New GPU Plot to Free Trotsky's Assassin

By Natalia Trotsky

— See page 3 —

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SWP. 544-CIO DEFENDANTS ARRAIGNED

One Year Passes...

Trotskyism Leads Workers' Anti-War Fight

One year ago, on August 21, 1940, Leon Trotsky fell, a victim of the pickaxe blows of a GPU assassin. The capitalist world could scarcely conceal its exultation at the invaluable service Stalin had rendered to it. The murder of Trotsky, they thought, meant the end of Trotskyism.

But Trotsky was a mason who built on firm foundations for the future. His power sprang from the power of his ideas. and in the year since Trotsky's death, these imperishable ideas have reached broader circles of the oppressed in many lands. Our party, founded upon Trotsky's teachings, thrives amidst adversity and brings Trotsky's program of revolutionary struggle to wider sections of the American working class.

Both by words and by deeds do the chief political representatives of American imperialism give testimony to the living power of Trotskyism. Last week Senator Barkley, Roosevelt's Democratic Majority Leader in the Senate, explained to his less enlightened colleagues why the capitalist masters of the world can place confidence in Stalinism but can never make their peace with the uncompromising Trotskyist revolutionists.

Speaking in defense of Stalin as a trustworthy ally of American imperialism, Barcley declared:

"When they (the Russian people after the revolution of 1917) started out, they had a vague, fantastic notion that they could socialize or communize the world; and the fundamental difference between Stalin and Trotsky was over that question. Trotsky, as I understand the matter, was a world revolutionist, while Stalin took the position that the Russian Government owed its first duty to the Russian people... the fight between Trotsky and Stalin revolved around the question whether they should undertake to revolutionize the world or should concentrate on Russia. Stalin won, and Trotsky had to leave the country." (Congressional Record, Aug. 5, 1941, P. 6908)

The political heads of the War Party appraise Stalinis and Trotskyism very soberly amongst themselves. They understand the main difference between them very well. Stalin's program is quite congenial to them. This renegade, they assert, has abandoned the "vague, fantastic notion" that other peoples than the Russian should overthrow their capitalist oppressors; and, in accordance with this policy, Stalin is easy to deal with. Barkley may confuse Stalin's concern for his bureaucratic regime with a sense of "duty to the Russian people," but he knows full well that Stalin is ready to barter away the independence and interests of the working class upon the demand of his imperialist

It is quite otherwise with the Trotskvists. We stand forth. today as always, irreconcilable enemies of imperialism and its wars. Our program for defending the Soviet Union calls upon the workers in all capitalist countries to continue their struggle for workers' power.

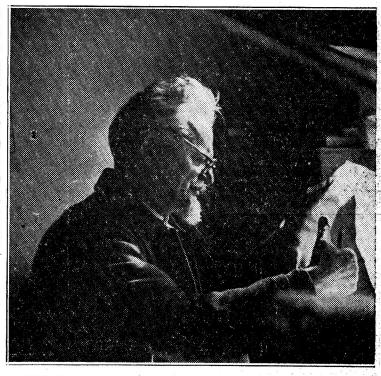
On Monday in St. Paul, Minnesota, the leaders of our party were arraigned, together with members of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, Local 544-CIO, before a Federal court on charges of "conspiracy to overthrow the Government." Our party is persecuted and its leaders arrested on trumped-up charges for our uncompromising fight against Wall is 15,000 signatures, double the Street's war. The militant leaders of Local 544-CIO required amount. This is to allow are there beside them because they could not surrender to Dictator Tobin, the independence, democratic rights and militant policies of the Minneapolis one of the 29 defendants now unteamsters' movement.

By this outrageous prosecution, Barkley's boss, Franklin Doublecross Roosevelt, recognizes in his own reactionary way the living force of Trotskyism. In hounding the Trotskyists, Roosefelt follows in the footsteps of Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, Petain and all the other autocrats who seek to suppress revolutionary socialism. The watchdogs of American imperialism pay involuntary tribute to our party as the only irreconcilable opponent of the moneybags, their system of exploitation, and their war.

The indictment charges the Socialist Workers Party with advocating the principles of Lenin and Trotsky and with holding up the October revolution, led by Lenin and Trotsky, as a model for the workers of the world to follow. To this "charge," we proudly plead guilty.

We are Trotsky's disciples, as Trotsky was a disciple of Marx and Lenin. Trotsky's heroic life, his undeviating devotion to the workers and their cause, his unyielding stand before ceaseless persecution, his contempt for his persecutors, his measureless confidence in the ultimate victory of world socialism inspires the ranks of our party. We honor Trotsky hand-trucks loaded with goods lation Board and accepted by the by remaining true to his teachings and by imitating through the heavy traffic all day, union. his example. As soldiers of the proletarian revolution, we remain at our posts under fire and will not cease our struggle until the cause of world socialism sweat and slave for peanuts and they sit in their swivel chairs and parations to "seize" the plant first submitted its case to the ment will, in effect, "seize" the shop principles. "National de- work vesterday by agreement

Leon Trotsky, Nov. 7, 1879-Aug. 21, 1940





(Above) Lenin and Trotsky, co-leaders and organizers of the October Revolution of 1917, shown reviewing a Red Army parade during the early days of the Soviet Union when Trotsky, as head of the Soviet Army, led it to victory.

(Left) Trotsky, working on the manuscript of his book on Stalin, finished shortly before his death on August 21, 1940, at the hands of a GPU assassin.

Auto Convention Groups Line Up Around North American Issue

Delegates Reject Hillmanite Report; But Addes Compromises With Frankensteen

BUFFALO, August 12-The character of the two main contending groups among the leadership of the and for the principles of a union vise the affairs of California Re-United Automobile Workers (CIO), the Addes-Lewis which will fight for the interests gion 6. and the Reuther-Hillman forces, was clearly outlined of the workers independently of this week as the auto workers' convention here OPM control" has now adjuste! fought out the issue of the North American Aviation steen and watered down his progstrike on the west coast.

By an unprincipled deal with Richard Frankensteen, the strikebreaking director of the aviation sec- brought on the convention floor Frankensteen be barred from election of the union, who dictatorially jerked the charter of the by the Grievance Committee. The tive or appointive office for five North American Local 683, and welcomed the troops which broke

members and sympathizers of the New York Local of our party

the required minimum of 7,500 someone to represent us, not

them!"

basic issues, and sown confusion has muddied the waters of its and not a little disgust among the manded that Lew Michener, Cali-

Cannon-for-Mayor Petition Drive

Wins Anti-War Workers' Support

The campaign to place the name of James P. Cannon, Na- called and it looks as if this will

Less than two weeks after the start of the campaign, the from what I've heard, the Army

The response of the Negro work-

called for an extra effort in order ers has been particularly gratify- paign headquarters at 116 Uni-

to get 7,500 signatures by August ing. One young Negro worker, versity Place, secure petition

tional Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, on the ballot be my last chance to express my

as the Trotskyist Anti-War candidate for Mayor of New York opposition to the war. I have faced

who hoped to rally behind Addes ternational Board member of the Reuther

Addes, who had spoken before of a "basic fight against the OPM Board of the International super-

committee was divided into three vears. flecting Reuther's group, deprogram, compromised all the ranks of the militant delegates fornia Regional Director and In-

a lot of discrimination here, but

Friends and sympathizers of

the party, who want to help our

to the Cannon-For-Mayor cam-

is going to be a lot worse."

against the pro-Hillman, pro-OPM UAW, be barred from holding any office, elective or appointive, for one year, and that the Executive

"SUPER-MINORITY" REPORT A minority report, reflecting his line to his bloc with Franken- the extreme right wing, demanded that Michener be expelled from the International, and that all un-The North American case was ion representatives who defied

grievance committee asked that Michener be deprived of the right to run for the International Board for one year, but be allowed to hold appointive posts.

The super-minority report wa supported by the Addes caucus.

None of the reports supported the North American workers who went out on a perfectly justified strike. None of the reports exposed the strikebreaking role of Frankensteen. The Addes caucus, having made a deal with Frankensteen, could not attack him by telling the truth about the North American strike.

RANK AND FILE BRINGS OUT REAL ISSUES

But more than one rank-andfile delegate insisted on bringing

Early Trial Is **Being Demanded** By Government

Prosecution Insists On Rushing Trial Date To Railroad Anti-War Fighters; Seeks To Deny Defendants Time To Prepare Case

— BULLETIN —

MINNEAPOLIS, August 11—Tonight, eleven hours after the leaders of Local 544-CIO were arraigned on the charge of "conspiracy to overthrow the government," the unholy alliance of Tobin-Roosevelt-bosses got a plain answer from the truckdrivers of Minneapolis to the government's attempt to intimidate them by hounding their leaders. The answer was the regular monthly membership meeting of the union.

The union hall was packed with over 1,000 members. After sixty days of Blitzkrieg by government and Tobin's thugs, despite all the enormous pressure put on them, these men came out and showed where they stood.

That's only half the story. The other half is that at the same hour the Tobin AFL "union" was also meeting. Including Tobin's thugs, all the noses you could count in Tobin's hall amounted to 56.

Count them: 1,000 for the CIO against 56 for

There's the answer to Tobin and the Department of Justice!

MINNEAPOLIS, August 11—The 29 defendants in the U.S. Department of Justice's "seditious conspiracy" case against the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO were arraigned here today before U. S. District Court Judge Robert C. Bell, and pleaded not guilty.

"The government insists that this trial be the first on the docket when court convenes on September 23rd," said U. S. Disrict Attorney Victor Anderson, as he interposed objections to the request of the defendants' attorneys for adequate time to prepare oral argument on motions seeking dismissal of the in-

The defense had asked for ninety days in which to prepare for argument of the motions. Judge Bell gave the defense three weeks-up to Sept. 1-in which to file its motions in written form, and the date for oral argument will be set by Judge M. M. Joyce, who will be sitting here during September. Federal Pro-

secutor Anderson indicated he will get in touch with Judge Joyce even before the latter arrives here, Sept. 8, and seek an immediate date for the oral argument. After hearing the argument, if the judge upholds any part of either count of the indictment - there are two counts - he will then set the date of trial.

Prosecutor Anderson's insistence upon rushing the trial indicates the determination of the U.S. Department of Justice to railroad to prison at the earl-

militant unionists.

Gilbert E. Carlson and D. J. Shama, counsel for the 16 defendants who are members of Local 544-CIO, pointed out to Judge Bell that the 90-day period requested was necessitated by the struggle between the CIO and AFL out of which this case arose.

The CIO union - which disaffiliated from Tobin's AFL. Teamsters and accepted a CIO charter on June 9 - is occupied with numerous hearings before the state labor board, in which it is demanding that elections be

(Continued on page 2)

who, together with his two broth- blanks, and start work to place ers, signed the petition, stated: the name of James P. Cannon on out the real issues. Everett iest possible moment the in-"My draft number has just been the ballot. dicted anti-war fighters and (Continued on page 2) Navy May 'Seize' Kearny Shipyard

Our candidate, J. P. Cannon, is der federal indictment on a frameup charge of "planning to overthrow the government by force and violence." The campaign to place him on the ballot for mayor of the largest city in the country is our party's aswer to the vicious attempt of Roosevelt and his War Party to stifle the voice of the militant anti-war forces in orders tied up by the strike of 16,000 workers. The strike was Each day brings in encouraging

ers (CIO).

reports of the tremendous anti- Local 16, Industrial Union of war sentiment in this city and of Marine and Shipbuilding Workthe wide-spread sympathy and response to our program. In all five ities and races, workers are signing the Cannon petitions eagerly.

City is moving at blitzkrieg pace.

have secured over 40 per cent of

The campaign committee has

21, the first anniversary of the

The total quota set by the Local

for signatures which may be dis-

death of Leon Trotsky.

Many workers in the garment and listening to our canvassers. signed the petition and spoke up:

the Federal Shipbuilding and huge plant here "within the next production on \$500,000,000 of war

area are taking the MILITANT strike and forestall the signing clusion of this clause in the con- the plant in the interests of the of a union contract on terms re- tract. One truck-boy, who wheels little commended by the National Med-

drink all day. We got to have were virtually completed-"of- NDMB, and even cut down its plant here for the identical pur- fense" to the bosses means the with the striking union.

11-Acting at the wired request ernment for "immediate posses- strike.

of L. H. Korndorff, president of sion and operation." The telegram declared that the Drydock Company, the Navy De- company would rather "give" the partment taking over the plant, by pointing to the request of the partment has indicated that it plant to the government than since the owners are assured by union and claiming that it is do- East and Gulf Coast shippard will take over the company's yield to a strike which "involves law of "just compensation" and ing what the union itself asked. owners to evade the provisions 48 hours" in an effort to resume the open shop." This refers to the modified union-shop clause which the

union demands in its contract. called at midnight August 6 by This clause would require that workers who have joined or will This move of the company, un- missal. The National Mediation | The idea that the government, derstanding with the Navy De- following weeks of negotiations Aviation plant strike with regu- open-shop Navy Department. partment, is intended to halt the in Washington, agreed to the in-

only the union's original demands Korndorff's telegram to Sec- proposals, and thus precipitated placed under the control and of its plants to the government dred AFL construction workers, 'We know what it's all about. We retary of the Navy Knox-who the strike. Although the old con- management of the workers rather than accept a union con- who had respected the CIO picket sweat and slave for peanuts and had already indicated that pre- tract expired June 24, the union

stands to gain by the Navy Deno issue but the maintenance of the Navy Department follows a under its management.

