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# **GOVERNMENT'S WITNESSES BOOMERANG** A PAGE OUT OF THE ANTI-LABOR BOOK

# HELP DEFEND THE 28 NOW! An Editorial

On trial in the Minneapolis federal courtroom today are not merely 28 individuals. Indicted before the bar of boss-class 'justice' are all those democratic rights and liberties for which American labor has fought for decades.

Through conviction of these 28 defendants, the employing class and its government hope to strike a blow at everything which progressive unionists and liberals hold dear: the right to freely propagate one's opinions; to join a union of one's own choosing; to carry out militant labor actions on behalf of the interests of the workers; to criticise and oppose the policies of the government; to educate and organize people for socialism. Never in all American labor history, has there been a prose-

cution so clearly based on the expression of opinion. In the prosecution's opening address to the jury on Oc-

tober 28, U. S. District Attorney Anderson baldly stated: ... It is safe to say that usually in connection with a con-

spiracy count or charge, it is incumbent upon the prosecuting authorities to establish some overt act, some positive step or act done to bring about or in furtherance of the conspiracy: and it is the position of the Government in this case that that is not required. . ."

It is nothing that the defendants are alleged to have done, therefore, which is the basis of this trial. It is their ideas in themselves and the fact that they publicly expressed these ideas which constitute the "crime".

Let the government secure a conviction on these grounds, and the precedent will have been legally established which will enable the government to make expression of opinion, independent working-class political activity, militant trade-unionism, a 'crime' A Revolutionary Program of Victory and subject to punishment by long prison sentences. The mere possession or circulation of a book by Marx, or any other book or publication unacceptable to the government, may constitute a 'felony'.

ment, the resources and apparatus of the wealthiest ruling class throwing in fresh reserves of planes, tanks, guns and men. A in history The defendants and their organizations have no resources with which to conduct a trial of at least two-months duration. They must have minimum living expenses, because they cannot work while the trial is in progress and maintain themselves and their families. Legal fees, court expenses, research work, of Moscow. all require financial means far beyond the capacities of the defendants to supply. 'But the defendants are fighting not for themselves alone. They are battling for the rights and liberties of the American people as a whole.



# **Stalin Interview Shows Real Situation In USSR**

Stalin Shows He Is Incapable of Adopting

By GEORGE BREITMAN

Reports from the Moscow front tell of fierce fighting raging around all the approaches to the capital. A radio broadcast from Moscow on November 3 declared that the German assault Back of the prosecution is the mighty power of the govern- on the city had "entered a most serious phase", with the Germans decisive battle was being fought at the munitions center, Tula, 100 miles south of Moscow; and • losses were increasing tremend- of the German armies have been ously on both sides in the battle | slowed up thus far, it is due prifor Kalinin, 95 miles northwest marily to these qualities of the

# **Own Witnesses In Trial Of 28 Cite Defendants' Union-Building Record**

Prosecution Trying to Prove Union Defense Guard, Formed to Protect Unions from Fascist Attacks, Was Part of 'Conspiracy'

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Nov. 3. - The two witnesses introduced by the prosecution in yesterday's proceedings of the federal government's 'seditious conspiracy' trial against 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of the drivers' Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis, proved more of an embarrassment than an asset to the case the government is trying to build up.

The prosecution at the opening of the afternoon session of the sixth day

of the trial introduced two witnesses in an attempt to convince the jury that several of the defendants had been conducting also sought to convey a picturé 'illegal' and 'subversive' activities in the trade union movement. But before the witnesses stepped off the stand, they had given Farrell Dobbs. Without explaining a picture of the defendants' activities which showed that they what these books actually were, were guilty only of carrying on vigorous activities in defense the prosecution saw to it that the of a union on strike, and of trying +

to convince other trade unionists | Through him, there was introof the correctness of their politic- duced as evidence, without objection by the defense, a party al views. Internal Bulletin on trade union

The first of these witnesses problems. on the stand was Thomas V. TESTIMONY OF Smith, former secretary-treasurer of the Omaha (Nebraska) Team- THOMAS V. SMITH sters Union, Local 554. Smith testified that he joined the So- prosecution sought to build up a

ten by Ralph Ingersoll for the cialist Workers Party in the picture of "outsiders" like Farnewspaper PM. Ingersoll has just spring of 1940 and that five out rell Dobbs, Carlos Hudson, and the "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO." returned from three weeks in the of the seven members of the Vincent. Dunne, coming into USSR where he discussed the war Omaha Teamsters Union Execu-Omaha to dictate the affairs of tive Board were party members. the local union. The prosecution (Continued on Page 5)



of Smith being given a course in ultra-revolutionary reading by jury heard that Smith had read a book entitled "DYNAMITE"

and the "COMMUNIST MANI-FESTO." But Smith of Omaha turned into a complete liability for the prosecution, when the defense had an opportunity to cross-examine him. Smith smilingly explained that On direct questioning of Smith, "DYNAMITE" was a book, written by Louis Adamic, that disapproved of violence, and that he liked

He described the work of defendant Farrell Dobbs first as Secretary of the 11-state North Central Area Committee, and then as International Representative of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters: Dobbs' coming to Omaha at the request, first of the local union, and then sec-AFL Teamsters' chief nded

SMITH TELLS THE TRUTH

Asked why Farrell Dobbs re-

signed from his post as Interna-

tional Representative, Smith said

Their fight, then, is the fight of every person, every worker, and progressive, who values his constitutional and inalienable-rights and liberties.

Financial and moral support are the crying need of the delendants. Give them the means to fight, and they will conduct the most uncompromising battle for democratic principles ever witnessed in this country.

Every dollar, every penny which workers and liberals contribute to the defense will help prevent the flood of reaction which will follow a conviction in this case.

The need for funds is immediate and pressing.

The trial is already under way. The time to act is now — at once. Two months from now may be too late. Dig down in your pockets! Open wide your Secretary of Civil wallets! The price of liberty comes dear. Money is **Rights Defense Com.** the least sacrifice we may be called upon to make Warns of Danger for the preservation of our democratic rights. Rally to the front lines in the fight for civil liberties! Rally George Novack, Secretary of to the defense of the Minneapolis defendants! Let he Civil Rights Defense Comyour dollars speak your determination that this atmittee, today issued the followowing statement on the opentempt at violating labor's rights shall not succeed. ing proceedings in the trial of

Rush your contributions to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The Civil Rights Defense Committee is the authorized agency for collecting funds going on in Minneapolis. to aid the 28 defendants. It is a national committee, composed of labor leaders, writers, educators, and outstanding leaders in progressive circles throughout America, which has been authorized by the defendants to organize and mobilize public support on their behalf.

Don't delay! YOUR rights are at stake!

## NEXT WEEK

opinions is sufficient to establish For some time THE MILITANT has been trying to secure the guilt of the defendants. This for publication the stenogram of the important speech delivered is a clear violation of the constiby Comrade James P. Cannon on "The Federal Prosecution and the Present Tasks of the Party", delivered at the Socialist Work-Rights. ers Party Plenum-Active Workers Conference in Chicago, Oct. 11, 1941. Delivery of the stenogram has been delayed by prepara-WHAT PROSECUTION tions of the party for the Minneapolis trial.

Just before this issue went to press, however, the stenogram was received in New York. This makes it possible for us to announce that next week's issue of THE MILITANT will feature the speech by Comrade Cannon.

Red Army. Late dispatches also tell of se-But wars are not won by herorious defeats for the Soviet forism alone. Modern armies reces in the Crimea, where they are quire the proper strategy, the reported to have been cut in two taking into account of all the fac-

and driven back to the coast. tors, military, geographical, poli-Loss of the Crimea will give the tical, the co-ordination and the Germans not only control of the effective use of resources at hand, Black Sea, but places them in a the selection of the weak points position to outflank Rostov, and in the enemy's front. he Don basin and threaten the

STALIN'S INTERVIEW Caucusus and its oil fields. WITH INGERSOLL No one disputes the high fight-

NEW YORK, Nov. 4. -

the 28 Socialist Workers Party

leaders and CIO unionists now

'Federal Prosecutor Ander-

son's opening statement to the

jury is the most sweeping attack

upon civil liberties and labor's

rights in American legal his-

tory. The federal prosecutor

contends that, regardless of overt

acts, the mere expression of their

MEANS BY "CONSPIRACY"

"As evidence of 'seditious con-

Stalin's "strategy" in the war ing calibre, the spirit of sacrifice, was authoritatively revealed last the splendid morale of the Red Army soldiers. If the advances

# **Agree To 15-Day Truce**

### Fix Strike Dead-Line in Event NDMB Fails To Make Favorable Decision On Union-Shop

The Roosevelt administration and the steel corporations have failed to force the United Mine Workers of America, CIO, to accept compulsory arbitration as a basis for settlement of the strike of 53,000 workers for the union shop in the "captive" coal mines.

Called on midnight, October 25, by UMW President John L. Lewis, in spite of Roosevelt's demand that the miners stay on the job and continue to work

without a contract, the strike Only after the Administration. was temporarily halted on Oc- the National Defense Mediation week in a series of articles writ- tober 30 under terms of a 15-day Board and the steel companies



icize any abuse or discrimination Rights of Labor in the armed forces, to call the Are Under Attack government of the U.S. imperialistic or capitalistic, and to main- Now, Says Novack tain that the workers and farmers who form the majority of the

government is forbidding people a "no-strike" policy and to subpopulation should govern the to have 'dangerous thoughts.' Here | mit the disputed issue to arbitracountry. in the U.S., as well as in fascist tion which would be binding upon

countries, trade union activities "Even the demand for higher the union regardless of its effect are being branded criminal ofwages is branded a crime. 'It is on the miners' interests. fenses. Here, as under totalitarian The strike was precipitated by going to be a part of our case, regimes, freedom of speech and the continued stalling of the declared Anderson, ' . . . to show freedom of the press are in dan-NDMB, which after weeks of . . that the Socialist Workers ger of extinction.

Party was to guide and direct the "The prosecutor's blunt assertions are an alarm signal to activities of the union . . . For inevery American who values our stance, if it was a question of labor pay per hour, ask for an hard-won liberties and does not increase; if that was received, want to see them taken away unthen don't stop there . . . Always der pretext of war-time emeragitate and demand to cause a gency. The trial now going on in condition of unrest in order that the federal Courtroom at Minneapolis is today the front-line secthere might be a breach between tor in the struggle for civil libthe employing class and the emerties and labor's rights in the

United States.'

"There is hardly a progressive relief work of the Civil Rights idea or a labor activity which Defense Committee which is aid-

could not be proscribed if the ing the 28 defendants, and urged spiracy,' the Prosecutor cited ac- classics as the 'Communist Mani- government obtains convictions in that all funds be sent to its, oftivities which have been engaged festo' and Trotsky's 'History of this case. Here in the United fice, 160 Fifty Ave., New York in for decades not only by the the Russian Revolution,' to crit- States, and not only in Japan, the City.

Daniel J. Tobin; and before this point was concluded Smith had described Dobbs as unquestionably the outstanding trade union-DAILY REPORTS ist in the work of the Eleven State Area Committee.

See Page 3 for a complete day to day account of the proceedings of the Minnesota trial of the 28.

that the International Office in agreed to a mediation procedure Indianapolis bad ordered Dobbs which would not be binding on to settle a Kansas City taxicab the union and would leave the strike on any terms and that union free to strike if the NDMB | Dobbs had refused to sell out the brings out a decision unfavor- workers. An International Repable to the miners, did the UMW resentative sent into Kansas City announce a temporary truce. At after Dobbs left there signed a the same time, a strike dead-line worse contract than the one that was announced by the union, and Dobbs had rejected. The high it is understood that the strike point of Smith's testimony and will automatically be resumed on cross-questioning came when de-November 15, if a satisfactory de- fense attorney Goldman asked him why he had joined the Socision is not arrived at by then. cialist Workers Party. Smith The strike was met by the com-

bined onslaught of the entire ca- answered: "I went to Minneapolis and saw

pitalist class, incited openly and the good work of Local 544 and directly by the Roosevelt adminhow it was helping the smaller istration.

locals. I saw that the leaders of Terrific pressure was brought Local 544 were labor-minded and to bear on the miners to agree to were for the poor. So I thought that if the Socialist Workers Party puts out people like that it was good enough for me."

Smith denied that any of the Socialist Workers Party members had ever advocated the use of force and violence.

'deliberation" refused to take a TESTIMONY OF position on the disputed union-MALCOLM LOVE

shop issue. The board came out The next prosecution witness instead with alternative proposcheduled was Malcolm G. Love, sals which would have commit- likewise of the Omaha Teamsters ted the union to submit the gues- Union, of which he was previoustion to binding arbitration, or to ly an organizer. The prosecution continued fruitless direct negotia- asked him only two questions tions with the companies which how many members of the Unhad refused for six months to ac- ion's Executive Board were Socede to the union-shop, although over 400,000 commercial coal mi- and when he had joined the party. ners in the eastern United States | It was obvious that the prosecu-

Novack also cited the need for are now working under a closedfunds to carry on the legal and shop contract. NDMB ACTED FOR

STEEL CORPORATIONS

(Continued on page 5)

cialist Workers Party members tion, after its disastrous experience with Smith, had no intention of providing the basis on which Love could be cross-questioned at length. (A prosecution The refusal of the NDMB to witness can be cross-questioned take a position on the union-shop by the defense only on those sub-(Continued on page 3)

GEORGE E. NOVACK **CRDC** Secretary

tutional guarantees in the Bill of Socialist Workers Party but by many labor and progressive organizations. According to the

ities, to publish such Marxist

ployee.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH UNDER ATTACK Prosecutor, it is seditious to carry on working class political activ-

#### THE MILITANT

Key Problem Is How to Guard Independence

By DON DORE

of its history at its forthcoming national convention starting

labor organization has made in ality good beginnings. Millions

During the past eight years the American working class

Of Unions, Protect the Workers' Interests



Tobin Hireling and Three-Time Stoolpigeon Against Local 544 Is Prosecution's First Witness in Minneapolis 'Conspiracy' Trial

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 27. — The first, and what is ex-

pected to be the key, witness in the federal government's "se- time of the foundation of the ditious conspiracy" case against the Socialist Workers Party SWP, Bartlett entered the party and Local 544-CIO, Minneapolis motor transport workers union, together with other members of is a three-time stoolpigeon on the payroll of Daniel Tobin, dic- the Minneapolis branch of the tator of the AFL Teamsters.

