Trotsky Memorial Meeting attended by 250 workers was held in London last week under the auspices of the Workers International League, British Trotskyist group. The meeting telegraphed greetings to Natalia Trotsky and expressed its solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party.

The telegram to Natalia Trotsky declared: "This meeting of London workers gathered to commemorate the assassination of our leader and comrade, Leon Trotsky, sends to you, his devoted comrade and companion, our heartfelt condolences on this, the anniversary of his untimely death. We rededicate ourselves to the achievement of the world socialist revolution, the task for which he lived and died."

To the Socialist Workers Party, the meeting said,

"This meeting of 250 London workers, called to commemorate the assassination of our comrade Trotsky, expresses solidarity with the SWP. The recent attacks of American imperialism, the arrest of leaders of SWP and Local 544-CIO, demonstrate the fear of the ruling class for the programme and platform of the Fourth International, which alone represents the interests of the toilers of the world."

to side-track the solution of these problems in the interest of "loyalty to the U. S."—unconditional support of the imperialist war.

## UERMW 'Compromises' On Anti-CP Resolution

CAMDEN, N. J., September 2—A "compromise" resolution of the Hillmanite-proposed "anti-communist" measure is being hatched behind the scenes by the newly formed pro-war block of Stalinists and Hillmanites at the Seventh Annual Convention of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), which began here Labor Day.

The new resolution, supported by the Stalinists, will not make specific reference to communists or the Communist Party, but will permit charges to be filed against any UE member who "commits acts of disloyalty to the United States."

Under the terms of this measure, the Stalinists and their reactionary Hillmanite allies can jointly conduct a witch-hunt against the anti-war and militant members of the union. Since their recent change in line, the Stalinists no longer face the charge of "disloyalty to the U. S.," as they are today the most ardent supporters of the Roosevelt war government.

Prior to the convention, James B. Carey, UE International president and leading Hillmanite, had campaigned for the adoption of a constitutional amendment specifically barring members of the Communist Party from union office.

An initial conflict between the convention resolutions committee, on which the Stalinists have a majority, and the constitution committee, controlled by the Hillmanites, over which had the right to deal with Carey's proposal, has been ironed out.

the dispatch of an AEF to Europe.

The speed and facility with which the Stalinists and Hillmanite leaders at this convention have patched up their secondary differences over union control and posts, and have united around the pro-war political position to which both adhere, has temporarily disoriented some of the less adroit followers in both camps.

The Stalinists and the "no-compromise" Hillmanites—those who still want the original anti-communist resolution—have an equal division of followers at the convention, but the current appears to be running against the latter.

There are 230 delegates, representing 259 locals, participating in the convention. The UE is now the fifth largest union in the CIO, having a membership of 316,000, a gain of 116,000 over a year ago. Three-quarters of the members are working in plants turning out war orders.

While problems of vital concern to the welfare of the union and the workers need to be faced at this convention—priorities, unemployment, frozen wages in the face of rising prices, the organization of tens of thousands of new workers in the war industries, etc.—it is clear that the Stalinist-Hillmanite leadership is prepared

# Minnesota Negro Body Hits Military Jim Crow

### Negro Defense Committee Puts Governor Stassen On The Spot By Proving That He Has The Authority To Abolish Jim Crowism In The State "Home Guard" But He Is Afraid To Exercise It

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Nearly 400 militant colored men and women from the Twin Cities met in the Hallie O. Brown settlement house in St. Paul last week to "have it out with the governor" on the matter of discrimination against Negroes in the Minnesota Home Defense Guard. But Republican Governor Harold Stassen, ambitious anti-labor politician who wants to be the next president of the United States, failed miserably in an attempt to explain his refusal to order the acceptance of Negroes into the state military forces by passing the buck to army officials and citing a non-existent military "code."

Called by the Minnesota Negro Defense Committee, this meeting climaxed eight months of protest on the part of Negroes in the state against the gross inequality and rank discrimination against colored men and women in the home defense forces, and in defense industries. Led by outstanding Negroes of the Twin Cities, these citizens of Minnesota, indignant at the treatment of their brothers who were denied fundamental democratic rights, were there to tell the governor what they thought about this hideous display of injustice.

Frank Alsop, chairman of the Minnesota Negro Defense Committee and an organizer for the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, in this area, presided at the meeting. He spoke the minds of all who were present when he said, "We're going to participate in national defense before this thing is over... We Negroes want the right to carry a gun and to march alongside of white soldiers. Even if we're called radicals for demanding our rights, we're going to fight until we get them."

Reviewing the events that led up to the meeting Reverend Clarence T. R. Nelson, Publicity Chairman for the committee, reported that it all began when Nathaniel Smith, a world war veteran, called the headquarters of the Minnesota home guard by telephone to enlist. Smith was greeted enthusiastically and told to report to help in the organization of the guard. But he was turned down cold when it was discovered that he was a Negro. Since then, applications from dozens of other Negroes have been systematically rejected.

#### DEFENSE COMMITTEE FORMED

In January the St. Paul branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People met to discuss the problem and it was out of this meeting that the Minnesota Negro Defense Committee was formed to fight for equality for Negroes in the state and national defense program. Attempts to obtain an audience with the governor were fruitless. Members of the committee were referred instead to Colonel Stutz, head of the home defense forces in the state, who told them that he was only a subordinate of the governor who was the

commander-in-chief of the state forces.

It was not until the committee threatened to organize a march on the state capitol that the governor appointed a committee to study the case. The only suggestion that the committee had to offer was to set up Jim Crow units in Minnesota, but this suggestion was quickly dropped when protests from all over the state reached the capitol.

Unable to ignore any longer the demands for an explanation, Stassen invited members of the Negro Defense Committee to a conference where he told them he was unable to order the acceptance of Negro applicants into the home guard since it would be a violation of the United States "military code."

Although Colonel Stutz had informed the committee that this "code" which barred Negroes from serving in the same troops with white soldiers was not law but simply a "custom," the governor insisted that there was nothing he could do about it. The only satisfaction that the committee obtained from Stassen was his agreement to appear at last week's meeting.

**STASSEN'S LAME EXCUSES**  
Although Stassen tried desperately to pass the buck to the "military authorities," those who attended the meeting maintained firmly that the blame for this outrageous treatment lay directly at his door. The governor tried to sidestep the real issue by protesting that he had never been guilty of discrimination against Negroes; that he had never objected to sitting in the same classroom with them when he was in school and that he had accepted their help gladly when he worked as a conductor on the railroad!

Speaker after speaker took the floor to ask Stassen what he was going to do about this so-called code. Was he going to try to

change it and give Negroes equal opportunity as provided in the constitution of the United States? "If you are really the commander-in-chief, be the commander-in-chief and get rid of officers who do not want to take in Negroes," challenged Reverend Nelson.

Cecil Newman, editor of the militant newspapers, *Minneapolis Spokesman* and *St. Paul Recorder* said, "There is no difference between a white man serving as an officer of Negro troops and a Negro serving as an officer of white troops. If this code is a custom, it is a rotten custom. We invite you, Governor Stassen, to strike the first blow that will break down this vicious code."

But Stassen only replied feebly that he would not defy a rule or code of the United States.

"We are not asking you to defy the law; we are asking you to do something to change it," said one speaker.

"Is it more important to support a vicious military custom than it is to support the 14th amendment of the constitution?" asked another.

"Here's your chance to become a great man, Governor Stassen. You can take the first step toward bringing about equality for Negroes in the armed forces," said still another.

But Governor Stassen was not interested in becoming a great man. Governor Stassen is interested only in upholding a system that breeds injustice, inequality and discrimination.

#### STASSEN THOROUGHLY DISCREDITED

And the real meaning of the governor's refusal to do anything to help break down the terrible discrimination against the Negro people was summarized by one insistent little Negro woman who demanded, "What would happen to you, Governor Stassen, if you issued an order to the military officers to accept Negroes into the armed forces? What would they do to you?"

The good governor mumbled to himself and then said, "They might say I'm not fit to hold office or that I'm opposed to national defense."

"Then you're afraid to take a chance, aren't you, Governor?" said the little Negro woman. "You're afraid to try it!"

Men and women present huddled question after question at Stassen who looked uncomfortably about him and repeated monotonously, "I can't defy the military code of the United States."

Convinced that Stassen was not going to do anything to help them, the assembly allowed him to leave.

While preparations are being made to carry on a legal fight against this discrimination as a violation of their constitutional rights, the Minnesota Negro Defense Committee and its many supporters in the state are determined to take whatever steps

## N. Y. Campaign Headquarters



Headquarters of the Cannon-For-Mayor campaign committee, at 116 University Place, New York City, display these large banners calling on the New York workers to support James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyist Anti-War party mayoralty candidate.

# Subsistence Incomes To Be Taxed For War

### Senate Committee Backs Reduced Tax Exemptions To Place War Costs Burden On Low-Wage Earners And Lower Middle Class

The powerful Senate Finance Committee, at the direction of President Roosevelt and backed by leading Big Business organizations, especially the National Association of Manufacturers, on August 25 approved the administration-sponsored proposal to lower the income tax base in order to cover six million more individuals in the lower income groups.

This is the latest measure of the administration intended to place the burden of war-costs on the workers and lower middle class.

The new war tax bill, if passed, will tax incomes of single persons earning as little as \$750 a year—\$14.42 a week. Married persons earning as little as \$1500 a year, \$1000 less than the government's own figures for a minimum decency and comfort level of existence, will likewise be forced to pay income taxes.

Before the war, single persons were exempt who earned less than \$1,000 annually, and married persons earning less than \$2500 did not have to pay income tax. In 1940, the base was broadened, exemptions being lowered to \$800 for single people and \$2000 for married individuals.

#### MANUFACTURERS ASS'N BACKED NEW TAXES

A chief proponent of the new tax measure is the National Association of Manufacturers, whose spokesman, Livingston W. Houston, provided the Senate Finance Committee with some of its principal "arguments" in favor of the measure.

Appealing for a general sales tax and broadening of the income

are necessary to gain full equality for the Negro people in the armed forces and out. The threatened march on the capitol may soon be a reality. The fine work of the Minnesota Negro Defense Committee, the courage and militancy displayed by the assembly in St. Paul last week are proof that one of the most oppressed sections in the present-day society can, through organization, make its voice heard and its power felt.

tax base, Houston stated before the Senate Finance Committee, on August 19, that 75 per cent of the national income goes to those making \$5,000 a year or less and therefore, those making \$5,000 or less should be required to pay 75 per cent of all taxes.

What Houston should have cited, to have told the truth, is that the 95 per cent of the population which earns incomes of less than \$5,000 a year gets only 75 per cent of the national income.

He should have reported that 3 per cent of the population, earning average annual incomes of \$47,600 in 1938, had amassed 30.4 per cent of all individual savings, yet had paid only 17.7 per cent of all taxes.

WORKERS PAY TAXES, BOSSES GET PROFITS  
During the same year, 17 per cent of American families secured average annual incomes of only \$346. And 22 cents out of every dollar of this was taken from them in the form of hidden taxes, primarily sales taxes.

For the eighty per cent of American families who subsist on incomes of \$2,000 a year or less every penny taken in taxes means a loss in terms of essential food, clothing, medical care, and all the other necessities of life.

The handful of owning class parasites who do no work and produce nothing, yet have more

than they can expend even on fantastic luxuries and must save most of their income, might easily give up 95 per cent of their incomes and still live more handsomely than the average worker.

Trust the Roosevelt administration, however, to push any scheme which will intensify the boss class robbery of the masses and safeguard the wealth and security of the war profiteers.