The union made a serious mislar army troops, would "seize"

"seizure",-to break the strike. labor. It is clear that the company | The government will attempt to

strict policy of granting no union | vice president of Local 16, that contracts and upholds the open- the union "welcomed" the plant cently signed with the IUMSWAshop in all plants and shipyards | "seizure" but that "we want, however, guarantees that our collective bargaining rights will not take in asking the government be impaired by the transition," join the union continue in good to take over the plant shortly is undoubtedly the real sentistanding in the union or face dis- after the strike was under way. ment of the strikers. Such guarantees however, are unlikely to doubtedly initiated after an un- Board, in its recommendations which broke the North American be observed by the notoriously

The actions of the company demonstrate once again what the workers is completely false. The owning class means by "national The company turned down not only way in which such "seizure" defense." The company prefers could operate to the workers' to have production tied up or been continuously maintained at but the Board's watered-down benefit would be if the plant were even to give up nominal control all plant entraces. Several hunthemselves. The Navy Depart- tract or yield an inch on its open lines from the start, returned to

a | pose of the North American plant | right of unlimited exploitation of

Behind the company's refusal avoid the onus of strikebreaking to come to an agreement with the union, is the attempt of the A statement of Peter Flynn, of the government-sponsored general "stabilization" agreement re-CIO. The Federal Ship-building and Drydock Company, a U.S. Steel subsidiary, has fired the opening gun in a drive of the National Council of Shipbuilders to abrogate this "stabilization" agreement and impose the unconditional open shop throughout the industry.

The strike has been militantly onducted on the picket lines. The plant has been shut down. tight and mass picket lines have

Auto Convention Groups Are Lining Up

Grouping Around Issue of the North American Strike

(Continued from page 1) Francis, a delegate from Fisher Body Local 581, of Flint, said:

"I am not so sure the Califorbuilt this union with unauthoriz- Reuther for playing politics. ed strikes. The Ford workers went REUTHER POSITION

IS VOTED DOWN

As a result of the pounding given the Reuther position by militant delegates, the convention finally voted by a slim margin of 97 votes to support the "superminority" report which laid the least severe penalty on Michener. The Addes caucus looks upon it as a great victory. But many militant delegates bitterly complained at having to vote on a report which admitted that the North American strike was a mistake. They felt that the strike was fully justified, and that the International Board had made a costly mistake when it failed to authorize it, and when it allowed Frankensteen to break it.

The vote, however, proved the Addes group picked up about 300 was defeated by the Reuther group, which won by a vote of

Hundreds of delegates are not committed either to the Reuther or the Addes caucus. They vote their convictions. With the basic issues now buried in a quagmire of blocs and combinations, these delegates sense the purely opportunist character of the fight on top, and must dig and search for the key issues, which are hidden and camouflaged by the

To the more informed delegates however, the leading groups have now been exposed for their true worth. Frankensteen's almost comic flip-flop from the Reuther group into the arms of Addes has clearly exposed him. He knows no principles, even reactionary principles. His whole career has been one of a cynical combina-

nia boys were wrong or made a strike, get up and try to pay off leadership is concerned mainly mistake. They went out on a jus- Addes for his bloc by asking for with personal power and not with tified strike. You talk about un | mercy for Michener, preaching | the basic issues which will decide authorized strikes. Why wasn't it about "man's inhumanity to man" the fate of the union. authorized? In Flint in 1937 we and self-righteously condemning

This unsavory politician, Franout on an unauthorized strike; kensteen, has fully revealed himthat's how they built their union." self for what he is at this convention, and as a result of his super-clever and super-shrewd maneuvering, has succeeded in discrediting himself with hundreds of delegates. The left wing delegates had no use for him before and still despise him. The Reuther caucus hates him as a renegade.

> Reuther with his hard and firm caucus of conservatives has for the most part kept the offensive. He represents that section which seeks to harness the labor movement to the Wall Street war chariot. The North American issue saw him lose support among the wavering elements, but his main bloc is firm on its pro-Hillman stand. MIDDLE-MAN THOMAS

R. J. Thomas, blustering president of the UAW, is trying to play far his sole contribtion has been hold a democratic election. oratory in the Baptist minister tones of William Green.

The Addes group, which all along has reflected John L. Lewis's policy in half tones, is an unorganized, confused outfit without a basic program, and is now hopelessly compromised by its unprincipled deal with Frankensteen. Although, in their desire to struggle against the Reuther program and to defend the independence and militancy of the union, the most progressive elements are to be found in the Addes group, their desire to fight along basic lines has been frustrated by their leadership.

Typical of the politics of the

tion artist, playing his "big" pol- UAW's leading bodies, the Addes itics in search of a good job and group is whitewashing Frankena sure hold on the International steen, burying the North Ameri-Board. It is a weird scene to can issue, beclouding the decisive watch Frankensteen, the man who questions, and has left the rank said he would bring strikebreak- and file without a real choice beers and scabs to the West Coast tween the groups. All this has to break the North American come about because the whole

But the militant delegates have demonstrated in this convention that they are eager for a fighting leadership which is hostile to the OPM school of unionism, which will struggle against all attempts to housebreak the UAW and which will battle against all attempts of those who, like Reuther, are trying to sap the vital militant independence of the UAWA.

This is clearly shown by the enthusiastic acciaim given to all esolutions calling for the organ ization of the unorganized aircraft workers in the face of govern mental opposition. It is shown by the militant speeches against the OPM and against the freezing of wages such as provided for in Hillman's coasiwise shipyard con-

RANK AND FILE READY FOR REAL FIGHT

On every concrete union the fluidity of the convention. The a role similar to that of Philip militant delegates have proved Murray in the CIO, name , that their readiness for a fighting inmore votes on the North Ameri- of the impartial arbitrator be dependent program, and their discan issue over what it had must tween the warring groups. But trust of the whole leadership. tered on the question of seating Thomas is having dubious success. When a committee, sent by the ten delegates from Allis-Chalmers. On the floor he performs as the convention to Milwaukee to hold On this point the Addes group unbiased and independent repressant the another election of Allis-Chalmers entative of the union as a whole. delegates, returned with a report Behind the scenes, however, un that an election could not be held, 1700 to 1200 against seating the der a buffeting from both sides, the convention repudiated the rehe staggers from camp to camp, port of its own committee, endepending upon which side puts larged it with rank and file memthe most pressure upon him. Thus bers, and sent it back again to

When the whole top leadership of the UAW proposed and supported a proposition to discontinue yearly conventions and to hold them biannually, the rank and file, suspecting an attempt to bureaucratize the union, turned this proposal down overwhelmingly.

When the leadership proposed to raise the dues, the convention overwhelmingly defeated the proposal, after militant delegates flatly stated that the union heads wouldn't know what to do with the money when they got it.

In general, all attempts to push the UAW along the line of "respectability" and the

Largest Union Convention



A general view of the 1,000 delegates at the Sixth Annual Convention of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers Union (CIO), which began in Buffalo, New York, August 4. This is probably the largest convention of an international union ever held in this country. The UAW-CIO has doubled its membership in the past year and is the third largest union in the country.

Wages, Not Profits Were Frozen in 1917

Recently Roosevelt engaged in one of his periodic and the war year of 1918, one can obvague fulminations against war profiteering. By now we know tain an accurate idea of the war that such noises always serve to smoke screen the real action—profits: a move against the workers' wage scales.

No curtailment of profits has ever been seriously envisaged by the administration for the simple reason that it does not have the power to enforce such limitations. The government is an agent of the bosses—not their master. Does anyone seriously expect the industrialists to voluntarily reduce their incomes? Moreover, while capitalist wars

are fought to insure future profits, doubts this has but to turn to the the bosses always see to it that record of World War No. 1. they also make enormous profits. By comparing the profits of the

out of the war itself. Any one who peace year of 1914 with those of AFL type of business-agent unionism, met with defeat.

The same delegates who, in the Coast militants by his defense of confusion had voted with Reuther the strike and attack on Frankento unseat the ten Allis-Chalmers steen. delegates, later supported the Allis-Chalmers people and the Addes and their abrupt change of line, group after Harold Christoffel the Stalinists have washed themmade the class struggle issues

clear in a fighting speech. STALINISTS MUDDLED

That the Communist Party canis clearly shown by this conven-American issue, the Stalinist hacks, John Anderson of Local 155 mouths in defense of the North American workers and their strike. They accepted the deal pleaded for more time, they were whereby the Stalinist regional director, Michener, would be put adopted in 1861, designed for use cent Johnson, Minneapolis attor- ished for a "mistake" by being ney for the American Civil Liber deprived of the right to run for the board at this convention.

The Stalinists have come into of a new and drastic change in democracies means that the Communist Party is now in full support of Roosevelt, his war ma

However, in the union itself, The Stalinists are forced reluctantly to try somehow to work with the Addes group.

The contradictions between the Stalinists' militancy of the recent past and their present war-mong ering program has resulted in complete confusion as to just where they stand. On the one hand, Harold Christoffel gave ? militant defense of the Allis Chalmers strike when silence meant that Communist Party in fluence in that local would be cuto pieces. In the North American case, on the other hand, delegate tears in his voice: "All right, we made a mistake. But by God, boys, Stalinist wheelhorse, Mortimer,

DuPont (gross revenues): 1914—25 millions 1918-300 millions

Standard Oil of N. J. (net pro 1914—7 millions

1918-45 millions United States Steel (net pro 1914-23 millions

1918-137 millions Anaconda Copper (net profits): 1914-9 millions 1918—40 millions

From 1914 to 1918 President Wilson talked continually of limiting prices and profits. But he only succeeded in limiting wages.

All the time the industrialists were making these huge profits. the government itself was going further and further in debt. The NEW LEADERSHIP FORMING national debt in 1914 was \$9.88 But a new leadership, repre- per person; in 1918 it was \$228 senting a new type of unionism. per person. Why was this? Because of the war effort, of course but, more precisely, because of a fancy system of bookkeeping the bosses used to saddle the war costs on the small shopkeepers and workers. Here is how it worked:

> In 1914-18 J. P. Morgan and Company were the war financiers That is, they had a monopoly on private financial dealings for Britain and the ailies. From the moment the war started, Morgan supplied money to Britain and France. This money belonged to American bosses. Thus it was partly to secure the recovery of this money that the bosses and Morgan later demanded our entry into the war. Only an Allied victory would assure them they would get it back.

Once America officially entered the war, the government itself took up the job of loaning money to its European allies. Liberty loans, largely squeezed from the workers, financed the war from (at a profit) and the workers were makes those outside wonder. forced to take up the burden -

Today's situation is like that some event tests the depth to of World War I. Again the gov- which the ideas of the movement ernment talks of controlling have penetrated into the working prices and profits but really aims class. When that test shows against wages, again the workers growth and increased understandare paying the cost of the war, ing, every Jimmy Higgins in evand again the bosses are making ery part of the country is gratiprofit out of the whole thing.

The net profits (1940) of a few for further work. war industries are:

General Motors — 195 millions. A. T. & T. - 188 millions. U. S. Steel — 102 millions. Du Pont - 86 millions.

Roosevelt has no illusions bout his ability to control proits. He could only do so if the his swag on the theory that maybe after all his victim needs it.

War Chest Hits 85% Only One Week To Go

This week the branches of the Socialist Workers Party had achieved 85% of their quota in the \$10,000 War Chest Drive.

Rochester fulfilled its quota this week, and additional contributions lifted Boston and Chicago above the 100% category. This means that now twenty-three branches have achieved or more than achieved their pledge fulfillment.

It must be recorded, however, that the total sum received his week was lower than that of any previous week in the drive.

So far as we can make out, there are two reasons for this: The first is that as more and more branches achieve their quota, the total amount yet to be sent, and therefore the weekly mounts, naturally grow smaller.

getting ready for a last minute spurt to take them over the line his week, and getting up energy for it. At any rate, the still delinquent branches have only one week

The second is that from all indications the branches are

more to reach their quota by the deadline August 21, the first anniversary of Comrade Trotsky's death.

We hope that this week was the lull before the storm that will wind us up 100% by next week.

Contributions This Week

| Branch | Amoun | |
|---------------|----------|--|
| Los Angeles | \$41.50 | |
| Boston | 50.00 | |
| Chicago | 28.00 | |
| South Chicago | 35.00 | |
| San Francisco | 25.00 | |
| New York City | 73.00 | |
| New Haven | 3.00 | |
| Rochester | 3.74 | |
| ΤΩΤΑΙ | \$259.25 | |

\$10,000 War Chest **SCOREBOARD**

| Branch | Quota | Amt. Pd. | % |
|------------------------|------------|-----------|-----|
| BUFFALO | \$ 60.00 | \$ 100.00 | 167 |
| READING | 25.00 | 38.30 | 153 |
| CLEVELAND | | 186.50 | 124 |
| BALTIMORE | . 10.00 | 12.00 | 120 |
| AKRON | 50.00 | 60.00 | 120 |
| BOSTON | 350.00 | 403.75 | 115 |
| ST. PAUL | | 325.80 | 108 |
| ALLENTOWN | . 25.00 | 27.00 | 108 |
| YOUNGSTOWN | | 160.00 | 107 |
| SEATTLE | 25.00 | 26.00 | 104 |
| FLINT | 200.00 | 207.00 | 103 |
| CHICAGO | 1200.00 | 1238.12 | 103 |
| San Diego | | 100.00 | 100 |
| Portland | 30.00 | 30.00 | 100 |
| St. Louis | 25.00 | 25.00 | 100 |
| Quakertown | . 25.00 | 25.00 | 100 |
| Toledo | . 10.00 | 10.00 | 100 |
| Detroit | . 500.00 | 500.00 | 100 |
| Louisiana | . 25.00 | 25.00 | 100 |
| Newark | . 500.00 | 500.25 | 100 |
| Philadelphia | | 125.00 | 100 |
| Pittsburgh | . 40.00 | 40.00 | 100 |
| Rochester | . 50.00 | 50.00 | 100 |
| New Haven | 50.00 | 45.00 | 90 |
| Milwaukee | 55.00 | 46.00 | 84 |
| San Francisco Bay Area | 1100.00 | 908.83 | 83 |
| Los Angeles | 500.00 | 386.50 | 78 |
| South Chicago | 125.00 | 90.00 | 72 |
| New York City | 2500.00 | 1799.28 | 72 |
| Texas | 20.00 | 10.00 | 50 |
| Minneapolis | 1200.00 | 516.54 | 43 |
| Fresno | 30.00 | 0.00 | 00 |
| Members-at-Large | 475.00 | 511.30 | 108 |
| | | | |
| TOTALS | 310,000.00 | \$8528.17 | 85 |

The work of our movement goes | Higginses of our movement who this point on. And out of the on in a slow, steady grind. It is over a period of months have proceeds of the very first Liberty carried on through the years, here faithfully and loyally covered the Loan, \$400,000,000 was paid to J. and there, quietly and persistently. auto and accessory plants in De-P. Morgan in satisfaction of the Those who carry it on work stead troit, Flint, Cleveland, Toledo, etc. debts owed him by Great Britain. | ily and quietly, sometimes alone, In other words, the boss invest- sometimes with help, always with ment in the war was liquidated a degree of self-sacrifice which

> effort comes once in a while when to them. fied and his spirit is reinforced

Such a test came last week when our papers were distributed delegate from Cleveland was so to the historic Automobile Workers convention in Buffalo. Here is our report:

"Two issues of our paper were distributed to the delegates and received very well. Tens upon tens of the delegates were acquainted with the MILITANT. We could tell by their comments when they took

a reward to those patient Jimmy PARTY!"

