THE MEANING OF THE **RESIGNATION FROM** CIO THE MEDIATION BOARD - An Editorial

The resignation from the National Defense Mediation Board of CIO President Philip Murray and Thomas Kennedy, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers, ClO, can only be welcomed by the ranks of American labor. Their charge that the NDMB holds the position that "labor unions must be denied the right of normal growth and legitimate aspirations, such as the union shop, and that the traditional open shop policy of the anti-labor employers must prevail" is seconded by millions of workers throughout the land, AFL as well as ClO.

It was the pressure of the government, plus their political support for the Roosevelt war program, that originally led these union leaders to serve on the board. Now, despite themselves, they have been forced into the contradictory position of denouncing the NDMB in order to preserve the very existence of their unions and their positions as union leaders. Their dilemma proves the impossibility of reconciling the interests of labor with the boss war program. As an alternative to undermining their own unions, they have been forced to clash with the government whose war policies they uphold.

The resignation of Murray and Kennedy from the NDMB **1138 Votes In** serves to underline what the entire record of that agency has already demonstrated: that the chief purpose of such boards is the beheading of militant union activity and the channelizing N. Y. Election arbitration and futile negotiation. Such boards, established by the capitalist government and dominated by the employers, are intended for and can in the last analysis serve only the inter- Against Warmongers ests of the employing class.

Had Murray and Kennedy failed to take this action, the CIO and free and independent unionism in general would have been dealt a stunning blow.

As it is, their action constitutes an acceptance by The first city wide election camthe CIO of the challenge laid down to all organized paign of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party labor by the Administration's open-shop decision ended last Tuesday with 1138 against the UMW in the captive coal mine controvotes cast for James P. Cannon, versy.

This NDMB decision, it is clear, is a gauntlet flung in the for mayor. Although this was but a small face not only of the UMW, but of the entire CIO and the whole fraction of the votes cast in the organized labor movement. election, fiercely contested by the

If this NDMB decision is permitted to go unchallenged, the warmongering candidates, it repemployers will feel free to attempt to undermine and destroy resents nevertheless a significant legitimate unions in every industry and trade. response to the revolutionary

In the face of the NDMB union-shop recommendation in program presented by the party the recent San Francisco AFL-CIO machinists strike, this deci- throughout the campaign. sion is proof that the board did not consider for one second THEY VOTED FOR A the merits of the miners' case. Its decision was consciously de-REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM vised at the direction of the steel corporations and by order of Roosevelt. Cannon were under no illusion

the name on the ballot and from open shop, for the government also has demanded, all the campaign literature put in this controversy, that labor surrender its right to out by the party that they were strike. The government has seized upon this contro- voting for a Trotskyist program, for an expression of irreconcil-able opposition to capitalism, its In New Jersey versy as the most expedient one in which to dramat- for an expression of irreconcilically and effectively invoke its 'no strike' policy. able opposition to capitalism, re-Roosevelt's intervention during the mine strike two action. The party made no atweeks ago was not in the nature of a simple request tempts to conceal what it stood for the miners to return to work. It was a command. for. It issued no pacifist slogans George Breitman, Socialist And that command, the government makes clear, is to be fortified by the use of federal troops and a flood of anti-labor legislation if the miners again go out on strike.

THE MULTANT

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1941

FIVE (5) CENTS

WITNESS ADMITS TOBIN-FB PLOT AGAINST 28 ON TI **Tobin Agents Are Key** Tobin Gloats Over Trial

Cannon Polls He Instigated Against 28 Daniel J. Tobin last week brazenly commented on the part

he had played in the Minneapolis "seditious conspiracy" trial He states his views in the November issue of the official magazine of International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers. Tobin is president of this AFL International and is listed on the masthead of the offi-- Was 'Trotskyist cial organ as editor. This month's "Editorial by Daniel J Tobin" says of the defendants: Anti-War' Candidate

"We can say now that it is our judgment that if they had agreed to the proposition which was made by the General Executive Board at its meeting in Washington in May, they would have avoided a great deal of the unpleasant conditions which now obtain.'

The "unpleasant conditions" are this effort in Minneapolis Federal Court to send the defendants to jail for conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government.

The "proposition" made last May was a demand served by Frotskyist Anti-War candidate Tobin upon Local 544 to submit to a receiver from Tobin's office.

> The receiver was to supersede the elected officers of the union. The membership of the union replied to the AFL baron by voting to leave the AFL and affiliate with the CIO. Tobin telegraphed a complaint to President Roosevelt. FBI raids and the indictment by the U.S. Department of Justice followed promptly. If a verdict of guilty is returned, the intervention of U.S. government departments will have brought Tobin the victory over the 544 leaders which he could not obtain from the rank and file of the thousands of Minneapolis truckmen.

Government Witnesses "Seditious Conspiracy" Case Against Socialist Workers Party

267

And Local 544-CIO Is Also Based On Fact That S.W.P. Circulated The 'Communist Manifesto' Available In All Public Libraries

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 10. - The FBI and AFL Teamsters President Tobin's agents were working hand-in-glove against the leadership of the Minneapolis motor transport workers union from the time — months before the 28 defendants were indicted - when the fight broke out between Tobin's

agents and the union leadership, it was established at this morning's session of the "sedition" trial against 28 members of the meeting of the pro-Tobin Com-Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO.

This damning fact, corroborating the charge of the defendants that Tobin instigated the prosecution, was established by admissions made by a government witness and Tobin agent, 544, "went to the FBI when the Henry Harris. Under cross-questioning of De-

fense Counsel Albert Goldman, Harris made three important admissions on this key point: 1. The "Committee of 100" (la-

ter called the "Committee of 99"), a Tobin-instigated opposition Harris testified also that FBI against the leadership of Local Agent Thomas Perrin attended a



by Henry Harris, who said he was instructed to do so by the 3. Shortly afterward, (FBI

Agent Perrin suggested to Harris that he tell defendant Karl Skoglund that, if Skoglund would "break with the Dunnes" and join the pro-Tobin Committee of 100, Skoglund could get his citizenship papers

> (Skoglund, whose application for citizenship is still pending, has been refused his papers thur far by the Bureau of Immigra tion which is now, like the FBL, a sub-division of the Department of Justice).