Quoting from Blackstone, Lincoln, Holmes and other authorities, LeSueur pointed out the great importance that has always been attached to the safeguarding of civil liberties. Surprisingly enough, Woodrow Wilson was quoted as having said, "Every man should have the privilege to utter the real conditions of his mind, even to the extent of revolutionary practices if it be necessary."

But this, LeSueur pointed out, was before Wilson became president. In his discussion of the indictments, LeSueur stated that there are no definite and specific allegations contained in them, that they are merely the opinions of the district attorney.

Arthur Sternberg, Treasurer of the Twin City Workers Defense League, presided at the meeting. A collection amounting to \$24 was taken. Collection lists of the Civil Rights Defense Committee for further fund-raising were handed out to many of those attending the meeting. The Workers Defense League here has endorsed the Civil Rights Defense Committee and is aiding it locally in the work of the defense.

The Negroes in New York must not be taken in this year by the part-time friendship of the administration. They must vote against LaGuardia as a representative of the bosses who will speak in friendly tones to the Negroes as long as they don't demand their rights — in other words, a representative of the northern brand of Jim Crow. Negroes must vote for a real fighter against Jim Crow, an advocate of full social economic and political equality for the Negro people — James P. Cannon, Trotskyist Anti-War candidate for Mayor.

## New York SWP District Will Complete Quota

Dear Comrade Editor:  
The final report in last week's Militant on the War Chest is that the party nationally obtained 90 per cent of its \$10,000 quota. One of the major reasons for the 10 per cent national shortage was the 83% obtained by New York on its quota of \$2500.

It should be pointed out, however, that the difference between the 83 per cent (\$2066.08) turned in by New York and the pledged \$2500 is to be made up by comrades who work at a trade which did not make it possible for them to pay up on time. The membership in New York did its part and the delinquent comrades are paying up as they come into town. I'm sure we shall be able to announce full payment soon.

Financial Secretary,  
New York District

## UNION LEADER EXPOSES WIRE-TAPPING BY FBI

(Continued from page 1)  
he would join the picket line. The New York WORLD-TELEGRAM two days later carried a "scoop" predicting that Bridges would appear on the picket line.

On another occasion, Bridges tore up a piece of paper into queer sizes, tossed the scraps into a waste-basket, and hastened to a hotel across the street where the PM reporter had a room directly opposite Bridges'. From there they observed the government sleuths with a telescope and witnessed Hoover's men invading Bridges' room and trying to piece together the paper scraps in the waste-basket.

Calls were repeatedly put thru from the reporter's room to Bridges' phone, and on each occasion the two government agents were observed dashing to the floor at a corner of their room where their listening apparatus was connected with the phone box.

On August 22, Bridges and the reporters yanked the FBI microphone out of the phone box as evidence. At 2:30 A. M. a PM photographer stationed outside the espionage agents' room, took a picture of one of the agents, identified as Special Agent Evelle J. Younger, as he attempted to dash from his room unobserved. In the room carbon copies of the two FBI reports were found.

Bridges' suspicions were first aroused when he sought a room at the hotel and was informed that only one room was available, which the management insisted on his taking at a reduced rate. An anonymous phone call by Bridges to the hotel proved that the management was lying. Bridges took the room anyhow, and soon heard queer sounds in the next room and discovered that his telephone was dead. This put him wise to what was up.

The well-informed Chicago Daily News, owned by Secretary of Navy Knox, disclosed on August 28 that "a source in the Department of Justice" had revealed that J. Edgar Hoover, FBI head, had recently proposed to indict and prosecute officers of the Communist Party and national leaders of CIO unions on charges of "criminal syndicalism." Among the CIO unions involved were the Longshoremen's, the National Maritime Union and the American Communications Association. The proposal was made to former Attorney General Jackson. The proposal was dropped when the Stalinists adopted a pro-war line.

The Daily News reports: "The Jackson, it was learned, turned down the Hoover suggestion, but presumably approved another request that was coupled with this one, for permission for the FBI to install dictaphones in places frequented by labor leaders who are thought to be active in behalf of the Communist party."

On this basis, the FBI can tap the phone of any union or union official on the grounds of "suspected" communist affiliations. There is a federal law against wire-tapping, but that never stops the FBI-Gestapo, which is a law unto itself.

The Bridges' wire-tapping incident adds additional evidence to the mounting facts pointing to the use of the FBI as a labor spy and union smashing agency. In recent months, the FBI has engaged in hounding, spying on and intimidating members of the CIO Federal Workers Union, third-degreeing WPA workers in New York and New Jersey, and aiding in ferreting out CIO union members in the Navy yards, who were subsequently dismissed as "unreliable."

The most notorious recent case of the use of the FBI for anti-labor purposes was the raids on the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in Minneapolis and St. Paul, and the subsequent indictment of members of the SWP and the CIO motor transport workers union, Local 544, on federal charges of "seditious conspiracy."



In another part of the paper we advertise for the first time a subscription offer for the MILITANT and the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, made possible by the generous offer of special rates on publications put out by PIONEER PUBLISHERS.

The offer will run for two months, ending on November 7, a date doubly significant to the membership of our Trotskyist organization. It represents not only the date of the successful proletarian uprising in Russia but also the birthdate of Leon Trotsky, one of the two greatest figures of that revolution.

The membership of the Socialist Workers Party has been asked to work for the realization of 500 new subscriptions to the paper in the two months ahead. The brilliant record of its last endeavor makes this quota look like nothing at all. In February and March of this year, on another special subscription offer, the members of the party came

through with the amazing total of almost 2000 subscriptions to the press. The arrests and indictments at St. Paul have served as a distinct stimulus to the party membership to advance the work of disseminating our ideas through our press. One of our branches in a Pennsylvania town has this to write: "The work of the party is progressing exceptionally well. Last night we got another sub to the MILITANT and expect to recruit another new member Sunday. All of us are very well pleased with the MILITANT and most of the people to whom we send it look forward to receiving it."

"The arrest of the 29 has increased our enthusiasm and determination to carry on. We are building the party and strengthening ourselves in the organized labor movement, and when we can do this in this period of reaction we know that the future is ours"

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.

The MILITANT and The FOURTH INTERNATIONAL in conjunction with PIONEER PUBLISHERS

announce an EXTRAORDINARY SUBSCRIPTION OFFER to run from Sept. 1 until Nov. 7, 1941

One pamphlet or book will be given free with each subscription either to the MILITANT or to the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL: For each 6-month subscription of \$1.00 one of the following:

- War and the Fourth International. . . . . (10¢)\*
- In Defense of the Soviet Union. . . . . (10¢)
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For each 1-year subscription of \$2.00 one of the following:

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For each 1-year combination subscription of \$3.00 one of the following:

- World Revolution 1917-1936. . . . . (\$2.75)
- Russia Twenty Years After. . . . . (\$1.50)
- The Third International After Lenin. . . . . (\$1.25)

\*List prices for the publications. Mail your subscription money and the name of the pamphlet or book you wish to: THE MILITANT, 116 University Place, New York City

## La Guardia Fires Ewart Guinier, Negro Trade Union Official

Last week Mayor LaGuardia appointed Samuel J. Battle as the first Negro parole commissioner ever to serve in New York. Curiously enough, this appointment came just at the same time LaGuardia is about to make a bid for Negro support in his campaign for a third term as Mayor. Battle's appointment will be used by the LaGuardia machine to prove what a friend to the Negroes the present administration has always been. The facts are the exact reverse.

The most flagrant example of LaGuardia's Jim Crowism was his recent firing of Edward G. Guinier, a junior examiner in the Municipal Civil Service Commission, on the grounds that he "wronfully and unlawfully" lived with a white woman.

In reality, Guinier was fired because he was elected last April to the presidency of the New York District of the State, County and Municipal Workers of America, CIO. Guinier was a victim of LaGuardia's violent hatred of the CIO. But the fact that LaGuardia stooped to incite racial prejudice to carry on his anti-CIO activity, is an indication of how deep is his election day friendship for the Negro people.

LaGuardia has attempted to make out a case against Guinier in order to save his political face. He has failed in this. Guinier was

gratuated as an honor student from both Columbia University and New York University, possesses a Master's Degree in governmental research, and has been so outstandingly efficient in his city job that the president of the Civil Service Commission, Paul J. Kern, repeatedly commended him.

There are 150,000 city employees and this is the first time in history that one of them has been fired for "moral turpitude." LaGuardia's appointment of Battle to the parole commission does not prove his friendship for the Negroes. Rather does it prove that he has the typical attitude of the southern landlords—a bone for one or two "faithful" colored retainers, and a cry about the honor of white womanhood and an economic lynching for all Negroes who

dare to defend their rights as workers.

#### THE NORTHERN BRAND OF JIM CROW

Battle has served on the police force for over 20 years. In that time he's helped to break up workers' meetings in Harlem as well as the other dirty work that a cop is ordered to carry out by anti-labor administrations. Guinier, on the other hand, became a union official and tried to get better conditions for the municipal workers. There is the difference.

Buy the MILITANT IN MINNEAPOLIS at: Shinders News Co., 6th St. & Hennepin Av. Morris Kroman, 4th St. & Nicollet Av. Pioneer News Co., 238 Second Av., South A. Peterson News Stand, Washington Av. & B'way N. Labor Book store, 919 Marquette Av.

# Local 544-CIO Drivers Press For Elections

(Continued from page 1)  
has given very little space to this telling story. But drivers present at the hearings have spread the story by word of mouth throughout the industry, and this formal presentation at the hearings has thus served to bring home to every driver and warehouseman the fact that his own experiences during the last two and a half months have been typical of the whole city, and that despite all the intimidation the workers in the industry remain as ever loyal to the union which they built in the great strikes of 1934.

Local 544-CIO has as many men as State Conciliator Blair will listen to who will tell him that all his brazen attempts for ten weeks to refuse an election will not avail him and his boss, Governor Stassen, or their friend Tobin.

That the bosses may be abandoning their hope of foisting Tobin's "union" on the men was indicated this week when one group of employers, the concrete block manufacturers, announced in a negotiation meeting with Local 544-CIO that the employers' committee was going to demand that Blair order an election to determine which union represents the men. The bosses have done all they could for Tobin for ten weeks but are now beginning to weary of the battle.

The concrete block manufacturers were undoubtedly motivated in this statement by the sad experience of the wholesale grocery, transfer, cold storage and other employers, who thought they had "solved" the problem by signing a rotten contract with the Tobin "union" two weeks ago. Tobin's agents announced the contract but would not print it in their newspaper.

Whereupon the 'Industrial Organizer,' 544-CIO weekly, brought out a special bulletin

## Biddle "Defends" Civil Liberties

Francis Biddle, just approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee for the post of Attorney General defended himself at the Committee hearings on charges of condoning wire-tapping in the Bridges case. "It is a dirty business, of course," Biddle stated, "but we have handed down civil rights before in times of war..."

The Senate Committee acquitted Biddle, approving his nomination unanimously. Stated Sen. Donaher, "No one is more zealous to protect civil liberties than Mr. Biddle, the nominee." Except "in times of war", of course.

publishing the text of the Tobin contract together with an annihilating analysis of its pro-boss character. The net result of this Tobin-employers maneuver was indicated by one witness at the hearing; he was describing how a Tobin "organizer" demanded to know why he was wearing a CIO-544 button. "Casey (Tobin's representative) put this button on me," answered the worker, "when he signed that lousy contract."

State Labor Conciliator Blair was thoroughly flustered Monday when one worker testified that "Red" O'Laughlin, a Tobin "organizer" from Detroit, had boasted that "Governor Stassen and Blair are with the AFL."

