

BEGINNING NEXT WEEK --
and for the duration of the trial
THE MILITANT will be published in a
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STRIKE SHOWS FDR'S ANTI-LABOR ROLE

Judge Denies Motions Of Defense

Says SWP Not Entitled To Constitutional Rights

Charges Against 5 of 28 Defendants In "Sedition" Trial Are Dismissed As Defense Opens Case With Cannon As First Witness

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 18 (By Wire) — Judge M. M. Joyce today overruled the defense motion for a directed verdict of acquittal for the defendants in the government's "seditious conspiracy" trial against the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO.

Even more ominous than the ruling was the language the judge used, for it indicated how he will instruct the jury when the case is completed and the jury is sent to decide whether or not the defendants are guilty. It indicated too in what frame of mind he will set the sentences if the jury brings in a verdict of guilt. Under the statutes on which the case is being tried, the defendants can be sentenced to prison terms of 16 years and fined \$10,000 each.

The judge's argument for his

He said: "I am unable to conclude that any group of defendants under either count of the indictment possesses the constitutional right to circulate and write material that is seditious and revolutionary in character — that preaches force and violence as a means of overthrowing the Government of the United States and in its stead hopes to set up an entirely new social order based on the principles of socialism, or to advocate the same by speech — I am unable to conclude that, when confronted with the consequences of such conduct, the defendants may successfully rush to the protection of the Constitution they would not amend but would absolutely destroy."

The hostility toward the defendants indicated by the judge's language appears all the more alarming because of the wide powers of federal judges in instructing juries.

AMALGAM BETWEEN SWP AND NAZIS

The judge did not hesitate in his decision on the arguments, advanced by the defense under the "clear and present danger" doctrine of Holmes and Brandeis, to make an amalgam between the Socialist Workers Party, a workers political organization aiming at the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government, and the Nazis, whose main function is to suppress the workers in the interests of the capitalists.

He said: "It may seem unreasonable to fear, when the size and power of the United States is considered, that this comparatively small group of individuals (the SWP) could accomplish successfully the objectives charged. But it is well to remember on this point that Hitler once ran around in a greasy old overcoat and was belittled for his efforts."

Joyce also denied a defense motion to require the prosecution to decide under which of two statutes the prosecution should be conducted — the 1861 anti-slaveholder law, Section 6 of Title 18 of the United States Code, or the 1940 Smith Act. The indictment was based on both acts.

Today's rulings, plus previous decisions by the judge, indicate the jury will in effect be instructed to find the defendants guilty.

Defense counsel concluded argument for a directed verdict of

(Continued on page 3)

Remnants Of Neutrality Bill Are Discarded

An Editorial

The Neutrality Act, that legal fiction used as a cover of peaceful intent for the Roosevelt administration's war preparations, have finally been scuttled.

By a majority of 18 votes, the House of Representatives on November 13 bowed to the Administration's dictates and repealed the last two remaining important sections of the Act, the prohibition of the arming of American merchant vessels and the barring of American ships from war zones and belligerent ports.

To all intents and purposes, the Administration had long since "amended" the Act in practice. It is no secret that American merchant ships — under Panamanian registry, of course — have been sailing the high seas armed by secret order of the Navy Department. Presidential decrees, progressively extending the bounds for American shipping, have rendered meaningless the definition of combat zones and belligerent ports as clearly expressed in the Neutrality Act.

A "semi-declared" naval war — initiated by Roosevelt's "shoot on sight" order — has been in progress for months. Its intensity is not lessened by the omission of a formal Congressional declaration of war, as required by the Constitution of the United States.

The burying of the last remaining important clauses of the Neutrality Act simply follows the pattern employed by the Administration in its elimination of the two other most important provisions of the Act, which banned shipments of arms to belligerents and prohibited loans to warring nations.

Even as Roosevelt formally invoked the Neutrality Act at the start of the war in September 1939, the United States Maritime Commission was advising American shipping companies on methods of evasion of the clear intent of the Act, and itself set the example by sailing its ships under Panamanian registry. Adoption of the "cash-and-carry" provisions and, subsequently, of the Lend-Lease bill, formally scuttled the legal restrictions on arms shipments and loans to belligerents.

From first to last, the Neutrality Act has failed to keep the government from involving this nation in the war. Roosevelt has not hesitated to violate the letter and spirit of the Act in accord with each stage of his war preparations.

Those who are sincerely determined to oppose the war must now understand such opposition cannot rest on the thin reed of capitalist laws. Legal fictions, which the capitalist government does not hesitate to violate, cannot stop war. The class struggle of the workers against the causes of this war — the imperialist drive for markets, colonies, resources and spheres of influence — alone can bring lasting peace to the world. The fight against the war is inseparable from the fight against capitalism, the breeder of imperialist wars.

Churchill Rejects Stalin Plea For 'Western Front'

By GEORGE BREITMAN

The Soviet soldiers, workers and peasants who have borne the full brunt of the German fascist attack during the past five months will have to continue to bear it alone in the next period. This was made clear last week by authoritative representatives of the British and American ruling classes.

Stalin's speech of November 6, directed partially toward the British and American governments and appealing to them for the creation of a "western front," has been answered. He has been told that he's not going to get a "western front" for a long, long time.

In answer to Stalin's plea, Prime Minister Churchill spoke before the House of Commons on

Nov. 12 and declared that: "If we are able to get through this year we shall certainly find ourselves in a good supply of ships in 1942, and if the war against U-boats and enemy aircraft continues to prosper as it has done — about which of course there can be no guarantee — it

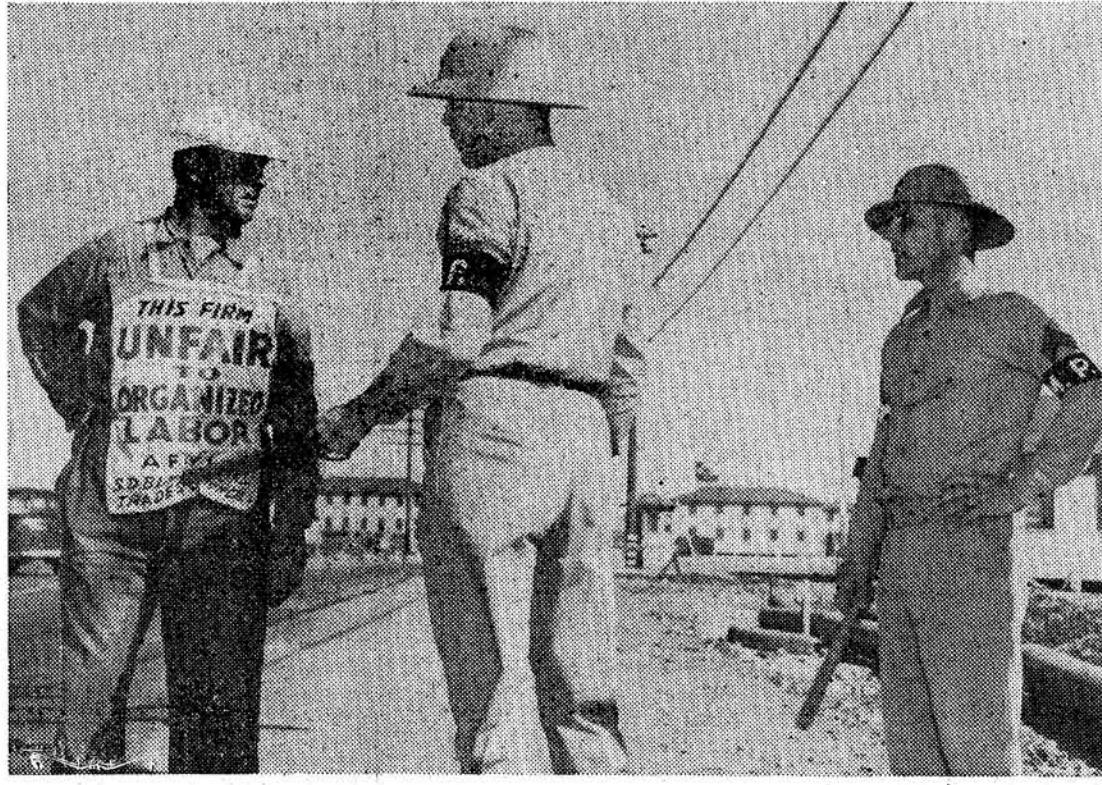
seems to me that the freedom-loving powers will be possessed of large quantities of ships in 1943 which will enable overseas operations to take place utterly beyond British resources at the present time."

That is to say, if all goes well, and if it suits his purposes, Churchill promises that "in 1943" the "freedom-loving powers", Britain and her allies, may perhaps be able to open a "second front".

Churchill was not speaking for

(Continued on page 2)

Government Strikebreaking



Here is another example of how Roosevelt "defends" democracy. Army military police are shown on strikebreaking duty against the AFL building trades workers on strike for higher wages at naval construction projects in San Diego, California, last week.

CIO Convention Backs 'Captive' Mine Strike

Leaders Forced to Oppose Roosevelt In Spite of Supporting His War Program

By JOE ANDREWS

DETROIT, Nov. 17. — The Fourth Convention of the CIO opened its sessions today with all the basic problems and differences underscored by the climactic strike in the captive mines, to which the convention has voted unanimous support.

In fact, the fundamental issues of this CIO convention and the whole future course of labor are being fought out not only in the convention sessions in Detroit, but on the picket lines and in the councils of the United Mine

press full support to John L. Lewis and the UMW in the captive mine situation. The deliberations of the Convention will inevitably reflect the exigencies of

the miners' crisis.

A huge majority of the delegates are unqualified supporters of Roosevelt's war program; but they were forced to protest unanimously against the governmental attack on the demands of the miners and pass a resolution supporting the mine strike and the demand for a union shop contract with the steel corporations.