Harris further admitted on cross-examination that he went to Skoglund and repeated to him the the proposition suggested by the FBI Agent. Skoglund refused to take this bribe and break with those with whom he had built the union.

A CIO acceptance of this decision would consti-tute more than submission to the principle of the the name on the ballot and from the ballot and f To Be Followed--Stalin

> Anniversary Speeches Indicate Kremlin Will tries of most of Europe. Stalin tries to console masses with the hope that the

Harris. This places the original the Committee of 100. connection between Tobin and the FBI in their collaboration against Local 544 at about last Decem-

ber or January. 2. Under cross-examination

A particularly reprehensible role, well-meriting Murray's future, and indicate that although he received as party candidate condemnation as "arch-treachery", was played by the two AFL the party is not a mass force in for City Commissioner last representatives who supported the employers and the pro-boss New York today, the possibilities May. 'public" representatives on the board. In the interests of a factional blow at the CIO, they played into the hands of the openshoppers, who will use the weapon given them by these AFL leaders to stab the AFL, as well as the CIO, unions in the back.

Although Murray and Kennedy have resigned from this particular board, this does not in itself constitute an expression ginning in electoral work and are to the federal prosecution of the of opposition to the function of these boards in general or to determined to go out and bring 28 defendants in the Minneapolis union leaders serving on similar boards in the future.

One aspect of their minority report which should Trotskyist program at the ballot give concern to the workers, is the indication that NEW OPPORTUNITIES Murray and Kennedy are still considering the pos- IN ELECTION WORK sibility of accepting some substitute agency to the NDMB which would be more "pro-labor". This is handicaps the campaign gave the an illusion.

The very purpose and character of these boards is anti- with the message of the party in labor. It is fatal, therefore, for labor to place any reliance on the course of the drive to secure the S.W.P. anti-war candidate. such government boards, or for union leaders to serve on them. Had the CIO leaders refused from the start to lend their ber required to place our candiprestige to this board, it could never have gained the power date on the ballot. It gave the and authority it now exercises so viciously against labor's in-

Every right, every improvement in the conditions election newspaper of 20,000 co of labor has been won by labor's own organized pies. This material went into the gains and achievement of future gains will be secured by the same means. The future of the CIO, shipyards, etc. Most of them which meets in national convention starting this learned for the first time what Monday, depends on the decision it makes in this crucial controversy. If it fights uncompromisingly with its own independent means and weapons, if it backs the miners to the bitter end, if it mobilizes its adverse circumstances for revolupowerful membership for a battle against the coming flood of anti-labor legislation, it will survive and paigns as a forum for their ideas grow. But if the CIO yields without a struggle, it will among the workers on the imporface disastrous consequences.

A NEW PAMPHLET! "THE TRUTH ABOUT THE MINNEAPOLIS TRIAL OF THE 28" Speech for the Defense by ALBERT GOLDMAN ONE CENT A COPY

or catch phrases. Though the vote does not rep-

NEW YORK, Nov. 10. -

The 1138 people who voted for

VOL. V-No. 46

New Jersey's General Assembly, resent much in the eyes of capireceived a total of 3,333 votes in the elections held in Essex talist politicians, they represent the basis of greater support of County last Tuesday, a subthe Trotskyist movement in the stantial increase over the vote

For Breitman

NEWARK, N. J., Nov. 11.-

Workers Party candidate for

for substantial growth exist for The party campaign and all the the immediate future. election literature for Breitman's candidacy laid stress on two main It is in this spirit that the members of the New York party points - opposition to the war feel they have made a good be- program of the government and into the party those workers who "seditious conspiracy" trial. The expressed their support for the vote for Breitman is considered an expression of approval for the

party stand on these questions and its denunciation of the capitalist parties and their program In spite of the severe financial In spite of the heated war mongering campaign carried on New York parcy the opportunity by the Communist Party in this 15.000 petitions, twice the num-Twelve soldier votes were cast for Breitman.

party the chance to issue and distribute more than 150,000 pieces of literature, including a special Island City factory areas, in the Trotskyism really stands for. The New York Local has shown

that it is possible, even in a pe riod of reaction and under many tionists to use election camand to get their voices heard tant issues of the day.

DAILY REPORTS See Page 2 for a complete day to day account of the

proceedings of the Minnesota trial of the 28.

Not Adopt Program That Can Save USSR

By GEORGE BREITMAN

In the two speeches he delivered on the occasion of the ion by opening a "western front." wenty-fourth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Stalin | Aside from thus leaving the fate tried to calm the fears of the Soviet masses about the defeats of the USSR in the hands of the suffered by the USSR in the war against German fascism. He tried to explain away the defeats, and to justify the course the Stalinist regime has followed.

But what he succeeded in doing the aid of a "western front." and was to make it plain that the by the fact that the Soviet Union Hitler's position, and declares Stalinist bureaucracy has no plan does not have as many tanks and that eventually "in another few Teamsters President Daniel J. or strategy for victory; that Stalinism is responsible for the ter- draw on the resources and indusrible Soviet defeats: that in spite

of the critical position the work refuses to adopt the revolutionary policies which alone can save the Soviet Union in this war. Stalin admits that by itself the

Another article, dealing with other aspects of Stalin's speeches, written by Jack Weber, will velopments this week in the be found on p. 5 of this issue. Minneapolis case, it is announc-Soviet Union is unable to defeat to approach over 100,000 workers election, the Stalinist candidate Hitler, for he explains what he Civil Rights Defense Commitreceived only 57 votes more than calls the "temporary reverses" by tee, was the strong statement isthe fact that the Soviet Union is sued by the Union for Demofighting Germany alone, without cratic Action sharply condemnthe military help of allies, without ing the prosecution and declar-

CIO Meets As FDR of labor has been won by labor's own organized strength alone. The preservation of labor's past gains and achievement of future gains will be se-lated Giv fectory areas in the

By JOE ANDREWS

The CIO national convention, starting November 17 in Detroit, meets at a time when the Roosevelt administration is the fact that the accelerated war tional emergency. The present demonstrating its intentions of shackling the labor movement in preparation for a totalitarian conduct of the war.