But the fact is nothing new. In the July, 1941 issue of Tobin's TEAMSTERS JOURNAL, Tobin was indiscreet enough to print a letter from one of his representatives in Minneapolis, T. T. Neal, boasting that "Governor Stassen of Minnesota has

# CP, Hillman Form Anti-Lewis Bloc

## War-Mongers Unite At UE Convention; Stalinists Lead Drive Against Lewis

By ART PREIS

The Stalinist and Hillmanite forces at the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers' Seventh Annual Convention at Camden, New Jersey, have joined together in a move to place the union, fifth largest in the CIO, behind all-out support of the imperialist war.

The first formal action of this new unholy alliance of Stalinists and Hillmanites on the General Executive Board was a statement, on August 31, calling for full support to Roosevelt's war policies and criticizing John L. Lewis as an "appeaser."

"Inasmuch as this is the first major CIO meeting since John L. Lewis signed the appeasement statement with fourteen leading Republican isolationists, the U.E.R.M.W.'s stand on the Administration's foreign policy is expected to be watched carefully," the statement declared.

This direct reference to Lewis, taken together with other recent actions and statements of the Stalinists — indicates that the Stalinists are seeking a joint onslaught of the Stalinist-Hillmanite forces against John L. Lewis and the progressive sectors of the CIO, who have thus far successfully resisted the efforts of the Hillmanites to place the industrial union movement under the thumb of the government's war machine.

Undoubtedly the Stalinists have been the prime movers behind this new united reactionary labor front.

Prior to the UERMW convention, the Stalinist and the Hill-

manite factions had fought each other in an effort to gain control of the union apparatus. Whatever bureaucratic differences may have divided them in the past, it is the political issues which have finally decided the line-ups—as they always do. Both the Stalinists and the Hillmanites are in basic agreement on unconditional support of the government and the war, and this is rapidly forging them together into a common reactionary front.

The joint action of the Stalinists and Hillmanites in this important convention is only the latest and most dramatic example of the Stalinist efforts to align themselves with the Hillmanites and the most reactionary elements of the AFL on a program of "unity" against the anti-war forces in the unions.

The Daily Worker has been giving increasing and favorable recognition and publicity to the activities and statements of the AFL leaders who have given guarantees to Roosevelt of their willingness to sacrifice every right of organized labor for Roosevelt's war program.

LABOR UNITY ON THE AFL'S BASIS

On August 29, the Daily Worker featured on its front page the address of William Green, AFL head, at the New York State Fed-

eration of Labor Convention, in which Green proclaimed his full and unconditional support of Roosevelt and his "war aims." The Daily Worker described as a "high point of this morning's session..." the speech of President William Green of the AFL... declaring the AFL's full support of the eight-point Roosevelt-Churchill declaration...

What the Stalinists are driving toward by this playing up of the AFL leaders was disclosed more openly in a Daily Worker editorial, August 24, on the New York State AFL convention, which stated: "The progressive position of the convention of the State AFL—the largest State AFL organization in the country—is especially encouraging because it shows the great possibilities

for labor unity of AFL and CIO behind a program for defeat of Hitlerism.

"In the past, the established policies of the AFL did not provide a basis for unity. Now with the AFL officially taking a progressive stand on the most important issue before the country—the defeat of Hitler—a good basis exists for joint AFL-CIO activity... The position of the CIO mem-

bers on the international situation is well known. They are speaking out more and more in spite of the general silence of the CIO nationally."

This is Hillman's full-blown line on AFL-CIO "unity," which he projected at the last CIO national convention.

Like Hillman, the Stalinists are now prepared to thrust the industrial union movement of this country back into the hands of the Greens, Wolls, Freys and Tobins, under any terms and conditions. By their wholehearted support of the war, these labor skates have become "progressives" to the Stalinists. The strikebreaking, no-strike, government-collaboration, anti-industrial union policies of the AFL leaders no longer matter to the Stalinists.

It was this brand of AFL-CIO "unity" which Lewis successfully defeated at the last CIO convention. When the CIO is strong enough to crush every attempt of the AFL craft-union leadership to strangle the industrial unions in their "unity" embrace, only then can the CIO unite once more with the AFL, Lewis pointed out.

Lewis today stands in firm opposition to the Stalinist-Hillmanite plan to corral the industrial union movement into the camp of the reactionary AFL under any terms, provided "unity" of organized labor behind the war program is achieved.

### OPEN ATTACKS ON LEWIS INCREASING

That is why the Stalinist campaign to undermine Lewis is becoming more open and bold.

Already, unions under Stalinist control are passing resolutions "censuring" Lewis and attacking him for his "appeasement" stand. The Daily Worker, September 1, reports on its front page such an action by the Chicago Fur Workers Union. This is but the first trickle of a flood of similar resolutions which are bound to follow every union local that the Stalinists control.

The tone of the Stalinist attacks on Lewis and the progressive elements of the CIO will undoubtedly take on heightened virulence in the coming weeks. Lewis will be condemned as a "Fifth Columnist," etc....

This was indicated in Roy Hudson's article, "Some Lessons of the Auto Convention," in the Sunday Worker, August 31, which speaks of the "desertion of John L. Lewis from the cause of anti-fascism, to the camp of... the Lindberghs, Wheelers, Coughlins, Hearsts..."

The Stalinists show by their new alignment with Hillman and their attempts to push Hillman's program of "unity" with the AFL, that their intentions are to sacrifice every condition and right of labor for the sole end of getting labor to support an immediate AEF. They are ready to go to any length in support of the imperialist government of Wall Street and Roosevelt.

# Stalinists Displeased With UAW Convention

By ANTHONY MASSINI

Roy Hudson, union whip for the Communist Party, is dissatisfied with the results of the Buffalo convention of the United Auto Workers, CIO, and no little grieved by the failure of the delegates at that convention to "sufficiently reflect and act in the spirit of the new situation." The "new situation" refers to the Stalinists' recent change in line to wholehearted support of Roosevelt's war program.

In the Sunday Worker of August 31, Hudson records his complaints against the most progressive union in the American labor movement. According to him, the resolution adopted on the war and aid to the Soviet Union and Great Britain did not go far enough, and the delegates failed to devote sufficient discussion and attention to the war question.

He says, "If the struggle against Hitlerism is the concern of American labor and the convention declared that it is, then the convention failed in its duty to labor and the American people by declaring that it is willing for the British, the Chinese and the Soviet people to die to defend democracy, but it is opposed to our all-out effort for the destruction of the common enemy."

That is, the auto workers failed in their "duty to labor and the American people" by opposing United States entry into the war and the sending of an AEF. The auto workers are, at the very least, hypocrites, and cowardly ones, according to Hudson. They are willing for other workers to get killed in the war, but they hesitate at getting killed themselves.

Hudson feels that one of the reasons for this is that the convention, which lasted two weeks, spent so little time discussing the various war-mongering resolutions. Instead it devoted itself primarily to discussions on union-building problems and organizational work. Hudson would not dare to object to that as such, but he does indicate how more time could have been found for bludgeoning the delegates into voting for a declaration of war.

"Much of the time," he points out, "was consumed in the discussions of questions such as those growing out of the seating of the Allis Chalmers delegates and the North American strike, at a time when these questions though important in themselves should have been subordinated to the overwhelm-

ing demands of the new situation."

There is a good reason why Hudson would like to see questions like the North American strike dropped and forgotten, and this reason cannot be separated from the war question. For how can delegates sit and discuss the breaking of a strike with federal troops by the Roosevelt administration, and at the same time endorse this same Roosevelt's "war for democracy"? Embarrassing would be a mild word for the situation.

No less embarrassing would have been thorough discussion of that strike so far as the Stalinists themselves are concerned. For such a discussion would show that the CP fully supported the strike and denounced Roosevelt's strike-breaking early in June, and today abandons and refuses to defend its own people in that situation who are under attack from the Hillmanites in the UAW. Yes, it is easy to see why Hudson would have preferred no discussion at all on the North American strike.

The "anti-Communists" resolution adopted by the convention is of course "equally disappointing" to the Stalinists. Hudson explains at length why it is wrong, and how it plays into the hands of employers, etc.

But he does not take the trouble to explain what forces at the convention introduced the various "anti-red" resolutions, and what connections the Stalinists had with those forces. The reason Hudson remains silent about the authorship of these resolutions is that, in spite of these resolutions, the Communist Party is perfectly willing and eager to collaborate with the authors, the most conservative and reactionary groups, so long as these groups support the war. This is made perfectly clear

# John L. Lewis: His Stand On War, His Role In The Unions

By GEORGE BREITMAN

The new united front of the Stalinists and Hillmanites against John L. Lewis confronts every militant worker in the labor movement with the necessity of having a clear and precise attitude toward the Lewis group in the CIO. This involves an understanding not only of the position taken by Lewis on the war, but also of the role Lewis is playing in the union movement today.

The Hillman-Stalinist forces are concentrating their fire on Lewis' action last month in signing his name to a statement on the war together with 14 leading Republican isolationists. Let us begin, therefore, by examining that "anti-war" statement.

It is an out-and-out isolationist document. It opposes "naval action" and the seizing of bases outside the Western Hemisphere, although not opposing seizures inside. It declares against military action outside the Western Hemisphere but maintains "that American lives should be sacrificed" for "independence" or to keep control of the Western Hemisphere.

This "isolationist" statement is, in short, one calculated to serve the interests of those imperialists who are satisfied for the time being to dominate the Americas. It is no accident that reactionaries like Hoover and Landon could sign their name to it.

In addition, the statement comes out against governmental aid to the Soviet Union as "unauthorized" and because the Soviet Union is not a democracy. This statement, it should be recalled, is signed by people who are not opposed to and as a matter of fact support the sending of aid to British imperialism.

### Lewis Policy on the War

No class-conscious worker can support this so-called "anti-war" statement that Lewis signed, for it is neither anti-war nor pro-labor in character. The fundamental fallacies in it are:

1. It is no more progressive to support "Western Hemisphere" imperialism than it is to support the imperialists who seek world domination.

2. It is incorrect to support government aid to British imperialism in the war as a means of fighting against war.

Such support will lead inevitably to involving the United States in the war. If the aid is to get there, it means seeing that the aid is not sunk, it means sending convoys to prevent the Nazis from sinking the aid. Sending convoys means entering on the road of direct and open "shooting" conflict with Hitler, it means "incidents" which can easily be used by the warmongers for the purpose of beginning the war. One step leads to the next, and those who advocate aid to Britain today must logically call for war tomorrow. Those who really want to fight against United States entry into the war will also refuse to support aid to British imperialism today.

### The Question of Aid to the USSR

3. No militant worker can consistently oppose aid to the Soviet Union.

Of course, we cannot adopt for our own, the slogan of governmental aid to the Soviet Union. Those who would accept responsibility for such a slogan must accept the responsibility for convoys, etc. There is no doubt that Roosevelt is glad to use aid to the Soviet Union as a means of gathering support for his war program from those sections of the working class which opposed the lend-lease bill for Britain, but want to give aid to the Soviet Union.

But the workers cannot follow Lewis in his opposition to aid to the Soviet Union. Instead they must concentrate on the only real program of aid to the USSR, workers' independent action against the bosses and their war and for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government that will be a true ally of the Soviet masses.

It is clear that the policies on the war which Lewis follows in no way resemble a militant, working class opposition to imperialist war. Between his policies and the policies of the Stalinist-Hillmanite united front on the war there is no real choice for the workers.

### Differences on Building the Unions

The Stalinists and the Hillmanites do more, however, than attack the very vulnerable position of Lewis on the war. They follow this by attacking his entire role in the union movement.