CONTRADICTIONS REACH ACUTE STAGE

The chronic contradiction which

(Continued on page 2)

San Francisco CIO Industrial Union Council Pledges Support To Defendants

Calls On Unions to Aid In the Defense

The full support being given to the 28 working men and women now on trial in Minneapolis was shown last week when the San Francisco Industrial Union Council, CIO, passed a vigorous resolution of endorsement and voted

adopted by the Council reads as follows:

"Whereas: Minneapolis Local 544-CIO, Motor Transport Workers Union, which is the spearhead of the motor transport workers movement of the Northwest, transferred its affiliation by almost unanimous vote from the AFL Teamsters International into the CIO to free itself from the dictatorial, racketeer, craft-union setup of Daniel J. Tobin, and

TOBIN AIDED BY JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

"Whereas: Daniel J. Tobin in his campaign of terror against the Minneapolis motor transport workers has been aided by the Department of Justice, which has secured the indictment on 'sedition conspiracy' charges of 28 individuals including the entire leadership of Local 544-CIO as well as members of the Socialist Workers Party, and

"Whereas: We are firmly convinced that the maintenance of the free trade union movement as well as of full civil liberties is of the utmost importance to us in our efforts to get an education now as well as to our future prospects for a fruitful and free life, and

"Whereas: The CIO, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the United Auto Workers, the American Civil Liberties Union, Local 1-10 International Longshoremen's and

Warehousemen's Union, and other labor and liberal organizations have condemned the government prosecution as a serious threat to civil liberties and labor's rights, and

"Whereas: Ignoring these protests, the Department of Justice has put these men on trial in Minneapolis since October 20,

CONDEMN USE OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

"Therefore be it resolved: Our organization protests against this attempt to deprive the Minneapolis motor transport workers of their democratic right to join the union of their choice, and we condemn the use of government agencies to oppress and harass any labor or political organizations in the pursuit of their legitimate activities, and

"Be it further resolved: That we call upon the Department of Justice to dismiss the indictments against the 28 defendants in the Minnesota case, and

"Be it further resolved: That we request all affiliated locals to give full moral and financial support to these 28 defendants, and

"Be it further resolved: That copies of this resolution be given the widest publicity in the labor press and that they be sent to the National Office of the CIO, Local 544-CIO and Attorney General Biddle."

Any attempt Roosevelt may make to break the mine strike will be understood by the workers for what it is: a deliberate step toward imposing the open shop rule throughout industry, establishing compulsory arbitration and destroying the right to strike, and smashing the independence of the whole labor movement.

It is precisely the argument straight from the mouths of the steel barons that Roosevelt uses in denying the "captive" mine workers' right to the union shop.

In his statement of last Friday, he demagogically declared that he would not "order the so-called closed shop" because this would be "Hitler's methods."

THE REAL ISSUE

The issue is not the "ordering of the closed shop." It is Roosevelt's ordering of the open shop. That is the meaning which millions of CIO and AFL workers correctly read into Roosevelt's strike command to the miners. They recognize the NDMB's mine decision as the prelude to government enforcement of the open shop policy throughout industry. This is confirmed by NDMB's rulings on November 14, following the mine decision, when the board rejected the demands of two AFL unions for the union shop in the Ingalls Shipbuilding Corporation, Pascagoula, Mississippi, and in two plants of the International Harvester Company. These latest NDMB rulings, striking at the AFL, underline (Continued on page 2)

New Forces Rally To Defense Front For 28

Many Trade Unions Support Defense

Another significant endorsement was the resolution passed by the San Francisco Local 1-10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, CIO — the union of which Harry Bridges is head. In this resolution the union went on record as "endorsing and supporting the defense." Harry Bridges is now being persecuted under the same reactionary Smith Act which is being used against the 28 defendants in Minneapolis.

Trade union locals have been coming to the support of the 28 defendants in constantly increasing numbers. More than 35 locals have already contributed funds to the defense, and many others have passed resolutions of endorsement.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, authorized representative of the 28 defendants, has received contributions from trade unions in the following 14 cities: Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, East Chicago, Eau Claire, Wisc., Elkhart, Ind., Detroit, St. Paul, West Allis, Wisc., Highland Park, Mich., Melrose Park, Ill., Newark, N. J., New York City.

Newark Unions Contribute

The Newark Branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee announced this week contributions from five more CIO unions to the defense of the 28, given since the beginning of the month.

Local 260 of the United Auto Workers, Tite-Flex plant, voted \$25.

Local 511 of the United Auto Workers, Hyatt G. M. plant in Harrison, contributed \$25.

Local 108 of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees Union sent \$15.

Local 49 of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers donated \$10.

Local 187 of the United Rubber Workers voted to give \$5.

In addition, Local 593 of the United Auto Workers, which just settled a strike at the Linden General Motor plants this week, passed a motion protesting against the prosecution.

IWW Strongly Endorses CRDC

The General Defense Committee of the IWW last week gave strong endorsement to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which has already been endorsed by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers Defense League.

Condemning the revival by the Justice Department of the witch hunting campaigns of the last war, the General Defense Committee states:

"The indictments are in reality an attack on the right of working men and women to organize. If the state can indict and convict these men and women and establish such a precedent, labor's rights will be seriously endangered... The General Defense Committee calls upon its many members and sympathizers to support the Civil Rights Defense Committee."

'Witch Hunt' Sells Widely; New Pamphlet Out Soon

The first printing of 10,000 copies of "Witch Hunt in Minnesota", the pamphlet published by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, was so rapidly exhausted that a second printing of 5,000 was run off this week. Already there are less than 1,000 copies left from this second printing.

The pamphlet, which sells for only 5¢ a copy, has proved to be the most effective means of spreading information about the Minneapolis case. That it is possible to sell the pamphlet on a wide scale has been admirably shown by the Buffalo Committee, which has already taken more than 2,000 copies.

A new leaflet for mass distribution entitled "Workers On Trial", has been prepared by the Civil Rights Defense Committee and will be off the press within a week. This leaflet will give the life story of each of the 28 work-

ing men and women now standing trial in Minneapolis for opinions and utterances displeasing to the government.

Liberals and Labor Leaders Join CRDC

Showing their active support of the defense of the 28, ten well-known liberals and labor leaders last week joined the National Committee of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. The total membership of the National Committee now numbers 48 men and women.

The following are the ten who joined the Committee last week:

Mark Starr, educational director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union

Margaret Marshall, editor of *The Nation*

Clement Greenberg, editor of *Partisan Review*

John Chamberlain, editor of *Fortune*

Franz Hoellering, author

Louis Raths, professor at Ohio State University

Sarah T. Colvin, former member Minnesota State Board of Education

Zara DuPont, liberal member of the DuPont family

Gorham Munson, author

Mary W. Hillyer, secretary, Keep America Out of War Committee.

Roger Baldwin Denounces Trial

A large and enthusiastic audience in Minneapolis on Nov. 13 heard Roger N. Baldwin, National Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, denounce the Federal prosecution of the 28 defendants in the "sedition" trial.

Benjamin Lippincott, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Minnesota and a member of the National Committee of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, was chairman at the meeting.

Baldwin declared: "Everyone

knows that Tobin is Roosevelt's man. He was ambassador for

FDR between the AFL and CIO;

he is a supporter of FDR through

thick and thin and he has the

support of Roosevelt. This is a

labor case under the guise of a

selection.

"For the first time in our history they are trying men and women for the ideas in the 93-year-old *Communist Manifesto*. IT IS THE VERY SELFLESSNESS OF THE PEOPLE IN THIS MOVEMENT, THEIR UNSELFISHNESS, THAT HAS LED TO THIS PROSECUTION."

Money Needed Now For Trial Costs

The Civil Rights Defense Committee needs help, from every possible source, and needs it NOW. These are critical weeks, both for the defendants, who face 16 years in prison each, and for the basic rights of labor and free speech.

It is estimated that the trial

will last six weeks more. The Civil Rights Defense Committee has launched a campaign to raise \$7,500 to defray the immediate expenses of the trial. The Committee has set up a commissary in Minneapolis where the 28 defendants and their families eat twice daily. A special publicity representative of the Committee has been sent to Minneapolis and has set up a news service which dispatches reports on the trial proceedings to a broad list of publications, individuals and organizations throughout the country. In addition to these immediate expenses the Committee will have to pay the heavy legal fees and court costs.

Contributions to the defense fund should be sent to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Ave., New York City.

The Truth About the Minneapolis Trial of the 28

Speech for the Defense by Albert Goldman

ONE CENT A COPY
Bundle Rate \$90 a Hundred

Order from
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place, N. Y. C.

After attacking the strike-breaking actions of the Wall St.

Jacob Potofsky, Hillman's lieu-

FDR ROLE EXPOSED IN STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

the criminal betrayal of the two AFL representatives on the NDMB who sided with the bosses in voting against the miners.

Whatever course Roosevelt may follow in this particular conflict, whether he smooths over the immediate struggle with some face-saving formula or tries to hammer the CIO into line with legislative blackmail and outright force, he cannot conceal the widening fissure between the anti-labor character of his war program and the pressing needs of the American workers. The political crisis engendered by this conflict of interests flows inherently from the war program.

As for the CIO, it can sur-

render or accept some meaningful "compromise" in this battle only at the cost of a tremendous blow to its prestige among the workers everywhere. The fact that most of Roosevelt's closest CIO supporters have been forced to publicly reject his stand, is clear testimony of the threat to the very existence of unionism implicit in Roosevelt's position in the mine strike.

MAIN DANGER

One of the dangers to the CIO

in this situation remains in the

attitude of the majority of CIO

leaders to the war. They are at-

tempting to maintain the unten-

able position of supporting the

bosses' war and at the same time

opposing the inevitable anti-labor

consequences of that war. They

will be forced to make a choice —

for the imperialist war or for

the workers.

This contradiction contains the

danger against which the CIO

members must be on guard. They

must resist to the end any at-

tempt to compromise their union

rights, conditions and gains, un-

der the pretext of "national de-

fense." The issue for the Ameri-

can workers in this fight is the

existence of independent and de-

mocratic unionism, without which

they would be helpless slaves of

the monopoly capitalists.

28 defendants, and distributed

large bundles of the pamphlet

"Witch Hunt in Minnesota" and

other literature.

The organization and methods

of the New Haven Committee set

a fine example for those Branch

Committees which have not yet

started to function actively.

Many of the Branch Committees

have been successful in orga-

nizing campaigns of door-to-door

soliciting. In addition to getting

contributions for the defense,

these door-to-door campaigns have

resulted in wide sales of the

pamphlet "Witch Hunt in Min-

nesota."

Churchill Rejects Stalin Plea For 'Western Front'

(Continued from page 1)

the British ruling class alone. He

was also speaking for the Ameri-

can imperialists. The New York

Times, authoritative spokesman

for Roosevelt and America's Six-

ty Families, made this clear in no

uncertain terms in its leading

editorial on Nov. 10:

"(There is) the slim hope of pres-
erving an eastern front. There is no possibility of opening a new one in the west... There is still hope that by bending every effort toward sending war supplies to Russia a catastrophe can be averted there, but it is pre-
posterous to believe that Russia's fate lies entirely in the hands of this country and Great Britain. It would be well for the Admini-
stration to point out some of the difficulties in the way of helping Russia as well as the need for doing so... the effectiveness of what assistance we can give and deliver depends upon Russia's ability to help herself in the im-
mediate future."