Roosevelt's most recent attacks against labor indicate that the government in the long run will not tolerate a free and democratic labor movement independent of government control.

The strikebreaking barrage lev.+ eled by Roosevelt at the "captive" lackeys, Daniel Tobin, AFL delegates to the CIO convention it would be well for Attorney ROOSEVELT'S AID coal mine strike clearly reflects | Teamsters head, to immediately by the employers and their gov- General Biddle and the Depart' TO TOBIN a turn toward a more open pol- call off the strike of Railway Exicy of curbing labor's struggle press teamsters in Detroit. When however, by pressure from the fully the implications of the profor its rights during the war pe- Tobin informed Roosevelt that he powerful forces of the organized ceedings in terms of their effect Early, issued a statement to the riod.

A further expression of Roosright to strike, was his order last countered with a categorical deweek to one of his most willing mand that the strike be called

"democratic" imperialists will come to the aid of the Soviet Un-

imperialists. Stalin presents no program to save the USSR. He points to the undeniable instability and contradictions in aircraft as Hitler who is able to months, another half or one year (Continued on Page 5)

ers state occupies today, Stalin **6Union For Democratic** Action" Denounces Trial

NEW YORK, Nov. 10. - ing vigorous support for the 28 One of the most important de- defendants. Chairman of the Union is Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr of the Union Theological Seminary, and Treasurer is Frieda ed by the National Office of the Kirchwey, editor of The Nation. The stand taken by the Union for Democratic Action is particularly significant since the Union is, in its own words. "an organization of American liberals whose definite interventionism is in sharp disagreement with the international and domestic policies advocated by the defendants in

the Minneapolis trial." Asserting that the prosecution was "politically inspired", they ontinue:

"The Union was formed with the purpose of combatting any anti-democratic tendency that Thus, the CIO convention faces may arise in this period of nadrive means an intensified em- federal prosecution of 28 alleged members of the Socialist Workers gainst union conditions and Party in Minneapolis is undoubtagainst the very existence of the edly evidence of such an antidemocratic tendency . . . At this

The pressure exerted upon the time, while the trial is under way, ment of Justice to consider careernmental apparatus is countered, was willing, but needed two addi- mass production workers who upon the four freedoms . . . The press, which said in part, after tional days to get his executive have reached the highest peak of Union for Democratic Action calls evelt's all-out drive against the board together, Roosevelt quickly their strength in the past year. upon Attorney General Biddle and ing Local 544: "When I advised The union ranks, impelled by the Dept. of Justice to drop all

> (Continued on page 5) charges against the 28 defendants

ADMISSIONS SHOW TOBIN'S ROLE

> These three facts, reluctantly admitted by the government's own witness, prove to the hilt the contention of the defense that this trial was instigated by AFL Tobin against the militant lead. ers of Local 544.

What the defense did not know, nowever, until these admissions were drawn from Harris, was that the Tobin-FBI collaboration against the union had begun simultaneously with the very beginning of the attack by Tobin's Committee of 100 against the

Local 544 leadership. The Committee of 100 filed charges with Tobin against the leaders of Local 544, and these charges were the pretext on which Tobin in June appointed a receiver to take over the union. This move of Tobin was answered on June 9 by an overwhelming majority vote of the Local 544 membership to disaffiliate from Tobin's Teamsters and accept a charter from the CIO.

Four days after this vote Tobin, on June 13, telegraphed President Roosevelt, asking him for help against Local 544-CIO. Tobin's telegram said: "The withdrawal from the International Union by the truckdrivers union. Local 544 and one other small union in Minneapolis, and their affiliation with the CIO is indeed a regrettable and dangerous condition. The officers of this local union. . . must be in some way prevented from pursuing this dangerous course. . ." (New York

Times, June 14, 1941).

In answer to Tobin's telegram, Roosevelt's secretary, Stephen condemning the CIO for charterthe President of Tobin's repre-(Continued on page 2)

off at once regardless of the circumstances.

ployer-government campaign aunion movement.

THE MILITANT

Day By Day Summary Of The Minnesota Trial

Tobin Role In Trial Exposed

(Continued from page 1) Two weeks of prosecution tessentations this morning, he asked timony are now in, and from beme to immediately have the Gov- ginning to end the government's ernment departments and agen- "case" has been a continuous cies interested in this matter no- parade of Tobin agents. Here tified. . ." (New York Times, is the list so far:

June 14, 1941). 1. James Bartlett, Tobin ap-The "government departments pointee as "544"-AFL organizer. and agencies" thus "notified" He is the prosecution's chief witturned out to be the FBI and the ness.

2. Roy Wienecke, Tobin@ap-Department of Justice, which raided the Socialist Workers pointee as "544"-AFL organizer. his membership in the Communist Party headquarters in the Twin Cities on June 27, drew up and as "544"-AFL organizer.

of Omaha Teamsters Local 544-

also Tobin receiver for Minnea-

6. Joe Williams, brother of the

on July 15 guided through a fed- 4. John Novack, "544"-AFL eral grand jury the indictment goon-squad man during the against the 28 SWP and Local months after June 9, when Tobin 544-CIO defendants, and now are was spending money like water . conducting the prosecution in this on thugs for use against Local "sedition" trial. 544-CIO. 5. Walter Stultz, ex-president

Tobin agent Harris' admissions this morning complete the picture: the cynical collaboration of AFL, now serving a term in the Tobin and the FBI in a joint at- federal penitentiary at Sandstone. tempt to destroy militant Local Under cross-questioning he ad-544-CIO by a frame-up against mitted that the Tobin receiver of its leaders and the leaders of the the Omaha local - T. T. Neal, Socialist Workers Party.

