

What Happened To Wilson's 14-Point Program?

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FDR'S 8-POINTS HIDE REAL WAR AIMS

SWP Election Platform Hits FDR War Drive

Cannon To Run For Mayor Of New York On Strong Anti-War, Anti-Fascist Program

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party this week adopted a powerful anti-war and anti-fascist election campaign program to rally mass support for James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary, the Trotskyist Anti-War candidate for mayor of New York City.

This program is an uncompromising challenge to Roosevelt and his War Party, including his local henchman, LaGuardia. It is a direct answer to Roosevelt's attempt to silence the voices of the proletarian anti-war fighters in this country by his frameup indictment against James P. Cannon and 28 other members of the SWP and of Minneapolis Local 544-CIO.

With the aid of this program, the first half of the Cannon-For-Mayor petition campaign is expected to go over-the-top by August 21, when the quota of 7,500 signatures, the minimum required, is scheduled to be fulfilled. Over 6,000 signatures have already been secured. The campaign committee is confident that its total quota of 15,000 signatures will be obtained in record-breaking time.

The complete text of the election program is as follows:

The crucial issue today is the imperialist war. In this election for Mayor of New York City there is only one genuine anti-war party, and only one candidate who stands for a genuine struggle against war and fascism. That party is the Socialist Workers Party. That candidate is JAMES P. CANNON.

A VOTE FOR THE CANDIDATES OF BOSS PARTIES IS A VOTE FOR WAR

The record of Roosevelt and of the Democratic Party is one of lies and broken pledges. Roosevelt's every action has been a step toward war.

As soon as the Presidential campaign was over, Willkie became Roosevelt's mouthpiece to drag our people into the war. La Guardia is now running for a third term as a flunkie for the Democratic and Republican war mongers.

The American Labor Party was among the first to bless Wall Street's war plans.

The Communist Party, since Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, has become the most brazen supporter of the imperialist war.

A VOTE FOR JAMES P. CANNON IS A VOTE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

Roosevelt and his Gestapo-FBI are trying to frame up James P. Cannon and other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party because our party is pledged to carry out the following

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CIO Auto Workers Vote Support For Local 544

BUFFALO, August 16—The Local 544-CIO truck drivers of Minneapolis have gained a new and powerful ally in their fight against the Roosevelt-Tobin drive to smash their union. The Sixth Annual Convention of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) today unanimously adopted a strongly-worded resolution offering full support to 544 and denouncing the FBI-Tobin union-wrecking campaign.

A resolution originally submitted to the convention Wednesday was sent back to the resolutions committee for rewording to make it stronger and to include a statement against the government attempt to frameup the 544 leaders on charges brought by the FBI.

During the Wednesday discussion on the original resolution, a Detroit delegate, William Maze, openly charged that the "seditious conspiracy" indictment against the 544 leaders was the payment by Roosevelt of a political debt to Tobin, AFL Teamster's head.

George Addes, UAW international secretary-treasurer, pointed out that Roosevelt is giving FBI aid to Tobin against the CIO and asserted that Tobin has sent a hundred gangsters into Detroit to smash the CIO Dairy Workers Union and other CIO locals.

The resolution adopted today is as follows:

"WHEREAS: Minneapolis Local 544, CIO Motor Transport Workers Union, which is the spearhead of the motor



JAMES P. CANNON

Imperialist Plans For World Conquest Mapped In Conference; USSR Menaced

By WILLIAM F. WARDE

Roosevelt and Churchill's conference was the first Supreme War Council of Anglo-American imperialism. Who is deceived by the ridiculous attempt to pass off their meeting as a "Peace Conference"? The presence of the Commanders-in-Chief and military staff heads, Generals and Admirals of both powers, as well as the secrecy enveloping the conference, its deliberations and decisions, unmistakably establish its war-like character.

The declaration of so-called "Peace Terms" emanating from the Two-Power conferees was designed, like the smoke screen around a battlefleet, to hide the plans and maneuvers of their fighting forces from the enemy. Not even friendly observers take these hollow and pretentious phrases seriously. What hypocrisy and impudence for the rulers of the British Empire to proclaim "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they shall live," while refusing 350,000,000 inhabitants of India the least democratic rights! Nor will Roosevelt, who failed to abolish "fear and want" in the U.S. during nine years of peace, eliminate "fear and want" from the world by as many years of war.

The Roosevelt-Churchill declaration lays down the basis for a second edition of the infamous Treaty of Versailles. After the last war the Allied victors "disarmed the aggressors" by stripping defeated Germany and pointing their arms against the Soviet Union, the colonial peoples and their own workers. They "furthered access to raw materials" by parcelling out Germany's colonies amongst themselves, and setting up a League of Nations to police their possessions and safeguard their robbers' spoils. Everyone knows how little peace, prosperity and security this kind of imperialist settlement gave to the world. Roosevelt and Churchill's contemplated repetition of this course contains far more dreadful consequences for humanity.

The drum-majors of the war party want us to believe that such a declaration will undermine Hitler. This is a great illusion. The declaration helps strengthen Hitler for it confirms the fear of the German people that Anglo-

American imperialism is bent upon restoring the bondage of Versailles. The imperialist post-war policy of revenge and robbery against the German nation which helped produce fascism, now serves to keep that reactionary regime intact. The German masses must see another alternative to Versailles before they will organize their revolt against Hitlerism.

The Main Business of the Conference

The main business of the conference, however, was devoted not to "peace aims," but to an extensive discussion of "war aims." The heads of Anglo-American imperialism mapped out their plans and grand strategy for meeting the military menace of the Nazi war-machine and its allies, Japan, France, Italy. Precisely what policies were decided upon, what far-reaching agreements and commitments were concluded, only the warlords present know. The Administration's actions and the unfolding events of the coming months will disclose them to the world.

If the ways and means remain still obscure, the end in view is clear. The Anglo-American imperialists have joined forces to crush their chief capitalist competitors in Europe and Asia, and set forth to employ the armed might, resources and energies of their dominions to conquer the world for their enrichment.

Commentators ironically remarked that Roosevelt had published his peace-terms before the U.S. had officially entered the war. The "democratic" Roosevelt and the "totalitarian" Hitler alike make war without consulting the people. Although Roosevelt's 8-point program imitated Wilson's, he began by violating the first of Wilson's 14 points—against secret diplomacy. No "open covenants, openly arrived at" for Roosevelt.

At every stage in his drive toward war, he is obliged to conceal his real aims, to camouflage his belligerent actions as steps toward peace, to lie and to deceive.

Roosevelt orders the arrest of the leaders of our party on the charge of "seditious conspiracy"! His own unauthorized War Council constitutes a gigantic conspiracy to drag the people of the U.S. into the imperialist dog-

(Continued on page six, editorial column)

Right Wing Leaders Win Out At Auto Convention

Addes Group Compromises On Basic Issues; Gives Support To Hillmanite Red-Baiting Resolution

BUFFALO, August 16—The twelve-day convention of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement workers (CIO) concluded today after adopting a constitutional amendment barring from elective or appointive office anyone who "is a member of or subservient to any political organization, such as Communist, Nazi or Fascist" which owes its allegiance to any foreign government," and elected a new International Executive Board dominated by the conservative Reuther group.

Although the Addes and Reuther groups went into this convention deeply split and conducted a virulent struggle for power all during the convention, the actions of both groups on all key points have shown that there is not a great deal of difference between them from a principled point of view.

ADDES DISAPPOINTS UAW MILITANTS

On all the life-and-death issues for the union, the Addes group, supported in the main by the most militant elements, compromised with the ideas of Reuther. Those militants who looked for progressive leadership from Addes were disappointed.

workers, therefore be it

"RESOLVED: That this, the Sixth Annual Convention of the UAW-CIO, go on record welcoming the Motor Transport Workers into the CIO, and pledge its full support to the organizing drive of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee in this field, and be it further

"RESOLVED: That we protest the use of any government agencies, and particularly the FBI, to be used to oppress or harass any labor organization in the pursuit of their legitimate activities."

kind of red-baiting in different form. Everyone understood that the Socialist Party has long since been a meaningless corpse, and that Reuther is no more a Socialist than Hillman.

All the Executive Board members, except the member from Canada, agreed on the anti-red resolution, and gave in to the government-employer pressure on this point.

There was, nevertheless, a militant minority at the convention which did not approve

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Minneapolis AFL Unions Face 'Purge' By Green

Local Central Labor Union Charged With Failure To Assist Tobin's Attempt To Smash Local 544-CIO; Tobin's Gang Tries To Slip Gold-Brick Contract On Truck Drivers

MINNEAPOLIS, August 18—A "purge" of the entire AFL movement here was indicated on Friday, when AFL President William Green announced that the AFL Executive Council was sending to Minneapolis a committee headed by Matthew Woll, to investigate and act on charges that the AFL Central Labor Union had failed to aid AFL teamster chief Tobin in his attempt to smash Local 544-CIO.