We refuse to support either the Lewis position on war or the war-mongering policies of the CP-Hillman coalition; but we must

## TWU Demand Wage Rises



These are some of the 4,000 workers who attended a recent meeting of the Transport Workers Union (CIO) and vigorously applauded the union's demands for increased wages for the subway workers of New York City. Wage increases have been announced by LaGuardia's Board of Transportation, but both LaGuardia and his Board refuse to grant the increases on a retro-active basis.

recognize that there is an important difference between them on the question of building the CIO. While the Stalinist-Hillmanites are willing to subordinate everything in the labor movement to support of Roosevelt's war program, Lewis stands for the building of the CIO in spite of the war and in spite of the government. When it comes to this dispute between the two groups, which is one of the key questions for labor in time of war, militant workers cannot stand with folded arms, indifferent to the outcome.

Militants must intervene when two groups are fighting over questions that will determine the future of the CIO, the independence of the labor movement, the preservation of the gains of industrial unionism.

When Lewis condemns the use of troops to break strikes, as at the North American plant, while Hillman condones it; when Lewis attacks the anti-labor functions of the National Defense Mediation Board, while Hillman collaborates with it; when Lewis leads the attack on Congressional and administration anti-labor legislation, while Hillman behind the scenes tries to make that legislation a little more palatable; when Lewis encourages the affiliation of the militant drivers movement to the CIO, while Hillman's associates pass resolutions against it in the local bodies they control; when in short Lewis seeks to build and spread the CIO, while Hillman tries to shackle it to the Roosevelt war machine and weaken it in the struggle against the reactionary craft-unionists headed by the AFL Executive Council, then progressive trade unionists must support Lewis against the Hillman-Stalinist bloc.

By their policy for both the unions and on the war, the Hillman-Stalinist forces occupy a wholly reactionary position. Lewis' position on the war is wrong and misleading from beginning to end, and will have to be fought by those who understand that the isolationists are incapable of leading successful opposition to the war in the workers' interests. But this must not blind militants to the equally undeniable fact that the Lewis forces tend to resist the government moves to hogtie the CIO and destroy its character as the progressive organizational movement of the workers in the mass industries.

Those who want to fight against the war as well as those who want to protect and extend labor's gains—for both of which tasks a strong independent industrial union movement is required—will unhesitatingly take their side, on questions of building the unions, against the Hillman-Stalinist united front.

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## Labor's Own Defense Project

29 people—members of the Socialist Workers Party and the leaders of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544-CIO have been indicted in Minnesota on charges of "conspiring to overthrow the government."

This sweeping attack upon civil liberties and labor's rights must be repelled! The job of defending the victims of this prosecution is up to the workers themselves. Roosevelt's administration isn't subsidizing this defense project.

Aid the defendants by giving promptly and generously to their Defense Fund.

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The Government prosecution has been condemned by the  
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LABOR'S NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE  
UNITED AUTO WORKERS  
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION  
NATION  
NEW REPUBLIC  
and other labor and liberal spokesmen

# Two Years Of The War

## Capitalist Class Cannot Make Peace - Only World Workers Can Stop War

Two years of imperialist war! Seven hundred and thirty days of bloodshed, horror, hunger, destruction and misery!

And this is only the prologue; the worst is yet to come. Four-fifths of the world's population have already been drawn into the war; the remaining fifth, as Roosevelt's latest speech signifies, is about to become involved in full force. Total war will soon engulf the entire planet.

How long will this war last? When will it end? The imperialist powers-that-be do not know and cannot tell. They have set into motion uncontrollable forces of destruction.

This war is the most terrible crime in the history of humanity. Its very immensity deadens the nerves and stuns the imagination.

It is useless, however, to be soan so colossal a calamity. What is important is that the workers understand why the war is being waged, how the forces of reaction can be fought, and how the war can be brought to an end.

The same criminals are responsible for the Second World War as the First. They are the rival gangs of capitalist bandits who seek to enrich themselves, not only through the exploitation of their own people but through the robbery and oppression of other peoples on a world scale. Neither one of the imperialist camps acknowledges its guilt. They've, caught in the act, try to shift the blame onto the other gang. So Roosevelt and Churchill brand Hitler as "the enemy of civilization"; Hitler and Mussolini accuse Churchill and Roosevelt of warmongering. All are equally guilty of promoting and prolonging the war to crush imperialist competitors, enslave small nations, and satisfy the predatory appetites of the particular group of plutocrats they represent.

Twenty-four months of war have proved this plainly. Hitler who swore he wanted only to rectify the abuses of the Versailles "Diktat" and unite the German race has converted Europe into a prison-house of nationalities under Nazi domination. His New Order is only an up-to-date edition of the old imperialist order, more compact but no less oppressive than the British Empire. Deprived of its national base, the noble Dutch imperialist ally of England and the United States takes up new headquarters in the East Indies backed by American battleships and dollars with contemptuous disregard of the will of the native population. Meanwhile, the United States has added Iceland and Greenland to its island protectorates.

The existence of still powerful labor movements compels the capitalist governors of England and the United States to proclaim devotion to democracy. But behind these hypocritical pretensions these governments cut down democratic liberties and rights of labor. The Canadian government has imprisoned scores of militant labor leaders—and now Roosevelt imitates that example by prosecuting the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO teamster lead-

ers of Minneapolis. Profiteers and millionaires on both sides of the battlefield amass new wealth from the war, while the workers in both camps suffer additional burdens. The peoples in all the imperialist countries have been dragged into the war against their will and with little or no confidence in their capitalist leaders.

Yet the workers want to fight against fascism. The Soviet workers are displaying their hatred of fascism by their inch-by-inch resistance against the Nazi invaders. The workers of England and the United States are also alert to the menace of fascism. They didn't need Churchill, the ex-admirer of Hitler and friend of Mussolini nor Roosevelt, the helper of Franco, to teach them the reactionary nature of Fascism.

### THE LESSONS OF FRANCE

The Fall of France was the most significant event of the first year of the war. What happened in France? The professional bourgeois-democratic politicians, including the official labor leaders, prevented the workers from taking power before the war on the plea and pretext that the nation would be split by civil war and the doors would be opened for Hitler. Meanwhile, the French bosses and rich families did not properly prepare the defenses of the country. Some were sympathetic to Hitler's ideas; others were chiefly concerned with their profits and keeping down the workers, just as the bosses are in this country today.

When Hitler's forces broke through a demoralized French army which couldn't be inspired to fight by the bourgeois democrats, the rich thought only of preserving their property, profits and privileges against the anger of the people. They turned toward Hitler for salvation, forfeiting national independence, discarding all democratic institutions, and

setting up a dictatorial regime under a senile General. At the showdown, the capitalist "democrats" and their political agents sold out the French people to retain part of their rights of exploitation. They feared their own workers more than they feared Nazi domination.

The English and American capitalists, army officers, and politicians are pursuing the same path as their French counterparts. They will always prefer to make deals with fascists at the expense of the workers when their own imperialist interests will benefit thereby. Churchill and Roosevelt will bargain with Franco, the hangman of the Spanish workers, and help sustain his rule in return for promised neutrality.

The American workers must learn from this terrible and humiliating experience of their French brothers. They cannot and must not trust the imperialist democrats to fight to the end against fascism, either at home or abroad. The only trustworthy leadership in the struggle against fascism can come from the ranks of militant labor, from those who rely upon labor's independent class forces and class politics.

The most important event of the second year of the war was Hitler's attack upon the Soviet Union. This attack has exposed the rotten and deceptive policies of the Stalinist regime. Stalin sought to escape involvement in the war by concluding his pact with Hitler. This pact precipitated the war and led to the enslavement of the French, Dutch, Belgian working classes by Hitler. It demoralized the European working class and alienated their sympathies from the Soviet Union. Stalin's pact did not save the Soviet Union from war nor strengthen its position. The pact enabled Hitler to invade the Soviet Union when he had fortified

## Chicago Tribune Repeats Slanders Retracted by CP

The ultra-reactionary Chicago Tribune of August 24th published a libelous article against the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis.

Entitled "Musclers in Minneapolis," the article purported to give the background of the indictment on July 14 of 29 persons, including the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO. Needless to say, the "background" painted in by this viciously reactionary sheet is anti-labor to the core.

However, the Chicago Tribune found it necessary, in order to make the article plausible, to quote some "labor" enemies of the Minneapolis motor transport workers union. It found two such "authorities" to quote: AFL Teamsters Chief Tobin and the Stalinist Daily Worker.

From the Stalinist sheet, the Chicago Tribune quoted this (which appeared in November, 1937):

"They (the leaders of Local 544) are Trotskyite racketeers, gangsters, gunmen, and associates of employers and the underworld." To quote this, however, the Chicago Tribune had to ignore the fact that the Daily Worker, through its editor, Clarence Hathaway, and its attorney, Edward Kuntz, on May 15, 1940 had to admit that this libelous statement was unjustified.

In a statement filed with the Fourth Judicial District Court of Minnesota on that date, the Comprodi Publishing Company, publisher of the Daily Worker, stated:

"Due to lack of independent investigation on the part of the 'Daily Worker' . . . certain charges were published in the 'Daily Worker' in the month of November, 1937, concerning Local 544 of the General Drivers, Helpers and Inside Workers Union, and its officers, Vincent R. Dunne, Grant J. Dunne, Miles B. Dunne and Farrell Dobbs. Those charges were unjustified and are herewith withdrawn."

In a word, the Chicago Tribune is trying to smear us with a Stalinist-invented slander which even the Stalinist slanderser had to withdraw. That certainly sets a new low for yellow journalism!

his rear and at the moment of his choice.

Today Stalin is repeating the same policy of relying upon pacts with the imperialist powers to save the Soviet Union. New partners—but the same policy. Instead of summoning the German and European workers to rise up and overthrow capitalism, he remains quiet on this vital question for fear of offending his Polish, English and American imperialist allies. The German, Czech, and other workers also want to fight

against the fascists and overthrow them. But they fear another Versailles. And they need a revolutionary program and a revolutionary goal to unite and inspire them.

By suppressing the class struggle in the camp of Hitler instead of invoking and appealing to it, Stalin is depriving the Soviet masses of the only social force that can stop Nazism and that has a real stake in rallying to their aid.

The defense of the Soviet Union requires a rejection of Stalin's false policies and a return to an international revolutionary working class program.

How can this war be brought to an end? How can a real peace be won? Only against the imperialists on both sides. The war-lords no longer have the perspective of peace; they are preparing for a lengthy, interminable war. If the decision is left in their hands, they will permit the fighting to go on until civilization is devastated and the peoples drained of vitality.

Their peace will only prepare the way for new, bigger, bloodier and more hopeless wars of mutual extermination.

Under capitalism, there is no way out of this war. Only through struggle against the imperialist system can peace be secured.

When the workers take power, they can end this Second World War and the conditions that breed wars.

If two years of war has taught this to increasing numbers of workers, all the bloodshed will not have been in vain.

# The Marxist Attitude On Iran Invasion

## The Soviet Role and the British Role Are Each Evaluated from the Standpoint Of the Class Character of Their States

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

To some people all violence is hateful. The violence of the master against the slave is to be condemned—and also the violence of the slave who attempts to free himself from the master. When British imperialism uses violence in India to keep millions of people in subjection, the moralists who are above the social conflict in society protest. They would also protest if the Indian masses should use force to drive the British rulers out of India.

People who argue that way have some abstract standard of good and evil, a standard that ignores classes and class struggles. The Marxist never evaluates the activities of classes and nations from some abstract moral standard but the needs of classes and nations to achieve their freedom.