The "democratic" imperialists would no doubt like to open a "western front" — not for the purpose of saving the Soviet Union, but for the purpose of striking Hitler a blow while most of his forces are occupied in the east. But for many reasons — military, geographic, technical and political — they are sure that it would not serve their own interests to attempt it at this time. Whatever the reason, it is clear that they are not even go-

ing to attempt to open a new front in the next period.

STALIN EXPLAINED AND PROMISED

In his November 6 speech, Sta-

lin had explained the defeats suf-

fered by the Soviet Union pri-

marily by "the absence of a sec-

ond front in Europe against the

German fascist armies." In this

way he is preparing to shift the

responsibility for the defeats

from his own policies onto the

shoulders of his "democratic" im-

perialist allies.

He did more than that. He also

promised the Soviet masses that

"undoubtedly this (a second front)

will appear in the near future."

In this way he tried to

reassure the masses that his poli-

cy of depending on the "democra-

tic" imperialists, which has

brought only defeat up to now,

would save the USSR "in the near

future" when these "allies" would

come to the rescue of the USSR.

The answer of the "democratic" imperialists did two things at

the same time:

1. It demonstrated that Stalin's

polices have from the beginning

been based on an illusion — the

illusion that if Stalin throttled

the program of revolutionary war

against Hitler, he would

be able to help the masses

Day By Day Summary Of The Minnesota Trial

Judge Denies Defense Motions

(Continued from page 1)

acquittal for the 28 defendants at 12:30 P. M. today with a brilliant two hour address by Albert Goldman, himself one of the defendants, raising many points of law.

But the moment Goldman ended, Judge Joyce began reading a prepared statement overruling Goldman. The statement, of course, did not answer most of Goldman's points since it was prepared before Goldman had spoken.

FIVE ACQUITTED, APPEAL FOR AID TO 23

The judge directed a verdict of acquittal for 5 of the defendants on the ground that there was "not sufficient evidence of knowledge of the party by such defendants or that they participated in the activities to overthrow the government by force and violence," and ruled against acquittal for

Government Asks Convictions As It Ends Its Case

Prosecution Repudiates the Free Speech Doctrine Advocated by Holmes-Brandeis

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 17.—That the "sedition" trial of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO is an assault upon the right of free speech became plainer than ever today, when Attorney General Biddle's spokesman in the trial, Special Assistant Attorney General Henry Schweinhaut, openly repudiated the Holmes-Brandeis principle of free speech for revolutionists — the famous "clear and present danger" doctrine.

Schweinhaut was answering for the prosecution a defense motion — made when the government completed its case at noon today — asking dismissal of the case on the ground that the government had failed to prove that the 28 defendants had conspired to overthrow the government by force and violence.

In the course of Defense Attorney M. J. Myers's argument for the motion, he appealed to the famous free-speech doctrine of the late Supreme Court justices Holmes and Brandeis. This doctrine, originally enunciated in the concurring opinion in the Anita Whitney case and the dissenting opinion in the Giltow case, held that revolutionists have a right to free speech as long as they do not constitute an imminent threat to the continued existence of the government. Only the immediate danger of a "present conflagration" could justify the suppression of the rights of press and assembly of a revolutionary party, said Holmes and Brandeis.

Liberal forces, notably the American Civil Liberties Union, have sought to maintain and extend this "clear and present danger" doctrine as the very heart of free speech.

THE ACLU POSITION

In a letter of protest against this "sedition" trial, sent by the American Civil Liberties Union to Attorney General Biddle on August 2, the ACLU had reminded Biddle that, even if the statutes on which the trial is based are not unconstitutional, the "clear and present danger rule" should protect the defendants. Attorney-General Biddle's Sept. 4 reply to the ACLU implicitly accepted the "clear and present danger rule" and instead argued that the government would prove the defendants guilty of a serious "overt act," that of "arming workers," which "is clearly sufficient to remove the case from one involving expression of opinion."

But Biddle's alibi for this prosecution has broken down completely in the course of this trial. It broke down, indeed, as soon as the government began its case. U. S. District Attorney Victor Anderson, in the opening statement for the prosecution, made no attempt to claim he would prove Biddle's contention that the Union Defense Guard of Local 544 constituted "arming workers." And now that the government's case is completed, all it has "proved" is the original conten-

and post-war period.

Defense Counsel Myer argued that the Socialist Workers Party, organized publicly and acting entirely in the open, is not a conspiracy. He declared that the prosecution had failed to introduce any evidence showing a conspiracy for the violent overthrow of the U. S. government.

SCHWEINHAUT'S ARGUMENT

Schweinhaut's appeal to the judge not to dismiss the case consisted of two main points:

(1) The Socialist Workers Party, through its literature and leaders, made preparations for a future possibility when the U. S.

government could be overthrown; consequently the Socialist Workers Party can be prosecuted now.

(2) The party is bound, not only by its official program and public activities, but equally also by private conversations of individual members.

This second point is central to the government's case which, having failed to establish advocacy of violence in the party's literature and public activities is, in reality, entirely based on alleged private conversations of defendants.

These concocted conversations are all reported by stool pigeons who are on Daniel J. Tobin's payroll here.

Twelfth Day

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 12

MINNEAPOLIS — Violet Wil-

iams, widow of Thomas Williams, late head of Tobin's "Committee of 99," was on the stand when the session opened. Under cross-questioning she testified that her husband was discharged as an organizer by the executive board of Local 544 on Feb. 21 and that he contacted FBI agents who came to his house the "latter part of February." This was further proof of the charge made by the defense, that the Tobin agents in Minneapolis were working with the FBI against the leadership of Local 544 long before the indictment on which this trial is held.

The prosecution entered into a lengthy chain of evidence to establish that V. R. Dunne, James Cannon, and Farrell Dobbs had entered Mexico to see Trotsky in 1938. The defense interrupted to signify that it was ready to stipulate as to the facts of this visit to Mexico.

ARNOLD JOHNSON'S TESTIMONY

Next witness was Arnold Johnson, a Local 544 organizer in 1935-1938, who was tried and acquitted for murdering Local 544 President Bill Brown on May 25, 1938. He testified that he had never been a member of the SWP, but had been asked to join by Jake Cooper who allegedly promised him a job if he joined and also told him "we need armed revolution."

Smith could remember nothing else and proved such a poor witness that Prosecutor Schweinhaut stopped short and offered to withdraw the witness but Defense Attorney Goldman insisted on cross-questioning him. Goldman drew from Smith the admission that, while with the Tobin Goon Squad, he had beaten up Jake Cooper. Smith also admitted that he had previously worked for a special detective.

MILITARY POLICY STRESSED

The prosecution spent the rest of the morning and part of the afternoon in reading to the jury excerpts from the *Socialist Appeal*, particularly on the Union Defense Guard. The prosecution also read to the jury an article by Albert Goldman condemning the courts as instruments of the capitalist class.

Next witness was Emanuel G. Holstein, Tobin Committee of 99 member, who testified that he had joined the party in 1935 and left in July, 1939, having attended a total of five meetings of the party from January, 1938 to July, 1939.

Holstein identified most of the defendants as party members.

Thirteenth Day

THURSDAY, NOV. 13

Government witness Holstein

was on the stand again and he testified that he had attended a SWP banquet at which the "Internationale" and "Solidarity Forever" were sung. He testified that V. R. Dunne told Holstein, when the latter registered for the draft: "We need 2,000 more like you in the Army." (This was after Holstein, by his own testimony, had left the party.)

Under cross-examination Holstein admitted his opposition in Local 544 to the leadership, all of whom are among the defendants in this trial. He was one of a group, led by Tobin agent Thomas Williams, who charged farmers and out-of-town truckers a minimum of \$2.00 each for unloading their trucks when they came to pick up beer at the Minneapolis Brewery. Defense Counsel Goldman charged that this was a racket which was prohibited by the union executive board and that the conflict between Tobin agents and the union leadership broke out at that point.

HOLSTEIN'S ADMISSION

Further under cross-examina-

tion Holstein admitted that he had never heard or seen advocacy of the use of force and violence in any pamphlets, newspapers, or speeches made by any party member, an admission which threw into sharp relief the fact that all his previous testimony as to advocacy of violence consisted of alleged private conversations of defendants.

In attempting to take the edge off this admission by Holstein, the prosecution questioned him again and Holstein solemnly reported that party members were in the habit of saying to each other: "To the red dawn."

ANOTHER TOBIN AGENT

The next witness was Sidney Brennan, on Tobin's payroll, as his appointed Secretary-Treasurer of "Local 544" — AFL. He testified he joined the SWP for a short time in the spring of 1938; identified various defendants as party members; and quoted various remarks they had allegedly made in private conversations. Under cross-examination he admitted that he had testified against the defendants before a

Tobin committee in Chicago in April and before Tobin himself in Washington in June.

Helen Hanifan, bookkeeper for Tobin's receiver, T. T. Neal, was the next witness. She testified she had joined the SWP for a short time in 1938; had seen defendants Hamel and Hansen collecting funds for the Party.

Under cross-examination she inadvertently put an end to the prosecution's previous attempts to claim that the union had paid Emil Hansen's salary while Hansen was a bodyguard for Trotsky in Mexico; she admitted that the government was in bad need of funds so he was taking pledges to raise money for them at the meeting.

Next witness was Harriet Karlen, stenographer for the Tobin receiver. Her sole testimony consisted of saying that she had seen defendants collecting money and *MILITANT* subscriptions for the party. The sole conceivable explanation for putting her on was that she was handsome enough to make up in part for the unsavory looks of the string

of Tobin witnesses who preceded her.

FRENCH GOVERNMENT NEEDED FUNDS

Next witness was George O'Brien, Tobin appointee as organizer for Tobin's union here. O'Brien gravely testified that defendant Frosig had taken him to an SWP branch meeting at which James Cannon was speaking and that "the Socialist Party was the Government of France then and Mr. Cannon said the government was in bad need of

funds so he was taking pledges to raise money for them at the meeting."

Next witness was Edward Schurick, former general manager of radio station WLOL, who testified that defendant Grace Carlson, then the party's candidate for United States Senator from Minnesota, had four radio speeches during the 1940 campaign, and identified the text of three of Grace Carlson's radio speeches.

the SWP in June, 1941. The sole point of this testimony was the attempt by the prosecution to identify Hansen as being a party member after June 29, 1940 — the date when the Smith Act, in which the second count of the indictment is based, became law.