James Bartlett is the Tobin hireling on whom the prosecu- in a body. tion appears to be counting heav-

ily to help in the manufacture of of Tobin's plaint. Early declared the "evidence" which the Admin- in part:

istration and Tobin hope will send | "He (Roosevelt) asked me to the defendants to prison for terms immediately have the government departments and agencies inter. | fying members and officers of the up to 16 years.

Last March, when Tobin was ested in this matter notified." These "agencies" were notified. preparing to oust the militant, anti-war leaders of Local 544 The FBI raided the SWP head- as the name of the party, the (then an AFL affiliate), it was quarters in Minneapolis and St. Paul on June 27. They seized Bartlett who organized and led the so-called "Committee of 99". which opened the fight on Local sale in the headquarters and a- the weekly meetings of the party. vailable in book-shops and public 544 by filing charges of "radicalism" against the union's lead- libraries throughout the country. examination that prior to the with the Minneapolis The Department of Justice then opening of the trial he had been ership Teamsters Joint Council.

#### VETERAN STOOLPIGEON

Getting nowhere in this initial July 15. attempt to oust the Local 514 officers, Bartlett extended his stoolpigeon activities by appearing secuting the SWP and Local 544before a special Tobin-appointed committee in Chicago in April where he repeated his red-baiting fulminations against the Minneapolis drivers union.

All this was grist for Tobin's mill. He had long sought a pre-

text for moving in against the the warmongering Roosevelt ad decrepit craft union methods and outlook, his one-man rule and his servile attitude toward the bosses.

Tobin then set the scene for his tool's third stoolpigeon venture. He called the leaders of Local 544 before himself and his cronies in Washington, in June, where Bartlett went all over the

old ground once more. After a farcical attempt at Moscow trial, Tobin used Bartlett's reactionary "evidence" as the pretext for appointing a dictator-receiver over Local 544. This Tobin move was nullified when Local 544, on June 9, overwhelmingly voted to disafaliate from the AFL Teamsters and accept a charter from the CIO.

TOBIN SETS THE STAGE

has made giant strides forward through the progressive, indus-Socialist Party who in 1938 joined trial union policies of the CIO. This convention will record the highest point of advance any

BARTLETT TELLS "ALL" As first witness for the prose-

American history. Labor in the basic mass procution, Bartlett spent his initial duction industries, the most deci- | majority, in fact, of the working time on the witness stand identi sive sector of the American work- class. New giant industries, ing class, stands out as the most party as members and officers of powerful organized force on the the party, the name of the party American scene, thanks to the organization. The aircraft innewspapers of the party as the great strike struggle, the sweep- dustry alone, for the most part ing organizational drives under

the CIO. For the first time in American history, labor has achieved an orlenge the power of the tremendous monopoly corporations.

GREATEST TASKS AHEAD

November 17 in Detroit.

But the greatest and most decisive gains are still to be won. For all the advances made in the

anti-labor and open-shop, has the industrial union banner of drafted new hundreds of thousands of workers. No American union movement has ever existed with greater ganization, sufficiently solidified | promise and means for tackling and dynamic, and built on struc- the titanic problems of labor tural lines sound enough, to chal- than the CIO today.

Nevertheless, at its forthcoming convention, the CIO will stand The industrial working class is at a cross-road of destiny. Before now in a position to come into its the CIO 'members will stand the own, to write a new and epochal choice of whether they are to be chapter in the history of labor. halted in their march forward to the emancipation of industrial

upon millions of industrial work-

ers remain to be organized, the

mushrooming forth in the fertile

soil of the war boom, demand

labor, or whether they will quicken their strides and smash ahead against all obstacles to the realization of their goal, the organization into militant, industrial unions of every worker in the United States. This is a choice which the CIO

members must face whether they like it or not. History has thrust it upon them. WAR IS KEY ISSUE

"Because of its practice of 'tail-An imperialist war is sweeping ing along' behind the other poliover the world. No nation, no tion Board, the OPM and the War tical parties, the American Labor Party has lost its initiative. The group, no class can escape being caught up in the vortex of that dations to the company for the Party has failed to carry on camoverwhelming catastrophe. paigns on issues that affect the The American owning class is livelihood of the workers. No irrevocably committed to participrotest was made against the inipation in that war. All its energies quitous tax bill which places burdens on workers who earn an and powers are being directed toaverage of \$15.00 a week, at a ward the military struggle with pany was in a strong position to its imperialist rivals, a struggle time when corporations are making billions of profits on defense whose final aim is world domina-

contracts. The Party did not car- tion of markets, colonies, resourcry on a campaign on the sales tax es, all the productive forces of mankind.

"C. Democracy in the American For the successful accomplish- local administration working on Labor Party: Our Union has time ment of this task the American behalf of the company, strike-"B. Political Horsetrading: But and again urged the American ruling class demands the complete breakers imported in large numsupport of labor. More, it must bers and the government agenwhere the members, trade union- secure from labor all the where- cies making no effort to settle DO THEIR PART ists and active builders may dis- withal, the money and means, to the dispute on behalf of the union Another inspiring sight at th

represents, plans to regiment and mobilize labor for the productive needs of the war. Labors' own bosses, are considered taboo. Only those unions may exist the government; those that resist will be met with the full | They, too, it is demanded, must power of the state.

**Coming CIO** National Convention

War Raises Vital Issues For

The bureaucratic leaders of one great labor federation, the AFL Executive Council, have already given their answer.

decree of William Green and the within and without the CIO, is which are completely servile to being exerted on the CIO members to adopt this same course.

and the big business class it surances to the government and They too are being told to aban-The CIO will be confronted with the most crucial problems needs and aspirations can have no seek to impose upon the AFL place in this set-up. Strikes, mili- membership, over 4,000,000 tant struggles, dynamic organiz- strong, a policy of submission. It then, is neither more nor less ational drives which bring the is summed up in the "no-strike" than the renunciation of all posworkers into conflict with the AFL Executive Council.

**AIR ASSOCIATES STRIKE SAVED BY CIO SOLIDARITY** 

### NDMB Gave Bosses Chance to Break Union **But State CIO Picket Line Prevented It**

BENDIX, N. I., Oct. 30, - workers taking time off their 2500 U. S. Army troops arrived jobs to travel considerable disin Bendix this morning on the tances to help other unions. At the recent Federal Shipyard orders of Roosevelt as the government seized the plant of the strike in Kearny, there were a Air Associates, Inc. just two couple of state-wide demonstramonths after its seizure of the tions of solidarity on the picket Federal Shipyards in Kearny. line, attended by workers from Seizure of the plane parts plant 28 different international unions. came only after the company The Lewis Cigar Co. strike in had been afforded plenty of time Newark in August received help, has warned labor that it must to smash the United Auto Workers, CIO, local in the plant and workers at Federal Shipyard, who workers' demands. The National Defense Mediahelped to shut the plant down

tight. Department had made recommensettlement of the widely publicized month-old strike and sat tight while the company used every help out on the picket line. method at its disposal to break the strike and the union. The com-

The UAW had won an election by only 18 votes. It is a small AFL and join the CIO United plant, with the workers divided and a tough boss, and with the squads, court injunctions, etc. NEGRO WORKERS

had failed.

do this.

employing class that they will go don their own organizational along "to the bitter end", regard- ends, the unionization of all inless of the consequences to labor, dustrial labor, in order to give with the war program. They maximum support to the imperialist war.

What is demanded of the CIO. sibilities for future gains and the surrendering of the only weapons Enormous pressure, both from it possesses for protecting the workers interests.

#### WHAT THE CIO WORKERS FACE

But the experiences of the CIO forsake all the traditional and ef- workers in auto, steel, rubber fective methods of struggle which and all the other basic mass prohave carried the CIO forward and duction industries, tell them that upward to its present position as even if they agree to discontinue the greatest union organization the struggle against the bosses, They have reaffirmed their as- ever built by American labor. the bosses have no intentions of dropping the struggle against

> them. They need only look back upon the record of CIO history for the past year, on the Ford, Bethlehem, International Harvester, North American Aviation and other momentous strike struggles, to know that the bosses vield only under overwhelming pressure; and that without the strike weapon, without their independent methods of combat. they stand helpless before the anti-labor assaults of the employ-

ing class and its government. Already, the workers can see how quick the bosses and government have been to encroach of their rights and standards under the guise of "national defense." The Roosevelt administration at a time when the police were  $\big| \ {\rm not} \ {\rm strike}, \ {\rm regardless} \ {\rm of} \ {\rm the} \ {\rm cir-}$ attacking the picket line, from cumstances and justice of the

A National Defense Mediation Board has been established, with-Similarly, in the ILGWU Mai- out formal legal powers of comden-Form Brassiere strike now pulsion, which has nevertheless going on in Bayonne, many CIO assumed for itself the power to unions have sent delegations to foist completely arbitrary decisions upon the workers and which Only this kind of aid can save the workers are usually comthe strike now going on at the pelled to accept, regardless of Isolantite Co. in Belleville, where how anti-labor these decisions 400 workers have been locked out may be, under threat of governbecause they voted to leave the ment armed intervention.

Further, the government has Electrical, Radio and Machine presumed, as in the case of the Workers, and have had to fight Minneapolis motor transport against police arrests, AFL goon workers, Local 544-CIO, to dictate to the workers just what union they must belong to and how they are to conduct their union affairs.

they had opposed his support of KNITGOODS UNION CALLS FOR REFORM ministration and had fought his OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

# Parties, Lack of Internal Democracy

A few days before the Nov. 4 municipal elections in New York City, but too late to be printed in the last issue of THE MILITANT, a press release was issued by the Executive Board of the Knitgood Workers Union, Local 155 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, denouncing Fiorello LaGuardia as "the last word in political opportunitism", with principles "like an elastic band," and Wil-

liam O'Dwyer as "the candidate | thousands of workers and progof the corrupt Tammany ma- ressives rallied around it, giving chine," and refusing to endorse it their time, energy and devothe candidacy of either for Mayor | tion. When unpalatable deals of New York.

Board's analysis of the American

Printed below are extracts from Tobin then turned for aid to this analysis, all the more signi- not been able to keep this faith.

# Executive Board Criticizes Deals With Boss

were made, these loyal followers in New York.

But even more important in this were ready to forgive the Party, press release is the Executive ascribing them to growing pains. the American Labor Party has Labor Party to call meetings

Labor Party and its policies.

newspapers of the party, and the some Marxist literature on public weekly meetings of the party as Bartlett admitted under cross-

the fabric of the prosecution it-Tobin provided the government self runs the thread of Tobin's not only with its pretext for perdrive against militant unionism. He provided the pretext for the CIO, but its star stoolpigeon. He prosecution. He gave the iniative

even gave the government its sole to it. He formulated the basis for the charges. He now supplies

the stoolpigeons to offer the "evi-

real charge - the defendants were "radicals." Bartlett had at one time been member of the SWP. At the dence" for the government's case. past six years are only in re-

#### proceeded to prepare the indict- aiding the FBI in preparing govment which was adopted by a fed- ernment "exhibits" for the case. Thus, through the entire backeral grand jury in St. Paul on ground of the case and through