Green said the charges had been filed by Joseph Casey and T. T. Neal, the Tobin International representatives who were sent here to crush the Minneapolis motor transport workers' union, which on June 9 voted to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO.

"The Teamsters International sent representatives to Minneapolis to re-establish the AFL Teamsters union there," said Green at the AFL Executive Council meeting in Chicago. "These representatives have charged that they got no cooperation from the Central Labor Union because its leaders were sympathetic with the Communist leadership which took Local 544 into the CIO."

AFL UNIONS RESISTED TOBIN'S DEMANDS

Having failed to crush Local 544-CIO, Tobin's agents needed an alibi to justify their failure. But their charges against the AFL Central Union — in reality, charges against all the AFL local unions here — have this core of truth: no AFL union here has stuck to Tobin's level and none of them has given Tobin the kind of aid he wants to crush Local 544-CIO.

If the ways and means remain still obscure, the end in view is clear. The Anglo-American imperialists have joined forces to crush their chief capitalist competitors in Europe and Asia, and set forth to employ the armed might, resources and energies of their dominions to conquer the world for their enrichment.

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of the red-baiting issue, and which on many points took a stand independent of the whole International leadership.

MILITANTS ATTACK BOTH ADDES AND REUTHER

More than one delegate stood up and attacked both Addes and Reuther for their stand on the North American strike, and pointed out that this supposedly "unauthorized strike" was wholly justified and should have been authorized and supported.

Dozens of militants said after the vote on the anti-red resolution that such action was the preview for a government purge of militants in the plants. The International Executive Board member Burt, from Canada, warned what such a resolution meant.

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WORKERS' FORUM

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

Draftee Reveals Army Officers' Incompetence

EDITOR:

I have been reading with great interest the stories about the draft army which have appeared in THE MILITANT. This letter will give you a brief summary of some of my own experiences and ideas.

To begin with, the soldiers in my company feel that the administration is preparing to plunge the country into war as soon as preparations can be completed. There is a complete lack of enthusiasm for this project, and it seems to worry the officers. Time and again the officers remind the men that they are being trained for war and that the time for actual combat is not far off. Whenever the men fail to pay attention to instructors, this point is emphasized.

The officers don't make any attempt to sell the war as a holy crusade against fascism, they are too realistic for this, but they keep telling us that the war is coming and that we will have a better chance to survive if we are well trained.

Because the soldiers realize what faces them in the future, they are worried about the inadequacy of the training, the incompetency of the officers and the lack of war equipment.

In his article in the July issue of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on the streamlining of the

American army, Cadman refers to the reduced importance today of close order drill in army instruction. He states that the army, to a large extent, has done away with this type of training which is so useless in modern warfare. This elimination of close order drill may have taken place in some sections of the army—but it still goes on in my company.

We spend many, many hours learning the manual of arms, parades, maneuvers, and going through close order drill (column left and right, by the right flank and left flank, left and right face, etcetera). The soldiers realize that this instruction has no relation to efficiency in modern "blitz" warfare and they consider it a criminal waste of time. They speak quite openly on this subject and are unusually vehement in criticizing the stupid army leadership, especially when only a few short periods are devoted to important subjects such as anti-tank and anti-aircraft warfare.

Most of the officers who give us instructions have only recently left civilian life and are not qualified for their jobs. The bulk of them come from ROTC and have only a meager knowledge of the subjects upon which they lecture. The material is presented in a very disorganized manner. It's all pretty discouraging to the draftees.

Yours truly,
G. S.

The Blow

Steady now!—for our comrade. Keeps steady as he lies... Quiet now!—for our comrade. Instructs us as he dies...

What world is this we enter now? That purpose!—that commanding pen! That all-compassing thought-of-men He lived with! Will these days allow Such loss of vision, and yet sight remain?

Must another boy be born To grope, to err, to find, to scorn? Hammering passion, reason and desire Into the cause our sons require? Bearing the qualities and strength to grip Instruments of accepted leadership?

Our misery, that was his thought; Our cowardice, that was his pain; Our endless fight—the fight he fought In all lands for all peoples' gain:— These yielded him—will yield anew A comrade from their residue.

Hush now!—you can hear his heart: It is your own that beats so strong. They killed too late to tear apart His wisdom from our welded throng. —Too late that we need feel farewell: Too often to consider grief: So blindly that their acts must spell Our comradeship's increased belief.

Peace now!—loss must not slow Like dust a comrade's poised feet. Only history turns to bow— Victory alone may pause to greet!

August, 1941

UAW Delegates On Picket Duty



Delegates to the Sixth Annual Convention of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers (CIO), in Buffalo, are shown as they parade before the Curtiss-Wright aircraft plant to launch the national aircraft organizing drive voted by the convention. The delegates took time out from their important deliberations to show the aircraft bosses they mean business.

Private Ned Turman Died Fighting For Democracy

Negro Draftee Fought Against Jim Crow Brutality Of Military Police; Fellow Soldiers Thrill To His Last Words

Ned Turman, Negro draftee, died like a hero, fighting for democracy.

He did not have a hero's burial, but he joined the long list of fighters for Negro freedom and equality who were not afraid to risk everything, even their lives, in the struggle against oppression.

Like thousands of other young Negroes, Ned Turman was drafted into the United States Army and told he would be given military training to prepare him to help save the world for democracy.

But once he got into the Army, at Fort Bragg, N. C., he found that the democracy he was being trained to defend, was not supposed to include him.

He found that as a Negro he did not have the same rights and standing that other soldiers had. He found that he was not good enough to sleep in the same barracks that white soldiers used. He was not allowed to eat in the same mess hall. He could not drink soda in the same exchange post. He was forbidden to play checkers in the same recreation hall.

SEGREGATED CANNON FODDER

He was good enough to serve as cannon fodder like white soldiers, but not together with them. He was segregated from the whites, shunted off on the side. He saw that there were practically no Negro officers, and none of these few could command white soldiers, while most of his own commanding officers were white. He saw only a handful of Negro military police (MP's). He saw that most of the MP's were deliberately recruited from among the most backward, prejudiced, southern whites, men who were accustomed to treating Negroes as so much dirt.

Ned Turman came from the South himself, from Ashton, South Carolina. Lynch mobs, and persecution of Negroes because he failed to address a white man as Mister were nothing new to him. In the 27 years of his life he had had plenty of chance to become acquainted with Jim Crow and oppression. He had never complained or tried to fight before.

But now he was in the U. S. Army. He had expected things to be a little different now, to be

treated half way decently while he was in service. He had been in the army less than three months, and Roosevelt had asked for indefinite extension of the soldiers' terms. Ned Turman knew that this meant he would not be released until after the war was over.

There is no question that he, like the thousands of other Negro draftees, resented the way Negroes were being treated. In civilian life Jim Crow is unbearable enough. But when he was being trained to die for democracy, he must have thought to himself many times that he would like to have a little of it himself, that he might just as soon die fighting for it here as anywhere else.

HOW MP'S TREAT NEGROES

August 6th was payday for the men in Ned Turman's regiment, Battery C, 76th Coast Artillery. With many others he went to town that night, to "celebrate" in Fayetteville, to go to a Jim Crow movie house, to walk around and see the sights in the windows.

When Turman returned to the bus later that night, he was perfectly sober. Witnesses of what followed, who knew him, reported this to newspapermen from The Pittsburgh Courier and the Afro-American.

Turman entered the bus and sat down near the front. The bus driver refused to start back to the

fort because he claimed that some of the men, colored and white, had been drinking and were too boisterous. He demanded MP's and the soldiers didn't like this.

They argued with him until seven or eight MP's showed up. They entered the bus and told the men to shut up. One of them, Private Mack C. Poole, continued to talk and the MP's began to savagely beat him over the head with their clubs. It looked like the whole side of his head was caved in," one of the soldiers said later.

Ned Turman spoke up, said that Poole was in need of hospitalization, that he should be taken care of. They argued with him until seven or eight MP's showed up. They entered the bus and told the men to shut up. One of them, Private Mack C. Poole, continued to talk and the MP's began to savagely beat him over the head with their clubs. It looked like the whole side of his head was caved in," one of the soldiers said later.

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CP Tells FDR How to Frame SWP

Stalinists Recommend Moscow Trial Method

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Large headlines in hundreds of newspapers all over the country announced the indictment in Minnesota of leading members of the Socialist Workers Party and of the leaders of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Local 544-CIO for "seditious conspiracy" and for the violation of the Smith Act making it a crime to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence.

In one newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, there appeared a short note tucked away in an inconspicuous place to the effect that the government had obtained an indictment in Minneapolis against certain people who had something to do with the labor movement.

A week or so after the indictment there appeared a news item in the Minneapolis press to the effect that the leader of the Minneapolis Stalinists condemned the indictment, although criticizing the Trotskyist leaders. That was quite a step forward, and it appeared to some of us that the Minneapolis Stalinists were bound to receive a sharp reprimand from the Stalinist national office. The Stalinists in Minneapolis had given in somewhat to the well-nigh universal protest against the indictment in the ranks of progressive labor and liberals throughout the whole nation.