"The MILITANT was taken into the convention hall and read with interest by hundreds of delegates. Evidently what we had to say The reward for that persistent about the situation was of value

"Some of the comments were as follows: 'Well, you people here, too?' 'What does the MILITANT have to say about the convention?' 'It's the MULITANT. Give me one, too!'

"One delegate told me upon taking the paper, 'You guys tell the truth, at least, although I disagree with your ideas!' A Fisher Body gleeful at getting the MILITANT that when he saw one of our friends in the hall, he waved the paper above his head and shouted,

'We got it!' "It sure does make a comrade feel proud of our party and its paper when he goes through such an experience. Also, let me state that such an experience only confirms once more that THE FU-

"This is a concrete answer and TURE BELONGS TO OUR

Early Trial Is Being Demanded **By Government**

(Continued from page 1) held in the various sections of the trucking industry to establish which union the men wish to belong to. CIO requests for similar against the Confederacy. No case hearings for elections are now has ever been brought in this ties Union, who informed Judge pending before the National La-country under the section of this Bell that his organization was bor Relations Board.

are also occupied in fighting a series of cases in which they are appears in the federal indictment court," attacking the constitution- between Stalin and the capitalist defending the right of the union of the Socialist Workers Party. to keep its own treasury, against truckdrivers' union should have surrendered its treasury to Tobin. In addition to civil suits, Tobin has instigated several "embezzlement" and "grand larcency" indictments on this issue against must be thoroughly gone into, de-Miles B. Dunne, President of Lo-clared Goldman, before argument cal 544-CIO and Kelly Postal, the can be had on the motions. Opunion's secretary-treasurer. Trial posing the granting of more time, on these indictments is scheduled Prosecutor Anderson said the govto begin on August 20.

In view of all these hearings and attorneys were entitled to the 90-day period to prepare for oral argument in this case, said the union's attorney.

But it is scarcely the government's strategy to give Local 544-CIO more time!

On the contrary, this "seditious conspiracy" case is being pushed so hard precisely in order to aid AFL chieftain Tobin in his desperate attempt to crush Local 544-CIO. This case is the Roosevelt administration's brazen method of helping Tobin, Roosevelt's closest labor lieutenant, against a union which has not only opposed Tobin's rotten union policies but has also opposed

Roosevelt's war-mongering. Albert Goldman, one of the So-

which they are brought have never before been used.

The CIO union and its attorneys to overthrow the government by question involved, and would pre-

cause the two statutes under time.

One of these statutes was

ion and other organizations.

These constitutional questions

The other statute is the Smith AFL teamsters' chief Tobin's Act, adopted only a year age, and claim that, upon disaffiliation whose constitutionality — it vio- fendants' attorney was necessary chine, and his lackey Hillman. from the AFL the Minneapolis lates the free speech provision of the Bill of Rights of the constitution - has been challenged by the American Civil Liberties Un-

members of Local 544-CIO, point- ernment "had spent a long time" ed out to the judge that time is preparing its case and was ready and Nat Ganley, did not open their needed to study the indictment be- to defend its indictments at any After the defense attorneys had

supported in this request by Vinstatute referring to "conspiracy also studying the constitutional this convention under the burden force and violence," which now sent a brief as "friend of the line. The international alignment ality of the indictment. The Amer ican Civil Liberties Union felt. that the time requested by de-

for adequate preparation. Judge Bell's decision on this point, apart from fixing August 1 as the date for filing written motions, leaves it up to Judge Joyce to decide how much time the defense and the American Civil Liberties Union will have to prepare to show that the indictment should be

and cases, Local 544-CIO's leaders August 'Fourth Int'l' Trotsky Memorial Issue CP IS WASHED UP

INTERNATIONAL, appearing 1940. this week, commemorates the first anniversary of the death of laborators during the years of his the great proletarian revolutionary, Leon Trotsky.

Outstanding among the articles in this issue is one by Trotsky's widow, Natalia Sedov, entitled Father and Son. It discusses the revolutionary activities and personalities of Leon Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedov and includes some reminiscences of Lenin.

cialist Workers Party leaders in- with the armed assault upon his Party or at the publication offices, the CP as part of Addes's deal dicted, speaking as attorney for home and the attempt upon his 116 University Place, New York with Frankensteen, but the old the 13 defendants who are not life perpetrated by the GPU in City.

The August issue of FOURTH Coyoacan, Mexico on May 24

One of Trotsky's closest colexile contributes a personal portrait of the Old Man.

The rich content of this issue is completed by an article on the Soviet Union at war, written by John G. Wright, and two pieces Socialist Workers Party in St. Paul, Minnesota.

The magazine sells at 20c and is available at headquarters of give us a break." Michener was An article by Trotsky deals locals of the Socialist Workers willingly thrown to the dogs by

on the Federal prosecution of the Jack Montgomery, a well known

the Communist Party, with its members confused and disoriented, cannot make the turn quickly and clearly without entirely undermining its base in the labor movement. The Stalinists are more than willing to crawl into Reuther's camp. But Reuther, in order to exist himself, continues to lay down his ruthless barrage against them.

Stalinist, got up and said with

appease the wrath of the West

As a result of their confusion selves up in the Auto Union as

was trotted out onto the floor to

is in the making in the auto union. There has been evident in this convention a great potential power among the militant delegates, who are now disillusioned with the Stalinists and, at the same time, are searching for an honest fight-

ing program. Whether the militants will be able to convert the. Addes group, or whether they will find it necessary to build an independent force against the whole top leadership, the indications are that the next period will see the growth of a new type of leadership, based on a program of uncompromising struggle to defend the gains and the independence of

the union. Still to come before the convenion are many important issues. The anti-red resolution of Reuther and Frankensteen will undoubtedly provoke considerable discussion. Resolutions aimed against Hillman will also come before the convention. The scramble for posts will get a preview when a constitutional provision for a new vicepresidential set-up supported by Addes in agreement with Frankensteen, comes on the floor.

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bosses allowed him to. To expect the bosses to voluntarily reduce their profits is as sensible as to expect a thief to return part of

How Leon Trotsky Organized The Red Army

He Forged An Invincible Military Force In The Face Of Tremendous Odds

The name of Leon Trotsky is inseparably bound up with the formation, life and victories of the Red Army. In addition to all his other gifts and achievements, Leon Trotsky established himself as one of the outstanding military leaders and strategists in history. No one will succeed in obscuring the connection between his role in organizing and building the Red Army and its successes, including the present heroic resistance of the Red soldiers against the Nazi onslaught.

No army was ever organized under such obstacles as confronted Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks in the organization of the first victorious army of the proletarian revolution.

When the workers seized power in Russia, in October 1917. the country's economy verged on complete chaos as a result of the three years of imperialist world slaughter. Industry and trade were disrupted. The transportation system had collapsed; the system of communications existed in name only. There were no supplies for troops. The deposed landlords and capitalists did everything in their power to sabotage and undermine all constructive work. At the same time, the forces of the counterrevolution, supported by the imperialist world, threw army after army against the encircled revolution.

The Difficulties of Creating the Red Army

But even this did not exhaust the difficulties. In his report on the First Anniversary of the foundation of the Red Army, in February 1919, Trotsky analyzed the conditions at the time as

"Disintegration of industry is of course an unfavorable condition for the creation of an army. But this was not all. The collapse of the old army left in its wake a bitter hatred of everything connected with militarism. The old army had exacted unbelievably heavy sacrifices; it had known only defeats, degradations, retreats, millions of corpses, millions of cripples, and billions in expenditures. It is hardly surprising that this war left in the minds of the popular masses a terrible revulsion to military life and everything connected with the old military clique. And it was under such conditions, Comrades, that we began building the army. Had we been compelled to begin on virgin soil, then we would have had from the outset greater hopes and greater prospects. But no, the army had to be built on a soil of impoverishment and exhaustion, under circumstances when hatred of war and things military seized millions upon millions of workers and peasants. That is why a great many people, not only our enemies but also our friends, stated at the time that in the next few years nothing would come of our attempts to build an army in Russia."

Still more: every other new regime in history immediately drew upon the old army organization for its own military work. For example, the armies of the Great French Revolution came into being as a result of the fusion of feudal regiments with the newly-formed national militia. No similar fusion was possible in the case of the Red Army. The corroded Czarist army not only, fell apart but remained a source of infection and demoralization. This terrible obstacle had to be destroyed root and branch. The army of the revolution had to be built up brick by brick. Everything-discipline, fighting tradition, military authority, centralized organization, unified command, and so on-had to be built on new foundations, under fire, and against insuperable odds.

How the Army Was Built

An attempt was first made to form a volunteer army. The decree issued on February 23, 1918 supplied a few volunteer regiments of irregulars. On May 28, 1918 conscription was instituted But no real army was in the field when Trotsky was placed in charge. There was only its human raw material comprising of: 1) bands of irregulars: 2) refugees escaping from the White Guards; 3) peasants mobilized on the neighboring districts; 4) detachments of workers sent by industrial centers; 5) groups of trade unionists and communists. These had to be forged into a new army, with a correct military organization, on the basis of new ideas, new discipline and new methods, under the direction of qualified commanders. Under whose leadership was this ac-

Here is how Lenin depicted the situation in relation to the Red Army on March 15, 1920:

"After all, what did we begin with? Before Trotsky we had Krylenko. Dybenko, Podvoisky and we were left with this collegium. Kolchak and Denikin pasted the daylights out of us. Why? Because there were seven of us sitting together, and we had first to learn things for a space of two years and only then did we accept (the principle of) unified authority." (Lenin's Collected Works, Third Russian Edition, vol.

In Lenin's opinion, before Trotsky took charge of the Red Army, there was no leadership, only "a collegium." But Lenin affirmed a great deal more. In 1920, i.e., the critical year of the Civil War, he recognized that Trotsky had had to fight for two years for his basic political-strategical ideas in building the Red Army. This struggle had to be conducted not only against rankand-file party opposition, but also against opponents in the Central Committee, and the Politbureau, who on several important occasions obtained a majority. This struggle, sometimes extremely sharp and bitter, concluded with the rout of the opposition and with the unreserved acceptance of those ideas, methods and principles which were first elaborated and applied by the Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, and which were later adhered to by the Soviet General Staff.

Of the five major political-strategical conflicts which arose in connection with the creation of the Red Army, we shall deal briefly only with the crucial struggle against the so-called "Mili-

In essence this was a struggle against alien class tendencies which manifested themselves in the military sphere by the advocacy of the ideas and methods of guerrilla warfare. Had the champions of guerrillaism prevailed, the doom of the first workers' state would have been sealed on the battlefields of the Civil

The Basis of the "Military Opposition"

The chaos of guerrilla warfare, as Trotsky pointed out, expressed the peasant element that lay beneath the revolution, whereas the struggle against it was likewise a struggle in favor of the proletarian state organization as opposed to the elemental, petty bourgeois anarchy that was undermining it.

The majority of the army recruits were peasants. The country itself was a sea of insurgent peasantry to whom this type of warfare is not only traditional but instinctive. The Bolsheviks were likened by Lenin to a drop in these vast waters.

Against this background the methods and ways of guerrilla (or "irregular") fighting found a response in the ranks of the party, a response reflecting the pressure-intensified by the crisis-of the peasantry. This tendency was so strong as to exert a temporary influence upon Lenin. Zinoviev, who together with

Kamenev was the least military-minded of the Bolsheviks, flirted for a time with the "Military Opposition." But its real inspirer and behind-the-scenes organizer was none other than Stalin.

Political struggles over new ideas and new problems almost invariably assume at the beginning the form of a struggle around organizational issues. This was the case with the struggle for the correct political-strategical foundations for the Red Army. The Stalin-led "Military Opposition" stood for ideas which made impossible a correct military organization. Their ideas were in reality the ideas of vulgar petty bourgeois "democrats" translated into military terms. They favored the electoral method of choosing commanders; they opposed the enlistment of military experts, the introduction of military discipline on a proletarian basis; the centralization of the army; unified command, and so on. The dispute centered round the utilization of former Czarist officers. The champions of guerrillaism seized on it because it provided them with the best cover for their false line.

Polemicising against Stalin-Voroshilov and Co., at the time, Trotsky wrote: "We should indeed have a low opinion of ourselves and our party, of the moral force of our idea, of the attractive power of our revolutionary morale, if we thought ourselves incapable of winning over thousands upon thousands of 'specialists' including military ones." The opposition to military specialists in reality reflected an exaggerated estimate of the powers of the bourgeoisie and a contempt for the power of the masses which is so typical of petty-bourgeois outlook. Stalin-Voroshilov and Co. feared the "specialists" because they themselves lacked the necessary knowledge, ability and confidence.

