

What Happened To Wilson's 14-Point Program?

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FDR'S 8-POINTS HIDE REAL WAR AIMS

SWP Election Platform Hits FDR War Drive

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

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

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

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

The complete text of the election program is as follows:

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

FOR MAYOR



JAMES P. CANNON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on page four)

CIO Auto Workers Vote Support For Local 544

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

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

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

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

The resolution adopted today is as follows:

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

transport workers movement of the Northwest, has transferred its affiliation from the AFL Teamsters International into the CIO in order to free themselves from the dictatorial, racketeer, craft union set-up of Daniel Tobin, and

"WHEREAS: CIO President Philip Murray, President R. J. Thomas, and the national officers of the CIO have welcomed this militant and progressive union into the CIO after the membership of Local 544 voted almost unanimously to join the CIO, and

WHEREAS: The United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, with which the Minneapolis Local 544 is now affiliated, has inaugurated a nation-wide drive to bring democratic industrial unionism to the American Motor Transport

Imperialist Plans For World Conquest Mapped In Conference; USSR Menaced

By WILLIAM F. WARDE

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

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

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

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

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

The Main Business of the Conference

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on page six, editorial column)

Right Wing Leaders Win Out At Auto Convention

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

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

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

ADDES DISAPPOINTS UAW MILITANTS

On all the life-and-death issues for the union, the Addes group, supported in the main by the most militant elements, compromised with the ideas of Reuther. Those militants who looked for progressive leadership from Addes were disappointed. The failure of Addes to inspire and give a program of struggle against Reuther and the Hillmanites, resulted in a victory for Reuther and the disorientation of the more progressive elements.

On the North American issue Addes and his group supported a report of the grievance committee which accused the North American workers of "a mistake" in their strike, and upheld Frankenstein. The only difference between the Addes and Reuther groups on this issue was that Reuther insisted on a more severe penalty for the officers of the union involved in the West Coast strike.

ANTI-RED ISSUE

On the issue of the constitutional amendment, barring so-called "reds" from office, Addes and his group distinguished themselves only by offering through the constitution committee a report which called for barring not only "Communists, Nazis and Fascists" from office but Socialists as well. This was supposed to be a clever means of attacking Reuther. But, in reality, it was merely the same

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

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

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

Minneapolis AFL Unions Face 'Purge' By Green

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

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

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

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

AFL UNIONS RESISTED TOBIN'S DEMANDS

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

The fact is that every AFL union here owes too great a debt of gratitude to Local 544-CIO to make it possible for them to join Tobin's hopheads and thugs in an "all-out" fight against Local 544-CIO. Local 544's great 1934 strikes built the union movement of Minneapolis, and Local 544 has

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

MILITANTS ATTACK BOTH ADDES AND REUTHER

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

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

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always come to the aid of its sister unions as the strongest union in the city. The AFL workers have not forgotten all this just because Tobin, when he attempted to "purge" Local 544, forced the union to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO.

Hence Tobin can get the kind of aid he wants only if he can first purge every AFL local here of the officers and militants whose life during the last seven years has been so intimately bound up with Local 544. International officials from every AFL union were sent in here to give Tobin that kind of aid, but failed to get it from the local unions. The Central Labor Union officers issued statements supporting Tobin and condemning Local 544-CIO, but did not—and could not—back up the statement with deeds. Now their official heads will be chopped off, in all likelihood, by the Matthew Woll committee.

NO FENCE-SITTERS ALLOWED

Thus the AFL tops themselves make any fence-sitting impossible in this significant battle. Everybody in the trade union movement is being forced to choose between the rank and file of the local teamsters movement—now affiliated to the CIO—and Tobin and his gangsters.

The AFL Executive Council's action is a confession of failure. Tobin has failed in his attempt to drive the transport workers back into the AFL.

But nobody needed this confession to know the fact, after the magnificent membership meeting of Local 544-CIO on August 11, when over 1,000 men turned out, a few hours after their leaders and the Socialist Workers Party members—29 defendants in all—were arraigned in the U. S. Department of Justice's "seditious conspiracy" case.

TOBIN "CONTRACT" SIGNED

Coupled with the threat to purge the entire AFL here, has come the latest Tobin move—the announcement that his "544-AFL" has signed a contract with several groups of employers.

Tobin's sheet, the *Minnesota Teamster*, came out Friday an-

nouncing the contract—but not printing the contract. The bosses told the workers there was such a contract, and so did the boss press, but Tobin's agents would not let anybody see the contract.

CIO PRINTS TOBIN CONTRACT

This omission was rectified by Local 544-CIO, which this morning distributed to every transport worker in this city a special edition of its paper, the *Industrial Organizer*, with the headline: "HERE IS CASEY'S CONTRACT; WHY HE DIDN'T PRINT IT." The bulletin also carried a point-by-point analysis of the contract, which proved to the hilt that it was a sellout.

The key to the Tobin contract is Article 9, which provides for compulsory arbitration of literally everything. Two men from each side plus an "impartial" fifth would constitute the arbitration board. The joker is that the fifth man would be chosen by each side submitting lists of 25 names "to a Priest, Minister, Reverend or Rabbi" who would select a name which might appear on both lists. But if no such name appeared on both lists, or on additional lists, the question of choosing the fifth name could be dragged on forever—and would, whenever it suited the bosses.

The Tobin contract also weakens the previously existing seniority setup. In the face of the enormous increase in living costs, it provides for a raise of only six cents per hour, far below the demands previously drawn up by the membership of Local 544-CIO. One could list many other outrageous items in the Tobin contract, but the whole thing is summed up by the fact that no contract is stronger than its arbitration clause. And this arbitration clause gives everything away.

TOBIN'S PROBLEM REMAINS

The bosses and Tobin's agents signed a contract—but now they still have the job of trying to get any workers to accept it.

The first reactions of the workers to the Tobin contract, when the text of it was made available to them by Local 544-CIO, can scarcely give Tobin any grounds for confidence that he can put this contract over.

On bulletin boards, and on loading docks, the workers have pasted up the slogan of Local 544-CIO:

"Don't Let the Bosses Shove Casey's Contract Down Your Throat."

FDR Intervenes In Kearny Strike

KEARNY, New Jersey, August 19—President Roosevelt today threw his influence behind the return to work here of the 16,000 strikers at the Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Corporation's plant on the open-shop terms of the company.

Brushing aside the fact that the strike was deliberately provoked by the company through its refusal to sign a contract on the minimum terms recommended by the National Mediation Board, Roosevelt sent a letter to "both" the union and the company, which declared:

"The importance to the national defense of the production of ships in your plant is so much greater than the point of difference between you and your employers that I am asking you both to return to your work at once."

Since the company is, naturally, in favor of a "return to work at once" on its terms, the letter can be regarded solely as a demand upon the union to return to the open-shop conditions against which the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers (CIO) was compelled to call a strike on August 7.

Roosevelt's implied strikebreaking threat against the union followed the action of L. H. Korndorff, Federal Shipbuilding head, who last week offered to "give" the plant to the government rather than sign a union contract embodying a limited union shop clause, a "maintenance of membership" stipulation which would require all workers now members, or who join the union later, to continue in good standing in the union or forfeit their jobs.

Korndorff was in private conference with Secretary of the Navy Knox during the past week. Knox, on receipt of Korndorff's offer, issued a statement letting it be known that the Navy Department was already prepared to "seize" the plant "within 48 hours." The "seizure" order was held up pending the return of Roosevelt from his conference with Churchill.

Roosevelt's letter has come as a distinct shock to the strikers, who shortly after the strike began had asked the government to take over the plant because of the company's brazen refusal to yield even on the most limited demands. It is clear that Roosevelt, in the event the strikers do not surrender to the company, intends to carry out measures similar to those employed against the North American Aviation strike, and

that he is now laying the basis for placing full blame on the strikers as justification for such a move.

The thoroughly flimsy character of the company's case was further revealed last Saturday when William Davis, National Mediation Board chairman, sent a letter to Knox placing the full onus for the strike upon the company and branding as false Korndorff's interpretation of the issues in the strike.

Strong picket lines are being constantly maintained at the plant. A mass demonstration of thousands of unionists, representing some 29 unions, was held before the plant last Monday. The problem now is whether the union leadership is firm enough to withstand the terrific government pressure.

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Draftee Reveals Army Officers' Incompetence

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Blow

Steady now!—for our comrade
Keeps steady as he lies...
Quiet now!—for our comrade
Instructs us as he dies...
What world is this we enter now?
That purpose!—that commanding pen!
That all-compassing thought-of-men
He lived with! Will these days allow
Such loss of vision, and yet sight remain?

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

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

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

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

August, 1941

Private Ned Turman Died Fighting For Democracy

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

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

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

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

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

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

SEGREGATED CANNON FODDER
He was good enough to serve as cannon fodder like white soldiers, but not together with them. He was segregated from the whites, shunted off on the side. He saw that there were practi-

cally no Negro officers, and none of these few could command white soldiers, while most of his own commanding officers were white. He saw only a handful of Negro military police (MP's). He saw that most of the MP's were deliberately recruited from among the most backward, prejudiced, southern whites, men who were accustomed to treating Negroes as so much dirt.

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

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

get rid of certain key fighters. But it is by no means certain that he will be successful. A trial is necessary in all such cases, and it will be no simple matter to move in on some of the militant locals and destroy their leadership.

The Reuther group will await the most propitious moment to attack the militants in the locals, most likely when the war spirit is strong.

Not only is the UAW International Executive Board controlled by Reuther, with 12 Reuther men to 7 in opposition, but a constitutional provision which empowers each board member to cast one vote on the board for every thousand members in his district, gives Reuther an even bigger majority, since his main strength is in Detroit, where the Board members have great numerical votes.

However, there is no reason to believe that the struggle between the board members will continue indefinitely. Although for some time Reuther and his group have represented the Hillman tendency in the CIO, bent on making the union a kowtowing stooge for the OPM and government, and Addes has been looked upon as a John L. Lewis man with a program of independence for government, the convention showed that Addes has watered down his program, and is interested mainly in keeping his post and not in defending a progressive program or principles.

NEW LEADERSHIP ON ORDER OF THE DAY
Many militants went back to their locals disappointed at the failure of the progressive elements to clarify the issues and launch a clear fighting program against the OPM, against the strike-breaking of Frankenstein on the West Coast, and for a program of aggressive unionism independent of the OPM and the Wall Street war machine. They are now convinced that the only way to safeguard the union and provide such a program is to build an independent militant group which can go to the next convention and by its power and its program either draw the Addes forces into its orbit, or fight independently against the whole board.

Although it is considered possible that Addes will yet move in the direction of militancy, and fight for a union free of the governmental apparatus, it is more probable that the whole board will be caught up in the furious war preparations, and tie themselves to the coat-tails of the Roosevelt war administration.

Statistics Prove Army Jim Crowism
The following statistics from the latest Army and Navy Register give the full picture of discrimination against Negroes by the higher officer staffs that appoint the officers.

There are only 6 Negro officers in the whole of the Regular Army. Three of these are line-officers, the others chaplains. None of the line-officers has a command at present.

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

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

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

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

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

Ned Turman spoke up, said that Poole was in need of hospitalization, that he should be taken care of.

"Hospital, hell!" said the MP Sergeant, E. L. Hargraves of Texas. "I'm going to take him to jail."

Evidently Turman repeated that he thought Poole needed medical attention. "Talking back" is what they call it in the South when a Negro tries to say something to a cracker.

Hargraves told him to shut up and struck him roughly on the shoulder. Turman threw up his hands to ward off the blow. In the South such an act is unpardonable. Crackers don't like Negroes to lift their hands to a white man, even in self-defense.

Hargraves began to club him over the head. At the same time an MP outside the bus began to strike at him through an open window. And the other MP's advanced to do their share.

WHAT NED TURMAN FOUGHT FOR
Suddenly Turman broke away and produced a revolver. The Pittsburgh Courier reports that he cried out:

"I'm going to break up you MP's beating us colored soldiers!"

Those were his last words. He began shooting. Hargraves was killed, two other MP's wounded. When Turman's gun was empty, an MP who entered the bus from the back shot him dead.

A night of terror followed. All the 5,000 Negroes at Fort Bragg were rounded up, cursed, beaten, and driven by MP's armed with sawed-off shotguns out of the camp to another nine miles away.

Ned Turman is dead. He will not receive any medals for what he did. The commanding officer at Fort Bragg has airily explained the tragedy by saying that there are always some "bad actors" in a large group of men. The MP's will be spurred on to even more savage acts by warnings of what happens when they don't "shoot first."

Statistics Prove Army Jim Crowism

There are only 6 Negro officers in the whole of the Regular Army. Three of these are line-officers, the others chaplains. None of the line-officers has a command at present.

In addition there are 23 reserve officers, 3 of whom are being used at present. In the National Guard there are 227 officers.

These figures alone explode the claims of some Uncle Toms that the way to get more Negro officers is by accepting and extending the present system of Negro segregation rather than by fighting against it and for mixed regiments.

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But the Negro soldiers who saw and heard what he did, say he died a hero. According to THE COURIER, "They make much of the fact that he had not been drinking and was not drunk. They thrill over his last words..."

Few Days Left To Complete War Chest Drive

As this issue of the Militant goes to press, only a few more days remain before the August 21st deadline to complete the party's War Chest.

The score stands today at 87%. Delinquent locals which want to get under the wire will have to hurry.

Final figures giving the score at the close of the campaign will be printed next week.

Contributions This Week

Branch	Amount
New York City	\$135.80
Minneapolis	17.42
Fresno	10.00
South Chicago	5.00
Quakertown	1.00
New Haven	1.00
TOTAL	\$170.22

\$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	%
BUFFALO	\$ 60.00	\$ 100.00	167
READING	25.00	38.30	153
CLEVELAND	150.00	186.50	124
BALTIMORE	10.00	12.00	120
AKRON	50.00	60.00	120
BOSTON	350.00	403.75	115
ST. PAUL	300.00	325.80	108
ALLENTOWN	25.00	27.00	108
YOUNGSTOWN	150.00	160.00	107
SEATTLE	25.00	26.00	104
QUAKERTOWN	25.00	26.00	104
FLENT	200.00	207.00	103
CHICAGO	1200.00	1238.12	103
San Diego	100.00	100.00	100
Portland	30.00	30.00	100
St. Louis	25.00	25.00	100
Toledo	10.00	10.00	100
Detroit	500.00	500.00	100
Louisiana	25.00	25.00	100
Newark	500.00	500.25	100
Philadelphia	125.00	125.00	100
Pittsburgh	40.00	40.00	100
Rochester	50.00	50.00	100
New Haven	50.00	46.00	92
Milwaukee	55.00	46.00	84
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	908.83	83
Los Angeles	500.00	386.50	78
New York City	2500.00	1935.08	77
South Chicago	125.00	95.00	76
Texas	20.00	10.00	50
Minneapolis	1200.00	532.96	44
Fresno	30.00	10.00	33
Members-at-Large	475.00	511.30	108
TOTALS	\$10,000.00	\$8698.39	87



In the minds of some of our comrades, the extension of the circulation and influence of THE MILITANT is the uppermost thought.

This was proven again a few weeks ago when a member from one of the automobile centers landed a good job elsewhere in the country. He immediately made arrangements with this office to have the bundle order in his home town doubled, arranging to pay the increased weekly cost out of his own pocket.

Shortly after the increased bundle was sent out, we got the following letter from the comrades in the town benefited by the extra papers:

"I am sending this slug of dough in payment of our MILITANT bill. I think that this brings us pretty near up to snuff. We certainly feel good about the extra papers. This gives us the opportunity to tackle a Stalinist local on which we've had our eye for a long time but couldn't cover because we had established a regular sale at one plant and that took the whole previous bundle."

"When we received the big consignment of the Manifesto issue and leaflets we sold them at nearly every large and important plant. It took several weeks, but you can be sure that they're not rotting in a dark corner but got into the hands of many workers. Ours is the only working class paper which is being distributed at the plants at all."

crimination and segregation, they are not enough. Jim Crowism cannot be overturned by individual acts, justified though these acts of protest may be. One man may be able to inspire others, but only a mass movement will actually destroy racial discrimination. And to do it, a mass movement must have the proper program.

This program must be based on unity of Negro and white workers in struggle against the creator of Jim Crowism, the system of capitalism itself that is also responsible for war and fascism and unemployment. To achieve this unity, it must fight for full social, economic and political equality for the Negro people. It must also demand military training under control of the workers themselves to put an end to the Jim Crow practices now employed by the officer caste.

Negro workers can best honor the memory of Ned Turman and achieve the goal for which he gave his life by joining with the Socialist Workers Party around this fighting program.

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

UAW Delegates On Picket Duty



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

CP Tells FDR How to Frame SWP 544-AFL 'Organizers' Go On A Crime Spree

Stalinists Recommend Moscow Trial Method

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

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

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

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

STALINISTS FORCED TO TAKE A POSITION

We do not know how many conferences and discussions were held in the Kremlin headquarters on 13th St., in New York as to the policy that should be followed towards the attack of the government on the Trotskyists. After all, to keep silent about a matter that was agitating the minds of every thinking worker and of every progressive could not but arouse amazement even in the ranks of the Stalinists and might lead some rank-and-fileers to give the kind of half-hearted support to the defendants that was given by the Minneapolis Stalinists. It was necessary to say something on the whole question. In the *Daily Worker* of August 16 — a month and a day after the indictment — Mr. Milton Howard was afforded the opportunity to make public the line formulated by the Stalinist heads.

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

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

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

THE METHOD OF ATTACK

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

the independent action of the workers, and not by joining hands with the American government for the purpose of sending aid to the Soviet Union. The *Daily Worker* thereupon writes an editorial denouncing us for being against aid to the Soviet Union and ascribing the hidden motive to us of a desire to destroy the Soviet Union. There can be no basis for any argument where falsifications and slanders constitute the only attack on us.

Howard's article, however, in addition to the usual falsifications and slanders, sets down a certain policy which it is possible to analyze.

The article starts with the proposition that the Trotskyists are enemies of the people, tools of the most reactionary forces, conspirators and wreckers using the words "socialism" and "communism" to conceal our real purpose which is to aid the enemies of labor.

WHAT HOWARD WON'T EXPLAIN

If that is so, Mr. Howard, how does it happen that the Minneapolis bosses have been fighting the Trotskyists tooth and nail ever since the Trotskyists helped make a union town out of Minneapolis? You say the "Trotskyists have penetrated workers' organizations in order to wreck them"? But it is on record that the Trotskyists of Minneapolis have built powerful unions and that they were instrumental in organizing hundreds of thousands of workers all over the Northwest. Do you mean to say, Mr. Howard, that the Trotskyists are playing a game to amuse themselves by first building unions, then penetrating them for the purpose of destroying them? A few idiots in your party may believe that kind of dribble!

Will you kindly write an article explaining why Tobin, like the bosses of Minneapolis, is so anxious to smash the Trotskyists and the unions led by them? Perhaps you and your party are of the opinion that the Minneapolis bosses and Tobin also consider us enemies of the people and are determined to get rid of us because they, like you, are friends of the people? It would be very instructive to get your view on this point.

Or is it your thesis that the Minneapolis bosses and Tobin are also enemies of the people and that this fight between them on the one hand and the Trotskyists on the other is only a sham battle staged for the purpose of deceiving all of the people all of the time?

RESURRECTING THE MOSCOW TRIALS

Naturally Howard brings for-

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

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

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

STALINISTS WANT INDICTMENT CHANGED

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

stood that they do not criticize the indictment as such; they only criticize the government for indicting the Trotskyists as revolutionists. The Stalinist leaders want the government to obtain an indictment against the Trotskyists, but without the mention of their revolutionary activities.

What the Stalinist leaders ask and demand is that the government change its indictment. Instead of accusing the Trotskyists of being revolutionists, the Stalinists demand that the government indict the Trotskyists as fifth columnists and also involve the Trotskyists with Nazis, Bundists, Christian Fronters, etc.

STALINISTS WANT A MOSCOW TRIAL

In simple language, this means that the Stalinists want the government to stage a Moscow trial in Minnesota. In the Moscow trials the Trotskyists were not charged with being what they actually are, loyal and devoted revolutionary Marxists, but with being saboteurs and enemies of the people. The trials were thus nothing but judicial frame-ups. The Trotskyists were also accused of being tied up with actual fascists in alleged plots to kill Stalin. That is exactly what the Stalinists want done in Minnesota. A frame-up and a false amalgam linking fascists with the Trotskyists.

The position of the Stalinist leaders makes it impossible for them to be as truthful as the Roosevelt government or even the Hitler government. Open reactionaries know what we are; they do not try to fool themselves or anybody else that we are anything but revolutionists. It is for this that we are persecuted. It is for being revolutionists that our comrades in Germany have suffered so much at the hands of Hitler. It is for being revolutionists that we have been indicted. Naturally the element of frame-up is present even where the charge in the indictment is based primarily on the fact that we are revolutionists. But the Stalinist leaders want the indictment to be a complete frame-up while the reactionaries simply add frame-ups to the basic charge in the indictment.

ONLY THUGS WOULD STAY AND DO TOBIN'S WORK

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

CIO, ALL LIBERALS SUPPORT DEFENDANTS

The most progressive labor organization in the country has undertaken the defense of the sixteen 544 men who are defendants in the case. The CIO has furnished bail; resolutions have been passed by CIO locals protesting the indictments. The American Civil Liberties Union has given all-out aid to the defendants. The liberal weeklies, the *NATION* and the *NEW REPUBLIC*, have condemned the indictments as a violation of the rights of free speech and free press and as a perversion of the criminal code for the purpose of helping Tobin keep his control over the Minneapolis truck drivers. Every liberal, every progressive, every intelligent worker knows exactly what the real reasons for the indictment are. They know the Trotskyists are the most active elements in the organization of the workers in the Northwest.

OUR RECORD IS CLEAR

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

'COMMISSION MEN' PULL DOWN FAT CONTRACT FEES

By DON DORE

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

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

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

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

PRESS EXPOSURE

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

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

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

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

"A percentage of the total value of the contract goes to the commission man. If he brings in a \$1,000,000 contract and his commission is 5 per cent, for example, he gets \$50,000."

The *Times* reveals one case, involving a \$1,000,000 contract for parts for Garand rifles, in which the manufacturer, R. Wallace & Sons Manufacturing Company at Wallington, Connecticut, is alleged to have paid such a five per cent commission to a Washington "commission man," Raymond P. Dickerman, for securing the contract.

WASHINGTON HUSH-HUSH

There's a lot more of this going on, according to the *Times*, but it's very difficult to get the goods on the manufacturers, government officials and go-betweens, because the practice is shrouded in complete secrecy. The *Times* states:

"Just how widespread this practice is, how many commission men there are and how much their commissions have added to the

cost of the defense program, probably cannot be determined except by a Congressional investigating committee with its power of subpoena. The typical commission man emulates the late Sir Basil Zaharoff, the munitions maker of the last World War, in seeking to throw a cloak of mystery around his activities, and the manufacturer who has been unable to get a defense contract until a commission man comes along and produces a nice fat one like pulling a rabbit out of a hat, generally is not inclined to advertise anything that might stop the process."

Along with the entire big business press, the *Times* is attempting to curb some of the more overt and crude practices of the small-fry business men before a major scandal breaks forth which will expose the whole sordid system of government contract-letting.

WHAT THE "TIMES" CONCEALS

The few big monopolies are already so glutted with orders, that in many instances it will take three and four years to fill them. As yet, only \$28,000,000,000 of orders have been contracted, with over \$50,000,000,000 appropriated. But the trusts don't relish giving these remaining orders to the thousands of small companies, who might grow fat in the process and create future competition for monopolies.

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

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

FBI Terrorizes Civil Service Unions

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

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

The real use to which these funds will be put, will be the creation of a super-FBI-Gestapo with which to terrorize and persecute workers opposed to the boss war. During the debate upon the Knox appropriation, the administration leaders frankly admitted that Mr. Knox intends to create a "private police force empowered to track down all workers with alien and subversive tendencies" who are employed on Navy jobs.

GESTAPO METHODS

The Knox purges are already underway. In both the War and Navy departments, mass suspensions and dismissals are taking place in Gestapo fashion. At the Philadelphia Navy Yard 23 workers have been suspended for "administrative reasons." At Mare Island, California Navy Yard, 9 workers were fired for the same reason.

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

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

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

When Tobin's thugs slugged CIO drivers, inside workers and warehousemen, the cops looked the other way. But when Tobin's hoodlums attacked a nurse and beat up the hotel manager and detective who came to her rescue; attempted to assassinate two independent truckowners; shot a farmer; beat up a city alderman and his brother;

were found with marijuana, a narcotic drug, in their possession — when all these crimes were piled up one on another, the cops had to step in and make some arrests to slow up the Tobin crime spree.

At first glance the criminal conduct of the Tobin "organizers" may seem well-nigh fantastic; how could they do these things and thus prejudice Tobin's "case" in the eyes of the entire public? But the explanation is simple. Dirty work requires the kind of "organizers" that Tobin has sent in here.

When Local 544, the Minneapolis union of motor transport and allied workers, disaffiliated from Tobin's international and joined the CIO on June 9th, Tobin flooded Minneapolis with hundreds of officers and organizers from his locals in a dozen states. They came believing Tobin's version — that the drivers were really for the AFL, that the 544-CIO leaders had no support, etc., etc.

ONLY THUGS WOULD STAY AND DO TOBIN'S WORK

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

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

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

men among the AFL officers found one pretext or another to leave Minneapolis and return to their own locals. What remained behind in Minneapolis was a gang of thugs and hoodlums, superintended by Tobin's international officials, and the handful of local Quislings they had bought up.

And this gang proceeded to leave a trail of crime in its wake wherever it went. We can only cite the highlights of this crime spree:

1. Four of Tobin's "organizers" — George O'Brien, Robert Brennan, Axel Soderberg and Frank Bochniak — on July 20 accompanied Brennan's father to "settle" a personal dispute with a Hill City farmer, Walter Doree. When they pulled their guns, the farmer courageously defended himself and, though badly wounded, killed AFL organizer Robert Brennan. A coroner's jury promptly freed farmer Doree on the ground of self-defense and the three surviving AFL organizers were charged with first degree assault and bonds set at \$5,000 each.

2. The grand jury has called in Joseph Casey and T. T. Neal, Tobin's international representatives here, and several of their "organizers," for questioning on various crimes committed here. The grand jury particularly wants to know why, immediately after Neal promised the AFL painters union to take care of a one-man strike at a store which had laid off a paint-

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

THE INCREDIBLE SAGA OF TOBIN'S "BEELER BOYS"

3. AFL "organizers" Kenneth Buckley of Kansas City and John Beeler of Galveston, Texas, were arrested August 7 at 5:30 a.m. after they were caught invading the bedroom of a nurse in the Hotel Nicolet. Hotel officials, responding to the woman's screams, were blackjacked by Tobin's "organizers," who were subdued only when police arrived. And for all this the Tobin men were merely charged with disorderly conduct, and fined \$15 each!

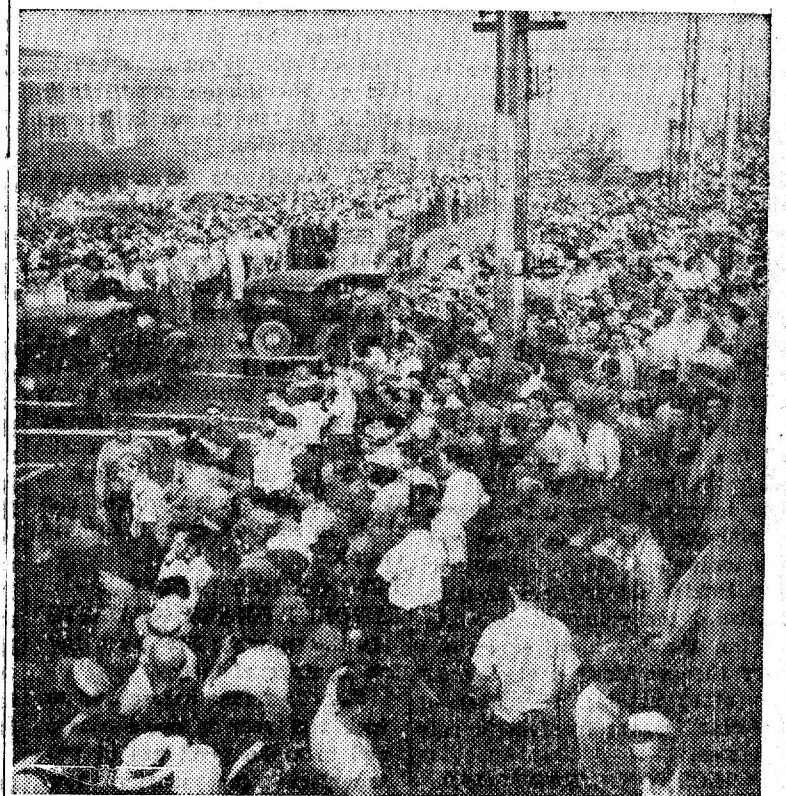
4. AFL "organizers" Henry Smith of Kansas City, Kenneth Buckley and John Beeler, fled from Minneapolis last week after beating up Alderman Desmond F. Pratt and his brother, Dr. Gerald H. Pratt, on August 9, in Harry's Cafe, an expensive eating place. Apparently mistaking the brothers for members of another gang, the Tobin organizers "frisked" them for weapons and then beat them up, fracturing the doctor's jaw. This time they had made the serious error of picking an alderman for their victim, and they had to flee.

5. On their flight, in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, the three Tobin "organizers" beat up a stranger in a barroom. They were arrested by the local police and held for the Minneapolis charges.

6. The same three Tobin organizers, when their car was searched, were found in possession of a large quantity of marijuana, a narcotic drug. Federal narcotic agents then stepped into the case.

The net result of this crime spree is that Tobin's "organizers" are now referred to by all union men here by one name — Tobin's hopheads.

On Strike At Kearny



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

Red Army Fighters



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

Roosevelt Now Imitates Wilson's '14 Points'

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

By ART PREIS

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

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

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

"OPEN COVENANTS OPENLY ARRIVED AT"

Wilson's first "war aim" called for:

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

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

AN FDR-CHURCHILL OMISSION

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

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

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

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

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

NO "ECONOMIC BARRIERS"

The fourth "war aim" of Wil-

son was the removal — "so far as possible" — "of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace . . ."

During the years following World War I, there was an unparalleled extension of "economic barriers" and a frenzied competition between all the imperialist nations for trade advantages and control of world markets. Every European country erected insurmountable tariff walls. For its part, the United States raised tariffs to a point

which virtually excluded imported competitive products from this country.

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

"PRESENT OBLIGATIONS" EXCEPTED

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

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

DISARMAMENT HOAX

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

war, World War II.

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

It crumbled to dust with the impact of the violent resurgence of German imperialism.

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

SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE COLONIES

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

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

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

Nor did American imperialism pay more attention to the "interests of the populations concerned" in imposing its domination over colonial nations. In the period following World War I, American bullets sang the tune of Wall Street imperialism in Nicaragua,

Haiti, Porto Rico, the Dominican Republics, the Philippines and in China.

A SIGNIFICANT SILENCE

Roosevelt and Churchill dare not mention the colonial question in their "war aims." That might raise the question of the "interests of the populations concerned" in the enslaved colonies of American and British imperialism, the questions of India, the West Indies, the Malay States, the African colonies.

Seven of the Wilsonian "Fourteen Points" dealt with specific questions of the restoration of nations and self-determination for nationalities conquered or ruled by the Central powers.

SUBJECT NATIONS

After the war, each European nation found itself confronting some counter-claim. The need for alignments had induced the leading Allied imperialist powers to promise the same territories to different nations. The Versailles Treaty and the other "peace" treaties revamped but did not alter the system of subject peoples in Europe. The Austrian Empire oppressor of half a dozen subject peoples, was ruthlessly pared down to a weak dependency of 6,000,000 inhabi-

tants from a country of 60,000,000. Czechoslovakia was established as an independent nation to play the role of pawn for French and British imperialism in Central Europe, and this new nation became in turn the oppressor of national minorities.

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

WHAT THE 8 POINTS SLUR OVER

Wilson was more specific about the restoration of nations in Europe. Roosevelt and Churchill have already made too many conflicting commitments. They have undoubtedly parcelled out Europe twice over in bribes to win over the small nations to the side of the imperialist democracies. And above all, there are the inevitable conflicting claims between the democratic imperialists and the Soviet Union, a delicate point which Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin now prefer to slur over.

The most fraudulent of the "Fourteen Points" was the sixth, dealing with the newly-founded Soviet Union. Wilson declared for:

"The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-

operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing . . ."

THE "SINCERE WELCOME"

The "fulfillment" of this promise was the imperialist armed intervention against the Soviet Union from 1918 to 1921. American troops, sent by Wilson without the consent of Congress, participated in this war. And the "sincere welcome" accorded the Soviet Union by the United States government was the refusal to recognize the Soviet government for 15 years.

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

IMPERIALIST "PEACE"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Why We Oppose Stalin's Foreign Policy

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

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

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

of extremely unfavorable circumstances, they agreed to make onerous concessions to German imperialism at Brest-Litovsk in 1918. In the early days of the Civil War, the Bolsheviks were prepared to make equally onerous concessions to Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau.

Far from denying the Soviet Government the right to make alliances with imperialists, our movement has from the beginning pointed out that Stalin's policies, above all, the theory and practice of "Socialism in one country" — drove the USSR into a position which made such alliances unavoidable. In 1934 Trotsky wrote:

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

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

STALIN REPEATS THE TREACHERY OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

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

It was the same with the Stalin-Hitler pact; it is the same today with regard to agreements with Roosevelt and Churchill.

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

Lenin and Trotsky never sacrificed — as do Stalin and all his lackeys — the program of Bolshevism for the sake of partial and temporary advantages. Soviet diplomacy, under Lenin and Trotsky, always took into account the public opinion of the world proletariat. The Kremlin never does.

The Bolsheviks always explained not only the meaning and expediency of alliances with imperialists but also the dangers. They called things by their right names.

When the perfidious German So-

cialists voted for the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, under the pretext that, after all, the Soviet government had "wanted it," had "agreed to it," "needed it," etc., Lenin branded them for what they were — traitors to the working class. The Soviet government, he pointed out, had no choice but to accept, as a practical measure, the terms of the Kaiser's High Command, whose military boot was on the neck of the young Soviet republic.

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

The latest diplomatic moves, in which the imperialists use the

N. Y. Program Hits War Moves

(Continued from page 1)

program with the support of the overwhelming majority of the American masses:

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR!

The Second World War is a continuation of World War I on a grander scale. It is not a war for "democracy" but a bloody struggle between contending camps of imperialist bandits for profits, for the redivision of colonies and markets. It will bring the masses only misery and degradation.

FOR THE FRATERNAL UNION OF THE TOILERS OF ALL COUNTRIES AGAINST THE EXPLOITERS!

FOR THE WORKING CLASS DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION!

Neither in Germany, England nor in the United States should the workers support this imperialist war. Only on the part of the Soviet Union is a progressive war now being waged. Even though the Soviet Union is ruled by Stalin and his clique, who shackle the Soviet workers and peasants, the fact remains that the industries and wealth of Russia, taken away from the capitalists and landlords in November, 1917, have not gone back to private ownership. That is why we stand for the unconditional defense of the USSR. Roosevelt and Churchill neither desire nor intend to save the Soviet Union. Only the workers of the world fighting for the program of socialism can save the first workers' state.

AGAINST FASCISM!

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

Fascism is a product of the decaying capitalist system. To defeat fascism, the workers must change the social order. Our program against war and fascism is a fighting program. Our party is the mortal foe of fascism. We organized and led the Madison Square Garden demonstration of 30,000 in February, 1939 against the Nazi Bund. We are fighting for the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government which will guarantee victory against fascism through the socialization of all industries now in the hands of monopoly capital and through the introduction of planned economy. Hitler could not stand up against Workers' and Farmers' Governments in the United States and England.

As part of the struggle against fascism we advocate MILITARY TRAINING OF WORKERS, financed by the government, but UNDER CONTROL OF THE TRADE UNIONS. For special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers!

A VOTE FOR JAMES P. CANNON IS A VOTE FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS

DEFEND THE TRADE UNIONS!

The right of every worker to join a union of his choice must be held inviolate. All unions in civil service, subway workers, etc., must be recognized by the city.

FOR THE RIGHT OF TRADE UNIONS TO STRIKE FOR BETTER CONDITIONS UNHAMPERED BY GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE!

FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES!

We fight for the preservation of all civil liberties—for the right of free speech, a free press, and free assembly. The men in the armed forces should have the right to express their opinions on all the burning problems which face the country; to discuss grievances, petition Congress for redress of wrongs, and to vote in all elections.

Roosevelt's St. Paul frame-up of 29 defendants, among them militant unionists of Local 544-CIO and members of the Socialist Workers Party, is an opening barrage against American labor and against civil liberties. No concentration camps in America!

AGAINST RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION!

For the democratic rights of Negroes, Jews, foreign-born and other minorities to jobs in industry and social and economic equality in the armed forces and in civil life. For the right of asylum for the victims of fascism. DOWN WITH JIM CROWISM!

FIGHT THE HIGH COST OF LIVING!

For a rising scale of wages to be automatically adjusted to the rising cost of living. We advocate the formation of committees by unions, cooperatives, consumers and dirt farmers to demand the right to examine the books of corporations and landlords and to fix prices and rents.

FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE RELIEF PROGRAM!

Increase the relief budget to a decent level. Jobs for the unemployed at union wages!

We are for labor and against the bosses. That is why Roosevelt and the FBI are persecuting our party. That is why James P. Cannon, the National Secretary of our party, is one of the 29 defendants in the St. Paul Frame-ups. That is why the workers of New York should vote for him.

FOR A WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT! FOR SOCIALISM!

Owing to legal technicalities we appear in the New York City election as the TROTSKYIST ANTI-WAR PARTY.

DEFEND CIVIL LIBERTIES! PROTEST FBI PERSECUTION OF SWP!

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and the leaders of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, Local 544-CIO—a total of twenty-nine defendants—have just been indicted in Minnesota on charges of "conspiracy to overthrow the Government." Not since the infamous Palmer cases following the last war has the Federal Government conducted such a persecution against members of a working class party for their opinions or trade unionists because of their activities in the labor movement.

The defendants urgently need funds to defray the heavy costs of fighting this case. DO YOUR SHARE!

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO

THE CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Organized on Behalf of the Defendants in the Federal Prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party
GEORGE E. NOVACK, Secretary - Treasurer
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I enclose \$..... for your Defense Fund.

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Fill Out This Coupon As Your Protest Against The Indictments

The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

Auto Workers Fight Jim Crow

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Whose Idea Is Jim Crowism?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Answer To A Reader

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

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

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

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

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

His Only Criticism Of Intervention Was That It Did Not Succeed

By PHILIP BLAKE

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

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

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

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

HOW CHURCHILL WITHDREW THE TROOPS

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

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

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

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

In reality Churchill used these flimsy pretexts to hold things up until he could help establish the North Russian White government in the best possible position to fight off the Red Army.

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

inal value of nearly 100 million (pounds)"

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

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

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

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

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

NOT MATERIAL AID ALONE

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

In the fall of 1919, Poland was considering either a large scale offensive of 500,000 men to be financed by the Allies or a peace with the Bolsheviks. Churchill spoke strongly against both proposals. The Allies, he explained, could not give money for such an undertaking because of "public opinion." And a Polish peace with the Soviet government would be disastrous for the armies of Kolchak and Denikin. So:

"It seems therefore clear that our policy at the present moment should be to persuade the Poles to carry on for a few months as they are doing, i.e., fighting and defeating the Bolsheviks on their borders where and when they can, without preparing either for a decisive advance into the heart of Russia or for a separate peace."

The Poles were persuaded and the fighting continued much longer than "a few months."

Churchill also gave advice to Denikin and the others to make their actions look good for British consumption. When news of wide-spread anti-Semitic activities by Denikin's men reached western Europe, Churchill advised him

Churchill On Stalin and Trotsky

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

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

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

BUT INTERVENTION HELPED, HE FEELS

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

The second was "a more practical result." "The Bolsheviks were absorbed during the whole of 1919 in the conflicts with Kolchak and Denikin. Their energy was turned upon the internal struggle. A breathing space of inestimable importance was afforded to the whole line of newly liberated countries which stood along the western borders of Russia."

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

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

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

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

Trotsky's Last Work

MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on the IMPERIALIST WAR and the PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION
48 pages 5 cents per copy

Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York City

Trotsky On The Society Of The Future

Socialism Will Bring Giant Advances For Mankind

The struggles and labors of Leon Trotsky's monumental life were all directed toward one end: the realization of that socialist world order in which all mankind would live free of exploitation, poverty, weakness and ignorance.

Trotsky visualized the world of the future. That vision he has left to us, to inspire us to the sacrifice and struggle which made his life an example for all workers to follow. In his "Literature and Revolution," he gave us a brief glimpse of the world on which his inner sight was fixed. The following are some excerpts:

"Through the machine, man in Socialist society will command nature in its entirety, with its grouse and its sturgeons. He will point out places for mountains and for passes. He will change the course of the rivers, and he will lay down rules for the oceans. The idealist simpletons may say that this will be a bore, but that is why they are simpletons. Of course this does not mean that the entire globe will be marked off into boxes, that the forests will be turned into parks and gardens. Most likely, thickets and forests and grouse and tigers will remain, but only where man commands them to remain. And man will do it so well that the tiger won't even notice the machine, or feel the change, but will live as he lived in primeval times. The ma-

ture and art will be tuned to a different key. All the emotions which we revolutionists, at the present time, feel apprehensive of naming — so much have they been worn thin by hypocrites and vulgaritans — such as disinterested friendship, love for one's neighbor, sympathy, will be the mighty ringing chords of Socialist poetry"

WILL MAN DEGENERATE UNDER SOCIALISM?

"However, does not an excess of solidarity, as the Nietzscheans fear, threaten to degenerate man into a sentimental, passive, herd animal? Not at all. The powerful force of competition which, in bourgeois society, has the character of market competition, will not disappear in a Socialist society but, to use the language of psycho-analysis, will be sublimated, that is, will assume a higher and more fertile form. There will be the struggle for one's opinion, for one's project, for one's taste. In the measure in which political struggles will be eliminated — and in a society where there will be no classes, there will be no such struggles — the liberated passions will be channeled into technique, into construction which also includes art"

"All forms of life, such as the cultivation of land, the planning of human habitations, the build-

ing of theaters, the methods of socially educating children, the solution of scientific problems, the creation of new styles, will finally engross all and everyone. People will divide into parties over the question of a new gigantic canal, or the distribution of oases in the Sahara (such a question will exist too), over the regulation of the weather and the climate, over a new theater, over chemical hypotheses, over two competing tendencies in music, and over a best system of sports. Such parties will not be poisoned by greed of class or caste. All will be equally interested in the success of the whole. The struggle will have a purely ideological character. It will have no running after profits, it will have nothing mean, no betrayals, no bribery, none of the things that form the soul of 'competition' in a society divided into classes. But this will in no way hinder the struggle from being absorbing, dramatic and passionate. And as all problems in a Socialist society — the problems of life which formerly were solved spontaneously and automatically, and the problems of art which were in the custody of special priestly castes — will become the property of all people, one can say with certainty that collective interests and passions, and individual, competition will have the widest scope and the most unlimited opportu-

nity.