STALINISTS FORCED TO TAKE A POSITION

We do not know how many conferences and discussions were held in the Kremlin headquarters on 18th St., in New York as to the policy that should be followed towards the attack of the government on the Trotskyists. After all, to keep silent about a matter that was agitating the minds of every thinking worker and of every progressive could not but arouse amazement even in the ranks of the Stalinists and might lead some rank-and-file to give the kind of half-hearted support to the defendants that was given by the Minneapolis Stalinists. It was necessary to say something on the whole question. In the *Daily Worker* of August 16 — a month and a day after the indictment — Mr. Milton Howard was afforded the opportunity to make public the line formulated by the Stalinist heads.

To answer any article written in the *Daily Worker* about Trotskyist activities or policies is exceedingly difficult, if not altogether impossible. For in reality there is never any basis for an argument. A basis for argument can only exist where the idea of an opponent is presented honestly and arguments against that idea are advanced.

But that is never done in the *Daily Worker* in any article written about the Socialist Workers Party.

Two general lines are followed in every one of such articles. Our ideas are completely falsified and hidden motives ascribed to us. An answer to such an article must confine itself therefore to pointing out what was really said and to scoff at the hidden motives ascribed to us.

THE METHOD OF ATTACK

For instance, an article appears in our press advocating defense of the Soviet Union through

Red Army Fighters



Fully-equipped Red Army troops, shown in this radio-photo from Moscow, are seen crossing a river with the aid of paddles and supported by small air-filled rubber bladders.

ward, as final and conclusive proof that the Trotskyists are enemies of the people, the findings in the Moscow trials. Now the judge in those trials did find us guilty of being enemies of the people, but that is hardly conclusive. As a matter of fact, by this time, no one—not even the Stalinists—take those trials seriously. Of course they mention them every time they write an article about the Trotskyists, but somehow or other there is a hollow sound about it. Certainly, outside of the Stalinist ranks, the Moscow trials are accepted as frame-ups even by those who have never read the report of the Dewey Commission. Life has proved them so utterly baseless that it is impossible to take them seriously.

Here is a group which has allegedly been uncovered as enemies of the people continuing

their work as if no trials had ever been held. Can one imagine a spy in the service of the bosses being uncovered and continuing his profession as if nothing had happened? Such a creature immediately gives up his profession or attempts to transfer his activities to places where he is not known. But the Trotskyists continue to do this and not even the rank-and-file Stalinists dare raise the cry that spies are in the midst of the workers.

STALINISTS WANT INDICTMENT CHANGED

In Howard's article there are a few words of condemnation of the indictment against the Trotskyists. In the face of the universal condemnation of the government for obtaining the indictment, the Stalinists could not afford to come out openly in support of the government.

But it must be clearly under-

'COMMISSION MEN' PULL DOWN FAT CONTRACT FEES

By DON DORE

Among the various species of parasites swarming and multiplying around Washington these days are the so-called "commission men."

These are the "guys who know a guy" in the innumerable government agencies and for a "consideration" offer to "fix it" for small-fry manufacturers to catch some of the drippings from the war orders gravy bowl.

Over 75 per cent of the war orders have gone to 46 giant corporations, who have the "inside track" in Washington through their agents on the OPM and their dollar-a-year representatives. Thus, among the thousands of smaller corporations there has ensued a frenzied scramble for some of the scraps and pickings left over by the big trusts and monopolies.

The methods pursued are beginning to raise a stench and threaten to direct public attention to the whole system of contract letting — which would not bear any sort of investigation and might embarrass even the big corporations.

PRESS EXPOSURE

The *New York Times*, which rarely indulges in the practice of "muck-raking," has been forced to give more than a hint of the fixing, bribery and corruption that have resulted from the competition for war orders among the lesser corporations.

The *Times*, August 10, in a front-page story headed, "Huge Fees Paid to 'Contact Men' Run Up Nation's Defense Costs," reports:

"While the ordinary citizen is being asked to make all sorts of sacrifices for national defense and while the average taxpayer is wondering how to raise the money for next year's taxes, the government continues to allow so-called 'commission men' to run up the costs of the defense program and correspondingly increase taxes and to permit conditions to exist in its purchasing system that cause some manufacturers to believe they have to employ these 'contact' men in order to get government orders.

"The 'commission men' operate as go-betweens who claim to have contacts in Washington and among Army and Navy procurement divisions throughout the country that enable them to land contracts the average small manufacturer who is trying to shift from non-defense to defense work cannot get. Under the law governing such contracts the manufacturer is prohibited from using outside 'agents' or 'lobbyists' but this has been circumvented by the employment of outsiders as company salesmen or officials.

The big trusts, which don't have to rely on "commission men" for their orders because they have their agents directly on the OPM and the other government purchasing agencies, want to put curbs on the small manufacturers and squelch any practices which might bring the basic question into the open.

Behind these practices of the small manufacturers which evoke the "Indignation from the *Times*" lies the grand swindle of the big monopolies, who want "all-out" war production only to the extent that they alone profit by it and control it.

OUR RECORD IS CLEAR

Can the Stalinist leaders convince anybody outside of their own ranks that the Trotskyists are fifth columnists and wreck-

ers, two truckers making a delivery at the store were nearly murdered. Fleeing from Tobin's "organizers," the truckers took refuge in a gas station. Two magazines of bullets from automatic pistols were fired through the door, narrowly missing them.

THE INCREDIBLE SAGA OF TOBIN'S "BEELER BOYS"

544-AFL 'Organizers' Go On A Crime Spree

Shooting Farmer, Attacking Nurse, Assaulting Alderman, Hauling Marijuana All Part Of The Job For Tobin's Men

MINNEAPOLIS, August 18—At the end of two months of AFL teamster chief Tobin's "blitzkrieg" against Local 544-CIO, a sizeable group of his "organizers" sent in here by the scores, have succeeded—despite the most flagrant police protection and the open support of the city and state administrations—in getting themselves arrested for a series of crimes.

When Tobin's thugs slugged CIO drivers, inside workers and warehousemen, the cops looked the other way. But when Tobin's hoodlums attacked a nurse and beat up the hotel manager and detective who came to her rescue; attempted to assassinate two independent truckers; shot a farmer; beat up a city alderman and his brother; were found with marijuana, a narcotic drug, in their possession — when all these crimes were piled up one on another, the cops had to step in and make some arrests to slow up the Tobin crime spree.

At first glance the criminal conduct of the Tobin "organizers" may seem well-nigh fantastic; how could they do these things and thus prejudice Tobin's "case" in the eyes of the entire public? But the explanation is simple. Dirty work requires the kind of "organizers" that Tobin has sent in here. When Local 544, the Minneapolis union of motor transport and allied workers, disaffiliated from Tobin's international and joined the CIO on June 9th, Tobin flooded Minneapolis with hundreds of officers and organizers from his locals in a dozen states. They came believing Tobin's version — that the drivers were really for the AFL, that the 544-CIO leaders had no support, etc., etc.

ONLY THUGS WOULD STAY AND DO TOBIN'S WORK

But they soon discovered that the task Tobin had set for them was to destroy the union which has the allegiance of the Minneapolis transport workers.

Whereupon the real union

ers? Our record is too clear for such a frame-up to succeed. The government understands that; the bosses understand that; Tobin and his gangsters understand that. All of them openly accuse us of wanting to change this system. They of course want to frame us by attributing acts to us which we have never committed. But they try us on our Declaration of Principles and do not claim that our Declaration of Principles is only camouflage to fool the workers. They know better. We are in deadly earnest about our principles while the Stalinists have long ago sold theirs down the river.

If any worker does not yet know what we really stand for, let him follow the trial of the 29 and he will realize that we are indicted because we constitute the only real danger to the rule of the capitalists, their government and their labor tools. All the falsifications of the Stalinists cannot destroy that basic fact.

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Washington Av. & B'way N.
Labor Book store,
919 Marquette Av.



Striking workers, members of Local 16, Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Union (CIO), massed before the main entrance of the Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock Company's huge plant, 16,000 workers struck August 7 when the company refused to accept a modified union shop clause to which even the National Mediation Board had agreed.

FBI Terrorizes Civil Service Unions

On August 14th the Senate appropriated \$4,000,000 which is to be spent by FDR for "confidential purposes." The legislators were given no explanation of the "confidential purposes" beyond the vague hint that the money would be used for "investigation of the defense program."

Two weeks ago the Senate appropriated \$100,000 to be placed at the disposal of Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox. This fund was also earmarked for "investigations of the defense program."

The real use to which these creation of a super-FBI-Gestapo with which to terrorize and persecute workers opposed to the administration reasons." At Mare Island, California Navy Yard, 9 workers were fired for the same reason.

Philadelphia Navy Yard 23 workers have been suspended for "administrative reasons." At Mare Island, California Navy Yard, 9 workers were fired for the same reason.