In 1920, Lenin summed up the experience as follows:

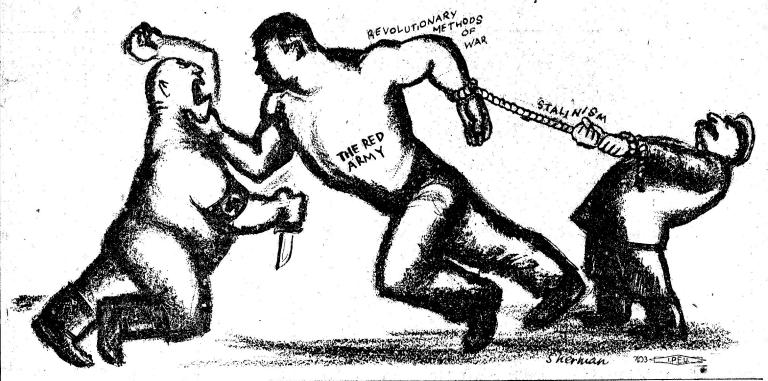
"Thousands of former officers, generals and colonels of the Czarist army betrayed us... you know this, but tens of thousands continue to serve us, while still remaining partisans of the bourgeoisie, and WITHOUT THEM WE WOULD NOT HAVE HAD A RED ARMY. And all of you know that when we tried to create a Red Army without them two years ago, what we got was GUERRILLAISM, CONFUSION. This is what we got: we had 10 to 12 million bayonets, but not a single division; we did not have a single division good enough for the front, and we were unable to fight with millions of bayonets against the insignificant regular army of the White

Trotsky's Achievements Remained After Him

Out of this "guerrillaism" and "confusion" a mighty army was forged which proved victorious on 22 fronts. Were such an army organized in Russia in the space of less than three years in peace-time and under normal conditions it would have constituted an extraordinary military achievement. When and where and by whom was another army built under such adverse conditions? The revolution was saved because Trotsky's line on the military arena carried with Lenin's aid against Stalin and all his Voroshilovs. Trotsky's success also secured the subsequent development of the Red Army. At the end of the Civil War, the Red Army numbered five million men, most of whom are still alive and many of whom are now fighting on the old battlefields

But Trotsky's work in the army did not stop with the termination of the civil war. It was continued for five more years. History knows of many military leaders who succeeded in creating extraordinary commanding staffs; but few of them created staffs that did not fall apart after their departure. The commanding staff of the Red Army-likewise forged on the anvil of the revolution-was one of the great conquests of the October revolution. The Red Army as it exists today is primarily the handiwork of Trotsky and his General Staff. These men, the legendary heroes of the Civil War, advanced to leading positions under

Holding Back The Knockout Punch



Trotsky and met with unbridled opposition at the hands of the "Military Opposition," above all, Stalin.

We cite only the case of Tukhachevsky, universally recognized as one of the ablest Soviet military leaders and strategists. Toward the end of 1919, Tukhachevsky found himself unceremoniously shoved aside. He appealed to Trotsky, whom he telegraphed from Kursk on January 19, 1920 as follows:

"I turn to you with an urgent request to free me from unemployment. I have been aimlessly sitting on the Staff of the South-West Front for almost three weeks, and have been completely without work for about three months. I have been unable to obtain any explanations either for the delay or for failure to get another assignment. If I have rendered any service after almost two years of command of various armies, then I ask to be given the opportunity to use my abilities in some active work..."

Tukhachevsky's term of "unemployment" coincided with Stalin's brief sojourn during that period at the Southern front. Stalin utilized this occasion to deal an underhand blow to the Red Army command. If Stalin had the final say, Tukhachevskywhom he dubbed Marshal in 1935 and murdered in 1937-would have languished in oblivion and inactivity. But Stalin had very little to say or to do with the constructive work of the Red Army in 1918-1921. Most of that period he spent in civilian pursuits. The few months he did pass at the front were devoted more to political intrigue in favor of the "Military Opposition" than to the military struggle. Suffice it to point out that although formally a member of the Revolutionary Military Council, he never took part in any of its sessions. That is one of the reasons why the minutes of this body remain unpublished to this day.

Stalin's Crimes Against the Red Army

Stalin's direct intervention in military affairs from 1921 to the end of 1937 comes down to the following three political maneuvers: 1) the removal of Trotsky in 1925 from the post of Commissar of War (achieved by Stalin with the aid of Zinoviev and Kameney): 2) the appointment of Frunze to this post, and Frunze's mysterious death in November, 1925; 3) the appointment of Voroshilov-then a follower of Bukharin-Rykov-in

Long after Stalin concentrated political power in his own hands, he had to leave the command of the Army in the hands of those who commanded it under Trotsky.

Throughout his term as Commissar of War, Voroshilov remained a mere figurehead. The work of the Red Army in all its fields was from 1925 to 1937 under the direction of the eight generals and other members of Trotsky's General Staff, whom Stalin murdered in 1937-1938 as "enemies of the people." It was they who continued to build the Red Army on the foundations laid down by Trotsky. They modernized and mechanized it. They planned and constructed the fortifications in the West (the socalled Stalin line) as well as in Siberia. They drafted the mobilization plans. They prepared the strategic plans for meeting future attacks.

The internal logic of Stalin's Moscow frameups drove him in 1937-1938 to extend his purge to the Red Army. The Red Generals, who had submitted to Stalin politically, resisted the weakening of the armed forces. They paid with their lives. To extend his personal sway to the armed forces, Stalin had first to destroy the flower of the command of the Red Army, Navy and Airforce.

The heroic resistance of the Red Army to the Nazi onslaught now presents the whole world with additional factual evidence of. Stalin's infamous frame-ups of Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Uborevich, Alksnis and others. If, as the Stalinists lie, they were Hitler's agents, the German High Command would have been adequately informed concerning the defenses of the USSR, its fortifications, mobilization plans and other military secrets. Why then have the Nazi armies been caught by surprise?

The quality of the Red Army's resistance is proof of how ably and loyally these men had fulfilled their tasks prior to Stalin's savage blows to the fighting power of the Soviet army. All of Stalin's crimes against the Red Army since 1937-1938 have not been able to undo the work initiated by Trotsky in August 1918, and carried on for the next 20 years by the men who served under him. It is the Army of the October Revolution and the Civil War-Trotsky's Red Army-that is now fighting so heroic-

Natalia Trotsky Exposes New Plot To Free Jacson

Bares GPU Attempts To Construct "Self-Defense" Motive As Alibi

(The following declaration by Natalia Trotsky concerning the GPU's secret moves to liberate Leon Trotsky's assassin has been published in the entire Mexican press.)

The GPU plans to provide in Jacson, the assassin of Trotsky, an even more striking instance than the case of Siqueiros, of the immunity it can bestow upon its agents. Trotsky's assassin is a constant danger to Stalin so long as he remains in prison. In despair he might one day decide to talk. This is why the GPU finds itself obliged to treat him with the greatest solicitude, lining his pockets constantly with money, paying handsomely for a lawyer who is cousin to the President of the Superior Court of the Federal District, and spreading a new net of falsifications and bribes to keep up the assassin's hope of early freedom. True enough, this seems fantastic; but @-

evidence" which freed Siquei- 28th the assassin, obligingly quesros seem less fantastic? After tioned by Mr. Medellin Ostos, esthat instance, anything is pos- tablished the basis of the man-

From the latest moves of the defense, the authorities are aware assassin now says: " . . . Colone that the GPU is preparing a plot Salazar became irritated and said, to liberate its assassin. Public opinion should also become aware how to employ other means . . . Stalin's mercenary criminals?

organized, that it seems inconceivprepare them remain judicially secret. The person who appears euvers is, naturally, the criminal's lawyer, Mr. Medellin Ostos. to the best of everything and to view: to present, although with-

functioning of the penitentiary.

Where is the GPU heading with

did the monstrous "lack of its dubious maneuvers? On March paying the lawyer so well. The 'I am easygoing, but I also know

ter returned with a doctor . . . : The logic of the facts, the facts having given him (Jacson) an in has been recognized as Jacson's themselves and the shady man- jection that made him lose coneuvers are so obvious, so cynically sciousness immediately; . . . ; aft. by Sylvia Ageloff, and by the aserwards . . . they gave him anable that the GPU agents who other injection in the hip which Colonel Sanchez Salazar interro made him go completely mad..."

Later statements indicate that as the exponent of these sophis- the defense is trying to throw The most casual reader will begin put in his pocket. The defense is possible for Jacson to retain an again in order to direct it . . expensive lawyer when he totally where? It cannot yet be said with lacks funds for the trial, personal certainty. By some of the quesconnections of any kind, friends tions that the defense has succesand known family?" The assassin sively put to various witnesses not only has a high priced lawyer, one can deduce, however, that the but he also commands enough GPU is probing for an opening, money (is there anyone who does is endeavoring artificially to stir from the GPU?) to treat himself dictions, with one single end in pay for the pleasures well-known out the least legal support, a new to those familiar with the internal theory: Jacson killed . . . in legitimate self-defense.

to maintain that Sigueiros as and that on which his client first afire together with the house and but rather that the latter put the its occupants; if there had not lie in the mouth of his client. existed judges who maintained that the gangsters of the GPU were "co-religionists" and that the shots fired over our bed were sassin, incendiary and accessory to murder, was also in the service of the GPU and went free.

pretends, for the first time, to by his friend J. Antonio Patino, is the precedent of Siqueiros. sassin himself. It is true that gated him in Spanish which the assassin pretends not to understand. It is true that the English police gave sufficient data to identries and the author of the man- out all of the principal part of the tify the assassin as an agent of by asking himself: "How is it trying to begin the trial all over liar proofs against Siqueiros, and Siqueiros is traveling through tion of Ambassador Reves Spin-

> Jacson was unaware of his pretended unconsciousness until three months elapsed between the ants. date in which Mr. Medellin Ostos

saulted our house only to steal spoke of injections and disturtwo automobiles which he aban- bances; that goes to show that doned a few hundred yards away, there could not have been a "reand papers that he tried to set velation" by Jacson to his lawyer The doctors who attended the as-

sassin in the Cruz Verge hospital have certified that the substances only for "psychological effects;" injected into him were all comwe would say in advance: the pletely harmless. Colonel Sanchez GPU will fail in its attempt. But | Salazar, to whom they attribute Siqueiros, assailant, potential as- a falsification, is not a Trotskyist, nor are the doctors; and Jacson, himself, would not be worth such machinations. Then why? By whom? And the statements Jacson made after being injected? It is true that seven months All reveal a sustained, logical, intervened between the date on stubborn determination not to rewhich the assassin was supposedly veal names of collaborators, nor of euver for which the gangster is injected and that in which he friends, nor of relatives, nor of have talked and signed without of funds. In all this there is comknowing what he was doing. It is plete concordance with the letter true that between these two dates, written before the assassination long after the injections, the as The nonsensical, absurd and madopinion should also become aware of it. Is everything possible for having left and a short time lasassin confirmed his statement. It dening part of all this is that it is true that the murder weapon merits attention only because it originates in the GPU and there

Only the GPU - we will repeat Jacson. We should have said nothing less than the GPU. It paid for the crime, it will rescue the the 20th of August? criminal. Mr. Medellin Ostos necessarily works in close collaborassassin's earlier statements, in the GPU. It is true that every the GPU; it pays. Fortunately for son's statement last March that ation with agents or sub-agents of one knows that Jacson is an agent him, professional secrecy permits he had been injected with a of the GPU. But there were sim him to hide much important data "strange liquid" before making which would serve to clarify the his most complete and damning crime and its motives. We cannot statements, makes it clear that South America under the protec expect any trace of honor in Mr. the G.P.U. is constructing the Ostos that would compel him to story designed to free its agent. tell who pays him and why they This story may well be: "Trotsky pay him. Through him passes the became violently angry during an line of communication between argument with Jacson and attack- PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION after having been advised by his Jacson and the GPU - a funda ed him physically, forcing Jacson not know that the money comes up confusion and create contra lawyer, Mr. Medellin Ostos. His mental point in the trial. With to kill in legitimate self-defense! disturbances and reactions origin. out that convenient professional Tell-tale evidence was removed ate rather in the latter's advice secrecy, there are lawyers who from the office in the first night than in injections. And even so, might otherwise become defend- after the murder." To forewarn

If there had not existed judges took over the assassin's defense August 6, 1941 Coyoacan, D. F. The repercussions to this state-

Charge That Assassin's Lawyer Is GPU Accomplice Goes Unanswered

By WALTER ROURKE

MEXICO, D. F. August 10, 1941—As the first year following Leon Trotsky's murder nears completion, the G.P.U. is gradually arriving at a plan to free Jacson, the assassin. Little by little, the foundation for the projected "alibi" is being laid. In a statement which was published in all the dailies of Mexico City,

Natalia Trotsky denounced this plot in the strongest of terms. The murderer's lawyer, Medillin Ostos, has followed the policy of seizing upon every occasion to protest against the judge's "partiality." He demands the right to ask questions of witnesses that have nothing to do with the case; he demands the testimony of people when such testimony can do nothing but

clutter up the court records. Eacl . time the judge refuses such a ment were immediate. The follow-

and the judge's "partiality." to discern a line of development suming the pose of a gentleman, in the midst of much irrelevant he said he wanted to be "not only his employer, nor of any source material. He has asked certain tolerant but also benevolent" with questions of every policeman who the aggrieved widow, and therewas a member of the former guard fore . . . did not answer one of posted outside the house on the the charges in a statement accusday of the murder: Was Trotsky ing him of being the go-between strong or weak? Was he agile and and therefore the accomplice of quick in his movements or slow? the G.P.U. He added that in re-Where was the police guard post- gard to "the Messrs advisors" of ed to watch the office in which Comrade Natalia, he promised the fatal blow was struck? How them to continue to the end the this until doomsday — defends does the police in charge know defense of the G.P.U. assassin. His that only government officials en- justification is that of all gangtered the house on the night of ster's lawyers - he is only pur-

"SELF-DEFENSE" THEORY *

of such a story, Natalia Trotsky NATALIA SEDOVA TROTSKY issued her statement to the press.

request, he protests the decision ing day, Ostos sent a note to the press "in answer" to the charge On the other hand, it is possible leveled against him. Gallantly assuing his profession. His "profession" apparently obligated him to become an accomplice in his client's crimes!