Harris further testified that he polis Local "544"-AFL - is payjoined the Socialist Workers Par- ing Stultz's wife a weekly wage ty in the hope that membership and is sending Stultz himself would help him get a job through | money regularly. the Trotskyist leadership of Local 544; that he didn't get the job, late Thomas Williams, founder of and left the party; that he joined the pro-Tobin Committee of 99. the pro-Tobin Committee of 100

7. Mrs. Violet Williams, widow and on April 4 signed an affi- of Thomas Williams. 8. Karl Bath, member of Comdavit for use by Tobin in which he named various leaders of the mittee of 99. union as being alleged members 9. John Majersky, member of





The day began with the prose-| James Bartletto, Herbert Jordan. cution introducing those final John Jonathan. When Bartlett for the year 1938 which had been had him identify a photograph previously passed over to give of himself in a newspaper, the judge and defense time to read caption of which identified him as one John Voitland. But the them.

Prosecution then introduced judge refused to receive the phointo evidence the "Manifesto of | tograph as evidence. the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and Proletarian explaining when and under what before this trial. Revolution" (which was written circumstances he had, as he

that Bartlett, while claiming to But defense questioning devel- ed to testify only after a lapse testified entirely in favor of the ber of the staff of 544; had join- deen to help secure asylum for have left the SWP early in 1940, oped the fact that Bartlett joined of two days after the testimony defense. had nevertheless continued to pay the teamsters union on the sole of Smith and Love of the same Shortly after Goldman began keeping his job; was dropped from salary — Bartlett said he had ployed as a truckdriver by Wal- ed as government witnesses, had adjourned. done so as a "cheap way to buy | fred, Smedberg, whom Bartlett adpeace with the Socialist Workers mitted was an active figure in the Party." Neither of these cynica. Unemployed Councils and who in (and false) tales enhanced the addition, was well-known in Min-

stature of the government's chief neapolis as a leader of the Communist Party during the period witness. when he was "employing" Bart-Bartlett denied that he had met Jacson, assassin who murdered lett and enabling him to get into Trotsky, during his visit to Mex. the teamsters union.

ico.

The judge permitted the jury In general, Bartlett went to and defendants to leave at 3:40 considerable lengths in attempt-P. M. in order to enable the prosing to claim that a period of time ecution to show defense attorneys had elapsed between the time of 3. Tom McCue, Tobin appointee Party and the time he came into to introduce from the Socialist Stultz himself — a federal pris- and present testimony reduced the teamsters' movement. Appeal for the year 1939.

> **Eighth Day** WEDNESDAY, NOV. 5

The session began with the that number of members in Ocudge admitting into evidence, tober, 1917. Bartlett was trying over defendants' objections, a se- to leave the jury with the im- cialist Club, under whose auspices ries of items from various 1939 pression that the Bolsheviks were the Carlson speech was made, had job by defendant Emil Hanson, issues of the Socialist Appeal, in- not followed by a majority. cluding three yarns in Bill Mor-Attempting to prevent defense

gan's "On the Line" column counsel from establishing that which, the judge ruled, "it is for the defendants had built Local 544 the jury to determine whether from 1934 to 1941 into a powerthey were humorous or serious." ful union, Bartlett asserted there

The most significant ruling was | were "also other leaders" and on an editorial entitled "How We named the late Bill Brown as an Can Fight Hitler," advocating ex- example. He denied that Brown propriation of the war industries. had been a member of the So-Judge Joyce ruled that, inasmuch cialist Workers Party. Defense as property is protected from excounsel introduced an obituary propriation without compensation article from the Socialist Appeal by the Fifth Amendment, the ad- by James P. Cannon which idenvocacy of such expropriation tified Bill Brown as a party mem-'suggests" the use of the meth- ber.

ods charged in the indictment. When defense counsel sought to force Bartlett to tell the jury how the union raised wages of the workers from 1934 to 1941, pro-Cross-examination of the chief secution objected that it was irgovernment witness, Tobin payrelevant and the judge sustained roller James Bartlett, then conthe objection.

Under close questioning, Bart-It became clear that the defense lett admitted that he had neither was attacking Bartlett's claim to read nor heard anything by the have left the Communist Party SWP advocating insubordination in 1933, and considered that he in the army. This charge is one was operating for the Stalinists of the main points in the indict-Items from the Socialist Appeal said these were all, the defense in 1935 when he joined Local 544. ment on which the defendants ers Party had "guns and ammu- Next came Charles H. Chalm-

Cross-questioning also brought are being tried. out his constant clashes with the On re-direct questioning, the defendants in the trade union prosecution had its witness testi- been invited to join the SWP, at a session of the Saturday of War", was introduced by the movement, his role as Tobin's $|_{fy}$ - obviously to take the edge agent in seeking the removal of off his previous testimony that the 544 leaders, and his evident the SWP sought to win a major-Bartlett had great difficulty in bias against the defendants long ity - that the SWP considered that "the minority would consti-

Most interesting development tute the apparatus of govern-

his dues - 10 per cent of his basis that he was ostensibly em- Omaha union who, although call- cross-questioning Stultz, court



Government witness Walter | ed an affidavit in April to aid Stultz. upon cross-questioning, Tobin to remove leaders of Local that in 1937 he heard Karl Skog- violence. He was on the stand at turned out to be another Tobin 544. Now is a paid organizer, ap- lund ask the late Senator Lun- session's end. payroller. His wife, he admitted, pointed by Tobin, for AFL Teamis paid a weekly wage by Tobin's sters.

receiver for the Omaha local to Under cross-questioning, conthe exhibits the government plans which Stultz belonged, while tradictions between his affidavit oner at Sandstone - receives a Wieneke to the point where he regular stipend also from Tobin. could recall practically nothing,

The next witness was Frank- and that led to this question and lin F. Page, reporter for the Uni- answer: versity of Minnesota newspaper, Q. (by Mr. Goldman): All you who testified he covered a speech recollect is that they told you there by Grace Carlson at which that "We must overthrow the she advocated, he alleged, the use Government by force, and viol-

of force and violence. Cross-questioning elicited the A. That is right.