Are all invasions bad? The Marxist answer to that question is in the negative. He replies: who is doing the invading and who is being invaded; what are the circumstances of the invasion; does it further the interests of the revolutionary working masses?

The Soviet Union invades Iran and British imperialism invades Iran. Middle-class moralists who think every invasion, no matter by whom or against whom or under what circumstances, is an imperialist act, rise in their righteous indignation, to condemn both.

The Marxist says: the Soviet Union is a workers' state, although a degenerated one. It is fighting for its existence against German imperialism; it is under an obligation to take every measure necessary for its defense provided it does not conflict with the interests of the world revolution.

### LENIN AND TROTSKY ON INVASION

The Soviet Government issued a statement in connection with its invasion of Iran justifying the act on the ground that Article 6 of the Soviet-Iranian treaty of 1921 gives it the right to march troops into Iranian territory in order to take necessary military measures whenever the Iranian government is unable to prevent an attack or a threatened attack on the Soviet Union through Iran.

The treaty with Iran was made under the regime of Lenin and Trotsky and is significant of the attitude the leaders of the Russian Revolution took to the possibility of marching troops into a territory that did not constitute part of the Soviet Union. In the interests of defending the Soviet Union they demanded and obtained the right to send their armed forces into an adjacent country. The treaty does not require the Soviet Union to obtain permission from Iran before sending troops.

It can be taken for granted that Lenin and Trotsky would have sent troops into neighbor-

ing territory even without permission, and even without a treaty, if the interests of the Soviet Union and the world revolution demanded such action.

It is quite true that British imperialism was the enemy that the Soviet Government had in mind at the time of the treaty, but the fact that German imperialism is the enemy that now threatens the Soviet Union makes not a particle of difference. And neither is the fact that, because of a particular military situation, the British imperialists are invading Iran at the same time that the Soviet Union is doing so, of the slightest importance insofar as determining the right of the Soviet Government to send its troops into Iran.

But did we not condemn the Stalinist government for invading Poland, Finland and the Baltic countries? Yes, we did, but only because under the circumstances the damage done to the Soviet Union, because the act of invasion alienated the sympathies of millions of people, was greater than any benefits that could be derived from the compulsory annexation of the territories invaded.

Lenin and Trotsky would have been compelled to weigh advantages and disadvantages in undertaking an act like invading another country. They would have made the necessity for such an invasion clear to the workers of the world. And above all, the masses would have had complete confidence in their motives and in their promises.

No one can deny that Stalin's act in invading Iran is viewed with great suspicion. That is because the policies that he has been and is following have justifiably created suspicion as to his motives and very few people believe in his promises.

All his explanations and excuses for invading Poland and Finland were of no avail. To the vast masses those invasions appeared in the same light as Nazi invasions. Stalin's crime consisted of exactly this — that he made the Soviet Union appear to be in the same category as Nazi Germany. Although we Trotskyists knew that Stalin had annexed part of Poland and the Baltic countries and part of Finland for military-strategic reasons, to prepare against an attack by Hitler, still we condemned the invasions because the loss of faith in the Soviet Union on the part of millions of people outweighed by far the possible military advantages.

We are not over-confident that Stalin will abide by his promise to withdraw the Red Army from Iran when the necessity for its occupation will have disappeared. That is something to be settled in the future. At present, as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, the class-conscious workers and peasants, including those of Iran, will not permit anything to interfere with the defense of the Soviet Union.

# Stalinist N. Y. Election Platform Has One Aim: Support of the War

By PHILIP BLAKE

The election platforms of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party in the current New York campaign are as different as night and day.

The Trotskyist platform advocates uncompromising struggle against the capitalist class and its imperialist war, against fascism and the destruction of workers' rights and civil liberties.

The Stalinists urge class collaboration and the subordination of all labor activities to support of the imperialist war.

"Unite For Victory," says the Communist Party election platform, and its symbol on election literature is not the hammer and sickles of old, but a hammer and pitchfork (appropriate) crossed so that the handles form a V.

In the last election campaign in which they participated, the Stalinists widely advertised themselves as the anti-war party. Today they say, "One Issue, One Enemy, One War: Destroy Hitlerism!" Today, they support the war which they "attacked" so loudly only a few months ago, and everything else is subordinated in their platform to their support of that war. It is indeed the one issue for them, and they are willing to unite with anyone else who supports it.

The Stalinists have no word in their platform against the imperialist war. On the other hand the Trotskyists, who distinguish between the Soviet Union and the capitalist states and who defend the Soviet Union, have the following to say about the war of the imperialists:

"Against Imperialist War! The Second World War is a continuation of World War One on a grander scale. It is not a war for 'democracy' but a bloody struggle between contending camps of imperialist bandits for profits, for the re-division of colonies and markets. It will bring the masses only misery and degradation. For the fraternal union of the toilers of all countries against the exploiters!"

Roosevelt is not even mentioned in the long Stalinist platform. The Democratic and Republican parties might not exist so far as the Stalinists are concerned. That LaGuardia is the outstanding candidate of the imperialist warmongers, or that he is a candidate at all, is nowhere indicated. There is, of course, a reason for all this. WHY THE CP DOESN'T NAME NAMES

Even the platform of the Stalinists is not acceptable to the anti-labor candidates in the New York City elections. The Stalinists are

recognized by the city. FOR THE RIGHT OF TRADE UNIONS TO STRIKE FOR BETTER CONDITIONS UNHAMP-ERED BY GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE!"

The Stalinists say that an anti-fascist administration would deny contracts to anti-labor firms. But the LaGuardia administration gives contracts to such firms. Does this mean that LaGuardia is not an "anti-fascist"? Then why not say so? The reason again is that the Stalinists in the A.L.P. are already openly supporting LaGuardia.

### STALINISTS FIGHT FASCISM BY SUPPORTING IMPERIALISM

While the Stalinists have nothing to say about fighting war, they do pretend to have the program for fighting fascism, and in fact use the issue of fascism (as Roosevelt does) to justify support of the "democratic" imperialists in the war.

"One enemy," say the Stalinists, and that is Hitlerism. One way to fight it, and that is by unity for victory, the creation of a "national front." One strategy, and that is support of every step of Roosevelt and the Sixty Families into the war.

If Hitlerism is the main issue then, quite naturally, the struggle against fascism at home and against the destruction of civil liberties at home becomes secondary. And so they have become in the Stalinist platform:

"Those who would destroy labor's rights . . . are playing Hitler's game. The continued imprisonment of Earl Browder, the foremost anti-fascist in the Western Hemisphere, seriously hinders the effective struggle against Nazism."

In other words, the struggle for civil liberties is important to them chiefly because they believe that their loss would interfere with the prosecution of the war plan of the government. If civil liberties are threatened and destroyed, it will be harder to get labor support for the war. That is why the Stalinists want to preserve them. No other reason is given.

But the Stalinists do not say who these people are who would destroy labor's rights. What are their names? What parties do they belong to an control? They are silent because the answer would show that they are the very same people who are the most ardent

supporters of the war — the Roosevelt administration and the capitalist class.

The Stalinists do not even mention the fact that it was the Roosevelt administration which railroaded Browder to jail because the Communist Party at that time was speaking against the war as loudly as today it speaks for it. How can the Stalinists support belong to and control? They are Roosevelt's war and at the same time attack him for jailing Browder? They can't. But they support his war just the same, and delicately avoid mentioning names and telling just who would destroy labor's rights.

### TROTSKYISTS HAVE THE ANTI-FASCIST PROGRAM

The Trotskyists, on the other hand, not only call for a struggle to death against fascism, both at home and abroad, but analyze it so that the workers will know what they are fighting and how to destroy it:

"Fascism must be smashed! But the whole question is: The victory of British and American imperialism over Germany would not abolish the roots of fascism which would inevitably again grow out of the terrible chaos and depression resulting from the war."

"Fascism is a product of the decaying capitalist system. To defeat fascism, the workers must change the social order. . . We are fighting for the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government which will guarantee victory over fascism through the socialization of all industries now in the hands of monopoly capital and through the introduction of planned economy. . ."

In the same way and for the same reason that they oppose destruction of civil liberties — because it repels labor support for the war — the Stalinists oppose the rising cost of living and the increased tax burdens on the masses.

And their answers to these problems are not militant working class demands, but the hogwash of the liberals. Instead of demanding a rising scale of wages to be automatically adjusted to the ris-

ing cost of living, instead of demanding that the war industries be expropriated and the rich be made to pay for the war, the Stalinists ask that city government "take all administrative and legislative measures to halt profiteering and reduce the cost of living" and that "our" tax policy be put on a "democratic basis of ability to pay."

The Stalinists also try in their platform to get credit for practicing working class politics:

"We Communists are convinced that socialism is the system best suited to our times for promoting the health, happiness and culture and freedom of mankind." But they don't want anyone to get the idea that they are calling on the workers to fight for a system that will forever destroy capitalism and its by-products, war and fascism, so they add hastily, "But we Communists say that Communism is not the issue before us today."

Socialism, they say like the traditional social-democrats, "is the system best suited to our times" as though it were something you bought in the department store. It is the system best suited to our times, but they aren't buying any today, thank you. They'll get along with democratic imperialism instead, until that time in the far distant future when they're in the mood for "communism" again.

In short, the Stalinists want the workers to think of them as the party of workers' political action, but they don't intend to carry on any such action.

The Trotskyist platform ends with the slogans: "For A Workers' and Farmers' Government! For Socialism!" Not because socialism is a nice and suitable system, but because it is the only answer to the workers' immediate problems, because only by the workers' fight for a socialist society will war and fascism, hunger and discrimination be forever abolished.

Workers who want to break with capitalist politics must break all the way. To vote for the Stalinist candidates is no better than voting for capitalist policies under another label. In the New York elections the way to vote against the war, fascism, the rising cost of living and the drive against civil liberties, is by voting against all capitalist politicians and their labor and Stalinist lieutenants, and for the Trotskyist Anti-War candidate for Mayor, James P. Cannon.

# Prices Soaring Survey Reveals

The following figures, compiled by the Minneapolis Labor School prove that food prices have gone up from 15% to 83% during the last year in a typical American city.

These statistics of the prices of staple food commodities correspond to the realities in the skyrocketing cost of living. They present a different total picture from that given out by the United States Department of Labor because the government's figures are based on a list of food commodities deliberately loaded down with items which are not generally used by the average family and whose tendency therefore is to remain more stable.

It is a different picture, but the true one, as housewives can testify from their own experience!

Food Item	Price in Aug., 1940	Price in Aug., 1941	Increase	Percent Increase
Sugar (10 pounds)	51c	59c	.08c	15%
Eggs (Grade A, in cartons)	.21	.34	.13	67
90-92 Score Butter (1-lb. roll)	.26	.37	.11	42
Land-o-Lakes Butter (1-lb.)	.34	.41	.07	20
Cheese (2-lb. box)	.42	.55	.13	30
Lard (1-lb. carton)	.07	.12	.05	71
Pork Loin Roast (1-lb.)	.16	.25	.09	56
Spare Ribs (per pound)	.10	.14	.04	40
Pork Chops (center cuts)	.25	.36	.11	44
Smoked Shankless Picnic (½-lb.)	.15	.21	.06	40
Branded Bacon (½-lb.)	.25	.38	.13	52
No. 1 Sugar Cured Bacon	.12	.22	.10	83
Smoked Ham	.19	.29	.10	52
Bacon Squares	.10	.16	.06	60
Short Ribs	.10	.13	.03	30
Salmon (No. 1 tall red)	.25	.29	.04	16
2½-lb. Flour	.75	.93	.18	24
Wisconsin Colby Cheese	.16	.21	.05	31
Fat Hens (per pound)	.17	.25	.08	47
Broilers (per lb.)	.23	.27	.04	17
Coffee (2-lb. can)	.48	.58	.10	24
Lamb Shoulder Roast	.17	.22	.05	29
Lamb Breast	.07	.09	.02	28
Leg of Lamb	.22	.27	.05	22
Canned Milk (14½-oz.)	.06	.08	.02	33
Celery (2 bunches)	.10	.15	.05	50

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**The Negro Struggle**  
By ALBERT PARKER

According to William Patterson, a Negro representative of the Communist Party in Chicago, the Negro people are behind the war because it is a war against slavery just as much as the war of 1861. "This is our war," he said at a meeting on August 20. "Black America will play its part today just as it did in 1776 and again in 1861."