> Trotsky's Last Work MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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We Cannot Wipe Out War themselves and fought the fascists from capitalism in its death ago of democracy against fascism? By in the only language they under nies. Trotsky taught us that capithis the bosses mean defense of And Fascism Until Capitalism Is Destroyed

Frotsky, the great warrior against capitalism, taught the workers how to fight against the two most malignant evils of capitalism, war and fascism.

He taught that fascism is not something unaccountable. It is not the result of the wicked will of certain men or certain governments. Rather, it is the result of conditions that arise out of the decay of capitalism in the D period of imperialism.

But the Stalinists sabotaged the

front, and in the 1932 elections

supported Hindenburg for presi-

These false policies, which con-

fused and paralyzed the workers,

The second condition for the

FRANCE AND SPAIN

workers' and bosses' parties.

When the workers began their

sit-down strikes, and took over

"good" capitalists into collabora-

The Stalinists and Social-Demo-

crats saved the day for the bosses.

In 1940 these same "democratic"

capitalists opened the doors to

in 1936, the workers arose, armed

Political democracy of the kind united front by their advocacy of known to the world in the last the Kremlin theory of "socialhundred years or so was itself an | fascism," the theory that the Sooutgrowth of the rise of capital- cialist Party, not the Fascist, was ism. The bosses found from ex- the main and immediate enemy of perience that such a political sys- the working class. The Social-Detem was suitable for their pur- mocrats in their turn preferred a poses: industrialization, develop- united front with the bourgeoisment of production, exploitation democrats to a workers' united of "free labor" in new and rich countries. It was adopted both because of pressure from the dent. masses and because it helped promote capitalist production.

The decay of capitalism, how- enabled Hitler to smash their orever, produces a crisis in all capi- ganizations when this same Hintalist institutions. The political denburg invited him into power a regime of bourgeois democracy few months later. also undergoes a crisis.

Under these conditions bour- anti-fascist fight is that the work- WHAT AMERICAN geois democracy cannot go on as ers must place no dependence before, because its material foun- whatever on the bourgeois demodations have been washed away crats, either native or foreign. and the capitalists can no longer THE LESSONS OF afford it.

This crisis makes it imperative that the workers take power to preserve and extend democracy. cial-democrats created, not the If they fail in this, the capitalists united workers' front, but the will use fascist movements to erase its last remnants.

HOW TO FIGHT FASCISM

To fight fascism, Trotsky taught. it is necessary for the workers the factories, and when they were and farmers to carry on an un- ready to take state power as well. compromising revolutionary the People's Fronters clamped struggle against the capitalist sys- down on them, declaring that retem directed toward the seizure volutionary steps would drive the

For the successful prosecution tion with the fascists. of this struggle joint action of the workers' organizations through the united front is essential

When Hitler was becoming a threat in Germany in the early Hitler, turned over most of the 30's, Trotsky worked ceaselessly country to him, and established for the formation of such a united in the remainder a totalitarian front to coordinate the struggles regime akin to fascism. of the 13,000,000 workers who voted for the Communist and So- troops attempted to seize power cialist Parties.

themselves and fought the fascists from capitalism in its death ago of democracy against fascism? B and its breeder, capitalism, as wars are inevitable. Cnly the crea-

Again the People's Front pre vented the definitive defeat 0^4 era of lasting peace. fascism. If you seize the factories Franco; you will also repel the to explain war, only confuse the sionists and betrayers. British and French governments, question, because their answers who will help us if we protect are based on the idea that war bourgeois democracy - and capi can be "outlawed" while the poldid not do the job, they did not capitalists to wage war remains hesitate to jail and murder revo lutionary workers.

But the foreign "democracies did not do what the People' Fronters promised they would, even though the revolution was suppressed. Instead, they followed the policy of "non-intervention," which effectively blocked off all material aid to the Loyalists while power. it covered the aid given Franco by Hitler and Mussolini.

WORKERS CAN DO

The workers in the United States have an instinctive hatred is taken away from them. Since armed force that would be serious October revolution. of fascism and an understanding of what it means if it were estab In France when fascism became ers in this country have a newera menace the Stalinists and soful labor movement which has de monstrated its strength as a fighting force on a thousand picket People's Front, a coalition of

To these weapons of the antifascist fight must now be added a thorough understanding of the German, Spanish and French lessons. American workers must hitch their militancy to a program that can insure victory. The program of Trotskyism stands for class unity and independence, and the spirit of bold revolutionary struggle which strikes at the roots of fascism as well as at the

The workers cannot rele upon anyone but themselves and their own fighting forces to defeat fasc ism of native or foreign origin that is the essence of Trotsky's In Spain when Franco's fascist

War, like fascism, is inseparable

cialist republics will usher in an

All attempts to combat the you will antagonize the Spanish mental cause are doomed to fail the workers to defend it. capitalists and landlords who are ure. The pacifists, the liberals, the willing to fight with us against | "men of good will," who claim | talist property. Where lecturing itical and economic power of the

THE SLOGANS OF FUTILITY AND BETRAYAL

Disarmament? But who will disarm whom? Trotsky asked. The only effective disarmament is the disarmament of the bosses by the workers. And to disarm the bosses.

who profit from war, not the workers. The bosses will not become pacifists until their power the pacifists cannot show us how about defeating fascism, of both struggle against war.

National defense? The defense interests.

article, "Trade Unions in the ?

in a more finished form.

ialist state.

pleted article:

of Imperialist Decay"

stand. Workers' committees took talism in its present stage means their profits and plunder. The over the factories, peasants took permanent reaction, regardless of workers will defend the nation the land, and the masses were on the wishes of individual capital when it belongs to them, when the way to destroying fascisn ists. As long as capitalism rules it is not controlled by a tiny min ority of exploiters. They have first tion of a world federation of so to defend democracy against the government that is attacking it here. When they have real democand the land, Stalinists, Social symptoms of capitalist decay ers' government, no one will have ists and Anarchists all lectured without combatting its funda to plead with or put pressure on

These are the answers Trotsky gave to the slegans of the confu-

TROTSKY'S MILITARY POLICY

In the last months of his life Trotsky fused the struggle against var and fascism into one single program, outlining a proletarian military policy.

war to defeat fascism, and that the workers can smash fascism workers to be soldiers and offi-

Extension Of The October Revolution To Other Lands by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Alone Can Save the USSR

"Workers of the World Unite!" This slogan from the Communist Manifesto was the guiding line of Trotsky's revolutionary policies, including his policy for the defense of the Soviet

Together with the other great Marxist leaders, Trotsky taught that the struggle of the workers and oppressed peoples for emancipation from capitalism could be waged and won only on a world scale. The action of any single national section of the working class must harmonize with the interests of the workers elsewhere. If opportunist leaders set the workers in one country against those of other countries, the interests of all are bound

This revolutionary internationalist outlook applies with particular force to the burning 9-

problem of defending the Soviet my and factories be induced to Union today. Stalin's regime seeks turn against the war, rise up and to defend the Soviet Union (in join in common struggle with the Trotsky recognized that the de reality, to protect its own posi-Red soldiers against their Fascist nocratic bosses are not fighting tion and privileges within it) by slave-masters? How can the resistthe most conservative nationalist ance of the subjugated European methods. Instead of appealing to peoples be raised to the heights the Bolshevik traditions of the of revolt? the workers must themselves take only by a force. His program to Red Army which brought victory meet both these problems was the under Trotsky, the Stalinists in war pursued by Trotsky's Red Ar-Pacifism? But the bosses are not demand for military training un voke the departed spirits of the my in 1918-1921 demonstrated how

The revolutionary methods of pacifists, and they are the ones der trade union control to educate feudal military regime of Suvorov this can be done. Call upon the the temporary alliances and agreeand the Russian Knights of the German workers and soldiers to ments entered into by the Soviet 12th Century. Stalin dares not overthrow Hitler and the capital state, the workers in capitalist cers. Thus would be created an revive the crusading spirit of the ist regime he serves and to set The bulk of Hitler's army con- peal to the workers and peasants in peace, they must continue their to do this but preach submission native and foreign varieties, and sists of workers, many of whom in the conquered countries to act struggle for improved conditions to capitalism, they hinder the real that would be responsible to the remain true to the ideas of work along the same lines. Combine all and enhanced power. The stronger workers and responsive to their ing class solidarity. How can these separate national revolutionthese workers within Hitler's ar- ary struggles by giving them a

try, the more militant and revolutionary its character, the more the ranks of labor could aid the Soviet Union in its hour of dan-The Stalinist parties in the U.S. and Great Britain pursue an al-

together different policy. They follow the policy of the Social-Democrats in the last war. They have abandoned all pretense of opposition to the imperialist war, all resistance to attacks upon the workers. The net result of such their governments is to weaken An outcome favorable to the the power and self-confidence of workers in this fundamental the working class, as they were struggle, according to Trotsky, is crippled in France during the days

The Stalinists justify their collaboration with the capitalists by the necessity of obtaining aid for the Soviet Union. But the stronge and more militant the working to turn the trade unions into the class movement becomes, the more arms and material aid to the Soviet Union, and the better the workers' position to frustrate any secret designs the imperialists may have in sabotaging its de-

> Now, more than imperialist arms and ammunition, the Soviet Union needs for its defense the revival of Soviet democracy at home and a return to the revolusky and Lenin on the world front.

DEFEND CIVIL LIBERTIES! PROTEST FBI PERSECUTION OF SWP!

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

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

THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

"The American Civil Liberties Union went on record in opposition to the Smith Act when it was introduced in Congress and after its passage in 1940 the Union announced its intention to test the constitutionality when and if the occasion arose. Such an occasion, we believe, is at hand now, in these first cases under the law.

THE NATION

"For the first time in peace since the Alien and Sedition Laws of John Adams a mere expression of opinion is made a federal crime. Under these provisions a man might be sent to iail for ten years because he circulated such un-American documents as the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's Second Inaugural, for both 'advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government' by force...If the leaders of Local 544 can be convicted for their opinions, so can others."

THE C.I.O.

"It is deplorable that the functions of the U.S. Department of Justice have been perverted in this reprehensible manner...The National C.I.O. will not be deterred by the indictments but will continue to carry forward with all the resources at its command the campaign to organize the Motor Transport and Allied Workers in Minneapolis and the nation."

THE NEW REPUBLIC

"This is one of the most serious issues involving civil liberties to arise in the United States in many years... That the Minneapolis case is tremendously important goes without saying. President Roosevelt and Acting Attorney General Francis Biddle have repeatedly promised that there would be no such violations of civil liberties as stained the honor of America in the last war. For a country preparing to fight for the principles of democracy, now to violate those principles... would be unforgivable; it would be worth ten divisions to Hitler."

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO

THE CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE Organized on Behalf of the Defendants in the Federal Prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party GEORGE E. NOVACK, Secretary- Treasurer Room 809, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City. I enclose \$ for your Defense Fund. Address

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As Your Protest

Against

The Indictments

(FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, February 1941), which contain the basic ideas he intended to develop capitalist democracy the trade un. tops, threatens to provoke a stor-ernment in its strikebreaking and ist state. This means a struggle ion leadership in times of peace my movement of the masses and anti-labor policies. attempts to adapt the unions to to create difficulties for national But the CIO cannot be tamed organs of the broad exploited likely the government is to give a policy of collaboration with the imperialism. Hence flows the easily. Its millions of members masses and not the organs of a capitalist government; and in swing of the trade unions to the within the mass production indus- labor aristocracy. times of war to fuse the unions right, and the suppression of tries feel most immediately the with the machinery of the imperions. The basic feature, the swing

anti-war leaders.

CONFLICT IN THE CIO

Trotsky Told Workers

Trotsky wrote in his uncomment of the whole world." "In the eyes of the bureaucracy

organizations of the working class to pursue in this period.

of the trade union movement the chief task lies in 'freeing' the state from the embrace of capitalism, in weakening its dependence on trusts, in pulling it over to their side. This position is in complete harmony with the social position of the labor aristocracy and the labor bureaucracy who fight for a crumb in the share of the super-profits of imperialist capitalism. The labor bureaucrats do their level best in words and deeds to demonstrate to the 'democratic' state how reliable and indispensable they are in peace-time and especially in time of war."