and thereby set the stage for ers of the ILGWU play a leading out, discouraged and disillusion	ed cuss policies of the party. There sustain the astronomical costs of	f majority.	Air Associates picket line was	curb and restrict labor unions and
Bartlett's fourth stoolpigeon per- nart in the councils of the AFL. by the policies of the leadersh	ip. has been no response to these such a war.	OTHER UNIONS	the line response of 200 or more	their activities is a threatened
formance. In one election the American	La. I finds, as a prerequisite for the	SAVE THE DAY	colored men and women members of the steel workers unions who	
On June 13. Tobin wired a THE PRESENT SITUATION bor Party supports the De crats; in the next election,	posed to be merely good soldiers, attainment of its ends, the ruing	Monte quah note unione facing	demonstrated their support of	trative accrets to recter wages
frantic plea to Roosevelt urging that Local 544 "must be in someIN THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTYcrats; in the next election, Republicans and sometimes	in 'theirs but to do and die.' Such hor than that it subordinate or	similar opposition and without	their striking brothers and sis-	entrench the open-shop, abridge civil rights, lengthen hours of la-
way prevented from pursuing this "A. The Knitgoods Workers' the same election, candidates		support, have met defeat in New	ters of the UAW	bor, etc. etc.
dangerous course," (New York Union has consistently supported both parties. Instead of adva	nc- john for an at a It cannot build ests, its struggle for improved	dovolonment intervened in this sit.	Their action was even more	This, in outline, is the situation
Times, June 14). * the American Labor Party, even ing on the road to independ	conditions, its very independent	untion The State CIO Council ral	significant in light of the fact	and problems which face the CIO
Roosevelt replied to Tobin on when the Union disagreed with political action, it has thus of	"As a result of these policies existence, for the needs of the	e lied behind the striking UAW lo-	that the aviation industry is one	
the same day. Through his secre- tary, Stephan Early, Roosevelt is- bor Party was considered as a can Labor Party presents		cal and called more than 3,000	in the netion	•
sued a White House press state- basis for a future nation-wide in- anomalous spectacle of a polit	cal lost the confidence of thousands The labor movement, the em- cal of members. Many reacted by not ployers demand, must become a	members of other of unions		No matter what the specific and immediate issues may be
ment acknowledging the justice dependent labor party. Tens of party that is non-partisan.	voting in the primaries thus per-simple appendage of the war gov-			which the delegates may discuss
	mitting the Party to fall into the ernment and war machine. It may	compelled to insist on the man-	there were no Negro workers em-	the future of the CIO is bound up
anevere and an every an every and an every an every an every and an every an every an every an every an every an every and an every a		s agement rehiring all the fired	ployed in the plant, a Negro	with the war and the position
	FOR INDEPENDENT	1 II III OIIISIS	picket replied, "To help the CIO	which the CIO takes toward the
💈 WATCH A JUDICIAL	LABOR ACTION to serve the war aims of the capitalist state.	But no sooner was the strike		
	/ "The Knitgoods Workers' Union	called off, than the company in-		(This is the first of a series of articles dealing with the issues
FRAME-UP AT WORK	has faith in the future of a La- WHAT ROOSEVELT	stigated a reign of terror against	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
	bor Party. In this election we <b>DEMANDS</b> cannot endorse the mayorality The Roosevelt administration	the returning strikers. Two work- n ers were beaten up by the strike-	1	
Sit with the defendants at	candidates because they are not	breakers still in the plant.		
the first peace-time	allahor's candidates	At this point, when the union		
sedition trial since 1798	"We are convinced that the hope of the party. Let us discuss and for a better world, for the elim-, decide our problems in a democ	a faced a real crisis, the CIO again	Construction Provide State State	Ster Statistics
	for a better world, for the elim- ination of war, fascism and race ratic way.	Intervened. Hundreds of 010 of-	A Stand	(according to the second
SOFCIAT	hatred lies in the labor move-"Breathe a new spirit into the	ficers and members from aircraft,		
<b>SPECIAL</b>	ment. We must continue to strive ranks of Labor. With a sound	I SLEEF AND SHOVARD UNODS DEPAD		
N	for an independent labor party, political platform and active			
Subscription Offer	free from entanglements with participation of all members w	e their strikebreakers. The temper		
	the major parties. (The major parties.) (The major parties.) (T	of the rank and file was at the		
	"Let the American Labor Party bor Party a political force in the clean house. It is late, but not state and nation and the corner		NEW 50c	tribution of 20,000 copies of a
valid from November 7, 1941 to	too late. Let meetings be called stone of a nation-wide Labo		THE MILITANT and the	special New York run for the mayoralty campaign.
<b>February 1, 1942</b>	of the rank and file, the builders Party."	The workers were learning that		To see these young New York
2 issues of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (20c each)	6		this week launched a special sub-	ers, in the cold-bright dawn at
N .		I strength of the labor movement.	scription drive, patterned on the	5 A. M., standing outside the sub-
8 issues of the MILITANT (5c each) both for		The Roosevelt administration	, very successful one conducted	way stations with bundles of
	KIE YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO		e early in the year, in which more	
		the miners to accept compulsory	than a thousand new subscrip- tions were secured in two months.	
	24th ANNIVERSARY OF THE	I the "captive" mines, feared that	Every factor involved gives	workers bound for the shop
	RUSSIAN REVOLUTION!	it would become completely dis-	promise of even more success this	makes us justifiably proud.
		credited by the Air Associates	' time.	In the Bronx, long noted for its
I enclose 50c, for which please mail me the	Open Meeting on:	employers' obvious flouting of its		original angles on organizationa and political matters, a horse and
MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL	() HOW TO DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION'		l subscription on the new drive, al- though the official opening was	
WHENE FRITE UNU I COALTER EITEREUMATIONALE	Speaker:	over the plant.	still five days in the offing. We	
Name	SAM GALLOWAY, lecturer		think this premature rush is an-	comrades getting out at the foo
		AMONG THE WORKERS	other index of the enthusiasm	to help up the horse), decked with
Address	Sunday, November 9, at 8 P. M.	A new spirit of solidarity per-		party banners, loaded with party
<b>City</b> State	UKRANIAN HALL	A new spirit of solidarity per- vades the CIO unions in North		literature and bursting with speakers. It's certain thing that
Mail to:	525 W. RAYEN AVENUE	Jersey. The workers are begin-	in a summer of the second se	not much of the Bronx popula
Man to: TIE MILITANT		ning to understand that the	THE MILITANT	tion got through this campaign
	Auspices: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY	stronger and older unions must		without hearing the name of
2 116 University Place New York City		help the new locals in their fights	. effective mass agitator was dem-	
	ADMISSION FREE			1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Concercon contraction and the second	ADMISSION FREE		f onstrated this week in the dis-	kvist Anti-War Party.

#### **NOVEMBER 8, 1941**

THE MILITANT

# Day By Day Summary Of The Minnesota Trial

# Govt. Witnesses Tell of auarters, and a photograph of of Particulars: but the govern-Trotsky. It developed that one of the had been sustained in its refusal **Defendants' Record In Building Strong Union**

(Continued from page 1) ously questioned by the prosecution).

Love testified that he had joined the Party on the invitation of the previous witness, Smith, and that five members of the union's 1938. Executive Board were Socialist Workers Party members.

On cross-questioning, asked by the Defense why he had joined the Party, he said: "For the same reason that Tommy Smith has just told you he joined."

day of the trial will be found on on the union hall. this page).

Today, the seventh day of the read from the Socialist Appeal jects which he had been previ- trial, the prosecution began with (now THE MILITANT) an article the presentation of evidence show- and an editorial showing that the ing that defendants who were Socialist Workers Party had ap-

members of the drivers union, Lo- proved the action of the Minneacal 544, were participants in the polis unionists in establishing formation of the Minneapolis Un- their Defense Guard to protect ion Defense Guard set up in their organizations from the "vi-

gilantes, fascist Silver Shirts and This was the famous Defense other employer-paid mobsters," Guard organized by progressive and had called on other unions to

trade unionists after threats had follow this example. Anderson in his opening state been made against the lives of several of the union's leaders, and ment for the prosecution last

after the fascist Silver Shirt or- week had charged that the "sole' ganization in Minneapolis had purpose of this Guard was to or-(Further details on the sixth publicly called for armed attacks ganize an armed force to be used for the overthrow of the govern-

District Attorney Anderson ment.



The morning session opened | duced Government Exhibit no. 49 | offered to furnish Anderson with with Goldman's concluding the -a ground plan of the layout of a copy of that new section, but Declaration should be considered tin. opening statement of the defense, the Minneapolis headquarters of Anderson insisted on reading the taking about 45 minutes. (Gold- the party; Bartlett identified it old one to the jury. man's opening statement is pub- as the plan he had aided FBI

The prosecution began to pre- trial. Equally solemnly, Judge tion of Principles referring to the sent its case. Its first - and Joyce upheld the government's probably main — witness was an introduction of this. Defense At- also read the section endorsing agent of AFL Teamsters Chief, torney Goldman offered instead defense of the Soviet Union, and Daniel J. Tobin. This person, to conduct the jury on a tour James Bartlett, is on the payroll of of the party headquarters but his Local 544 - AFL, the Tobin un- offer was ignored.

ion set up in opposition to the original Local 544 which joined the Constitution of the party, and began to introduce excerpts of the CIO on June 9th. read it to the jury. PRESENT FORMER POSITION | ist Appeal of 1938.

### BARTLETT'S TESTIMONY

Bartlett's testimony consumed ON LABOR PARTY

most of the day. He identified most of the defendants as party members; worked up details to indicate that they were active in and violence: was at particular ings; identified various defend-

ants as members of the Minneapolis party branch executive comThe prosecution then introduced Civil War. The prosecution then Paul headquarters of the party. PURPOSE OF the various articles in the Social-TESTIMONY

> Much time was then consumed for some time. in repetition by Bartlett of the

The prosecution then read to the stand to testify on how he material he had previously covthe jury various sections of the arranged for the June 27th raid ered on the witness stand on Wed-

party's 1938 Declaration of Prin- on the Minneapolis headquarters nesday. It was obvious that the ciples, including the section on of the party, during which the purpose of this further testimony of the party attempting to "conthe party; linked each one he Labor and Farmer-Labor parties. government seized the literature was to have him emphasize that, named as an advocate of force Goldman informed Prosecutor An- which it is now introducing as at numerous meetings, he had derson that this section had been evidence against the defendants. heard advocacy of the use of by winning strategic posts in the TYPICAL TESTIMONY pains to paint a picture of V. R. completely changed and a new Through Perrin the prosecution force and violence. Obviously well Dunne as the most active party one endorsing the formation of introduced as evidence the red coached, and exhibiting a strangefigure; described the procedure at a Labor party had been adopted and white banners which had by precise memory, Bartlett linkthe Thursday night branch meet by the party later in 1938 and been hanging in the party head ed various individual defendants party book shop, the prosecution Bartlett described took place once



pamphlets the FBI agent had by the judge; and that therefore purchased at the party bookstore, the defense had not had an opon the basis of which he had, portunity to examine the one thirty minutes later, sworn an hundred articles from which the affidavit requesting the raid, was government was about to introthe "Communist Manifesto" of duce excerpts. The defense therefore requested time in which to Marx and Engels. Similar testimony was given by FBI agent examine these articles. Roy T. Noonan about the St. The judge agreed to recess court

at that point - 4:35 P. M. Paul party headquarters. The government then announced instead of the usual 5 P. M. closthat it was proceeding to intro- ing and to convene the next party headquarters. duce excerpts from one-hundred morning at 10:30 A. M. instead articles which had appeared in of the usual 10 A. M. starting, in in general, of accepting without

the Trotskyist press. Defense At- order to give the defense council objection all works published by Declaration of Principles and torney Goldman reminded the some time in which to examine the Socialist Workers Party. It other official documents and judge that the defense, prior to the exhibits which the govern- objected to the introduction of pamphlets of the party. On the the trial, had requested a Bill ment was about to introduce. various works of Lenin and Trot-

# Fifth Day Of The Trial FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31

vened

ciples.

terposed no objection whatsoever letin as a whole. Prosecutor An- follow in the footsteps of Lenin to the introduction of the Declar- derson then read to the jury and Trotsky."

ation of Principles, but that the lengthy excerpts from the bulle-

Goldman then presented the Anderson read to the jury practilished on Page 4 of this issue). agents in drawing prior to the cally every section of the Declara. Declaration of Principles, which ancial contributions to the party. group had made a visit to Trot-

anti-war position of the party. He to each juror. Prosecution proceeded to read to that supporting military strug- lists of the literature seized in gles against fascism such as that the June 27th FBI raids, both of the Loyalists in the Spanish at the Minneapolis and at the St.

FBI agent Thomas Perrin took

PARTY LITERATURE INTRODUCED

Bartlett, prosecution witness, with statements in which they had purchased at the party headwas on the stand when court con-allegedly asserted their advocacy quarters and that V. R. Dunne of force and violence. Through had advised him to read Trot-Through him the government Bartlett, the prosecution intro- sky's "History of the Russian introduced various excerpts from duced a mimeographed bulletin Revolution." The prosecution the party's Declaration of Prin- entitled "What is Trotskyism" by worked up Bartlett's testimony to AL"; Jack Weber, to which the defense the point where he quoted V. R. AND BOLSHEVISM." Judge OF FBI MEN Defense Attorney Goldman re- interposed no objection if the pro- Dunne as saying: "We are the Joyce sustained the defense' obminded the Court that he had in- secution would introduce the bul- Bolshevik party in America. We

Bartlett then testified that he and his wife had accompanied

as a whole, and not by excerpts. Bartlett testified on the alleged Mr. and Mrs. Harry DeBoer on procedure by which various Min- a trip in 1939 to Mexico City, court with sufficient copies of the neapolis party members made fin- during which the vacationing were immediately distributed, one Defense Attorney Goldman ob- sky. During this recital the Govjected to taking time with this ernment solemny introduced as testimony, offering to stipulate Exhibit No. 9 a photograph of the and other official party documents. two couples with Leon Trotsky. dues and other sums depending Goldman asked the prosecution: "Is Trotsky one of the conspirato give. But the prosecution in- tors in this trial?" Prosecutor sisted on developing this point Anderson answered "Yes." From this point the prosecution

Through Bartlett, the prosecu-

### trol the economy of the country

union's defense guard.

trade union movement. Also Typical of the mentality of this for their anti-labor bias, was inthrough Bartlett, who testified witness and his prosecution troduced by the prosecution, obthat he had purchased it at the coaches was the incident which viously for no other purpose ex- sell had told Smith to read it; cept to acquaint the jury with introduced Farrell Dobbs' namph- when he was in an automobile Attorney Goldman's estimate of

let, "Trade Union Problems." in New York City with James the courts. The defense made no The prosecution proceeded to read P. Cannon. Bartlett stated: "We happened to go by a

Sixth Day Of The Trial

# **MONDAY, NOVEMBER 3**

Tobin's agent, James Bartlett, | sky on the ground that, insofar' | "LABOR'S ANSWER TO CONwas on the stand most of the as the doctrines of these great SCRIPTION." The defense interday. The morning was taken up Marxist teachers are accepted by posed no objection except that with introduction by the Govern- the Socialist Workers Party - the pamphlet be introduced in its ment of various socialist books and defense counsel was at pains entirety. Prosecution read excerpts and pamphlets, which Bartlett to insist that all the fundamental to the jury, which stated:

identified as having been sold at principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky were accepted by the So-The defense took the position, cialist Workers Party - these

doctrines were embodied in the and death over the ranks. Only other hand, there might be certain statements in books by Lenin and Trotsky which the party would not consider binding upon itself. This the defense stated, was true of a number of the historical works, excerpts from which the prosecution sought to introduce as evidence this morning: Trotsky's LESSONS OF OCTOBER"

Lenin's "STATE AND REVOLU TION"; Lenin's "REVOLUTION OF 1905"; Trotsky's "WAR AND THE 4th INTERNATION-Trotsky's "STALINISM

jection to the introduction of these items. The defense made no objection

to the introduction of Jack Weber's "A B C OF MARXISM." The rest of the morning was out the affidavit to justify the spent with the Government in- June 27th raids on the party'stroducing excerpts from various headquarters in the Twin Cities. articles published in the Socialist The pamphlets were Marx's and Appeal during the year of 1938. Engels' "COMMUNIST MANI-In the case of party resolutions FESTO" and the "FOUNDING the defense made no objection to TERNATIONAL." their introduction except to insist that the prosecution be in-

structed to give the jury the doc- munist Manifesto" as having been uments in their entirety instead sold to him at Party headof mere excerpts.

**GOVERNMENT 'EVIDENCE'** PILES UP spired the formation of the Union Prosecution appeared to lay Defense Guard of Local 544. In particular stress upon the intro-

duction of the "SPECIAL ANTI- 1848. WAR SUPPLEMENT" which aphibits one of the arm-bands and tion attempted to paint a picture the pins which were worn by the peared in the April 2, 1938 Socialist Appeal. An article by Albert Goldman, published in August, 1938, criticizing the courts

and Engels, first published in Prosecutor Anderson argued that this work of Marx and Engels was valid evidence because: (1) it was bought by Bartlett in the party book store; (2) it was the basis for a discussion in Omaha; (3) Defendant Al Rus-

"The Army could not be used

for anti-labor purposes if the of-

ficers did not have power of life

under that power can the officers

drive young workers and farmers

in uniform to smash picket lines."

