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**

Formerly the SOCIALIST APPEAL

THE MULTANT

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NATIONAL CIO BACKS 544'S FIGHT Screaming Headlines In Minneapolis Press

STALIN'S SPEECH

Every Word Was Alien To The Leninist Program

By FELIX MORROW

Stalin's speech of July 3rd was successful in its main objective. It sought to assure Washington and London that the Kremlin would conduct the war against Germany within political limits entirely acceptable to "democratic" capitalism. There would be no summoning the great masses of Europe to the overthrow of capitalism, breeder of fascism. There would be no pledges to the German proletariat against a second and worse Versailles. The Soviet Union would not fight a revolutionary war as it did in 1918-1921 against the imperialist interventionists, but would limit itself to methods acceptable to its imperialist allies. Such were the assurances which Stalin gave by his speech; and they were understood very well by the class-conscious bourgeoisie. An editorial in the New York Times made clear what Stalin's compact with the "democratic" bourgeoisie involved:

"Stalin's broadcast yesterday was not the appeal of the Communist leader to the embattled proletariat...It is no class war now to which the Supreme Commissar summons ... It is a 'national war in defense of our country.' Over and over again he appeals to the oldest fighting instincts... In the ultimate emergency all the revolutionary catchwords go with the wind ... More, he reverts instinctively to the traditional Russian tactic of the 'scorched earth.'... It is not strange that Stalin speaks like a muzhik relying on the power of the earth, or that a wave of religious orthdoxy and oldfashioned patriotism sweeps over the Soviet Union. For whatever the immediate fortunes of war, these are signs that the fate of Russia, of Germany, and the world, will be determined at last by the inevitable rebound of human nature and of the human spirit."

The editors of the New York Times cannot hide, do not even try to conceal, their pleased contempt for Stalin's adaptation to the bourgeois methods of war. And that adaptation arouses in these bourgeois swine the hope that "whatever the immediate fortunes of war"-whether the Soviet Union loses or wins under Stalin-there will result "the inevitable rebound of human nature" -i.e., there will result a return to capitalism. Unlike the Kremlin bureaucracy, the "democratic" bourgeoisie never calls a halt to the class war. One burns with shame and bitterness that a bourgeois spokesman is in a position to speak with such patronizing contempt about the official leadership of the Soviet Union twenty-four years after the October revolution! These "friendly" barbs of the Kremlin's "ally" unfortunately are an accurate description of Stalin's speech and of his fixed policy.



Here are headlines and pictures from the Minneapolis newspapers on the attempts' of the FBI to frameup members and leaders of Local 544-CIO and of the Socialist Workers Party on charges of "seditious conspiracy." The FBI onslaught against the SWP is an attempt to intimidate the members of Local 544CIO, to prevent the Minneapolis truck drivers from exercising their democratic right to free themselves from the dictatorship of Tobin and the AFL. Roosevelt's intervention in this internal union dispute indicates the Administration's hostility to this major trend from the reactionary AFL into the progressive CIO.

John L. Lewis Blasts Roosevelt **And Hillman For Strikebreaking**

Miners' Leader Assails Their Sending Army To Break Strike; Charges Hillman Held Up Successful Settlement Of Mine Strike

Unmoved By FBI Raids On SWP

Press Reveals That Government Had Sent 'Agents Provocateurs' Into 544-CIO; National CIO Speakers Pledge Aid To 544

BULLETIN

MINNEAPOLIS, July 8-Hundreds of telegrams from national CIO leaders, CIO international unions and local unions, have been received by Local 544-CIO, Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, pledging support to Local 544's fight.

The United Mine Workers, the United Rubber Workers, the United Shoe Workers, the Die Casting Workers, the Transport Workers Union, and numerous regional, state and local CIO councils were among those pledging solidarity and support.

Meanwhile the Department of Justice continued to press for indictments against Local 544 leaders and against Socialist Workers Party leaders, before the federal grand jury at St. Paul. Today was the fifth day of the secret hearings.

Republican Mayor Kline yesterday appointed as police chief Edward B. Hansen, head of the

Northern Pump Company's "pro- | the FBI Training School and was tective service"-the Northwest recommended to Mayor Kline by equivalent of Ford's "service de- FBI head J. Edgar Hoover. "His partment" in Minnesota's biggest past record is his best recomarms plant. This Minneapolis mendation," said Hoover of this Harry Bennett is a graduate of | company cop.

MINNEAPOLIS, July 7-The Federal Grand Jury hearings, charging leaders of Local 544-CIO and members of the Socialist Workers Party with "seditious conspiracy," which opened July 1st, recessed over the Fourth of July weekend and were scheduled to continue today.

Following FBI raids upon the SWP headquarters a week ago Friday, Victor E. Anderson, U. S. District Attorney, and Henry A. Schweinhaut, Special Assistant Attorney-General, spent three days presenting the government's "evidence" and witnesses to a grand jury consististration, was that many of the ing of twenty men and three wom- principals apprehended. He exclude

Stalin Bans the Methods of 1917-1921

Since 1921 we have feared this moment of imperialist invasion of the Soviet Union. From 1918 to 1921 Trotsky's Red Army successfully repelled invasion, thanks to the revolutionary policy of Bolshevism, which inspired the world masses to aid the Soviet Union and which wrought havoc and demoralization in the interventionist armies. The great traditions of that Civil War, its successful methods, are obviously the traditions and methods which must be put into practice today, if the Soviet Union is to survive.

But war is the continuation of the politics of "peace." Stalin remains today what he was yesterday. The reactionary domestic and foreign policy which he pursued yesterday govern also his conduct of the present war. The last thing to be expected of him is that he will revive the traditions of October and the Civil War. Those are the traditions that he has trodden underfoot since 1924.

Like Molotov (who of course merely did what he was told), Stalin offers the defenders of the Soviet Union, as a tradition to emulate, the fact that "Napoleon's army was considered invincible, but it was beaten successively by Russian, English and German armies." This ignoramus unerringly picks the worst conceivable tradition; but of course no Red professor would dare to explain to Stalin that the defeat of Napoleon came at the hands of the Holy Alliance representing all that was feudal and reactionary in Europe; that Napoleon, representative of bourgeois society, proclaimed the abolition of serfdom when he invaded Poland, and this serfdom was reinstituted by Czarist Russia.

But what cares Stalin for a Marxist understanding of history? Napoleon was beaten by Britain, Stalin's present "ally". That makes the example of Napoleon a good one to offer to his audience in London and Washington. That it can stir within the Soviet Union only the most narrow Russian-patriotic and reactionary impulses does not trouble Stalin at all.

Likewise with his further appeal to the tradition that "Kaiser Wilhelm's German Army ... was beaten several times by Russian and Anglo-French forces and was finally smashed by Anglo-French forces." Scarcely a tradition to stir Bolsheviks who were telling the Russian soldiers that the war against Wilhelm was not their war! There are millions still living in the Soviet Union who participated in making the October revolution, not by defeating Wilhelm, but by destroying Czarist and bourgeois Russia despite the imminent danger of German invasion-but these are not the people, these are not the traditions and methods, to which Stalin is appealing. On the contrary, he has destroyed the entire

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(Continued on Page 4)

BULLETIN

The CIO's mobilization against the anti-labor bills in Congress began to produce results Tuesday, the day after John L. Lewis' speech to the CIO conference blasting Roosevelt and Hillman.

Administration forces appeared to be retreating. They are disavowing the May bill, authorizing the use of the armed forces to break strikes in "defense" industries, and also will not back other bills providing compulsory arbitration.

Administration forces are now in the awkward situation of defending Roosevelt's use of troops against the aviation strike while disavowing a bill which would legalize such use of troops!

John L. Lewis, fresh from his victory over the Southern coal operators and the National Mediation Board, last Monday bitterly assailed Roosevelt and Sidney Hillman for the use of federal troops to break the recent strike of June 22, are attempting to square North American Aviation Corporation workers in California.

Lewis issued his indictment of the anti-labor acts of Roosevelt and Hillman at the Washington conference of CIO leaders called by Philip Murray, CIO President, to organize the nation-wide fight of the CIO against anti-labor bills pending in Congress.

From details related to the press by delegates who had attended the ses-

sion, it is apparent that Lewis minced no words in placing squarely on Roosevelt the responsibility for government strike- because Lewis was attacking the breaking and the legislative moves against labor. Lewis linked president of the ACW. Hillman with Roosevelt in the execution of the Administration's anti-labor policies, and charged Hillman directly with "standing by Hillman's lieutenant, in de Hillmanites on all pro-Roosevelt testimony even after the indictbehind the elbow" of the President when he issued his order fense of his chief and the Admin- resolutions. directing regular army troops to smash the North American Aviation strike.

Lewis also blasted Hillman for holding up the miner's victory in the soft coal mine nego- 2 tiations by his insistence on cer- ing the false impression that

tifying the coal strike last April the UMW head directed his reto the National Mediation Board. marks solely at Hillman, are belied by the testimony of the WON DESPITE GOVERNMENT majority of delegates, includ-

Lewis pointedly reminded the ing the Hillman supporters who attempted to defend Roosevelt conference that the UMW had sucand Hillman after Lewis had cessfully turned down all propspoken. osals of the Mediation Board

An effort to answer Lewis was which were in the interests of the made by Jacob Potofsky, acting union members by tapping their mine owners, and that the Board president of Hillman's union, the had prolonged the strike and ne-Amalgamated Clothing Workers. gotiations by giving government support to some of the most out-HILLMAN'S FLIMSY ALIBI

rageous proposals of the hold-out Southern operators. After-the-conference attempts of course, - and tried to impute the solid opposition of the CIO by Stalinist delegates to min-

a desire on the part of Lewis to turned the tide. imize the strength of Lewis' attack on Roosevelt by spread- drive the ACW out of the CIO, It had been planned to slip the

tration-backed wire-tapping bill, position. But the CIO and Labor's which would have authorized the Non-Partisan League held up ac-

telephones.

Among the arguments mustered

FBI and other government police | tion on the bill when they sent agencies to spy on unions and strong delegations to Congress.

The bill was voted down by the narrow margin of 154 to 146 Potofsky self-righteously accus- which shows how strong Congres-Alexander Holtzoff, legal aded Lewis of "playing politics" - sional and Administration sentivisor to the FBI, the agency Hillman is not "playing politics" ment was for the measure. Only particularly anxious to secure its adoption.

CIO's major gains had been made en, drawn almost entirely from ed all reporters and photographers during the period when Hillman rural areas. from the hearings and forbade any loitering in the courthouse.

was exerting his greatest influ-Among the chief witnesses ence on the Administration's lasummoned before the Grand bor policies. He cited the instances Jury, according to the Minof the Ford Motor and Bethlehem neapolis TRIBUNE of July 3, Steel settlements.

Potofsky failed, however, to mention the fact that the CIO victories over Ford and Bethlehem were won by historymaking strikes-which Hillman had opposed and sought desperately to prevent.

STALINISTS EMBARASSED Lewis's statements is causing others than the Hillmanites in the CIO to squirm. The Stalinists, who have become the most vigorous Roosevelt hand-raisers since years ago.

the circle by their efforts to hang MUMBO-JUMBO GAME on to Lewis' coat-tails while backing the Administration.

The Stalinists are wildly hunt- the Socialist Workers Party, the ing a way out of the show-down government prosecutors enveloped at the UAW-CIO convention, the hearings in an atmosphere of Cities."

which opens in Buffalo August great secrecy. Federal Judge M. 3rd, at which the Hillmanites and M. Joyce warned the jurors, who Lewis forces are expected to clash met behind locked doors, that openly. It is already certain that names of witnesses could not be the Stalinists will vote with the disclosed nor the nature of their



SWP STATEMENT role in the prosecutions against 'Grace Carlson, State Organizer the Minneapolis WPA strikers two of the SWP issued a statement.

assailing "the obviously exaggerated air of secrecy which surrounds the federal grand jury investiga-In an effort to work up senti ment against the CIO leaders and

tion" and which stands "in marked contrast to the open character of our party's work in the Twin

"The books and pamphlets which were seized in such a melodramatic manner in the raid on our headquarters last Friday by the FBI could have been easily examined or pur-

After Schweinhaut had prom-

ised on Monday that "startling

disclosures" might be expected,

(Continued on page 3)

Persistent pressure and opposi- bill through Congress on very ahead signal for legalized wire- tapping, and conducts classes in tion from the CIO led to the de- short notice, in order to prevent tapping when he stated at the wire-tapping technique not only feat last week in the House of organized labor from having suftime of the bill's introduction for its own agents but for hun-Representatives of the Adminis- ficient time to muster strong op- that he favored the use of wire- dreds of local police.

tapping in the "interests of national defense."

FBI head J. Edgar Hoover admitted to a Congressional Defeat of this particular bill, hearing last year that he "suphowever, will not prevent the plies information to employers on FBI from using this method to criminal or subversive records of potential employees." (Our emsnoop on workers and their un- phasis). That is, the FBI helps ions. All the bill provided was the bosses maintain a black-list that information secured by wire- against union men, with informalegal evidence in the courts. Such tion of their "subversive" union activities secured, among other Nevertheless, without this au. espionage methods, by wire tap-

Roosevelt himself gave the go- thority, the FBI employs wire- ping.

tapping should be acceptable as evidence is not now accepted.

The bill was formally sponsored by Roosevelt's Attorney General and the Department of Justice. It was drafted by

ments had been returned and the



THE MILITANT

JULY 12, 1941

Miners Victorious Over Southern Mine Owners

Win Far More Than **Mediation Board** Had Proposed

2-

The United Mine Workers (CIO) scored a major victory over the Southern Appalachian soft coal operators when the latter signed a contract last Sunday in the face of an impending strike of 150,000 Southern miners.

The new contract, providing a \$7 a day wage, eliminates the 40 cent daily wage differential between Northern and Southern miners, the issue over which the Southern operators bolted negotiations conferences last March and precipitated the 28-day strike of 400,000 Northern and Southern miners in April.

Included in the two-year contract was a clause granting vacations with pay for the first time in the history of the Southern mines, and the extension of the union shop into the mines of the "Bloody" Harlan County Kentucky Coal Operators Association, sole operators to refuse to sign the union shop agreement in 1939.

WON DESPITE GOVERNMENT

This victory is made doubly significant by the fact that the UMW negotiations committee, headed by UMW and Lewis by the Southern John L. Lewis, successfully opposed the public recommendations of the National Mediation Board, which attempted to secure the elimination of two important contract clauses which the operators Come." had claimed they would never grant

part: Refusing to bow to the dictates "Mr. Lewis would have the right of the Mediation Board, Lewis and to shut off any and every industhe UMW committee demanded try from its coal supply. He would and secured the retention of a have the right to deprive any and clause which gives the international union the "right to call and power . . maintain strikes throughout the

entire area covered by this agree ment when necessary to preserve and maintain the integrity and gained a death-grip on the one incompetitive parity of this agreement."

Under this clause, the UMW can prevent the Southern operators from chiseling on the terms of the contract.

BOSSES EAT THEIR WORDS

Inclusion of this clause is particularly gratifying to the miners because it had been made the basis



When these organizers of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) were refused sound truck permits for an NLRB preelection campaign at the River Road Chevrolet and Axle plant. Tonawanda, N. Y., they ferried their loudspeakers out on the Niagara River in front of the plant and blasted away from offshore. The UAW won the election, 2,160 to 626.

for a slanderous attack on the of the OPM assistant's antilabor acts, sanctioned the demine owners, through large adfeated NDMB proposals. vertisements, published in all the

The second point won over the leading Eastern and Southern heads of the Mediation Board and newspapers on May 21, entitled: the operators gives the union the "Listen America, Worse Is Yet To right to designate memorial holi-

days for the miners in commemor-The advertisement declared in ation of the miners who lose their lives in mine disasters, and dra-

matize the need of safety devices in the pits.

FBI-Gestapo At Work

Col. William J. Donovan is about to be appointed head of all the honest-to-God unionist reacts to American Intelligence Services. this job, according to AP, is his

work on 'classified projects'."

"Subversive association" is suf-

icient to brand a worker, deprive

him of his job, condemn his wife

Herr Donovan will find a well 6th District,

oiled machine when he hangs up International Brotherhood of

-CORT

and children to starvation.

his swastika in Washington.

Congratulations. Herr Himmler. Looks like one of your students is about to make good on his own. Heil Donovan! * * *

bitterly contemptuous because



Workers at the Gerity-Adrian Corp., Adrian, Michigan, are shown signing petitions of the National Association of Die Casters (CIO) in a nation-wide protest of die-casting and plating workers against unemployment caused by metal priorities. Metal priorities, established to offset a war shortage due to the monopoly practices of the Aluminum Corporation and other metal trusts, are so mismanaged that the result is daily unemployment of many workers in the metal industries.

AFL Organizer Resigns In Protest Against Tobin

(Reprinted from the Northwest Organizer)

MINNEAPOLIS-In protest against the outrageous benavior of Tobin's agents in Minneapolis, Henry A Schultz, inernational representative of the AFL's International Brothernood of Electrical Workers, last Thursday made public his letter of resignation to Michael I. Boyle, I.B.E.W. vice-president. Schultz announced he would take his place on the side of the

workers of Local 544-CIO just as he had in 1934. He has been for some time but I still placed on the staff of Local 544-CIO. Brother Schultz through his let-

nourished the hope that I might do my bit to serve the workers and improve their conditions

within the frame-work of the ter and his actions shows how an AFL.

the rotten dictatorial actions of I can no longer entertain this according to the Associated Press | Tobin's imported "organizers" and | hope. Last night 1 attended a Donovan's main qualification for thugs. The conduct of this man meeting in Minneapolis under the of true labor principles contrasts auspices of Tobin's International familiarity with the "Nazi . . . | most strikingly with the revolting Union of Teamsters-AFL. What I technique in all its ramification." actions of Tobin's imported "or saw there was enough to turn the ganizers" and the local Quislings stomach of any loyal union man. who fawn upon them. One MAN Tobin and his agents, like similar like Schultz is worth sixty of the bureaucratic formations in other Tobin type of "unionist." international unions of AFL, have Schultz is well-known to the never been able to conduct a mili

The American Gestapo hasn't transport drivers of this city. He tant fight against the bosses, or been doing bad even without the played a leading role in the strikes even to get a real mobilization of expert direction of Herr Donovan, of 1934. A former railroad work- their forces for such a fight. This

The N.Y. Times reported on July er, he has been in the labor meeting in Minneapolis was not a 4th that 25 skilled workers in the movement for over twenty years. fight against the bosses, but Mare Island Navy Yard in Cali- He was one of the organizers of against the rank and file workers

improve their conditions of life

His letter follows:

Electrical Workers,

Chicago, Illinois.

International Vice President,

Mr. Michael J. Boyle,

the bosses. The whole meeting stunk to the heavens, as a mobilization of reactionary labor officeholders against the legitimate rights of rank and file workers to determine the union of their choice.

I don't go for this, and will have no part in it. I consider the leaders of Local 544 to be the best and most honest organizers of labor that I have encountered in all my experience in the labor movement. I have been in the labor movement for twenty years, but most of what I know about unionism I learned from the leaders of Local 544 in 1934 during the strikes, and afterwards. They taught me by precept and example that the duty of labor leaders is to organize workers and lead them in militant struggle against the employers for better conditions. They are men of a different stamp from those cynical and treacherous misnamed labor leaders who were mobilized on the platform and in the front

War Chest Drive Is Speeding Up

St. Louis and Buffalo came through with contributions this week which enabled them to join Toledo and Reading in the list of branches which have gone 100 per cent or over on their quota.

Detroit sent in \$100, bringing the branch score up to 85 per cent-a cinch to finish up next week. Chicago shot in \$225, pushing it up the scoreboard above New York which sent in \$155. Newark came through with \$116, and Los Angeles with \$75-but L. A. remains dangerously low on the scoreboard.

Cleveland's \$26, Boston's \$59.80-Boston, by the way, is lower on the scoreboard than it's ever been in previous competitions-Youngstown's \$35 and New Haven's \$22 were the other main items this week. New Orleans' \$7 and Baltimore's \$7 bring them up among the best of the smaller branches.

The week's contributions were as follows:

		9	
	St. Louis	\$ 15.00	
	Milwaukee	20.00	
	Cleveland	26.00	
	Los Angeles	75.00	
	Buffalo	34.00	
	Boston	59.80	
	New Orleans	7.00	
	New York	155.50	
	Toledo	15.00	
1	Newark	116.00	
	Chicago	225.50	
	Pittsburgh	5.00	
	Pittsburgh Youngstown	35.00	
	New Haven	22.00	
	Baltimore	7.00	
	Detroit	100.00	
	Members-at-large	6.00	

TOTAL\$923.80

\$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

•)			
Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	. %
Reading	25.00	32.85	131
Buffalo		66.00	110
St. Louis		25.00	100
Toledo	\$ 10.00	\$ 10.00	100
Detroit	500.00	426.00	85
Louisiana	25.00	20.00	80 ;
Baltimore	10.00	7.00	70
Newark		347.00	69
Portland	30.00	20.00	67
Cleveland	150.00	93.00	62
Boston	350.00	217.30	61
St. Paul	300.00	165.00	55
New Haven	50.00	25.50	51
Chicago	1200.00	560.12	47
Akron	50.00	20.00	.40
Milwaukee	55.00	20.00	36
Flint	200.00	70.00	w 35
Milwaukee Flint Philadelphia	125.00	42.00	33
New York City	2500.00	790.78	32
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	334.33	30
Youngstown	150.00	45.00	30
Pittsburgh	40.00	12.00	· 30
Minneapolis	1200.00	330.50	28
San Diego	100.00	25.00	25
Quakertown	25.00	6.00	24
Los Angeles	500.00	100.00	20
Allentown	25.00	5.00	20
South Chicago	125.00	0.00	00
Rochester	50.00	0.00	00
Seattle	25.00	0.00	00
Texas		0.00	00
Members-at-Large	475.00	436.00	92
TOTALS			43%
martines have been added to martine the	BARR MARRIED BARRIES, FRINK WAS	there a construction with the other and distance has not one	1 yes an and a state when a state we want

For Every Class-Conscious Worker:

every city of light, heat and "John L. Lewis is no fool. While America slept he has craftily

dustry which affects the destiny of all others. Now he is apparently using that death-grip to

shoot for the dictators' crown." The Mediation Board aided the operators in this slander. by backing their demand for the elimination of this strike clause. Sidney Hillman, of whom Lewis is known to be

WHY WE DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION **By ALBERT GOLDMAN**

32-page pamphlet—5c

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Also obtainable through all branch literature agents of the Socialist Workers Party

ornia, have been fired for the Minnesota State Employees of the strongest, most militant chairs last night against them Union. He was later business and most honest union in the versive association." and the workers they repre-

agent of the Electrical Workers Northwest - Local 544. For that sent. "None of these men has com-Union comprising Northern States fight Tobin and his perfidious A bitter fight is raging in Min mitted any acts of sabotage or Power employes, from which post gang had a real mobilization. Paid neapolis and I consider it my duty anything like it," a Naval Inhe stepped to that of International organizers and officials located in to take my place on the side of telligence officer said. "They Organizer of the I.B.E.W. His places from Pennsylvania to San the workers, as I did in the work were just weeded out. These life for years has been devoted to Francisco were imbilized on the ers' strikes of 1934. In order to men will be barred from all

organizing workers and helping to platform in battle array against be able to do this, I am herewith the workers in Minneapolis. The presenting my resignation as an front rows were packed with International Organizer of the Instate and local Minneapolis AFL ternational Brotherhood of Elecbusiness agents, who could never trical Workers. be dynamited off their chairs to

Fraternally yours, take part in a picket line against H. A. SCHULTZ





By Minneapolis Literature Agent | copies remained in the quarters.

The St. Paul Branch, which reg-TWIN CITIES BRANCHES ADVANCE UNDER FIRE ularly handles 400 copies of THE MILITANT per week, distributed An important point in military 1000 copies this week, and what strategy is to know how to adis more, had them all distributed vance while under fire. Several before Thursday evening. As a army generals in Europe, and matter of fact the St. Paul comrades came over to Minneapolis to elsewhere too for that matter, borrow some extra copies to send could learn a lesson or two in this to a Stalinist mailing list, a point respect from the behavior of the which they in their enthusiasm Minneapolis and St. Paul had overlooked. After making a Branches of the Socialist Workers search we were able to supply the Party during the past week or so. | St. Paul comrades with about 40 Ordinarily the Minneapolis Branch | such copies. handles 1,000 copies of the Mili-

tant per week. The bundle usually FBI ATTACK ONLY arrives on Sunday or Monday of STEELS US FOR BATTLE

each week and quite often it takes The reaction of the comrades the remainder of the week to get to the attack by the FBI is a dethe bundle properly distributed. finite, renewed and grim deter-However, due to the important mination that now, more than manifesto on the defense of the ever, is the time to put forth the Soviet Union contained in the basic truths contained in the prog-June 28th issue of THE MILI- ram of the Socialist Workers TANT, the Minneapolis Branch Party. decided to take 2,000 copies of this

The attendance at our public class, the second in a series of

Now if there are any pessimists | eight on the Permanent Revoluor fainthearts in or around the tion in American History, held on SWP who thought the FBI raids the evening after the FBI raid, on the Twin Cities headquarters, was attended by 50 people in on Friday June 27, would throw spite of it being a sweltering hot consternation and confusion into night. Two reporters from the the activities of the Twin Cities capitalist press were in attendbranches, they are due for a sur- ance at the class and gave us prise For example, THE MILI- writeups in both-the Minneapolis TANT bundle containing the man- and St. Paul newspapers the next ifesto arrived on Sunday forenoon morning. The next class of this and by 6 P. M. on Sunday even series will be held on Saturday ing our Militant salesmen had July 12, at 8 P.- M., in the Minpicked up their respective bundles | neapolis headquarters, 919 Marto the extent that only about 300 quette Ave.

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I enclose — Please send my subscription to:



georgenia andre barrae

Dear Sir and Brothers: Effective this day and date I am resigning my position as Inernational Organizer under your urisdiction in order to be free to devote my time and efforts to help the valiant leadershin of Local 544-CIO in Minneapolis in their heroic struggle against a dastardly combination of employers. labor fakers and political enemies of labor.

I have been working as an International Organizer under your direction for the past three years. As far as personal relations with you are concerned, they have always been satisfactory and I have nothing to complain of on that score. The reasons for my action concern fundamental questions of trade-union policy. My experiences convince me to the hilt that the craft-union setup belongs to the past and that the great mass of the under-paid and exploited workers require. and demand a more modern form of industrial organization, which they are finding in the CIO. This has been clear to me

Another grand and glorious time at the Harlem Carnival Saturday Evening, July 12 Harlem Headquarters 72 West 125th Street Subscription 25c



every worker to read.

JULY 12, 1941

THE MILITANT

Local 544-CIO's Proud And Stainless Record

"Make Minneapolis A Union Town" Was Its Slogan And It More Than Achieved It

The Roosevelt-Tobin-FBI employers attack on the Minneapolis truck drivers union, Local 544-CIO, is an effort to crush the most militant local union in America.

Local 544-CIO-originally affiliated with the AFL Teamsters-began its career in early 1934 with a few hundred courageous transport workers, a militant and competent leadership, a fighting, class-conscious program, and the slogan "Make Minneapolis a Union Town!"

Today, that slogan has been realized in action. Thanks to 544, Minneapolis is the best organized town in the country in proportion to its size.

What is more, some 250,000 over-the-road drivers, spread throughout all the arteries of commerce, have been organized through a union pact covering the 12-state area surrounding Minne- nually have been added to the wages of the Minheapolis worksota. All this has been the direct re- ers. The average weekly wage for sult of the program, example and drivers in 1933 was \$11. Today

leadership of Local 544-CIO, which it is over \$33. The total annual initiated and directed this expan- payroll for all Minneapolis drivsion of unionism.

WHAT ONE MILITANT LOCAL UNION DID

In 1933, Minneapolis was a citto about 44. They receive paid anadel of open-shop domination and nual vacations, a measure of job frameups. exploitation. The union movement security through seniority, and was lifeless and pitifully small. The employers' associations boastthe days of the open-shop before ed and advertised that Minneapo- the rise of Local 544. lis was the ideal city for prospec-These are the things which the tive industrialists because of the bosses and the unholy alliance of non-union, low-wage labor supply. Roosevelt-Tobin-FBI are seeking Local 544 has been primarily te wipe out with the destruction

responsible for reversing all that. of Local 544-CIO. Today the union movement of THIS IS ONLY THE Minneapolis protects some 65,000 LATEST ATTACK ON 544 working men and women in every trade and industry.

Tobin's Sacrificial Offering

"Tobin urges sacrifices for defense" is the headline in the June 24th AFL "Weekly News Service" and under it are two items. The first reports a speech by Tobin over a national radio hookup under the auspices of the Fight For Freedom Committee-the organization which is campaigning for an immediate formal declaration of war by the United States. Tobin's speech consisted of repeating over and over such statements as: "The workers of the United States are ready" and willing to make the same sacrifice as the British workers ... we repeat our promise to make any sacrifice called upon." (Tobin is sure that Roosevelt won't call upon Tobin to sacrifice that \$30,000 a year that Tobin draws for misleading the Teamsters.)

The second item shows what Tobin means by sacrifices. It announces that "From eleven surrounding states, organizers and business agents of Teamsters unions converged on Minneapolis" to assault Local 544-CIO. The Minneapolis truckdrivers built their union in the great 1934 strikes despite Tobin's strikebreaking; built the over-the-road drivers' movement, adding 200,000 drivers to organized labor; and have now democratically voted to change their affiliation to the CIO. But all that weighs as nothing with Tobin, he is "called

the bosses, from murder of pickets two workers and maining many ers rose from about \$5,100,000 in at the hands of governmental others for life. 1933 to about \$23,000,000 in 1939.

armed forces and assassination by In scores of strikes of various Weekly hours for the drivers hired gunmen, to an unending sections of Local 544 since, and have been reduced from about 60 flow of sewage slander and court in many strikes in which the drivers gave support and material

During the first drivers strike aid to other unions, the bosses against the embattled transport to provoke, intimidate and weaken workers the entire police force of the union. But mere violence could Minneapolis and 5,000 special de- not succeed against Local 544. If buttles armed with clubs and guns. fought back with redoubled fury In a historic battle - the "Battle at each new attack. And each day of Bulls Run" - the drivers it built a stronger and more enfought the police and deputies to during union organization.

a standstill and chased them off The Minneapolis general drivers the streets of the city. union had not only to contend In the strike of July 1934, the with the enemies from without Since 1934, scarcely a day has police ambushed a group of driv- It met the constant, more insidi-

Tens of millions of dollars an- passed that Local 544 has not been ers' union pickets and shot down ous attacks of the bosses' agents within the union movement, above all, the dictatorial and unionbusting acts of Dan Tobin, head of the AFL Teamsters and his

corrupt personal top machine. TOBIN'S 1934-35 ATTEMPTS

TO SMASH THE UNION

From the first Tobin hated and feared Local 544 and its leader ship as only the moth-eaten, craft ridden, dues-hungry, boss-consciand seasoned organizers to growous AFL type of reactionary leading drivers' unions in many states. ers can hate militant and progressive unionism.

In the very midst of the bitter and bloody July 1934 strike which built the union, Tobin joined hands with the employers and launched a public knife-in-the

back attack on the striking union from Lewis and Murray, more and its leaders. repeating all the

upon" to make sacrifices to the War-Lords and he'll do it with a vengeance.

Which reminds us of the original meaning of sacrifices. When the primitive savages offered up sacrifices to their jungle gods, they were at great pains to see that the sacrifices were appropriate. They picked, not the old or the puny, but the very flower of the human tribe to offer up, slaughtered on the altar, as a sacrificial offering.

And so it was with Tobin. He wouldn't dream of offering the War Gods a puny or stagnant union. Nor would he offer as a sacrifice one of his racketeering locals. No, Tobin is as particular in his choice of a sacrifice as the most finicky jungle chieftain. He looked far and wide to find the very flower of the truckdrivers' movement, the most stalwart and sturdy union, to slaughter. It had to be the very best. It had to be Local 544.

Unfortunately for Tobin, Local 544 isn't subject to Tobin's tribal superstitions. Local 544-CIO has no intention of being slaughtered. The sacrificial offering has jumped off the jungle altar, has knocked the sacrificial knife from the hands of Chief Tobin, and is going to do its level best to stop Tobin and all the other jungle chiefs.

subject to the vicious assault of sixty in cold blood, murdering to reinstate Local 544 in the smuggled several agents into the Teamsters International without union.' These began to make any of the oherous conditions he charges of misuse of funds against the union leaders and finally demanded.

Tobin mustered the weight of brought suit against the union for his \$4,000,000 treasury and an army restitution of funds allegedly due of "organizers" and gangsters to them.

The bosses and their courts crush the Minneapolis drivers to many other benefits unknown in of May 1934, the employers threw have attempted to use the police his will. He issued a charter for leaped to support of this suit a competitive drivers local-"600." known as the "Fink Suit." The His thugs beat up the Local 544 plaintiffs "found" tens of thouleaders. He used every dirty dev. sands of dollars to fight Local 544 in the courts. For two years the ice possible. union held out against the boss But to no avail. Through thick court demands that it turn over and thin, the Minneapolis drivers all its records - minutes, meni supported and defended Local 544. bership lists, etc., - to the scru-They would not join Tobin's dual tiny of the employers.

outfit. And in the end, Tobin had Finally, the bosses had to com to taste the bitter brew of defeat. promise and the union submitted He issued a new charter "comfor public examination only the bining" his paper local with Lopertinent records covering the uncal 544,-that is, in reality he

ion's finances. reinstated Local 544, whose lead-In October, 1940, the union ership he had sworn never to perand its leaders were given a mit to lead a union again! clean bill of health by a hostile From that time on, Local 544 judge. Despite all the probing has gone on from success to sucand prying of a three-years incess against the bosses. Its name vestigation, unparalleled in the and reputation has become a bea history of the union movement, con-light for union organization and militant struggle throughout a boss-dominated court had to legally attest to the impeccable all the Northwest. It lent funds

TODAY'S UNHOLY ALLIANCE 544 ORGANIZED MIDWEST AGAINST LOCAL 544 OVER-THE-ROAD DRIVERS

The crowning achievement of

this organizing drive was the winstate over-the-road drivers con them more bitter than ever, more ship" of one his own agents. conditions and a closed shop for single bulwark against their open- same as 1935. This time Local 544

leaders.

Government Strikebreakers



Armed with bayonets, these United States Coast Guardsmen are standing watch at Buffalo Harbor, New York, after boarding two struck vessels of the Nicholson Transit Corp. and driving off the crew members who were on strike for recognition of the National Maritime Union (CIO). Company and government officials affirmed that this latest act of government strikebreaking was in the interests of "national defense."

salary from \$20,000 to \$30,000, To- of Local 544 voted almost unanbin felt he had to strike. Local imously to sever their affiliations 544 lost the fight to prevent To- with the AFL backwash of the bin's raise, but won a convention American labor movement and majority against Tobin's proposal merge with the mighty forto write compulsory arbitration ward-moving tide of the CIO. into the International constitu-The CIO has received Local 544

tion. honesty of Local 544 and its ers movement. in marth

with open arms. And the union of The Minneapolis drivers union these two forces - the main had become too great a menace stream of progressive American to Tobin's privileges and dicta- labor organization and the dynamo torial powers. It had become a cf the Northwest union movement threat to his entire reactionary, - has struck a shattering blow strangling embrace upon the driv- at the reactionary AFL and the boss class. Hundreds of thousands He hid his moves behind a of drivers and other AFL workers, smoke-screen of anti-radicalism. who have come to know and ad-And, as in 1935, once again he mire the record and policies of sought to impose a complete per- Local 544, are now turning as well

000 treasury for hundreds of

not end the employers' drive sonal dictatorship over Local 544 in the direction of the CIO. ning in the Fall of 1937 of the 11. against Local 544. It has made and place it under a "receiver- That is the vision that haunts Roosevelt and Tobin and the tract, gaining union wages and determined to destroy the greatest But this time it was not the bosses. That is why Tobin is expending a huge slice of his \$6,000,

CIO Backs 544's Fight

(Continued from page 1) chased at any time in our book stores.

"Moreover, our views have been openly expressed in scores of public lectures, and forums during the past several years.

"The present mysterious air of Victor Anderson and the other federal agents is obviously calculated to give the impression that they are uncovering a dangerous secret underground organization. We are confident that such a hoax can-

industrial union that can win hem better conditions.

"Nothing worthwhile was ever gained without a fight. You have the entire backing of the CIO in this country. Back up your leaders. You have started something here that will spread until all the drivers of the nation will be under the banner of the CIO in a great CIO industrial union."

In addition to the telegrams V. R. Dunne explained why 544 was driven to break with Tobin than two hundred telegrams were slanders of the Minneapolis boss nd join the CIO. "Tobin talks received from heads of leading press against the Minneapolis about 'democracy' and sends in CIO Internationals, from regional drivers, in the July, 1934 issue of thugs and hoodlums. He talks of CIO directors, and city CIO in- his personal organ, the so-called 'justice' and disregards the democdustrial union councils from Con- Teamsters Journal. ratic actions of the union memecticut to California. bership. He talks of 'fair play' and The only state from which no won't let you vote." messages of fraternal greet-FDR "AID TO TOBIN" ings came was from the Stalin-Cecil Owens, the next speaker,

ers a chance to build a real honest | hearings, called by the Depart ment of Justice against 544 and the SWP. Pressman said:

"John L. Lewis brought the truth about the poll-tax to the attention of the Department of Justice. If Schweinhaut wants a little extra work, there's a job for him-ridding the South of the poll tax conspiracy." CIO UNIONS WIRE

SOLIDARITY

not be perpetrated upon people of Minneapolis."

CIO MASS MEETING

An enthusiastic audience of from 1,200 to 1,500 544-CIO members attended a mass meeting at the Lyceum Theatre last Tuesday evening at which messages and speeches from CIO leaders pledginformed the teamsters: ing national CIO support to the motor transport and allied workers were heard.

Lee Pressman, national Counsel for the CIO; James Robb of Indianapolis, fresh from the Ford victory in Detroit; Cecil Owens, publicity director of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee; and V. R. Dunne and Ray Rainbolt, 544-CIO leaders, were the main speakers. Frank Barnhart, personal representative of A. D. Lewis and regional director of the UCWOC, presided.

Barnhart opened the meeting by asserting his confidence in the leaders of 544-CIO, "Since working with these leaders, I want to tell you that in my forty years in the labor movement I never met more honest and earnest union men in my life than the Dunne brothers." He predicted that within a short time all the drivers in Minnea-

polis will be at home in the CIO. CIO PLEDGES AID

He read messages from John, L. Lewis and Philip Murray welcoming Local 544-CIO into the CIO and anticipating a new nation-wide industrial union movement for motor transport workers.

Robb declared that "The CIO has licked U.S. Steel and General Motors and the nation's coal operators. We are certainly not fearful of tackling Dan Tobin anywhere we meet him on the road."

"In Tobin's home state, where I come from, the CIO has as many teamsters in its ranks as Tobin: Dan backed down before the CIO there, and now he wants to move out of Indiana to Washington.

"Dan Tobin will sell every teamster in America to become secretary of labor. That's his object . . . I suggest Tobin go with 1934.

the politicians and give the work-¹ Referring to the Grand Jury and Main Street.

ist-controlled State Council of Minnesota whose Secretary, "Your coming over to the Lageman, approved the govern-CIO created a sensation in ment's action against the union.

"It is quite possible," he

said, "this case will dovetail

with others the FBI has built

up elsewhere. This may be the

raids throughout the Northwest

Washington. For a few days it 544 DEMANDS ELECTIONS appeared that the national ad-State Labor Board hearings on ministration had dropped its

the petitions of Local 544-CIO for campaign of 'Aid to England" elections to determine the choice for a campaign of 'Aid to Dan Tobin.'

Owens sharply criticized the war hysteria and red-baiting emanat-July 10th. ing from government officials. many of them formerly connected with labor.

Ray Rainbolt predicted:

"Tobin has no secret weapon to change the hearts and minds tions can be held. of the members of 544. When the time comes we will beat him in the elections, we will make Minneapolis a union town under the banner of the CIO." charge of the raids had been "working in other places." PRESSMAN'S SPEECH

CIO counsel, Lee Pressman

spoke for forty-five minutes tracing the progress and achievements of the CIO.

start of a nationwide drive on "When a single local union subversive activities." like 544 joins the CIO, why is there all this excitement? Why Meanwhile, the Twin Cities have you become a national branches of the SWP have stepped issue?" up their public activity, distributing copies of THE MILITANT

"The story dates back to 1934 when you teamsters, under your present leadership, decided to

build a strong militant union and Party morale is at its peak and the Minnesota Trotskvists are setsucceeded against great odds. The ting an example for the entire tradition behind your local union leads right to the origin of the party of firmness under fire. CIO. The CIO was formed in

1935, led by Lewis and Murray, IN LOS ANGELES men determined to build a mighty labor organization representing Buy the FOURTH INTERNAthe workers who toil for a living. | TIONAL at: "Your 1934 strikes gave mean-Smith's Consolidated News ing to the need of the workers

Stand 6131/2 So. Hill Street. for strong unions. The CIO has General News Stand 326 W. carried out concretely on a national scale what you started in 5th Street.

territory ranging from Montana to Ohio, and Minnesota to Oaklahoma

Tobin wrote that "Communists The initiators of this contract and radicals" are "very prominent the leaders of this drive, the men in the strike." The bosses ran big who put it over were the men who had organized and led Local 544 advertisements quoting Tobin. Despite Tobin's strikebreaking, from its first victories on. Farrell 544 was victorious in that decisive Dobbs, former secretary-treasure of Local 544, became the first sec strike.

retary of the North Central Area On April 14, 1935, 544 received Negotiating Committee. a letter from Tobin, summarily

This master achievement was revoking the local's charter. The pretext for this disruptive move carried but with a bureaucratic idea from the start. On the eve high-handedness of which Tobin of the area committee's victory. To is a past master, was that the lo

of bargaining agent for the Minbin sent his representatives to decal owed a few hundred dollars neapolis teamsters began last in back per capita tax to the in-Monday and were held over until 11-state committee. He feared the ternational.

This delay plays into the hands That was true. The local had of the AFL, which has opposed exhausted its funds in the long elections and is evidently countand gruelling strikes - Tobin of ing on the government prosecucourse didn't give a penny of tions to smash 544-CIO before elecstrike benefits - and organization drive of the previous 12 months. But there were many other locals

NATION-WIDE INDICTMENTS in greater debt to the internation-It is expected that about twenal and Tobin was sitting on a ty-five persons will be indicted. treasury of over \$4,000,000. Anderson hinted that FBI men in

It became clear what Tobin's real game was within a couple of weeks, when Tobin agreed to restore the charter-under certain conditions. Those conditions were that the general drivers union be broken up into a dozen different weak crafts locals, coal drivers, ice drivers, etc.; that Tobin personally be

given the complete control and supervision of the union; that every officer and member had to receive the personal apcarrying our story on the FBI proval of Tobin. Tobin wanted to dismember the union, destroy its semi-industrial character, and drive out every militant and progressive member.

> PIONEERED THE TRAIL NOW TRAVELED BY THE CIO The union members and leaders rejected Tobin's vile, boss-inspired proposal. They elected to keep on fighting as an independent union. up.

Local 544 sent a committee to the CIO, then still within the paign of insinuation and slander

drivers. It was with the agree- "gangsters" and "racketeers" who dards. Sam Smith's News Stand 5th ment of the CIO that Local 544 were "misusing union funds."

shop designs. iad another movement to turn to. some 225.000 drivers in the entire And this time they have again a militant, progressive and powersecured formidable allies, Roos- ful industrial union organization thugs to break Local 544. That whose methods and program were is why Roosevelt has sent the evelt, Tobin and the FBI. When the delegates of Local 544 in the tradition of Local 544 it- FBI to attempt a frameup on "sedared to take the floor at the last self. That movement was the Coninternational teamsters conven- gress of Industrial Organizations. ditious conspiracy" charges tion in opposition to Tobin's de- In a regular membership meet- against leaders and members of

The defeat of the Fink Suit did

mand for an increase in his yearly ing of nearly 4,000, the members Local 544-CIO.

WPA Strikers Were Also won despite Tobin and against him. He opposed and fought the idea from the start. On the evel Bersecuted By The FBI

mand the discontinuance of the In The 1939 Strike, 162 Minneapolis WPA Workers Were Indicted On "Conspiracy" Charges; All Labor Protested Government Trial influx of hundreds of thousands

of new, militant workers into his Once before, in the summer of 1939, Roosevelt struck tight little conservative set-up. similarly at Minneapolis labor and Local 544, when the Depart-The over-the-road driver is a real ment of Justice secured "conspiracy" indictments against 162 proletarian type, very different Minneapolis WPA workers because of their participation in the from the city driver-salesmen who WPA strike in which the Federal Workers Section of Local 544 formerly composed the teamsters played a leading role. Only when the contract was fin-

Local 544 showed its fighting capacity then by mobilizing ally secured, only when the vision a defense campaign that aroused nation-wide labor opposition to of hundreds of thousands of dol-Roosevelt's mass persecution and attempted frame-up of these lars in increased annual per ca-162 \$60 a month WPA workers.

pita momentarily thrust into the In a six months battle that extended through three separate background Tobin's innate fear of trials; Local 544 and its labor al O stream-lined, aggressive indus lies tore the FBI case to shreds trial union methods, did Tobin re-The nation-wide storm of labor luctantly yield. He had to approtest that broke in the wake of point Farrell Dobbs the Internathese "conspiracy" indictments tional Organizer in charge of this cracked the prosecution wide

> open. In the end, the government was forced to drop its case against 130 of the defendants, and sought

to save its face by vindictively posses to smash Local 544 went on convicting 32 WPA strike leaders. 17 of whom were forced to serve sentences of from 30 days to 18

ally accepted in the labor movement that he met his death at the against the government's aboli-

monthly earnings of the WPA workers.

This attack on the WPA workers was sponsored directly by Roosevelt, who himself urged Con-AFL, to find if it had a place for against the leaders of 544 as gress to reduce the WPA stan-

When the WPA workers decided to fight to compel Tobin The employers' association throughout the country struck

"agents provocateur" against the workers. Today, it is revealed, the government is again attempting to build its case against Local 544-CIO on testimony of agents provocateur.

After the Minneapolis WPA strikers were arrested they were held in jail for weeks on high bail of \$5.000 to \$10.000 each. The bench, throughout the trials, op-

enly expressed its hostility. But against Roosevelt's starvation decree, he laid the basis for the so great was the pressure from "conspiracy" charges against organized labor, that, after 32 defendants had been convicted, the the Minneapolis strikers by his government did not dare go on strikebreaking assertion: "You with its case. The prosecution atcannot strike against the govtempted to make a "deal" to get 40 of the defendants to plead Under the impact of Roos-

guilty in return for the release evelt's attack on the WPA strikes, of the remainder of the 130. This most of them folded up. But in was turned down and organized Minneapolis the strikers fought on labor won the release of the entire 130.

FDR'S AGENTS PROVOCATEURS

ernment."

for weeks.

The mass arrests in the strike were the result of charges of alleged violence on the part of the

strikers. But, during the course of the trials, it was revealed that 25 FBI agents, disguised as workers, had mingled with the strikers on the picket-lines. Thus Roosevelt was guilty of the ugliest and dirtiest anti-labor practice of all-the practice of the former Czar and all the fascist dictators-the use of

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919 Marquette Av.

bosses.

field.

relentlessly. In November 1937, Pat Corcoran, Chairman of the North Central District Drivers

ATTACKS ON LOCAL 544

THE RECENT BOSS

unknown assailants. It is gener-

Council and a close co-worker of ROOSEVELT

SLASHED WAGES

The strike in Minneapolis was

part of a national WPA strike

tion of the prevailing wage on

The boss press began a cam-

Meanwhile the efforts of the months in federal penitentiaries.

Local 544, was shot to death by

hands of gangsters hired by the

WPA and slashing the starvation Soon the bosses tried another

device against 544 - legal frame-

THE MILITANT

Stalin's Speech: Not A Proletarian Note In It

(Continued from page 1)

leadership of the generation of the October revolution and extirpates their tradition wherever he can find it.

October Traditon and the German Worker

· Yet only the tradition, and methods of the October revolution can destroy Hitler's armies. A revolutionary government in the Soviet Union could say to the German workers, in the army and the factories:

"Comrades, brothers: You do not want this war, but you fear that if Germany is again defeated as in 1918, there will follow a second and worse Versailles. The 'democratic' armies have made clear in advance that such is the fate in store for a defeated Germany. Fearing above all the yoke of the foreign invader, you endure Hitler.

"But victory for the 'democracies' is not the only alternative to Hitler. There is an entirely different road-that opened up by a victorious German socialist revolution. Have no fear that while you are destroying the Nazis, the 'democracies' will succeed in occupying Germany. The Mensheviks used to try to frighten the Russian workers with the thought that while we would be making the socialist revolution, the imperialists would overrun Russia. It is now history, how we made our October revolution and drove the imperialists out of all Soviet territory. You can do likewise with a Soviet Germany.

"This is now especially true since the Soviet Union and its Red Army stand ready to unite with Soviet Germany in repelling the imperialist powers. We give our solemn pledge that the day you overthrow Hitler and take the power into your own hands, we shall turn our guns against the imperialist enemies of Soviet Germany.

"Nor shall we and you have an endless battle on our hands. On the contrary, the German revolution would inspire all Europe to put an end to the capitalism which has brought it two devastating wars within two decades.

"And American imperialism would send armies against us only at the risk of its own head. It is one thing for Washington to send troops against a rival imperialism: entirely different would be the attempt to send troops against us. If American troops revolted in Siberia in 1919, refusing to fight against the Bolsheviks, the far more mature American working class of today would use its gigantic powers to crush any attempt of its 'own' imperialism to send expeditionary forces against us.

"Comrades of the German factories and armies: Take the power into your own hands and together we shall put an end to war and fascism, capitalism and fascism, throughout the world!"

That is how a revolutionary Soviet government would address the German working class. But the degenerate Stalinist bureaucrats will not and cannot thus speak to the German proletariat in the name of the October revolution.

In Stalin's speech these are the only references to the German masses: "...all the finest men and women of Germany condemn the treacherous acts of the German fascists, approve the conduct of the Soviet Government and see that ours is a just cause, that the enemy will be defeated, that we are bound to win." And: "In this great war we shall have loyal allies in the peoples of Europe and America, including German people who are enslaved by Hitlerite despots."

But if "the enemy will be defeated," will you, Stalin, aid the German masses to prevent the imposition of a second and worse Versailles? On that, Stalin's speech breathes not a word. Likewise silent on this basic question are the leaflets which, the Daily Worker reports, the Red Army is showering on the German troops. The leaflets are exactly like those Churchill showered on Berlin. They ask the German soldiers not to fight against Britain (or the Soviet Union). They have not a word to say about socialism. In a word, they offer the German masses no alternative to Hitler except the yoke of the foreign invader. Similarly, the Daily Worker reports that German soldiers (four or five) have crossed the lines, unwilling to fight against the Red Army, and are now writing and radioing appeals to their German brothers. Splendid! But their appeals say no more than Stalin's speech or leafletsi.e., no more than Churchill's leaflets. On that basis it is manifestly absurd to expect masses of German troops to desert or to overthrow Hitler. Churchill and Roosevelt have been cementing the German masses to Hitler by their imperialist policy. Stalin has now become the agent of this foul policy. Woe to the Soviet Union if the Soviet masses permit this suicidal course to continue. The Soviet Union can assure victory over Hitler only by the methods of October and the Civil War.

Our Banner--The Banner of Lenin and Trotsky

Over the old battlefields of the Civil War 9 where the Red Army is once again fighting, Stalin is raising the banner of "Holy Russia," of the feudal General Suvorov, Prince Nevsky, the Russian warriors of 1215, 1652, etc., etc. The Communist International has not even convened in these days of gravest crisis. Dimitrov, "the heimsman of the Comintern," has nothing to say. Foster explains to the readers of the Daily Worker that it is "sectarian" today even to talk about socialism in connection with the defense of the Soviet Union. The Stalinists are not defending the USSR by these methods, but dealing it terrible blows. They are depriving the Red Army of the only banner of victory, the banner of October and the Civil War of 1918-1921.

In the first and crucial year of the struggle against imperialist intervention, the Communist International was founded in Moscow, where the First World Congress convened in March, 1919. Throughout the years of the Civil War, despite unprecedented dangers and difficulties, the Communist International continued to meet annually in Moscow. The Second World Congress convened in July 1920; the Third World Congress in June, 1921.

At the first session of the First World Congress-on March 2, 1919-Leon Trotsky delivered a report on the Red Army. One week later, on March 9, 1919 he issued the following order to the Red Army and the Red Fleet:

"During one of its sessions the **Communist International adopted the** following resolution of greetings to the Red Army of Russian Workers and Peasants: The Congress of the **Communist International sends its** heartiest greetings and wishes to the Red Army of Soviet Russia for a complete victory in the struggle against international imperialism. This fraternal greeting of the international proletariat must be made known to every fighter in the Red Army and the Red Navy . . . Every soldier of the Red Army, every sailor of the Red Navy

class line between the rich peasants and the great masses of the peasantry who are the natural allies of the proletariat, organized the poor peasants into a powerful force guarding the Soviet Union against imperialist invaders and their native agents. But Stalin, who has feverishly been seeking during the last decade to create a labor and peasant aristocracy as a support against the great masses, would scarcely rally the great masses of the peasantry against his prosperous friends-even though these "friends" are potential agents of Hitler.

Thus in every sphere Stalin, by his entire past, is inevitably driven, even at this moment of mortal danger to the Soviet Union. to suppress all the political weapons which saved the Soviet Union in the Civil War.

And woe to the Soviet critic of this foul Stalinist policy! Stalin cannot find time in his speech for October and the Uivil War, but he finds time to launch a new wave of repressions. Like all reactionaries he resorts to the device of the amalgam to destroy his critics at home: he lumps them with the external enemy. "We must wage a ruthless fight," he says, "against all disorganizers of the rear, deserters, panic-mongers, rumormongers, exterminate spies, diversionists, enemy parachutists, rendering rapid aid in all this to our destroyer battalions." As neatly turned as one of Hitler's-or Roosevelt's-amalgams between Communists and enemy agents.

To Defend the Soviet Union



Red Army troops, wearing gas masks, are shown practicing a bayonet attack supported by tanks during maneuvers last spring.

On March 12, 1919, Lenin reported to the

Petrograd Soviet on the "Domestic and For-

eign Policy of the Council of People's Com-

missars." The central point of the domestic

and foreign policy of the Soviet Government,

in Lenin's eyes, revolved precisely around the

issue of rallying the world working class for

the struggle against imperialism and for the

establishment of world socialism. Lenin said:

the Council of People's Commissars

during the past year only if we eval-

uate the role of the Soviets on the

greatest bulwark of defense for the Soviet

Union consisted in this: the "Soviet power in

Lenin stressed hundreds of times that the

arena of the world revolution."

"We shall understand the work of

will hear with merited pride the words of greeting from the highest and most authoritative body of the world working class. The Red Army and the Red Navy will not fail to meet the expectations and hopes of the Communist International.

"Forward—Under the Banner of the World Working Class!

> "Leon Trotsky, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, **People's Commissar of Army** and Navy."

This famous Order No. 83 was published in Izvestia, No. 54, March 11, 1919.

> Germany abides by the provisions of the Soviet-German Pact of Non-Aggression as unswervingly as the Soviet Union, in view of which, in the opinion of Soviet quarters, the rumors of Germany's intention to disrupt the pact and undertake an attack on the USSR are devoid of any ground" (DAILY WORKER, June 14.)

In anticipation of such a new Stalin-Hitler pact, the Daily Worker (June 20!) denounced the war rumors as designed "to discredit such further steps for the advancement of peace and for the safeguarding of Soviet neutrality that the Soviet Union may take."

But Hitler, it is now apparent, did not even bother negotiating for new concessions from Stalin! The pact with Stalin had served its purpose: it had saved the Nazis from a two-front war Russia has been able to conquer the sympathy, the attention and the moral support of the workers of the whole world." How was this accomplished?

JULY 12, 1941

It was accomplished by raising the banner of the International in the struggle against the onslaughts of imperialist intervention and the legions of White Guards. The Red Army never fought under any other banner. On June 13, 1921, Leon Trotsky in the name of the Red Army sent the following historic greeting to the "General Staff of the Revolution," namely, the Third World Congress of the Communist International:

"It is the greatest joy and honor for the workers, peasants and Red soldiers of Russia to welcome within the walls of the Red Capital the best representatives of the world working class.

"Red Warriors! For three and a half years you have defended the first toilers' republic in world history against the unceasing attacks and assaults of the brigands and oppressors of all lands. On the Volga and the Obi, on Northern Dvina and the Neva, on the Berezina and the Dnieper, in the Don and Kuban, you have fought and died under the banner of the International. You have defended with your blood Soviet Russia-the fortress of the world proletariat." (Izvestia, No. 128, June 14, 1921).

But Stalin has abandoned that banner. He has reduced the Communist International to a grotesque masquerade, to a servile agency of the Stalinist bureaucracy. He appeals, not to the international working class, but to imperialist "allies."

The banner of the international working class-the banner of Lenin and Trotsky-that is our banner. It is the real banner of the Red Army and the Red Navy. It is the real and only defense of the Soviet Union.

defending his client-himself-and not like a political leader. He lists the "gains" under the Stalin-Hitler pact. He does not list the losses.

What the USSR Lost By the Pact

The most decisive of these losses we have already referred to in connection with Stalin's seizures of territory. But this loss began with the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Untold millions of class-conscious workers throughout the world, who would have laid down their lives in defense of the first Workers' State, were alienated from the Soviet Union by the pact. It was a terrible blow to their anti-fascist sentiments, one for which they do not forgive the Soviet Union which, unfortunately, they confuse with the degenerate Kremlin bureaucracy.

How Stalin "Inspires" Soviet Masses

You will seek in vain the word socialism in Stalin's speech. You will seek in vain the word capitalism. He does not arouse the Soviet proletariat-now thirty million strong in industrywith the powerful thought that they are defending the nationalized property against capitalist restoration. He dare not. To recall that the Soviet working class made the revolution is to recall also the fact that they did not make the revolution for the bureaucrats! Nor does Stalin desire to disturb his capitalist "allies" with the memory of the revolution which put an end to private property on one-sixth of the earth.

Instead, with the typical psychology of a labor bureaucrat, Stalin ignores the Soviet proletariat altogether in his speech, making no class appeal to them whatsoever. In this, Stalin reminds one of the usual reformist labor candidate, who takes for granted the support of the workers, and devotes himself entirely to appealing to alien classes for support. That the workers may be inspired by a revolutionary class appeal to do even more than they are doing-that consideration is alien to the labor bureaucrat.

How, indeed, could Stalin remind the Soviet workers of their heroic conduct in the Civil War of 1918-1921? To do so would bring to the fore the question of the Soviets and factory committees which Stalin has destroyed-and which were the basic organizational form through which the initiative and inexhaustable energies of the masses were then mobilized. (The Soviets of those days were rooted in every factory, formed on an occupational basis-by deputies from the factories-functioning every day and had nothing in common with the so-called "Soviets" of today which are "elected" on the basis of vast geographical units and meet only periodically.)

While thus ignoring the proletariat Stalin finds it necessary to make a direct appeal to the class interests of the peasantry, on whom he has so often leaned as against the proletariat. Stalin knows, despite all his pretenses in past years about "the irrevocable victory of socialism" in the Soviet Union, that the collectives merely conceal the class-stratification of the peasantry: that within the collectives and outside in the millions of remaining individual land-holdings, the peasantry ranges from "millionaire kolkhozi"-i.e., prosperous petty-bourgeois and even bourgeois farmers-down to landless agricultural laborers. In the territory which he occupies Hitler will be speedily seeking agents from among the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois peasant elements. Hence Stalin appeals to them, warning them that Hitler "is out to restore the landlords, to restore Czarism."

But this appeal would have a thousand-fold more efficacy if it were to be accompanied as in 1918-1921 by formation of the peasants' "committees of the poor" which, drawing sharply the

Stalin "Explains" the Plight of the USSR

With his usual modesty Stalin concluded his speech by calling everybody to "rally around the party of Lenin-Stalin." Nevertheless, for the first time since he destroyed the Left Opposition, he felt compelled to justify himself. "A grave danger hangs over our country." How did that happen? The Soviet masses still hear ringing in their ears the Byzantine boasts of the Kremlin about its invulnerability thanks to the Stalin-Hitler pact. Stalin is now compelled to report that "the war of Fascist Germany on the USSR began under conditions favorable for German forces and unfavorable for Soviet forces." Why? Every Soviet worker must be asking himself that question, and Stalin for the first time in more than ten years feels compelled to give an account of himself.

But what an account! The USSR begins the war under unfavorable conditions because fascist troops were "only awaiting the signal to move into action, whereas Soviet troops had little time to effect mobilization and move up to the frontiers." But why, then, was the Red Army caught unawares? "Of no little importance in this respect," explains Stalin, "is the fact that Fascist Germany suddenly and treacherously violated the nonaggression pact, disregarding the fact that she would be regarded as an aggressor by the whole world." Hitler, it seems, didn't warn Stalin of what was coming!

But couldn't the Soviet Union, with its Intelligence Service, the devoted Communists within Germany (not to speak of the fact that for weeks before the invasion the whole world press was rife with rumors of it), find out in time and place itself on guard? Stalin answers—unbelievable words but here they are in the Daily Worker, July 4-: "Naturally, our peace-loving country, not wishing to take the initiative of breaking the pact, could not resort to perfidy."

Behold this gentle dove, unable to move first! Unable, that is, to move first against Hitler. Against Finland, with which the Kremlin had a pact, Stalin was able to "take the initiative of breaking the pact." Likewise against beaten Poland. Similarly Stalin has found it quite possible "to take the initiative of breaking" every clause in the statutes of the Communist Party, to violate every clause in his own "Stalin Constitution" of 1936. But against Hitler he could not bear, for ethical reasons, to bring himself to take steps in time. Has any leader ever told a more absurd tale? This story alone disqualifies Stalin for leadership of the Soviet Union.

The true story, which is now clear enough, he dare not tellnamely that he intended all along to make a new and more farreaching pact with Hitler, capitulating still further in the way of substantial economic and political concessions. That was why TASS, the Soviet press agency, on June 13, nine days before Hitler's onslaught, denounced the world-wide rumors of Hitler's preparations for that onslaught, in the following terms: "According to information at the disposal of the USSR,

until all Europe had been subjugated. Now, having overrun the entire continent, Hitler wanted nothing less than complete subjugation of the Soviet Union.

Stalin's Alibi for the Pact With Hitler

Hitler struck, as Stalin admits, "under conditions favorable for German forces and unfavorable for Soviet forces." This is true not only in the narrow sense of the immediate unpreparedness of Soviet forces, but also in the much broader sense that Hitler struck under far more favorable conditions than had he had to fight the Red Army at any other period in the war. This fact is easily demonstrable. But at all costs Stalin, conceding the smaller point with an air of objectivity, must deny the broader admission. For he bears the full responsibility for having made it possible for Hitler to pick his own moment for the conflict. Hence Stalin must vehemently deny that the Hitler-Stalin pact was an error. Here are his arguments:

1. "Non-aggression pacts are pacts of peace between two States. It was such a pact that Germany proposed to us in 1939. Could the Soviet Government have declined such a proposal? I think that not a single peace-loving State could decline a peace treaty with a neighboring State even though the latter was headed by such fiends and cannibals like Hitler and Ribbentrop."

This is less an argument than an insult to one's intelligence. Stalin talks as though we are all like his flunkeys who must nod their heads in agreement even if the Leader of the Peoples is gibbering senseless words. Of course the Soviet Government could have rejected Hitler's offer of a pact in 1939. The Stalinist hirelings kept asserting, in the few days intervening between the pact and the outbreak of the Second World War, that the pact was bringing peace and was a blow at the Axis-fantastic gibberish but they had to say something-but Stalin knew perfectly well that the pact was a go-ahead signal to Hitler, insuring him against an Eastern front. "Could the Soviet government have declined such a proposal?" Stalin now smirkingly asks. Yes, it had the elementary duty to decline, in order not to give Hitler a free hand. Nor is this hindsight on our part; we denounced the pact in precisely these terms at the time it was signed.

2. Stalin goes on to list the gains which accrued from the pact: "What did we gain by concluding a non-aggression pact with Germany? We secured for our country peace for a year and a half and the opportunity of preparing its forces to repulse Fascist Germany should she risk an attack on our country despite the pact."

These are all the advantages that Stalin lists. He could have added a number of others: the seizure of part of Poland, the Baltic states, Bessarabia, the land taken from Finland. Why does not Stalin now list these as gains? How often the Stalinist press has boasted about them! About how these territorial gains would safeguard the Soviet Union! Stalin now develops a sense of delicacy about these territories and does not mention them at all. Why? His silence is an implicit admission of what we have said during the last two years: the loss of the sympathy of tens of millions of workers shocked by these brutal seizures, seizures carried out in connivance with Hitler outweighs by far the episodic military-strategical advantages provided by the added territories.

Stalin addresses the Soviet masses like a pettifogging lawyer,

The Stalin-Hitler pact made possible the subjugation of Europe by Hitler. Of course the impotence of the "democracies" played its role in that catastrophe. But no Marxist expected anything of the "democracies." It was the workers' organizations, including the Soviet Union, which should have stopped Hitler. But, as a direct result of the Hitler-Stalin pact, the Kremlin and the Comintern assured the victory to Hitler. As Trotsky wrote on June 17, 1940:

"The capitulation of France is not a simple military episode. It is part of the catastrophe of Europe. Mankind can no longer live under the regime of imperialism. Hitler is not an accident; he is only the most consistent and the most bestial expression of imperialism, which threatens to crush our whole civilization.

"But in line with the general causes of the catastrophe inherent in imperialism, it is impermissible to forget the criminal, sinister role played by the Kremlin and the Comintern. Nobody else rendered such support to Hitler as Stalin. Nobody else created such a dangerous situation for the USSR as Stalin.

"... With his shift to Hitler's side Stalin abruptly mixed up all the cards and paralyzed the military power of the 'democracies.' In spite of all the machines of destruction the moral factor retains decisive importance in the war. By demoralizing the popular masses in Europe, and not solely in Europe, Stalin played the role of an agent provocateur in the service of Hitler. The capitulation of France is one of the results of such politics.

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"But it is by no means the only result. 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, a place of weak and almost disarmed countries, is occupied by this same Germany. Her victories in the west are only preparation for a gigantic move toward the east. In the attack on Finland the Red Army, decapitated of its leaders, again by Stalin, demonstrated its weakness before the whole world. In his coming march against the USSR, Hitler will find support in Japan."

Prophetic words! And for them, and for his life-long service to the revolution, Trotsky was assassinated by Stalin's GPU.

For the Defense of the Soviet Union

Stalin has brought the Soviet Union to the brink of the abyss. His speech shows that he continues the same suicidal bureaucratic course today as before. Along this road the bottom of the abyss can be the only end.

That is why defense of the Soviet Union requires, today more than ever before, the overthrow of the totalitarian clique in the Kremlin and the revival of Soviet democracy. Only then can the full forces of the Soviet peoples be unleashed for the death-struggle against German imperialism. Only then can the traditions and methods of the October revolution and the Civil War cross over the front lines to the German armies and disintegrate them with the corroding acid of the socialist revolution. Soviet patriotism is inseparable from irreconcilable struggle against Stalin and his degenerate clique.

IULY 12, 1941



How To Defend the Soviet Union

Last week we explained that workers, Negro and white, have the job of defending the Soviet Union against its imperialist enemies, in spite of Stalin's crimes against the world working class because the Soviet Union is a workers' state and because its defeat by the imperialists would greatly strengthen the bosses in their exploitation and oppression of the workers everywhere. This week we want to discuss how workers, and especially Negro workers, can best defend the Soviet Union.

By defense of the Soviet Union, it must be understood, first of all we Trotskyists do not mean the same thing at all that the Stalinists do. They don't defend the same things we do, and they don't defend them in the same way.

What they defend in the Soviet Union first of all is Stalinism, the power and privileges and theories of the corrupt bureaucracy that has seized control of the state. What WE defend is the remains of the greatest revolution of all time, the nationalized property relations, the economic foundation which if extended will lead to socialism and a new kind of society.

For example, a month ago, the Stalinists. feeling that the United States when it entered the war would probably be in an alliance directed against the Soviet Union, spent all their time denouncing the war preparations of the U.S. government and trying to keep it from entering the war with full military steps. As part of its propaganda, the Communist Party dealt with the Negro question and Jim Crowism, showed how false are Roosevelt's slogans about "a war for democracy".

Then came the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. And now the policy of the Stalinists in this country is not to "get out and stay out of the war," but to get into it as quickly as possible. As a result, almost every single correct argument the Stalinists used a month ago has today been thrown overboard. The Daily Worker no longer stresses the contradictions between a war for democracy abroad and Jim Crowism at home. It no longer criticizes Roosevelt except because he is so slow at getting into the war. It calls on the Negro people not to oppose the war, but to put pressure on Roosevelt to hasten American entry.

In short, in order to get an alliance between Stalin and Roosevelt, the Stalinists are ready to drop everything else, including the struggle against Jim Crowism.

The Stalinists and the Negro March and the land second

A concrete example of the change in their approach to the Negro problem is the recently called-off Negro March On Washington. Before the invasion of the Soviet Union, the Stalinists bitterly criticized the leaders of the March because they were tied to Roosevelt's war machine. because their demands were inadequate, because they did not demand that the government support the anti-lynch and anti-poll tax bills, because the did not demand that the government stay out of war, etc. When the Roosevelt administration began to put pressure on Randolph and White and the other leaders of the March, in an attempt to get it called off, the Daily Worker warned the Negroes to be careful that they did not submit to the pressure and call off the march. Then came the invasion and a few days later Randolph gave in to Roosevelt, and in return for a face saving executive order which granted very little, called off the March. If this had happened a week earlier, the Stalinists would have raised holy hell, attacking and condemning Randolph. But since the Stalinists now had a new line, they uttered not a single word of criticism that the March had been called off. True, they saw what they called a few "loopholes" in Roosevelt's executive order, but their National Negro Congress called it "a great step forward." We want to warn Negroes who watch the developments of the Stalinist line not to expect a complete and open reversal overnight. If they did this, they would quickly lose all the influence among the militant Negroes which they now have. They will not drop their demand for the passage of an anti-lynch bill, for instance. After all, many "liberals" who also support the imperialist war, still think it would be good to pass such a bill. But the Stalinists will no longer * make much of a point of it, and certainly will support Roosevelt's war plans despite his refusal to back the anti-lynch bill.

The CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSEL The CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSEL WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK WARK IS BRANDED" - KARL

Bourgeoisie Deliberately Setting Soldiers Against Workers

By EUGENE VARLIN

The capitalist press, radio and other agéncies of this country have been waging a continuous campaign, sometimes overt, some times covert, to turn the congeois American army. scripted worker in the army against his worker-brother in the factory.

From the beginning, the con-METHODS USED TO DIVIDE script soldier has been a problem SOLDIERS FROM or the American bourgeoiste. Mil

THE WORKERS itary theorists like Hoffmann Nickerson would have liked to do The large majority of the draf without a mass army. Such artees were sent to training campa n ics, wrote Nickerson in his "14e located far from their origina Armed Horde," were dangerous: residences. Thus they were separ they led to revolutions. But the American bourgeoisie was pieparated as much as possible from the ing for war and the canditians of rest of their class, from their un modern war demanded a mass ion organizations. This policy is conscript arm.

reflected in the creation of the The workers of this country new United Service Organization are "bad" material for two reawhich has been formed to raise sons. First, there has been no essomething more than \$10,000,000 tablished tradition of conscripto provide entertainment facilities tion. The drafted soldiers are parfor America's armed forces. In ticularly reluctant to accept the its advertisements and press renew, unaccustomed restraints, leases, this organization points particularly when these are imout that many, of the training posed by officers of an alien class. camps are located over a dozen Secondly, and more important. miles from any town; that, furthe past few years have seen the thermore, the soldiers sometimes rise of a mass, militant trade-unoutnumber the population of these ion movement in the United towns by as much as 10 to 1. This States in which a large proper- is not accidental; it is an inevition of the young draftees have table result of the class-conscious

played a prominent role. Their expolicy of the American War De to do his full share in the periences have taught them the partment. need to organize, organization of Fletcher Pratt, the New York

their class, the working class Post "military expert," wrote that and open efforts made up to this against precisely that class whose the soldiers making \$21 a month representatives dominate the hour didn't like to see already well paid workers strike for more to his unionist brothers.

How has the capitalist class wages. Pratt would have liked th béen attempting to overcome these soldiers to believe that. That is difficulties? Here are some items: just what the bourgeois army of ficers are trying to make them be lieve

Roosevelt did not dare to use draftees to break the strike of the aircraft workers. He used hardened veterans, many of whon had broken strikes in China. Bu when Roosevelt's Brigadier Gen by the company commander and

eral Hershey canceled the defer ment of strikers, he did not speak in the name of these few hardened veterans but in the name of the hundreds of thousands of drafted workers. He stated:

> "These citizen soldiers have been promised that arms, supplies and equipment will be furnished by their fellowcitizens who are engaged in the production of ships, airplanes, tanks, guns and other necessary munitions and supplies. "They know that other regis-

trants have been deferred from service in the armed forces to accomplish that purpose. They into. demand that no citizen hesitate

when and why the militia would be used. When he started strengthening of America." to speak about how riots broke This is one of the most flagrant out before this country went into the last war also how time to break the bonds of symnecessary it would be to call pathy that tie the drafted worke out the militia if and when any city or state police forces

A REVEALING LETTER FROM A DRAFTEE

two and two together. He spoke The following excerpt from a let ter addressed by a conscript to a on how vitally important it was for all manufacturers that friend shows how the officers are were making war weapons for trying to poison the minds of the this country, to make sure that draftees.

these weapons are made with-"Last Tuesday," writes this conout delay due to strikes, he script, "we were given a lecture said that if one person wanted to work while another was on the subject he spoke on was for eign agents in our army camps. strike it was no business of He pointed out that the soldiers anybody to try to make that are too far friendly with stranger particular person who wanted especially when they go to town to work go on strike. In other and get a couple of drinks into words I think that if there are going to be strikes in the their systems, they blab of what future the government is gothey do on maneuvers and what kind of weapons are being used. ing to take drastic steps to also the different formations that curb the trouble. He said only are used when assembling for at in extreme cases would civilian tack or retreat. I think that he population be fired on." was more than right, he also went What the capitalist class is drivon to speak about what the feling at is obvious. Can it succeed? lows write in their letters, he Can it really transform former said some of these letters are lost union militants into opponents of and that we don't know whose the working class and its strughands these letters are falling

"He then went on to explain

What The New Turn Of Stalinism Means In China, Italy and Germany

By DON DORE

"The character of the war has changed" for Britain and the United States, says the Communist Party.

This new line, as everyone knows, directly contradicts what the Stalinists said yesterday about the ruling class of Britain and the United States. That isn't all that it contradicts. The flip-flop in America

and England might be explained away by the Stalinists on the ground that these countries are, now fighting a progressive war. the Daily Worker, June 4, said

Oil.'

Yesterday, however, the Staleditorially: inists correctly characterized as a progressive struggle the war of the Chinese people against Japan, the struggle of the German and Italian workers for liberation from fascism distant date not specified . . . -and the program proposed yesterday by the Stalinists for those progressive struggles was diametrically opposite to

offer todas

to put an end to the horrors of war . . . '

Yesterday, then, the allies of the Italian working class were "the revolutionary British workers . . fighting for the defeat of British imperialism." Today the Stalinists declare the "alies" of the Italian workers are the "plutocrats of London"!

Yesterday the Stalinists correct "Secretary Hull's latest contrily explained that those "socialbution to the State Department's ists" who support Britain against. intrigue in the Far East is a vague Italy are driving the Italian work promise to surrender extra-terri ers into the arms of Mussolini. That is still true. Only now the torial privileges in China at some Stalinists have joined the "social ists" in this reactionary task. "Does Secretary Hull's vague

promises signify any reversal of YESTERDAY'S C.P. LINE imperialist policy in China? It FOR THE GERMAN WORKER would be very naive to think so ... Before June 22nd the Stalinists

their rivals, the German bankers, back in the saddle.

"That is why the German people do not count on the imperialists of other nations to save them. More, and more, the people of Germany are realizing that for freedom from tyranny and wars, they must rely on their own strength, in collaboration with the international working class movement.

"The salvation of the German people, as of the people everywhere, lies in Socialism. They will not permit themselves to be betrayed again when a full victory over capitalism is within reach."

Today, however, the Stalinists have ceased to call upon the Ger-

Will Japan Now Attempt To Attack the USSR?

By JACK WEBER

Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union tends to restore the situation that existed before 1939. The great fear of Russia at that time was of an attack on two fronts, the Western and the Eastern. The cancellation in blood of the Stalin-Hitler pact serves almost automatically to cancel also the Soviet-Japanese pact. The Japanese militarists are forced to reconsider their position and to decide on a new line that will, in their opinion, best suit their imperialist purposes.

The danger of another treacherous invasion of the Soviet Union, this time in the Far East, is manifest in the whole situation. If the Japanese diplomats and generals maintain complete silence for a time, it will be due to the simple fact that they had not looked for so early a denouement of the fascist plot against Soviet Russia in Europe. They had prepared, following the previous line of Hitler, to turn south. Their immediate attention had become focused on the Dutch East Indies and on Thailand as a first step towards Singapore. This situation had reached more or less of a stalemate owing to Japan's fear of the Anglo-Dutch-American coalition against her. Nevertheless the desire for the southern adventure had caused a withdrawal of troops and forces from China and Manchukuo. Thus Japan was totally unprepared to exploit the new alignment of forces.

The press continues to carry stories to the effect that Japan will remain neutral in the Russo-German war. It is repeated that Japan will soon take further measures against the French in Thailand in order to press forward towards the great menace of Singapore. But reflection will show that Japan must prepare to face the effects of the new phase of the second World War. Any move southwards would bring inevitably a clash with England and America. It is perfectly clear that the American imperialists do not propose to stand by while the Mikado's forces extend their conquests still further. The United States sees its entire future at stake in Singapore and will fight any move to infiltrate into the Malay region in a manner that would endanger this great base.

If such a war began, it is clear that it would soon transfer itself to Vladivostok and Siberia. The USSR would be anxious to get all the help possible from the United States through this port. Japan has practically served notice already that she will not permit such help. The **Japanese** proposal to designate the waters about Vladivostok as a zone of her own paramount interest. not to be used for getting help to Russia, is the first step in the direction of Japanese intervention in the North. The Nipponese militarists fear that the United States will secure a base of operations against Japan not thousands of miles away-as is Singapore-but mere hundreds of miles away. It would not be a big step from allout aid to Stalin, to an alliance against Japan and Germany. We do not predict such an alliance, but merely state Japan's fear of one.

Japan Preparing To Fight USSR

Fascist movement which crushed the organizations of the Italian working class. their class. And the American draftees of 1917? They, too, despite the relative immaturity of the American

and future."

couldn't enforce strict law and

order, in case of strikes, I put

gles? Can it, as Liebnecht wrote,

'square the circle," "arm the peo-

ple against the people itself . . .

turn the workman into an oppres-

sor and an enemy, into a murder-

er of members of his own class and his friends, of his parents,

sisters and brothers, children,

into a murderer of his own past

WHICH SHALL WE FOLLOW?

The Italian soldiers were not

very much different from our

own. Yet they comprised an es-

sential element in Mussolini's

EXAMPLES OF 1917-

trade unions, were not very much different from the draftees today. Yet, after the war, many of them joined strikebreaking, ultra-patriotic organizations like the Ameri can Legion. The veterans of 1918 are in the vanguard of American reaction to this day. Did this have to happen?

No! The Russian Revolution ought, for all time, to dispel man workers to fight for socialany illusions on that score.

THE MILITANT

We Fight On Against Jim Crow

As opposed to the Stalinist line, the Socialist Workers Party finds no contradiction between revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union and continuation of militant struggle for labor and Negro rights.

As the Manifesto of the Socialist Workers Party says: "The method to defend the Soviet Union is to continue the class struggle against the imperialists. Defend workers' rights against government strikebreaking! Build the power of the working class until it becomes the governmental power. That is the best service which the American workers can render to their brothers in the Soviet Union."

In other words, class conscious Negroes must continue their struggle against Jim Crowism. Together with their white brothers, they must help to substitute for the present system of exploitation and discrimination, a system of socialist brotherhood which will help to solve our problems here and to defend the Soviet Union at the same time.

to the Chinese, Italian and German workers.

YESTERDAY'S STALINIST **PROGRAM FOR CHINA**

the program they

Yesterday the Communist Party future. warned the Chinese masses that under no conditions should they put their fate in the hands of the "friends" of China - Britain and the United States.

"Only Anti-Imperialist Liberation Policy Can Save China" was the headline of a front page article in the Daily Worker of May 28. It cited the declarations of Chou En Lai, leader of the Chinese Communist Party. The article declares:

and Standard Oil" that it was last "China must, Chou En Lai inmonth? Yet the Communist Party sisted, always adhere to the plattoday is supporting all of Hullform of the national war of liber-Roosevelt's proposals to China! ation, and never join any bloc of imperialist warring countries." YESTERDAY'S STALINIST

Chou En Lai then goes on: LINE FOR ITALY Did the Italian Communist

"... China must pursue an in dependent and her own policy in Party yesterday call on the Italthe war and must not join the ian workers to support the "debloc of imperialist countries who mocratic" imperialists because the are waging war and must liere Allies were fighting Mussolini? renounce the principle of national On the contrary. The Daily Workindependence and freedom

er, May 28, quoted the Manifesto "China cannot refuse foreign of the Communist Party of Italy aid. But we must clearly underwhich declared: stand that the initiative, inde-

pendence and achievement of victory with our own forces form the basis of state policy in our armed resistance'

When Cordell Hull last month don and from the yoke of the made some "promises" to China,



The Soviet Union in 1920 of its warned the German workers that own free will wiped out all imper the fight against Hitler could be ialist claims in China left over waged only as a fight against Hit from the imperialist Czarist re | ler and Churchill. An editorial ir gime. It did not have to make the June Daily Worker declared. vague promises for some distant "A Hitler or a Churchill

looks upon small nations and "But that was because it colonial peoples as mere pawns really meant it. Secretary Hull to be whipped as slaves, exdoesn't mean it. Secretary Hull ploited and robbed. Under such is an imperialist maneuvering rule, the people at home suffer in China for the greater glory tyranny as well as the victimof Wall Street and Standard ized conquered peoples...

"The German Communists, in We ask the members of the spired by the triumphs of Social Communist Party: isn't Hullism in the Soviet Union, fear Roosevelt's game in China the essly raise the banners of na same "maneuvering in China for tional liberation against their the greater glory of Wall Street wn Hitler imperialism.

> "Like Communists EVERY-WHERE, the German Communists, bred in the Ernst Thaelmann school, reject the subterfuge of those 'Socialist' gentlemen who easily see the crimes of the 'other' imperialism but lick the boots of their 'own' imperialism and call it 'democracy'. German fascism fears a Thaelmann as Wall Street imperialism fears a Browder."

On June 5, the Daily Worker published an editorial on the death of the former Kaiser, in "... The real interests of the

Italian people lie in the colon-"The Allied imperialists who ial peoples becoming free and had been waging war against independent, both from the the German bankers, also came to their rescue and helped yoke of the plutocrats of Lonsmash the revolution. Wall Street and London would be more terrified today if the German workers were about to overthrow Hitlerism and again

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ism. That word has disappeared There, the soldier-workers, far from all references to Germany. from being enemies of the including the Kremlin's leaflets "appealing" to the German soldiers.

Those leaflets call upon the German soldiers to cease fighting against the Soviet Union. But what do the leaflets offer the German people as a way out? Nothing!

And the Kremlin leaflet is silent on this score for weighty reasons: the Kremlin's allies do not want socialism in Germany; the "democracies" offer the German people only a second and worse Versailles. And in supporting Britain and the United States, the Stalinists program can be put into effect. are giving support to such a second Versailles.

Such are the utterly reactionary fruits of the new Stalinist line for the German, Italian and Chin-

116 University Place

ese masses.

working class, actually aided the revolution of the workers, playing a key role through the Soviets of Soldiers', Deputies. Russia in 1917 had what Italy and the United States lacked a working class party fighting for the interests of the soldiers. The lessons of the Russian Revolution must be impressed on the trade union movement of this country. They must protect not only the interests of the workers in the factory but also the workers in the army. They must advance a program for the soldiers and must demand the means by which this

The bourgeoisie is trying to divide worker and soldier. Its efforts can be thwarted only by the establishment of military training under the control of the trade unions.

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We may expect therefore, that Japan will soon begin to transfer her armies back to the north to be prepared for all eventualities. If Hitler gains tremendous victories over Stalin in Europe, the Japanese will be tempted to carry out their original plan of invading Siberia and seizing the Maritime Provinces. In that case Vladivostok will be one of their first goals. But as is often the case, their desire to prevent the United States from getting a toe-hold in Siberia, may precipitate just that which the Japanese generals fear. It is most unlikely that Roosevelt will refrain from sending help to Russia through Siberia because of any Japanese threat. His only fear of aiding Stalin now would be that the material sent might fall into German hands in case the Red Army cannot hold out for a long time. At any rate, some measure of help has already started, so that the clash of interests between Japan and the United States will soon find a testing ground in the Far East.

There are many who think that with Hitler's invasion and the respite given to England as a result, the United States will be held back from entering the war. But actually the new stage of the European war has disturbed the stalemate in the Pacific. Things are once more moving towards a crisis there, owing to Japan's need to make a sharp turn-about in accord with the move of the Axis partner. The talk of neutrality merely covers intensive preparations for intervention in the near future. That will bring the Pacific war closer.

Pacific War Will Begin in Siberia

Once war breaks out in the Pacific it will naturally involve not merely Siberia, but all the imperialist possessions as well. But the first great battles will center in the north, in Siberia. Naturally Stalin would like to see the Japanese remain neutral so as to leave the Siberian rear alone. Soviet Russia could then concentrate on the European enemy. But Stalin must be well aware that the pact with Japan became another one of those scraps of paper the moment Hitler marched his armies across the Russian border. Stalin would prefer (so long as he still exercises any choice in the matter) not to have any capitalist troops on Siberian soil. But if Japan attacks, he will probably not be averse to coming to some agreement with the United States, giving the latter bases on the Siberian mainland for operations against Japan.

Even if Stalin should suffer quick defeat, in which case Japan would act very quickly, the outlook of United States aid to the Siberian forces that remain is not excluded. For despite the extreme importance of the English struggle to United States imperialism, Roosevelt could not afford to allow the riches of the Pacific area to fall into the clutches of the Japanese without a fight.

The Communist party has revived the policy of the "People's Front." Do you know the story of how the "People's Front" destroyed the labor movement of Europe? Every class-conscious worker must read: WHITHER FRANCE, by Leon Trotsky,

would spare no effort to place **GET YOUR COPY!** THE JUNE ISSUE OF A Monthly Organ for French-

which it stated:

THE MILITANT



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

"Shooting War"

The occupation of Iceland by American troops will lead to "shooting war"-all observers are agreed on that.

But the Constitution of the United States provides that only Congress shall have the authority to put this country into a war.

There is an obvious contradiction between the move into Iceland and the constitutional exclusion

General Marshall to make the recommendation Roosevelt had no intention of submitting that recommendation, or the one seeking authority to take troops outside the Western Hemisphere, to a vote in Congress under the conditions prevailing last week.

Instead Roosevelt directed the occupation of Iceland. The people were confronted with the fact that there are now troops already outside the Western Hemisphere.

But that is only the beginning. Guarding the routes of the North Atlantic to Iceland means driving German raiders and submarines out of one of the chief areas in which the Nazis have been harassing British shipping. It means "incidents."

And "incidents," Roosevelt and his supporters hope, will change the conditions which confront them within this country. By the "little" extralegal action of involving the country in shooting "incidents" without having the constitutional authority to do so, Roosevelt hopes to create a situation in which he will get the necessary authority from Congress to send any number of troops abroad, to lengthen the service of draftees, and, in short, to wage large-scale war.

In this vile game, Congress is of course a silent partner of Roosevelt. Fearful of the anti-war sentiment of the great masses of the people, Congress itself does not dare openly to debate the issue of war or peace. Instead Congress sits silently by while Roosevelt executes the steps which, added together, means confronting the American people with the accomplished fact of war.

And the very last thing that Roosevelt and Congress would ever agree to would be the proposal to submit to popular vote the issue of war or peace. They dare not, because they know the people would vote against war.

A handful of Labor congressmen, under the discipline of a trade union movement opposing entry into the war, could make a shamble of the Administration's strategy of pushing us into the war. But we do not have such Labor congressmen, thanks to the false policy of the trade union leadership of backing Democratic and Republican candidates.

In the days of great crisis that are to come, Labor must have its own party. That, if nothing else, is now painfully clear. In war or in peace the working class cannot depend on boss parties.

Build an Independent Labor Party-that is now an absolutely vital necessity without which the trade union movement cannot hope to survive this war in effective shape. Purely trade union issues have well-nigh ceased to exist. Every issue involving the trade unions now brings the government into the picture, making it a political issue. It is intolerable that at this late date Labor cannot meet these issues with its own political party. That must be rectified within the very next months.

Stalinist Double-Talk

When John L. Lewis last Monday blasted Roosevelt for using troops to break the North American Aviation strike, he became so impassioned that his voice could be heard by newspapermen waiting outside the closed doors of the CIO legislative conference. The reporters couldn't hear all that Lewis said, but they got the drift of things and knew they had a big story. Further

After Randolph Dropped **The Negro March**

Randolph Hailed Roosevelt's Executive Order As The 'Second Emancipation Proclamation' But It Didn't Even Rate A Speech!

had to walk.'

and then says:

* * *

which finally led up to the fact

he stated it in the Good Hope

Baptist Church; it sounds even

worse when I write it today.

Randolph has a lot of explain-

ing to do, and so have all the

rest mixed up in the direction

of the March-and he didn't do

it down here. Walter White, in

the last mass meeting on Fri-

day night, expressed his own

By ALBERT PARKER

A. Philip Randolphand a few others consider Roosevelt's executive order on Negroes and the war industries a "second Emancipation Proclamation." But appar ently Roosevelt doesn't. He didn' speak about it over the radio: you won't see him reading the order in the news reels; he didn't even hold a press conference on the matter, as he does on almost everything else, small or big.

The capitalist press gave the or ler practically no publicity. (I would be interesting to find out how many newspapers south of the Mason-Dixon line even mentioned it).

Randolph had to speak about the order over the radio since Roosevelt wouldn't. Hillman had to hold the press conference. Negroes did not go through! had to wait for the Negro press to explain what the order was

about, and those papers didn't do very good job at it either. All this indicates very clearly the speakers at the NAACP connow important Roosevelt considers ference in Houston, describes a

this so-called "second Emancipation Proclamation."

NEGRO YOUTH BLAST RANDOLPH'S RETREAT

Randolph had no trouble in getting his hand-picked national committee in charge of the March to approve its "postponement, but not cancellation." But the national youth committee, which was not hand-picked, but was made up largely of delegates of different youth organizations, had a different attitude, and one which really represented the feelings of 95 per cent of the rank-and-file supporters of the March.

At a meeting called to consider Randolph's report on why the March was being called off, the youth committee "voted 44 to 1 to repudiate the action of the national executive committee and to demand that the march be staged within 90 days" (PITTSBURGH COUR-IER).

* * *

dissatisfaction with the Presi-The Chicago Defender tells of

a typical rank-and-file supporter of the March "In Florida, a 77-year-old march." woman sold a member of the Office of Production Manage-

ment staff a 'jobless march button' and swore that she was going to take part in the parade. She had money enough to carry her only as far as Savannah, Ga., which is about six or 700 miles short of her goal, but she was determined to get the rest of the distance and vowed she would make it if she What a far cry this is from the attitude of some of the leaders

of the March, who had only to get into a Pullman train or a plane, and who were just as determined to see that the March

Horace R. Cayton, labor editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, one of stirring speech by Robert Ming on the Negroes and the armed forces "In one very real sense it was a pity that they did not stop the meeting then, for A. Philip Randolph followed Ming. Randolph made an apologetic statement

that 'they' (I don't know who "Naturally," he went on, "wher-'they' were) had called off the ever our opinion is asked, it is march to Washington. His arguour duty to encourage employment ments concerning the reason for with no discrimination, but it's calling off the march, as I undernot up to us to take the initiative. stood it, was because the Presi-"The problem may solve itself dent had issued an executive orwhen there's a shortage of under setting up a board for the purskilled help, as well as skilled. pose of integrating Negroes into It's a tough problem, and the reahe defense program . . . son it's tough is that everyone "It sounded pretty thin when

pussyfoots on it. I'm afraid attempts to pressure the thing in the emergency may not work out."

And this is a statement from an OPM official AFTER the issuance of the so-called "second **Emancipation** Proclamation"! Far better than Randolph's speeches, it indicates what the government is really going to do about Jim Crow in industry -nothing.

dent's order and pointed out its weaknesses. He also, however, justified the calling off of the

HOW ROOSEVELT'S ORDER LOOKS IN PRACTICE

The New Jersey Herald News tates that Roosevelt order "will have little or no effect in New Jersey." This seems certain if the conference between the Urban League and Glenn Gardiner, state director of defense training for OPM, means anything. It must be remembered that the first of the three points of the order provides that all governmental agencies "concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination '

"This is a very deep-rooted sociological problem ... I am not very hopeful that it can be solved 'just like that'." said OPM spokesman Gardiner. "I can't see that the President's order will have any particular effect on our program. Our function is helping companies in their training of employees. It's not for us to say who shall be hired.



JULY 12, 1941

It is undoubtedly true that even under the best of circumstances the Soviet Union, in a strictly military sense, could not, at this time, he a match for Germany. By the best of circumstances is meant a situation where the Soviet Union would be led by a party such as brought victory to the Russian workers and peasants in the years of 1917-1920.

Even if Lenin and Trotsky were alive and guiding the destinies of the Soviet Union, the military strength of Germany would be superior to that of the Soviet Union. For the simple reason that the military strength of a nation depends in the long rung upon the development of its industries and transportation. Nothing that Lenin and Trotsky could have done would have succeeded in raising the general productive capacity of the Soviet Union to a level equal to that of Germany.

The industrial capacity of the Soviet Union would be far greater than it is, had the conditions during the Lenin-Trotsky regime continued to prevail up until now. The destruction of workers' democracy by the Stalinist bureaucracy has been the greatest single factor in retarding the development of Soviet industry. For under a system of planning the right of the workers to check and criticize is a guarantee of the proper fulfillment of the plans. Take that right away and substitute for it the uncontrolled will of the bureaucrat and planned production loses a very large proportion of its effectiveness.

The Stalinist bureaucracy to a large extent nullified the tremendous potentialities of planned economy. Both the quantity and quality of products (especially quality) suffered because the Soviet masses had the right only to execute the plans of the bureaucrats. The strength of the Soviet Union would have been immeasurably greater, from the point of view of its industrial capacity, had the masses been directly involved in the formulation and execution of plans.

 $\mathcal{Z}_{g}^{\mathbf{r}_{i}}$

ang No

In addition to weakening the Soviet Union on the industrial front, Stalin has sapped the strength of the Red Army by removing and executing over ninety per cent of the highest and most qualified commanders. With those for whom black is white and white black, the removal of so many generals and admirals constitutes strengthening of the army, but people of average intelligence and not blinded by a fanatical loyalty to Stalinism will easily recognize the demoralizing effect that the removal of so many higher officers must necessarily have had on the Red Army.

Even if one should accept the preposterous and vicious falsehood that all the commanders executed weré fascists it would still leave an army without the services of officers who had the necessary experience and ability to lead it against such a powerful instrument as the Germany army.

Do these facts mean that the Soviet Union, under any circumstances, would be destined to defeat? Not at all!

Revolutionary Policy Could Defeat Hitler

For the Soviet Union, were it under revolutionary Marxist leadership, is in the possession of a weapon that is denied to every capitalist country, the weapon of revolutionary propaganda, the powerful appeal to the masses over the heads of their rulers. Revolutionary Marxists at the head of the Soviet Union would utilize that weapon to its fullest extent and it is this weapon that would more than compensate for the comparative military weakness of the Soviet Union.

of the President from the power to plunge this country into a war.

To "protect" the routes from the United States to Iceland-more than half-way across the North Atlantic-means that, sooner or later, American warships will be in battle with German warships or submarines or bombers. That's "shooting war."

Such "shooting war" will, in all likelihood, occur before Congress acts on the recommendations made July 3rd by Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall, who asked Congress to repeal the statutes which restrict service of National Guardsmen and draftees to the Western Hemisphere.

Practically everybody was under the impression that no U. S. troops at all could be sent outside the Western Hemisphere. The technicality under which Roosevelt sent regular marines and troops to Iceland plainly violates the spirit of existing statutes forbidding the main body of American troops from leaving the Western Hemisphere.

If Roosevelt were a real and honest democrat, he would have urged Congress to act on General Marshall's recommendation and would have welcomed general debate throughout the country on whether or not American troops should go into the Eastern Hemisphere.

But Roosevelt feared the consequences of such a debate. He feared the pressure upon Congress of the great masses who, in spite of all Roosevelt's efforts, still do not want war.

Roosevelt is particularly fearful of the reactions to General Marshall's further recommendation that draftees shall be kept in service beyond the year which they were originally scheduled to serve.

If conditions remained as they stood last week, it would be impossible for Roosevelt to get that recommendation adopted by Congress. The draftees themselves, as they come in on furloughs, are expressing themselves very bitterly to their families and friends about this recommendation. The draftees feel that they made an honest contract with the government: to serve one year. Now, like a Shylock who fixed up a flaw in the contract, the government is trying to violate its original pledge. The draftees want their families and friends to see to it that the government does not violate its contract. If Congress were to open debate this week on General Marshall's recommendation, it would be flooded with the biggest mail yet seen by Congress, demanding that it stick to the original contract.

Roosevelt knew this very well when he directed

details became generally available by tacit agreement of the CIO delegates. No paper could ignore this big news. The N. Y. Times, for example, gave it front page display under the headline, "J. L. Lewis Assails Roosevelt's Use of Army in Strike."

There was one paper, however; that found Lewis's war upon Roosevelt and his labor aids of little significance-in fact, not even newsworthy. The Daily Worker, that "people's champion of liberty, progress, peace and prosperity," ran the story of the CIO legislative conference down the entire length of its front page without once even referring to Lewis' attack on Roosevelt for strikebreaking.

By patiently reading through a mass of routine details concerning resolutions passed and committees established by the conference, one finally follows the continuation of the Daily Worker story to page four of the paper and there finds a buried and watered-down reference to Lewis's attack. "There were widespread reports of a clash between .. Lewis and some of the followers of Sidney Hillman," the Daily Worker whispers. "Lewis was understood to have bitterly criticized Hillman for being at the President's 'elbow' when the executive order ordering the Army to break the North Ame-* rican Aviation strike ... was drafted."

Thus Lewis's denunciation of the anti-labor philosophy of the Roosevelt administration is diluted and twisted until it appears to be nothing more than a flare-up between rival union leaders.

Since the Nazi-Soviet war Roosevelt has again become Galahad to the Daily Worker. It protects him from attack, even from union leaders on the score of strikebreaking. This is the Stalinist offering to Roosevelt in payment for his aid to Stalin.

Fortunately the editors can't eat all the back issues of the Daily Worker, though no doubt they'd like to. When the North American strike was broken (before the Nazi-Soviet war) the Roosevelt question was handled differently.

On June 18 the paper said, "The President is going forward (to) slavery for the organized workers at the point of a bayonet." And, on June 19, ... another example of the rapid march by the President in the direction of dictatorship and the assumption of full war powers ... "Responsibility for the wholesale sacrifice of fundamental principles of government labor policy must be pinned squarely on the Roosevelt administration."

The latest zig-zag has beset the Stalinists with many problems-not the least of which is the necessity of keeping back copies of the Daily Worker out of circulation.

uasn in Latin-America

U. S. And Britain Still

American workers in steel, ma- tions on raw materials, received 8, had secured from Churchill, last chinery, chemical products, rubber a letter from an English supplier month, a promise to curtail this and cloth are being sweated long offering to furnish finished trade drive.

The British, it seems, now have hours to produce for Churchill. goods." This battle for Latin-American welched on this promise. The And at the same time Britmarkets between the British and trade drive has continued and ish workers in these same in-U. S. "allies" reached its first again the Congressional cloakdustries are being driven to crisis in the early part of June rooms echo with maledictions produce capital and consumer goods which are being sold by when the N. Y. Times revealed in against the British. The American drive to war is based upon the the English bosses, at a neat June 8: profit, to South America! theory that Germany is a threat "On its tour of South America to the South American markets. early this year the British govern-This week U. S. exporters, stung by the new English commercial ment Willingdon Mission advised However, the American imperialsuccesses in Latin America, are Latin Americans that England had ists will use this war to eliminate demanding that Roosevelt do 1,000,000 tons of shipping serving all competitors from Latin America, allied as well as enemy. the South American ports. something about it.

"(American) exporters who rec- WHAT THIS REVEALS "Crowning blow in the succession of incidents," reports the ently returned from Argentina re- ABOUT ENGLAND N. Y. Times financial section of ported seeing pre-fabricated steel INTERNALLY July 6th, "came three weeks age pipe stacked up at a plant at Ros-

This British drive for export when a company in Buenos Aires ario. The Argentine buyers boastwhich was on the British black ed that the order had been placed trade reveals much concerning the list (of German or pro-German at a price more than 10 per cent internal situation in England. companies) entered the market below the lowest quoted by United The British workers are regifor quantities of paper. According States shippers. They added that mented in the name of the war But the British bosses are still the delivered consignment repto exporters the order was substantial and at the instance of resented the second attempt by conducting business as usual in an English supplier the name of England to fill the order. The ship whatever sphere they can realize the Buenos Aires buyer was re carrying the first consignment the most profits. The "most desmoved from the black-list long was sunk and the order was dupperate hour of British need" has enough to enable the British com. licated and sent on a later boat. not imposed many restriction upon "At a paper-making plant on the big British manufacturers. pany to bid for the business and While Nazi bombs blast England's the outskirts of the same city ... get its money, whereupon the company was put back on the black- the owners said they were awardproduction facilities and the workers are forced to work 70 and 80 ing a contract for paper-making list again. hours per week to supply the war equipment to British producers

"Indignation also was generated machine, the bosses produce steel because the latter had been able last week when a manufacturer to underbid American makers by for export! of hard rubber goods, who has a wide margin. In Columbia and been compelled to curtail a rather Brazil active bidding for steel extensive export business because products was general on the part of the defense program restric- of English representatives who were reported to be offering prices which American producers could In NEWARK, N. J. not match." on the Buy the Taking advantage of the war situ-MILITANT ation, and the extreme dependency and the of British imperialism on American aid against the most aggres-Newsstand, Broad sive rival of both, the American 48 pages & Wm. Sts. imperialists last year launched a Cohen's drive to force the British to relin-Order from quish their hold on these markets. Confectionary, The British answered with bar-116 University Place 11 SPRINGFIELD AVE gain prices. New York City near Court House. The American government, the New York Times announced June

Stalin is not capable of utilizing and will not utilize this all-powerful weapon. This is already indicated by the shocking fact that the heroic traditions of the October Revolution and of the Civil War period have. not been appealed to.

Instead, the Russian workers and peasants are appealed to on the basis of traditions that have nothing to do with their glorious revolutionary past. Here are a few gems gleaned from the Daily Worker:

"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." (DAILY WORKER, June 25.)

"The whole world knows of the splendid historical victory of the Russians and their alliesthe Poles and Lithuanians-near Tannenberg in the fifteenth century, in July 1410. The destiny of the Slav world was at stake then... The German Teutonic knights threw the flower of their forces into the fight... The battle was a fierce one. The Germans were utterly routed. From then on the Teutonic Order was shattered and went to its inglorious end" (DAILY WORKER, June 26.)

"In the 16th century, the troops of Ivan, the Terrible, routed the German invaders in the Baltic... The struggle for the Baltic states was a long one, running into tens of years, a struggle full of unparalleled heroism on the part of the Russians..." (DAILY WORKER, June 26.)

It is obvious that Stalin is avoiding anything remotely connected with the revolutionary tradition of the Russian workers. He wants to assure his capitalist allies of his respectability. Whereas Churchill and Roosevelt openly announce their hostility to Communism (which they of course confuse with Stalinism) Stalin has not a word to say about capitalism.

Indeed, the glorious traditions of the October revolution are completely alien to the Stalinist bureaucracy. But they are a living part of the Soviet Union, inspiring the Russian workers and peasants to a fierce struggle against the capitalist enemy. If the Russian masses win it will be in spite of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

They Love It

"Who says Business Men Don't Read Books?" is the head of a two column advertisement run by the John Day Publishing Co. in the June 17th issue of the N. Y. Times. "They've made a best seller out of this one": Burnham's The Managerial Revolution. ...

The ad then quotes part of a review of Burnham's book that appeared in Business Week:

"... for the author picked the right subject at the right time."

No question about that. And he handled the subject in the right manner, too-to make it a best seller among businessmen. Businessmen love to be told that socialism is impossible.

Trotsky's Last Work MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IMPERIALIST WAR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION 5 cents per copy PIONEER PUBLISHERS