This role of the trade union bureaucracy, as predicted by Trotsky. becomes clearer each day, as the American ruling class hastens to

complete its preparations for war The AFL leadership, representing the most privileged layers of American labor, has long since given its unqualified assurances to the Roosevelt administration that it is prepared to sacrifice every interest of American labor as a token of "how reliable and indispensable they are" to American imperialism. These leaders do not wait for no-strike governmental decrees, but declare in their own name a no-strike decree within the unions of the AFL. They leap to the aid of government strikebreaking at every opportunity, maintain a treacherous silence, or at most whimper a feeble protest, in the face of attempts to enact anti-labor legislation, and plead for the opportunity to sit on government boards together with the Wall Street dollar-a-year

As Trotsky pointed out, the subservience of the trade union bureaucracy to the bosses is most openly expressed during war:

No small part of the political genius of Leon Trotsky was his ability to apply his theoretical ideas to the concrete develop- perialist state. The struggle among ments within the labor movement of any country. His grasp the tops between the old federaof Marxist theory enabled him to analyze the trends and movements of the working class, to foresee the direction in which these movements would travel under the impact of the imperialist the sympathy and support of Rooswar, and to pose the essential and practical program for the evelt and his cabinet." Hence, as Trotsky indicated, the Trotsky left in manuscript form the rough notes of an

CIO top leadership, in the period of war, would be under pressure to place the CIO unions under the exposes their basic features, de- thumb of the capitalist governstroys all that is rotten, false, equi- ment. One sector of the CIO leadvocal and lays bare all that is ership, represented by Sidney struggle is:: complete and unconessential . . . Every oppositional Hillman, has already gone down ditional independence of the trade movement, especially among the the line completely with the gov-

workers' democracy within the un- impact of the war and its de- union democracy. This second slotowards the totalitarian regime, have gone through tremendous and presupposes for its realizapasses through the labor move struggles of the most militant tion the complete freedom of the kind and today threaten "a stormy This swing toward the totalita- movement . . . to create difficulrian regime is nowhere better evi-ties for national imperialism." The denced within the AFL than in workers of the CIO continue to the attempts of Daniel Tobin, strike and continue to resist the AFL Teamsters' head, to smash shackles of government control the Minneapolis motor transport in opposition, in many instances,

to incite the Roosevelt administra- This tremendous pressure from tion to frame-up and imprison its the ranks is reflected in the position of CIO leaders like Philip Murray and John L. Lewis, Lewis Trotsky pointed out that the and Murray are more subject to same basic conflicts also faced the the pressure of the ranks than will completely wipe out the inde-William Green, and are impelled, "The rise of the CIO is incon- thereby, to take a more positive trovertible evidence of the revolu- stand in opposition to the bra- pendage of the capitalist state. tionary tendencies within the zenly anti-labor acts of the govworking masses. Indicative and ernment.

noteworthy in the highest degree, It is precisely in those unions will control their own trade-union nowever, is the fact that the new where the traditions of militancy organizations and operate them in leftist' trade union organization and democratic practice are most a free, democratic, and militant was no sooner founded than it fell alive, that the conflict Trotsky manner for the promotion of their into the steel embrace of the im- visualized is most apparent. That own class interests.

How To Save The Unions The conflict in the UAW, as in

is the essence of the fight now rag-

ing at the convention of the

every other trade union, is fundamentally over the basic question of the unions' survival in waras independent instruments of workers' struggles, or will they tion and the new is reducible in be transformed into mere agencies large measure to the struggle for of the capitalist government for the conduct of the imperialist subservience to the capitalists and

possible only if the fight is based of the Stalin-Laval Pact. on these two major points:

"The primary slogan for this unions in relation to the capital

"The second slogan is: trade mands upon labor. These workers gan flows directly from the first trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state."

It is precisely around these two slogans, formulated by Trotsky prior to his death, that the rank tionary internationalism of Trotand-file of the trade union movement in America is beginning to rally in defense of its organized existence against the totalitarian demands of the capitalist war machine.

If the Greens and Hillmans have their way, American imperialism pendence of the union movement by converting it into a mere ap-

If the program of Leon Trotsky prevails, the workers of America

Such was the program advocated

States of Europe.

Trotsky. Defend the isolated workers' state by extending the revolution and creating new workers'

But Stalin has no confidence in the independent power of the international proletarian revolution. He fears, almost as much as Hitler and Churchill, that the revolutionary fire of the European proletariat will consume him in its sweep. Now he stakes his bets upon the alliance with the Anglo-American imperialists, who are as unreliable as his Fascist partners of yesterday. In line with this treacherous policy. Moscow has discarded the slogan: "Workers of the World Unite!" for the imperialist lie of the Holy Crusade of the "democracies" against fascism, Instead of driving a wedge between Hitler and the German workers, this kind of reactionary propaganda serves to bind them closer together, for the German people fear above all a second Versailles dictated by England and the United States.

Trotsky taught that, regardless of countries should not support their up their own Soviet Republic. Ap | capitalist governments. In war as the labor movement in every coun-

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TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETINGS

IN NEWARK

workers union, Local 544-CIO, and to their own leadership.

Speaker: William F. Warde

Editor, "Fourth International"

Time:

Place:

Friday, August 22, at 8:30 p.m.

Krueger's Auditorium, 25 Belmont Ave.

IN YOUNGSTOWN

Speaker: George Schraum

Cleveland Organizer SWP

Time:

Place:

Friday, August 22, at 8 p.m.

Ukrainian Hall, 525 W. Rayen Ave.

IN PHILADELPHIA

Speaker: John G. Wright

Translator of Trotsky's Works

Time:

Sunday, August 24, at 8 p.m.

Place:

431 Pine Street

The Army and Segregations

A United Press dispatch from Fort Bragg, N. C. last week told of another of the tragic outbreaks between white and Negro soldiers that result from the Army-enforced system of segregation of all Negroes in the armed forces.

Like most of the other cases reported, this one came about when a southern white M. P. decided for some reason to arrest a Negro private. So far the only version of the story that has

appeared has come from Army officials. According to them, Sergeant E. L. Hargraves attempted to arrest Private Ned Turman, a Negro soldier on a bus containing over a score of other Negroes. The Army does not mention why the arrest was being made.

Then, suddenly, if you can believe the story, Turman grabbed Hargraves' gun and shot him to death. Other M. P.'s opened up and apparently shot at every one in the bus. Turman was killed, another Negro seriously wounded, and six others suffered "minor wounds."

One does not have to know any more to understand what is really responsible for this tragedy, which is so like the hundreds of other cases in other camps.

By order from the White House, Negroes are separated from contact with white soldiers in every sphere of military life. White soldiers who do not already have it are thus inculcated with the theory of "white supremacy" and "Negro inferiority." The situation is further aggravated by the inferior accommodations for the Negroes (in recreational facilities, etc.) and the lack of Negro officers and military police.

Thus, racial outbreaks are directly caused and indirectly encouraged by the Roosevelt system of

An ironic twist ends the story. The Army officials decided that it was a bad situation, and that there might be further trouble. So:

All of the 4,000 Negroes in the camp were taken out and sent to another camp nine miles

The headline on the U. P. dispatch reads, "Negroes Segregated After M. P. Is Slain."

The Army solves a problem raised by its own segregation policies by deciding to segregate the

What Will the USO Do?

Since the Communist Party has decided that the boss government will defend the Soviet Union, it has also decided that the bosses will solve other

In the August 7 issue of the Daily Worker was an account of the Jim Crow treatment of Negro soldiers in army recreational life. A few months ago the Stalinists said that only the united militant action of Negro and white workers could end this and all other forms of discrimination. Now however they say of the problem: "Here is a task for the United Service Organizations."

If this is a task for the USO, then the workers don't have to worry about it anymore.

The Stalinists are deliberately confusing the issue. They know as well as anyone else that the USO is not going to do any more about Jim Crowism than the YMCA and similar bodies did in World War I. They know that all the USO can do or will do for Negroes is establish a few segregated recreational centers for them.

All the USO intends to do is make the Army system of segregation and discrimination a little more acceptable to the Negro

And with this the Stalinists would now be satisfied. They too know that the bosses and their organizations will not end Jim Crowism. With their present bootlicking support of the government, they themselves do not dare to conduct a fight against it. And so if the USO would make army Jim Crowism a little less harsh, they could go to the Negroes, hail this as a victory and use it to justify Negro support of the war.

A Correction by Pickens

William Pickens, now working for the U.S. Treasury, complained this week that "so many misstatements have been made about my position" that he has to explain what it really is.

The mistatements he refers to are the attacks launched against him from many sources for taking a \$6,000 a year job with the Treasury to sell "defense" bonds and support of the war to the impoverished Negro people who want no part of

"I am 'selling bonds' and am not a salesman of any kind," he says, "unless we use a figure of speech and call it 'selling ideas'."

So print the correction: Pickens is not selling bonds, he is just selling out.

Trotsky, Lenin and Kamenev



One of the rare portraits showing Lenin and Trotsky together, which has survived Stalin's ruthless editing of the records of the glorious October Revo-

Trotsky Fought Unceasingly Negro Struggle Against Life-Long Persecution

Stalinist Hounding Was Powerless To Interrupt His Work

When Stalin's assassin drove his pickaxe into the skull of weighing in his mind extreme unified outlook of Marxism — en- ginally intended for Natalia and Leon Trotsky, he brought to its culmination a vendetta un measures against Trotsky. Zino abled him to view the great march Leon Trotsky. paralleled in history for its ferocious hounding of a single in- viev and Kamenev warned Trot of humanity as a whole, from the

During the first World War, Kerensky threw Trotsky in beyond the usurper in the Krem-tion of tools to that genuine civil-Kresty prison on the slanderous charge that the Bolsheviks were lin. German spies." This imprisonment of Trotsky by the "democratic" Russian bourgeois government climaxed the incarcerations, exiles, expulsions, and internment he had already suffered ever made was expelling Trotsky outlook, together with the proat the hands of the Czarist, French, and British governments, prior to the revolution. But Kerensky merely projected the outlines of the monstrous lies, vilifications, tortures, and killings which Stalin visited upon Trotsky and his followers for more

In Exile

A posed portrait of Leon

Trotsky taken in Coyoacan,

Mexico, shortly before his

death at the hands of Stalin's

denied the medical care that might

have saved her. The letter she

wrote her father just before her

death took 73 days to travel from

Moscow through the hands of the

Nina's husband, also a supporter

Prinkipo. Her husband and a

where she too disappeared. When

Sergei, Trotsky's younger son,

not known to this day.

received special permission to February 16 he died under mys-

GPU to Alma Ata.

ing upon the recession of the great postwar revolutionary

than a decade and a half follow-

The roots of Stalin's vendetta against Trotsky reach back as

After Lenin's death Stalin sealed an unprincipled alliance with Zinoviev and Kamenev against Trotsky who remained true to the banner of Lenin. The "Troika" launched a tremendous campaign of slander against Trotsky. Outlived polemics between Trotsky and Lenin were dug up to be grossly distorted. Followers of Trotsky were beaten, barred from the platform, deprived of a livelihood, framed-up. The press was filled with a virulent barrage so intensive and so brazen that it stunned the entire populace.

Trotsky felt this campaign, together with his wife. Natalia. "as keenly as if we had been suffering from the most malignant dise a s e." Nevertheless, Trotsky marshalled his forces and proceeded with the task of organizing and steeling the opposition movement to the Stalinist bureaucracy. He understood perfectly that a long fight was ahead. Who could say how deep the reaction would go or how long it would

PERSECUTIONS OF THE SECRETARIAT

Now began that tragic series of deaths of those intimately associated with Trotsky. Glazman. his years of the revolution, was driven later he was still in prison. in 1924 to commit suicide. Glazman was the first of the members of Trotsky's famous secretariat to perish. Poznansky who had borne great responsibilities during the revolution, and Syermuks, who served with Glazman as stenogof Siberia for attempting to follow Trotsky into exile at Alma

Ata. Their final fate is unknown. Trotsky's secretariat was a special object of Stalin's vengeance. Erwin Wolfe was murdered by the GPU in Spain. Rudolph Klement was murdered in Paris, and

Robert Sheldon Harte in Mexico. The enforced suicide of A. A. Joffe and the crushing of Christian Rakovsky, Trotsky's bosom friends and outstanding leaders Stalin's bloody reprisals against the calumnies and slanders level- but of course they too left their other intimates of Lenin and Trot- ary 5, 1933 she committed suisky perished in the mass purges. cide.

TROTSKY'S FAMILY HOUNDED TOO

Trotsky's immediate family was Alma Ata and then into deportacut down one by one at the hands tion at Prinkipo. He left a wife of the Kremlin butcher. Shortly and child behind in Moscow. Their after he had been forcibly exiled fate is unknown. to Alma Ata, Trotsky was informed of the death of his younger daughter, Nina. At the time of her death on June 9, 1928, she was only 23 years old. She had taken active part in the struggle of the Opposition against Stalin, ardently espousing the cause of 1934, and later charged with pre- but this recking miasma of the

organized all the resources of the the GPU, and all the resources and connections of the degenerated Third International to "rectify"

THE DEATH OF LEON SEDOV A most bitter personal blow suffered by Trotsky and Natalia was the death of Leon Sedov. their oldest boy. Sedoy had been a conscious revolutionary since tion were concentrated upon the the days of the revolution - before the age of 12. Too young to serve in the Red Army, he nevertheless advanced his age by a vear and joined the Communist Youth. He struck out for himself, in distinction to the majority of such a degree before. He was not the sons of the Soviet officials, choosing to live in a workers' stu- mising, not less keen-minded, not dent dormitory rather than with less dynamic or less capable of his parents in the Kremlin. He went with his father in the military train on several occasions "absorbing its stark impressions. and firmly understanding why consciousness of the individual's this bloody struggle was being waged." He took an active part in the organization of the Left Stalinist press issued call after Opposition. He went with his parents to Alma Ata and then to Prinkipo, in both places playing and peasants to drive Trotsky "out an invaluable role. In Berlin and of Mexico." The official organ of later, after the rise of Hitler, in the Mexican Communist Party a Paris, he edited the Russian Bul- short time before the May 24 asletin. He did work of first impor- sault called for "Death to Trottance in exposing the Moscow sky." frame-ups and analyzing the Stakhanovist movement. Trotsky considered him co-author of all his works subsequent to 1928. Agents of the Opposition, had been arof the GPU dogged his heels, rentrested shortly before Trotsky's ex- ed apartments next to his, made tric alarms installed. ile. Nothing more is known of at least one unsuccessful attempt personal secretary through the his fate except that eight years to kill him. In February of 1938 THE MURDER OF Sedov was stricken with appendi- SHELDON HARTE

daughter remained behind in Rus- unveil. she and her son Seva were de-Sedov of the years of Stalin's perrefused permission to return to the persecution had upon Trotsky himhad been taking care of Zina's the older comrades, whom Leon daughter, was condemned to exile from his childhood had become accustomed to revere and love, had to go. Despairing of ever again and privations Leon bore lightly, of the revolution, were typical of seeing her husband, seared by jokingly, like a true proletarian: the Left Opposition. Thousands of led against her father, on Janu- mark. Infinitely more harrowing were the effects of subsequent moral tortures . . . no, 'Stalinism' Leon Sedov, Trotsky's older son, was for Leon not an abstract polfollowed his father into exile at itical concept but an endless series of moral blows and spiritual