The next prosecution exhibit

was Albert Goldman's pamphlet

"WHAT IS SOCIALISM?" The

defense made no objection and

provided the court with sufficient

copies, which were immediately

James P. Cannon's "TO THE

MEMORY OF THE OLD MAN,"

his address at the New York

Memorial Meeting after Trotsky's

death, was the next prosecution

FBI agent Thomas Perrin was

then put on the stand to iden-

tify the two pamphlets he bought

at the Socialist Workers Party

headquarters in Minneapolis, on

the basis of which he had sworn

CONFERENCE OF THE 4th IN-

Bartlett, brought back to the

Whereupon the prosecution in-

troduced Exhibit No. 74 - the

"Communist Manifesto" of Marx

stand, also identified the "Com-

distributed to all the jurors.

**REMARKABLE WORK** 

ëxhibit.

quarters.

(4) Dobbs had told Russell to explain it to Smith. U. S. Assistant Attorney-Gen-

eral Schweinhaut seconded Prosecutor Anderson's contention, ar-

guing that the "Communist Mani-

# the jurors the lengthy itemized that members paid both regular on their ability and willingness

through Bartlett, the Judge over-

## ruled Goldman's objection, and attempted to go on to show that this line of testimony went on Leon Trotsky had directly in-

the course of this, the Government solemnly introduced as ex-

mittee: identified those who spoke at forums and mass meetings: traced the history of the Trotskyist movement from its inception as the Left Opposition in the Communist Party to the formation of the Socialist Workers

### Fourth Day Of The

## THURSDAY, OCTOBER 30

When court convened at 10:30 | was given an opportunity to ex-| portunity to examine document-Party; identified party member-A. M. Judge Joyce explained to amine the government's next ex- ary evidence (about which they ship cards; identified the Socialist the jury that during the night hibits. Court was adjourned for had been kept in the dark until Appeal and the Fourth International as the weekly and monthly it had become obvious that it the rest of the day. then) on the basis of which most organs of the party respectively, was impossible to proceed with | This meant that at last the de- of the charges in the indictment etc., etc.

The prosecution solemnly intro- the trial until defense counsel fense lawyers would have the op- had been drawn up.

# More Sidelights On 'Sedition' Trial

that everyone is seated.

\* \* \*

\* \* \*

A homey scene of domesticity | the opening speech of Defense At- | gives a picture of the "sedition" is presented each day between torney Goldman: "A somewhat trial courtroom in its issue of the trial sessions at the Minnea- stolid, impassive jury of 11 men Nov. 2:

"Jurors sat transfixed. For

polis SWP headquarters where and one woman in federal court the defendants gather together today were being given a short chairs in the small courtroom is twice daily to enjoy the tasty and course in philosophy --- the philos- taken as soon as the doors are wholesome meals prepared and ophy of his disciple, Leon Trot- opened ...

served by Mrs. Downey Skoglund, sky . . . wife of defendant Carl Skoglund, and her able staff of defendants' the first time they had enrolled wives, daughters, and friends, in such a course. Most of them under the auspices of the Civil are from rural areas surround-Rights Defense Committee.

ing Minneapolis." This is not only a way of re-And as the Times further obducing the expenses of maintaining the defendants and their daily demonstration of the solidarity of the defendants.

\* \* \*

Appetites are quickened by the atmosphere of fighting spirit and comradeship that prevails as well as by the savory odors arising from the roasts, stews, soups, etc., coming hot off the big kitchen range. The food is seasoned by spirited discussion of the day's courtroom events and the progress of the trial.

The St. Paul Dispatch, October 29, published a full page of pictures of the defendants at lunch. (Reproduction of several of these pictures will be a feature of next week's MILITANT). \* \* \*

As the Minneapolis Times put it, "SWP Trial Jurors Get Course in Trotsky-Marxian Philosophy." | Case Number 7256.

- obviously of the laboring class, the class which Trotsky felt was the hope of mankind." \* \* \* One of the Minneapolis reporters customarily goes off

duty at 4 P. M. But he was so enthralled by Attorney Albert Goldman's opening speech for the defense to the jury on the second day of the trial, that he remained in the courtroom for covering the trial." an hour, until court recessed for the day. He said he'd never heard socialism explained as Goldman presented it. He wanted to know if there were other great orators among the de-

fendants. \* \* \* day, Nov. 2. For the record, this is Criminal The story went on to say about The St. Paul Pioneer Press

etc., circulating between attor-"Every one of the spectators" neys, judge, jury and defendants. Attorney Albert Goldman, defense counsel and defendant, is setting a fine ex-"At most there isn't room for ample for the party's literature more than 60 or 70 spectators, agents with the zealous manner most of them it was probably but the congestion is nothing in which he is distributing licompared with that inside the terature in the courtroom. courtroom rail. There it's almost \* \* \* as crowded as a subway, except

The Minneapolis Daily Times, Oct. 31, described the sat-

hundred different newspapers,

pamphlets, books, documents,

"To Judge M. M. Joyce's left isfaction of the SWP defendants served, this wasn't an ordinary sit the defendants in three rows at the publicity which the trial families during the trial, but a trial. "The seats reserved for of chairs. At the right are the is giving their Sunday afternoon spectators were filled, too; mostly twelve jurors and two alternates. forums, "where members speak to with men in sweaters or jackets In between are the five defense the public on world events and lawyers and three prosecuting at- usually season the lectures with torneys, not to mention the bail- some SWP theories."

iffs, clerks, stenographers and The defendants are taking adnewsmen. They're all crowded vantage of the opportunities preinto an area 33 by 44 feet." sented by the trial to advance the "By far the busiest of the departy's program and activities, fendants were Felix Morrow, edi- the Daily Times relates. tor of "The Militant," and Car-Last Sunday, Mrs. Dorothy los Hudson, editor of the "North- Schultz, a defendant, lectured at west Organizer." They took pages the forum on "Showdown on the of notes, and were fully as busy | Pacific." as the battery of newspapermen Felix Morrow, editor of the

MILITANT and defendant, will address this coming Sunday's fo-Incidentally, Madeleine Hudrum on the 24th Anniversary of son, wife of Carlos Hudson, the Russian Revolution.

gave birth to a seven pound \* \* \* baby girl in St. Baranbaş Hos-The 'Industrial Organizer' of pital, Minneapolis, on Satur-Nov. 1 points out that "The more District Attorney Victor Anderson defined a 'conspiracy', The courtroom looks like a the vaguer and more nebulous library with the more than one became that concept. Clarence

o the jury the section opposing arbitration of strikes.

The prosecution next attempted that 'Right after we have a suc- went as follows: to implicate V. R. Dunne as havcessful revolution we are going ing insisted that Bartlett aid the to take that building and tear it party in recruiting members in down brick by brick.' I asked him the Warehouse Union, because why, and he said 'Well, it's a wo-

that union was composed of young man's jail and they have it dresspeople of draft age, "in order ed up to look like a beautiful that the party might have con- apartment house from the outtact with them while in the arside. Under capitalism they hide my." all of these things in order to

Bartlett identified Trotsky's make incarceration seem some-"Lessons of October" as a book he | thing nice to the outsiders'."

> There was a manifest look of bewilderment on the face of many in the courtroom, as if to ask Well, what's wrong with what Cannon said?

At another point Bartlett testified that one of the defendants. Darrow used to say that a 'con-Emil Hansen, had said to him: spiracy' was an idea invented "We'll win this fight yet. Then by reactionary governments to we'll take care of rats like you." Nobody in the courtroom seemed

particularly horrified. The Minneapolis SWP headquar Time was taken for Bartlett to ters is doing business as usual, identify certain alleged party only more so, these days, partinames as belonging to various decularly the library and bookshop fendants; then he returned to the occupying a whole room, where Mexico City trip and told of goahe sale of the MILITANT, ing to see a bull fight. There was in 1938 to demonstrate Olgin's

a laugh in the courtroom when hypocrisy. When Goldman explained who Olgin was, the prose-Defense Attorney Goldman said:

"The question to the witness was as to what Harry DeBoer said hibit.

about the aims and the purposes of the party and the answer was something about a bull fight."

ANDERSON READS WORKERS' SONGS

> Some time was then taken by Manager of the paper. Bartlett to identify various de-The prosecution next introfendants as having acted as duced Felix Morrow's pamphlet, chairman or speakers at party branch meetings. Then came

Government's exhibit No. 20 -History of 3rd and 4th the mimeographed program of a Problems of World War II

> singing. Having received an affirmative answer, Prosecutor Anderson an agreement that the judge ing a memorial meeting in honor then gravely read to the jury and would spend the week-end read- of Trotsky in Minneapolis: a into the court record all the ing various pamphlets which the leaflet, an anti-war manifesto. words of three songs which had prosecution proposed to introduce "Down With the War-Mongers."

> appeared on the banquet program: on Monday and to some of which published by the Socialist Work-"Solidarity Forever," the "Work- the defense planned to object. | ers Party in 1938.

One quotation from the artici man's prison and Cannon stated that was read into the record

objection.

festo", Bartlett's testimony had indicated, advocated force and

"If under exceptional circum- violence; hence the distribution stances it is found necessary for and sale of such a book at the the workers in their struggle a party headquarters in Minneagainst the bosses to use the capi- polis constitutes violation of the talist courts, their limitations second count of the indictment should be clearly recognized, and on which the defendants are beat all times should be recognized ing tried. (Schweinhaut was reas auxiliary to the chief method ferring to the Smith Act which of struggle --- which must always became a law in June 1940, unbe the unity and militancy of der which sale or distribution of any published work advocating workers."

force or violence is an unlawful Several prosecution exhibits were introduced showing material | act).

The defense objected to the inpublished in the Socialist Appeal. and James P. Cannon's 1938 trip troduction of the "Communist to France; likewise the article Manifesto," pointing out that it

reporting the World Conference was a 93-year old historical work of the Fourth International in published in thousands of editions throughout the world. The dethe fall of 1938.

One grotesque touch was the fense insisted that Marx and Enintroduction by the prosecution gels' ideas constituted the basis of the Socialist Workers Party, of an article by Moissaye Olgin, but this did not mean that all the late editor of the Stalinist "Freiheit". Olgin's article, printed in the Stalinist press prior to were still valid after nearly a centhe People's Front, had been re- | tury.

the formulations in the Manifesto Judge Joyce overruled the obprinted in the "Socialist Appeal"

jection and accepted the "Communist Manifesto" as evidence against the 28 defendants.

cution hastily withdrew their ex- ADDITIONAL LITERATURE The rest of the afternoon was

taken up with the introduction Before the prosecution was through with the 1938 Socialist of the following items by the pro-Appeals it had also introduced ex. secution: "FOUNDING CONFER-ENCE OF THE 4th INTERNAcerpts from several "Appeal Army TIONAL"; New Year 1938 Jam-Columns" — the sub-getting colboree tickets to a party in the umn conducted by the Business

Minneapolis headquarters; a let. ter from the Trotsky Defense Fund, appealing for funds after the May 24, 1940 attempt to as sassinate Trotsky; a leaflet ad-

er's Flag" and the "International." vertising a speech by V. R. Dunne After this, Bartlett proceeded to | - an eye-witness report by him banquet given at the Minneapolis dientify various party pamphlets on the February 27. 1939 anti-

party headquarters. After intro- (they were not formally intro- Nazi demonstration led by the ducing it into evidence, Prosecu- duced as evidence until the fol- Socialist Workers Party against tor Anderson asked Bartlett lowing Monday). Bartlett went on Bund meeting in Madison Square whether at these social gather- for some time describing what Garden; an advertisement of a ings there were generally groups he had learned in the party about mass meeting against war at

Lenin's "State and Revolution." which Miles B. Dunne was sched. The day's session ended with uled to speak; a leaflet advertis-

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. pamphlets and books goes on, with many persons requesting the works displayed by the prosecution in the courtroom. And they



**Irving** Plaza

Irving Pl. and 15th St., N. Y. C.

Internationals

Permanent Revolution in

American Unionism Today

American History

- :: --

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 12



MONDAY, NOV. 10

7:10 P. M.

8:50 P. M.

7:10 P. M.

8:50 P. M.

rid itself of its critics."

THE MILITANT

NOVEMBER 8, 1941

# **Goldman States The Case For The Defense**

Below are excerpts from Defense Attorney Albert Goldman's opening statement to the jury, delivered Tuesday afternoon and Wednesday morning, Oct. 28 and 29, following the opening statement by the prosecution:

\* \* \*

Mr. GOLDMAN: Your Honor, and ladies and gentlemen of the jury, I speak now on behalf of all the defendants with the exception of the defendant Nick Wagner, who is represented by Mr. Dolf. When I say I speak on behalf of all the defendants, I do not thereby admit Mr. Anderson's contention that they are all members of the Socialist Workers Party. Some were and dropped out of the party; some, I understand, never were members of the party.

When I refer to the defendants and their beliefs, as I shall in the course of this statement, please remember that I mean those defendants who will without any hesitation whatever admit membership in the party.

I do not know whether you will ever sit on such an important case again, not because merely twenty-eight persons are involved in their liberties, but because great principles are involved, the principles of freedom of speech and of the press and of assembly; not only that, but great social theories are involved. Never before, I venture to state, in the history of this court room have the walls re-echoed with such contentions as made by Mr. Anderson (the prosecutor).

Marxism, the theories of Lenin and Trotsky, have been brought into this case by Mr. Anderson. I do not believe, ladies and gentlemen, that in this court room there has ever been an analysis on questions of more vital importance to mankind.

#### **A Political Movement On Trial**

In the first place the defendants will prove that, if this is a conspiracy at all, it is a very, very peculiar "conspiracy". It is a "conspiracy" of the most peculiar nature ever entered into between human beings. It is a conspiracy where all of us defendants proclaim to the world what we want, never attempting at any time to conceal our purposes, but, on the contrary, begging people to read what our ideas are.

It is a political movement that is on trial here.

It is a movement that is based on certain ideas, maybe strange to you, and maybe strange to Mr. Anderson and everybody else connected with the prosecution — maybe ideas that you do not agree with and that you will not agree with subsequent to our explanation of them; but it is not a conspiracy

## Speech Delivered On October 28th, 29th At Start Of Minnesota 'Sedition' Trial Of The 28

hatched in the darkness of night in some cellar. It is a movement basing itself on philosophy, proclaiming to the world that this philosophy must be accepted by mankind or else the destruction of civilization is inevitable.