Last week we refuted Patterson's claims that the Negro people support the present war, and showed that since it is an imperialist war (not for democracy, but a fight between capitalist bandits over control of colonial markets and raw materials), the Negro people are correct in not supporting it. This week we want to discuss Patterson's attempts to win Negro support for Roosevelt's war plans by pretending that today's imperialist war is like the wars of 1776 and 1861.

**Wars the Negroes Supported**

The capitalist historians have always tried to play down the role of the Negro in those wars. They do this to bolster up their reactionary ideas that the Negro is inferior and incapable of playing any important role in society. More and more people, however, are learning the truth nowadays and beginning to understand what a tremendous part the Negro masses had in the construction and development of the American republic.

We do not have to argue the question as to whether the Revolutionary War of 1776 was progressive. Everybody knows that. A great revolutionary movement, it secured independence for the colonies from their oppressor, Great Britain, and resulted in the formation of the most democratic government at that time in the world. Like all great revolutions, it was carried on militantly, arms in hand. Progress was secured at the cost of much suffering and sacrifice. People who are afraid of revolutions today try to gloss over the fact that American bourgeois democracy was created only by violent struggle.

In this revolution, the Negro people played a glorious role. Crispus Attucks, a Negro, was among the very first to fall in it. Elsewhere, on all the fronts of the war, Negroes did not hesitate to give everything they had, even their lives. For their numbers the Negro people, freeman and slave, were as much responsible for the victory of the colonists as anyone else.

Not all the tasks of this revolution were accomplished in the 18th century, however. Feudalism still existed and had much power in the south, in the person of the landlord slave-owning class. The Civil War was the second American revolution, and it ended in the defeat of the south and the weakening and even destruction in most respects of feudal power in this country. It preserved the unity and independence of the nation, so that the capitalists could go forward with the economic development of the country. It destroyed chattel slavery and set the Negro people free.

Again the Negro people were in the thick of the battle, again they were on the side of progress and social revolution. Hundreds of thousands of colored troops fought and worked on the Northern side; their brothers in the south aided the Union forces as best they could. Lincoln and other Northern leaders admitted that without the Negro soldiers they would not have won the war.

**What About the War of 1917?**

Today the government and its lackeys, including the Stalinists, are using many of the same slogans employed in the two American revolutionary wars: for democracy, freedom, independence, against slavery, tyranny, dictatorship, etc. But the kind of war it is cannot be determined by what its supporters claim it is; for even Hitler knows how to use slogans in his own interests, even the slaveholders in the Civil War claimed that their war was in the interests of the slaves.

The Negro people in this country have already had an experience in wars and slogans which was very enlightening; that was in 1917.

And it is very significant that Patterson, who spoke about the war of 1941 and the wars of 80 and 165 years ago, had nothing to say about the war of 24 years ago, and the Negro role in and attitude toward that war.

For today's war, so far as most workers are concerned, is a repetition of World War I, and the same kind of war. Patterson can't mention it because the masses would immediately see through his stock phrases.

Again as in 1917 the capitalist class is conducting a war for its own profit. Workers are made to pay for it in money and blood. Negroes are Jim-Crowed in the armed forces and face a virtual blackout in industry. The outcome of the war will be the same for Negroes as after 1918, when they were lynched for daring to wear an Army uniform. (As a matter of fact already, even before we are in the war officially, the lynch spirit against Negro soldiers has been whipped up.)

This war will bring no improvement in conditions for the masses of the world, regardless of whether the Allies or the Axis powers win. Negroes in this country will get no benefits from a Roosevelt victory. They will have the same problems they had before the war, and probably worse.

The Revolutionary War and the Civil War were progressive, in the interests of the masses as well as the rising capitalist class. World War II, like World War I, is reactionary, in the interests only of capitalism decaying and in its death agonies. Negroes instinctively do not support it. Their instincts are healthy and correct.

These correct and revolutionary instincts of the Negro people must now be connected to an understanding of the kind of war they can and must support. This we intend to discuss next week.

**How U. S. Rules Porto Rico**  
Wall Street Imperialism Brings Untold Misery To Natives

By M. INGERSOLL

During the last five months I have had the opportunity to witness conditions in a typical American colonial possession, Porto Rico. I have just returned from my fifth trip there since March. I have visited eight or nine ports in all parts of the Island and have spent a combined time of ten weeks talking with the native people and observing their conditions.

The entire island is indelibly stamped with the mark of American imperialist exploitation. On first coming into the harbor at San Juan, the leading city, I was struck by the extreme appearance of poverty and the filthy living conditions of the workers in the Puerta Tierra section, the portion of the city one sees, on leaving the ship.

**POVERTY AND FILTH**

Whole families live together in one-room shacks crowded on muddy streets that are foul with sewage, refuse and pools of stagnant water. Swarms of children play amidst this filth or hang around the gin-mills, begging "Give me a penny" from American tourists and seamen. Similar conditions exist on a worse scale, if possible, in the slums of La Perla in San Juan. The majority of the people of San Juan, the show-place of the island, have no sanitary facilities at all.

The longshoremen who came aboard the ship were all barefooted. They hung about the galley for leftover scraps from the crew's tables. These longshoremen are among the highest paid workers on the island.

Hundreds of prostitutes rove the streets and "night clubs" on the water front. That is one of the few means of making a living open to most girls. The only industry which employs women is the garment industry, which pays wages of between nine and twelve cents an hour. Unemployment is extensive in this industry.

**SLAVES OF AMERICAN SUGAR INTERESTS**

There are relatively few industrial workers on the island. Sugar refineries are the chief industry. The majority of the natives work like serfs on the huge sugar and tobacco plantations owned by the American banks. Having no other jobs to turn to, they are virtual slaves of the plantation managers, and must submit to whatever the bosses impose on them. They have only a few months work, and for the majority of the year no incomes at all. This means that even the cane cutters, who belong to the cane cutters union and have managed to win \$1 a day wages, do not earn annual incomes of more than \$100, on which an entire family must live.

It doesn't take long to see that the much-vaunted "self-government" on the island is a joke. The people are "permitted" to elect local officials and a general congress. This is just a matter of form. The real government is embodied in the island governor appointed by the Washington administration with power to overrule any decisions of the local officials and the congress.

**TAMMANY POLITICS**

Money rules the roost—just as in America—and Porto Rican politics is conducted almost entirely on the practice of buying votes and politicians.

Demagogy has developed into the highest art, and the party in power is usually the one which makes the most extravagant promises to the electorate, kept in ignorance by their American rulers. A characteristic attitude expressed to me was: "The politicians are all alike. If I vote, I will vote for the one I think can get the most for me personally."

**HATE AMERICAN RULE**

One night, with a Porto Rican shipmate I was returning to the ship at San Juan. Our ship was anchored out in the stream, so we had to hire a small boat to take us to it. As we walked down by the Marina, a dock for small boats, we conversed in English.

The local bourgeois and petty bourgeois layers, who dominate the political parties of the island, try to turn the impoverished natives away from the ideas of mass action or organization, especially when it comes to getting relief or a job tries to get a letter from a friend of a politician. Most have their names on the lists for surplus commodities, the receipt of which means so much to them.

The war boom has hit Porto Rico, as every other American possession. A series of military airports is being built to ring the entire island, new military highways are being constructed, naval bases, shipyards and Army camps are going up. This has meant jobs for a lot of Porto Ricans, who have suffered unemployment for

years. The native laborers are getting very low wages, but work at any price is welcome.

**MILITANT STRIKES**

There has been no lack of bloody strikes and militant anti-imperialist movements in Porto Rico. Cane cutters, armed with razor sharp machetes, have taken control of the whole country-side to enforce their wage demands. Recently, the owners and drivers of the little taxis, which are the main form of transportation in the principal cities, initiated an island-wide strike and boycott against the high prices of gasoline. This strike paralyzed transportation on the island. The dock workers have won union recognition, improved wages and conditions, through many militant actions.

I had the good fortune to have a long conversation with a former official of the Nationalist Party of Porto Rico. He informed me that this party is virtually wiped out, not because the Porto Ricans are resigned to American imperialist rule, but because of the policies of the party's leaders.

This party resorted to tactics of individual terrorism. This brought terrible reprisals from the government and officials. Two of their leaders were beaten to death by police for the assassination of an American police officer. Others are now serving long sentences in Atlanta penitentiary for killing a police chief. Most of the remaining leaders are in jail for refusing to register for the draft.

**A PROGRAM FOR FREEDOM**

This leader told me that he realized that only a party with a clear class struggle leadership and program could successfully lead the fight for freedom of the Porto Rican people. He added that he doubted the possibility of the Nationalist Party regaining its former influence. And this in spite of the intense and widespread nationalist feeling.

One cannot escape the manifestations of this feeling everywhere. The poor natives hate and resent the over-bearing Americans and the American domination over their lives and affairs.

**UNITED STATES ROLE**

Meanwhile, United States imperialism makes Chungking policy. American technicians are rebuilding the Chinese air force, and bossing the Burma road transportation system. Manuel Fox of the United States Treasury Department is reorganizing the currency and fiscal systems. And now Owen Lattimore is coming

lies in the Axis alliance, and even then gains are problematical. The government of Tokio is honey-combed with German "advisers" in every key department and they play a big part in molding Japanese policy. Japan, like Italy, has to pay a high price for Hitler's friendship.

To a large extent, of course, much that will happen here depends on how the war in Europe shapes up. Japan appears to be playing the role in the East that Italy plays in the West. She doesn't want to play Hitler's game for the sake of Hitler, but her whole position condemns her to a subordinate role. Her only hope of any real gains from the war

lies in the Axis alliance, and even then gains are problematical. The government of Tokio is honey-combed with German "advisers" in every key department and they play a big part in molding Japanese policy. Japan, like Italy, has to pay a high price for Hitler's friendship.

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**On The Soviet Eastern Front**



Red Army troops, somewhere on the eastern front, lie flat on the ground as they pour a deadly fire into the ranks of the Nazi army. The fighting qualities of these Soviet soldiers have caused the Nazis to complain of their "unfair methods of warfare."

**Chinese Trotskyists Tell How To Defend The USSR**

CHINA, July 11 (By Letter; Delayed)—The Chinese Trotskyist movement has issued a manifesto on the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. Its central point declares that intensification of the war against Japan is the best way for the Chinese masses to defend the Soviet Union.

Indications at present are that Japan is preparing for an attack on the Soviet Maritime Province, with Vladivostok as the main objective. It is felt here that not much time will elapse before the first open steps in this direction are taken. Already

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**AGAINST FIGHTING FOR AMERICAN IMPERIALISM**

"I don't know what business I have in the American army or fighting in this war. They say they are going to protect the United States and freedom. I don't give a damn about the States. I'm a Porto Rican and we don't have any freedom!"