Many times in writing his biothe facts of Stalin's career so restayed behind in Moscow. He did volting he became nauseated. not take part in the Opposition Dealing with the machinations of bedroom and fired directly into ceived an intense physical impreswork but remained neutral in pol- the GPU was as repugnant to itics, devoting himself to his Trotsky as digging into a clogged work as an engineer and teacher. sewer. Yet the last three months He was arrested with his wife in of his life were spent on nothing "Trotskyism," and for this she was paring a "premeditated mass poi- GPU! -- exposing its organizasoning of workers." Their fate is tion, exposing beyond all doubt still. Seva, Trotsky's grandson, re-Stalin's guilt for the May 24 as-On November 7, 1927, during a sault, proving that Stalin would sky's automobile. This was pre | concept . . .

sky that assassination was not first dim gropings in the utilizaization of the future when the Stalin more than once declared earth will be shaped according to that the most serious error he the conscious will of man. This from the Soviet Union. But Stalin found understanding which Marxism gave him of contemporary government of the USSR, the most history, enabled Trotsky not only powerful spy system in the world, to survive Stalin's persecution where other heroes of the revolution crumbled but even to convert it into a source of strength. He remarked more than once that

> tional were being steeled in a harder school than that of any previous revolutionary generation - all the blows of world reac-Fourth International, Trotsky himself could not help being atfected, particularly after the death of Sedov. Trotsky's secretaries felt a quality in their teacher they had not been aware of to less energetic, not less comprowhite heats of indignation, but he seemed to have become more mellowed, as if the tragedy had steeped him with a still deeper place on the historic scale.

After the death of Sedov, the call in the most envenomed language upon the Mexican workers

With only limited resources and manpower. Trotsky organized the defense at his command. A guard system was set up, the walls around the house heightened, elec-

But Stalin resorted to an old

Zina, Trotsky's older daughter, citis and taken to a hospital. On stratagem of the Czarist police. A visit Trotsky in January 1931 terious circumstances which skilled agent of the GPU married after his forcible deportation to French diplomacy, in view of its one of the followers of Trotsky to penetrate the household. This sia. In 1932 when she went to Those sentences in which Trot- agent, who traveled on a forged rapher in the military train, were Germany for medical treatment sky speaks of the influence upon passport bearing the name "Jacprived of Soviet citizenship and secution reflect too the effect this GPU from a dead Loyalist veteran lapsed on the floor and knew that in the Spanish civil war, made he was dying, Trotsky towered USSR. Her husband and her self: "This young and profoundly acquaintance with the Trotskyist like a mountain peak above ordidaughter were seized by the GPU sensitive and tender being had movement in Paris. He probably nary men. There was no fear of and have not since been heard had far too much to bear. The had a hand in the deaths of Se death. He seized the short time from. Trotsky's first wife, Alex long years of the campaign of lies dov and of Rudolf Klement whose for what political tasks he could andra Lvovna Sokolovskaya, who against his father and the best of body was found floating in the accomplish. He pressed goodbye Seine with head, arms, and legs to Natalia. Those moments when amputated. In Mexico, "Jacson" the Old Man lay dying were approached the house with utmost choked with anguish. Why couldn't Berlin ordered Zina to be deported already deeply shaken his moral caution, taking as his first pro- it have been us instead of the from Germany, she had no place organism . . . Material difficulties ject merely the task of gaining Old Man? Why couldn't he have the confidence of Trotsky's guards. been spared this? Foor Natalia.

> City, the GPU rented a cabin and she fondled the Old Man's hand. dug in the floor of its kitchen a Despite everything, hope flared up pit which they lined with lime. its flames licking at the chill of This pit was intended for Leon conviction. Maybe it isn't fatal and Natalia Trotsky.

Just before dawn on May 24, recover. We did not yet know the 1940, under the leadership of Da. blow had pierced his skull. Only vid Alfaro Siqueiros, a gang raided the Old Man refused to admit the the Coyoacan residence of Trotsky illusions of hope. He was sure that graphy of Stalin, Trotsky found and filled his bedroom with a this time they had succeeded. crossfire of machine gun slugs. Yet when Trotsky spoke to me. One of the gang penetrated the when his hand gripped mine, I rethe beds of the old revolutionary sion from him, especially from couple. They escaped only by his eyes, of a profound triumph great good fortune and the pres. as if he were already gazing upon ence of mind which led them to the final victory over all that throw themselves in a corner of dead past which reaches out to the bedroom and to lie perfectly strike down the living. ceived a wound in his foot.

Upon leaving, the gang hurled demonstration on the streets of strike again. No, "Stalinism" was incendiary bombs and kidnapped Moscow a policeman fired at Trot- not for him an abstract political the guard on duty, Robert Sheldon Harte. A month later the body of cisely the time when Stalin was Trotsky's world outlook — the Harte was found in the pit ori

JACSON RECTIFIES STALIN'S "ERROR"

On August 20, Jacson succeeded in carrying out his assignment. Late in the afternoon he entered the house with a revolver, a dagger, and a pickaxe hidden in his clothing. Which weapon he would use depended upon the circumstances. He brought an article dealing with France. When Trotsky sat down to read this article, Jacson, standing behind him, raised his pickaxe. In the next noment Stalin's "greatest error" the cadres of the Fourth Internahad been "rectified."

But even in the last few mo-

Red Army Leader



TROTSKY, WAR MINISTER-1923 A newspaper shot of Leon

Trotsky taken after he had led the Red Army to smashing victory against interventionist, counter-revolutionary forces on twenty-two fronts.

In the mountains near Mexico Tears rolled down her cheeks as after all. Maybe the Old Man will

Progress In India Hindered By British Exploiters

By JACK WEBER

Churchill orates time and again concerning the complete mobilization of the resources of the entire British Empire for the purpose of defeating Hitler. But not for one moment does he forget the need of British imperialism to maintain the colonies in their slave status as sources of raw materials and markets for commodities.

The population of India today is not definitely known, but it gets closer and closer to the 400 million mark. Of this vast population, only one and three quarter millions work in factories. This is an index of the industrialization that the Hindus have been permitted to carry out under the "guidance" of Britain. Even if we included the small handicraftsmen carrying on their ancient trades, there would be only 21 million, including the factory workers. That is, only one-half of one percent are actually factory workers; only five percent are handicraftsmen or factory

Since India has vast mineral resources, including iron ore, and plenty of laborers, one might suppose that England would try to build up Indian economy as fast as possible to meet all emergencies. But that would place the Empire in a serious dilemma. The colonial status of India would then tend to disappear at the expense of industrial capitalist England. War or no war, India's position in the empire must not be disturbed.

The compradore capitalists of India thought that they might be able to profit greatly by the desperate situation of England in the war. These native bourgeois elements did their best to come to terms with Britain for the sole purpose of expanding their industries and their profits. The virtual refusal of the British Raj to come to terms with the Hindu capitalists is proof that England will never voluntarily permit industrial

Some Interesting Figures on India

We are now offered statistical proof of this fact. The Indian firm of Premchand, Roychand and Sons, a firm of Bombay bankers, issues each year an "Annual Market Review" which gives a picture of the state of Hindu economy. India is the largest unit in the British Empire. Despite the vast resources of minerals and manpower, India remains mostly a supplier of unprocessed raw materials. The British manipulate finances and taxes so as to maintain this condition and to discourage industrialization. A so-called excessprofits tax of 50 per cent was recently boosted to 66 2 3 per cent to place a heavy burden on industry. In addition a 25 per cent surcharge tax was added to all income taxes. Just as in the last war. India is being made to carry an enormous share of the war expenses. After April 1, 1941 the surcharge tax was raised to 33 13 per cent.

But as though this state of affairs were not bad enough, England has limited the possible export markets to which India can ship her products. The exports have naturally increased by some 16 per cent in volume—but most of this has gone to England or the Empire-and the prices have been set so that the Indian farmers actually receive less than before. Agricultural products form an important part of the country's price structure. With farm products selling for less or for no more than before, imported manufactures and locally manufactured non-agricultural products have risen in price. Thus for the largest part of the Indian population the cost of living has gone up while prices received for the farm produce have gone down.

Hitler Cannot Teach Churchill

Hitler has nothing to contribute to Churchill in the ruthless treatment of a conquered people. There is nothing that Hitler has done in Europe in the way of looting the conquered nations that cannot be duplicated by the treatment accorded the Indian peoples by England. All that can be said is that Hitler is trying to reduce nations that had advanced far beyond India in the scale of civilization, to the status of India. Churchill carries on the policy of keeping the colonies in their backwardness for the purposes of imperialist exploitation. Hitler carries imperialist policy one step further by attempting to destroy the industrialization already achieved after centuries of effort by the European nations in order to reduce all Europe to the slave status for exploitation by German imperialism.

Just as the further advance of European civilization depends on the defeat of Hitler and the ending of capitalism all over Europe, so the further advance of India and all the colonies depends on the defeat of Churchill and the ending of world capitalism.

Addressing the Comintern

Leon Trotsky addressing the Third Congress of the Comintern-another, of the surviving portrayals of Trotsky as honored leader of the Revolution and

TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETINGS

IN MINNEAPOLIS:

Speaker: FARRELL DOBBS

National Labor Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

Time:

Thursday, August 21, at 8 p.m.

Socialist Workers Party Hall 919 Marquette Ave.

IN CHICAGO: Speaker: GRACE CARLSON

Former Senatorial Candidate of

Trotskyist Anti-War Party

Time: Friday, August 22, at 8 p.m.

Hamilton Hotel, American Room 20 S. Dearborn St.

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

—LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

'Russia As An Ally'

In its leading editorial of August 6th, "Russia as an Ally," the authoritative New York Times baldly expresses the real policy of Washington and Wall Street toward the Soviet Union.

Roosevelt has praised the resistance of the Russians. In pledge of his sincerity, Stalin has offered up the Communist Party of the United States to the service of the imperialist war-mongers. Acting Secretary Welles and Ambassador Oumansky have discussed ways and means of sending more supplies to the Soviet Union.

The Stalinists have hailed these assurances and this trickle of material aid as evidences of the beginning of a beautiful friendship. But the Times punctures this illusion. "We have an interest in Russian resistance" it writes—but only for the time being. "It is Hitler and not Russia that constitutes the immediate threat to us. But at the same time, it must be clear that our primary interest is not in 'helping Russia' but in 'stopping Hitler'."

The Times proposes that, instead of sending aid to the Soviet Union, Washington redouble its help to Great Britain and China. In effect, the Times is opposed to giving any substantial support to the Soviet Union in its fight against the fascist

This semi-official spokesman for Wall St. and Washington is undoubtedly expressing the real calculations hidden behind the smoke-screen of diplomatic professions of amity and aid for the USSR. Bluntly and brutally the Times is saying: "We, American imperialists, are not in the least concerned about defending the Soviet Union; we would prefer to see it wiped off the face of the earth. But, since that would strengthen our immediate imperialist rival, we must take care of first things first. We'll go after the Soviet Union next."

When will the workers follow out their own class interests in so clear and conscious a fashion as their imperialist masters?

The workers will never clarify their own class position so long as they listen to the American agents of Stalin. In replying to the Times editorial, the Daily Worker seeks to persuade the American imperialists that they have a great stake in defending the Soviet Union; that, in the words of Oumansky, there is a "community of interest"... between all "freedom-loving nations," which includes the British oppressors of India and the American oppressors of Porto Rico and the Phil-

The Daily Worker asserts in a whining tone: "you can trust the Soviet Union." But the American imperialists know how little moral abstractions and mutual pledges matter. Class interests determine all fundamental policies, and a great victory for the Soviet Union is inimical to the class interests of all the imperialists.

We say to the American workers: It is necessary to defend the Soviet Union. But place no trust in your capitalist government to do this.

Learn from the conduct of your class enemy. Do not be misled by the deceitful propaganda of the Stalinists. Do not give up your struggle against the capitalist bosses at home. Your slavery will not help the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union to defend their freedom. Your strength will add to their strength, the best aid you can give the Soviet Union is to struggle for workers' power in the United States.

Meet Rising Prices By Raising Wages

Camden Local 1 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, CIO, took a long step forward this week in the fight against mounting prices and the rising cost of

Realizing that the only way to answer this problem is by raising wages when prices go up, the union wrote into the closed shop contract with the New York Shipbuilding Company it ratified last Sunday, a "cost of living" provision which calls for automatic wage increases in accordance with the index of the United States Department of

Under this provision, if the Department of Labor index shows a 5% increase at the end of six months, wages will be raised 1% for each point of increase in the index. Additional adjustments will he made every six months, but there shall be no decreases even if the cost of living drops.

While one might object to the six month period of waiting before wages are adjusted, or the provision that wages will not be adjusted unless a 5% increase in living costs takes place during the six month period, there can be no argument whatever about the basic principle involved.

Local 1 has made a beginning that means more to the workers than all the speeches of Henderson and the legislation of Roosevelt on the price prob-

It is now up to the other unions to take up and extend the proposal for a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living by writing it into every contract negotiated from now on.