Call that a conspiracy if you wish, but know — know the difference between this political movement and a conspiracy hatched in the darkness of night for the purpose of committing a crime.

## \* \* \*

We shall show you — and this is one of the most important things and I want you to bear with me if I illuminate it a little extensively — we shall show to you, by the very evidence introduced by the prosecution, that the Socialist Workers' Party and all the defendants who are members of that party understand that the aim, the objective of that party, was to win a majority of the people for its ideas. I repeat: The objective and the aim of the party was to win through education and through propaganda a majority of the people of the United States, and Mr. Anderson will have to convince you that that is criminal.

We shall continue through propaganda, through education, to get everybody in the United States — at least a majority of the people — to accept our ideas, and thereafter to institute a social system which we call by the name of Socialism, a system which we believe will solve all of the ills of mankind, which we believe will abolish war and the destruction that is now raging throughout the universe, because under socialism there will be no countries controlled by a minority of financiers and big industrialists for their profit throwing all the people into useless wars.

We shall introduce such evidence and we shall let the jury decide whether we have a right to our beliefs and our opinions. If Mr. Andrson wants it, we shall gladly go into all the theories of Marxism, and if the jurors do not agree with those theories and they want to put us in jail merely because they do not agree, that is your privilege. But we think that we have a right to our ideas. We have a right to say that the ills of mankind, unemployment, Fascism, destruction, war — that all these ills of mankind require a solution, and that thus far the only solution is the ideas we represent, the ideas of socialism.

## OUR INFLUENCE ON THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The evidence will show that we were very, very interested in the question of trade unionism. We will not deny it! that the Socialist Workers Party adopted resolutions dealing with the question of trade unionism; that it instructed its members to be active in all organizations, particularly trade unions — but in all organizations, social, unemployed, farmers — where people congregate, there should we be. That is what the evidence will show; yes, that we propagate our ideas, to show the majority of the people that they, in order to solve their problems, must accept those ideas. There is no other solution possible.

The evidence will show that some of our members were exceedingly active right here in Minneapolis; that they were responsible, beginning with 1934, for organizing Local 544, General Drivers' Union, and that subsequently they played a very important role in making a union city out of Minneapolis.

The evidence will not show, contrary to the claims made by the prosecution, that the Socialist Workers Party attempted to impose its control on the unions. The evidence will show that in the union where our members were active, specifically in Local 544, the best kind of democracy prevailed; that truck drivers and members of that union not only were permitted but actually were in opposition to the leadership; that they had a chance to criticise the leadership; that they had a chance to vote against the leadership and put up their own candidates; that at no time did anybody prevent any members in the union from getting freedom of expression. and he quoted, I believe, from my pamphlet on "What Is Socialism" — just as we believe you can no more stop a revolution than you can stop an earthquake, so after years of suffering and war and privation, the men who are doing the fighting and dying will themselves oppose the war and will look for a solution where they can get peace.

Peace, peace, they will cry and neither I nor anyone else will have to agitate them, and neither Mr. Anderson nor anybody else by putting us in jail will stop them.

The prosecution in the indictment and Mr. Anderson in his opening statement charged that our party was in favor of controlling the militia by the trade unions. Mr. Anderson did not explain that correctly.

#### Military Training

Under Trade Union Control

Our policy is summed up in the following phrase, the evidence will show: "Military training of every worker under the control of the trade unions." Now, if Mr. Anderson thinks that is criminal, that is his privilege. The evidence will show why we adopted that policy. We contend that the evidence will show that the present army of the United States is controlled by some members of Local 544 got together and decided to organize a Union Defense Guard; that those members did that because at that very time there was an organization, national in scope, and active particularly in Minneapolis, known as the Silver Shirts, an organization fascist in character, with the objective of destroying all the rights of labor, and all the democratic rights of all the people, a fascist organization.

#### Union Defense Against Fascists

The evidence will show that those members of 544 learned that the Silver Shirt organization was supported by some laborhating employers in Minneapolis, and was to attempt the destruction, not only of Local 544, but of all unionism in Minneapolis, to destroy the halls, to attack the meetings, to destroy the

## WE ARE DISCIPLES OF MARX, LENIN AND TROTSKY

Mr. Anderson, in his opening statement, charged us with being Marxists, and I am afraid that we will have to admit that Karl Marx formulated the basic doctrines of our movement back in 1848.

Now, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, the evidence will show that Karl Marx wrote many books, and that you can get them in all the libraries in the United States; that you can buy them in most book stores; that, together with other writers, Karl Marx is considered now by people who disagree with his writings, as one of the greatest social thinkers of the age; that he had certain theories with which we agree. We do not agree with all the theories that Karl Marx formulated, but with his basic theories undoubtedly we agree. What we do agree with is found in our Declaration of Principles.

Mr. Anderson also charged us, and the indictment charges us, with believing the theories of Lenin. Some of you, in your answers to the questions put to prospective jurors, said that you had heard about those theories; some of you had read something about those theories and about the Soviet government. The evidence will show, and I hope will convince you, that some of your ideas are not correct about the Soviet Union and the Soviet government. The Soviet Union is one thing, and the Soviet government is another. We, of course, opposed the Stalin government very, very seriously, but we think that the fundamental basis of the Soviet Union is correct, that is, the fact that all property, productive property, is owned by the people. That we believe in, but the fact that the Stalin government has subjected the people to a terrorist dictatorship, that we have fought from the very beginning, and we shall continue to fight.

#### Affirm Ideas Of Lenin And Trotsky

So far as the principles of Lenin are concerned, again the evidence will show that insofar as we agree with them, they are found in our literature, and especially in the Declaration of Principles. We do not claim to agree with everything that Lenin said. But with his fundamental theories we agree, and we put them into our Declaration of Principles.

The indictment mentions, and the prosecutor was very, very careful to bring to your attention, that Leon Trotsky was a man whose principles constitute the basis of our party. Here again I admit it. We do not deny that we did everything possible to defend Trotsky against that horrible organization of Stalin, the GPU, and that for thirteen years we succeeded in property of the unions; that those union men thereupon decided to organize a Defense Guard for the purpose of defending the union halls, the union property, and union meetings against any possible attacks by these Silver Shirt members. Our evidence will prove all this, and if there is one thing that we will not deny, it is this, that the members of our party and the members of the union who were not members of the party — and every American with any red blood in his veins, would do exactly the same thing — prepared themselves to resist any attempt on the part of the fascists to destroy the rights of labor and the democratic rights of the people.

Now, I do not think that any juror will deny any American citizen, or any trade union member, the right to organize a Union Defense Guard. If the prosecution persists in its attempt to make this Union Defense Guard out to be a subversive organization, dedicated to the task of destroying the United States Government, all I can say is that this whole case is nothing but a frame-up on the part of the prosecution, because the evidence will show conclusively that the purpose of this Union Defense Guard was nothing except to defend the rights of the union members, not only of Local 544, but all union men.

keeping him alive, and finally one of Stalin's agents succeeded in murdering him. We will not deny that we did all in our power to defend Leon Trotsky, not merely because we liked him as a man but because we think that his ideas represent the hope of mankind.

As Mr. Anderson indicated, Trotsky has written many articles and, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, if you find us guilty of conspiracy on the basis of the fact that we circulated and published some of the things that Trotsky had written, you will have to find Liberty Magazine guilty; you will have to find Life Magazine guilty; you will have to find almost every important magazine and every important publisher in the United States guilty, because every important magazine and newspaper in this country has published articles by Leon Trotsky, and his books have been published by some of the most important publishers in this country.

#### Approve Workers Revolution Of 1917

No, we do not deny for one moment that we considered Leon Trotsky to be a leader of our movement, and that we were willing to expend every effort to defend him against the OGPU. One of our members was shot and killed in Mexico in an attempt to defend him. His secretaries were killed, four of them, in the attempt to defend him. His sons and daughters were murdered, but he went on with his work. He had an idea. He wanted to save mankind from the destruction with which it is threatened, and his books and writings are very precious to us.

Again, the evidence will show that we do not believe everything that he said was correct. We do not hold any human being to be infallible. He was human, and therefore he made mistakes, but the fundamental doctrines that he taught are those doctrines which we believe will ultimately save mankind, and if not accepted, will lead to the destruction of all civilization.

We also will not deny, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, that we approve of the Russian' Revolution of October, 1917. We consider it to be the greatest step forward in the history of mankind, because for the first time in history the people, the masses who were subjected to the tyrants' regime, the masses who were subjected to all the poverty, who were made dogs by the czarist regime; the masses of peasants and workers arose and said to themselves, "We shall take into our possession the wealth of Russia, and try to produce for our own welfare." That is why we think it is the greatest revolution in history.

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#### **Genuine Democracy in Loca! 544**

The evidence will prove conclusively to you jurors that if there ever was in the history of this country, in the history of the trade union movement in this country, a union democratic to the core, with a leadership that was absolutely honest, incorruptible, fighting for their ideals, fighting for the interests of the workers, and that was free from gangsterism and racketeering, it was Local 544; and the evidence will show you, will convince you, that it was after Local 544 began a fight for democracy against the President of the International Teamsters, Daniel Tobin, who wanted to put his dictatorial hand on the union after that, when Local 544 had to leave the American Federation of Labor, this indictment resulted.

The defense will prove Mr. Anderson's contention that we are opposed to this war, and the evidence will further prove Mr. Anderson's contention that the defendants consider this war on the part of England and Germany and Italy and the United States as an imperialistic war, fought for the economic interests of the small group of financiers and capitalists who control the destinies of this country, of England, of Germany, of Italy, and of Japan.

\* \* \*

The evidence will show that we are opposed to the involvement of this country in the war. There will be no question about that, that we consider this war an imperialistic war upon the part of those countries that I mentioned.

Those are ideas of ours with which the jurors may agree or not, but the evidence will show that every statement made by Mr. Anderson to the effect that we believe in sabotage is absolutely false. The evidence will show that, although we will not give support to any war on the part of the United States Government because we consider it to be an imperialist war, a war for profit, a war for markets, a war for spheres of influence, a war for colonies, still the evidence will show that so long as we are in a minority, so long as we cannot convince the majority of the people that our ideas are correct, we shall submit and we have nothing else to do but to submit to the government,

### Want Workers and Farmers To Fight Own War Against Fascism

We shall show that the Socialist Workers Party opposes sabotage. We shall show that Mr. Anderson's claim is absolutely wrong and based on no foundation whatever to the effect that we prefer the enemy, the imperialistic enemy of the United States, to defeat our government. It is absolutely false. What we want, as the evidence will show, is to have the workers and farmers establish their own government, and then to continue a real war against Fascism. The evidence will show that we do not believe that England and the United States, as constituted at the present, are fighting against Fascism for Democracy, but are actually fighting to protect the interests of this small group of financiers and bankers.

The evidence will show that we have never advocated the idea of insubordination in the army. The evidence will show that, just as we believe — and Mr. Anderson stated it correctly

officers and especially by generals completely hostile to the interests of the great masses. The evidence will show that I wrote an article after France capitulated, in which I pointed out that the reason for the defeat of the French Army was because the generals and the bankers who controlled that army were the real "Fifth-Columnists" and that they were the ones who were responsible for the defeat. And the evidence will show that I argued that we cannot trust the American generals and the American higher officers to fight Fascism because in essence they are Fascists themselves, most of them. They are autocrats, arrogant, they utilize every opportunity to teach obedience and discipline in a disgusting manner, and that by and large they are people like that General "Yco-hoo" Lear who made the soldiers walk fifteen or twenty miles because they yoo-hooed some girls.

The evidence will show that we believe that the trade unions should take control of the training of union members as officers, not for the purpose, as Mr. Anderson suggests, of overthrowing the government by force and violence, but for the purpose of protecting the interests of the soldier masses. We may be wrong. You may not agree with us, but the evidence will show that we sincerely believe, and will produce facts in the attempt to prove, that the soldiers are suffering under reactionary discipline, that they ought to have greater democracy, and that the higher officers of the army cannot be trusted because they are in essence defenders of the present day social system, which crushes the liberty and the initiative of the soldier masses.

#### We Are Internationalists

Perhaps some of you have interpreted some of my remarks as indicating that I hold Mr. Anderson personally responsible for the prosecution. I certainly do not. This prosecution comes from Washington. Mr. Anderson, as the District Attorney, must of course take orders from Washington; and even Mr. Schweinhaut, who is from Washington, also is subject to orders. I do not hold them personally responsible.

The case here, I think the evidence will show, involves big political questions and big political maneuvering that took place in Washington, not in Minneapolis.

Mr. Anderson, in his opening statement, accused us of being internationalists. All of us who are members of the Socialist Workers Party are internationalists. But Mr. Anderson seems to think that it is a crime, or a part of a conspiracy, and I must answer.

We are internationalists because we really take seriously the doctrine that all men are created equal. That they must have an equal opportunity, and that they are equally good; that there is no difference between German and English and American and Chinese and Negroes; that whatever differences crop up, upon maturity, are the result of their environment, and not of their birth. So the doctrine that all men are created equal is full of meaning to us. We live by it. We have no prejudices, and we detest all forms of racial, religious and national prejudice.

Now I come to a point which I presume should be one of the principal questions at issue, a point concerning which perhaps more evidence will be introduced than on any other point. It is no longer a question involving theory. It is a question which you, ladies and gentlemen, even though you are not acquainted with Marxism and social theory, are perfectly capable of deciding without any help from experts or would-be experts. That is the question of the Union Defense Guard.

We shall introduce evidence to show that in the year 1938,

## WE DESIRE PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

Now we come to the very heart of this case. I want to beg your pardon, ladies and gentlemen, if I went into theories and ideas that seemed to be unnecessary so far as this case is concerned, but you will certainly admit that I had to answer Mr. Anderson's opening statement, because he brought in Marx and Lenin and Trotsky and our ideas about trade unionism. I had to answer.

Essentially — and I am sure the Court will instruct you essentially, the question boils itself down to this: Did we advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence? That is the heart of the question; because obviously, ladies and gentlemen, suppose you did not agree with our theories about trade unionism; suppose you did not agree with our theories about the war, our opposition to the war; supposing you did not agree with our designating the governments of England and United States and Germany and Italy as imperialistic; you would not convict us because of that. You said — and I believe every one of you — that you believed in the right of free speech, free press, free assembly, and it would be impossible to imagine a jury composed of American citizens, convicting individuals because they did not agree with the opinions of those individuals.