Armed guards and marines with bayonets are now going through the government yards and arsenals, tapping employees on the shoulder, marching them out through the most public passages, so that all the workers may see, stripping them of their badges and dismissing them with no reason given.

Levelling the vague charge of "communism" against Mrs. Miller, Secretary of Labor Perkins revealed her real union-busting motives when she said, "There can be no collective bargaining in government service. There can be no

collective bargaining over this or any other dismissal."

Mrs. Miller is only the most flagrant case of government discrimination against union members. Her case received attention because Secretary Perkins is involved. Secretary Perkins professes to urge private employers to bargain with unions, but refuses to do so herself. But the Navy workers were also members of the union. They, however, were concerned with construction of battleships and the sabotage bogey was more easily created.

THE "SECURITY" OF CIVIL SERVICE

Secretaries Stimson, Knox, and Perkins have all refused to meet with union representatives, bring specific charges or hold open hearings. Civil Service investigators are promoting the terror by interviewing every worker and sub-

mitting them to a third degree as to their political and union beliefs and affiliations. Every Civil Service worker is confronted with the question, "Do you belong to the Communist Party, the Nazi Bund or the CIO?" The UFWA is affiliated with the CIO.

Few workers continue to harbor illusions that FDR is pro-labor. But until now many workers thought that Civil Service meant job security. Now they know better.

Civil Service is a boss device for keeping the workers docile. Its promise of job security is intended to make the workers contented with long hours and low pay. Mrs. Miller and scores of other fired unionists were all "protected" by Civil Service status.

The Federal workers are learning that a boss's promise, whether it's a private boss or the government, is good only so long as it serves his purpose.

Roosevelt Now Imitates Wilson's '14 Points'

Fate of 1918 'War Aims' Shows What Will Happen To FDR's Eight Points

By ART PREIS

The Roosevelt-Churchill eight-point statement of "war aims" invited immediate comparison with Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" enunciated before a joint Congressional session on January 8, 1918, in the fourth year of World War I. The comparison is apt—and devastating.

Wilson's "Fourteen Points," of which the Roosevelt-Churchill statement is a pale copy, has been proved the most fraudulent promise in all history.

The declaration of Wilson included several claims significantly omitted from the present eight-point statement. Roosevelt and Churchill cannot attempt to justify their war even to the extent that Wilson did.

OPEN COVENANTS OPENLY ARRIVED AT

Wilson's first "war aim" called for:

"Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed frankly and in the public view."

The "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at" was the monstrous Treaty of Versailles, drawn up in secrecy by the representatives of the four largest Allied powers, Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Orlando. This treaty simply looted and dismembered the conquered nations for the aggrandizement of the victors. Not even the people of the victorious powers, let alone those of the defeated nations, participated in the establishment of this "peace."

AN FDR-CHURCHILL OMISSION

After World War I, diplomacy did not proceed "frankly and in the public view." On the contrary, diplomacy became more secret and devious, on the part of the "democracies" as well as the totalitarian nations. The diplomatic dealings of the American and British governments have always been conducted behind closed doors. The very statement of "war aims" just announced followed discussions and decisions of which the American and British peoples had no advance knowledge and in which they did not participate.

The Roosevelt-Churchill statement cautiously excludes Wilson's first point. A mere mention of open diplomacy would expose the shady character of the negotiations between the American and British "democratic" governments. It would embarrass future negotiations for an imperialist settlement.

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

Wilson's second point, for "absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas," is the model for the similar statement in the new eight-point declaration.

What was meant by "freedom of the seas" was demonstrated after the last war, when the Allies destroyed German sea power, seizing the German merchant marine as well as navy. American and British imperialism then established the policy of maintaining an absolute naval supremacy over the combined navies of all the other nations. "Freedom of the seas" meant freedom to rule the seas.

NO "ECONOMIC BARRIERS"

The fourth "war aim" of Wilson's

which virtually excluded imported competitive products from this country.

Roosevelt and Churchill repeat this pious pledge of "trade equality," with the qualifying phrase, "without disregarding their (American and British) present obligations."

PRESENT OBLIGATIONS EXCEPTED

What are these "present obligations"? They are the real war aims of Roosevelt and Churchill embodied, no doubt, in a secret agreement designating American and British "spheres of influence" with respect to world trade, colonies and markets, in the event of an Allied victory.

Wilson's fifth point was another grim joke. This promised the establishment of "guarantees" that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety."

DISARMAMENT HOAX

This pledge was carried out with the disarming of the Central powers. But the armaments race did not slacken. It grew more feverish and intense. Wilson's "peace" — at every imperialist peace — served merely as the interlude for increased preparations for the next

war, World War II.

Related to Wilson's disarmament pledge was his proposal for a "general association of nations," his fourth point. This was the genesis of the League of Nations, which the United States scorned to join. The League was fashioned merely to further the hegemony of British and French imperialism on the European continent. It crumbled to dust with the impact of the violent resurgence of German imperialism.

The Roosevelt-Churchill "disarmament" proposal frankly states that their "future peace" is based on the disarmament of "nations which threaten, or may threaten aggression outside their frontiers" — that is, the imperialist competitors of Wall Street and the "City." All else is reduced to the nebulous promise to "aid and encourage all practicable measures which will lighten . . . the crushing burden of armaments."

SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE COLONIES

Wilson's fifth point has no parallel in the present Allied statement. It deals with the disposition of the colonies. Wilson called for "a free, open-minded, absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims," based upon a

strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

This did not disavow the principle of colonial exploitation, but it did give some "recognition" to the rights of self-determination of the colonial peoples. After the last war, the victorious imperialist nations fought for colonial spoils like jackals over a piece of carrion. Germany was stripped of her colonies, which were parceled out mainly to Britain, France and Belgium. The possessions of Turkey in Asia Minor were divided up between England and France. In all these transactions, "the interests of the populations concerned" not only did not have "equal weight," they had no weight whatsoever! One imperialist marched in as the other marched out.

Nor did American imperialism pay more attention to the "interests of the populations concerned" in imposing its domination over colonial nations. In the period following World War I, American bullets sang the tune of Wall Street imperialism in Nicaragua, which was paraded down to a weak dependency of 6,000,000 inhabitants from a country of 60,000,000. Czechoslovakia was established as an independent nation to play the role of pawn for French and British imperialism in Central Europe, and this new nation became in turn the oppressor of national minorities.

An independent Hungary was set up, which included subject Rumanians. Rumania was re-established, with rule over a large group of subject Hungarians. Poland, which Wilson declared must be established as an independent state "which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations," was given domination over 15,000,000 Ukrainians. "Poor little Serbia" became Yugoslavia, the persecutor of the Croatians. Wilson's "self-determination" resolved itself into a post-war Europe that groaned with the new sufferings of oppressed nationalities.

SUBJECT NATIONS

After the war, each European nation found itself confronting some counter-claim. The need for alignments had induced the leading Allied imperialist powers to promise the same territories to different nations. The Versailles Treaty and the other "peace" treaties revamped but did not alter the system of subject peoples, in Europe. The Austrian Empire subject peoples, was ruthlessly over in bribes to win over the small nations to the side of the imperialist democracies. And above all, there are the inevitable conflicting claims between the democratic imperialists and the Soviet Union, a delicate point which Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin now prefer to slurr over.

The Roosevelt-Churchill statement fails to mention their new "ally," the Soviet Union. They dare not place themselves on record, as Wilson did, for the "unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development" of the Soviet Union. Wilson risked that "concession" solely because he believed the Soviet Union of 1918 would not survive for a year.

IMPERIALIST "PEACE"

History has proved that Wilson's "Fourteen Points" were compounded of hypocrisy and fraud. They were the veneer covering the ruthless imperialist aims for which this nation was thrust into World War I.

That is the character of the present Roosevelt-Churchill eight-point statement of "war aims." Like Wilson's "Fourteen Points," the Roosevelt-Churchill statement will be blown away by the harsh winds of any future imperialist "peace."

The latter in an alliance with Anglo-French imperialism, and with Churchill's blessings, struck at the Soviet Union, after all other attempts of the counter-revolution had been beaten back by the Red Army, under Trotsky.

The Churchill and the Sikorsky's have not changed their nature. Given a favorable opportunity, they would like nothing better than to pit another Polish army against the Red Army. For all of Stalin's "favors," Churchill, Roosevelt and Co. remain as hostile to the USSR as they always were.

Meanwhile the masses are lulled with illusions. Each time they are caught unawares. The enemy is free to choose his own time and place for striking. The blows which this or that camp of the imperialists is thus able to deal

the USSR, are redoubled in force.

Yesterday's "reliable" ally becomes the "treacherous" enemy of today. Not because events have suddenly introduced unexpected and extraordinary changes into the situation, but because Stalin always capitulates politically to temporary, unreliable, and treacherous allies whom the Kremlin itself camouflages and glorifies. The end result is always the same — another blow, another defeat, another catastrophe for the world working class.

It is against these Stalinist lies, this Stalinist treachery — concentrated in its foreign policy — and against the terrible dangers which they conceal that we conduct our fight. We raise our voices in warning: The first prerequisite for the successful defense of the USSR is a complete break with Stalinism.

USSR as a cover, are a preparation for a new Versailles, not only for Europe but for Asia. Roosevelt and Churchill present their demands. Stalin accepts them, proclaims them and lies about them. The Kremlin and all its foreign agencies cannot tell the truth for in that case it would be impossible to curry favor with the "democratic" allies by supporting their imperialist war.

HOW THE STALINISTS HELP THE IMPERIALISTS

The Daily Worker, on Moscow's orders, hails even a Sikorsky, this anti-Semitic, fascist-minded representative of the blood-stained Polish gentry, as a reliable defender of the Soviet Union, a champion in the struggle for democracy and against fascism, and so forth and so on. Ten years ago, in 1931, Stalin could find no slander more vicious to fling at Trotsky than the charge that he, Trotsky, was an ally of Poland and Pilsudsky.

The German Socialists, on the other hand, were free, as spokesmen for the German workers, to expose the program of German imperialism and to wage an irreconcilable struggle against it. Instead, these scoundrels gave political support to the class enemy. They voted for the Brest-Litovsk Treaty in the Reichstag, with "reservations." It is not hard to guess how Lenin and Trotsky would have characterized the conduct of "communist" parties who cite material aid as justification for their support — without reservation — of every one of the Kremlin's political capitulations to "democratic" imperialists.

The latest diplomatic moves, in which the imperialists use the

Why We Oppose Stalin's Foreign Policy

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

In recent weeks the Kremlin has concluded a number of agreements with the camp of the "democratic" imperialists: one with Churchill; another with the "Czechoslovak Government in Exile"; and, on July 30, with the "Polish Government in Exile." And now a *Three Power Pact*, that is, an alliance with Roosevelt and Churchill against Germany and Japan, is in the making.

Trotsky views are gaining such sympathy among American workers that the local Stalinists in addition to slandering us are compelled once more to lie about our position in order to "refute" it. To believe the Daily Worker, what the Trotskyists

of one's enemies; to reject agreements and compromises with possible allies (no matter how temporary, vacillating and adventitious)—isn't that too ridiculous for words?"

The position which Lenin characterized as *ridiculous* is the position which the Daily Worker tries to ascribe to us, whereas, in point of fact, we reject it as false, and as having nothing in common with Marxism.

The question of relations between the Soviet state and its imperialist environment is, in essence, as Trotsky pointed out time and again — a question of the relation of forces. The weaker is the position of the USSR, all the more necessary are alliances.

Nothing is altered fundamentally by the fact that Stalin's ruinous policies have led to the weakening of the international position of the Soviet Union to the advantage of imperialism. That is true. But the consequences of these Stalinist policies are independent of Moscow's will and cannot be dismissed arbitrarily. There is no withdrawing from an unfavorable situation merely by ignoring it or wishing it away. One must always take the existing relation of forces as the starting point.

Lenin and Trotsky never hesitated to undertake measures dictated by necessity. Thus, because

LENIN AND TROTSKY—REVOLUTIONARY REALISTS

In the *Infantile Disease of Leftism* Lenin explained:

"To refuse beforehand to take and veer in one's course and to make good use of antagonisms (no matter how temporary) between the inter-

est of one's enemies; to reject agreements and compromises with possible allies (no matter how temporary, vacillating and adventitious)—isn't that too ridiculous for words?"

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STALIN REPEATS THE TREACHERY OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

Today as yesterday, what we oppose in Stalin's foreign policy is this, that in utilizing the contradictions between imperialist governments, he goes beyond practical concessions and makes political concessions, or, more correctly, capitulates completely to his current imperialist ally. In return for practical concessions Stalin barges the political interests of the USSR and of the world labor movement. Such was the case in the period of the Stalin-Laval pact and of People's Fronts. It was the same with the Stalin-Hitler pact; it is the same today with regard to agreements with Roosevelt and Churchill.

The contradictions between rival imperialists must be utilized in no other way than from the viewpoint of the fundamental interests of the Soviet Union and of the world working class. It is impermissible to sacrifice these interests for the sake of practical agreements and temporary benefits. Yet this has been Stalin's policy. In return for material aid, the Kremlin now supports the program of Roosevelt and Churchill, and calls upon the American and English workers to follow suit. This is treachery. To be an unconscious dupe in this treachery is the greatest ignominy.

Lenin and Trotsky never sacrificed — as do Stalin and all his lackeys — the program of Bolshevism, for the sake of partial and temporary advantages. Soviet diplomacy, under Lenin and Trotsky, always took into account the public opinion of the world proletariat. The Kremlin never does. The Bolsheviks always explained not only the meaning and expediency of alliances with imperialists but also the dangers. They called things by their right names.

When the perfidious German So-

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Far from denying the Soviet Government the right to make alliances with imperialists, our movement has from the beginning pointed out that Stalin's policies above all, the theory and practice of "Socialism in one country" — drove the USSR into a position which made such alliances unavoidable. In 1931 Trotsky wrote:

"In the existing situation an alliance of the USSR with an imperialist state or with one imperialist combination against another, in case of war, cannot at all be considered as excluded. Under the pressure of circumstances, a temporary alliance of this kind may become an iron necessity..." (War and the Fourth International).

Marxism never departs from the ground of revolutionary realism. In the past we broke unhesitatingly with all those who associated themselves with ridiculous and contrary views.

STALIN REPEATS THE TREACHERY OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

Today as yesterday, what we oppose in Stalin's foreign policy is this, that in utilizing the contradictions between imperialist governments, he goes beyond practical concessions and makes political concessions, or, more correctly, capitulates completely to his current imperialist ally. In return for practical concessions

Stalin barges the political interests of the USSR and of the world labor movement. Such was the case in the period of the Stalin-Laval pact and of People's Fronts. It was the same with the Stalin-Hitler pact; it is the same today with regard to agreements with Roosevelt and Churchill.

The contradictions between rival imperialists must be utilized in no other way than from the viewpoint of the fundamental interests of the Soviet Union and of the world working class. It is impermissible to sacrifice these interests for the sake of practical agreements and temporary benefits. Yet this has been Stalin's policy. In return for material aid, the Kremlin now supports the program of Roosevelt and Churchill, and calls upon the American and English workers to follow suit. This is treachery. To be an unconscious dupe in this treachery is the greatest ignominy.

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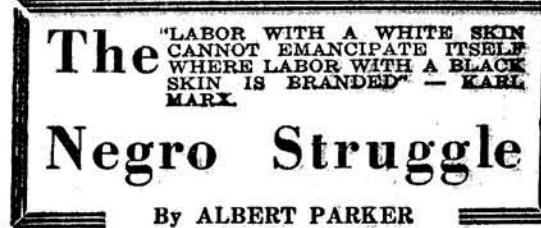
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Auto Workers Fight Jim Crow

It is clear that the United Automobile Workers, CIO, is fully awake to its responsibilities to the Negro workers, and understands that if it wants the aid of the Negro people in its struggles, it must do more than pass resolutions against Jim Crow, it must actively take up the struggle to win equality for the Negroes in the auto factories and in industry generally.

The convention of the union last week passed a resolution instructing all locals to fight for the following program:

1. Hiring of Negro workers in all departments in all auto, aircraft and "defense" industries.

2. Equal opportunities for transfers, promotions and training for Negro workers in all auto, aircraft and "defense" plants.

The delegates made it clear that they wanted the officers to carry out this program without any fail.

One Negro delegate in a moving speech said, "We (Negro people) want to demonstrate we are men and we are brothers and we believe in the CIO." Most of the Negro auto workers have already demonstrated this. It is now up to their white brothers to understand that action on the job to fulfill the union's resolution will make the Negro workers the best and most loyal members of the union.

The convention also passed a resolution demanding abolition of the poll tax which disenfranchises millions of Negro and white workers and sharecroppers in the South.

Whose Idea Is Jim Crowism?

PM, New York newspaper controlled by Marshall Field, department store magnate who refuses to hire Negroes except as janitors or doormen, has been making a bid for Negro nickels by deplored Jim Crowism every now and then as "inconsistent" with the "all-out war for democracy" which PM so ardently supports.

Last week in their editorial columns they printed a letter from a white soldier in a northern camp, who told how his commanding officer had addressed the men in his company, some of whom were about to be transferred to a southern camp. The officer told them "not to drink with niggers" and not to shake a colored man's hand when saying good-bye.

PM prints the letter to show its "sympathy" for the Negro people, to "take the curse" off the officers, and to try to round up Negro support for the war.

"PM does not condemn the entire army or entire officers' corps on the basis of this one incident—although it is far from the only incident of similar nature reported."

But, says PM, the main thing is this: "the war against fascism must be a total war, fought with guns against Hitler's guns abroad, and fought with ideas against Hitler's ideas at home. Racial discrimination is a Hitler idea..."

Of course Hitler has used persecution of Jewish people and other minorities to divide the German workers and maintain himself in power. But is it his idea alone? Did he invent it?