The next witness was Edward Schurick, former general manager of radio station WLOL, who testified that defendant Grace Carlson, then the party's candidate for United States Senator from Minnesota, had four radio speeches during the 1940 campaign, and identified the text of three of Grace Carlson's radio speeches.

Fifteenth Day

MONDAY, NOV. 17

Judge Joyce opened the session with several rulings admitting into evidence various exhibits previously offered by the prosecution. Among those he accepted, over objections of the defense, were the texts of two radio speeches made by Grace Carlson over WLOL last year when she was the party's candidate for United States Senator from Minnesota; and articles in *THE MILITANT* of August 16, 1941 — articles published after the indictment on which this trial is taking place was handed down on July 15th.

Under cross-examination he followed this testimony, the defense waived the right to cross-examine O'Brien. The rest of the day was taken up by the prosecution reading to the jury sections from the *Manifesto* of the Fourth International on the war; other anti-war material; an editorial defending the USSR; and the section from the *Manifesto* on the role of trade unions.

Fourteenth Day

FRIDAY, NOV. 14

The first part of the day was spent with the prosecution reading to the jury numerous excerpts; Felix Morrow's "Labor's Answer to Conscription," other anti-war excerpts from the *Socialist Appeal*, and apparently the first part of the *Manifesto* on violence.

Next witness was William Henderscheid, truck driver, who testified he had been a member of the SWP for one month in August, 1938; had joined because defendant Kuehn told him it would help him get a job; did not get the job and dropped out of the party. Under cross-examination he admitted he had attended "one meeting" of Tobin's Committee of 99 and had met an FBI agent at Mrs. Williams home earlier this year.

ARNOLD JOHNSON'S TESTIMONY

Next witness was Arnold Johnson, a Local 544 organizer in 1935-1938, who was tried and acquitted for murdering Local 544 President Bill Brown on May 25, 1938. He testified that he had never been a member of the SWP, but had been asked to join by Jake Cooper who allegedly promised him a job if he joined and also told him "we need armed revolution."

Under cross-examination he identified the first time he heard the use of violence advocated was at the first meeting he attended in 1938, where Felix Morrow was the speaker.

The significance of this last item is that earlier in the trial Judge Joyce had ruled, in admitting items on advocating a People's Referendum on War, that the right of declaring war is vested solely in Congress and that, hence, advocacy of a People's Referendum suggests the use of the method charged in the indictment — that is, a People's Referendum on War suggests the use of force and violence!

Among the anti-war articles from the *Socialist Appeal* read to the jury by the prosecution was one by Lenin written in 1915 which, however, Prosecutor Anderson read as if it were a current editorial in the *Socialist Appeal*. It took a protest by defense Counsel Goldman to have the article identified to the jury as Lenin's.

The prosecution then read to the jury various items from the party press on the famous Madison Square Garden demonstration led by the SWP against the Nazi Bund on February 27, 1939.

STILL ANOTHER TOBIN PAYROLLER

Next witness was Tobin organizer Eugene Williams, brother of the late Tom Williams, head of the Tobin forces in Minneapolis. He testified that he joined the

BUCKINGHAM SPILLS THE BEANS

A sensation was created in the court room when Buckingham, under cross-examination, testified that FBI agent Perrin had gotten him to sign an affidavit in April, which was used by the

Union Defense Guard in the fall of 1938.

BUCKINGHAM SPILLS THE BEANS

Practically all the rest of the morning was spent by Anderson reading excerpts to the jury including Grace Carlson's radio speeches; quotations from Karl Marx appearing in the party press; an article by Morrow on "The Lessons of Spain," and a dozen or so items from the party

which is hand-in-hand with the Stalinists in the camp of the "democracies."

Minor warned his audience that this was not the time for unions to put forward grievances, "even justified grievances." He quoted approvingly from a speech of AFL President William Green, telling the workers "to stay on the job, keep producing."

As an example of what he meant, Minor stated that although the coal miners were justified in the demands they had made to the Steel Trust, nevertheless "the union must not be provoked to stop defense production."

MINOR COMPLAINS ABOUT PRODUCTION

He admonished the Minneapolis trade unions that "they hadn't done one-tenth of what they can do for defense production," and declared that the powerful trade unions would have to learn to discipline themselves to work for war production.

Minor denied that England and the United States were acting as imperialist powers in this war. As proof of this, he quoted at length from speeches of Roosevelt and Stalin.

Minor was irked because many members of the audience had accepted copies of *THE MILITANT* as they were being distributed prior to the meeting. He urged his audience not to believe "those who have strange sources of money with which to stand on sidewalk and give away papers."

Minor closed his speech with a demand that the armed forces of the nation be immediately thrown into the war.

Not once in the course of the entire address did he use the words "October Revolution." Nov. 7th he called the "founding of the Soviet Republic" and "Russia's emigre labor group (S. A. P.) July 4th."

Robert Minor Attacks S.W.P. In Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 16.—Increased activity against the Socialist Workers Party was demanded here tonight by Robert Minor, Acting National Secretary of the Communist Party.

Coming in the midst of the "sedition" trial in the federal court here, in which the national and local leadership of the Socialist Workers Party are among the 28 defendants, Minor's

Northwest, Minor constantly punctuated his address with attacks on the Trotskyists, while "ignoring" the trial of the 28.

Minor was ostensibly speaking on the "24th anniversary of the USSR," but his speech made it clear that he had come to Minneapolis to put a halt to any tendency among Stalinists to give the "similarities" between the United States and the USSR, emphasizing that a great mistake had been made in the past by "exaggerating the differences between the two great democracies."

The only differences between the two countries, according to Minor, was that there are "imperfections" in the democracy of the United States, and the "USSR has a little broader democracy than we have."

The main thing that the United States could learn from the USSR, Minor indicated, was how to handle the "Fifth Column", and particularly the Trotskyists.

Minor quoted approvingly from an article by Joseph E. Davies, former U. S. Ambassador to the USSR. Davies has recently announced a "change of mind" on the Moscow trials, having come to the conclusion, now that Stalin supports the "democracies" that the "Moscow trials were nothing but a house cleaning of traitors."

WANTS "NATIONAL FRONT"

Minor called for a "national front" of all patriotic Americans in support of administration policy", which would "include the foremost bishops, biggest of business interests, including the wealthy classes."

This "national front" would have the purpose of rallying the whole nation to participate in the war and fight against the "Fifth Columnists" at home.

The enemy that Minor feared above all at home was the Socialist Workers Party. He solemnly revealed that the name of Hitler's party is the National Socialist Workers Party, and dwelt on the verbal similarity of that with the Socialist Workers Party! This was conclusive proof for Minor that the Trotskyists were agents of Hitler! (There was no question here, so nobody could confront Minor with the fact that Socialist Workers Party is also the name of a German emigre labor group (S. A. P.) July 4th.)

Japan Sends Another Special Envoy To "Discuss" Far Eastern Crisis

By JACK WEBER

The expansion of Japanese imperialism has taken place his-
torically by process of shrewd timing and bargaining. Every-
time that Europe has been engulfed in war or crisis, the Japanese
militarists took advantage and reached out for loot in the
Pacific. Always too there has been the same use of rivalries
and contradictions among the other powers that made for a good
diplomatic bargain. Thus Japan
made full use of the intense ri-
valry between Czarist Russia and
Great Britain at the end of the
nineteenth and the beginning of
the twentieth centuries. The sei-
zure of Manchuria was timed when
the economic crisis had reached
such depths that no country
would have dreamed of going to
war for the sake of China.

The attempt to subdue the rest
of China and to make this vast
country a Japanese colony, was
timed when fascism had become
such a menace in Europe that the
powers wanted to have their hands
free to deal with the new threats
of German imperialism. Japanese
timing was again perfect. The
generals made only one little mis-
take. They felt that the seizure
of all the ports and the coast-
line and the industrial centers of
the mainland would surely force
the Chinese into submission by
sheer starvation.

But the very backwardness of
China proved her salvation. The
Chinese had not yet learned, as
an advanced nation, to depend on
machinery and mechanization.
Human muscles were still the
main source of power in produc-
tion. The Chinese could retreat
far into the interior with their
simple tools and live on the vast
land by raising their own food.

This was the second miscalcula-
tion, both of Japan and of Hitler.
The Red Army stood up better
than the Japanese had expected.

Moscow still stands. It is quite
likely that Japan was to get the
signal to intervene in Siberia the
moment Moscow fell. The very
showing made by the Red Army
made the Mikado's generals hesi-
tate. The action of the United
States and Great Britain in com-
ing to the support of Stalin and
in putting the economic squeeze
on an already exhausted Japan,
as further thrown confusion into
the hearts of the Nipponese imper-
ialists. They are driven to seek
more loot both southwards and
northwards but they must act
cautiously and seek again the
right timing.

The United States is not yet so
much involved in the Atlantic
that the Japanese can feel they
can go ahead full steam in the
Pacific. If the United States be-
came involved by an actual declara-
tion of war against Hitler, the
Japanese might once more seize
the initiative and move. But for
the moment the risk is too great,
the enemies too numerous.

In such a situation a nation re-
sorts to diplomacy to try to obtain
some partial gains by bar-
gaining while awaiting a more
opportune moment to strike.
Hence we see the play to gain
time with a special diplomat flying
to Washington to present
"new" proposals. Kurusu himself,
the diplomat chosen for this "deli-
cate" work, does not have the
slightest faith in his mission. In
fact his remarks to friends in Ha-
waii, "strangely" made public,
show that he thinks not only that

his mission will fail, but that the
very failure may prove the signal
for a new Japanese move to-
ward war, United States or no
United States.

KURUSU'S MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES

As has been pointed out here
many times, the clash of impe-
rialist interests between the two
countries is too fundamental to be
easily compromised. The news-
papers speculate that possibly the
Japanese will demand the cession
of a large part of Chinese ter-
ritory. What does Japan offer
to the United States in return?
Secret diplomacy does not
permit us in on the conference in
Washington. All we can do is to
surmise from the facts we have
at hand. Probably Japan would
offer American capitalism a partially
open door; that is, many
economic concessions for trading
with the new country set up. Also
the Japanese may promise not to
intervene in Siberia for a period.
There might even be an offer to
withdraw from the Axis for a
suitable consideration. None of
this can really be satisfactory
to American imperialism which is
beginning to get into its stride
in military production and to lay
out its own time table for con-
quest.

The crisis in the Pacific is
therefore far from a solution,
but the Japanese have shown that
they are not only that

ARMY FOR STRIKERS?

Brigadier General Lewis B.
Hershey, national director of
Selective Service, recently
clarified his order, issued
originally in June during the
North American Aviation cor-
poration strike, directing the
reclassification of strikers in
war industries for immediate
draft into the army.