MR. SCHWEINHAUT (prosecution): I submit that that is clearly argument, Your Honor.

THE COURT: I agree with you, Mr. Schweinhaut. I think counsel should adhere to the line of proof, in answer to the statements of the Government, and not argue the merits of his position as such.

#### Believe In The Class Struggle

MR. GOLDMAN: This is a question of advocacy, the question of whether or not we advocate the violent overthrow of the Government, and the question of whether we conspired to overthrow the Government by force and violence. Those are the two counts in the indictment, conspiracy to overthrow and conspiracy to advocate violence. Those are the important questions.

We shall prove that the defendants believe in the theory of the class struggle: that in our present society there are two major classes; on the one hand the class that owns the productive wealth of society; on the other hand, the class of workers, and by the term "workers", we mean the farmers, laborers, industrial workers, all those who work by hand or brain, and that this class is exploited by the financier and big capitalists; and between those classes there is a constant struggle going on. We do not have to advocate that struggle in order that it should exist. It existed before we were in existence, before you were born, before I was born, before Karl Marx was born. It is a fact in society, and this struggle between those classes goes on in society, regardless of our wishes and desires. The American workers and farmers, the majority of whom as yet know nothing of our theories, continue to struggle against the imperialists and against the Wall Street bankers, even though they know nothing about our theories.

Then the evidence will show that we believe that at a certain moment in history this class struggle will become more and more serious, and might lead to a violent war. Again, the evidence will show that it is not a question of whether we desire it and advocate it, but that the class struggle exists and will develop regardless of our wishes and our desires, and regardless of your intentions and desires, and regardless of the prosecution's intentions and desires. The evidence will further show, as Mr. Anderson has himself indicated, that we prefer a peaceful transition to socialism; but that we analyze all the conditions in society, we analyze history, and on the basis of this analysis we predict, we predict, that after the majority of the people in the United States will want socialism established, that the minority, organized by the financiers and by the capitalists, will use violence to prevent the establishment of socialism. That is what we predict.

#### **Predict Overthrow Of Capitalism**

Now the jurors will be instructed by the Court, I am sure, to be, again, very careful about this point, the question of advocacy, as against prediction, and the evidence will show that I wrote a pamphlet called "What is Socialism", in which I deal with that question very, very simply, and I think, very, very clearly. We prefer a peaceful transition, but we predict that the minority will not permit the majority its right to establish socialism. This is the heart of the question.

And the evidence will show that we were constantly insisting from the very beginning of the existence of the Socialist Workers Party, that we had a constitutional and a legal right to say what we said and to do what we did, and that in insisting upon that right we did everything openly. Our headquarters are still open. The evidence will show that. The evidence will show that we still continue our meetings, that we still publish and distribute our papers. It is a peculiar kind of criminals that you have, who insist on their rights to do what they are doing and to say what they are saying.

MR. ANDERSON: Your Honor, it seems to us that whether or not they insist on their rights is not a question for this jury at all.

THE COURT: I do not think it is, nor do I think that the matter to which counsel has referred, with reference to the prediction, is a proper matter for an opening statement.

MR. GOLDMAN: I said that the evidence will show that instead of advocating and inciting to violent overthrow, that the defendants merely predict. It is their prediction.

THE COURT: You say the defendants predict it?

MR. GOLDMAN: Yes, the defendants predict it.

THE COURT: I think you should devote yourself to a fact statement, what you propose to prove. That is not what you have been referring to in this part of your recital.

MR. GOLDMAN: The evidence will so show. We expect to prove it.

THE COURT: Just tell the jury what you expect to prove.

MR. GOLDMAN: We expect to prove that the defendants never advocated, never incited to violence, but simply predicted the violence of the reactionary minority. We say that the defendants had a right to say, under the constitution, what they said, and to do what they did! We rely on the jurors who swore to be fair and impartial to us, who swore to uphold the First Amendment guaranteeing free speech and free press, that they will give us that right, even if they do not agree with us. Thank you. THE MILITANT

# The CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF TYPE A BLACK THE A WHITE A BLACK THE A BLACK THE

## Stalin's Interview With Ingersoll Revealed More Than He Realized--

Looking through the Negro press the last week cr so, we got a bird's eye view of what many of the so-called "leaders" of the Negro people are up to. It has become a practice to call such people who betray the interests of the Negro masses "Uncle Toms", but in actuality using such a term for these people is a slander of the original Uncle Tom.

Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

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The handful of Negro soldiers now being trained as officers by the Army are all getting their training in the same camps as white soldiers. Here they are by no means free from discrimination and segregation, but since they are in the same camps they escape some of the more obvious Jim Crow treatment they might have to suffer in separate camps.

Up pops that Negro advocate of Negro segregation, Edgar G. Brown, leader of the United Government Employees, with the request to Roosevelt and Secretary of War Stimson that a Jim Crow officers training school be established.

This gave a newscaster broadcasting over the Mutual Broadcasting System the opportunity to say, "A large group of the most responsible Negro leaders in the country has appealed to President Roosevelt in a formal, official letter opposing the present policy of the army whereby Negro officers are being trained in the same schools as white officers."

And, according to the 'Chicago Defender', "anti-Negro forces in Washington and particularly the War Department are reported to be delighted at the request of Brown. . . since it permits them to justify segregation on the ground that Negroes themselves have asked for it."

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In Little Rock, Arkansas, the CIO has been active organizing cotton oil mill and compress workers, laundry workers, domestic workers, etc., many if not most of whom are Negro men and women. After the establishment of Camp Robinson, for example, the demand for domestic workers for the officers' families rose - but the wages didn't, remaining at \$3-4 a week. The CIO is organizing these workers and trying to win them a minimum of \$1 a day. The laundry workers too are grossly underpaid, overworked and exploited, and ready to respond to organization. The mill operators and planters in the area are getting a little worried, for they fear that the current CIO drive may make headway into the more important industries, and they are preparing to fight the CIO in every way possible.

So along come two Negro stooges, Attorney R. J. Booker of the Negro Chamber of Commerce and C. H. Jones of the so-called "Southern Mediators Association" calling meetings and issuing statements as "Negro" leaders urging the Negro workers to have nothing to do with the CIO and in general doing everything within their power to prevent them from receiving the

which can only be taken by com- | happens to the German armies | nihilation of its forces and de- | Europe and above all Germany. (Continued from page 1) with many of the Soviet officials, plete encirclement and starving from the rear or within. The struction of its government. This, They must be assured that the question is: How can the Ger- he declares, is the only salvation Soviet Union will fight side by and was granted an interview out. Thus it is resigned to the man drive be halted, disintegra- of the Soviet Union, this is the side with them against any new with Stalin himself. fact that, alone, its armies cannot administer a severe defeat to | ted from the rear? What is the | only way to overthrow the Nazi | Versailles Treaty, that the So-On October 31, without quoting policy Stalin proposes? Here it regime! Stalin directly, but using the in- the Germans in the field. (Em-

formation Stalin gave him during phasis by Ingersoll)." the interview, Ingersoll gave Sta-

vital industrial production falls

nto the hands of the enemy and

DANGERS IN lin's views on the war under the STALIN'S STRATEGY title, "What the Soviet Govern-What can this strategy of "exment Thinks About the War." acting casualties as it retreats'

Stalin's views, both by what he lead to? This process of exacting says and what he leaves unsaid, casualties on the enemy means do more than explain the defeats; simultaneous casualties for the they reveal that Stalin intends to Army. And the further the Socontinue those policies which reviet forces retreat, the more tersulted in the defeats. itory embracing the means of

STALIN EXPLAINS THE INITIAL DEFEATS

How did Stalin explain the iniall the harder it becomes to hold tial and the recent defeats to In- them at the next stage. gersoll? By admitting that he In addition, such a process at did not expect the war with Gera certain point is certain to afmany when it came, and was unfect the morale of the Red Arprepared for it! my soldiers; a continuous pro-

The German army struck quickcess of defeats is bound to proly. "When the German bombers duce doubts and a feeling of came over, anti-aircraft crews did futility and impotence; the solnot open fire at once. They telediers will begin to believe, in phoned to headquarters to ask inthe face of all these defeats and structions on what most of them retreats, that they are fighting thought was simply a breach of in vain. treaty. Before they had time to

One of the reasons that Stalin think twice, their planes were dewas forced to adopt a "strategy" stroyed and their hangars were of retreat was that the Red Army on fire. The initial German drive lacked a competent, trained leadon land, after smashing down outlying strong points, went into that could bring victory. This Russian territory, at 30 to 40 miles an hour." interests of eliminating all cri-

In Moscow "the Government ticism and opposition in the armthought that such an obvious ed forces to his bureaucratic rethreat of invasion was simply the gime, Stalin destroyed the flowprelude to a demand for further eroof the Red Army command in treaty concessions." the purges of 1937-38 and ap-

"By the time the German panzpointed in their place nonentier divisions had run the limit of ties with neither the ability nor their gas supply, Soviet armies experience to lead the Red Army on the frontier were encircled and to victory against a powerful foe. instead of fighting to hold back All the facts show that Stalin's the German advance, all their misconduct of the war is not energy and ammunition went to something accidental or the reget themselves out of the hole sult of misunderstanding on his they were in and to reforming part of what the situation reinto a coherent line. Enormous quires, but is directly linked with supplies of equipment were lost and flows from all of his past in this retreat and from then on policies. To fully understand his the Soviet Government knew that policies in this war, it is necesits armies would not be able imsary to study and become acmediately to stem the German quainted with the past policies advance — even at the old Soviet and history of Stalinism, beginfrontier, which was better fortining with the theory of "socialfied than the new." ism in one country."

In short, the ease of the ini-STALIN'S PROPOSAL FOR tial German victories was due DEFEATING HITLER primarily to the stupidity of the Now, 17 years after he pro-Kremlin and its belief that Hitler would continue to bargain

s, as given by Ingersoll: "Based on information from its wn agents in Germany and information obtained from capcives, the Soviet Government does ot believe that collapse of the

German State is in order. It has heard talk about an imminent collapse — from its allies — but it believes this is wishful thinking. It thinks German morale is high and that nothing will unseat Hitler except a decisive military defeat."

But Stalin is resigned to the fact that the Red Army alone cannot defeat the Germans. Since Stalin feels the Red Army carnot defeat Hitler, and since he believes that "nothing but a decisive military defeat" will ac. complish this, Stalin declares that some other force will have to do the job of cracking German morale and overthrowing Hitler. Ingersoll continues:

"For the purpose of upsetting the Nazi regime it (the Stalinist regime) does not believe that this add to those which he now uses defeat need necessarily be ad- to secure support for his war ministered to his principal armies. against the Soviet Union. Its ership able to work out a strategy It believes the decisive defeat of mere advocacy has no doubt been one of Hitler's allies could turn greeted eagerly by Goebbels. situation existed because, in the the trick."

But no one could seriously contend that the military defeat of of the masses of Europe are lookone of Hitler's allies would seri- ing for some alternative to the cusly interfere with the advance rule of "democratic" imperialism of the German armies in Russia. and are temporarily willing to Ingersoll explains that Stalin endure all kinds of hardships unlooks at it this way:

#### "PRINCIPLE" BEHIND THE "WESTERN FRONT"

"Many of those who have joined forces with Hitler — the Ru- victory in the war will bring a manians, the Hungarians, the Finns, etc., etc., have done so as the lesser of two evils. It must STILL NOT TOO LATE be demonstrated to at least one TO SAVE THE USSR! of them that their alliance is not defeat an army allied to Germany even at this late hour. in the field; it will be necessary some ally, wholly to destroy its | existence of the workers state. In

ism in one country" Stalin is force phasis by Ingersoll). policy of revolutionary war and

WOULD THIS POLICY WEAKEN HITLER? But if the fate of the Soviet Union really depended upon such i policy, then it would be doomed. The carrying out of such a 'western front" will not in the ast analysis weaken Hitler's war, but, on the contrary, in a real ense, it will strengthen it!

Because Hitler will be able to point to his defeated ally, and ell the German people and his other allies: You see what will the Socialist United States of happen to you if England wins Europe and the world. this war? You will be crushed and annihilated, wholly destroyed. To prevent this, to prevent the TO DEFEAT HITLER imposition of another and worse Versailles Treaty which will bring untold suffering and de-

pression to our country and yours, you must exert yourselves even same time that revolutionary a more to insure the defeat of the

enemy. In short, such a policy will only give Hitler another weapon to No, the very lesson of the rise

of Hitler is that large sections der Hitlerism in the hope that it may bring them a satisfactory alternative. Hitler's source of state. strength lies precisely in his

promise that German imperialist "new order".

## The bankruptcy of Stalinism

the lesser but the far, far greater and the military gains of Hitler of the two evils. For this purpose so far do not mean that it is too it will not be enough simply to late to save the Soviet Union, This is not the first time that utterly to annihilate the forces of | imperialism threatened the very

government. To rub its nose in 1918-20 the Soviet Union was able it. To make defeat and collapse to hold off and defeat not only so obvious that the news of it will the imperialist intervention but spread over the world, censorship to crush the counter-revolutionmulgated this theory of "social- or controlled press or no. (Em- ary White Guard Russians. The

viet Union will oppose any imperialist peace settlement that will place new burdens on the backs of the exploited masses. The masses can be aroused to revolutionary action and initiative, not by the example of a lesser evil which is really not "lesser" at all, but by a fighting program for the solution of their own problems. The masses of Europe must be shown that there is a real alternative to capitalism, that the solution of their problems lies in the struggle for

## STRENTHEN THE FRONT

The program for Soviet victory further requires measures to strengthen the front against Hitler in the Soviet Union at the tation is being used to undermine Hitler's rear. The release of the brave and able pro-Soviet workers and soldiers, many of whom were leaders in the Civil War, and who are now kept in Stalin's concentration camps and prisons only because they opposed the ruinous policies of Stalinism, will provide new leadership at the front. The reconstitution of the democratically - elected Soviets, the legalization of pro-Soviet political parties, will arouse the initiative and enthusiasm of the Soviet workers, soldiers and peasants for they will feel once again that they have something to say about the policies of the workers

It is in the light of Stalin's program for saving the Soviet Union that his "strategy" of retreats assumes a particularly ominous character. Sometimes retreats cannot be avoided, sometimes they are justified. Even the most correct revolutionary strategy can not always guarantee victories, for there are other factors that can be decisive in particular battles and campaigns. But there are retreats and retreats.