Every Negro knows that this is not true, that Jim Crowism existed and was nourished by the capitalists in this country long before Hitler was heard of. Racial discrimination is also a Roosevelt idea and a Willkie idea and a Marshall Field idea.

Racial discrimination must and will be fought and destroyed in this country. But that can be done only if it is clearly understood who and what are responsible for and benefit from it.

PM tries to confuse the Negroes by telling them the fight against Jim Crowism is tied up with and is part of the drive for imperialist war.

The truth is that the fight against Jim Crowism is part of the fight against those forces who want to get us into the war—the capitalist class and all its political and journalistic stooges.

Answer To A Reader

One of our readers has challenged our statement that practically all of the Uncle Tom leaders have already sold out to the war machine. Admitting that "many of our so-called promising young men" have already taken jobs in Washington as assistant administrative assistants, our reader nevertheless points to the formation of the Colonel Charles Young branch of the America First Committee as a proof that some of the Negro figures are still opposing the war.

It is true that there are a few Negro "leaders" who have not yet come out in support of Roosevelt's war plans, who understand that the Negro masses are overwhelmingly against those plans and who figure on maintaining some prestige among the masses by not committing themselves as yet. Among these are J. Finley Wilson of the Elks and Perry Howard, Negro Republican.

But to assume from this that they can or want to lead the Negro struggle against war is to make a fatal mistake. For even if you forget for the moment Lindbergh's anti-Negro phobias, you cannot forget that the America First Committee is only a "loyal opposition" to Roosevelt, and itself expresses the interests of one section of the Jim Crow ruling class.

They may hold out a little longer, but we can be sure that Wilson and Howard, like Lindbergh and Wheeler, will come rushing to the defense of the capitalists' interests, once the war is declared and those interests are at stake.

Churchill Fought The USSR With Men, Money, Guns and Diplomacy

His Only Criticism Of Intervention Was That It Did Not Succeed

By PHILIP BLAKE

When Winston Churchill was Secretary of State for War in 1919, he wanted above everything else to complete what he called "the unfinished task" of the first world war, the overthrow of the Soviet Union and the restoration of capitalism.

He was stopped from putting through all of his policies by Prime Minister Lloyd George who was also restrained by the pro-Soviet sentiment of the workers in the Allied countries. But in spite of the orders of his superior, Churchill always carried them out in such a way that the greatest blows could be struck at the first workers' state. The best example of all his work in this field was his evacuation of the British troops in North Russia.

In March 1919, the British Cabinet decided to remove its troops from Murmansk and Archangel, sent there early in 1918 under the pretext of fighting the Germans and maintaining an eastern front for the Kaiser's armies.

The reasons for the evacuation were (1) there was much labor opposition to keeping the troops there any longer, now that the war with Germany was over; (2) there was, as Churchill himself put it, "considerable unrest amongst these troops throughout their imprisonment on this coast during the winter"; (3) it was becoming feared that the counter-revolutionary forces of Kolchak could not break through the Soviet-held territories and make contact with the White government in North Russia able to exist only with British aid and created "at our insistence."

HOW CHURCHILL WITHDREW THE TROOPS

"In order to secure the safe and respectable withdrawal of the Allied troops from North Russia," says Churchill in his book, *The World Crisis, 1918-28*, "it was necessary to re-inforce them."

So as a first step in withdrawing the troops, which had a rifle strength of 3,905 and a ration strength of 6,832 in January, Churchill reinforced them so that there were 18,400 before they finally withdrew!

The argument given for the reinforcements was that the British were afraid a Red Army attack would hinder the evacuation. The truth is that the Bolsheviks were so glad to get rid of them that they offered on numerous occasions to sign an armistice to permit rapid, undisturbed withdrawal.

Churchill also claimed that the reason the troops could not be withdrawn in March was because the ships were "ice-bound, or practically ice-bound" by the winter weather. Nevertheless, Archangel was not evacuated until September 27, and Murmansk not until October 12, that is, not until almost the next winter was there.

It is really Churchill used these flimsy pretenses to hold things up until he could help establish the North Russian White government in the best possible position to fight off the Red Army.

On April 30, Churchill admits, he notified Kolchak "that all the Allied troops would be withdrawn from North Russia before the next winter; but in the meantime we

hoped to make it possible for the North Russian Government and the Russian Army to stand alone after the Allied troops had left."

When autumn came and little time was left for Churchill to carry out his evacuation orders, an offensive against the Red Army was undertaken.

Considerable territory was seized; food and arms were left with the White general, Miller; 6,500 counter-revolutionaries who wanted to go were removed by sea to the Baltic States and South Russia where they could more effectively aid the White armies; and for the moment the loyal Russian forces were left in so favorable a position that they actually assumed an offensive of their own."

"This successful extrication," he adds, "... was only rendered possible by treating with necessary indifference socialist partisanship, opposition mischief making, and newspaper clamor." Here speaks the 1941 "champion of democracy"!

"But nevertheless," Churchill is sadly compelled to record, "the sequel was melancholy. In a few weeks General Miller's resistance was extinguished; the Soviet Government re-established its rule on the shores of the White Sea."

THE EXTENT OF BRITISH AID

Thereafter, Churchill had to be content with aiding the Russian counter-revolution with advisers, technical experts, money and munitions rather than armed forces. These he gave plentifully.

To the White Siberian front, he says, during 1919 "the total amount supplied or carried in British vessels ... amounted to nearly a hundred thousand tons of arms, ammunition, equipment and clothing."

When Kolchak was wiped out, Churchill turned his attention more fully to Denikin, whose military effort he judged to be "far more serious and sustained." From June onward, Denikin got "a quarter of a million rifles, two hundred guns, thirty tanks and large masses of munitions and equipment ... and several hundred British officers and non-commissioned officers, as advisers, instructors, store-keepers and even a few aviators . . ."

In a memorandum on September 15, reporting the aid of the various powers, Churchill wrote,

"Britain has contributed the nom-

inal value of nearly 100 million (pounds) . . ."

Ten years later he "explained" this statement a little:

"The cost of this effort has been loosely stated at a hundred millions sterling; but this is an absurd exaggeration. The actual expense, apart from munitions, was not a tithe as great. The munitions themselves, though they had been most costly to produce, were only an unmarketable surplus of the Great War, to which no money value can be assigned. Had they been kept on our hands till they mouldered, they would only have involved additional charges for storage, care and maintenance."

Churchill felt that it was far wiser (and cheaper) to use these bullets on Bolsheviks than to let them go to waste.

Churchill also showed that despite his indifference to labor, he was not above using labor fakers as protective coloration for his out-and-out imperialist policies, just as he does today. He told General Knox in Russia to "avail himself of the services of Colonel John Ward in every possible way, for no one could express better the feelings of patriotic British Labor men equally opposed to autocracy and anarchy."

NOT MATERIAL AID ALONE

Churchill did not confine his aid to materials or the use of men. He also gave diplomatic aid, and was continually putting pressure on the Baltic states to keep them in line. In June, for example, he applied such pressure on Finland to join Yudenich's offensive against Petrograd.

In the fall of 1919, Poland was

considering either a large scale

offensive of 500,000 men to be fin-

anced by the Allies or a peace

with the Bolsheviks. Churchill

spoke strongly against both pro-

posals. The Allies, he explained,

could not give money for such an

undertaking, because of "public

opinion." And a Polish peace with

the Soviet government would be

disastrous for the armies of Kol-

chak and Denikin. So:

"It seems therefore clear

that our policy at the present

moment should be to persuade

the Poles to carry on for a few

months as they are doing, i.e.,

fighting and defeating the Bol-

sheviks on their borders where

and when they can, without

preparing either for a decisive

advance into the heart of Rus-

sia or for a separate peace."

The Poles were persuaded and

the fighting continued much lon-

ger than "a few months."

Churchill also gave advice to

Denikin and the others to make

their actions look good for Brit-

ish consumption. When news of

wide-spread anti-Semitic activities

by Denikin's men reached west-

ern Europe, Churchill advised him

Churchill On Stalin and Trotsky

Churchill, realistic imperialist statesman, always understood the differences between Stalinism and Trotskyism. In an article, *The Communist Schism*, written on October 16, 1936, and printed in his book, *Step By Step*, page 53, he sums them up as follows:

"Stalin has now come to represent Russian nationalism in somewhat threadbare Communist trappings. Trotsky stands for the orthodox theory of international world revolution. Stalin has acquired Lenin's authority. Trotsky, banished, hunted, a world-pariah, has Lenin's message."

on September 18:

"It is of the very highest consequence that General Denikin should not do everything in his power to prevent massacres of Jews in the liberated districts, but should issue a proclamation against anti-Semitism."

When this did no good, he telegraphed Denikin on October 9 "to redouble (!) efforts to restrain anti-Semitic feeling and to vindicate the honor of the volunteer army (by such restraint)."

FOR WHOM THE WHITE ARMIES FOUGHT

Many of the imperialists, beset with troubles at home and watching the gradual rout of all the White generals on whom they had pinned their hopes, began to doubt the wisdom of further aid to the losing counter-revolution. Churchill was quick to answer this.

"It is a delusion to suppose that all this year we have been fighting the battles of the anti-Bolshevik Russians. On the contrary, they have been fighting ours; and this truth will become painfully apparent from the moment that they are exterminated and the Bolsheviks armies are supreme over the whole vast territories of the Russian Empire."

In 1929 Churchill summed up

the experiences of the period of

intervention and civil war.

"Unsuccessful intervention in the affairs of another country is generally agreed to be a mistake; and accordingly all the efforts made by the Allies in Russia after the Revolution and after the Armistice fall under a common condemnation . . ."

And Churchill prides himself on the fact that he less than anyone else deserved such "condemnation" because the intervention was "unsuccessful."

He is sorry that World War I ended as soon as it did; had it continued, "intervention, which was gathering momentum every week, must have been militarily

successful." But when the war ended and the Allied government had to take care of their own headaches at home, "that tide that would have borne the loyal Russians onwards ebbed swiftly away and left them forlornly stranded."

BUT INTERVENTION HELPED, HE FEELS

But even unsuccessful intervention was worth while, Churchill says.

"Although intervention failed, there remained two results of our persistency. The first is moral." That is, even if unsuccessful, the British imperialists stuck to their anti-labor principles.

The second was "a more practical result." "The Bolsheviks were absorbed during the whole of 1919 in the conflicts with Kolchak and Denikin. Their energy

was turned upon the internal struggle. A breathing space of inestimable importance was afforded to the whole line of newly liberated countries which stood along the western borders of Russia."

A breathing spell to German and British and French imperialism is omitted by Churchill, but is none the less important. "By the end of 1920 the 'Sanitary Cordon' which protected Europe from the Bolshevik infection was formed by living national organisms vigorous in themselves, hostile to the disease and immune through experience against its ravages."

Thus spoke the class-conscious imperialist, Winston Churchill, in 1929. Twelve years later, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, he said:

"The Nazi regime is indistinguishable from the worst features of communism ... No one has been a more consistent opponent of communism than I have for the last 25 years. I will unsay no words that I've spoken about it."

And this is the same Churchill whom the Stalinists now hail as a defender of democracy and a friend of the Soviet Union, and to whom they want the American workers to send aid as a means of defending the Soviet Union.

Trotsky's Last Work

MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

on the

IMPERIALIST WAR

and the

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

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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.

FDR's 8-Points Hide Real Imperialist Plans

(Continued from page 1)

fight against their expressed will and interests. The war-mongering conspirators headed by Roosevelt are afraid to let Congress and the people know what they are doing; they will never let the people vote on the question of entering the war. These "democrats" have no use or respect for open, honest, democratic methods. They treat the American people as an alien and hostile force which must be duped and dragooned into support of their war.

Out of the conference came a promise of "maximum aid" to the Soviet Union. A forthcoming conference in Moscow will supplement the Roosevelt-Churchill parley and presumably implement this promise. This pledge of material support has been given, not because of any concern for the defense of the Soviet Union, but because the immediate interests of Anglo-American militarism demand that a certain measure of support be given to the Red Army's battle against Hitler's onslaught.

But this conditional support has strict limits. It cannot be permitted to overstep the bounds of the interests of the Anglo-American imperialists or run counter to their need for preserving capitalist rule. These considerations permit them to offer aid to delay and tie up Hitler's army but forbid sending enough assistance to enable the Red Army to annihilate Hitler's legions, with all the revolutionary implications that must follow. Roosevelt and Churchill's friendship for the USSR is temporary tie forced upon them by uncontrollable circumstances; it does not remove, but merely overlays, their deep-seated hostility to its existence.

Other, more sinister, questions concerning the Soviet Union than the immediate matter of material aid were very likely discussed by Roosevelt and Churchill. How to exact concessions from Stalin; how to keep the workers' state isolated and weak enough to maintain its dependence upon the imperialists; what to do about enslaving the Soviet people; in general how to eliminate the independence of the first workers' state and the last conquests of the October revolution, without injuring their own interests.

Roosevelt and Churchill's discussions of these problems was one reason why no Soviet representative was present at their conference. The people of the U.S. and USSR know only so much as these imperialist chieftains feel it expedient to disclose at the moment. Their real intentions, their long-range plans and perspectives are veiled in secrecy and silence, but, we may be sure, if Roosevelt and Churchill discussed ways and means of aiding Stalin today, they also exchanged views on how to harm the Soviet Union tomorrow.

The opposing imperialist camps employ different tactics toward the Soviet government at different times but both work persistently toward the same end. The capitalists want to cripple and destroy the first workers' state in order to invigorate

their common system of exploitation. Hitler is striving to annihilate the Soviet Union by direct armed assault. Roosevelt and Churchill, while utilizing the Red Army's resistance for their own purposes, also look forward to the end of the USSR. For the moment they must proceed cautiously along this line, under cover of an alliance with Stalin, by exacting concessions as a price for their collaboration.

The reversal in their respective attitudes toward the Soviet Union since the outbreak of the war demonstrates how purely tactical and temporary are the differences between the policies of the contending imperialist blocs. A year ago Roosevelt and Churchill occupied the same directly menacing position toward the Soviet Union as Hitler does today. Roosevelt was condemning the Soviet Union as "an enemy of civilization" and endorsing all-out aid to Finland; Churchill was preparing to dispatch expeditionary forces to help Baron Mannerheim repel the Red Army. Hitler was then exchanging mutual aid and assurances with his ally Stalin; Ribbentrop was going to Moscow, as Harry Hopkins recently did.

Now everybody in this dance of death has changed places and partners. But although the alignment of forces shifts, the aim of the imperialists on both sides remains the same. Allied or opposed to the Soviet Union, the imperialists care nothing whatsoever about defending it. They defend only their profits, privilege and power.

That is why the workers must be warned against these false friends and perfidious allies, and taught to place no confidence whatsoever in their promises or pledges as a means of defending the Soviet Union.

Stalin's War Aims

The Soviet Union was not represented at Roosevelt-Churchill's war council. The Soviet Union, like China, is a junior-partner in the Anglo-American alliance. And Stalin is, for the most part, a silent partner.

Stalin's war aims do not reach beyond the defeat of Hitler and a reversion to the pre-war status quo. His war aims, like the rest of his policies, are determined by a single consideration: the enhancement of the power, prestige and privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy and the salvation of their rotten regime. The Stalinist bureaucracy hopes only to emerge unscathed from the war. Beyond this they do not care or dare to look.

Stalin's foreign policy is a direct extension of his reactionary domestic policy. To maintain the power of the bureaucracy, he relies upon the benevolence and self-interest of capitalist allies. Yesterday Hitler, today Roosevelt and Churchill. He leaps from one insecure point of support to another like a hunted man crossing an ice-broken stream. He subordinates his war aims and adapts his international program to the demands of the imperialists. In essence, Stalin's imperialist allies dictate the content and conduct of the foreign policy of his government and his orderlies of the Communist International. The *Daily Worker* repeats, "Communism is not now the issue"; the Soviet press proclaims Roosevelt-Churchill's declaration of war aims as buttressing a "united front of peoples standing for freedom." In return for pledges of material support, Stalin has sold the political services of the Communist Parties in the U.S. and Great Britain to the imperialist bosses.

Revolutionary Aims

In war, as in peace, the working class can preserve their institutions and promote their welfare only by continuing to struggle everywhere and under all conditions against the capitalist bosses. The mass of workers needs to know the truth. This war they so hate and oppose is not their war but the bosses' war. The main enemy is the imperialists in their own country. The only road to peace lies through unrelenting struggle against the capitalists who promote and profit from the war. To get rid of war, the workers must rid the world of capitalism. The workers need a social program of emancipation corresponding to their vital needs and aspirations. They need a great and worthy goal to inspire their struggles and arouse them to solve unprecedented tasks.

They will not fight willingly for the maintenance of the existing capitalist chaos or for a return to the pre-war conditions which produced it. But they will respond to a bold revolutionary program directed toward the overthrow of imperialism, the abolition of national boundaries and the creation of a socialist world. This kind of revolutionary policy, the internationalist Bolshevik policy of Lenin and Trotsky, alone can knit the divided and demoralized workers and poor peasants into a fighting force capable of saving the Soviet Union from annihilation.

Stalin pursues the opposite course. He tells the workers one lie after another. He deprives the Soviet workers of all democratic rights and institutions. He paints up his imperialist partners of the moment as protectors of the Soviet Union, as friends of the workers, as lovers of peace. He deters and discourages the workers in capitalist countries allied with him from fighting for their own class aims and interests against their exploiters.

Stalin's policies make the task of defending the Soviet Union unprecedently difficult. But, despite all difficulties, the revolutionary workers must dedicate their full energies to this task. The defense of the Soviet Union is the most urgent duty before the international working class. Unflagging opposition to the ruinous policies of Stalin's regime and the eradication of Stalinist influence in the world labor movement is an indispensable part of that task. The salvation of the first workers' state and the revival of the October revolution depend upon the continued struggle of the workers against their capitalist oppressors.

Priorities Joblessness Faces 2 Million Workers

Monopolies Oppose Expansion Of Production Facilities And Try To Limit Supplies Of Raw Materials For Small Companies

By C. CHARLES

Close to two million men and women will be thrown out of work within a few months as a result of "priorities unemployment." They will be added to those now unemployed, numbering, according to Secretary of Labor Perkins, between 7,000,000 and 8,500,000 workers.

Attention was focused recently on "priorities unemployment" by the closing down of the women's silk stocking factories. Plants employing 175,000 workers have been ordered closed. This was caused by the government order forbidding trade with Japan and the requisitioning of the stocks of raw silk on hand for military use. No reserves of raw silk, which comes entirely from Japan, are on hand, in spite of government promises to build up such reserves. Nylon plants can supply only a fraction of the demand for silk.

Besides the silk industry, "priorities unemployment" has already directly affected thousands of oil and aluminum workers. This latest form of unemployment threatens particularly the auto, refrigerator and electrical appliance industries.

Jobs of all workers employed in non-war industries using steel, oil, aluminum, iron, copper, brass, zinc, nickel, tin, rubber and cork are also endangered.

"Priorities unemployment" arises from the government policy of granting preference to the war industries in the rationing of limited supplies of raw materials. As a result, plants working on non-military products are forced to curtail production and in many cases are also endangered.

On July 19, 1941, Leon Henderson, federal price-control administrator, ordered a reduction of 50 per cent in the manufacture of autos to begin by October. According to the United Auto Workers Union (CIO) this would mean a lay-off of 215,000 workers.

Production of household refrigerators will be halved, throwing more than 27,000 out of work, while more than 3,000 workers will be unemployed as a result of curtailment of the domestic laundry and related appliance industry.

Sixteen thousand aluminum workers are already unemployed.

TRANSPORTATION LACK

Many industries will suffer from insufficient raw materials because of lack of train and boat transport facilities. The recent order of Secretary of Interior Ickes, closing all gasoline stations on the Eastern seaboard from 7 P.M. to 7 A.M. every day was due not to a shortage of gasoline but to insufficient tankers to bring the gasoline to its consumer outlet. In the city of New York alone 5,000 workers lost their jobs because of this decree.

Industries as far removed from war production as printing will feel the pinch of "priorities unemployment." On July 21, 1941, the OPM predicted shortage of most types of paper due to lack of ships to carry newsprint and pulp from Canada.

Industries using copper have had their supplies of this metal curtailed due, among other causes, to shipping difficulties which interfere with transport of refined copper from Chile.

The OPM foresees that the transportation situation will become more serious as rail and boat lines become congested with defense shipments.

A probable shortage of electrical energy in certain regions is expected as aluminum and

clared that there was no sound factual basis for expecting any shortage of steel. The steel monopolies are deliberately trying to maintain their dominant position by curbing competitive steel production. The big steel officials are trying to foist on the public the view that there really is no practical need for wholesale increases in capacity.

I. W. Wilson, vice-president of the Aluminum Company of America, stated before the Temporary National Economic Committee that his company alone could not only supply all aluminum needed for national defense but also "ordinary domestic requirements and normal requirements." The OPM has given the lie to this statement by admitting the need for 2,100,000,000 pounds of aluminum in 1942, while ALCOA has a top productive capacity of only 700,000,000 pounds.

WORKERS PROTEST PLANLESSNESS

The AFL and the CIO have both protested the threatened job losses. The Auto Workers Union (CIO) and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (CIO), whose members are most immediately and directly affected, have launched campaigns to resist "priorities unemployment."

By the example of "priorities unemployment" and similar lessons, the workers of the United States are learning that capitalism cannot overcome its anarchy of production, which is inherent in the profit system, even in the face of its greatest emergencies. America's 60 Families, in their mad greed for profits, not only cannot put millions back on the job, but on the eve of direct involvement in the war are throwing millions more out of work.

Thus, the capitalists are attempting to place the burden of their own incompetence on the workers, in the form of unemployment, goods shortages, monopoly prices and real wage cuts.

For Every Class-Conscious Worker:

IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

(A Compilation — 1927-1937)

By LEON TROTSKY

40 page pamphlet 10c

WHY WE DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

32 page pamphlet 5c

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

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Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

Youth Opposes Training for War

American youth does not want to go to war; it does not even want to train and prepare for a possible war. This is the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from the fact that the Roosevelt administration could muster only a majority of one vote in the House of Representatives for such an important measure as the bill providing for an extension of eighteen months in the period of service of drafted men.

There is no argument necessary to convince one of the importance of this measure from the point of view of the imperialist interests of the American capitalists. In spite of this, however, almost a majority of the representatives of capitalism voted against the bill. This astounding fact can be explained only on the assumption that the overwhelming majority of the people was against the measure and the pressure from the voters back home was too great to permit the average democratic Congressman to vote for the bill.

Obviously the greatest opposition to the bill came from the men who had been drafted and who would be compelled to serve in the army another eighteen months. They have already served almost a year; they are sick and tired of it and they want to go home. This is confirmed from every source. An article in the magazine *LIFE*, a magazine which can hardly be called isolationist, plainly states the bitter hostility of the soldiers to the idea of serving another eighteen months in the army.

What conclusions can be drawn from the unwillingness of the youth to serve in the army and how should revolutionary Marxists utilize those conclusions?

Capitalist Class Unable to Furnish Ideal

One thing is certain. The attempt of the war-like "democrats" to convince the people that this is a war for democracy against fascism and that the United States must be prepared to enter the war to save democracy from destruction at the hands of Hitler has failed to a very large extent. It is hard to believe that American youth would not be willing to sacrifice several years of their lives in training if they were convinced that this war vitally affects their interests and is really a war for democracy against fascism. To the extent therefore that American youth has not been taken in by the propaganda of the interventionists, it is all to the good.

Only the isolationists and pacifists, however, can stop at this point. Revolutionary Marxists must proceed from this point and attempt to convince the American working-class youth that there is a grave danger of a fascist victory not only by virtue of Hitler's armies but also through the activities of the fascists within our own country. To ignore the fascist danger because the pro-war democrats are making the false claim that this war is a war for democracy against fascism, is to fall into the trap set by fascists. In the first place, therefore, it is essential for advanced workers to convince the American working youth that there is a real danger of fascism, not so much from Hitler as from the economic and social conditions that gave rise to Hitler in Germany and will give rise to fascism in this country. It is absolutely essential to prepare to fight fascism, but the only effective method is to prepare to substitute a socialist government for a capitalist government.

That the capitalist democracies are at a tremendous disadvantage in the struggle against the fascist powers where the vast majority is compelled by brute force alone to do the bidding of the fascist masters is evident from the fact that the American ruling class has not succeeded in creating the necessary idealism required for a victorious struggle against the fascists. The youth will gladly prepare to fight fascism and to sacrifice their lives in the fight only after they are convinced that they are fighting for a new world which will give them the opportunity to live as they want to live. Only a socialist regime inspiring the youth with the greatest idealism can succeed in forging an invincible army that will smash any fascist power.

Our Military Policy Applicable

And in this connection also it is necessary to bring before the workers our military policy. It must be understood that the unwillingness of the working-class youth to remain in the army is due not only to the fact that they have not been furnished with an ideal in which they believe and for which they are being trained. The incompetency of the officers, the severe and stupid discipline, the lack of democracy in the army make service hateful to the youth. Even if they were not convinced that this is a war for democracy, they understand well enough that they will have to fight whether they like it or not, and their common sense would tell them that it is better to be adequately trained. Modern war requires great skill and much training. The soldiers know it and are anxious to get the necessary training. But the regime in the army is so hateful to them that they are beset by only one idea and that is to get out as quickly as possible.

But the fact is that training is necessary and for any advanced worker not to realize that and to fail to convince his fellow-workers of that is to commit a serious error. This is the opportunity for us to convince the workers that their unions should undertake to train them in the use of modern arms and in the tactics of modern warfare. Military training under union control will be totally different from training in an army under the control of men hostile to everything that the working class stands for. Military training under union control means democracy for the men. They will have their own committees to organize things in the interests of the men; they will control their officers; the stupid discipline of the regular army will be done away with; union activists will be trained as officers and these will have the interests of the men at heart.

The trade unions can mobilize the masses for an effective struggle against fascism; if they would only do so they can give the working youth an ideal and a goal to fight for. They have the task of preparing the working masses to struggle to the death against any and all forms of fascism, whether coming from within or from without.

Trotsky Memorial Meeting

FRIDAY, AUGUST 22, 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan Plaza, 66 E. 4th St., N. Y.

(Air-conditioned hall)

Speaker:

JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party

Chairman: Lydia Beidel

MUSIC