After hearing sentiments like this everywhere, one readily understands that the conspicuous presence of American soldiers sailors and marines everywhere on the island is dictated as much by the fear of the natives as by fear of a Hitler attack.

One thing is certain about the natives of Porto Rico. If a revolutionary upsurge occurs in the United States, it won't be long before the Porto Ricans act upon it and proceed to settle their own score with the American ruling class.

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**Destruction of the Dnieper Dam And What It Signifies**

By MICHAEL CORT

The Dnieper Dam has been destroyed. The river is no longer harnessed to produce power for the Ukraine; it now swirls across mines and farms and cities in a rampage of destruction. It was a symbol. Product of the first Five-Year

The Dnieper Dam was more than a dam—it Plan, the giant Dam came to symbolize the achievements of a planned economy. The very building of it was an engineering achievement of such magnitude that it inspired the Soviet masses with pride and confidence in their abilities. It was adduced by Stalin as proof that Socialism can be built in one country surrounded by a capitalist world.

The Dam was destroyed as a military maneuver. This also was an achievement, though of a different sort. This act, the extension of the "scorched earth" policy, was possible because the Dam belonged to the people and not to a group of capitalists concerned with private profit. The Soviet masses are fighting this war to protect their own farms and factories from the fascists. When it is no longer possible to defend their property, they destroy it rather than allow it to be used by the enemy...the class enemy!

**Something New For the Nazis**

This is a new experience for the invading Nazis. They are used to fighting rival capitalists who possess a respect for the sanctity of private property; who fight with one eye on the invader and the other on the profit and loss sheet. Hitler, when conquering the "democracies" was always rewarded with the surrender of mines and factories in good working condition. As the Nazi war machine plunged down through northern France, city after city was declared "open" and was given up to the fascists, undefended. The French capitalists surrendered Paris to the invader rather than see their property damaged.

This same process had gone on previously during the Spanish Civil War. City after city on the northern front was sold out to the fascists by the "democratic" Spanish capitalists. Even those capitalists who were not pro-Franco, hoped to keep their property regardless of which side won the war, and didn't want to see it damaged. It was Stalin's collaboration with the "democratic" Spanish capitalists that immobilized the workers in the face of these betrayals.

The Stalinist bureaucracy distrusts and fears the Soviet masses just as they did the Spanish proletariat. Now, however, the very existence of the bureaucracy is tied up with the Soviet struggle against the fascist invader. Hence the Kremlin agrees to arming of the workers in the cities, the destruction of the Dam, etc.

**Stalin's Theory Also Destroyed**

But the destroying of the Dnieper Dam has an even greater significance. The explosives that blew it up also blew to bits Stalin's theory of socialism in one country. This Dam had to be destroyed because fascism had not been destroyed in Germany. The false theory of socialism in one country helped to deliver the German workers to Hitler. Hitler in turn shackled them to the war machine that is now invading the Soviet Union.

When fascism came to power in Germany, the Stalinists denied that the fascist victory could affect the Soviet Union. They boasted of the might of the lone "Socialist State," and declared themselves beyond attack. What a monstrous boast! How false their comfortable theory of "Socialism in one country." By failing to carry the revolution to Germany and the rest of Europe, the Stalinist bureaucracy not only betrayed the German and European workers, they endangered the very existence of the Soviet Union.

The Dnieper Dam, so patiently and lovingly built by the workers, so heroically destroyed, will always be remembered as the symbol of the criminally false theory that socialism can be built in a single state and can live side by side in peace with decaying capitalism.

Only the overthrow of the bosses in every imperialist country can assure the existence of the first workers' state and bring Socialism to all the workers of the world.

**Armed Women Defend Farms**



Even the women workers of the Soviet Union have joined in the armed defense against Hitler, as shown by this radiophoto from Moscow. These are girls from collective farms who have joined a guerrilla detachment.

**Words Out Of The Past That The Stalinists Would Now Like To Forget Completely**

Statement of The French Communist Party: "It is difficult to forecast the lineup in the next imperialist war. But it is very probable that such a war would start either as an attack upon the Soviet Union or, as Stalin said, would be rapidly transferred into a united attack of the imperialists against the U.S.S.R."

"But whatever the exact circumstances in which the hostilities would begin, the French Communist Party would continue to wage its relentless and unceasing struggle against French capitalism and their own imperialists. It would raise Lenin's slogan of turning imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war. A Soviet France would be the best and only genuine ally of the Soviet Union."

"At the moment the immediate interests of French imperialism require friendly relations with the Soviet Union. But the defense of the Soviet Union ultimately depends upon the efforts of the international working class.

The hindering and crippling of the war machinery of all capitalist governments is among the most important tasks confronting the world proletariat.

"The fight against the war preparations of the imperialists is an integral part of the fight against capitalism, and if pushed with sufficient force, can assure the establishment of Soviet power before the outbreak of an imperialist slaughter."

"The anti-war struggle by its very nature is a defense of the Soviet Union and an advancement of the struggles of the working class against capitalism. It should be emphasized that under all circumstances the main task of the working class is the overthrow of the capitalists of its own country. The struggle in this direction makes for peace, the defense of the Soviet Union, and the furtherance of the interests of the international proletariat." — Reprinted from the Daily Worker, May 11, 1935.

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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.

## What Local 544-CIO Is Fighting For

The workers in the motor transport industry of Minneapolis are asking the state and national labor boards for one simple, elementary right; government-supervised elections in which the workers can designate which union shall represent them.

A simple, elementary right. Yet the workers have been asking for it for three months and it has not yet been granted to them!

During the last two weeks the workers in this Minneapolis industry have been following each other to the witness chair at hearings being conducted by the state labor board. As fast as each man's testimony is taken down, another replaces him. Already hundreds of workers have testified, and Local 544-CIO stands ready to send additional thousands to the witness chair to give similar testimony. If State Labor Conciliator Blair were to give the union sufficient time, the union could bring to the witness chair an overwhelming majority of the five thousand workers in this industry.

All these workers testify that they and their fellow-workers want elections to be held at which they shall choose the union they want to belong to. They make it clear that the workers will vote for Local 544-CIO.

Yet in all likelihood these hearings will not end with a decision by State Conciliator Blair to hold such elections. It is much more likely that he will end up by certifying without elections a new "union" set up by AFL Teamsters Chieftain Tobin, "544"-AFL. The present hearings are on an AFL petition for such certification without elections. The witnesses now testifying are rebuttal witnesses for Local 544-CIO. These hearings were opened by Blair by the simple device of brazenly ignoring petitions filed earlier by the CIO for elections in the various sections of the industry.

How, the perplexed reader may ask, can Blair dare to certify Tobin's "union" without elections, in the face of hundreds of worker-witnesses who are asking for elections? In the face of the last two membership meetings of Local 544-CIO at which, the boss press has conceded, 1,000 and 1,200 members were present? In the face of the state and national provisions for such elections when two unions dispute which has the majority?

The answer is that Blair is doing what reactionary Republican Governor Stassen is telling him to do. And Stassen is working hand-in-glove with Tobin and Tobin's friends, the Roosevelt administration. Tobin dare not submit the issue to an election. He knows very well that he will lose an election.

Since June 9, when Local 544 disaffiliated from

Tobin's International and joined the CIO, Tobin has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in his attempts to smash Local 544-CIO. He sent hundreds of "organizers" into Minneapolis to terrorize the motor transport workers. Roosevelt came to Tobin's aid, first with a statement denouncing the CIO for "raiding" Tobin, then with the FBI raids on the Socialist Workers Party and the federal indictment for "seditious conspiracy" against the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO.

But all this failed to crush the Minneapolis motor transport workers. After three months of Tobin's "blitzkrieg" they challenged him to submit the issue to an election—and Tobin dare not accept the challenge. And in his service the state administration has brazenly refused the workers an election.

Local 544-CIO has now confronted the National Labor Relations Board with this issue, by filing petitions with it for elections in several sections of the industry. The NLRB has yet to decide whether it will hold hearings and arrange for such elections.

That Local 544-CIO has survived all this is a remarkable tribute to the powerful unity of the motor transport workers of Minneapolis. The workers continue to stand by their union, determined at all costs to preserve the union which, since it was built in the great strikes of 1934, has been famous throughout the country as the most militant drivers' union. Neither red-baiting nor terrorism nor the hostility of the state and national administrations swerve Local 544 from its simple demand: "We want an election." That demand will finally prevail, as the entire CIO movement backs up its Minneapolis brothers.

## Laval and Terrorism

As against the Nazis in control of France, as against Laval and all other Vichy servants of the Nazis, our sympathies are all with Paul Collette who attempted to assassinate Laval and Deat, the two leading pro-Nazi French politicians.

But the futility of the shooting should be obvious to everyone. Even if Laval and Deat had been killed, the Nazis would have found many others among the French capitalist politicians to take their places. The conditions that give rise to the Lavalists are still in existence and there are bound to be many candidates to act as his substitute.

Marxists have always bitterly opposed individual terror, because it is not only futile but also harmful. For every act of individual terror sets into motion the machinery of reprisal on the part of the oppressors and many lives of militant revolutionists are uselessly sacrificed. Marxists have always taught the necessity of organizing the working masses as the only method to destroy the system of exploitation and oppression. Not by shooting the individual dictator or oppressor but by destroying the system of dictatorship and oppression can the masses achieve their liberation.

The politicians and journalists of the imperialist democracies and of the Stalinist camp have either directly or indirectly given their approval to the deed of the young Frenchman. At least nowhere have they criticized his act of individual terror. These hypocrites who pass laws against the advocacy of the use of force and violence to overthrow their own governments are elated at an act of individual terror when leveled against an opponent of theirs.

For the French workers there is only one road to achieve their freedom from Nazi and Vichy oppression. That road is not by acts of individual terror; that road is not by supporting British imperialism. It is the road of a workers' revolution fighting for a Socialist United States of Europe.

## The Answer for Kearny

Two weeks ago the government sent the Navy in to take over the Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Company at Kearny and end a strike by Local 16 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO.

The union had struck for a "maintenance of membership" clause to protect it against company attacks. The National Defense Mediation Board had conceded that the demand of the union was justified. Korn-dorff, head of the company which is controlled by the United States Steel Corporation, refused to abide by the recommendation of the NDMB and asked the government to take over the plant. The government took it over, and to date has done and said nothing about granting the demands approved by one of its boards.

The "maintenance of membership" clause, it is said in Washington, will have to wait until other "more important" questions are settled. The main question being discussed is what to do with the Kearny plant. The alternatives being considered are governmental purchase of the plant or rental for the "duration."

At the same time a small number of employees in the plant, most of them because of their occupation not even qualified for membership in the union, have been conducting an agitation, undoubtedly inspired by U. S. Steel, for return of the plant to Korn-dorff and Co.

There is no question that the members of Local 16, like all unionists, are tremendously concerned about this question of who shall run the plant—and all the other war industries.

There is only one way to solve this problem in the interests of the workers: Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.

In this particular situation it means: Let the government take over ownership of Federal, and let the workers in the plant, through democratically-elected committees, operate it under their own control.

At one and the same time this program would solve the problem of organizational security for the union, put an end to huge profits for an anti-labor corporation, and answer the demagogic cries of big business about "interfering with production" by assuring uninterrupted production so far as the workers are concerned.

# Manual Trains Soldiers To Think Like Fascists

Army Officers Approve Methods And 'Vitality' Of Nazis; Try To Blame Trade Unions For Destroying Morale

By MICHAEL CORT

That the U. S. Army officers admire the ideas and methods of fascism is a fact that liberals and "democrats" ignore in their campaign to sell the workers on the idea that this is a war to save democracy. This ostrich-like attitude has played right into the hands of the military hierarchy and enabled them, last week, to openly praise the fascist ideology in an official manual issued to the draftees.