Paying For The War

Roosevelt's Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau on August 8 put forth before the Senate Finance Committee the Administration's latest plan to place the burden of war costs on the backs of the workers and low-income earners.

The plan calls for a broadening of the present income tax base to tax incomes of as low as \$750. a year, and to raise substantially the taxes on incomes in the lower brackets ranging from \$800 to \$2500 annually. This would place a direct income tax on single individuals who earn less than \$15

Exemptions for married persons, under the Administration's scheme, would be reduced from the present \$2,000 minimum to \$1,500. Thus virtually the entire working population, which already carries the major burden through indirect taxes, would suffer further slices in their meagre incomes in the face of soaring prices.

The Administration is playing a sly cat-andmouse game with the American people on the matter of war taxes. Several weeks ago Roosevelt proposed to the House Ways and Means Committee that the new tax bill include a measure to slightly increase taxes on excess war profits. The Committee flatly rejected this proposal, because under the present law, by virtue of a trick method of computing the tax base, the corporations which profit most from war orders escape virtually all taxes

Having made a demagogic gesture in the direction of "taking the profits out of war" and taxing "where it hurts least," the Administration is now driving for its real tax program—in the words of Morgenthau, "'all-out' taxation" on the workers for "'all-out' defense."

The war tax bill already includes steep increases in excises on consumers' goods and services. Through this one measure alone, the workers will be made to pay, in indirect levies, more than onethird of the new federal tax load.

A hint of what lies in store for the American workers, as the war progresses, was given last Tuesday by the American Investment Bankers Association, which proposed that the federal government impose a drastic "excess profits tax"—on wages!—and a "purchase tax,"—that is, a general

It is clear that the War Administration intends to bleed the workers white to pay for the war, while the giant trusts and monopolies are free to double and redouble their profits from year to year.

But there is no reason why the private profiteers of industry, who add nothing to production, should get a single dime out of the blood and labors of the workers. In reality, the problem of production for war purposes is one of increasing production beyond consumers' needs. Such an increase is impossible so long as the war profiteers control production and limit it for their own selfish ends.

There is but one answer to this "all-out" tax robbery of the workers for the benefit of the ruling capitalist class: Expropriate the war industries and operate them under the direct control and management of the workers!

Churchill Sought The Overthrow of the USSR

As Secretary Of State For War He Aided The White Armies And Asked For A United Imperialist Attack On The Soviet Union

"I entered the War Office as Secretary of State on January 14, 1919," says Winston Churchill in the volume of his book, sion to lash out again at the pre-'The World Crisis," which deals with the 1918-1928 period, vailing Allied rollicy: and became an heir to the pledges and tragedies of this situation . . .

The "tragedies" were the unsuccessful attempts at intervention against the Soviet Union; the "pledges" were those made, in accordance with the "big intervention" policy which Churchill had been advocating all along, to intervene on a scale sufficient to destroy the Workers' Government.

The policy toward the Soviet Union which Churchill in his we had the power, pursued to the form of his cable to me looks point we fall short of what is end, had at any rate the merit of rather too much like this. I had simplicity. Our armies were melting fast. The British people would not supply the men or the money for any large military establishment elsewhere than on the Rhine. It was highly questionable whether any troops raised under for that purpose and that effort compulsion for the war against Germany would consent to fight not be on such a scale as to arouse anybody else in any circumstances, or even to remain long in occupation of conquered territory."

The "simple" policy, briefly put by Churchill, was as follows:

"Discharge our pledges faithfully and fully by arming and equipping the anti-Bolshevik forces from our own immense supply of munitions, and help them with expert officers and instructors to train efficient armies of their own. Naturally it followed that we should try to combine all the border states hostile to the Bolsheviks into one system of war and diplomacy and get everyone else to do as much as possible. Such was the policy we consistently pursued—and such were its limitations."

WHY CHURCHILL COULD NOT CARRY OUT HIS POLICY | the following:

But Prime Minister Lloyd George and the other Allied leaders would not at first give full agreement to Churchill's policy. Their main enemy, the workers and the colonial masses, were in the full tide of the post-war revolationary wave.

Trying to get his policy formally adopted, Churchill appeared before the Allied Peace Conference in Paris in February, 1919, with the request for the establishment of an authoritative "Allied Council for Russian Affairs with political, economic and military sections, and with executive power within the limits defined for it by the Allied Governments; and that the military inquiry into what resources were available and how they could best be co-ordinated should proceed forthwith."

Lloyd George, not present at that session of the Conference, hastened to send a telegram to Paris, insisting on caution. He knew Churchill and he knew that he was set on completing "the unfinished task" of the war, the destruction of the Soviet Union. Lloyd George's telegram not only throws light on Churchill's stand fice did not even keep George inon the question, but also shows that George's own position differ- aid to the counter-revolution. It ed from Churchill's only in a tac- was only when George sent him a tical way.

LLOYD GEORGE'S **OBJECTIONS TO** CHURCHILL'S POLICY

"I trust," wired George, "that able." he (Churchill) will not commit us to any costly operations which ment that he did not feel this would involve any large contribu- "considerable" assistance was too ticle on Churchill and the Soviet

understood from his conversation | The lack of any 'will to win' comwith me that all he had in mind municates itself to our troops and was to send expert details who affects their morale: it commuvolunteer to go to Russia with nicates itself to our Russian alany equipment we can spare. I lies and retards their organizaalso understand our volunteer tion, and to our enemies and enarmy has not to be drawn upon made to secure volunteers would vehement opposition in this coun try . . . and interfere with growth

"All these things ought to b made clear to all the other Powers before an agreement is arrived at, otherwise they might either depend too much on us or subsequently upbraid us with having ailed in our promises. The main idea ought to be to enable (White) Russia to save herself if she desires to do so; and if she does not take advantage of opportunity. then it means either that she does not wish to be saved or that she s past saving. There is only one justification for interfering in Russia — that Russia wants it...'

of our own volunteer army.

The imperialist statesmen chose the George rather than the Churchill formula. Instead of seting up the council he proposed they contented themselves with

"That the military authorities might be allowed to talk together and, instead of presenting a report to the Conference as a whole, might individually hand to their respective representatives on the Conference a copy of the results of their informal and unofficial conversations."

CHURCHILL STILL THINKS HIS POLICY WAS RIGHT

Churchill felt that it was "use less" under these circumstances thinks:

"I am sure the procedure I capitalist exploitation. proposed was reasonable and practical. The one chance of success and safety for the National Russians lay in the united countenance of the Allies. and the proper concerting of any action they could take. The Allies had not much to give them, but they might at least have given it in a manner likely to be useful."

Evidently Churchill's War Offormed as to the extent of British complaint about this that Churchill sent him "a statement of British assistance to Russia, which, as you will see, is consider-

Churchill explained in this state-

"The criticism that may be passed is that it (the assistance) is related to no concerted policy, and that while it constitutes a serious drain on our resources it is not backed with sufficient vigor to lead to any definite result There is no 'will to win' behind any of these ventures. At every necessary to obtain real success courages their efforts . . .

CHURCHILL SUCCEEDED IN AIDING KOLCHAK

Finally, pressure of this sort by Churchill got the Allies to make a definite commitment in June, 1919 to extend support to 'Admiral Kolchak and his Associates.'

Looking back at this, years later, Churchill is still angry that it took them so long to make up their minds:

"If this far-reaching and openly proclaimed decision was wise now in June, would it not have been wiser in January? No argument existed in June not obvious in January: and half the power available in January was gone in June. Six months of degeneration and uncertainty had chilled the Siberian Armies and wasted the slender authority of the Omsk Government. It had given the Bolsheviks the opportunity of raising armies, of consolidating their power and of identifying themselves to some extent with Russia...The moment chosen by the Supreme Council for their declaration was almost exactly the moment when that declaration was certainly too late."

It is obvious that Churchill was the most far-sighted enemy of the Soviet Union from the beginning. He had nothing but contempt for the hypocritical, vacillating policies of George, Wilson and the others. As a realistic defender and among a bunch of such hypo- of imperialism, he wanted from crites to remain in Paris, so he the beginning to seize the Russian returned to London. He still sixth of the world from the workers' revolution and restore it to

> He always sneered at any fooling around with this question. Speaking of the official Allied leaders, he said:

"Were they at war with Soviet Russia? Certainly not; but they shot Soviet Russians at sight. They stood as invaders on Russian soil. They armed the enemies of the Soviet government. They blockaded its ports, and sank its battleships. They earnestly desired and schemed its downfall. But war - shocking! Interference shame! It was, they repeated, a

matter of indifference to them how Russians settled their own internal affairs. They were impartial-Bang! And then at the same time-parley and try to trade."

(A third, and concluding artion either of men or money. The much. Instead he used the occa- Union will appear next week).

Where We Stand

Why Stalin Murdered Trotsky

One point concerning the connection between Stalin's murder of Trotsky and the war situation has not been sufficiently stressed. It was easy to see that Stalin hoped to minimize the publicity the murder would receive by the attention which the press was devoting to the war. It was in all probability no accident that the murder occurred in the midst of the Battle of Britain when the whole world was reading news about Hitler's desperate attempt to achieve air superiority over England. But I think the more important factor which made Stalin determined to get rid of Trotsky was his fear that the great leader of the Red Army would be alive at the time when the Soviet Union would be involved in the war.

By Albert Goldman

Everything that Stalin did indicated his anxiety to avoid involvement in the war. But he understood well enough that Hitler could not be trusted. And he understood also that a war would set into motion forces that would shake his regime and that, with Trotsky alive, the hopes of millions of Soviet workers would be concentrated on Lenin's closest collaborator.

Millions of workers are alive in the Soviet Union who remember from their own experiences the role played by Trotsky in the October Revolution and the Civil War. All the filth, all the monstrous lies that Stalin had his henchmen write about the organizer of the Red Army could not and did not deceive the countless number of workers who lived in the stirring and heroic days when Lenin and Trotsky led the Soviet Union. It is doubtful that Stalin's propaganda machine succeeded in deceiving even the generation which was old enough to understand what was going on at the time when Trotsky was exiled.

Stalin knew that during a war the thoughts of these millions of Soviet workers and peasants would turn to their leader of old. If by chance the Red Army were defeated, Stalin feared a tremendous mass movement demanding the return of the man who did so much to assure the victory of the Revolution. And if the Red Army were victorious, Stalin feared that the workers and peasants, flushed with victory, would no longer tolerate the arbitrary and oppressive rule of the bureaucracy. In either case, the figure and the personality of Trotsky would naturally become the center of a great mass movement.

A major conflict and a living Trotsky during such a conflict were the two great fears haunting Stalin. By cunning and perseverance he could and did succeed in having one of his GPU men thrust a pick-axe into the brain of Trotsky. He got rid of Trotsky but he could not get rid of war. At this time, when the Soviet Union is at war, it can be readily seen how anxious and determined Stalin was to do away with Trotsky and thus avoid the great danger of a mass movement centering around the demand for the return of Trotsky to help defend the Soviet Union.

Trotsky's Death a Blow to the USSR

It did not matter to Stalin that by murdering Trotsky he struck a damaging blow at the Soviet Union. The Stalinist bureaucracy is interested in saving the Soviet Union only in such a way as to preserve the bureaucracy's own existence.

It would be idle to deny that Stalin strengthened his own position through the murder of Trotsky. The working masses of the Soviet Union have lost a great leader around whom they could rally. But it would be just as foolish to conclude that, with the murder of Trotsky, Stalin has removed the danger of being overthrown by the Soviet masses. At best he can gain time by destroying the leaders of the revolutionary opposition.

Stalin cannot destroy the program of Trotsky, because that program springs out of the conditions that prevail within the Soviet Union and throughout the. whole world. How well acquainted even the politically conscious Soviet workers are with the specific aspects of the Trotsky program, is difficult to say. They have not been permitted to read a word of Trotsky's writings. But it is possible and probable that through word of mouth some of Trotsky's ideas have found their way into the minds and hearts of the best and most conscious of the Soviet workers.

The important fact is that the Soviet workers are even now following the program of Trotsky-at least one part of it. Their magnificent resistance to the army of German imperialism is a clear indication that they have undertaken to defend the Soviet Union to the last drop of their blood. Nothing that Stalin did in the last eighteen years, no crime that he committed, has been great enough to make the Soviet workers defeatist. Even if they did not read the works of Trotsky, the advanced Soviet workers know that he was for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union when he was exiled, and knowing Trotsky they must have concluded that he never changed his position. They know what the basis of Trotsky's position is - the existence of nationalized property, the foundation of Socialism erected by the October Revolution.

The Soviet Workers Understand The Soviet workers are far more astute politically

than those sophisticates who try to prove that there is no difference between fascist Germany and the Soviet Union and that the Soviet Union is waging an imperialist war. On the basis of the terrible hardships that the Soviet working masses had to endure in the last decade; the tyranny and oppression they were subjected to by the arrogant Stalinist bureaucracy, there are "Marxists" who see no difference between the Soviet Union and fascist Germany. But they can have no explanation for the fierce resistance of the Soviet massés against the Nazi invasion. That resistance can be explained only on the basic assumption that the Soviet workers, without having read our program, still follow it because it represents the living reality understood by the workers.

And just as the Russian workers are following the aspect of the Trotskyist program in standing for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, so will conditions impel them eventually to follow all the other major aspects of the Trotskyist program. They will rid themselves of the Stalinist bureaucracy; they will re-establish complete Soviet democracy; they will tie their fate to the world revolution.

Stalin cannot kill the Trotskyist program for it is a product of actual conditions. Ultimately that program will destroy Stalin, Hitler and all those who stand in the way of world socialism.

In New York

Trotsky Memorial Meeting

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

Manhattan Plaza, 66 E. 4th St., N. Y. (Air-conditioned hall)

Speakers:

JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party

JOSEPH HANSEN

Former Secretary to Leon Trotsky

Chairman: Lydia Beidel

MUSIC