"In a struggle so disinterested and tense, which will take place in a culture whose foundations are steadily rising, the human personality, with its invaluable basic trait of continual discontent, will grow and become polished at all its points. In truth, we have no reason to fear that there will be a decline of individuality or an impoverishment of art in a Socialist society"

"It is difficult to predict the extent of self-government which the man of the future may reach or the heights to which he may carry his technique. Social construction and psycho-physical self-education will become two aspects of one and the same process. All the arts — literature, drama, painting, music and architecture will lend this process beautiful form. More correctly, the shell in which the cultural construction and self-education of Communist man will be enclosed, will develop all the vital elements of contemporary art to the highest point. Man will become immeasurably stronger, wiser and subtler; his body will become more rhythmic, his voice more musical. The forms of life will become dynamically dramatic. The average human type will rise to the heights of an Aristotle, a Goethe, or a Marx. And above this ridge new peaks will rise."

Japan May Now Seize Opportunity To Attack Siberia

By JACK WEBER

War in Pacific Imminent

Hitler's invasion of Soviet Russia automatically cancelled the Russo-Jap neutrality pact and broke the stalemate in the Pacific. This was indicated politically by the quick change in the Japanese cabinet. Matsuoka, the man responsible for the signing of the pact with Stalin, had to be retired for the time being in order to free the hands of the Japanese government.

Naturally the Pacific War will be fought on a tremendous, far-flung front. It involves all the islands of the Pacific, all the Asiatic colonies or outposts of England and America, China and the mainland of Asia. But above all, it involves Siberia. Thus despite the seizure of Indo-China which may become a base of operations against the Dutch East Indies and Singapore, the Japanese have been concentrating their main strength in Manchukuo, along the Siberian border.

The complete embargo on Japanese trade by the United States, England and the Dutch East Indies, cannot help but be the prelude to war. Its effect is to strangle the Japanese economically and under present circumstances the Nipponese imperialists can meet this situation only by a further extension of their looting. This may mean suicide for the Japanese imperialists, but they are now driven by forces far beyond their control.

Hitler is applying the utmost pressure on Japan to enter the war now. But it is clear that he can offer the Mikado no help at all. What he offers is a gamble on the future, an action based on the chance that he will ultimately defeat England and perhaps the United States. Meanwhile the Japanese would have to fight in the present—and who can tell what changes may take place in the rotten, undermined semi-feudal structure of Japan between now and Hitler's possible victory?

Japan is now in a most unfavorable position from the military point of view. She is ringed around by enemies, encircled as the Japanese put it, by the ABCD powers; that is, by America, Britain, China and the Dutch East Indies. The Japanese navy is quite powerful, and the Mikado's statesmen may hope that the Battle of the Atlantic is of such vital importance to the United States that most of its fleet will remain in the west to assure the transport of supplies to England—but there can be no certainty of this.

Japan and Aid to the USSR

Now the situation has become far more menacing with the promise by Roosevelt of unlimited aid to the Soviet Union. The meeting between Roosevelt and Churchill, besides making important decisions concerning the almost certain war with Japan, has resulted in the calling of a conference in Moscow to coordinate all war activities of the three countries.

Already Japanese spokesmen have "warned" that relations with Moscow would become extremely precarious if collaboration with Britain and the United States is extended to the Far East as well as to Europe. Among other things this would mean a three-power plan for aid to China. It would also mean the establishment of American bases in Siberia to protect shipments of munitions and other forms of aid to Soviet Russia from attack by the Axis powers, whether Germany or Japan. It is well known that Japan gave considerable aid to German raiders in the Pacific. Japanese ships might now be outfitted for Germany on a larger scale than ever to prevent aid from reaching Vladivostok. But this would merely bring about an undeclared war with the U.S. navy conveying ships across the Pacific as it is doing across the Atlantic. How long would it be before a naval clash occurred that would precipitate large-scale war?

Vladivostok becomes the key point in the Pacific in this entire situation. It is through this point that all shipments must pass to reach European Russia as quickly as possible. For that port is the Pacific terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway over which all goods must be sent. The capture of Vladivostok and the destruction of the railroad by the Japanese would cripple all attempts to aid Russia. Furthermore Vladivostok is the nearest point menacing Japanese cities with the possibility of bombing by planes, and menacing the Japanese navy as a submarine base.

It seems clear that the diplomatic fencing of the Pacific powers must give way under the strain of all the imperialist problems. The question of division and revision of the earth is insoluble except by means of the sword. The Japanese are preparing their forces for an attack on Siberia in order to seize the Maritime Provinces and the eastern part of Siberia. Clashes between the Red Army and the imperialist forces of the Mikado have begun on a small scale. The real clash may come at any moment.

The United States would prefer to keep its hands free for the Battle of the Atlantic, and not to divide its forces between the two oceans. A Pacific War would divert supplies that could otherwise be used by England and Russia directly against the German armies. But everything points to United States involvement in the Pacific phase of the world imperialist war even before entry as an actual combatant in the Atlantic war. It does not seem likely that the Japanese can win such a war. But they can blunt the full force of the allied blows against Hitler. They may help also to prolong the war considerably.

Above all, it must be remembered that imperialism can no longer help itself. The second imperialist war drags every country into its swirling vortex because it sharpens unbearably every rivalry, every tension. Japan is powerless under the present imperialist regime to change its course. But for that matter, so is the United States, the future of whose capitalism is at stake as much as that of every other country.

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JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.
5. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
6. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
7. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

FDR's 8-Points Hide Real Imperialist Plans

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Stalin's War Aims

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

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

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

Revolutionary Aims

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

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

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

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

Priorities Joblessness Faces 2 Million Workers

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

By C. CHARLES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sixteen thousand aluminum-ware workers are already unemployed.

TRANSPORTATION LACK

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

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

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

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

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

other large consumers of electricity receive priority. Production of non-priority plants will suffer.

SMALL CONCERNS HIT
Particularly hard hit have been and will be the small plants producing consumers' non-priority goods. In Illinois, for example, a state commission disclosed that 24 such plants producing articles as diversified as watch parts and railway cars and employing a total of 3,569 workers face complete closing within 60 days at most. These small plants have great difficulty in getting government orders, as 75 per cent of this work is monopolized by a few large concerns.

Not only will the workers directly engaged in manufacturing lose their jobs, but salesmen, warehousemen and other workers as well.

WORKERS PROTEST PLANLESSNESS

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

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

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

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(A Compilation — 1927-1937)

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National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party

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MUSIC

Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

Youth Opposes Training for War

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

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

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

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

Capitalist Class Unable to Furnish Ideal

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

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

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

Our Military Policy Applicable

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

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

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