The Bolsheviks in the Civil War Days of 1918-20, even though they followed a bold, revolutionary policy, which brought victory in the end, often had to retreat. But when they retreated, it was

# What The Capitalists Think About The Soviet Union's War

By JACK WEBER

### Lyons States the Capitalist Position

Eugene Lyons, whose career was "made" by breaking with the Stalinists at just the right moment, gives, some plain capitalist talk about Russia in the American Mercury. What he says is of interest in the light of the policies pursued by the Stalinists, policies which cover up precisely what the Lyonses take correctly to be obvious. The Stalinists do their best to make the Soviet Union appear indistinguishable from the democracies, to gloss over the tremendous gulf between the Allied states and the USSR. But Lyons sees with approval the real attitude of the capitalists, their hatred of the first workers' state. While the Stalinists distinguish between the Churchills, the Roosevelts and their underlings like Beaverbrook, Lord Halifax and Co., the Lyonses have ng such illusions.

"It is unfashionable to admit the obvious fact that Great Britain and the United States are offering material aid to Russia at this juncture for their own and not for Russia's sake. . . Moreover only political morons could contemplate withcut goose-pimples the possibility of the Red forces actually licking Hitler's hordes, pursuing the advantage westward to the Atlantic and displacing the Brown scourge with ther own brand. Britain and America are helping Russia - and should do so, we believe, to the utmost extent - for the sole reason that an eastern front engages and saps German military strength. They do so without any fear of a Red tidal wave overwhelming Europe - because they know that a decisive Russian victory, is not even a remote possibility. The most that can be hoped for is the maintenance of a permanent Russian front until a victory over Hitler is achieved."

#### Fischer On the Hess Incident

That states the case of Allied aid, from the point of view of the capitalist class, as honestly as one could desire. Nor is Lyons in any way unique in presenting the facts. Louis Fischer, Stalinist collaborator for so long, writes concerning the Hess incident in The Nation. By now it is no longer much of a mystery that Hess carried a message that Germany would make peace with England in order to turn on Stalin. It is still not admitted that this message came directly from Hitler and that Churchill played his cards so as to egg Hitler on to attack the Soviet Union by pretending that he might be willing to listen to terms of peace after such an invasion had begun. Hess told Churchill that it was not a question of victory over the Red Army, but that without English aid the campaign would last only three months. With England still at war, the Nazis might require a year for the conquest of the Soviet Union. Churchill chose to get a year's respite for England.

All of this can occasion not the least surprise on the part of these who never for one moment let go of the class analysis of great social events. It is not the Moore-Brabazons, the assistants of Churchill, who alone desire to see the Red Army and the German army bleed each other to death with but a single regiment left to the victor. That is the attitude of the "democratic "capitalists from top to bottom. It is but an added crime of the Stalinists that they hide this fact. Their demands on Churchill to open up a "western front" have no other effect than to permit the British reactionary to voice pious hopes concerning Russia's ability to continue fighting for another winter. To secure a better hold on the English workers, Churchill may even sacrifice those of his assistants who were indiscreet in blurting out the truth about aid to Russia. The idea of resting the salvation of the Soviet Union on Allied aid is the worst of all chimeras. Stalin fosters this illusion both in Russia and abroad. It is possible that he does so with the purpose of using the failure of such aid to arrive as justification for a capitulation to Hitler. Such a capitulation is not at all ruled out at a later stage. But it is doubtful that Stalin would survive such a catastrophic event for a very long time. The machine which kept him in power by terror would be too weakened for it to function effectively. The Stalin regime would come to its inglorious end.

benefits of unionism.

\*

Only two months ago Governor Stassen of Minnesota was widely attacked in the Negro and labor press for his refusal to permit Negroes to serve in the state Home Guards. Then about two weeks ago Stassen came out with a statement calling on employers to hire Negroes without discrimination, one of those cheap statements that sound good and cost nothing.

Now, from Washington, D. C., Emmett J. Scott, who as "Negro advisor to the Secretary of War" did his "bit" in World War I in convincing the Negro people that it was a "war for democracy", and who knows what Stassen's record is, comes out with a disgusting article praising Stassen because he is one of those "engaged in battling the forces of intolerance and bigotry - not lip service-battling, but real battling. . .'

\* \* \*

Today the Negro people have the greatest need and opportunity for agitation and struggle for equal rights. The government forces who want to stifle free speech also want to take away from the Negroes the rght to speak and agitate against Jim Crowism, and in the name of "national defense" they propose to do this.

Dean Gordon Hancock, writing in his column, Between The Lines, this week gives them aid and comfort in their plans when he says, "Freedom of speech is a fine thing in times of peace, but it becomes exceedingly dangerous in times of war. At a time when we have to be concentrating everything on getting this nation's mind made up to fight a war that is inevitable, we are still crying 'freedom of speech' with the result that our councils are divided and the people are confused and the nation is just piddling around. Whether we have a dictatorship or not, we certainly need one, and that very badly. . ."

\* \* \*

This is only a small fraction of the largescale treachery reported in the press in the last week or so. But as we were saying, alongside of some of these people, Uncle Tom was just a harmless old coot. Even if his philosophy was that they could beat his poor old body but his soul belonged to God, at least he didn't go around selling out other Negroes to their oppressors. And he was supposed to be uneducated unlike many of these lawyers and doctors. And he didn't pretend to be a leader!

indefinitely for more "concesed to admit that the Soviet Union sions."

The Germans made rapid adfeated unless aid comes from the a 'diversion front'." vances in the first weeks of the outside. war because Stalin had not pre-

With the Red Army outnum- Stalin now depends to save the II. pared the Red Army politically or strategically for what came. Just as today he places his hopes on some kind of understanding

## ists, so he placed his hopes before June 22 on the continuation

#### CAN USSR DEFEAT HITLER ALONE?

Can the Soviet Union defeat Hitler without outside aid, as the Stalinists boasted it could before and even after the beginning of the war?

The Kremlin claims it can no of the steel corporations, which ted:

longer. According to what Sta- are determined to establish a precedent for continuing the openlin told Ingersoll, "The Soviet Government knows its armies are shop in steel plants employing their knives and preparing for the pro-war Hillmanites in the now outnumbered in planes and over 600,000 workers. The union- this struggle."

tanks." It does not even have as shop, a modified form of the closits objective the defeat of Hitler's ed-shop requiring all workers to armies: "Therefore its optimum join the union after a certain objective, in a military sense, is period of employment, is under

to keep its armies together and contract discussion in Little Steel to continue its unbroken line of and in the important shipyard resistance and to go on exacting plants of the Federal Shipbuilding Company. It is also the chief

casualties as it retreats. disputed issue between the Steel "This has been the Soviet strategy since the break-through of Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, and the giant United States the first week of the war." Steel Corporation. What a refutation of the lies

The fight of the "captive" mine and boasts spread by the Stalinworkers with the steel barons ists early in the war to cover up the lack of a unified strategic came to a head originally on with his demand. In addition he plan of victory and to hide Sta-September 14, when a strike was lin's responsibility for the defeats! Typical of these boasts | negotiations. On September 19, | legislative drive in Congress. was the one advanced by the Sta- | the union called off the strike unlinists in the Daily Worker of der the terms of a 30-day truce, with the understanding that the July 5: "The Hitler mechanized army is meeting with tanks and dispute would be promptly settled planes more powerful than his by mediation through the NDMB. own and with military general-When the NDMB still balked at ship more skilled and more bril- a decision after the 30-day period, liant than his own staff." the union extended the truce an Stalin no longer makes such additional five days. It was obboasts. Indeed, as Ingersoll puts vious, however, that the board

it for him, "The Soviet Govern- wanted to force the hand of the ment admits that the Germans union and give the pretext for still have the equipment and the the government to step in and force the "captive" miners' to acorganization to take any given cept the corporations' terms. local objective, unless it be one of the big cities which the citi-That this was the game of the

"This is the principle behind appealing to the international under his leadership will be de- the Soviet request to Britain for working class that saved the Soviet Union after World War

This is the policy on which can again save it in World War

bered, with the military leader- | Soviet Union in the darkest hour | This policy - today embodied ship able to execute only a "stra- in its history — the policy of a in the Trotskyist program for Sotegy" of retreat, the fate of the crushing imperialist defeat of one viet victory - requires a revoluwith the "democratic" imperial- Soviet Union depends on what of Hitler's allies, the complete an- tionary appeal to the masses of



| by Lewis, in his letter to Roose- | the labor movement for his strike-(Continued from page 1) issue was in line with the demands velt on October 27, when he sta- breaking moves was from the Stalinists.

> "For four months the steel Not even the reactionary craftcompanies have been whetting union leaders of the AFL, nor CIO, dared to attack Lewis and ism.

GOVERNMENT STRIKEBREAKING

Roosevelt intervened directly in the dispute, first with a plea to the miners not to go on strike, and then three rapid-fire demands that they return to work after

the strike had been started. These demands were accompamovement. nied by a direct threat that he

would take drastic governmental action to force the miners back on the job if they did not comply October 29 that: threatened to turn the green finally called after months of vain light on the open-shop, no-strike

The purpose of this latter threat was to attempt to isolate

the mine union and prevent it Appalachian agreement (comfrom gaining support from the mercial mines contract)." rest of the union movement. It

was hoped that pressure from Administration forces within the against the NDMB stalling CIQ, working on the fears of around any further on a decision the CIO members that their right or coming out with a decision unto strike might be taken away favorable to the union. It demaltogether, would force Lewis and onstrates to the Administration the miners to go "easy" and caand the steel bosses that the pitulate. union is determined to continue

### LABOR'S ATTITUDE

However, the only open sup- bring out a prompt and satisfac- and Main Street. zens can turn into a fortress and steel corporations was indicated port Roosevelt could get within tory recommendation.

for the purpose of obtaining a breathing space, with the perspective of revolutionary developments in the rear of the enemy and throughout Europe coming to their aid. But Stalin has no such rerspective.

Stalinism has shown by its betrayal of the Bolshevik program of Soviet victory that it is the greatest internal obstacle to the successful defense of the Soviet Union. As its responsibility for the defeats becomes more apparent, as the reasons for its failure to conduct a revolutionary war become more widely understood, the Soviet masses, choos-

ing the proper time, without endangering the front against imperialism, must rid themselves of

the Stalinist bureaucracy and march forward with the workers of the world to victory for the Soviet Union and world social-

The fight to save the Soviet the miners in this situation. It Union is not the fight of the was too clear that the govern-Soviet masses alone. The workers ment was trying to establish the principle of the open-shop under of the world have a stake in preventing the destruction of the the guise of protecting "national remaining conquests of the Ocdefense." An attack on the mintober revolution. ers would have served to discred-

The Soviet masses require the it any union leader in the eyes assistance of the workers of the of the rank-and-file of the labor world. The task for advanced

workers everywhere throughout Philip Murray, CIO president, the capitalist world is to explain indicated the attitude of the orthe cause of the defeats in the ganization he heads, when he de-USSR, to show how victory can clared in a public statement on still be achieved, to help the workers avoid the pitfalls of giv-

"The cloak of national defense ing up opposition to the aims of used by the large (steel) corpotheir own ruling class, to rations to escape responsibility is strengthen the forces of the no justification for their refusal world revolution which alone can



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### Stalin Incapable of Leading Successful Defense

But if no aid comes to Russia from the Allies, or if that aid is just enough of a trickle to keep the Red Army in being as a pawn of the Allies, must we give up the Soviet Union as lost? Certainly it will be lost if the workers pin their faith in the Roosevelts and Churchills and follow the policies of these capitalist leaders. Only aid from the workers of Europe and America can prevent the USSR from going down to utter defeat.

We have tried for many years to open the eyes of those workers who were still being misled by Stalin as to his true role. Where is the class-conscious worker today who cannot see that Stalin, in the midst of the most terrible danger to the Soviet Union, is incapable of giving any revolutionary leadership? He is utterly incapable of driving any wedge between the German workers and their overlords. He is incapable of giving directives to the workers in other lands that would help to stem the tides of Nazi invasion.

That task must fall to other leadership, to real revolutionary working class leadership. The Soviet Union can be saved, in spite of Stalin, by the courage and devotion of the workers led by revolutionary leaders. Their policies must in no wise be based on the war aims of the "democratic" imperialists who gladly see the sacrifice of the USSR for their benefit. They must be class policies solely in the interest of the international proletariat.



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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 wars.
- 5. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
- 6. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
- 7. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- 8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
- 9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

## Anderson States The

and the leaders who are the defendants in this trial Trotskyites, but their basic belief was founded upon Marx, so they were Marxists."

They were Marxists! This, then, is their "crime"! All the government's intimations of dark, underground deeds, of "startling revelations" of secret conspiracy for evil ends, boils down to the fact that the defendants and their colleagues exercised their right of free speech, press and political belief — openly and publicly — to promote the ideas of Marxism, a political philosophy which has been discussed and legally propagated in this country for almost a hundred years.

There is not one informed person in this country who does not understand that this is a clearcut trial of political ideas and the right to express them. It is part of the program of Roosevelt, as he prepares to plunge this country into another war for "democracy", to toss all democratic principles into the scrapheap.

## The 28 Fight Boldly For Party Principles

The trial of the 28 in Minneapolis is of historic importance for many reasons. It is the first peacetime "sedition" trial in this country since 1798. It is an out-and-out political trial, in which the basic charges involve the political concepts of the defendants. At issue are fundamental principles of civil rights affecting the entire mass of common people.

But an outstanding feature of the trial, as history will undoubtedly record, is the conduct of the defendants themselves.

They make no appeals for "mercy". They offer no plea of mitigating circumstances. They do not base their defense solely on technicalities or legal flaws — numerous as these are.

Rather, they have chosen to accept the government's basic challenge. They are standing foursquare on their principles. They are upholding their ideas, and the right to express their ideas, with uncompromising determination.

No effort is being made to deny or avoid responsibility for the ideas and program which are the basis of their alleged "crime".

Rarely, if ever, have men and women in an American court-room taken so firm a stand on ideas and principles, or defended those principles with such boldness, clarity and power. These 28 defendants have already widened the walls of the tiny courtroom. They have called on all American labor to pass judgment on their ideas and activities. Before this jury of working class public opinion, they stand not as accused, but as accusers.