Just prior to the launching of the Second Army maneuvers now being conducted throughout Arkansas and Louisiana, the 100,000 soldiers taking part received an official military manual aimed at "promoting a realistic approach to the maneuver problems . . ." The manual explained the "imaginary" political and economic quarrel between the "Red" and "Blue" armies that were about to be locked in mock battle.

The manual creates two imaginary countries—Kotmk and Almat. The real identity of these countries is made clear to the soldier and he discovers that he is reading his General's conception of the economic and political differences between Germany (Kotmk) and France (Almat) at the outbreak of the war two years ago. Throughout the manual the democratic institutions of France are held up to ridicule, and the "virility" of the Nazis is lauded. Nor does the American intelligence officer who wrote the manual (Major A. A. Griffin) stop there in his analogy. After damning the trade unions for creating disunity and discontent, he brings his lesson home by warning, "this might have been a true situation in the United States of America."

**HITLER METHODS HELD JUSTIFIED**  
Griffin's manual opens with a review of the situation in Germany, after a previous war had "led to a settlement distinctly injurious to (its) welfare and prosperity" (the Versailles Treaty). (We're using the countries' real names instead of the imaginary ones). After a time, it is explained, the prostrate Germany "began to recover its strength and was ready for political leadership (Hitler) prepared to utilize that strength to the utmost."  
Approval of Hitler's racial theories and his anti-Semitism are evident in Griffin's statement, "The vigor of the young people . . . was so pronounced that medical au-

thorities all over the world held the . . . government's program up as the finest ever devised in the strengthening of the (Aryan) race."  
And later on Major Griffin refers to Hitler as "the dynamic leader," and puts in his mouth the words, "Our wealth is in our people and our vitality, not in gold." The author is also greatly impressed by the fact that the Kotmk National Assembly (Germany Reichstag) was composed mainly of Army officers.  
And what of France—Germany's opponent?  
France was not a victim of official corruption. Her bosses didn't sell her out to the Germany bosses. No—according to Major Griffin—she was defeated because she had "a powerful union movement that . . . was largely taken over by Communist elements." She lost because her people were "approaching decadence by multiplicity of political parties" (instead of a single Fascist party).

The Major then explains how France's morale was further harmed by the trade unions and the Communist Party which distributed leaflets demanding peace. He carefully explains that these "radicals" worked with German agents in the preparation and distribution of their disruptive peace appeals. He points out that only the French military understood the danger from these radicals and their slogans, and quotes a French General as saying, "Despite attacks in the leftist press and the criticism of persons who have no military knowledge, we are prepared for any eventuality."  
Major Griffin gives a detailed picture of the actual opening of hostil-

ities and is careful to drive home the fact that the "Communists" and trade union leaders served as enemy agents and were mainly responsible for the defeat of France.

## NOTORIOUS GEN. LEAR ATTACKS CRITICS

The Griffin manual was distributed to the troops under the command of General Ben Lear. This is the same General that recently meted out Prussian discipline to some of his men that yoo-hoed at some girls on a golf course. At that time the War Department vindicated Lear with the words, "We always uphold our officers." The War Department will no doubt uphold Lear in this instance also.

Lear has already taken the offensive against those critical of his anti-democratic theories. He takes the classic totalitarian position that all those who disagree with him are "enemy agents."

Apparently aware that his manual was receiving wide-spread criticism, Lear broadcast a radio message on August 28 to the 100,000 under his command. He said, "We know there are agents of enemy forces and enemy powers within our country trying to spread dissatisfaction and suspicion, trying to bewilder us, trying to fill us full of confusion. Criticism of the army (manual) has been the result of the work of such agents."

Lear is no isolated "crack-pot" out of step with the Army and the War Department. The military hierarchy are notorious admirers of fascist methods and they practice these methods in their own sphere of control. The U. S. Army, as now constituted, could never fight a war on behalf of democracy for the simple reason that the officers don't believe in it themselves.

This is why the military training of the workers can not be entrusted to the officer caste. What is needed is trade union control of military training. No fascist ideology could be slipped over on the men if this were put into practice.

# Draftees Lose Their Illusions in the Army

By A DRAFTEE

Things are pretty bad in the army. Much worse than anybody outside thinks, simply because everything that happens is hushed up by the officers. Last month a fellow in my barracks couldn't take it any longer and committed suicide in the toilet by slashing his wrists. The officers hushed up the whole thing. Nobody outside the camp knew about it. You keep hearing stories all the time about men who commit suicide because they can't face any more army life.

There are also a great many desertions. One man I know of from Kentucky left word with his friend that it would take at least 25 guys to catch him. Down south there was a fellow in my barracks who bawled like a

baby every night. All the draftees are stunned by the speed in which their whole lives were changed the minute they got in the army. None of them thought it would be like this.

The first thing I noticed when I was drafted into the army was the fact that all the soldiers grumble against the officers. None of them seems to like or have respect for the officers. Then I found out that the political opinions of most of the men are anti-war. They want to go back to the world they were in before they were drafted.

## NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT "WAR FOR DEMOCRACY"

There is practically no frenzied sort of patriotism like during the last war. This is because, besides hearing over and over again that there is a national emergency, we are told little as to what we are fighting for. There are no speeches at all about saving the world for Democracy. This became impossible, anyway, after our first day in the army when we read the Articles of War.

While we were being marched along by a guide the first day, one of us asked him what we were to hear now.

"You're going to be told that you're subject to court-martial or death anytime you speak or think during the next year," he said.

When the Articles of War were first read, most of the fellows were literally stunned. There was a clause which forbids anybody saying anything against the Pres-

ident. For weeks the soldiers, at the mention of the President's name, would swear under their breaths. Then, one by one, they started to talk out loud. Once when Roosevelt spoke over the radio the soldiers shouted back at him to "tell it to Eleanor." Almost every one here is mimicking Roosevelt. "My friends—I hate war. Eleanor hates war. We all hate war. BUT —!"

**STRIKE BREAKING—A REGULAR COURSE**  
We're learning a lot about how to break strikes. Here is what an old sergeant told us as an introduction in our lessons on strike-breaking:

"Well men, you're now going to learn riot breaking. You'll learn certain formations for it. None of us like this task, but it's something we've got to do. With all these strikes breaking out today you can never tell when you'll be called out."

## WAR MEANS PROMOTION

The other day the officers decided that our morale was low and we needed a talk on the history of our unit. A lieutenant started tracing the history of our group up to and including the World War. At one battle he stopped to make a point of emphasis.

"Do you realize," he said, "that in this particular battle more than half of our men were killed! What a wonderful opportunity for advancement. Some of you, under similar circumstances may have been promoted from privates to squad leaders."

Needless to say, none of us were very much impressed by the wonderful opportunities.

I know that a lot of this stuff never gets into the big newspapers. But it goes on. And it seems to be getting worse all the time.

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# Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

## Stalinist "Revolutionary" Propaganda

We can expect to receive a demand from some naive Stalinist sympathizer that we apologize to the Kremlin because of our charge that the bureaucrats who rule within that magnificent edifice have failed to appeal to the masses in Germany to rise and overthrow the Nazi regime. For the Daily Worker of August 21 presents evidence which will surely be accepted by many gullible Stalinist followers as a real attempt to undermine the morale of the Nazi soldiers by appeals to them to overthrow Hitler.

On the front page of that issue of the Daily Worker there is prominently displayed a dispatch from Moscow, which gives the text of an open letter written by four German army officers captured in the fighting. This letter is designated as a "moving appeal to the German army" to bring an end to "the suicidal war against the Soviet Union."

It is quite possible that the letter was forged by the GPU for the purpose of anti-Hitler propaganda. The GPU is certainly capable of doing such a thing. The nature of the contents of the letter shows that it could have been written by any four reactionary German officers captured by the English and that the democratic imperialists could easily use such a letter. It is peculiar that only officers captured by the Soviet army should have thought of writing an open letter of this nature. But whether it is a forgery or an authentic letter is really immaterial. The contents of the letter, authentic or forged, reveal the attitude of those who published it.

As a piece of reactionary propaganda, although aimed at Hitler, it is difficult to imagine anything that could surpass this open letter and far from having the effect of arousing the common people of Germany against the Nazi regime, it would probably tend to encourage them in supporting that regime.

## Noble Officers Look Down on Rabble

"Tramps without kin or race"—thus are the Nazis referred to in this open letter. The four officers, authors of the letter, are evidently men of noble blood and gnash their teeth at the thought of being compelled to take orders from men who cannot trace their ancestry to some nobleman of old. "It was the sons of noble families who entered the army when the old German spirit still reigned," say these four officers, and we can imagine their chagrin when Hitler permitted some Nazi coming from the lower classes to defile the army of the nobility.

Can anyone imagine the common people of Germany being filled with hatred for Hitler because of the terrible crime attributed to him in the letter? It is possible that all noble officers would be moved by such an appeal but hardly probable that the masses would rise against Hitler to protect the nobility in their privileged position in the army.

And the officers are fierce in their condemnation of Hitler for murdering Generals von Schleicher and von Bredow and for keeping the cleric Niemoeller who was a submarine commander during the first World War under arrest. Rise, German proletarians, to avenge these noble Generals!

Not a word about the tens of thousands of workers slaughtered or put into concentration camps. Hitler's torture and murder of defenseless people are mentioned but only because Germany's reputation thereby suffers.

"Our German Fatherland is endangered," lament the officers, by Hitler's adventurist policies. It follows that if Hitler should win the war, these officers will humbly beg his pardon for then the "German Fatherland" would be greatly strengthened. And the war against the Soviet Union is severely criticized on the ground that "it is sheer madness to fight on two fronts." It can be presumed that these officers would have been perfectly satisfied had Hitler first conquered England and then proceeded to attack the Soviet Union.

## Officer Caste Will Not Overthrow Hitler

But why, naive Stalinist sympathizers will ask us, should the Soviet Union not utilize the appeal of reactionary officers to overthrow Hitler? No matter who appeals for Hitler's overthrow, they say, we should support such an appeal because if he is overthrown it will constitute a victory for the Soviet Union.

At best the open letter can have an effect only upon the officer caste. Is it possible that this caste, even if it wanted to, could remove Hitler from power by a palace revolution? The same hope was entertained by many reactionaries and many gullible people in England and elsewhere. How many times have wishful thinkers hoped to solve the problem of Hitlerism through a conspiratorial uprising of the army officers! But no such conspiracy developed for the simple reason that the Nazi bureaucracy is too powerful to be overthrown by a clique of reactionary officers. Only a people's uprising can hope to destroy the Hitler regime.

And even if the officer caste did succeed in getting rid of Hitler and his chief lieutenants, the Soviet Union would not be the beneficiary. The officers would then decide to fight a war on one front. They would make peace with England and the United States and confine their efforts to annihilating the Soviet Union.

It has been the invariable theme of Churchill that peace cannot be made with the Nazis, implying thereby that if the Nazis were overthrown by the old-time reactionaries, peace could be achieved in short order. It can of course be taken as absolutely for granted that Churchill and Roosevelt would not make peace with a workers' government that came to power in Germany as a result of a workers' revolution.

The letter of the four officers is a piece of propaganda that the democratic imperialists can scatter over Germany. That the Stalinists are utilizing such a letter shows how far removed they are from the revolutionary Marxist idea of appealing to the German masses to overthrow Hitler and unite with the Soviet Union to create a Socialist United States of Europe.