"Each case must be dealt
with separately," declared
Hershey. "There can be no
such thing as a blanket re-
classification under the act."

Hershey isn't against use
of the draft regulations for
government strikebreaking and
anti-labor intimidation. He
just believes in the efficacy of
the individual, rather than the
collective method so far as use
of the draft is concerned.
When it comes to dealing with
strikers collectively, he still
believes that army troops are
best.

even from an imperialist angle.
The postponement of the next
move will not mean the end of
friction. The explosion cannot
be far distant. When it comes,
whether the immediate move be
to shut off the Burma Road or
some other, intervention in Si-
beria will not be long in com-
ing. Japan has hardly concen-
trated any large number of
troops in Indo-China for an ad-
venture towards the Burma Road.
At best this could be only a first
step. The main armies have been
concentrated in Manchuria for
a drive against the Red Army.

Can The 'Isolationists' Fight Against The War?

Only Those Who Fight Against the Cause Of War Can Lead the Struggle to End War

By MYRA WARD

The "isolationists" are loud in their denunciations of the
war-mongering Roosevelt administration. But will they, or can
they, conduct a real fight against the war?

To answer this question, one must answer many more. Who
are the leading "isolationists"? What is their program? What
are their principles?

The leading organization of the
"isolationists" is, of course, the
America First Committee. One is
immediately struck by the strange
and diverse composition of this
group.

General Robert E. Wood, manager
of Sears Roebuck, is the official
head. Leading spokesmen of
the committee are Lindbergh,
Wheeler, Clark, etc. Represented
on the national committee are
large industrialists whose eco-
nomic interests depend on con-
sumption goods rather than
munitions or other war products.

Many "isolationists" who claim
that they are opposed to the war,
are only against the war now.
Most of these feel the United
States is not yet "prepared" for
a large scale war.

Once the administration openly
declares war, when more than
words are needed in the struggle
against the war, practically all
the "isolationists" will capitulate
and follow in the steps of the
war-mongers.

They head the "isolationist"
movement today in order to be
able to destroy the genuine anti-
war sentiments of the masses to-
morrow.

PRINCIPLES OF THE ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE

No group can lead a successful
fight against war unless it is
guided by certain basic principles:

First, opposition to the system
which breeds war — the capital-
ist system.

Second, opposition to imperial-
ist aims — the exploitation of
colonial countries, domination of
world markets, raw materials,
etc.

Third, opposition to the war
not only now, but also after the
United States has officially en-
tered the war.

These are the most fundamen-
tal and elementary requirements
of a genuine anti-war group. The
"isolationists" and America Firsters
adhere to none of them. Con-
sequently they do not represent
a movement which the genuine
fighters against imperialist war
can support.

Only the independent action of
the working class, in line with
the above program, can point the
road to the abolition of war.

(Next week: The Main Industrial and Financial Supporters of America First).

these liberals aid Stalin's at-
tempts to discredit the Trotskyist
revolutionary opposition to his
ruinous policies.

These "defenders" of democracy
are playing the game of the most
reactionary American imperialists
who are willing to learn from
the methods of Stalinism how
better to persecute and frameup
the Trotskyists and other labor
agitators in this country.

WATCH A JUDICIAL FRAME-UP AT WORK

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Stalin's Frame-up Purges Whitewashed

Liberals Aid Stalin's Imperialist Allies Spread GPU Lies About the Moscow Trials

By ART PREIS

Among the obligations undertaken by the bourgeois dem-
ocrats in line with the diplomatic needs of their new-found
friendship with Stalin, is a "re-evaluation" of the frameup Mos-
cow Trials. Belated "justifications" are being advanced for the
monstrous purges, which up to now, no one but GPU hirelings,
professional apologists for Stalinism, and the official Stalinist
press dared appraise as anything but the frameups they were.

Far from serving their purpose of discrediting the Trotskyists,
the trials boomeranged on Stalin. During the period of the Stalin-
Hitler pact, the Stalinist press maintained strict silence about the
trials, and the Trotskyists, charged in the trials with being agents of
Hitler and the Mikado, were transformed overnight by the
Stalinist press into agents of Anglo-French imperialism.

Now, such representatives of the American bourgeoisie as Harry Hopkins and former ambas-
sador to the Soviet Union, Joseph E. Davies, are assisting the GPU in its task of white-
washing the Kremlin. Leading publications, such as *Time* and *Life* magazines, and the New York newspaper *PM*, through articles by its editor, Ralph Ingersoll, also have given support recently to the GPU versions of the trials.

DAVIES AND THE TRIALS

The crudest expression of this campaign so far is contained in an article by Davies in the November issue of *American* magazine. Davies, after admitting that he had attended some of the sessions of the Moscow trials and had considered them "fantastic"

serving their own ends by aiding Stalin in his criminal task of discrediting and destroying the proletarian revolutionary opposition to his betrayal of the international class struggle and his support of the "democratic" imperialists in the war.

Davies is pointing to Stalin's Moscow Trial frameup method, "which other liberty-loving na-
tions might ponder," as a pattern to be followed against the working class opponents of the war in this country.

FINDINGS OF THE DEWEY COMMISSION

The conclusive and irrefutable evidence uncovered and made public by the Commission headed by Prof. John Dewey, which exhaustively investigated the Moscow frameups, has exposed the complete falsity of the "confessions" in the Moscow trials. The Dewey Commission produced documentary evidence which proved the falsity of every alleged material fact permitted to slip into the "confessions." Since the publication of the Commission's findings in 1938, literally no individual or group has dared to offer a specific refutation of them.

So unanswerable are these findings that the American magazine, after printing Davies' article, refuses to permit mention of them in its columns. The *Nation*, Nov. 15, reports:

"The American magazine has rejected an article by John Dewey answering one by Joseph E. Davies in which the former Ambassador said that the Soviet Union's resistance to Hitler was made possible by the purging of

pro-Nazis in the Moscow trials."

A despicable role in this attempt to justify the Moscow trials frameups is being played by the liberals. Echoing the direct spokesmen of the imperialists, the liberal exponents of the "war for democracy" are likewise

beginning to "revise" their esti-
mates of the trials and purges.

The most recent examples of this are contained in the *New Republic*, November 17, in a lengthy compendium of articles on "Russia Today."

SOME "LIBERALS" HELP OUT

Some of the writers, wary of stepping on slippery ground, manage to discuss the most fundamental aspects of Soviet military and industrial policies without even mentioning the purges. Max Werner, in "Prospects for the Red Army," and A. Jugow, in "The Results of the Five Year Plans," write as though the trials and purges had never been.

Others offer various "explanations" designed to provide belated hindsight justification for the Moscow trial frameups.

Vera Micheles Dean, in discussing the "Kremlin's Foreign Policy," states: "It would seem more accurate to say that the spectacular Moscow trials reflected a widespread outburst of xenophobia — mistrust of all foreigners."

According to this view, Stalin was only yielding to the "xenophobia" of the Soviet masses in the purges which wiped out the old Bolshevik party, decimated the trained leadership of the Soviet army, government and industry and wound up with — a

pact with Hitler.

John Scott, who shortly before the Soviet-Nazi war began was ordered expelled from the Soviet Union for articles he wrote in the *London News Chronicle*, gives as one reason for the purges:

"I am convinced that may of those high, top-flight functionaries who disappeared between 1936 and 1938 got into trouble originally because of their failure to agree with Stalin's far-reaching and ruthless plans for industrialization."

Scott then goes on to imply that tens of thousands of leading officials, technicians, army commanders, etc., had entered into the services of the German and Japanese fascists.

"One of the most important accomplishments of the Soviet administrative system has been the elimination of enemy fifth columnists... In Russia we have seen no evidence of the existence of any effective Nazi organizations or agents. These were eliminated by the systematic vigilance on the part of the Soviet people, the Communist Party and the NKVD (GPU). From 1936 to 1938 thousands of individuals who were accused of hostility to the Soviet Union were purged. Many innocent men and women suffered unjustly, but the Quislings and Antonescus were liquidated."

**WHAT THE "LIBERALS"
ARE REALLY HELPING**

John N. Hazard ("The Legal Framework") brazenly states: "... There was no path open for society except self-protection. This approach was extensively adopted for the political offender.

about the stand of the Stalinist leadership, but because he knew

that in a closely contested election every vote would count and it was for the purpose of deceiving the Stalinist rank and file especially in the Transport Workers Union, which had to take so much abuse and insult from him that he had to be particularly friendly to the Stalinists and their Marcanionis.

Does this mean that the ALP is going to have a definite split? The Times informs us that the ILGWU postponed final decision for a month "... based on a desire to discuss the matter with Amalgamated officials after their return from the CIO convention in Detroit..."

LaGuardia is a practical enough politician to know that you don't run after street car once you have caught it. He had the right wing support in the bag and pretty securely sewed up. He had to clinch the Stalinist support, and a month is a long time in which to do it.

It is our guess that the threat of split will bring about all sorts of efforts to soothe the sensibilities of the ILGWU officials and a month is a long time in which to do it.

POLITICS MAKE STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

By M. STEIN

To all outward appearance, the American Labor Party scored a great triumph in the recent New York mayoralty election. It elected one of its humble members to the highest office in the greatest city in the world. Only a few months ago this party was torn by internal strife, by bitter struggle between the Old Guard and the Stalinist wing. This was not just a family squabble — it was an open scandal which was dragged through the courts and led to a separation. That, you will remember, was in the days of the Stalin-Hitler Pact.

But as soon as Hitler sent his mechanized hordes against the Soviet Union, another mechanized force, the Communist Party, went into reverse, grinding to dust all its resolutions against imperialism and its "Yanks are not coming" slogans and broke down the walls that separated them from the Old Guard in the ALP. The last election saw the Labor Party united around the candidacy of the Little Flower, and he received 434,297 votes under the ALP designation.

We read anxiously to find out

what the "communist issue" is. We thought for a moment that the CP might have changed its line between the time we read the late afternoon paper the day before and the morning *Times*. But the *Times* explains:

"The supreme indignity," according to J. L. G. W. U. spokesmen, was inflicted when it became known that Representative Vito Marcantonio, leader of the left wing of the Labor party, had spent election night with the Mayor while right-wing leaders sought vainly to get in touch with him."

PERPLEXING PROBLEM

And the following paragraph informs us that: "On the day after the election the Mayor sent telegrams to two right-wing chieftains, Luigi Antonini and Alex Rose, giving the Labor Party credit for his re-election, but this did little to assuage the feelings

of the garment workers."

The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

The Fort Bragg Night of Terror

Finally, after three months, the office of the Secretary of War has worked up and put out its whitewash version of what happened at Fort Bragg early last August when Private Ned Turman, Negro draftee, was shot down for resisting brutal treatment of Negro soldiers by white Military Police who were following out the "treat 'em rough" policy that is applied toward Negro soldiers in the Jim Crow army that is being prepared for another "war for democracy".

About the only thing that isn't denied in the version put out by the War Department is that two men — Turman and a white M. P. — were shot to death. The reason they couldn't deny that was that two bodies lay there when the shooting ended, and it would be stretching it a little too far to say that they committed suicide.

All the rest of the story, with a few unimportant exceptions, flies in the face of all the previous reports given by eyewitnesses at the scene, the daily papers and news services, the Negro newspapers, a personal investigator of the N.A.A.C.P., and others.

If you will believe the War Department, the white M. P.'s did nothing wrong when they stepped on that bus on the night of August 6th. All they did was push some people into seats and start to remove "one of the ringleaders". Then suddenly "a colored soldier" reached out and took the revolver out of the holster of the M. P. who was later killed, and fired it six times. According to this story, the M. P. and Turman were both killed by this "unknown soldier"; Turman, the story goes, was not killed by the M. P., Sergeant Owens, who was previously alleged to have killed Turman "in line of duty".

It is very strange how well this story serves the needs of the Army officer caste, whose Jim Crow system was really responsible for the tragedy. For if you believe this story, Turman's death was an accident, and he didn't die defending his rights. Furthermore, his death was an accident caused not by the authorities, but by "a colored soldier" who hasn't been caught yet, and who probably never will be caught.

The original story was very embarrassing to the Army tops, but now they can say, "It wasn't our fault and it wasn't Turman's fault either." Thus they can clear their own skirts and at the same time make Negro draftees forget Turman's last words: "I'm going to break up you M. P.'s beating us colored soldiers!" Turman becomes a victim of circumstances; and not a hero to those who thrilled at his behavior.

And thus the War Department's statement is able to say: "A noteworthy feature of the investigating officer's report is the finding that, in no respect did the incident itself, or its after effects, acquire any semblance of a conflict of racial sentiments; and that the occurrence did not arise from, or cause any, tendency toward racial discrimination."

But this report is so raw, and so contradicts every report made up to now, that the War Department had to do something it hasn't often resorted to: it ordered Brigadier General Benjamin O. Davis, one of the few Negro officers in the Army, to serve on the committee investigating the Fort Bragg affair. And of course, he arrived at the same conclusions that the others reached: everything was fine and dandy, only thing was to catch the unknown soldier who was responsible for the whole mess, and what about.

I don't know who they expect to fool with such a whitewash report even though it is signed by a Negro general. One thing is sure: they're not fooling the hundreds of thousands of Negro soldiers who are still segregated, discriminated against, insulted and kicked around just as they were before the report was thought up, and who know that Jim Crowism, not accidents, is responsible for "Fort Bragg incidents."

Chicago Labor Council

From Illinois Comrade Robert L. Birchman sends us more information on the recently organized Negro Labor Council, formed by a group of active Negro unionists in an attempt to bring about closer co-operation between the 50,000 CIO, AFL and independent Negro union members in the Chicago area.

The program and purpose of the Council were outlined as follows in a recent bulletin: "In the main, the Mid-West Negro Labor Council has but two purposes. The first is to serve the trade union movement more effectively. The second is to organize the Negro community to support the worthy efforts of organized labor to improve living conditions for all men."

"There are many ways these two things can be done. Each time we meet, each time a new member casts his lot with us, we discover new opportunities for service to labor. Each time we learn of new ways of bringing the Negro community closer to labor and labor closer to the Negro community."

Temporary officers of the Council include representatives from the following unions: State, County and Municipal Workers; Inland Steel Lodge SWOC; Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee; United Transport Service Employees; Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; and American Federation of Teachers.

Comrade Birchman adds: "The Dining Car Cooks and Waiters and the Red Caps have appealed to the Council to aid them in organizing public support for a general railroad strike, which has been authorized by well over 90 percent of the membership of the two unions. The unions are asking for a flat 30 percent increase in wages. This action started when F. G. Hurley, representing the railroads before Roosevelt's 'fact-finding committee', stated that the roads are willing to raise wages between 5 and 6 percent only; since this would raise their wages to only approximately 40 cents an hour, it is easy to understand why the members of these two unions are ready to put up a fight. The Council will be of real help to them if the dispute reaches the point of a strike."

The Stalinist Theory Of "Socialism In One Country"

Soviet Disasters, Defeat Of Revolutions Are Fruits Of This Theory

By C. CHARLES

The defeats of the Red Army are the latest fruits of the false "theory of socialism in one country," which is the fundamental idea of the ruling Stalinist clique.

False theories bring tragic results.

For example, many so-called socialists preached the idea that the way to achieve socialism was by a gradual transformation of the capitalist governments and industry, bit by bit. When they had the opportunity, they refused to take control of the government and place industry under the control of the workers. Instead they strengthened capitalism when it was weak, so that they could, according to their illusion, gradually transform capitalism into socialism. They became doctors of capitalism instead of its undertakers.

Their fallacious theories together with the treachery of Stalinism led to the victory of fascism.

THEORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The greatest historical achievement of the human race, the Soviet Union, was the result of the correct theories of Bolshevism under Lenin and Trotsky.

The central idea of the Russian revolution, was that the Russian workers' and peasants' revolution was the first of a series of revolutions that would establish socialism in the entire world.

From this idea it was a short

step to make of the Communist International an organization whose primary aim was to defend the Soviet Union instead of overthrowing capitalism. And from this, it was an even shorter step to make of the Communist International an organization whose only aim was to defend the Soviet Union.

The defense of the Soviet Union is of course a duty of every worker. Every attack on the Soviet Union by capitalism, which in its search for profits would like to open the Soviet Union as a market for their goods and as a source of raw material, and to enslave the workers there, must be beaten back by the workers of the Soviet Union and the workers of the capitalist countries.

CAPITALIST ATTITUDE TO THE USSR

The capitalists have, besides their economic purposes, a political aim in desiring to smash the Soviet Union. They hate and fear the Soviet Union because they are afraid that the example of the Soviet people who threw out the Czars and the capitalists, will be an inspiration to the workers of the capitalist nations.

But the real defense of the Soviet Union can only come when

the workers of other countries of Western Europe and the United States establish their own government and join hands with the Soviet Union. The real security of the Soviet Union is world socialism. The real defenders of the Soviet Union are the fighting, anti-capitalist workers. The real defense of the Soviet Union is part of the workers struggle against capitalism.

Under the theory that he could build a complete socialist society if he were not attacked, Stalin sold out working class movements all over the world in return for pacts with the capitalist governments. He placed his hope in defending the Soviet Union, not on the workers movement all over the world, but on agreements and alliances with this or that capitalist nation.

These capitalist powers demanded from Stalin in return for diplomatic pacts that Stalin through his control of the Communist parties stifle the militancy of the workers, and even put down workers' revolts.

No Trotskyist is opposed to the Soviet Union making pacts with capitalist countries. We are opposed to selling out the working class as a price for these pacts. A capitalist government does not change its reactionary character because it signs a pact with the Soviet Union. It is still an enemy of the workers, the Soviet Union, and of socialism, and the workers must continue their struggle against it.

Elsewhere in THE MILITANT Comrade Lydia Beidel in her series of articles on the "Crimes of Stalin" is telling, country by country, some of the consequences of the theory of "socialism in one country."

I will just give three examples to show how the Stalinist policy not only weakens the struggle of the workers of the world but also the defense of the Soviet Union.

THE FRANCO-SOVIET PACT

In 1934, when Germany under Hitler was arming itself for the present war, France and the Soviet Union signed a military pact

which was directed against Germany.

Part of this pact called for the cessation of the struggle of the workers in France against French capitalism. The French workers, who could easily have taken government power then if they had a correct leadership, were told to support the French capitalists who were "friendly" to the Soviet Union.

Finally, as was to be expected, after the French working class was smashed, French capitalism turned upon the Soviet Union and broke its pact with it.

In America, the workers are told by the Communist Party that they must not go on strike for better wages or conditions and that they must support Roosevelt because Roosevelt and Stalin are coming together on the international scene. This is Stalin's method of defending the Soviet Union. He does not build up the working class struggle for immediate gains and for the ultimate achievement of socialism. Instead he tells the workers through his Communist Party to follow Roosevelt. The end will be that the American capitalists will try to crush the independent workers' movement, and then turn upon the Soviet Union.

The tragic results of the theory of socialism in one country come out most clearly in relation to the present war between Hitler and the Soviet Union.

STALIN AND THE GERMAN WORKERS

Stalin tells the German workers to overthrow Hitler, not with the idea of establishing a workers government in Germany but with the idea of bringing back the capitalist republic. Stalin goes only this far. The German workers, however, know that the capitalist republic only brought unemployment and crisis to them.

They cannot be rallied to fight against Hitler with the slogan of a capitalist republic.

But what are the facts that made Davies change his mind?

The facts are ABC political facts. Davies never dreamed of reexamining his conclusions drawn right on the spot during the Hitler-Stalin Pact. On the contrary, that Pact redoubled the conviction of the entire world that the trials had been a vast frame-up from start to finish.

The facts that changed Davies' mind have nothing to do with the trials. They have to do with the switch in war alliances when Hitler invaded Russia. The "facts" are that Stalin has become the ally of Great Britain and the United States.

Politics makes strange bedfellows! Davies and Roosevelt have become bedfellows of Stalin's.

The "democracies" will prove their good faith to Stalin. They will give him not only material aid, but political aid as well. The Allies may not establish a "western front" in a hurry at the request of the Kremlin dictator. But a little smoke-screen to help rehabilitate a badly-discredited Stalin in the eyes of the "public" — that is a small expense.

The ideal of world socialism that inspired the Russian masses in 1917 is the only thing that can arouse the German masses against Hitlerism.

Stalin, with his theory of "socialism in one country" and fear of antagonizing Churchill, alienates the German workers and peasants, the real friends of the Soviet Union, by adopting the capitalist war-program of Roosevelt and Churchill which holds out only a new Versailles Treaty to the German people in case of defeat.

The theory of "socialism in one country" has resulted in the defeat of the workers of the world and the weakening of the Soviet Union through these defeats.

The future of the Soviet Union depends on the establishment of workers and farmers governments in Europe. For this to take place the workers must reject the theory of "socialism in one country" which has resulted in so many defeats in the past 17 years and put in its place the original idea of the Russian Revolution: world socialism!

Behind The Talk About Harlem's 'Crime Wave'

The Boss Press Is Deliberately Whipping Up a Campaign Against the Negro People

The only "crime wave" in Harlem is the wave of poverty, unemployment, discrimination, and bad housing. There is nothing new about these "crimes"; they have existed for many years.

The decaying system of capitalism means depressions, unemployment, and miserable living conditions for the workers. These things in turn produce crime, juvenile delinquency, etc.

The other congested and under-

privileged sections of the city, —

Lower East Side, Hell's Kitchen,

South Jamaica, etc., face the

same problems which have sud-

denly attracted so much attention

in Harlem. Pocketbook snatching,

knifings, and petty thievery take

place wherever young boys with

no jobs, no money, and no decent

homes to go to, roam the streets.

NEGROES FACE EVEN WORSE CONDITIONS

But the situation is even worse for Negroes. In addition to overcrowding, poverty, and sickness, they face the barrier of racial discrimination. The capitalists try to undermine opposition to their exploitation and profiteering by dividing Negro and white workers, by setting up barriers between them wherever possible.

Thus Negroes are turned away from jobs because of the color of their skin. In spite of the war boom, most bosses refuse to hire Negroes in these industries. In other fields they are forced into the lowest paid, most menial jobs — regardless of how skilled they may be.

Consequently poverty in Harlem is even more acute than in other sections of the city. Sickness and mortality rates are almost double the rates in other sections of the city. Rents are comparatively the highest; housing conditions are the worst. The unemployed are denied adequate relief. Growing children lack sufficient schools and recreational facilities.

The practical results of the

truth about the conditions in Harlem. They know, as does every worker in Harlem, that this is a battle between the rich and the poor. They fear the power of the poor; they fear above all that the black and white workers will get together to fight their mutual enemies.

FIGHT JIM CROW!

All of Harlem is aroused today. The people know that this is no "crime wave". They know that the criminal conditions under which they are forced to live have existed for decades. They know that the bosses, through the newspapers and the schools, through their Jim-Crow policies in industry, in the armed forces, etc., are trying to divide the white workers and the Negro workers.

They have learned that no change in administration can solve their problems. So now meetings are being held throughout Harlem to protest conditions, and to see what can be done.

To win the fight against this latest wave of anti-Negro propaganda, the people of Harlem must base themselves on a militant program of unity of Negro and white against Jim Crowism and the capitalist system that produces and encourages Jim Crowism.

The Socialist Workers Party is holding an open forum this Friday evening, Nov. 21, at 8:30 o'clock, where the problem will be discussed in full. The main speaker will be Sam Fitzgerald, Harlem labor and unemployed leader, and his speech will be followed by a question and answer and discussion period. Admission is free. The meeting will be held at the headquarters of the Harlem Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, 72 W. 125th Street.

Theory of "socialism in one country" and fear of antagonizing Churchill, alienates the German workers and peasants, the real friends of the Soviet Union, by adopting the capitalist war-program of Roosevelt and Churchill which holds out only a new Versailles Treaty to the German people in case of defeat.

give up its struggle against Churchill. Stalin lulls the British workers to sleep with fairy tales about Churchill and English imperialism and tells the workers they should not struggle for a workers' government.

Unfortunately the records were all too clear: His article in the American Magazine admits: "With this thought in mind I recently went through my diary, and, with the permission of the State Department, reread some of my reports as American Ambassador to Moscow in 1937 and 1938. Suddenly I saw the picture as I undoubtedly should have seen it at the time in Russia. Much of the world construed the famous treason trials and purges from 1935 to 1938 to be outrageous examples of barbarism, ingratitude, and hysteria. But it now appears that they indicated the amazing far-sightedness of Stalin and his close associates. In the light of present facts, and after an examination of the record, there can be no doubt that those defendants were, directly or indirectly, in the employ of the German and Japanese High Commands."

What are the present facts to which Davies refers? He states that he, more than any other diplomat, attended the trials and watched the proceedings. His conclusion at the time was no different from that of the rest of the world. "In my reports, I find that I referred to the second charge (treason and relations with those High Commands) quite casually and as of comparatively little importance." He says this not only of himself but of others present: "But all of us there in Moscow at the time, including the diplomats and the able newspaper correspondents, seem to have 'missed the boat'. I certainly did." That is to say, Davies judged the trials to be nothing but frame-ups at the time. "We knew that Trotsky had a great many followers in Russia, and we regarded the treason trials as Stalin's methods of destroying his internal enemies. Talk of cooperation with the German and Japanese High Commands seemed like so much bizarre window-dressing, a facade to cover the liquidation of counter-revolutionaries."

How Davies Arrives at a Conclusion

Here is a damaging admission indeed. Forgetting it a few sentences later, Davies announces: "They all pleaded guilty, literally beating their breasts as they heaped guilt upon themselves. But, as a trained lawyer, not without experience in testing the credibility of witnesses in criminal trials, I watched the defendants' faces, studied their conduct on the stand, and I arrived at the conclusion that the state had unquestionably proved its case." What an unfortunate sentence for Davies and his own credibility! Davies can refer only to the faces of the defendants, not to their utterly incredible stories!

But what are the facts that made Davies change his mind? The facts are ABC political facts. Davies never dreamed of reexamining his conclusions drawn right on the spot during the Hitler-Stalin Pact. On the contrary, that Pact redoubled the conviction of the entire world that the trials had been a vast frame-up from start to finish. The facts that changed Davies' mind have nothing to do with the trials. They have to do with the switch in war alliances when Hitler invaded Russia. The "facts" are that Stalin has become the ally of Great Britain and the United States.

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The decisive factor in the mind of the imperialist diplomat is the fact that when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, no Fifth Column was there to come to Hitler's aid. Stalin had rid Russia of this Fifth Column in advance. But the Daily Worker said this long before Davies. The trouble is that the "interpretation" proves too much. The appearance of any kind of Fifth Column which might have been linked with the victims of Stalin's purges, would have been far better "proof". There is no Fifth Column to aid Hitler and there never was one! The only Fifth Column is the gang in the Kremlin that gave Hitler every aid up to the moment he invaded

Russia. Silence on that score cannot wipe away that devastating fact.

But there is the other sad fact, that with so "splendid" a united front against the fascist invaders, the Red Army has

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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.

The 28 Defendants Need Your Help Now!

The government prosecutors last week completed the presentation of their frame up 'evidence' against the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO members in the Minneapolis 'seditious conspiracy' trial.

By now it has become clear that Roosevelt and his Department of Justice, using all the power and resources of the federal government, are determined to railroad the 28 defendants to prison for terms up to 16 years for the 'crimes' of opposing the administration's war policies, of being militant fighters for labor, of exercising their rights of free speech and press to oppose capitalism, its wars and fascist reaction, and to advocate a world socialist system of peace and security.

This prosecution represents one of the most dangerous and brazen threats to civil rights and workers' liberties in American history. The prosecutors have stated openly that they intend to get convictions on the basis, above all, of the views and opinions of the defendants.

Among the views which the government represents as particularly 'felonious', are the defendants' beliefs that this government is 'imperialistic', that the workers should fight unceasingly for their rights and 'demand more and more', that labor organizations must be prepared to defend themselves from fascist attacks and vigilante violence, that labor has a duty to advocate improved conditions for the soldiers, that compulsory arbitration is against the interests of the workers.

If the government succeeds in its frameup of these 28 working class leaders, it will have established a precedent by means of which the guarantees contained in the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution can be wiped out altogether. No worker will then dare, without facing the risk of savage governmental reprisal, to advocate independent, militant unionism or to read and circulate political ideas contrary to those of the administration in power.

This trial threatens infinitely dangerous consequences for all labor, for all progressive men and women the country over. In the deepest sense, this is more than a trial of 28 individuals; it is a trial of the most cherished democratic principles won and maintained by the blood and struggle of the millions of common people, workers and poor farmers.

That is why the fight of the defend-

ants for their freedom is equally the fight for freedom of all the masses of American people.

That is why every worker, every progressive individual must come to the aid of the defendants — NOW — before it is too late. The defendants are in desperate need of funds. The legal assistance, the transcriptions of the lengthy court records, the research work essential for the defense are creating staggering expenses. The defendants and their families are penniless, without means of self-support during the long weeks of the trial.

You must act now — sacrifice to the limit. Do your share in the fight for fundamental rights that is being conducted so courageously and uncompromisingly by the 28 defendants in Minneapolis.

Rush financial contributions at once to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Don't delay one day! Rush Funds NOW!

Talking About Hitler's Methods

Roosevelt's statement, made to the White House conference of mine union and steel corporation officials last week, that a government decision favoring the union shop for the "captive" mine workers "would be too much like the Hitler methods toward labor," was rank demagogic.

Roosevelt claims he does not want to "order the closed shop" in the steel corporations' coal mines. In reality, he seeks to order the open shop for the organized 95 per cent of "captive" mine workers, by denying them the right to strike for the union shop. This, if anything, smacks of Hitler's methods.

Hitler's methods are anti-labor in their very essence. His first act on coming to power was to outlaw the right to strike. That is, in fact, the first plank in the program of fascism, which is nothing but the naked dictatorship of monopoly capitalism established to annihilate the workers' independent organizations and render the working class powerless to fight for its rights and conditions.

In both Italy and Germany, it was the steel trust barons who provided most of the finances for the fascist movements and who supported the rise of Mussolini and Hitler to power. Their objectives were the same as those of the American steel barons whom Roosevelt is serving today. They wished to destroy the workers' unions. By strengthening the hand of the steel open-shoppers, by giving them a club with which to batter and weaken the unions in the coal and steel industries, Roosevelt is simply paving the way for that system of American fascism which the steel masters in this country, like their German and Italian counterparts, will seek to impose on the workers tomorrow.

As the government prepares for its totalitarian conduct of the war, its methods toward labor more and more emulate Hitler's. It tries to handcuff organized labor, destroy the right to strike, and impose its dictatorship over the unions with armed force or the threat of armed force.

And just as Roosevelt hides his imperialist war aims behind "anti-Hitler" slogans, so he attempts to disguise his vicious onslaughts against labor by falsely representing them as being in opposition to "Hitler's methods."

More Taxes On The Workers Are Coming

The extortionate taxes imposed on the workers by the recently adopted federal tax bill will seem light indeed by comparison with the crushing burden of war taxes yet to come.

This last tax measure, most onerous in American history, exacts taxes on incomes as low as \$750 annually and digs deep into the low-wage earners' pockets for excise levies, while leaving corporation war profits virtually untouched.

Many workers have had hope that the capitalist government would place a ceiling on the tax robbery of the poor and demand some sort of "equal sacrifice" from the rich, particularly after Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau's demagogic statement about taxing all corporation profits over six per cent.

The Roosevelt Administration has already smashed such hopes. Its latest tax recommendation is for a 15 per cent direct tax on wages, deducted in advance by employers. This is called putting the workers on a "budget" and making the payment of taxes "easier".

Meanwhile, the monopoly corporations can continue to pile up their swollen war profits, which for the first nine months of this year have reached the highest peak in American history.

If the workers were to offer a counter-demand that they be given the right to examine the corporations' books and deduct direct advance taxes from the corporations, there would be maniacal howls all the way from Wall Street to Capitol Hill.

But that is exactly one of the things the workers should demand and fight for. Let the rich, who profit from the war, pay for it!

Trotsky Showed How To Defend The Soviet Union

Not Support of the Imperialists In the War, But Relentless Class Struggle Against Them Is Only Way to Save Workers State

More than 24 years after the October Revolution, the Soviet masses are engaged in a life and death struggle to defend the first workers state against its imperialist enemies. In spite of the heroism and sacrifice they are displaying, they have suffered terrible reverses.

What is the correct policy of defense? Should workers in the United States and Britain call for the opening of a "western front"? Would that aid or hurt the defense of the USSR?

Trotsky posed these questions in the manifesto, "War and the Fourth International" (1934), and answered them. Those answers retain their full force and pertinence to this day, when the Stalinists, whose policies have brought the USSR to the very brink of catastrophe, are clamoring for a "western front" by the imperialists as the only means of preventing the defeat of the workers state. We print here the section of the document dealing with these questions:

"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, without ceasing, however, because of it, to be of the greatest danger both to the USSR and to the world revolution.

A REAL ALLIANCE

"Intransigent proletarian opposition to the imperialist ally of the USSR must develop on the one hand, on the basis of international class policy, on the other, on the basis of the imperialist aims of the given government, the treacherous character of this 'alliance', its speculation on capitalist overturn in the USSR, etc. The policy of a proletarian party in an 'allied' as well as in an enemy imperialist country should therefore be directed towards the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the seizure of power. Only in this way can a real alliance with the USSR be created and the first

TASKS OF THE WORKERS

"The international proletariat will not decline to defend the USSR even if the latter should find itself forced into a military alliance with some imperialists against others. But in this case, even more than in any other, the international proletariat must safeguard its complete political independence from Soviet diplomacy and thereby also from the bureaucracy of the Third International.

"Remaining the determined and devoted defender of the workers'

workers' state be saved from disaster.

"Within the USSR war against imperialist intervention will undoubtedly provoke a veritable outburst of genuine fighting enthusiasm. All the contradictions and antagonisms will seem overcome or at any rate relegated to the background. The young generations of workers and peasants that emerged from the revolution will reveal on the field of battle a colossal dynamic power. Centralized industry, despite its lacks and shortcomings, will reveal great superiority in serving war needs. The government of the USSR has undoubtedly created great stores of food supplies sufficient for the first period of war. The general staffs of the imperialist states clearly realize, of course, that in the Red Army they will meet a powerful adversary, the struggle with whom will require long intervals of time and terrific straining of forces.

"But precisely the protracted nature of the war will inevitably reveal the contradictions of the transition economy of the USSR with its bureaucratic planning...

"The political conclusions following from this are obvious: a) only the proletarian revolution in the West can save the USSR as the workers' state in case of a long protracted war; b) the preparation for a proletarian revolution in 'friendly', 'allied' as well as enemy countries is conceivable only with the complete independence of the world proletarian vanguard from the Soviet bureaucracy; c) the unconditional support of the USSR against the imperialist armies must go hand in hand with revolutionary Marxist criticism of the war and the diplomatic policy of the Soviet government, and with the formation inside of the USSR of a real revolutionary party of Bolshevik-Leninists."

June 30, 1934.

The Crimes Of Stalin

By Lydia Beidel

III. STALIN BEHEADS THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, 1925-27

In China: The struggle of the masses against feudal oppression and foreign imperialism took on a new form in 1923; the proletariat underwent a rapid independent development, organizationally and politically. Trade unions mushroomed and strikes grew in number and size, taking on a distinctly political quality. By 1925, union membership in China was higher than in Russia in October, 1917. Tremendous general strikes shook the main industrial centers; the peasant masses and middle classes were in revolt; British, Japanese and American imperialism were on the defensive. Political leadership of China's unrest lay in the Kuomintang, a party of national liberation formed by Sun Yat-Sen.

In the Comintern: Lenin's last illness removed him from active leadership; Trotsky fought adamantly against the threatened mishandling of the Chinese situation, but was completely isolated by Stalin well along in his anti-Trotskyism campaign. Trotsky presented his criticism in a brilliant series of articles entitled *Lessons of the Chinese Revolution*.

In the Theses of the Second Congress of the Comintern (1920), Lenin formulated Bolshevik policy on the Chinese revolution.

Oriental parties of the C. I. were urged to enter into united front movements with organized sections of non-proletarian oppressed classes (peasantry, urban middle class), always, however, "preserving the independent character of the proletarian movement, even though it be still in its embryonic state."

STALIN'S INVENTION:

Stalin in 1925 invented a new political concept: the "bloc of four classes" (proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, and a section of the native big bourgeoisie).

Application of Stalin's ideas could have but one practical result: to bind the revolutionary proletariat to the program of the native capitalist class. Such a concept springs from a gross and criminal misjudgment of the Chinese revolution as purely bourgeois-democratic in nature — the Menshevik error of 1917 repeated by Stalin in the case of China.

Lenin taught that the native capitalist class of a colonial country is torn between its desire to fight off foreign imperialist domination and its fear of the worker and peasant masses at home. Experience has proven that the fear of unleashing the masses for revolt against imperialism is greater in the last analysis than the desire for independence from foreign domination, and that the native capitalists of such countries try to betray the exploited classes.

THE REVOLUTION BEGINS:

1925 opened two bloody years of Chinese struggle against native and foreign capitalist oppression, in which the membership of the C. P. took heroic part, though prevented from assuming political leadership by Stalin and his henchmen in China.

In January, 1924, Stalin sent the entire membership of the Chinese C. P. (as individuals) into the Kuomintang, a "four-class party" ready-made for him. Borodin, Stalin's agent, was sent to China to carry out the line. From then on, members of the C. P. were subservient to the discipline of the liberal bourgeoisie.

On March 20, 1926, General Chiang Kai-Shek, representative of the Chinese capitalist class, who had been flirting with the Stalinist C. I. since Sun Yat-Sen's death, staged a coup d'état and assumed leadership of the Kuomintang. He immediately laid down stringent rules paralyzing the activities of the C. P. members in his party; Borodin-Stalin agreed. Chiang outlawed the magnificent Canton strikes; Borodin-Stalin acquiesced. Chiang launched his Northern campaign, using C. I. propagandists as a front. Workers, under the C. I.'s misleadership, flocked to the warlord's support. He thanked them by destroying their unions. Not a word of warning came from the Communist Party under Stalin that Chiang Kai-Shek, representative of the native capitalist class, would turn on the workers and peasants.

Still the fever of rebellion rose. The role of the C. P. of China was limited to fighting in the spirit of Chiang's first slogan: "A 20% reduction in rent." Trotsky persistently demanded that the C. P. withdraw from the Kuomintang and conduct an independent struggle for the formation of Soviets.

The crassest expression of the Stalinist policy appeared in a manifesto issued by the Chinese C. P., saying: "We must carry on a minimum of class struggle."

DEFEAT AND DISASTER:

In February, 1927, as he waited to enter Shanghai, General Chiang delivered a pogrom speech against the C. P. Reply came in the form of instructions from Mandalian, C. P. leader, ordering the party "not to provoke Chiang" and "in case of extreme necessity to bury their arms." Stalin and Chiang exchanged autographed pictures. The C. P. and the Kuomintang issued a joint statement calling for unity behind Chiang.

Chiang entered Shanghai, welcomed by the masses who were misguided and lulled by C. P. policy. He quickly established connections with the imperialists, and on April 12, 1927, he struck, literally hacking the militant working class movement to pieces. All trade unions and the C. P. were driven underground.

In an attempt to save face, Stalin now at last announced that the Chinese revolution had really begun and influenced the Canton party in December, 1927, to organize an ill-timed and poorly prepared uprising. But the workers' organizations were now, thanks to Stalin, bewildered or smashed, and the Canton Soviet after three days was drowned in blood.

EFFECTS ON THE CHINESE C. P.

The Communist Party of China grew between 1925 and 1927 from 800 to over 60,000 members, most of whom were proletarians. It enjoyed the support of the great mass of the peasantry. On November 8, 1928, a circular issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese C. P. stated: "The party does not have a single healthy party nucleus among the industrial workers." By 1930, less than 2% of the membership was proletarian. The unions were smashed. Capitalist terror against worker and peasant raged.

Stalin, organizer of proletarian defeats, had helped to behead the Chinese revolution and give new life to imperialism in the Orient.

our ship went ashore at Capetown. They returned in a very bitter mood. They explained to me that the segregation and discrimination are even worse than in any part of our own Bourbon South. They would not go ashore again. The natives of South Africa have never heard of the "four freedoms."

I attended a showing of the American moving picture "Boy's Town" in the lily-white movie theatre in East London. In one scene, a little colored boy was shown sitting with some white boys. When this scene flashed on the screen, there was a loud gasp from the audience. They were horrified at the idea of a colored boy being shown sitting together with whites.

But it remained for the things we witnessed in American and British-owned Portuguese East Africa to show me to what depths of misery and exploitation the African natives are driven by imperialism.

HEAD-TAX SYSTEM

The means that British imperialism employs to force the natives into these slave jobs is a head-tax. Every native is compelled to pay a tax of a pound a year, about four dollars American.

If a native fails to pay this tax he goes to a hard-labor prison. If he is lucky enough to survive this experience, he is unlikely to skip paying the tax again.

In East London, across the river from the docks, I saw one of these slave camps, a quarry, where the prisoners are driven by brutal armed guards at an inhuman pace in the broiling sun. The reports of survivors of these prisons have circulated among the natives, who have thus come to prefer the drawn-out punishment of starvation and "free" toil, to the tortures of the prison camps.

The disease is rampant even among the poor whites, whose standard of living is only a few notches above that of the native colored peoples. I read a number of papers in East London, and the

Three Negro mess boys from