They might have clung to technicalities, sought to avoid the risk of a principled fight. But these defendants are conscious of the fact that they are fighting not for their own liberty alone, but for rights of all workers.

Denying nothing of their program, indeed, embracing it proudly and proclaiming it aloud to the world, the defendants are giving an inspiring demonstration of how men and women fortified by unshakeable principles fight for the rights of labor.

### THE MILITANT

# **Stalin's Decrees Bare Rift With Red Officers**

### "Pravda" Reveals Growing Clash of Kremlin, Army Tops; Stalin Can No Longer Depend On Bureaucracy He Appointed

#### By JOHN G. WRIGHT

It is impossible for Stalin to hide any longer the gravity But this interpretation evades of the rift between himself and the officers' corps of the Red the entire history of the Soviet Army. Stalin's October 19 order "for a state of siege in Mos- Union under Stalin's rule. Today cow" revealed to the world the growing intensity of this con- as in the past, Stalin's moves flict. This order was, in effect, the first official acknowledg- are dictated and motivated solely ment of the re-shuffling of the Red High Command, which is by his ruthless struggle to mainin itself a sympton of the crisis\* tain himself in power. He realized

now convulsing the Kremlin-Kui- On July 19, he replaced Timo- at the very outbreak of war that bishev regime. But far overshadshenkq as People's Commissar for the officers' corps whom he had owing it in significance was an- Defense, himself raised to power a short other disclosure contained in this

On the very next day, the world while ago could not be depended order, i. e., that Stalin is now learned that the Kremlin's secret upon to follow him blindly. The openly relying on the GPU as his police had been once again re- officers could not fail to become only remaining dependable prop. organized. Only a few months alarmed by the continued defeats The full implications of the before, in February, the GPU had of the Red Army. Besides, their latest re-shuffling of the 'High been divided into two autonomous own lives were at stake. Stalin's Command and the investment of departments, namely, the People's only answer was to resort openly the GPU with open and sweeping Commissariat of Internal Affairs under war-time conditions to the powers not only over the popula- and the People's Commissariat of real bulwark of his regime - the tion but over the Red Army it- State Security. The latter depart- execution squads of the GPU. It self, soldiers and officers alike, ment was virtually placed under is they, and not the military auall this can be best understood in the jurisdiction of the Red com-thorities who are now in supreme the light of Stalin's previous mand. The February "reorganiza- control in beleaguered Moscow measures — a whole series in tion" was apparently another sop and this means - everywhere which the "shoot-on-the-spot" to the officers' corps, a sort of both in the front lines and in ukase of October 19 is only the guarantee against mass purges in the rear. Stalin's monstrous bureaucratic latest link. the army. On July 20, these two

departments were "unified" again On June 22, the first day of under the control of Stalin's pupthe German invasion, the Europet, Berya. pean territories of the USSR were placed under martial law, with On July 21, the system of polithe military authorities in comtical commissars was extended to mand. the Red Fleet.

has crumbled beyond repair after On the same day, more deputies Almost, immediately Stalin deless than five months of war. were appointed for the post of monstrated his lack of confidence in the Red command by forming, Commissar of Defense. The signi-STALINISM THREATENS ficant thing about these new apon June 30, the State Committee DEFENSE OF USSR pointees is that among them were for Defense (composed of Stalin, We are now witnessing the final Motolov, Voroshilov, Malenkov political commissars. In other stages of the death agony of Stal words, the Commissariat of Deand Berya). The then-Commissar inism. These final convulsions. fense was itself placed directly for Defense and Commander-inhowever, carry with them also a under the supervision of the Chief of the armed forces, Marmortal threat to the USSR,-whose GPU. Stalin had gathered all the shall Timoshenko, was not instrength is being sapped inter threads of power into his own

cluded in this body. This was not hands. an 'oversight,' but rather it was Stalin's step in stripping the Red WHAT THESE command of its powers.

MANN

STEPS SIGNIFIED Next, the High Command was

reshuffled on July 11. (Timoshenko assumed command of the Moscow Military District, or the Western Central Army; Budenny - the Kiev Military District, or the South Army; and Voroshilov able elements. They have found - the Leningrad Military District, it easiest to advance precisely un- | lution in the Civil War of 1918der the Kremlin regime.

Almost unanimously with this MANAN MANAN reshuffling of the High Com-**NUMAN** CHICAGO, ILL. mand, the system of political commissars was reintroduced in the army on July 16. It is hardly CELEBRATE THE 24th ANNIVERSARY

1920.

apparatus of repression began

crumbling on the eve of the second

World War. The war has violently

speeded up this process of disin-

tegration. The military arm of

Stalin's bureaucratic apparatus

nally by the continuation of Sta-

lin's rule. Every day, every hour

of the struggle brings additional

overwhelming proof that the So

viet Union can be successfully

defended only by the reconstitu-

tion of the Soviets and the return

to the policies of Bolshevism

which guaranteed the victory in

October 1917 and beat back the

imperialists and the counter-revo-



**NOVEMBER 8, 1941** 

### Stalin Wrecks the British Communist Movement - 1925-26

BACKGROUND OF THE 1925-26 EVENTS

In the Communist International: Under the presure of world capitalism, reflected in the USSR by the rich peasant (kulak), Stalin moved to the right. Politically, this turn manifested itself within Russia in a great campaign against "Trotskyism" and the enunciation of the theory of Socialism in one country; in other countries, it appeared as a desperate courting of bourgeois elements.

In England: November, 1924 — Hardly a month after the official birth of Stalin's theory of Socialism in one country, a delegation of British trade union leaders, headed by A. A. Purcell, president of the Trade Union Congress, visited the USSR and returned to write a glowing report of conditions there.

May, 1925 — A Russian delegation, headed by M. Tomsky, chairman of the Central Council of the Russian trade unions, returned the British T. U. C. visit by attending the Hull Trades Union Congress. May 14, 1925 — A protocol was signed by the lead-

ers of the British and Russian trade unions, dedicated to the furthering of international trade union unity, the struggle against capitalist reaction, and the fight against a new war. Thus was the Anglo-Russian Committee formed, with equal representation from each country.

The Committee, from the standpoint of the Soviet Union, might have performed a useful function to the working class, if the Russian trade union leadership and the British Communist party constantly warned the British working class of the character of the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

Anticipating the disaster to come from Stalin's opportunism, Trotsky wrote a bitingly critical work entitled 'Whither England', in which he warned against every move which was to come in the ensuing disaster; it was condemned by Stalin as more evidence of "criminal Trotskyism".

**GENERAL STRIKE OF 1926** 

May 1, 1926 — After a year of wide-spread local strikes of increasing seriousness, the British trade unions, by a vote of 3,653,529 to 49,911, declared a General Strike in support of certain miners' demands.

The British Communist party, poised at a turningpoint in its history, threw its support (following the line of its guide, the Anglo-Russian Committee) whole-heartedly behind the bureaucracy of the T.U.C. The General Council of the T.U.C., meanwhile, in the persons of Arthur Pugh (later Sir Arthur), Walter Citrine (later Sir Walter) and J. H. Thomas, grovelled on the doorstep at 10 Downing Street, begging to be allowed to betray the strike to the Prime Minister, who was so frightened by the solidarity of the British workers that he feared even their misleaders

Tension increased; the Prime Minister gave orders to the troops to fire if necessary; the workers raged at the signs of capitulation on the part of their leadership.

In a few days the General Strike was called off. by the General Council. The workers of England, in a mood of political rebellion, were leaderless and the

The capitalist press interpreted all these moves as preventive measures designed to forestall any attempts at betrayal by the officers. It is undeniable that the Red command has many unreli-

## Government's Case

The Roosevelt administration has unveiled the "startling revelations" it promised for the trial of the 28 defendants in the Minneapolis "seditious conspiracy" case.

U. S. District Attorney Victor Anderson last week outlined these "startling revelations" in the prosecution's opening address of the trial.

The only thing "startling" in Anderson's discursive and oft-times unintelligible speech was the admission that the government's case is basically founded on the proposition that the mere advocacy of political ideas which the administration dislikes - specifically the ideas and program of Marxism — constitutes a "crime".

"It is safe to say," declared Anderson, "that usually in connection with a conspiracy count or charge, it is incumbent upon the prosecuting authorities to establish some overt act, some positive step or act done to bring about or in furtherance of the conspiracy; and it is the position of the Government in this case that that is not required. . ."

What is required? According to the government speaking through Anderson, it is required only to show that the defendants and the Socialist Workers Party have stated openly and publicly, day in and day out, their uncompromising opposition to the imperialist war, their belief that the system of capitalism is in hopeless decay, promising only war, fascism and misery to the masses, and their conviction that the workers, together with all other oppressed layers of society, should take political power in their own hands and establish a society of peace and security.

"The very purpose of that party, the very plan of that party, the very program of that party. . . were a violation of the statutes which I have called your attention to," Anderson proclaimed to the jury.

And what is this 'purpose', 'plan', and 'program' which the government has placed on trial? Anderson flatly stated:

"... The purpose of this party or the ideas that were basic in this party, represented the views of Leon Trotsky, and those of his contemporary, the first executive head of the Soviet Union, V. I. Lenin. . ."

In addition, Anderson stated:

"It is going to be the plan of the Government in this case to show that Lenin and Trotsky based their philosophy upon Karl Marx. . . so that not only were the members of this political party

## The Mine Strike And The 'Daily Worker'

On October 30, the Daily Worker hastened into print with a denunciation of the "captive" coal mine strike in a two-column front-page editorial.

To disguise the pro-boss odor of the editorial, the Stalinists first asked and answered the question: "What are the basic causes for the strikes which are harassing national defense?"

"First and foremost", said the Daily Worker, "these shutdowns arise directly from the unpatriotic resistance of certain die-hard employing interests to the workers' just grievances. . . Second, the government has not proceeded with such speed and diligence in bringing these recalcitrant employers 'to time'. . ."

Therefore? Therefore, concludes the Daily Worker, "Labor has a responsibility, for its own protection and that of the nation, summarily to reject the policy of John L. Lewis. . . The governmental agencies have correctly asked the workers to restrain their use of the right to strike."

The semi-'isolationists' New York World-Telegram, whose specialty is denouncing strikes and the closed shop, on October 30 featured this Stalinist attack on the mine strike on its front page. Next day, the Daily Worker ran another editorial calling the World-Telegram's use of its previous editorial a "Neat Appeaser Trick" and lamenting that the boss newspaper did not "also" report its window-dressing "anti-employer" introduction.

What the Stalinists are really complaining about is that the boss press did not waste space in helping the Daily Worker's game of hiding its antilabor role.

The bosses ignored the camouflage and recognized the essence of the Stalinist policy. This stab in the back to the mine strike was an aid to the bosses, and they made the most of it. Thus do the lines of the "appeasers" and the Stalinist interventionist war-mongers cross.

> Trotsky's Last Work MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on the IMPERIALIST WAR and the PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION 48 pages 5 cents per copy PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place

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that this introduction of dual au-thority in the armed forces was a blow at the officers, stripping them of authority, and, in effect, subordinating them to the secret-police arm of the regime, the GPH GPU.

that this introduction of dual au-

or the Northwestern Army).

POLITICAL COMMISSARS

REINTRODUCED

(It should be recalled that the system of political commissars was originally reintroduced by Stalin in August 1937 to facilitate the beheading of the Red Army at the time. This system was re-voked — undoubtedly under the pressure of the officers — on Aupressure of the officers - on August 12, 1940, after the blows of the Finnish experience). Each of the above-cited meas-

ures was designed not to strengthen the defensive power of the Red Army, but rather to facilitate Stalin's open assumption of the supreme command of the armed forces. They were *political* measures typical of Stalin's rule. of the Red Army, but rather to

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# New York Mass Meeting TWENTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE

**OCTOBER REVOLUTION** 

Sunday, November 9th, at 8 P. M. Irving Plaza - Irving Place and 15th St., New York City

Victoria Hall

Speakers:

**JOHN G. WRIGHT Translator of Trotsky's Works** 

> LYDIA BEIDEL Manager, The Militant

> > **GEORGE GRANT**

Communist party found itself bound and gagged by the bonds of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee.

#### PROBLEM FACING THE BRITISH

The Left Opposition in the Russian Communist party immediately demanded of Stalin-Tomsky that they withdraw at once and demonstratively from the Anglo-Russian Committee, in order to permit the British C. P. to raise its voice and organize the workers against the betrayal.

STALIN'S POLICY:

From the day the Anglo-Russian Committee was formed until the British labor bureaucrats broke it up, Stalin looked upon the Committee and the General Council of the T.U.C. as a 'bulwark against capitalism." He stubbornly refused to admit bureaucrats were basically instruments of the bosses.

In July, 1926, at a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Stalin summarized his attitude: "If the reactionary English trade unions are willing to enter a bloc against the counter-revolutionary imperialists of their own country -- then why not make this bloc? . . And so, the Anglo-Russian Committee is the bloc between our trade unions and the reactionary trade unions of England. . . for the purpose of struggle against imperialist wars in general, and against intervention in particular. . . Comrades Trotsky and Zinoviev should remember this, and remember it well."

At the end of July, the Committee met in Paris. The Russian unions issued a criticism of the conduct of the General Strike; the General Council protested against it, refused to discuss the strike and rejected an offer of monetary assistance for the British miners' strike from the Russian unions on the ground that the offer constituted meddling in British affairs. The Russian criticism was promptly modified and the betrayal became simply a display of "unforgivable tactics". The General Council retaliated by passing a resolution accusing Russia of "intolerable interference in the domestic affairs of the British trade union movement."

In May, 1927, Chamberlain raided the Soviet Trade Commission (Arcos) buildings in London and broke off relations with the Soviet Union; the General. Council withdrew from the Anglo-Russian Committee and handed over the corpse for Stalin to bury. EFFECT UPON THE BRITISH

For three critical years in British history, the Communist Party had been ham-strung. It could not strike out for independent leadership of the working class; it could not even criticize the treacherous policies of the British labor bureaucracy.

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Because of the false theory of Socialism in one country and Stalin's cowardly belief that the Soviet Union could be saved from intervention by a policy of placating bourgeois elements in the capitalist countries, the British Communist Party was fatally compromised and crippled. Stalin, the great "organizer of proletarian defeats", alrealy in 1927 had betrayed the British revolution.

Chairman: