TROTSKY SHOWED ROAD TO VICTORY FOR SOVIET UNION

- An Editorial -

For seventeen years the voice of Leon Trotsky spoke out against the false policies of Stalin which have now brought the Soviet Union to the brink of catastrophe. Now, when it becomes plain to everyone that the greatest weakness of the Soviet Union is the lack of leadership against the Nazi war machine, many will for the first time realize the full horror of the crime which Stalin committed when he destroyed the greatest brain of the Soviet people.

The brain which Stalin's pickaxe destroyed had long ago foreseen that Hitler would invade the Soviet Union.

Nearly two years before Hitler came to power Trotsky! warned: "Once Hitler comes to power, and proceeds to crush the vanguard of the German workers, the Fascist government alone will be the only government capable of waging war against the USSR. . . In case of victory in Germany Hitler will become the Super-Wrangel of the world bourgeoisie." (Trotsky's "Germany, The Key to the International Situation," 1931.)

And Trotsky proposed, a year before Hitler took power, that the Soviet Union should not give Hitler the chance to build a war machine, but should mobilize the Red Army against Hitler if he seized Germany. Trotsky wrote:

"In my opinion this is how the Soviet Government ought to act in case of a fascist coup in Germany. Upon receiving the telegraphic communication of this event I would, in their place, sign an order for the mobilization of army reserves. When you have a mortal enemy before you, and when war flows with necessity from the logic of the objective situation, it would be unpardonable lightmindedness to give that enemy time to establish and fortify himself, conclude the necessary alliances, receive the necessary help, work out a plan of concentric military actions and thus grow up to the dimensions of a colossal danger." ('Liberty', July 16, 1932.)

A year later Trotsky sounded the alarm again: "Have the Stalinists perhaps assimilated the pacifist wisdom of the purely defensive' war being the only permissible one? 'Let Hitler attack us first, then we will defend ourselves.' This was always the reasoning of the German social-democracy. . . He who leaves to the enemy the complete liberty of initiative, such a man is a traitor, even if the motives for his treason are not to render service to imperialism, but consist of petty bourgeois weakness and political blindness." (The Militant, April 8, 1933.) That traitor was Stalin.

After Stalin concluded the Stalin-Hitler pact and boasted that it assured the security of the Soviet Union, Trotsky warned:

"In spite of the Kremlin's territorial seizures, the international position of the USSR is worsened in the extreme. The Polish buffer disappeared. The Rumanian buffer will disappear tomorrow. Mighty Germany, master of Europe, acquires a common frontier with the USSR. Scandinavia is occupied by this same Germany. Her victories in the west are only preparations for a gigantic move toward the east." ("The Kremlin's Role in the War," June 17, 1940.)

The Cain in the Kremlin answered these warnings by murdering Trotsky as he had already murdered the rest of the generation which made the October revolution, the supreme leadership of the Red Army and of Soviet industry.

But Stalin's pickaxe could not kill the product of Trotsky's lifelong work - the program of Trotskyism, which lives on in the Fourth International. Even in this dark hour, when the most densely populated areas and the most concentrated agricultural and industrial regions of the Soviet Union have been overrun by the Nazi war machine, the Trotskyist program could still bring victory for the Soviet Union. That program demands the following immediate steps:

1. Release all pro-Soviet political prisoners and restore them to their rightful place in industry and the Red Army. Revive the democratically-elected Soviets. Legalize all pro-Soviet political parties.

In Stalin's dungeons are tens of thousands of loyal revolutionists — men who proved their worth in the Civil War of 1918-1920 and in the building of industry and the Red Army. The release of this great army of pro-Soviet political prisoners, would go far to make up the lack of leadership from which the Red Army and Soviet industry is suffering.

The Soviets, constituted by representatives democratically elected directly from the factories and villages, were the organizations which mobilized the masses to win the Civil War of 1918-1920. Without the Soviets, as Lenin often said, victory would have been impossible. But these Soviets no longer exist;

These Soviets must be revived and all pro-Soviet political parties must be given legal status and complete freedom.

Restoring all pro-Soviet political prisoners to their rightful place in industry and the Red Army, and providing the Soviets as the organs of leadership. These measures would be worth infinitely more to the Soviet Union than all the "aid" that could possibly be rendered by the "democratic" imperialists.

2. For revolutionary unity with the German working class. For the Socialist United States of

In order to strike Hitler a mortal blow, the Soviet government must directly issue a revolutionary appeal to the workers of Germany, calling upon them to join hands with the Soviet workers to create the Socialist United States of Europe.

Hitler is now drawing his greatest strength from the German workers' fear of the yoke of a foreign invader. The German workers know that the British and American imperialists intend to impose a second and worse Versailles "peace" treaty. continue to engage the Nazi for-The Soviet Union can undermine Hitler by pledging to the German workers that the downfall of Hitler will not mean a so. That meanwhile tens of milsecond worse Versailles but will result in a Socialist United lions of Soviet workers and peas-States of Europe. Once the German masses are convinced that the disintegration of the German armies will not be followed by the dismemberment of Germany, they will join hands with industrial and agricultural areas the Soviet workers and soldiers against the common enemy fascist and "democratic" capitalism.

This is the road of victory for the Soviet Union. This is the Trotskyist road. It is the only road for the salvation of the Soviet Union. The other road, the road of Stalin, has led the nose of Roosevelt and Churchthe Soviet Union to the brink of catastrophe.

How Stalin's Purge Beheaded Red Army By LEON TROTSKY

- SEE PAGE 3 -

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CATASTROPHE FACES USSR AS RESULT OF STALIN'S RULE

Stalin's Purges Beheaded Red Army

By NATALIA SEDOV TROTSKY

The German army keeps advancing deeper and deeper into the Soviet Union. The fascists have seized Kiev, they are marching on Kharkov, Rostov, the Donetz Basin, They are in a position to occupy Crimea. They can occupy Leningrad. The heroic Red Army is not attaining its goal despite its high morale, despite its frightful sacrifices, despite the millions of fighters who perish. The sacrifices so far have been in vain! Under such conditions, the morale of the Red Army will begin to decline.

It is absolutely self-evident that the causes for the lack of successes of the Red Army lie in the lack of leadership. The Red Army has been beheaded by the greatest criminal the Soviet Union.

the criminals responsible for the defeats.

Irrefutable facts are now confirming with invincible force the diagnosis made by Leon Trotsky on the basis of an allsided analysis of the general political and economic conditionh in the USSR.

It is necessary by means of the merciless blows of facts to lay bare unceasingly, with all our energy, the causes for the defeats of the Red Army. The time has come to remind all workers daily, hourly, of the crimes of the Kremlin regime and its chieftain. They must be reminded of the doom of such fighters and military activities as Muralov, Mrachkovsky, Ivan Nikitich, Smirnov, Smilga, Pyatakov and other, the absence of strategists, the absence of a genuine revoluheroes of the revolutionary civil war of 1918-1920 who fell victims of the "verdict" of the infamous Moscow trials. It lic opinion by means of the heroes of guerrilla warfare. But is necessary to sound the alarm concerning the consequences in a correctly conducted war there is no need at all of guer-

of Stalin's murder of the revolutionary military leaders, Tuk- rillas; they can only be a hindrance and incur disproportionhachevsky, Yegorov, Uborevich and the others.

The brazen and untalented Lozovsky now speaks in humble tones and together with the Menshevik Maisky begs at Churchill's feet for assistance. Stalin pleads for arms from the "democracies." He dares not summon the world proletariat. Payment is now being exacted from Stalin for his bestial crimes, his narrow mind, his rudeness, his boorish vaingloriousness, and his moral monstrousness.

The Red Army is being bled white by the struggle against the fascists which is being conducted without revolutionary leadership and without strategists. The successes of the fascists will begin at a certain stage to be considered by the Red Army as due to its own impotence. The moral uplift in history. Stalin bears the guilt for all the ills suffered by of the army together with that of the population will begin to decline; and this, in its turn, can lead Stalin to capitulate It is necessary to undertake a resolute campaign against to Hitler. It is necessary to sound all alarms to warn of the catastrophe that threatens.

> Drawing the lessons from its own bloody experience the Red Army must become convinced, must draw the conclusion, that its impotence lies in the absence of leadership and in Stalin's rotten regime.

> What is the truth about guerrilla warfare? Stalin has come back to it, he has returned to the guerrillaism against which Lenin and Trotsky fought so relentlessly during the civil war in the revolutionary Soviet Union. Stalin needs guerrillaism as a facade, as something to show, something to fool the people with. By guerrillaism he tries to cover up tionary and planned leadership of the war; he distracts pub

ate sacrifices. Who benefits by this?

The morale of the army is of decisive significance in war, but it is self-evident that there must in addition exist such indispensable prerequisites as the general knowledge of how to conduct a particular war, leaders trained in the military arts, a unified strategic plan. But all this is lacking in the Stalinist apparatus. The best revolutionary commanders were murdered by Stalin before the outbreak of the war. Under such conditions the sacrifices of the Red Army are being made

How far removed from the threatening tragedy in the USSR are the things that are now being written about the Soviet-German conflict! All these descriptions of heroic guerrilla fighters who refuse to drop their silenced weapons serve only to obscure the truly tragic position of the Red Army. These descriptions really reveal sacrifices which are devouring precious human material. They reveal the lack of a unified and correct organization. There is no one to harness the heroic elemental force of the Red Army, its great power, its readiness to defend the land of the Soviets. There is no one to harness and direct all this into the channels of a unified strategic plan. The richest material equipment of the bourgeois "democratic" imperialists of England and the United States cannot make up for this glaring gap in the conduct of the Soviet Union's war.

The questions I raise are questions of the greatest importance. Everything must be concentrated on them, everything else must be subordinated to them. For the fate of the Soviet Union is now being decided.

Coyoacan, D. F. September 25, 1941.

Churchill 'Satisfied' With Red Army Showing

He Does Not Desire The Victory Of Soviet Union

By FELIX MORROW

Winston Churchill made a very optimistic speech to the House of Commons on Tuesday, reporting that the balance of battle is definitely swinging in favor of Britain. In line with this optimism, he indicated himself satisfied with the showing made by the Red Army.

Why this complacency of the 'democratic ally" in the face of the terrible defeats sustained by the Red Army? An attitude similar to that of Churchill pervades the American bourgeois (and Stalinist) press. Is this merely propaganda to put the best face on a bad situation?

No, it is not merely propaganda. The real point is that the standard of the rulers of the "democracies" for a "good" showing by the Red Army is an entirely different standard than that of the pro-Soviet workers.

All that the "democracies" deces in combat for another year or ants remain behind to become vassals of Hitler, that the key of the USSR fall into Hitler's hands, that millions of Red Army soldiers are destroyed or fall prisoners — all this is no skin off ill. On the contrary, they would prefer to see the Soviet Union so weakened in this war that the workers' state cannot recover.

The struggle of the Red Army is desired by the "democracies" merely as a stop-gap to provide more time to prepare the Anglo-American forces to defeat Hitler. If that stop-gap is purchased at the cost of the laying waste of the Soviet Union, the "democracies" are not a bit troubled. What would alarm them would

be a victorious Red Army marching on Berlin. STALINISTS ACCEPT **BOURGEOIS STANDARD** FOR RED ARMY

By this bourgeois standard,

isfied with the Red Army. And the Stalinists fall in with that standard! They boast about the successful "strategy" of preventing the destruction of the Red Army by the constant retreats which leave more and more of the territory and population of the Soviet Union under the Nazi heel.

No self-respecting worker can follow the Stalinists in acbourgeois "democracies" for the showing of the Red Army. The working class standard must be the Red Army's success in hurling back the Nazis. And by that standard, the plight of the Red Army is terrible indeed. stood. Our fervent hopes for the vic-

of defeats, and only of defeats. INFERIORITY OF STALIN'S GENERAL ARMY STAFF

The utter incompetence of the Stalinist leadership of the war must be recognized and under-

tory of the Soviet Union must not battle after another? Why the blind us to the terrible realities | continued retreats, abandoning irof the present situation. Stalin replaceable industrial and agri-

one factor which can explain these terrible events - the bankruptcy of the Stalinized general staff of the Red Army, air fleet and navy.

Why has the Red Army lost one

Soviet defeats after a long war could be explained by the industrial superiority of the Nazi war machine, which is able to replace materiel much faster than Soviet industry can. But the powerful industrial machine of Hitler is not the explanation for the defeats incurred by the Soviet Union during the first three months of war. The Soviet Union has been preparing war materiel for decades. When the Nazi-Soviet war began, the Soviet Union must have had as many or nearly as many planes, tanks, etc. as the Nazis, and the Red Army was certainly numerically superior to the German forces. Soviet morale, all observers agree, was ex-

traordinary high. There remains, then, only one other factor in which the Soviet Union was so completely inferior that it can explain the defeats of the first three months-- the inferiority of the general staff and the officers' corps.

The Stalinists have brazenly attempted to claim that the execution of the leading generals in 1937 and the subsequent mass purges of the officers' corps not less than 40,000 were executed or imprisoned or driven from their posts - served to improve the functioning of the Red Army. This ghastly argument can now only meet with contempt from any serious worker. In stripping the Soviet armed forces of their leadership, Stalin did more for Hitler than Hitler could have done for himself.

A further proof of the inferiority of the Soviet general staff is provided by the figures on comparative casualties of the

It has always been an axiom of military science that the attacking force loses, in killed, wounded and prisoners, much larger numbers than the defending force

Soviet Masses Are Kept In The Dark Regarding Defeats

Main Tasks of Soviet Press Are Whipping Up Spy Hysteria and Glorification of Stalin

It is almost a year since consecutive issues of Moscow newspapers were last available here. Now Pravdas are once again beginning to arrive in this country.

The most striking thing about the wartime issues of Pravda is the dearth of information concerning the progress of the fighting at the front. There are many stories of individual exploits of officers. Occasionally a rank and file soldier or a guerrilla fighter is singled out for an act of daring and heroism. Whatsire of the Red Army is that it | ever information the Pravda does supply is of such a character

> average Soviet citizen to discover what is actually occurring on the battlefront.

as makes it impossible for the

If these wartime issues are any criterion, the bulk of the Soviet people first learn of the reverses of the Red Army only after great delay, through rumors and not through official communications. The American public is unquestionably far better acquainted with the course of events than anybody in the Soviet Union with the sole exception of the ruling news in July, after three weeks of hostilities, the Kremlin's policy is one of keeping the Soviet

masses completely in the dark. It requires little imagination to realize what a shock to the Soviet population will be the news of such defeats as the loss of the Krivoy Rog industrial and mining region, the destruc- | the Volga-Germans. The text be- | ers," etc., the columns of the

tion of the Dnieper dam and the Dnieper industrial district, the rout of Budenny's armies on the Ukrainian front, the loss of Kiev, the siege of Odessa, the direct threat to Leningrad, the Nazi drive against the Donetz Basin and Crimea.

It is hardly necessary to explain the terrible danger latent in Stalin's all-out censorship.

From the reports in the big metropolitan press here concerning the upsurge of Soviet patriotclique in the Kremlin. Judging ism, one would expect to find by the official treatment of the this reflected in the Pravda. Those references to mass militancy and patriotism which do appear in its pages consist of ritualistic boasts which, in some instances, were later exploded by the bureaucracy itself. Thus, on July 15, Pravda featured a TASS dispatch from the city of Engels

pire the entire Soviet people. intellectuals are mobilizing their forces for victory over the Hitlerite gangs... Thousands of toilers of the (Volga-German) Republic have gone to the front arms in hand to fight against the mad German Fascism."

A few weeks later, toward the end of August, the Kremlin issued its ukase "to resettle the entire German population of the Volga regions to other districts" (N. Y. TIMES, Sept. 8). A few days later the Kremlin announced the dissolution of the Autonomous Volga-German Republic.

This persecution of the Volga-Germans is closely bound up with one of Stalin's major current campaigns, namely, his drive against "spies and diversionists." Since the outbreak of the war one of Pravda's central tasks has been to whip up a spy mania. "ALL SPIES AND DIVERSION-ISTS MUST BE DESTROYED" is the heading of Pravda's editorial for July 13. To give a semblance of veresimilitude to this witch-hunt against "suspiin the Autonomous Republic of cious elements," "panic mong-

"In these days of the war for stories of mysterious men and the fatherland the toilers of the women suddenly exposed as Hit-Volga-German Republic throb ler's agents. According to the with the same feelings that ins- July 13 issue of Pravda, the Nazis send thousands of their agents, Workers, collective farmers and by parachute and otherwise, far behind the front lines; and their disguise is so fiendishly clever that it is hard to tell them apart from the rest of the population! The Kremlin requires this spy hunt above all to suppress all dissident elements among the Soviet masses. Under the familiar cover of extirpating "spies and diversionists," the GPU is conducting a wartime bloodpurge.

Let us recall that while Stalin was busy in Moscow trying to revive the hue and cry against "Fifth Columnists," his flunkeys in this country boasted in the Daily Worker that the "Fifth Column" had long been destroyed in the Soviet Union. In this way they tried to justify the infamous Moscow frameups and the monstrous blood purges which beheaded the Red Army. The liar in the Kremlin is refuting the lies of his own hirelings

In July the Moscow press conducted another vast campaign. This one revolved around the "appointment" of Stalin to the post of Commissar for Defense. To

(Continued on Page 4)

contending armies.

(Continued on page 3)

Judge Denies Motions Made for 29 Defendants

The other two motions were

Immediately at the conclusion

cision denying all four motions.

same extent as in other cases."

In denying the motion for sep-

referred specifically to the WPA

trials before him two years ago.

The WPA workers who were

convicted and served prison sen-

Judge Joyce held that the

he denied the motion asking that

the government elect on which

DO YOU HAVE A SUBSCRIP-

TION? LOOK FOR OUR

SPECIAL OFFER

The motion for a bill of parti-

submitted with relatively little

Argues That Smith Anti-Labor Act Is Justified Because of Hitler's Victories

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Sept. 23. — Federal Judge Matthew M. Joyce today denied four motions made by the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO defense attorneys for the 29 men and women, indicted for "seditious conspiracy," who go on trial here on Oct. 20.

The motions presented to the judge were for: 1. A bill of particulars on the charges against the defendants.

2. Severance, or that each defendant be tried separately because the large number of defendants and the mass of evidence would prevent a fair trial* if all were tried jointly. States District Attorney, main-

3. Election by the government | tained that "Evidence against one on which of the two counts in the is evidence against all inasmuch indictment (seditious conspiracy | as all took part in the conspiracy. and advocacy of the overthrow This is the basis for including all of the government by force and of the defendants in one trial." violence) the defendants are to be tried.

4. Study of the argument as to argument. whether prior or subsequent to | JUDGE'S DECISION enactment of the anti-sedition Smith Act of 1940 there was ever any "clear and present danger" of the evils intended to be prevented by the statute.

Motions for the sixteen defendants who are leaders and members of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, Local 544-CIO, were filed by Gilbert E. Carlson and David Shama. Motions for the other thirteen defendants, leaders and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, were filed by their attorneys, Albert Goldman, Arthur LeSueur and M. J. Myer. Oral arguments were presented before the judge by attorneys Carlson and Shama for all 29.

BILL OF PARTICULARS ASKED

Opening the argument for the He said he had "never heard that defense, Shama insisted that a any defendant in the WPA cases bill of particulars should be fur- wasn't accorded a fair trial." nished the defendants inasmuch There were 25 defendants in one as the indictment had consisted of these trials. merely of "vague, unspecific allegations of crime, with no facts

Henry A. Schweinhaut, special tences will read this decision of assistant to the United States At- Judge Joyce with bitter rememtorney-General, argued the case brances. Their inability to raise for the government. "When a he necessary funds for the apconspiracy is the gist of the peal was the basis for the fact crime, it is not necessary for the that Judge Joyce "never heard government to allege with great that any defendant. . . wasn't particularity the details of the accorded a fair trial." crime," he declared. "The statute under which the indictment against these defendants is drawn | Smith Act prohibiting advocacy is general and therefore only a of the overthrow of the governgeneral charge is necessary. A ment was complementary to the bill of particulars would unneces- earlier seditious conspiracy act sarily confine the government and not repetitious. Therefore, and limit its testimony," he stated further.

On the motion for severance defense attorney Carlson argued that it would be impossible for the defendants to receive a fair trial if they were all tried at one

Countering for the government. Victor E. Anderson, United

The MILITANT

The judge recited a list of Hitler's conquests in Europe since 1938, as though that has anything to do with the case. Congress passed the Smith Act in June, 1940, when there was a "clear and present danger to our demotion and the preservation of democracy suggest the limitation of free speech and free press, he declared.

In this connection the judge

particularity does not exist to the aration of the cases, Judge Joyce

count they will try the defend-

JUDGE GOES ABROAD

On the final motion asking the court to pass on the question of whether there was any "clear and present danger" of the evils intended to be prevented by the sedition act, Judge Joyce held that "no fair-minded person could deny the existence of such danger when the act was passed in June,

of the arguments by the attorneys, and without leaving the quoted approvingly from a rebench, Judge Joyce picked up a cent article by Max Eastman, to prepared statement from the pathe effect that democracy must pers before him and read his deprotect itself from totalitarian speech, freedom of the press, etc. culars he denied on the grounds that the government need not be required "to discover its case in advance of the trial." Joyce followed Schweinhaut in arguing ing out of World War I, when union that I have ever witnessed Eastman was put on trial as one in my long career as a labor York Industrial Union Council, that "the gist of the crime consisted in the agreement to conof the editors of a radical publi- leader." spire and therefore the need for

argument before the trial begins the charge, while Joseph Curran,

Red Sailors Defending USSR



A unit of the Soviet Black Sea fleet turns its anti-aircraft artillery against Nazi air invaders over the besieged port of Odessa

hinted a reprisal against the La

municipal elections this Novem-

struggle of the 32,000 transport

hours and working conditions of

the "labor candidate" in the com-

ing mayoralty election.

fied lines.

cracy," said Joyce. Common sense and the instincts of self-preserva By TWU Convention

By HARRY FRANKEL

NEW YORK, Sept. 28. — The reactionary open-shop policies of Mayor LaGuardia and the New York Board of Transideas by restricting freedom of portation were roundly condemned by the third biennial convention of the Transport Workers Union here in New York Earlier in the court hearing the this week. The 250 delegates present heard Allan S. Haywood, defense attorneys had cited the national director of the CIO, speaking on the opening day of case of the United States vs. the convention, Sept. 24, accuse the LaGuardia administration Eastman, a free speech case aris- of "the most brazen and outrageous attempts to break a labor

Michael J. Quill, international This was the last preliminary president of the union, repeated president of the Greater New

interests of the former owners of enough to teach them what La York. We want a contract with Guardia really stands for.

ers of the Union stated clearly S. Steel, and established grievanand explicitly the attitude of the co machinery, continuous 40 hour 13 of our leading militants on transport workers of New York | work week and elimination of all toward the LaGuardia adminis- unnecessary week-end work. tration, they were not nearly so clear and explicit when it came the following shifts throughout to recommending a political solu- the day-large groups leaving provocateur and shut down the Guardia administration in the tion to the convention.

It is to be remembered that these union heads have given the A report submitted by the in- weight of their backing and supternational executive committee port to the so-called left-wing of and accepted by the convention the American Labor Party in the mills; we have shut down stated that the city had failed to New York City. This group has some of the mills and staged work deal with the union in good faith. officially endorsed the Mayor for stoppage in sections of other; we This was a reference to the long re-election. Are we to expect have tried to teach some of the then that Quill and the others "rats" not to fight the union workers of New York to force will withdraw their support of the city to recognize the union the left wing of the A. L. P.? A CLEAR CUT VICTORY and bargain with it on wages, That would be the only path confor re-election by both wings of political action is another.

the American Labor Party in The only party which exposes New York. But the endorsement the machinations of the LaGuarof a thousand labor parties could dia administration with its opennever serve to cover up his bru- shop transportation board and tal attack on the rights and in- runs a working class candidate terests of the workers on the of its own for mayor in the fall workers will contrast the treat- Party. The candidate of that ment given them with the gentle | party is James P. Carnon, the and considerate handling of the Trotskyist Anti-War candidate.

neral Motors) in the form of de-by, a trained arc welder, was told mands. The response will undoublat the Tite-Flex Metal Hose Co. tion has the right to decide where was no work for him at the will build plants, where it same time that a number of white produce them, what machines it mitted to the employment office. Being a persistent job hunter

the business and they intend to the street and telephoned the company's employment agent, a electrical welders, since the com- MILITANTS by 50%—and they Minnesota. It certainly need not our slogan will take on more and pany was looking for such work- had a good, hefty bundle before be emphasized to our membership

fusing to agree even to the pro- pointed date, and realized that he in the good graces of the business which will publicize with thogram of granting seniority rights was a colored man, and that she office by not only paying up all roughness and truth the statethe workers the idea of their de in transfers to defense work, let had promised him a test, she call of its debts but sending in a sub ments and behavior of the defense ed on Carl Kael, President of stantial contribution to the press dants. the UAW, Local 260, to do the fund. That indicates a true eva-

> fighting the union. You can ex- he was sorry about the misinforknew to be a lie because two prize for the top sub-getters and been in his own training course quarters showing progress." and they had been sent there by

I guess this is partly the way dles, indicating that our party as and thoroughly as possible copies that a lot of colored workers be a whole is realizing the import of our press carrying reports on come suspicious about unions; ance of extending the circulation the Minnesota trial. when they are given a raw deal by union officials stooging for Jim Crow employers. But it so happens As one of those who participate that Crumby is a union man him ed in the March on Washington self and knows that the UAW movement last summer, I want to does not approve of such behavreport a typical case of Jim ior, and so he has not permitted his disgust with such behavior to must wipe out the monopoly of A Negro trainee out of the blind him to the fact that it is control now in the hands of the Essex County Boys. Vocational the company that is responsible I'd like to know-and so would

Sincerely,

Newark, N. J

JOHN McCORMACK.

SWOC WINS VICTORY AT SPARROWS POINT PLANT

Steel Workers Win Labor Board Election In Strategic Bethlehem Steel Stronghold

BALTIMORE, Md., Sept. 26. — Yesterday the National Labor Relations Board held an election here at the Sparrows Point plant of Bethlehem Steel. When the polls opened at 5 A. M., we who were working on the 12 to 8 shift, stepped back from our jobs and the incessant, deafening roar and clang of processing steel died out in the mill as we made our way to the voting places.

This was a solemn business for most of us. We knew that if the "independent" scab union won the elections, it would mean a return to the old days: the militants would be hounded

from their jobs, the "brown noses" and favorites of the foremen self-praise for our victory over would come back into their own, Bethlenem, the men talked among and we would be left defenseless themeselves about the grievances against ruthless exploitation by they must now proceed to settle the company in the hard days to in the mills, about consolidating come. They would attempt to the union internally and selectsmash our union, the SWOC. And ing a good leadership. And over these things we were determined many a bar in the eastern secnot to let happen.

win by a big majority, to back going out to organize the remainup the demands of our national der of Baltimore's 50,000 steel representatives now negotiating workers as the next step to makwith Bethlehem and the other ing this a union town. the city subways. That will be Little Steel companies in New the union shop, check-off system, While Quill and the other lead- wage scales equal to those of U.

So it went in all the mills on

demonstrations of union solidarity. During the past several months we have learned a lot about act-

When they counted up the votes sistent with their condemnation in the evening, it was a 21/2 to the employees of the recently uni- of LaGuardia's labor policies, but I victory for the Steel Workers their record leads us to expect Organizing Committee. Out of each. The action of the convention of that they will not take it. To 18,225 eligible to vote; 15,742 cast the Transport Workers Union throw a scare into a capitalist ballots, and of these 10,813 voted will undoubtedly help to put a politician around election time for for the SWOC. Many of the future crimp into LaGuardia's pose as the purpose of a few concessions advances of the steel workers in is one thing; to leave all boss this country depends upon the union answered with increased accandidates behind and organize organizing of Sparrows Point as tivity and several work stoppages LaGuardia has been endorsed truly independent working class the big open-shop fortress in the in protest. The company miscalteel industry. We won this fight |culated| for instead of frightenin the face of great open-shop, ing the men, it angered them, and anti-union pressure from the war-the election was already won by local newspapers.

At our meeting last night we better position to force the dismiswere too tired to do much cele- sal of the charges and to put a hrating I was very much impress stop to this husiness of the union members are already against labor. I can see that many looking to the future of our new- of my union brothers are learn-

tion of the city the men talked We were also determined to last night with anticipation about

INTIMIDATION FAILED

We already have another fight on our hands. Today a Baltimore County Grand Jury indicted charges of "rioting" based on an old English law. On August 18 the workers in the pipe mill had lost all patience with a scab their jobs to go vote together as mill after the company refused to comply with an ultimatum that this rat be fired outright.

The picket line which formed that night shut down the pipe. wire and rod mills, but was compelled to fight off company police who harassed the union men from the company property and state police who clubbed them from the highway. As we were finishing up the picketing at midnight, the police swooped down on out-standing pickets and organizers and hustled them off to the county

Bethlehem Steel dominates the county government and had hones that this action would him der the organization drive. The the time the indictments were issued, and we are in an even ing a political lesson in this Instead of jabbering a lot of aftermath of their union victory.

ORKERS'

15,000 Cannon-For-Mayor

As we go to press, the New York Local of the Socialist

The militants of our party can be proud of their record of

Workers Party announces that the drive to secure 15,000 peti-

tions to put the name of James P. Cannon; Trotskyist Anti-War

Candidate for Mayor of New York, on the ballot has been suc-

cessfully concluded and that the petitions are to be filed on Mon-

tireless street campaigning for signatures among the workers

of New York, which resulted in their obtaining twice the re-

quired number of signatures obtained! All the legal require-

ments have been carefully complied with. Now the party stands

November 4. Friends and sympathizers who want to aid the

work of the campaign should send all contributions to Robert

H. Chester, Cannon Campaign Committee, 116 University Place,

spective election districts this Monday, October 7, in order to

One month is now left until the elections to be held on

All New York workers are urged to register at their re-

vigilantly ready to protect its right to be on the ballot.

day, October 7, with the New York City Board of Elections.

Signatures To Be Filed

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.

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PIONEER PUBLISHERS

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to run from Sept. 1 until Nov. 7, 1941 One pamphlet or book will be given free with

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Flint Reader Discusses Militant Slogan On Priorities.

be able to vote on November 4.

EDITOR:

Sept. 20 issue of THE MILITANT will get a real response from workers in Flint and other auto centers where the priorities problem is number one on the agenda.

constitutes a pressing problem for hundreds of thousands of up an issue on which to agitate in a realistic way for a program control of industry.

But there is still too much of a tendency in THE MILITANT to repeat this slogan automatic the fact that the International Get Jim Crowed In Jobs ally and play it over and over like a phonograph record, at the end of each story. Three of the stories on that page close with the repetition of the slogan. One story ends "the solution to unemployment is contained in the single slogan, Expropriate, etc."

our heads in the clouds.

We must first bridge the gap unions in the fight.

between what the worker now feels and understands, and our program. In this particular problem we must first introduce to manding the right to set up a alone the other demands. This The page on priorities in the dual control of planning, which

by the Flint workers is of utmost importance and should be The priorities question not only widely discussed by all workers concerned with the priorities queworkers today, but it also opens in the right direction. In order to defend their members' jobs, the unions had to deal with the pro of expropriation and workers blem of asserting their right to set up machinery for union con trol of planning, etc. Not only the Flint plan, but

etc., is an indication that the labor movement in order to protect the elementary right to work, Crowism in industry to you.

In this sense the plan adopted

(UAW-CIO) itself is engaged in negotiations on the location of new plants, who will be hired; The Flint program is being men in this area.

will use for that purpose, etc. They will reply that they own by this time, Crumby went down

right to work, will come face to face with the basic problem immediately. As this fight proceeds, more meaning to the workers. I have information that GM is remeans they are out to prevent, sounds both reasonable and at unionization of their new plants dirty work for her. and to use that as a wedge for pect a big fight on this.

I would be interested in reading what workers in other sections of the labor movement are stion. The Flint plan was a step thinking and doing about this

Even Northern Negroes

There is a varied reaction to this industrialists: The basic mistake School who has finished an inkind of sloganeering. The union of the International is that all tensive 8 week training course many others—was good is the exe man reads the story, finds it the its attempts are futile because has been turned away from cutive order that Roosevelt issued truest he has ever read, and then, such a fundamental right must every employment office in New if it hasn't got teeth to enforce seeing the conclusion, decides first have behind it an aroused ark, Harrison, Ampere, the Orang- it? that we're a bunch of guys with and fighting membership, with es and Elizabeth, N. J., where full participation of all local he has applied for work, in spite of the shortage of trained

Chicago heads the list of cities of the press among workers, espe-The union, in defending its Mrs. Breener, and was told to be congratulated this week cially at this time when members report at the plant on Sept. 18 The comrades there have just in of our party are about to go to and take the usual test given to creased their weekly bundle of trial before the Federal Court in

they did so! When she saw him on the ap- St. Louis has cut itself forever way, it will be our press alone luation of the party press, and an trial has been accompanied by a This fellow told Crumby that understanding of our needs:

Several cities have recently re-

Every historic working-class Detroit has set itself a minimum tation circulated by the boss press mation given him, but that the quota of 30 subscriptions before and it has always been the workcompany had never had arc weld. November 7. They write: "We ing-class press alone which has ing in its mant-which Crumby are offfering a first and second had to carry on the fight to acquaint workers with the real is workers from that same plant had we'll keep a chart posted at head sues involved. In the next few months, we shall have to face the greatest responsibility of our histhis company to learn the work, quested increases in their bun- tory in disseminating as widely

that, once the trial gets under

For the truth about how Negroes are treated by the Jim Crow Officer caste. '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.

How Stalin's Purge Beheaded The Red Army

Trotsky Warned That Stalin's Murder Of The Red Army Leaders Would Endanger Defense Of Soviet Union

The following extracts are from an article written by Leon Trotsky in 1937, shortly after Stalin's execution of the eight leading generals of the Red Army. Only now is the world beginning to understand that in murdering these men Stalin was destroying the supreme leadership of the armed forces of the Soviet Union. Nor did Stalin stop with the extirpation of these eight generals. In the space of twelve months, from May 1937 to May 1938, the GPU shot or jailed almost to a man the commanding staff of the Red Army, air fleet and navy. The most conservative estimate of the number of officers shot or jailed in that period is 40,000.

On August 20, 1940 a Stalinist assassin succeeded in dealing a death-blow to the one man above all to whom the Soviet Union at war would now be looking for leadership - Leon Trotsky, founder and builder of the Red Army.

Of those who were connected with the leadership of the armed forces in the period of the Civil War and the building of the Red Army, only three now remain - Voroshilov, Shaposhnikov and Budenny. The Red Army suffers today above all from lack of leadership. Every one of its defeats is due to Stalin's beheading of the Red Army. On Stalin's hands is the blood, not only of the generals and officers he murdered before the war broke out, but also of the millions of heroic Red fighters who have fallen only because of lack of leadership. - THE EDITORS.

By LEON TROTSKY

In the past few months hundreds, probably thousands, of public servants have been shot in Soviet Russia. The executed include the most eminent personages in the Soviet government, the majority of whom were heroes of the Russian revolution. It is as if, in America, the Roosevelt administration were to shoot half the cabinet, a score or so of the United States Senate, the Presidents of a dozen leading corporations, and the head of the Department of Justice - for treason!

And now the latest chapter in blood-letting is the decapitation of the Red Army. More than all the other Moscow trials put together, this act has had the widest repercussions in world opinion. Is the Red Army as strong as we thought it was? the German general staff is asking itself. Among the enemies and allies of Russia, a revision of opinion is in process which may have the profoundest effects in world politics, and which cannot but affect the question of war and peace in the world arena.

On May 22, 1937 Marshal Tukhachevsky was suddenly removed from his post as Vice-Commissar of Defense and transferred to a minor post in the provinces. Within the next few days the commanders of the military districts and other prominent generals were likewise transferred. These measures boded nothing good. It was evident that the ruling tops had come into serious conflict with the officers' corps.

Moved by the interests of Soviet defense, the commanders of the districts and the responsible generals, might have inter-

vened in Tukhachevsky's behalf. Did they do so? In all probability the whirl of transfers and arrests in the month of May and during the first days of June can be explained only by panic in the Kremlin. On June 1, Gamarnik either shot himself or was shot. The commanders of the military districts no sooner arrived at their new posts than they were placed under arrest. and turned over to the court. On June 9, the following were arrested: Tukhachevsky, who had just been appointed to Samara; Yakir, who had just been transferred to Leningrad; Uborevich, commander of the White Russian Military district; Kork, head of the Military Academy; Putna, former military attache at Tokyo and London; Primakov, a cavalry general; Feldman, chief of the personnel section of the General Staff; Eideman, head of the Ossoaviakhim. Two days later, all eight were sentenced to death and on the following day shot.

The Leaders of the Red Army

The army must have been stirred to its very depths. In the mind of everyone was the question: Why kill the legendary heroes of the civil war, the talented field commanders and organizers, the heads of the Red Army who, only yesterday, were the mainstay and hope of the regime? Let us first recall briefly who they were. The actual leaders of the army in recent years were two men: Tukhachevsky and Gamarnik.

Both came to the fore during the civil war, not without the intervention of the author of these lines. Tukhachevsky gave indubitable evidence of outstanding talent as a strategist. Tukhachevsky was a very young man at the time and had made a leap from the ranks of Czarist officerdom to the camp of Bolshevism. Thereafter he apparently applied himself assiduously, if not to the study of Marxism, then to military science. He acquired a knowledge of modern military technique and, not unsuccessfully, played the role of mechanizer of the army.

Jan Gamarnik, born of a Jewish family in the Ukraine, distinguished himself during the civil war by his political and administrative talents - to be sure, on a provincial scale. For a period of ten years Gamarnik held important posts at the very center of the party apparatus, and was in daily collaboration with the GPU. Is it conceivable that in such circumstances he could have conducted two policies, a public one for the external world, the second private? In our opinion, impossible.

Why, then, did the axe descend on these two leaders of the

Reasons For the Purges

of the extent of the losses so far, the siege of its chief port, Odessa, tion of the manganese of the So-

The two key Western industrial

areas of the Soviet Union were

ting up of the dam has perhaps

obscured the fact that the dam

was but the key construction in

steel, but also the non-ferrous

DNIEPER AND DONETZ

As educator of the commanding staff and future generalissimo, Tukhachevsky could not but value talented military leaders. Putna was one of the most outstanding officers of the general staff. Tukhachevsky undoubtedly intervened in behalf of Putna as he must have done in the case of other officers drawn into the web of the GPU.

Voroshilov is Russia's Commissar of War, Commander-in-Chief of the army. What was his part in all this? Up to now, Voroshilov's policy was determined to a far greater extent by his ties with Stalin than by his ties with the army. Voroshilov, moreover, a man of limited horizon and rather a scatterbrain, could not but have cast jaundiced glances in the direction of his

viet Union (to mention no other

items). About half of these raw

materials resources are now in

Of the significance of the agri-

cultural areas lost, one need only

recall that the Ukraine has been

known as the breadbasket of the

Stalin seeks to cover up the

dread significance of these losses

by analogies with Napoleon's in-

vasion of Russia in 1812. An ut-

armies of 1812 could retire with

by handicraft methods in the in-

be made without heavy industry

The facts are terrible to con-

the Army Staff, from Represent-

The freeing of these Negro sol-

diers whose only real mistake was

to suppose that they "were fight-

ing for democracy" can only be

the plight of these boys.

the hands of the Nazis.

Soviet Union.

far-too-talented vice-commissar. Such could very well have been the source of the conflict.

As the head of the political department of the army and navy, Gamarnik was obliged not only to deliver his collaborators into the hands of Vyshinsky, but also to participate in the fabrication of false charges against them. It is highly probable that he came into conflict with the GPU and complained about Yezhov, the new head of the GPU - to Stalin! This in itself was enough to endanger him.

Let us see who the others were.

If Tukhachevsky, an officer in the Czar's army, became a Bolshevik, then Yakir, a young tubercular student, became a Red commander. From the very outset, he revealed the imagination and resourcefulness of a strategist. Veteran officers more than once cast astonished eyes on the gaunt commissar, as matchstick in hand he traced moves on military maps. Yakir had occasion to prove his devotion to the revolution and the party in a much more direct manner than Tukhachevsky. When the civil war ended he plunged into serious study. The authority he enjoyed was great and well-merited.

Alongside Yakir we may place Uborevich, a somewhat less brilliant but thoroughly tested and reliable field commander of the civil war. It was these two men who were entrusted with the defense of the Western frontier, and they prepared themselves for years for their roles in the coming great war.

Kork, a graduate of the Czarist military academy, successfully comamnded one of the armies during the critical years, was later given command of a military district and, finally, placed at the head of the Military Academy in succession to Eideman..

For the last few years, Eideman directed the Ossoaviakhim, through which is effected the connection between the civil population and the army.

Putna was an educated young general with an international

In Feldman's hands was concentrated the power of direct supervision over the commanding personnel. This alone indicates the measure of confidence which he enjoyed.

Next to Budenny, Primakov was unquestionably the most outstanding cavalry commander.

It would be no exaggeration to say that in the Red army there is left not a single name, with the exception of Budenny that, as regards popularity, not to speak of talent or knowledge, is comparable to the names of the alleged criminals.

The New "Leadership" of the Red Army

When Tukhachevsky was demoted, a very informed person wondered: who will henceforth take charge of the work of Soviet defense? Marshall Yegorov, a lieutenant-colonel during the World War, was appointed to Tukhachevsky's post, (and was later shot). The new chief-of-staff, Shaposhnikov, is an educated executive officer of the old army, devoid of strategic talent and initiative. And Voroshilov? It is no secret that Voroshilov, the "old Bolshevik" is a purely decorative figure. While Lenin was alive, it never entered anybody's head to include him in the Central Committee. During the civil war, Voroshilov, while displaying an indubitable personal courage, showed a complete lack of military and administrative talent and, besides, a narrow, utterly provincial outlook. His only qualification for a seat in the Political Bureau and the post of People's Commissar of Defense, is that he supported at Tsaritsin, the opposition of Stalin to that military policy which insured victory in the civil war. Incidentally, neither Stalin nor the other members of the Political Bureau ever entertained any illusions concerning Voroshilov as a military leader. Just because of this, they had surrounded him with qualified collaborators.

Thus the decimation of the leadership of the Red army was carried through with the full knowledge of what it implied!

. To the Red army, Stalin has dealt a fearful blow. As a relt of the latest judicial frameup, it has fallen several cubits in stature. The interests of the Soviet defense have been sacrificed in the interests of the self-preservation of the ruling clique.

Red Army 'Satisfies' Churchill

(Continued from page 1)

(three to one should be the relative losses where the forces are comparably equal, say many military experts.) But there is a general concensus of opinion that the Red Army, the defending force, is losing more than the attacking force in this war. Even the best figures of the British do not eredit the Red Army with inflicting equal losses. Only the incompetence of Stalin's general staff can explain the fact that the Nazis are inflicting greater losses than they sustain in an offensive. We must now face the question

incurred by the Soviet Union. The Stalinist "strategy" of THE MEANING OF THE

retreating eastward has stripped the country of key industrial and agricultural areas which make it impossible to re- the Dnieper and Donetz basins. equip and supply the Red Army | The Dnieper area is entirely lost. at the level at which it began The dramatic incident of the blowthe war. This is the terrible truth.

The territories now occupied by a great industrial area of metalthe Nazis were the most densely jurgical plants, not only iron and terly false analogy. The Russian populated areas of the USSR. Twenty-three million people lived metals vital for war industry; of their muskets and make bullets in the territories "won" during chemical, die and soda plants, and the Stalin-Hitler pact and now affect industries; of such irreplaterior of Russia. But tanks, airlost (the Baltic states, Bessarabia, eable war plants as that of Sza plans and railroad guns cannot western Byelo-Russia, western U- porozh, the great armor-plate kraine, Moldavia). Two-thirds of plant. All this is gone. And the areas like those of the Donetz and the Ukraine (the entire Ukraine Nazis are driving on Kharkov, Dnieper. included over forty millions) are key to the Donetz basin. lost. At least another ten million The Dnieper and Donetz bases template. But we must face them. folding territory which is now in Hitler's hands. Thus territory formerly occupied and worked by

the hands of the Nazis. But those

The importance of waterways for transportation in the USSR is understood by those who know how inadequate is the railroad and highway system. Yet two of the most important waterways (not to speak of the rivers lost The only program which takes so far), the Baltic and Black seas. are now rendered almost useless. the governmental agencies, which has come from the Flint locals Except for besieged Leningrad are dominated by the agents of of the UAW, which are now put and the Hango peninsula, the Soviet forces are driven out of the Baltic. The Black Sea is, with

over 63 million people is now lost. Committee Formed To Aid who fled are refugees, who in Imprisoned Negro Societs economic terms are more liability NEW YORK, Oct. 1. — A Na- soldiers has met with failure up

fron and coal, and a major propor-touthe very brink of catastrophe.

than asset for some time to come. NEW YORK, Oct. 1. — A National Committee formed to fight to now. Letters were read from for the release from jail of Negro soldiers court martialed in World atives and Senators who openly War I, held its first meeting in declared their lack of interest in Harlem this week.

Delegates were present from such organizations as the Better Harlem Association, the Baptist Ministers Conference, representing 100.000 members, the German Lutheran Church, and the Socialist Workers Party.

The general sentiment was one of active opposition to the current World War. For here, in the unjust imprisonment of innocent Negroes, was concrete proof that democracy is no more an issue in this war than it was in the

Every attempt made to free nese unjustly imprisoned colored

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'Fourth International' For October Is Off Press

achieved through organized mass The October issue of the month- entitled "France: First Signs of ly magazine of the Trotskyist the Storm," by Marc Loris, and TIONAL, will come off the press- the German political prisoners by es this week. The content is rich one who recently escaped. and varied.

The editorial comment concerns itself with the forthcoming trial of the twenty-nine Minneapolis defendants, members of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544-CIO.

The leading article is the Manifesto of the Fourth Internation- Army and from the pen of the al on the Defense of the Soviet revolutionist himself comes an Union. Two articles concern poli- article dealing with his perspectical developments in Europe, one tives in 1926.

movement, FOURTH INTERNA- the other dealing with life among

Two articles deal with the question of America and the war: "Public Health and National Defense," by Grace Carlson, and "The Aims of American Imperialism," by William F. Warde.

John G. Wright contributes an article on Trotsky and the Red

Auto Barons Intensify 'Priority' Unemployment

R. J. Thomas, UAW-CIO Head, Charges Profit Lust Creates Job Crisis In Industry

DETROIT, Mich., Sept. 28. - R. J. Thomas, President of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers, CIO, in testimony before the congressional committee hearings in Detroit on questions of priorities unemployment, charged this week that the automotive corporations were responsible for the current unemployment crisis in auto because of their refusal to expand into military production, and that their

"business as usual" attitude was the direct cause for the threaten | In truth, there was no mistake ing layoff of 250,000 men in the The policy of "business as usual" industry.

To meet the priorities unemploy ment crisis, Thomas proposed a moratorium on workers' debts, guarantee of seniority rights and the establishment of a system of union committees in each industry FACING "ECONOMIC" to deal with management on problems of military production.

Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, admitted that his corporation "has not foreseen" the priorities crisis, and had made no adequate plans to avert an unemployment crisis as a result of the chaos of change-over to war production. Wilson tried to excuse the GM officials for their fail- depths of the last depression." he ure to change over into military work, by claiming that the government was not giving the company defense orders proportionate to the company's size. "If the government had to give General Mo tors its proportionate share of de by January. fense orders, it would sound so big in dollars the people in Washington would be afraid of it."

WHAT WILSON CONCEALED

He did not explain however why GM has barely begun to fulfill orders amounting to \$2 billion nor why tool-and-die men are working two and three days a week, while the company is now engaged in putting out Buicks and Chevrolets at full pace; actually it is well known by those who have studied the situation that General Motors, together with the steel and aluminum trusts. with the full knowledge and agreement of the OPM, HAVE REFUS-ED TO EXPAND for fear of losing their capital when the war ends. Moreover, they have fought

ing this fact, took the attitude of ground has been broken yet strenght to enforce these de- their charities and asking for that a "mistake had been made." for that purpose. The steel indu- mands.

no expansion, etc., was a conscious policy, made in COLLUSION with the steel, aluminum and automobile monopolists.

CHAOS"

Governor Murray D. Van Waggoner, of Michigan, testifying before the Tolan congressional committee, stated that the "nation faces economic chaos within three months," unless the tangled priorities problem was solved. "Michigan faces an economic and welfare problem far worse than the said. He estimated that 45,000 workers in Detroit would be unemployed because of curtailment of essential materials for automotive production. In Flint

The congressional hearings came to no conclusion and made no proposals for a solution to the problem. Tolan, the committee member who conducted the hearings, when reminded that at the last elections the administration had promised that there would be no need to curtail civilian production, and that war production would be superimposed on the production of consumers goods cynically replied, "Sure. . . that's how we fellows get elected."

he said, 16,800 will be out of work

stry has likewise stubbornly refused to expand capacity. The OPM, run by these trusts, is concentrating instead on a curtailment of production of consumers goods, with the resultant wave of unemployment. The auto industry. bent on cashing in on the increased market, refuses to change over its plants to military production, and because of this profiteering attitude will throw tens of thousands out of work.

THE FLINT PLAN

all this into consideration thus far ting the pressure on the corporation to meet their militant demands. Plans are being made by the Flint locals to hold a public hearing in that city, to publicize the union's program, and to win support from the city's population for a fight to force the company to act on the union's demands.

In Flint, should the union push its program with the necessary vigor, the entire population can be solidified behind the CIO. Small business men, the officers of the city government, as well as all the workers, are directly concerned lest Flint become a "ghost

Thus far unionists report that it is planned to rent the huge IMA auditorium for the public hearing, at which the union will hear restimony on the situation. and propose its program, Radic talks are planned, as well as widespread publicity.

The Flint plan is to be present ed to the corporation in the form of demands, and taken up to the highest bargaining channels for a yes or no anwer. The demands, which provide for

preferential employment and trans fer by seniority of UAW members to defense work, at no less than the same rate of pay, an While a serious crisis faces hun- equal voice for labor in the plan dreds of thousands of workers be ning of military production, alcause of the complete anarchy in location of orders, location of new the productive planning in the plants, etc., and which would reornation, the aluminum trust, the ganize production so as to presteel trusts and the automotive vent a lay-off during the coming manufacturers have not budged three to four months and while an inch in their adamant stand plans for change over to military teeth and nail against any gov- against expansion. The aluminum production are made, will probaernment building and operating trust, ALCOA, still retains its bly be turned down by the corof military plants, for fear of iron grip on the smelting of that poration. But the UAW locals in competition which would cut into important metal, and while it has Flint, in resolutions adopted in rial Cooperative Stores are concontracted to build a new plant their meetings, are pledged to use ducting a huge newspaper cam-R. J. Thomas, instead of expost to increase capacity, not an inch all their economic and political paign showing the benefits of

Strike Begins

This is the eighth week of strike at the Morgan Memorial Corporation, Boston, the 'goodwill stores.' The Morgan Memorial, a charitable organization similar to the Salvation Army, features the Golden Rule in their advertisements when they ask the public to donate clothing and furniture to their store, but they forget to apply it to their workers. It is not uncommon for them to hire salespeople to work all day for a pair of shoes which often has been a free donation to them.

They display such goodwill to their employees that their truck drivers and helpers are out on strike for higher wages. Some ruck drivers who have worked there for ten years get the magnificent sum of \$21.33 for a 40hour week. The helpers get all of \$16 per week. The AFL Teamsters Local 82 is demanding union recognition, \$30 a week for the drivers, and \$24 for the helpers. There is a strike headquarters located near the main store and continuous picket lines are maintained at all the stores.

Meanwhile, the Morgan Memomore donations.

IN LOS ANGELES

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Order from: The Militant 116 University Place New York City

HELP FIGHT THE INDICTMENT

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

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

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

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO:	The Govern
THE CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE	demned by the
Room 809, 160 Fifth Ave., New York City	LABOR'S N
I enclose for your Defense Fund	UNITE
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Name	
Address	Ň

ment prosecution has been con-CIO

NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE ED AUTO WORKERS CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION NATION

EW REPUBLIC and other labor and liberal spokesmen

CP Licks Hillman's Boots

But Gets Kicked In the Face As Reward for Cheering Hillman at IUMSW Convention

By ART PREIS

A face which had not graced the pages of the Stalinist Daily Worker in many a moon suddenly appeared on the tront page of the September 25 issue.

It was a portrait of the lean and wily features of Sidney Hillman, associate director of the OPM, and leader of the ClO faction which has long sought to tie the CIO to the Roosevelt Administration's war machine.

To those who know the Daily middle of an IUMSW convention Worker's policies, the appearance story, suddenly whines: of Hillman's picture is a signincant symbol. The Daily Worker who represent Stalinist views or is seeking to gain favor.

publicity from the Stalinists. While of Hillman, the Daily Worker (May 17) wrote in those days:

"The workers can now see that when a war government selects a union leader to sit in its councils, it is only for one purpose: to have him act as the spearhead in the open-shop and wage cutting drive against the workers. And Hillman, it can be said, is faithfully living up to these duties."

WHITEWASH FOR HILLMAN

No such condemnation of Hill man is included in the story accompanying his picture in the September 25 issue. This reports Hillman's speech to the Seventh Convention of the International Union of Marine and Shipbuildweek in Atlantic City, New Jersey. The Daily Worker approv-"praising the shipyard workers ists materially. for the production records they have already set - but records Daily Worker, "the red-baiters that he said must still go high- retreated, as from all indications er. . ."

Worker formerly correctly called abandoned." "the spearhead in the open-shop and wage-cutting drive," is paving the way, in these words, for longer hours, speed-up, wagefreezing, in the interests of Roosevelt's war program. That, today, is the program of the Stalinists also, and therefore their one definite aim in the CIO is to establish a formal unit with the Hillmanites against the militant and anti-war sections of the labor movement, and against that sector of the CIQ which opposes sacrificing the gains of industrial unionism for the sake of pro-war "unity" with the AFL.

From first to last, in the Daily Worker reports of the IUMSW convention, the Stalinists have sought to establish their affinity with the Hillmanites and their policies. And since the Hillmanites hold outright control of the IUMSW, almost the entire convention was consumed with speeches and resolutions in support of Roosevelt's war policies, calling for the repeal of the Neutrality Act, etc. All this was fulsomely reported in the Daily in his final remarks before the

Worker. But, in the very act of bending over to polish Hillman's boots with their tongues, the Stalinists received a resounding blow on their protrudent posteriors from these same boot tips. On September 26, the Daily Worker, in the

"The harmony that marked the convention for two days was publishes pictures only of those broken this morning, and, as usual, red-baiting was the instruwith whom the Communist Party | ment through which prejudices and old squabbles were raked up. Thus, up to June 22, did John | It came with a resolution. . . L. Lewis receive recognition and throwing Communism into the same basket with Nazism."

UNITY WITH RED-BAITERS

After going down the line on their hands and knees with the IUMSW Hillmanite leaders on support of the war, the Stalinists were confronted with a resolution which stated that the union would not condone the workings of fascism, nazism or communism within our ranks" and "that any

member who advocates the overthrow of the democratic constitutional government of the United States shall be, on proven guilty, asked or be forced to resign from national or local membership, in our union."

Nowhere does the Daily Workthe product of Hillman. Instead, ing Workers (CIO) held last the Daily Worker attempts to spread the idea that the resolution doesn't mean too much and

"In some respects," reports the a move to insert a bar to Com-Hillman, whom the Daily munists in the constitution was

> At the very same session of the convention, however, the Stalinists found out whether the Hillmanites "mean" it, when Carl Bradley and Edward Dorland, expelled from the union's general executive board and their union local on charges of "communism," were refused reinstatement into union membership, and even denied the right personally to appeal their case to the convention.

> On the last day of the convention, the delegates, led by the Hillmanites, passed a resolution fascists" from holding any union offices. That is how the Hillmanites "retreated"!

Once more, the Daily Worker, September 27, had to report about the red-baiting actions of the Hillmanites — without mention Stalinist that they can pay their of the Hillmanites.

SMALL FAVORS

GRATEFULLY RECEIVED John Green, Hillmanite president of the IUSMW, gave the their mouths shut. Stalinists some small consolation convention adjourned. He indicated Hillman's present position toward the Stalinists when he

"Employers hire communists, and as long as they hire them we'll organize them. But they've got to keep their philoSIU Discusses Next Steps



Striking members of the Seafarers International Union (AFL) at the meeting in New York when they voted to end the 12-day strike of 26 ships with an agreement to submit their war bonus demands to negotiations through the National Defense Mediation Board. The union scored a victory when the U. S. Maritime Commission, which tried to break the strike by manning three ships with scabs and ordering the union to submit to compulsory arbitration, was completely eliminated from the negotiations plan.

Curtiss-Wright Company Nowhere does the Daily Worker indicate that this resolution, which the convention passed, was the product of Hillman Instead

National Labor Relations Board Hearings ingly reports Hillman's address isn't going to affect the Stalin- Show "Aircraft" To Be Tool Of Company

BUFFALO, N. Y., Sept. 23. — The drive of the United Auto Workers, ClO, to organize the Curtiss-Wright aircraft workers in this city is well under way. The union has not only made considerable gains in signing up the workers, but it has gone a long way in discrediting and exposing the company union, and the personal manager asked The Aircraft, long used by the company as a pretext for refusing to recognize or deal with a legitimate union.

Trying desperately to save face with the workers The Aircraft last week suddenly announced that it had 'fired' Edward W. Hamilton, its lawyer, who for years has been a notorious inspirer of company-unionism and

its inception of 1934, J. E. Alder- The first week saw a parade mann would retire from office in of militant members of Local 753,

barring "Communists, Nazis and union and that Curtiss-Wright The Aircraft. Co. is the real power behind the Herbert Levine told how Air-

that its secretary-treasurer from ed their third week.

CIO, who testified about the in-These actions came as a result | timidation and discrimination of devastating evidence piled up shown against CIO men and esat the hearing now being conduc- tablished the fact that the best ted here by the National Labor assurances for promotion is to Relations Board on its charges become an officer or member of that The Aircraft is a company- the Council, governing body of

throne. The hearings have enter- craft representatives, working in

quite willing to take whatever the

sophies out of the councils of

In a word, Green is telling the they propose to grant the Stalindues and belong to the union so as possible, particularly in those thing the Hillmanites propose, the strength. sit in the back rows and keep

The Stalinists, for all their eagerness to support the Hillmanites under any conditions, have a long row to hoe before they will be accepted on any equal terms by the Hillmanites.

HILLMAN'S LINE TOWARD STALINISTS

Hillman and his followers are

literature on company property him to turn his literature over to him for "safe keeping." man's threat to "fix me good if

just came in the plant."

Numerous other workers took the same vein, proving conclusively that the company worked hand-in-glove with The Aircraft.

HAMILTON'S TESTIMONY

A suave and shrewd lawyer, he Stalinists offer them gratis, but in 1934 during a strike of the ists as little influence or control The Hillman gang represents a

cahoots with foremen, would "ask workers" to join Aircraft, "They would go around on company time and sign up members," he added. Company cops threatened to turn him in to the personnel manager if he distributed CIO

Hamilton was put on the stand. WHITEWASH traced the history of the company to Kriegbaum, because "His tesunion, telling how it was formed timony at this trial has at last tough nut to crack. The plants workers under the AFL, how the opinion between the Aircraft and of schoolboys who are devoid of company agreed to "split the prof- Mr. Hamilton, and the Council of any tradition of trade-unionism long as they're "good boys," raise their hands promptly for every- the Stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the stalinists have relatively lit- "The Aircraft strove for co-on- the sta "The Aircraft strove for co-op- that Mr. Hamilton can be of no the first time in their lives. To eration with the corporation from | further service to this union, and its founding." His testimony so that his presence as counsel is, tiss workers themselves must be compromised the company and its in fact, of real harm to The Airunion that he had to be thrown craft." After Hamilton was to the wolves the next day.

Curran Shifts Stand On SIU Strike Issue

After Slurring SIU Strike As 'Flukey' Forced To Condemn Maritime Commission

Stalinist stooge Joseph Curran's National Maritime Union organ, The Pilot, on September 19 called the Seafarers International Union's strike of 25 ships over the war bonus question. 'flukey" and a "bum beef," when the SIU rejected a Maritime Commission demand for compulsory arbitration. The SIU deeated the Maritime Commission.

The NMU rank and file didn't think this was a "bum beef." Throughout the strike, the NMU men displayed complete solidarity with the SIU strikers, respected the picket lines, and some NMU men even joined the picket *-

Maritime Commission, with which

he had hitherto attempted to play

ball, did not flow from some sud-

den feeling of genuine solidarity

It was the result of his need

to save face with his own mem-

their own taste of what the gov-

Following this episode Krieg-

baum issued a statement to the

wash the testimony given at the

before the NRLB, testimony has

been given about the early his-

tory of the union, and its opera-

tion, that shows a fundamental

difference of attitude between

The Aircraft and its operation in

those early years and The Air-

craft of today. It appears that

the union in its formative years

co-operated with the management

and was not militant in the sense

that it is today and the Council

of the Aircraft must take the po-

sition that what was done then

was out of harmony with The

Aircraft of today." Kriegbaum

may enjoy posing as an innocent

real story, but he cannot hope to

The UAW-CIO is now getting

down to business to carry out in-

structions of its last convention

and organize the aircraft indus

try. Buffalo is one of the most

important centers of the industry

in the country and by next June

will have approximately 45,000 to

50,000 workers in the Curtiss and

Bell plants alone. Organizers are

starting to pour into town and

an all-out drive is being staged

In order to break this, one of

the few remaining strongholds of

company-unionism in the United

States, all the UAW forces must

no pushover, so will Curtiss be a

overcome this obstacle, the Cur-

A union that has brought Gen-

at Curtiss as an opening step.

fool anyone.

IMPORTANCE OF

ORGANIZING CURTISS

with the SIU strikers.

Under pressure of his own rank and file, Curran had to tack in a different direction, and finally wired Admiral Land that "we hold Maritime Commission is responsibile for present situation. based on its continuous interference with collective bargaining rights of seamen since its incep-

This attack by Curran on the ernment and shipowners have

on the stand. Like a typical Ju- its success." das-goat, he told of how the scabs, with himself as a leader, organized the company union press, in which he tried to whitewhile the 1934 strike was in progress. Hamilton, Aldermann and hearing. "In this current trial Glenn Witter, an inspector at the plant met "on company property" and started the fake union.

At this meeting they dished out the officers post to each other -Witter becoming President and Aldermann secretary-treasurer.

Since then Witter has been rewarded with an executive post in the company set-up and has left The Aircraft.

BOSSES FINANCED THE AIRCRAFT

The highlights of his testimony were that Ralph S. Damon, vicepresident of Curtiss-Wright in 1935, "contributed \$1000 to help lamb who is just discovering the the union meet its operating deficit" and that the company granted "recognition to The Aircraft on August 8, 1934, but 'weren't very keen about it."

Such testimony just about tore the last veil off the fake union and something desperate had to be done. The company and its ing it too. The following day, Leo-Kriegbaum, the shrewd and characterless president of The Airthe stand and repeated stories in | craft "rocked" the hearing with the announcement that Hamilton was fired and that Aldermann would not be a candidate for office when his term expires "because of ill health."

Hamilton was fired, according be mobilized. Just as Ford was shown clearly the difference of are flooded with a large number "fired." he bowed to his "ex-boss" Following Hamilton, J. E. Al- and said, "I believe in The Air- eral Motors, Ford, Chrysler, and dermann, who has been the secre- craft. I believe in its ultimate the other auto barons to their

been trying to put over on the

The NMU officials have been trying to get immediate bonus increases for seamen on the run into Iceland waters during the new contract negotiations. The Iceland waters are certainly in the "war zone," particularly since a whole series of sinkings there have followed on Roosevelt's

"shoot on sight" order.
Frank J. Taylor, president of the American Merchant Marine Institute, with which the NMU officials were negotiating, on September 16 informed the NMU that the question of Iceland war bonuses would have to be held in abeyance pending the "general negotiations on bonuses."

This was precisely the answer bership, who have just been given the SIU had received from the shipowners and Maritime Commission when the SIU demanded immediate negotiations for bonuses on the Carribean runs.

At the conference in Washington early in September, Curran had helped to sabotage joint union negotiations with the shipowners in Washington, held at the demand of the SIU to settle the bonus question, when he agreed to an indefinite postponement of the negotiations at the bosses' request. The shipowners. at that time, had raised the argument that Curran's withdrawal from the negotiations made it impossible for them to negotiate with the SIU because they wanted the question settled on an "industry-wide basis."

Now that Curran, under pressure from the NMU rank and file. is forced to demand settlement on the Iceland war bonus question, he runs up against an argument similar to the one he helped the shipowners put over against the SIU several weeks

Curran and the Stalinist leadership of the NMU are caught in their own trap.

Curran, for all his contempt for the ranks of his union, dare not go so far as to oppose the demand of his own followers for increased bonuses on ships going to Iceland ports.

That is why Curran, after seeking favor with the shipowners and Maritime Commission, finally had to publicly endorse the position of the SIU. Curran is more than willing to toss the SIU to the shipowners in return for some special favors for his own following; but the Maritime Commission isn't willing to pay him for the dirty job.

(Continued from page 1) believe Pravda, the demotion of Timoshenko from this post and the latter's replacement by Stalin constituted an event of "world historic importance," a major victory for the Soviet Union.

The official press was filled with accounts of mass meetings, factory meetings, gatherings of troops at the front, etc., etc., all of them "spontaneous outbursts" of enthusiasm in celebration of this event. In a leading editorial, Pravda struck the keynote as follows:

"The appointment of Comrade Stalin to the post of People's Commissar for Defense of the USSR has instilled fresh vigor and courage into the hearts of the warriors of the Red Army and the Red Navy, into the hearts of the fighters of the mobilized peoples, into the hearts of many thousands of guerrillas now fighting heroically in the enemy's rear, into the hearts of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals who are forging victory behind the lines and who are ready at the first summons of the partv and the Government to defend

The gist of all the resolutions (unanimously adopted) is: "Stalin — That is Victory!" — "Where Stalin Is, There Is Victory!" etc. (Pravda, July 21.) This is the only kind of "vic-

tory" that Stalin has been able the Red Army have been incurred since Stalin assumed the post of Commissar of War and appointed

(Note: This is the first of a series of articles on current conditions in the Soviet Union by John G. Wright.

different bureaucracy than the Stalinists. The Hillmanites are part of the labor bureaucracy directly representing the interests of the American bourgeois democrats, specifically the Roosevelt administration. The Stalinists, as the Hillmanites are well aware, are the agents of the Kremlin loyalties, the Hillmanites continue to be wary of any too close ties with the Stalinists.

SUCCESSFUL BANQUET FOR 29

For their part, the Stalinists want to gain as much union inity with the Hillmanites on the they who have the "in" with the tee's work. Roosevelt administration, and they will not permit the Stalinists to approach the administration except through the Hillmanite pipe-line.

The Stalinists are willing to pay any price in servility and treachery to the workers for a bloc with Hillman. That is clearly indicated by the actions at the IUMSW convention and the Daily Worker's response to them. Hillman's program includes concretely a red-baiting attack on all militant and progressive elements in the labor movement. "Deplore" as they might this red-baiting and it is merely to save their they do so - the Stalinists cannot escape the responsibility for were heartened by the support of defending and endorsing Hillman's basic political policies, whose inevitable consequences

Emanuel Fried told of a fore-

I didn't take off my CIO button."

Stanley Swiezek testified to seeing foremen and leadmen stooges were not slow in realizsign up the new workers who

The real blowoff came when KRIEGMAN'S

tary-treasurer of the company success and I will do everything knees will, no doubt, also organunion since its inception, was put in my power personally to assure ize Curtiss. bureaucracy. Within the limits of this difference in bureaucratic NEWARK DEFENSE COMMITTEE HOLDS

tion.

NEWARK, N. J., Sept. 28. — A highly successful banquet | 1917, and paid tribute to the hefluence as they can, within the and reception for the 29 defendants in the Minneapolis "sediframework of their political uni- tious conspiracy" case was held by the Newark Civil Rights Defense Committee last night. The affair was attended by close war question. But the Hillman- to 100 people, most of them active trade unionists in locals which ites hold the whip-hand. It is have expressed their moral and financial support of the Commit-

The main speeches of the affair were delivered by two of the defendants, James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, and Felix

Morrow, editor of THE MILI- | velopment of the case from the TANT, both of whom were warmly greeted by the workers pres-

Cannon denounced the prosecution as an attempt to silence the voices of the militant anti-war fighters and declared that the government, powerful and imposing as it seemed, was by this trial demonstrating the desperation and internal weakness of the system it represented. He said that the defendants would go boldly into court on October 20 because own organizational hides that they knew that the future was on their side and because they workers being gathered together throughout the country in groups such as the Newark Civil Rights

OTHER SPEAKERS

movement.

George Novack, national secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, discussed the reactionary laws under which the defendants were being prosecuted. and the work of the Committee.

fight over union policy was a di-

rect result of the Roosevelt war

administration's moves to destroy

the independence of the labor

Harlem in a campaign to free sol-Felix Morrow traced the de- cutions that swept the country in work.

roic behavior of Eugene V. Debs at the time of his trial by the government on charges similar to those in the Minneapolis case. He said he knew that the 29 defendants would conduct themselves in court just as creditably as Debs did, and that the workers of this country would not forget them or give up the struggle to free beginning of the fight between them in the event of an adverse AFL Teamsters chief, Tobin, and the militant leaders of Local 544 Bella Kussy, a member of the in Minneapolis, showing that this

Workers Defense League National Executive Board, speaking for our fatherland arms in hand." herself as an individual, attacked (Pravda, July 21.) Attorney General Biddle's hypocritical promises to safeguard civil liberties and contrasted the behavior of the Department of Justice in its failure to indict Mayor Hague of Jersey City after four years of investigation and the speed with which it had to score and Pravda has been able indicted, arraigned and was now to report. The gravest defeats of bringing the 29 defendants to

Nat J. Humphries, active in trial in less than four months. Genora Johnson, a leading pardiers who had been court mar- ticipant in the Flint auto strikes himself Commander-in-Chief. tialled on framed-up and unjust of 1937, made an appeal for funds charges in World War I, spoke for the Committee and urged that of the wave of anti-labor perse- workers join it and help it in its

Chicago Mass Meeting

To Greet the Defendants in the Minnesota "Seditious Conspiracy" Indictment Speakers:

> JAMES P. CANNON, Nat'l Sec'y, SWP ALBERT GOLDMAN, Labor Attorney FARRELL DOBBS, Labor Secretary, SWP FELIX MORROW, Editor of the Militant GRACE CARLSON, Minnesota State Organizer, SWP

> > Friday, October 10th - Eight P. M. EMBASSY HALL, MORRISON HOTEL Clark and Madison Streets Admission — 25 c Auspices: Socialist Workers Party, Chicago

€ (**) In Solidarity with the Indicted Socialist Workers Party Leaders

Banquet & Dance

Sumptuous Steak Dinner - Singing - Waltzes - Swing and Folk Dancing

GUS'

420 N. DEARBORN ST. Reservations: \$1.50 in advance

Sunday, Oct. 12 - 7 P. M. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party, Chicago 160 N. WELLS ST. - DEa. 7562

> are just as vicious anti-labor tac-Defense Committee. tics as red-baiting.

Negro Struggle By ALBERT PARKER

AFL Convention Coming

The American Federation of Labor will hold another annual convention next week in Seattle. Negro workers will look forward to the occasion with interest, if not much hope of anything important happening there.

They know pretty well what to expect, under present conditions and with the kind of leadership AFL has today. On all union matters, of course, the convention will take its usual conservative position. On the war, it will come out 100% for the Roosevelt war program.

And on the question of Negro rights in the labor movement, the craft union convention will make its usual evasions.

They will permit A. Philip Randolph, Negro leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and a few others to make some speeches demanding an end to Negro discrimination in the AFL, and they will permit the introduction of resolutions advocating steps to provide equal rights for Negro workers — but the Negro will still be Jim Crowed by a large section of the AFL after the convention is over.

They may pass a resolution deploring discrimination in industry, as the recent New York State Federation of Labor convention did, but they themselves won't take a single step to help Negroes to get into factories or unions where they are now barred.

For the truth is that the fat, well paid heads of the AFL have no interest in the Negro workers, any more than they have in most unskilled workers. And they will refuse to do anything that would bring a protest from the lily-white leaders of the southern unions - just as Roosevelt refuses to do anything that would bring a protest from the lily-white poll tax politicians who run the Democratic party and everything else in the South.

An interesting thing to note about this is that the craft union heads use the same excuses that Roosevelt does in ignoring and fostering Jim Crowism. The poll taxers screech about "local autonomy" and "states rights" in fighting against anti-lynch bills and anti-poll tax legislation. And the white supremacy gang in the AFL also cries out about "local autonomy" and "the rights of the individual internationals in opposing all resolutions and constitutional proposals to wipe out Jim Crowism in the AFL.

These aristocrats of the working class will not change the sections of their constitution providing for equal treatment of all workers regardless of race or color, which have been on the books for decades, but neither they will change anything else to put meaning and life into those words.

The Latest "Solution"

After Private Ned Turman was murdered by a southern white MP at Fort Bragg on August 6, an angry protest arose against the brutal treatment of Negroes in the Army. Action was promised in Washington, especially by the Negro aide to the Secretary of War, Judge William H. Hastie. Last week, the action was finally taken, and announced by Hastie himself in the course of a each made at the dedication of a new Army recreation camp for Negroes at Anacostia, D. C.

From now on, says Hastie, there will be Negro MPs, or to be more accurate, there will be more Negro MPs. Only this and noth-

By this I do not mean that we, who stand for equality for the Negroes, are opposed to having Negro MPs in the Army. Of course we want to see Negroes have the right to hold any job from which they are barred. We have no use for the Democratic or Republican party which both betray the Negro people every chance they get. But we stand for the right of Negroes within those parties to hold any post or office.

Similarly with Negro MPs. We do not support the boss war nor do we support the boss army. But we insist that every Negro in the army have the same rights as white soldiers.

We do not oppose the appointment of Negroes as MPs, but when anyone comes around and says that the appointment of Negroes as MPs is the solution of the problem of brutal, discriminatory treatment of the Negroes in the Army, then we can only say that he is a liar or a fool. And we would add that such a person is in favor of appointing Negros MPs not because he is interested in getting equal rights for Negroes to serve as MPs just as white soldiers do, but because he is interested in covering up and hiding and excusing the brutal discrimination of Negro sol-

In the first place, we will ask, will the Negro soldiers be any better off if they are beaten up and driven around by Negro MPs acting on the instructions and orders of Negro-hating white of-

ficers than if they are ill-treated by white MPs? Will those white MPs who like to mistreat Negro soldiers act any differently toward them just because there are more Negro MPs?

The truth is that the MPs are not the forces primarily responsible for this brutality toward the Negro soldiers. They are only a small part of a big system of Jim Crowism in the armed forces fostered by the war administration.

As long as Roosevelt segregates the Negroes in the Army, backward white soldiers will be encouraged, even where they are not specifically advised, to look down on the Negroes and consider them "inferior." That is what segregation leads to inevitably.

When you stop to think of it, you can see that Hastie advises the use of Negro MPs for the same reason that he himself is used in the War Department. In this Department, he acts as the "Negro front" and gives a protective coloration to its Jim Crow policies. Now he wants Negro

MPs to play the same role for the Army itself. The answer to Jim Crow brutality is the fight for mixed regiments and an end to all forms of segregation. This means a fight not only against Roosevelt but against Judases like Judge Hastie.

The CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF ROOSEVELT and Neutrality

FDR Is Now Ready To Discard Legal Fiction Of Neutrality

The Roosevelt administration, which has been neutral during this war neither in word nor in deed, is moving rapidly to liquidate the last remnants of the legal fictions embodied in the Neutrality Act, signed by Roosevelt in 1935, and revised in 1939 to include the "cash-and-carry" provision.

The first formal step in this direction was made on September 25, with the introduction by Senator McKellar of a resolution to repeal the Act allegislation when it was passed together.

have regretted my action."

ROOSEVELT "REGRETS"

ng its early months.

ue its war preparations.

legislation since 1935.

For at no time has the Neutral-

he present, the Neutrality Act

This move was foreshadowed by a press interview two days previously, in which Roosevelt declared his intention of securing drastic modification or outright repeal of the Neutrality Act to permit arming of American merchant ships and the use of ships under the American flag to transport materials of war to belligerents and to sail in war zones hitherto prohibited to American

ship traffic. One day after the introduction of the McKellar resolution, Collier's magazine (October 4 issue) appeared with a well-timed article by Roosevelt, dealing with his views on the entire question of neutrality.

In this article, Roosevelt cynically refers to "our so-called 'neutrality law" and declares

"Although I approved this

"ISOLATIONISTS"

to get this country into the total war?

that the United States is "being

said, to fight "not her own bat-

tle, for she is not mixed up in

concerned about preserving the

Flynn thus pictures the Amer-

ican capitalists as a bunch of

good-hearted fellows who help the

British capitalists keep their con-

rol of a large section of the

By painting up the American

bosses as altruistic although

short-sighted people, Flynn

hides from the masses the real

reasons why American capital-

ism is driving toward war and

aids in disorienting the work-

ers from a successful fight

wing of the committee - as dis-

Committee can never lead a suc-

The interventionists, on the

other hand, taking their cue from

the "isolationists," have begun to

play down the "aid Britain" an-

gle in their propaganda. As ex-

pressed by Sidney Hillman,

Roosevelt's spokesman in the

CIO, at the convention of the

Industrial Union of Marine and

Shipbuilding Workers last week.

the new interventionist formu-

"This is our battle. . . Let us

stop talking about doing all this

to aid Britain. We are actually

doing it to aid ourselves. A ship

that you build bringing food to

he children of England may pre-

vent your own children from

starving in some dark future. . ."

lation goes like this:

cessful fight against the war.

THE INTERVENTIONIST

this, but England's."

world markets.

against war.

LINE

have answers to this question, and both are false.

REAL CAUSE OF WAR

By Concealing Imperialist Character of War,

'Isolationists' Hinder Real Anti-War Fight

By ANTHONY MASSINI

the war — or to be more exact, for whose benefit does it want

chairman of the New York chapter of the America First Com-

mittee, in a statement issued by him on Sept. 27. He declared

prepared and propagandized" to this country, will emphasize the

fight "England's battle." The angle stressed by Hillman, the

According to this viewpoint, interventionists deceive the peo-

he American imperialists are so ple, each for their own immediate

Flynn, it should be realized, is fighting for control of the world,

ism." The fact that he too cov- ica, looking ahead of the post-

against Hitler.

people.

ican people.

GO TO WAR

WHY U. S. BOSSES

Both the "isolationists" and the

purposes. The capitalist class in

domination of British imperial-

ism over a large part of the

world or because it is concerned

about the interests of the Amer-

It is for the protection of their

imperialism over German impe-

mediately begin jockeying and

he rivalry that existed among

the big imperialist powers in the

riod between the two wars. And

the second world war will be only

a prelude to a third and a fourth,

so long as the imperialists con-

trol the major nations and de-

Roosevelt goes to war not be

cause he is "pro-British" but be-

cause he is "pro-American im-

perialism" — just as Hitler goes

o war not because he is "anti-

British" but because he is "pro-

The way to fight against war

termine their policies.

German imperialism."

Why is the American war party so intent on getting into

The "isolationists" and the war-mongers themselves both

The "isolationists" view was expressed by John T. Flynn,

might once more be dragged into war by the methods of 1917. The people clamored for reinforced neutrality legislation. It was in response to this overwhelming mass sentiment that Congress velt to sign, the Neutrality Act originally and when it was exof August, 1935. tended from time to time, I

The outstanding feature of that Act was a provision making it unlawful to sell or transport in-This belated "regret" is as struments or materials of war to false as the pretense of neutralany nation designated as a belligity which Roosevelt attempted to erent by the President.

Ethiopian War aroused the fears

convey prior to the actual out-For Roosevelt to say now that break of the present war and durhe "regrets" his support for the Neutrality Act is plain bunkum, He knows full well he would ity Act interfered with Roosenever have been re-elected had velt's war plans. Rather, up to he done otherwise.

FIRST STEP TO WAR

has served a useful purpose to the pro-war Administration, by But, as soon as war appeared imminent, in July 1939, Rooseproviding a cloak of peaceful invelt projected the idea of repeal tent behind which it might purng the arms embargo section of the Neutrality Act as his first To understand the true role move to whittle away the entire that the neutrality legislation has act. He made his proposal to a played in this sense, it is necessary to review the history of that | meeting in the White House of Democratic and Republican Con-The outbreak of the Italogressional leaders, who, however, hesitated to accept the idea of the time because of the powerful anti-war sentiment of the voters.

It was not until November, 1939, after war, was actually raging in Europe, that Roosevelt succeeded in putting over this initial step leading to war. He was able to achieve this only by arguing that repeal of the arms embargo was in the interest of "true neutrality."

Secretary of State Cordell Hull had presented this argument of Roosevelt's as early as May 27, 1939, in a message to the Congressional committees on international affairs, in which he urged the repeal of the arms embargo and the enactment of the "cashand-carry" law. Hull stated:

"The problem for us is not whether we shall help any foreign country or any group of foreign countries. Nor is it that of United States is being urged, he langle that this is a war program passing judgment upon or interin the interests of the American fering with other peoples' controversies. Rather, it is that of so conducting our affairs. ... that we shall not become parties to controversies. . . International law requires that the domestic British Empire that they think this country is not getting ready measures adopted by a neutral nothing about spending 60 bil- to enter the war because it is shall be impartially applied to the lion dollars as a starter for the worried about preserving the contending parties in conflict."

"TRUE NEUTRALITY"

Senator Barkley, chief administration whip, in urging adoption of the "cash and carry" revision of the Neutrality Act declared.

"Whether it be wheat, or corn, or tobacco, or shoes, or typewritown profits and power that the ers or tanks. . . or anything that American bosses are fighting, not can be recalled by mind of man, for Britain's. If the war ends in | it cannot be shipped to a belliga victory for American-British | erent nation or through a danger zone anywhere in the world in an rialism, the allied powers will im- American ship. . . Because I want no war I am supporting and propose to vote for a measure which the sea areas in which American | set, will be war.

of the American people that we tory of mankind in order to avoid war."

Roosevelt must admit even torepeal of the arms embargo only by arguing that it would strengthwas forced to enact, and Roose- en neutrality. Thus, in his Collier's article, Roosevelt states: "I recommend that, as steps

> toward real neutrality and toward prevention of American participation in the war, legislation should be adopted carrying out the 'cash-and-carry' principle, that is, providing that title to the merchandise should pass on delivery on this side of the ocean, that it should be paid for in cash by the belligerent purchasing it, and it should be carried away in the ships of the belligerent at its own risk. I also recommend legislation restricting the entry of American merchant vessels into war zones, preventing American citizens from traveling on belligerent vessels or in danger areas. forbidding war credits to belligerent nations, regulating the collection of funds in this country for belligents, and continuing the license system of governing imports and exports of arms and

repeal of the arms embargo by the "cash-and-carry" provisions and other measures supposed to safeguard against "incidents," that Roosevelt was able to put over his first formal move toward participation in the war.

ammunitions."

At that stage of the game, "cash-and-carry" was all that Roosevelt could hope to get. Only when the Allies' cash was exhausted did he then propose to open the way for credit, through the "Lend-Lease" bill passed in March 1941.

Moreover, the supply of war materials which the United States at that time could sell to the Allies was limited. The "cashand-carry" measure, therefore, sufficed for the purpose of making these limited supplies avail-

EVADING THE LAW

As for the "carry" part of the act, the Administration proceeded to violate the law as soon as it was passed. The U.S. Maritime Commission at once approved the "sale" of American merchant ships to dummy "foreign" companies, which operated these ships under "foreign" flags, such as Panama, Nicaragua, etc. Even ships owned by the government and operated by the U.S. Maritime Commission evaded the restrictions of the Neutrality Act

by this subterfuge. A second means of evading the intent of the Neutrality Act was contained in the provision which gave the President authority to determine the zones in which Am- which Roosevelt anticipates. can ships might or might not

Roosevelt to continuously extend has planned it from the very out-

nvolves the greatest sacrifice ships may travel. The Red sea ever made by any nation in his- and the waters around Greenland and Iceland, originally declared war zones, are now open to American ships. By an "interpretaday that he was able to secure tion" of the Attorney General's office on August 29, American ships are now permitted to go to such key points of the British Empire as Hong Kong, Burma and Suez, and to most of Ireland.

The grand strategy of the Roosevelt administration has been to pave the way gradually for the "incident" which will lead to war. The character of that "incident" is described by Roosevelt himself in his article:

"The incidents likely to lead to war would not generally come from the sale of war supplies in this country, but would be the loss of American ships or American lives or American property while they were in neutral or combat areas of

NO MORE NEED

FOR LEGAL PRETENSE So long as it was a question

of participating merely indirect. ly in the war, the legal fictions of the Neutrality Act offered no obstacles to the administration. Indeed, these fictions were useful It was only by surrounding the | to lull the American masses into a false sense of security regarding the dangers of being dragged into the war.

> Now, however, Roosevelt wants to engage in the war in the direct sense, that is, through military participation. He wishes, herefore, not merely to circumvent the Neutrality Act, but to eliminate the no longer useful pretense of neutrality.

To do this, he must destroy the last illusory legal prop on which the masses have leaned in their belief that it would prevent American entry into the war. He must eradicate every obstacle which might delay speedy action once he decides to take the irrevocable step to war, a step he now contemplates taking.

For, in concluding his Collier's article, Roosevelt speaks in these foreboding words:

"International events have happened so quickly within the last year, within the last few months, within the last few days, that it is impossible to tell exactly what the relationship of the United States and its people to this world conflict will be next week, or tomorrow or, indeed, even before the ink on this page is dried."

It is possible to tell. With the repeal of the Neutrality Act, or its major sections, with the subsequent legalization of the arming of American merchant shins and the use of these ships to carry goods to belligerents, there will shortly occur that "incident"

Thus, the inevitable "relationship of the United States. . . to Thus, it has been possible for this world conflict," as Roosevelt

Not the Bosses, But the Workers Will Save the USSR

By JACK WEBER

Workers Want to Aid Soviet Union

The workers everywhere in Europe show by their actions that they are far from indifferent to the fate of the USSR in the present struggle. Defense of the Soviet Union has in it the positive element of a program of hope for the future. Defeat of Hitler forms only the beginning of such a program - because it still leaves open the entire question of the struggle at home after such a defeat.

Meantime the capitalists in the anti-Hitler camp are utilizing the issue of aid to Soviet Russia in their own way - as is to be expected. Take the example of England. Churchill is greatly pleased to permit the workers to feel a really popular reason for maintaining national unity. Only recently there were strikes of English workers against conditions and particularly against the long hours demanded of them in the factories. Now comes the issue of aid to Soviet Russia, struggling heroically against the most powerful army in history. The Bevins and the Morrissons had no difficulty at all in getting Churchill to endorse the idea of a "Tanks for Russia" week. It is reported, and no doubt with truth, that some workers gave up their vacations to boost production for the sake of having more tanks reach the Red Army. Production of munitions reached unprecedented heights.

The enthusiasm of the British workers for the cause of the Red Army certainly does credit to their intelligence. The instinct of the working class in this issue should serve as a real lesson to those pseudo-revolutionists who tell the world that they are quite indifferent as to who wins the victory in the war between Germany and Russia. These people used to challenge us to explain to workers that there is a difference between Stalin and the Soviet Union. By their actions all over Europe workers are showing how well they do understand precisely this great difference.

But it is unfortunate that this political intelligence does not extend still further. In the first place, the workers can never have assurance, so long as the capitalist class retains its power, that the aid which the workers contribute willingly will ever actually reach the Red Army. Aid will be sent only so long as it suits the Roosevelts and Churchills to keep sending it. It appears now that even the "Tanks for Russia" week had a catch in it that the workers did not appreciate till it was all over. Then it was explained that of course not all the different tanks and munitions produced could be used by the Red Army. Only certain sizes would be sent, and the full production of tanks would be credited to Russia for future delivery. In the same way we hear on this side that Roosevelt is most anxious to send help — but, he pretends, the Russians won't enlighten him as to what they really need.

How to Assure Aid to the USSR

The workers can assure aid to Russia-besides making absolutely sure of the defeat of all forms of fascism everywhere—only by having complete control over the sending of aid. That means not supporting Churchill and Roosevelt in a national unity which leaves power in the hands of these capitalist leaders, but the establishing of a proletarian unity which would take the power of the state into the workers' own hands and permit the workers to dictate all political policies of the

This question of political power is taking on the most fundamental importance in Europe, where the masses of all the countries under the heel of German and Italian fascism are seething with revolt. It can be said with the utmost certainty that if these masses place themselves behind a leadership of petty-bourgeois or bourgeois elements whose aim it is to restore the nation as it existed just before the war, then the toilers will be betrayed into the hands of the self-same oppressors whose rule today makes fascism inevitable. The defeat of the capitalist nation by Hitler has weakened the native capitalist masters. The masses must take full advantage of this ituation. They must combine the struggle to break the chains of the German oppressor with the struggle to throw off the national capitalist yoke as well. This combined struggle is perfectly possible. It is the only road to salvation for Europe and for the entire civilized world today.

The same pseudo-revolutionists who can see no difference between victory for Hitler and a victory for Stalin in the war also deride the idea of a simultaneous struggle to defeat fascism and to overthrow capitalism in order to replace it with socialism. Precisely this simultaneous struggle, however, is the inevitable necessity of the entire European state of affairs today. Merely to speak of defeat of Hitler would lead to socialpatriotism. Merely to speak of waging the class struggle against the native bourgeoisie regardless of possible defeat by German fascism, is to ignore the meaning of fascism which would wipe out the revolutionists who might attempt to overthrow of the native capitalists after their defeat by Hitler. The solution to this desperate situation is not the choice of any lesser evilsupport of the "democratic" bourgeoisie against Hitler-but a simultaneous struggle against both.

> Trotsky's Last Work MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on the IMPERIALIST WAR and the PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION 48 pages 5 cents per copy

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regarded as the representative of with each trying at the other's the "liberal" and "progressive" expense to recoup the losses cre-**Defense Committee Secretary Shows** ated by the war. Britain didn't tinguished from the out-and-out give America bases to which it Biddle's Words Contradict His Acts big business spokesmen for had clung for so long a time out "Western Hemisphere imperial- of good will, but because Amer-

The following letter was sent to the New York Times last ers up this fundamental question | World War II period, demanded week by George Novack, Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense | indictments rest are unconstituis proof that the America First them as a price for collaboration Committee which is rallying public support for the 29 members tional and that the American Civof the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO who go il Liberties Union is prepared, if on trial in Minneapolis on October 20 in the government's "se-The present world war is a conditious conspiracy?' case. tinuation of the first world war, and an inevitable outgrowth of

It adequately shows the wide breach between the fine sounding liberal words uttered by Roosevelt's new Attorney-General Biddle in an interview printed in

21, and the reactionary attacks he has led against civil liberties and CIO, Motor Transport and Induslabor's rights in recent months. The full text of Novack's letter

Civil Rights Defense Committee 160 Fifth Avenue New York, N. Y.

Sept. 24, 1941. To the Editor: New York Times, Times Square, N. Y. C.

Dear Sir:

In a featured interview in the New York Times of Sunday, September 21st, Attorney-General this case as precisely the kind of Biddle is quoted as saving: 'Insofar as I can, I intend to see that civil liberties in this country are protected and we do not again fall into the disgraceful hysteria of witch-hunts, strikebreakings and minority persecutions which were such a dark chapter in our record of the last

flicts with the prosecution initial that the statutes upon which the

the New York Times, September ted by the Attorney-General of the Socialist Workers Party, of "conspiring to overthrow the government by armed force." The National CIO, Labor's

Non-Partisan League, the United Auto Workers, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Nation, the New Republic and other labor demned the government action in October 20th in Minneapolis. witch-hunt, strike-breakings and minority persecutions" Attorney-General Biddle refers to.

On August 20th the American Civil Liberties Union sent a letter of protest to Attorney-General Biddle, calling upon the Department of Justice to dismiss this prosecution. This letter states that the prosecution clear-This declaration directly con- ly infringes upon civil liberties,

necessary, to test the constitutionality of the laws and their application to this set of facts in the Supreme Court. The letter also asserts that there was a "gross impropriety on the part against the leaders of Local 544- of the government officials in securing the indictments. . ." in trial Workers, and the members that "the government injected it self into an inter-union controwho were indicted in Minneapolis | versy in order to promote the inon July 15th, 1941 on charges terests of the one side which supported the administration's foreign and domestic policy."

Attorney-General Biddle has replied that the government in tends to go ahead with the case On September 11th Federal Judge Joyce overruled the demurrers of and liberal spokesmen have con- the defendants and set trial for

Unless and until the Department of Justice drops its prosecution in the Minnesota case, all of Attorney-General Biddle's words regarding his desire to respect civil liberties will be viewed with the utmost scepticism. Prosecutions speak louder than promises.

> Yours very truly, GEORGE NOVACK,

is to expose and fight against the cause of war. The "isolationists" cannot wage such a fight because And from now on, Washington they are not opposed to cause of observers report, the administra- war. Only the anti-capitalist fortion, which has been closely fol- ces can lead a successful struggle lowing the various polls taken in to end war.

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"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class conscious worker.

—LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

- 1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
- 2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
- 3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
- 4. A peoples' referendum on any and all
- 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' Govern-

Stalin's Policies Made Disasters Possible

During the first war of capitalist intervention against the Soviet Union, from 1918 to 1920, the first workers state defeated the combined assault of the capitalist world.

The Soviet Union was saved in 1918-1920, not only by the Red Army, created by the revolutionary methods of Lenin and Trotsky, but above all by the aid of the international working class, invoked by the leaders of the October Revolution.

It was the revolutions and class struggles of the European masses, throwing deadly fear into the ruling classes of the interventionist nations, which forced the imperialist leaders to withdraw their armies from the Soviet Union.

Today, however, the methods successfully employed by Lenin and Trotsky are not being used. Not a line, not a word has issued from the Sta-

linist government, since Hitler's assault began on the Soviet Union, in appeal to the international working class, to the ideas of revolutionary socialism, to the traditions of the October Revolution. The Communist International has maintained an unbroken silence.

Stalin's speech of July 3, during the second week of the invasion, keynoted the fundamental policy which has brought the USSR today to the very brink of catastrophe.

How does Stalin appeal to the masses of Europe and the world in this speech?

"Our war for freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties."

Not socialism, not freedom from capitalist oppression, but the vague abstractions of "independence" and "democratic liberties," the empty phrases of bourgeois democratic demagogy, is all that Stalin offers the masses of Europe and Germany.

And how to achieve even this? Under the banner of Churchill and Roosevelt! Stalin shuns the methods of proletarian revolu-

tion, the creation of workers' power.

The "true" defense of the Soviet Union, according to Stalin, rests with the democratic capitalist

"In this connection," he states with lavish sycophancy in his speech, "the historic utterance of British Prime Minister Churchill regarding aid to the Soviet Union and the declaration of the United States Government signifying readiness to render aid to our country, which can only evoke a feeling of gratitude in the hearts of the peoples of the Soviet Union, are fully comprehensible and

During the first weeks of the Soviet-Nazi war,

some pretense was made of appealing directly to the German workers and soldiers through leaflets and manifestoes. An example of this "appeal" is a leaflet allegedly issued to the German troops, reproduced in the Daily Worker, July 3, which

"German soldiers! Hitler promised the German people peace and instead brought them endless

"Put an end to this dishonorable war! Come over to our side!"

But what does Stalin offer on "our" side? Nothing. There is no word that "our" side will aid the German workers in a fight for Socialism, that it will guarantee that, if Hitler is defeated, there will be no repetition of the monstrous impositions of the "peace" of Versailles.

Not even to the masses of the Soviet Union has the Stalinist bureaucracy issued a revolutionary appeal.

They have not been asked by Stalin to fight in defense of socialism, of nationalized property, of the glorious traditions of the October Revolution. Stalin appeals only to the reactionary traditions of Czarist Russia.

"Everybody knows how valiantly the Russians fought during the battle on the ice of Peipus Lake, April 5, 1242, when the Knights of the Teutonic Order were routed — the distant predecessors of today's fascists," relates the Daily Worker, June

"The whole world knows of the splendid historical victory of the Russians and their allies the Poles and Lithuanians - near Tannenberg in the fifteenth century, in July 1410. . . In the 16th century, the troops of Ivan, the Terrible, routed the German invaders in the Baltic. . " says the Daily Worker, June 26.

The 'Aid' Stalin Seeks

Instead of calling on the international working class, the Stalinists are depending on aid from Great Britain and the United States as the sole means of saving the Soviet Union. Without such aid, they indicate, the Soviet Union is doomed

This was expressed in the Daily Worker, September 30, as follows:

"If there is any slackness or reservation in America's collaboration with the Red Army, it is absolutely inevitable that we (the United States government) shall have to confront the Nazi aggressors face to face under conditions far more disadvantageous to us."

These "conditions far more disadvantageous to us" which American imperialism will "inevitably" have to face if it does not come to the aid of the Soviet Union can only mean the defeat and destruction of the Soviet Union.

This theme has been insistently repeated in the Daily Worker for the past two weeks.

On September 20, for example, it featured a dispatch from London quoting "unimpeachable sources" to the effect "that the amount of war materials Britain and the United States would be able to put on the Soviet firing line in the next six months might mean the difference between victory and defeat. . ."

Even the Stalinists, however, are forced to admit that the possibility of the Allied imperialists complying with the requests of the Kremlin is an exceedingly slim one.

"What has America done to protect itself? Tragically little. While the Red Army, for example, has lost 7,000 planes in its stubborn resistance, the United States has sent, according to the rumors, only 300. Other aid has been a trickle," laments the Daily Worker, September 20.

And on September 18, the Daily Worker com-

"But it is strange that the Government should feel so timid about financial aid to the Soviet Union. Its spokesmen hem and haw, while President Roosevelt himself seems anxious to placate the appeaser gang by omitting the Soviet Union from the lend-lease bill. . . It is odd that leaselend resources, which are dedicated solely to helping the fight against Hitler, should be kept from the Red Army when it is locked in battle with the Nazi hordes."

Strange? Odd? It is no stranger and odder than the fantastic notion of the Kremlin that the capitalist ruling classes of Great Britain and the United States in any way desire to see the Soviet Union survive this war.

What defense of the Soviet Union does Stalin propose if the "support" from the "democracies"

Stalin has nothing to offer in that eventuality. For the sake of this nebulous "democratic aid" he has long since repudiated the international working class, the only reliable ally of the Soviet Union.

Thus, Stalin's policy has brought the Soviet Union to its darkest hour. The thin reed of British and American imperialist "aid," on which Stalin has leaned for "defense" of the Soviet Union, is bent to the very ground.

To have placed dependence on such "aid" was imbecilic from the beginning. The "promises" of a capitalist Churchill or Roosevelt should have been discounted from the very start. Only a Stalin, alienated from every conception of the class struggle, could have considered these "promises" worth so much as a pinch of salt.

It is Stalin's criminally blind policy of putting all faith in the "democratic" class enemies of the Soviet Union which is solely responsible for the terrible blows which the Soviet Union is now suf-

Boss Patriotism Wilts At Idea Of 6°. Profits

Morgenthau's Profit Limitation Proposal, While Only A Gesture, Enrages Bosses, Who Want "Ceilings" Only On Workers' Wages

The New York Times, Septem-

per 30, reporting this interview,

throws a further light on how

seriously the Administration in-

profit limitation idea, when it

It was clear from the manner

in which the proposal was first

made that it was not serious.

'radical" proposal in his formal

Currency Committee on Septem-

shoot at" and a "rule of thumb."

the consideration of the recent

tax bill Congress rejected a much

less severe excess profits tax pro-

mild tax bill. This action was

taken in the face of Treasury

recommendations supported by

Thus, the Times intimates the

undoubted fate of any bill to lim-

MORGENTHAU PROPOSES,

ber 26, reports:

determined opposition.

President Roosevelt

nim on the proposal. . ."

Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau's recent proposal that I this, and therefore does not hesicorporation profits be limited by taxation to six per cent acted ate to make a proposal which it on the patriotic lustre of the capitalists like acid and fake gold. Those same boss-class politicians on newspapers which

have been clamoring for wage "ceilings" burst forth into shouts of indignation at the idea of a six per cent "ceiling" on war The New York Times, which is never at a loss for patriotic

justifications for putting the talists to pay their "share" of screws on the workers, on Septaxes. tember 26 proclaimed editorially The capitalists, whose patriotof the Morgenthau proposal: ism never extends to the bounda-

"This proposal would not mereies of their pocketbooks, need y be violently disruptive of the ave no fears, however, that Mornormal workings of our economic genthau's proposal is more than system, but it would directly hina pretense of "taking the profits der the successful prosecution of out of war." the war." On September 29, Morgenthau

Embodied in these words is the threat that the capitalists will impede war production rather than accept the mild limitation on profits which Morgenthau sug-

Of course, not all the capitalist reaction to this proposal is so crudely revealing of how closely linked the profit motive is to the patriotism of the ruling class.

A cleverer argument which the Congressmen and politicians have hit upon to oppose the Morgenthau idea is that it would hurt the "small" corporations.

This sudden solicitude for the "small" corporations will deceive only the most gullible. No such concern has been shown for the thousands of small companies which are being driven to the wall by the big monopolies, through their control of priorities materials and the allocation of war

WHY MORGENTHAU MADE THIS PROPOSAL NOW

Why has the Administration, through Morgenthau, put forth this relatively "radical" tax proposal at this time? Just a few weeks ago, Congress passed and Roosevelt signed a huge tax bill which permitted the big corporations to escape virtually all excess profits taxes.

The Administration can no longer avoid responding to the rising mass resentment at the flood of profits which the big corporations are milking out of the war effort. And it must make some gesture to reconcile the masses to the tax extortion rep-

Roosevelt and Morgenthau realize that if further and greater | CONGRESS DISPOSES taxes are to be imposed on the masses, as they intend, they cannot do so except by making the it corporation profits to six per

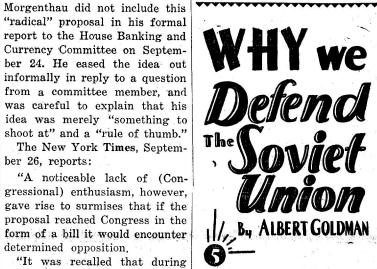
is aware Congress will not accept. At most, this is only another demagogic bone thrown to the

We have seen how the Administration proceeds to put over measures in which it is seriously interested. It does not introduce them in some by-the-way utterance in a committee hear-

It floods the radio and press with powerful statements and speeches. Roosevelt calls the leading Congressional whips into White House conference and hastened to reassure his capitalhammers them into line. The Adist constituency. His proposal, if ministration spokesmen ring the introduced at all, he declared, changes on the idea at every shipwould not be considered until lounching and Chamber of Com sometime in 1942 and would in merce meeting. any event not affect 1941 profits.

Even if a bill actually embody ing Morgenthau's proposal is put before Congress, it will represent only a perfunctory gesture. Havtends to press the six per cent ing "made the record," Roosevelt will sit back quietly and states that: "Mr. Morgenthau smile as the Congressmen cut it evaded queries whether Adminis- to pieces. But watch how he ration opinion was solidly behind | handles the opposition to his proposal to repeal the Neutrality

and an anti-strain and a strain and a strain



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TAGORE'S LAST ARTICLE

The following is the last letter written by Rabindranath Tagore, the famous poet of India. On his deathbed, he received a copy of an "Open Letter to Indians," written by a Miss Eleanor Rathbone, castigating the people of India as "ungrateful" in refusing to support Britain in the war. Tagore was not a revolutionist. But his letter is an eloquent indictment of British imperialism. No American organ has published Tagore's letter. We reprint it from the British weekly, The Tribune, August 15, 1941 - THE

I have been deeply pained at Miss Rathbone's Open Letter to Indians. I do not know who Miss Rathbone is, but I take it that she represents the mentality of the average "well-intentioned" Britisher. Her letter is mainly addressed to Jawaharlal Nehru and I have no doubt that if that noble fighter of freedom's battle had not been gagged behind prison-bars by Miss Rathbone's countrymen, he would have made a fitting and spirited reply to her gratuitous sermon. His enforced silence makes it necessary for me to voice a protest even from my sick-bed.

The lady has ill-served the cause of her people by addressing so indiscreet, indeed impertinent, a challenge to our conscience. She is scandalised at our ingratitude - that having "drunk deeply at the wells of English thought," we should still have some thought left for our poor country's interests. English thought, insofar as it is representative of the best traditions of Western enlightenment, has indeed taught us much, but let me add that those of our countrymen who have profited by it have done so despite the official British attempts to ill-educate us.

We might have achieved introduction to Western learning through any other European language. Have all the other peoples in the world waited for the British to bring them enlightenment? It is sheer insolent self-complacence on the part of our so-called English friends to assume that had they not "taught" us, we would still have remained in the Dark Ages. Through the official British channels of education in India have flowed to our children in schools not the best of English thought but its refuse, which has only deprived them of a wholesome repast at the table of their own culture.

Assuming, however, that the English language is the only channel left to us for "enlightenment," all that "drinking deeply at its wells" has come to is that in 1931, even after a couple of centuries of British administration, only about one per cent of the population was found to be literate in English - while in the USSR in 1932, after only fifteen years of Soviet administration, 98 per cent of the children were educated. (These figures are taken from The Statesman's Year-Book, an English publication, not likely to err on the Russian side).

But even more necessary than the so-called culture are the bare elementary needs of existence, on which alone can any superstructure of enlightenment rest. And what have the British, who have held tight the purse-strings of our nation for more than two centuries and exploited its resources, done for our poor

I look round and see famished bodies crying for bread. I have seen women in villages dig up mud for a few drops of drinking water, for wells are even more scarce in Indian villages than schools. I know that the population of England itself is today in danger of starvation and I sympathize with them, but when I see how the whole might of the British Navy is engaged in convoying food vessels to the English shores and when I recollect that I have seen our people perish of hunger and not even a cart-load of rice brought to their door from the neighboring district, I cannot help contrasting the British at home with the British in India.

Shall we then be grateful to the British, if not for keeping us fed, at least for preserving law and order? I look around and see riots raging all over the country. When scores of Indian lives are lost, our property looted, our women dishonoured, the mighty British arms stir in no action, only the British voice is raised from overseas to chide us for our unfitness to put our house in order.

Examples are not wanting in history when even fully armed warriors have shrunk before superior might and contingencies have arisen in the present war when even the bravest among the British, French and Greek soldiers have had to evacuate the battlefield in Europe because they were overwhelmed by superior armaments — but when our poor, unarmed and helpless peasants, encumbered with crying babes, flee from homes, unable to protect them from armed goondas, the British officials perhaps smile in contempt at our cowardice. Every British civilian in England is armed today for protecting his hearth and home against the enemy, but in India even lathitraining is forbidden by decree.

Our people have been deliberately disarmed and emasculated in order to keep them perpetually cowed and at the mercy of their armed masters. The British hate the Nazis for merely challenging their world-mastery and Miss Rathbone expects us to kiss the hand of her people in servility for having riveted chains on ours. A government must be judged not by the pretensions of its spokesmen but by its actual and effective contribution to the well being of the

It is not so much because the British are foreigners that they are unwelcome to us and have found no place in our hearts as because, while pretending to be trustees for our welfare, they have betrayed the great trust and have sacrificed the happiness of millions in India to bloat the pockets of a few capitalists at home. I should have thought that the decent Britisher would at least keep silent at these wrongs and be grateful to us for our inaction, but that he should add insult to injury, and pour salt over our wounds, passes all bounds of decency.