.ence?"

fact that spokesmen for the So-Wieneke claimed that he had been pulled off a truck-driving protested by letter to the univercrganizer of Local 544, because sity paper against the distorted he (Wieneke) was supporting story written by witness Page. | the Committee of 99. This was last year. Under cross-question-ANOTHER TOBIN AGENT

Next government witness was ing it developed that Wieneke another Tobin payroller, Roy F. had not had a chauffeur's license Wieneke. He testified he had then and did not know that he had joined the SWP to help him get to have a chauffeur's license to a union job; didn't get the job drive a truck.

and left the party; defendants in Next government witness was private conversation advocated John Novack, goon-squad Tobin force and violence, etc., etc. Wie- payroller, who had been on the neke then became a member of witness stand but a short time the Tobin Committee of 99, sign- when court adjourned for the day.



liams, Tobin agent in Local 544, when court opened. Highlight of his testimony was was the next witness. She testithat a man named Rube - not od that defendants Rose Seiler, otherwise identified either by Felix Morrow and Grace Carlson, Novack or anybody else - told in private conversations, had adnition planted in the walls of ers, head of the Chalmers Oil

Teamsters as a member of a Majersky, member of the Tobin

ed the party to make sure of Leon Trotsky here.

the staff and left the party (and J. Kenney, former Local 544 memjoined the Tobin Committee of | ber, for pointless testimony on 99, the cross-examination brought the Union Defense Guard. His out). Like other government wit- only function was to enable pronesses he testified to hearing secution to argue later that other party members, especially in per- beside Tobin agents have been sonal conversations, advocate use government witnesses. of force and violence.

Then came Henry Harris, Com-Next came Thomas McCue, mittee of 99 member, who gave Tobin appointee as organizer of the usual testimony about defendthe AFL Teamsters, to testify ants advocating use of force and



The day opened with Henry | to the prosecution, his testimony Harris still giving testimony un- being in no way hostile to the der the guidance of prosecution defendants. It was obvious that questions. The big development of the the stand was to enable prosecu-

sel for cross-examination. Search-

ing questions on the connection of the Tobin Committee of 99 with the FBI brought from Harris a (See page 1 story).

After Harris left the stand, the with introduction by the governdence" from various issues of the International

In admitting most of these for ings this afternoon:

TWO IMPORTANT RULINGS 1. He received as evidence, over the objection of defense, an editorial advocating a people's referendum on war or peace. Since the Constitution reserves solely to Congress the right to declare war, said Judge Joyce, advocacy

methods of securing such a referendum. It is up to the jury to brother of the late leader of the by force and violence, or peace-Novack that the Socialist Work- vocated use of force and violence. fully, concluded the judge. churches." Novack claimed he had Burner Company, to testify that, Tom Wintringham's "New Ways was unable to explain the con-

prosecution as evidence against and his testimony. the defense, because the Socialist Appeal had reviewed and recom- of the Associated Industries, then mended it for reading by trade | testified that she, at the instrucunionists.

the only reason he was put on day came shortly after Harris tion to claim later that it had was turned over to defense coun- other witnesses beside Tobin agents. Next witness was Fred Bove, member of the pro-Tobin Committee of 99, who testified that V. number of damning admissions. R. Dunne went to Mexico in an

NOVEMBER 15, 1941

The government then put on J.

automobile owned by Local 544. When defense counsel asked rest of the morning was taken up | what relevancy his testimony had, Assistant U. S. Attorney-General ment of numerous items of "evi- | Schweinhaut stated that the indictment charges that defend-Socialist Appeal and the Fourth ants sought control of unions for revolutionary purposes, and that charge is substantiated by proof submission to the jury, Judge that V. R. Dunne could use a Joyce made two significant rul- union car to get to see Trotsky! Next witness was Eugene F. Gleason, who identified himself as a reporter for the Cleveland Plain Dealer, who covered a meeting addressed by Grace Carl-

son in Cleveland on January 12, 1941. Gleason alleged he heard Dr. Carlson advocate use of "armed force" against the governof such a referendum by the peo- ment. Gleason had also been a ple suggests "revolutionary" grand jury witness. Next witness was Joe Williams.

decide whether this would be done Tobin forces in Local 544. After he testified, he was confronted with a copy of an affidavit he had 2. One of the popularly-priced signed for Tobin against the Lobooks issued by Penguin Books, cal 544 leaders last April, and

Myrtle Levenius, an employee tions of her office, had purchased The book was written for read- a Declaration of Principles

Lunch Club in 1936, V. R. Dunne Cross-questioning brought out | was the speaker and had advothat Novack had been employed cated "revolutionary struggle." by the Tobin receiver of the AFL Prosecution then put on John C.

squad, when Local 544 seceded Committee of 99, who testified

by Trotsky death).

tion then read sections to the fall of 1936. jury. BARTLETT'S

shortly

An interesting incident occurred CONTRADICTIONS while Prosecutor Anderson was reading. One juror, Glenn W. Ross, Minneapolis lumber com- leaving the Communist Party was a majority. us before."

Goldman explained that the same excerpts had been read by the prosecution to the jury from Farrell Dobbs' pamphlet, "Trade Union Problems."

The prosecution laid particular stress this second time on sections of the fulletin which opposed arbitration of basic issues between unions and bosses.

Two internal bulletins, containing both sides of the dispute with the petty-bourgeois minority on the Russian question in 1939 were introduced by the prosecution. Goldman objected on grounds of irrelevancy, but the judge overruled him.

BARTLETT WENT **TO THE FBI**

Bartlett testified - obviously In order to forestall cross-questioning to come from the defense three years of party membership, - that he had gone to the FBI was that he had "discovered" in February or March of this that it advocated the use of force year, shortly after he had joined in and violence! forming a "Committee of 99" Local 544. defense attorneys.

before his claimed, left the Communist Par- in his cross-examination was the ment. ty. He gave the date of the mid- breaking down of the comic-opera

BARTLETT'S RELATION

TO THE SWP

tinued.

Prosecution witness Bartlett dle of 1933, but defense question- picture of revolution that Bart- THE WITNESS STULTZ took the stand again, and identi- ing made it plain that, if Bart- lett had outlined previously under

that he had read, before joining revolution with 160,000 members force and violence. Although

Manifesto" and Lenin's "State and Revolution" and that these books advocated the use of force and violence against the government;

that he had joined the Communist Party thereafter, became active as a speaker and unemployed

government, that the reason he MILITANT. had left the Socialist Workers

Party early in 1940, after over

The obvious absurdity of this John Novack, Tobin goon-squad which appealed to AFL Team- tale was so apparent after the man and government witness. And sters Chief Daniel J. Tobin to threads had been drawn together remember that what he is about oust the "radical" leadership of under cross-questioning, that to say, the government already Bartlett tried to shift his ground. knows; the prosecutors have gone

At 11:30 A. M. the government He went on to assert that he over his testimony with him, not was his name. finally concluded with the "evi- had joined the SWP in 1936 only once but many times! He is telldence" of its principal witness because Vinceut R. Dunne had ing what a man named Rube know he was a Party member? and Bartlett was subjected to a made party membership a condi- said. Who is Rube? Neither this systematic cross-examination by tion before the growing General witness nor any other ever iden-Drivers Union would aid Bartlett tifies him. Prosecutor Anderson that.

It was brought out that Bart- in establishing a newly-founded is putting the questions, Novack lett had been known under nu- Warehousemen's Union. When is answering: merous aliases: James Bartolotto, further questioning brought out Q: And was anything said in

Walter Stultz was the next fied Joseph Hansen's pamphlet, lett had left the C. P. then, he guidance of the prosecutor. Now government witness. He had been "Wall Street's War, Not Ours" as had done so on the friendliest he was drawn to describe revolu- a member of the executive board one he had purchased. He also basis. It was indicated that tion as being, as the Declaration and president of Omaha Teamsters identified an internal bulletin on among Minneapolis trade union of Principles states, preceded by Local 554 when five of the six "Trade Union Problems." Both ists, Bartlett was suspected as a the winning of a decisive major- other members were SWP memwere made evidence. The prosecu- Stalinist at least as late as the ity; that preceding revolution, in bers. His testimony primarily the SWP theory, are a whole seconcerned defendant Al Russell. ries of pre-conditions - mass un- Stultz testified he had been hos-

employment, economic collapse tile to Russell, had opposed him after war, mass discontent, etc. when he ran for the executive Bartlett's asserted reason for - which make possible winning board, had denounced him to the

membership of the union as a pany sales manager, asked the particularly contradictory with Bartlett attempted to counter Trotskyist (but Russell was elecjudge: "May I speak?" When per- his story about why he now de- these admissions of his by assert- ted anyway); nevertheless, Rusmission was granted, the juror nounces the Trotskyists. Under ing that V. R. Dunne had implied sell privately confided in him that tacle that, upon motion by desaid: "He read those things to cross-questioning Bartlett said that the party could make the the party was planning to use fense to strike out all his testi-

the Communist Party in 1932, or so, on the analogy of the Rus- Stultz had been in the court build- tifying.



MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 7 — It the clubroom at the Federal ber because he was helping orleader, and left it in 1933 when is impossible to describe in words Workers Section (of Local 544) ganize the youth section which he realized that the C. P. advo- the faces, appearance, character, about whether there was any am- was part of the Federal Workers cated the use of force and viol- of the government's witnesses in munition available, stored any- Section of 544. MR. ANDERSON: The youth (ence. Then, more than three this "sedition" trial. One has to where? section of the union, 544? years later, in 1936 he joined the see them, parading into the wit- A: Well, this other fellow, Rube, MR. GOLDMAN: I object to said, "You would be surprised at Socialist Workers Party; he ad- ness stand, to realize what the mitted to knowing from the first government's "evidence" amounts what we have. We have ammuni- (prosecution) counsel putting words into his mouth. that the SWP was Marxist and to. A partial substitute for seeing tion ... " Q: What youth section was Leninist; then was confronted them would be to read their ver-DEFENSE ATT'Y GOLDMAN: Rube organizing? with the statement he had made, batim testimony. But that would That is objected to, your Honor. A: The youth section. early in his testimony for the take up whole volumes of THE I do not know why we should be Q: Of what group or organbound by somebody by the name Here, however, is a sample of of Rube. We do not know who ization? A: Well, of the Party. their testimony, which will give it was. Q: All right. What did Rube Q: Do you know whether Rube you an idea what is going on in say? was a Party member? this courtroom in Minneapolis. A: He says, "You would be sur-A: Yes, he was. The witness who is speaking is prised how well we are fixed." He MR. GOLDMAN: Rube who? said. "We have guns and ammu-THE WITNESS: I said I don't nition planted in the walls of know his name. churches. We have bullets that MR. ANDERSON: Rubinsky? will go through an inch and a THE WITNESS: Yes, Rubinsky half or two inches of armor plate, which is better than the United

States Army can do." MR. GOLDMAN: How does he fair, or was it a serious argu-THE COURT: I don't know. THE WITNESS: I can answer ment?

THE COURT: Go ahead and joking, but the way he said it, it was kind of serious. He was answer it. A: I knew he was a Party mem- serious about it.

The next government witness was Ernest L. Matt, better known revolution. around Plymouth Avenue as Dee-Horn. He, too, told about Rube. But he was such a besotted specmony, he was excused from tes-

Q: Well, was this a joking af-

A: Well, he might have been

but had not.

by the judge.

Marx and Engels' "Communist sian Bolshevik party which had ing for several days, he was call- Elizabeth Humpfner, sweet-

from the AFL. Asked, "Were you he had joined the Socialist Work- ing by the civilian population of pamphlet at the SWP bookshop. a member of the AFL goon ers Party at the urging of Thom- England to aid it in participating Associated Industries is the emsquad?" Novack drew a laugh as Williams, believing it would in defending the country against ployers' organization, bitter enefrom the courtroom when he de- help him get a union job; he didn't a Nazi invasion. Judge Joyce my of Local 544. The witness demurely asked: "What is a goon get the job, and quit the party. ruled that the 'Socialist Appeal' nied she was in the office when squad?" Novack insisted merely He testified that the 544 Union review, because it stated that the Associated Industries gave its on calling it "the squad". When Defense Guard engaged in target | Wintringham's military advice file on the union to the FBI. defense counsel Goldman asked practice; identified various def-Novack how much he was paid endants as party members; denied for "squad" work, the prosecu- that the Silver Shirts were known made both the review AND THE | when the day closed. tion objected and was supported to be threatening the union when BOOK admissible as evidence

the guard was formed; testified that party members advocated

was useful to unions in the fight | Violet Williams, widow of Toagainst American fascist bands, bin's agent, was on the stand Judge Joyce, announcing to the

jury that court would not be in against the defendants. session tomorrow (Armistice The government put witness Chris Moe on the stand. A form- | Day), made a short speech on

Karl Bath testified he had been | er member of the Socialist Work- | the solemn significance of that for three months in 1938 a mem- ers Party, Moe was of no value holiday.

CALARTER CONTRACTOR CO

MARXIST SCHOOL

FALL TERM 1941 To be held at

Irving Plaza

Irving Place and Fifteenth Street, N. Y. C.

EVERY MONDAY, 7:10 to 8:40 HISTORY OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH INTERNATIONALS

Instructor: LYDIA BEIDEL

EVERY MONDAY, 8:50 to 10:20 PROBLEMS OF WORLD WAR II AND THE TRANSITION **PROGRAM OF TROTSKYISM** Six lecture symposium (one lecture each week) NOVEMBER 17: WILLIAM F. WARDE: AMERICAN IMPERIALISM'S

DRIVE FOR WORLD CONQUEST

EVERY WEDNESDAY, 7:10 to 8:40 THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN **AMERICAN HISTORY** Instructor: WILLIAM F. WARDE

EVERY WEDNESDAY, 8:50 to 10:20 AMERICAN UNIONISM TODAY Instructor: **C. CHARLES**

FEES: \$1.00 for each course of 6 lectures each, or 25c for single lectures. **REGISTER: 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK**

and a service of the service of the

NOVEMBER 15, 1941

THE MILITANT

MEAL-TIME FOR THE 28 AT THE MINNEAPOLIS SWP HEADQUARTERS



Exchanging views on the trial while enjoying a tasty meal are (left to right) defendants Alfred Russell, Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Labor Secretary, M. J. Myers of Chicago, defense attorney, and defendant Mrs. Dorothy Schultz, organizer for the St. Paul SWP branch.

Over the coffee cups trial plans are being discussed by: (left to right) Harold Swanson, Felix Morrow, Editor of the 'Militant', Oscar Coover, Minneapolis Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, Dr. Grace Carlson, and Carl Kuehn, all defendants.



Albert Goldman, defense counsel and defendant (left), goes over some points of the trial with Mrs. Carlos Hudson, and defendants Carlos Hudson, editor of the Local 544-CIO Industrial Organizer, and Miles Dunne, Local 544 president. (All pictures on this page These two "seditious conspirators" appear to have enjoyed their meal. They are (left) Harry DeBoer, Local 544 member, and James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary.

(All pictures on this page are reproduced through the courtesy of the St. Paul Dispatch Pioneer Press).

Looking over press clippings of the trial posted on the Minneapolis SWP headquarters bulletin board are four of the kitchen committee which prepares two meals daily. They are (left to right) Elaine Roseland, Julia Rubich, Mrs. Betty Morrow and Mrs. H. DeBoer.

'Our Party's Answer To The Prosecution'

The following excerpts from the main report delivered by Comrade James P. Cannon at the Socialist Workers Party Plenum-Active Workers Conference in Chicago, October 11-12, 1941, are printed here as a timely evaluation of the federal prosecution of 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO, and the party's answer to it.

Comrade Chairman and Comrades:

To judge by the turn-out we have here for this Active Workers Conference, if Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Biddle thought that by indicting a few members of the Party they were going to scare the rest, they made a miserable failure to start with. The Trotskyists don't scare very easily. When we undertook to organize a revolutionary movement to overthrow capitalism, we took it for granted that along the road we would have to be prepared to take a few blows. The real test of a workers party is its ability to stand up under the attempts of the class enemy to intimidate it and to scare it out of existence. The Socialist Workers Party will stand up.

This is by far the best gathering we have had in the entire thirteen years since we founded the original nucleus of American Trotskyism in 1928. Not only is it the best showing in numbers but also in spirit and enthusiasm, in unity within our ranks, and in the determination of all the Party members and leaders to respond to the demands of the new situation with greater efforts and sacrifices, firmer discipline, and devotion to the party.

One time, so the legend goes, there was a very spirited conference of the pioneer Communists in the early days of the Com-

James P. Cannon's Speech At The Plenum-Active Workers Conference In Chicago, Oct. 11-12, 1941

munist Party. One delegate got so enthusiastic that he stood up and said, "Comrade Chairman, I make a motion that this conference go down in history." Well, I am sure that this conference will go down in history without a motion to that effect. It marks a turning point, a new stage in the growth and development and integration of the invincible movement of the Fourth International in the United States. Nothing can break this Party because it is founded on the solid rock of Marxism; it is inspired by the spirit of its great teacher and leader, Comrade Trotsky, and is marching forward in his spirit. This Party is not afraid of anything or anybody. We can dish it out, as the saying goes, and we can take it, too. Biddle will find that out, and so will Roosevelt, and so will Tobin and all the little lackeys of these conspirators against the rights and interests of the workers.

I presume you have had an opportunity to study the resolution adopted and presented for your consideration by the National Committee. This is not a general economic and political survey but rather a special resolution to the occasion. The resolution undertakes to set forth, point by point, those specific concrete tasks imposed upon the Party by the present situation arising out of the developments of the war and the federal prosecution of a number of our people. Trotskyists are bearers of a glorious name. They feel obliged to make their deeds match their words.

WHY THEY SINGLE US OUT FIRST

The prosecution really, to put it on its right foundation, is a prosecution of our Party because we remain loyal in time of war to the principles which we expounded in time of peace. This prosecution is a great new event. We are the first section of the working class to be singled out for prosecution. And not by some ignorant local prosecutor, not by some over-enthusiastic provincial jingo, but by the federal government itself at the direct instigation of the president of the United States. This is the fact. And this fact puts our Party right in the very center of the political situation in this country. It will remain there without question of a doubt because this prosecution will drag out a long time, and it will echo for a longer time through the ranks of the American people.

The blow aimed against us — and it is a real blow; a deliberate and determined attempt to imprison 28 people for terms of years and to intimidate the others — such a blow can either make or break the Party, depending on how we meet it. If we stand up and fight, regardless of the consequences; if we take the necessary risks, hold firm to our principles, use the trial for an aggressive defense of our principles — then our Party is bound to grow in prestige, in influence, and in membership, in spite of anything that may happen to some individuals involved. But if the Party tries to be clever, to run away, to disavow its principles under fire of the enemy, then the Party would be everlastingly doomed.

The political resolution which you have before you is designed to guide the Party. It is your task here as members of the Conference, in considering the resolution, to understand that we are giving the answer to all the party members and sympathizers, and to the working class generally, as to just what the Trotskyist Party is going to do in the next period.

OUR POLICY IN THE COURT ROOM

First of all we take up the question of the policy in court. We lay down in the resolution, clearly and categorically, that the policy, which is obligatory upon all Party members involved, is not to renounce, not to water down the revolutionary doctrines of our Party, but to defend them openly and militantly in court. That is the only program possible for us. When we are called to the witness stand to answer whether we did conspire to overthrow the government with armed force in the immediate future, we shall undertake to tell just what the Party stands for and what it aims to do today and tomorrow. If we succeed in carrying out this program we will transform that courtoom, which is designed by our persecutors to be the scene of intimidation and terror for the Party — we will transform it into a forum, into a sounding board from which we speak to the people of the United States about the program of our Party.

That is the court policy laid down in the resolution, and I think it will be accepted unanimously by the Conference, by the Party, and by the party members among the defendants involved. And we should go further, too, even in this detail, in my opinion, and lay down lines of procedure for the comrades involved in the trial. That is, like Trotskyists in all situations wherever they may be, wherever two or more are gathered together, they act as one. All questions of procedure and policy, decisions that have to be made on the spot, are made in meetings after discussion, and in cases of differences of opinion, the vote is taken and the majority prevails. That is the way a serious party machine works everywhere and under all circumstances and must do there.

They have a wonderful plan up there in Minneapolis where they have a fine Party headquarters with ample facilities. They are working out a plan for community feeding of the delegates — pardon me, the defendants. This system of community feeding, which we instituted last year at the Active Workers Conference and have again repeated this year, works out very well in keeping comrades together and promoting a good feeling among them. Twice a day in the commodious party headquarters the defendants will be gathered together for their meals, for lunch and dinner, which will be furnished by the defense committee. The party headquarters will also provide the necessary facilities and rooms

WHY THEY PROSECUTE OUR PARTY

Of course, this prosecution, as everybody knows, had its immediate initiation in the trade union fight in Minneapolis. But that trade union fight in Minneapolis was not just a trade union fight. It had its roots in the war situation. The conflict, as is pointed out in the resolution, and as is well-known to all of us, between the Trotskyist leaders of 544 and Tobin, the war-mongering international president of the teamsters union, didn't grow up out of incidental trade union questions. The fight came to a head over the fundamental question of the conduct of trade union leaders in time of imperialist war. All over the country the labor lieutemants of the capitalist class have succeeded in pushing local trade union leaders into line for the war. They pushed over the Socialist Party trade unionists, without difficulty, like so many nine-pins. The Stalinists are on the band wagon, and so are the so-called "pregressives" and "radicals". But they couldn't line up the Trotskyists. Why? Because they are people of a different breed; they are people of an entirely different type. The Trotskyists don't line up for war after they have said in time of peace that they are going to eppose the war. The

(Continued on Page 4)

NOVEMBER 15, 1941

'Our Party's Answer To The Prosecution'

(Continued from page 3)

for meetings of the defendants, social affairs, committee meetings and so on. Thus, from the beginning of the trial to the very end, the party defendants will be confronting their enemies as a solidly organized body, always together, always united, always striking in the same direction. That is the Trotskyist way.

ATTITUDE TO THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Another aspect of the defense is the organization of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. I am sure everybody in the Party appreciates in the highest degree the work that has already been done by the people in charge of this committee. We are all grateful to the distinguished and celebrated men and women who have constituted themselves as officers and members of the committee. I note with appreciation that my old and esteemed friend, Carlo Tresca, is there, as always, in the front ranks of the fight for justice. Margaret DeSilver is there, worthily bearing the honored name of the war-time fighter for civil liberties, Albert DeSilver.

In agreement with us the Civil Rights Defense Committee has taken upon itself certain definite and limited functions. It will undertake to provide funds for the legal expenses of the trial. We must not overlook any possibilities to protect the legal rights and interests of the defendants. This costs a lot of money. We will have to help the Civil Rights Defense Committee to raise it. The other task of the committee is to secure publicity and create favorable public sentiment for the defendants in every possible way. The functions of the defense committees are limited to these two points.

The policy of the defense is determined by the party in cooperation with the defendants. We cannot transform the party into a defense organization. The Party goes ahead with all its political and organizational work and tries to make such a distribution of the resources of our movement, between the necessary legal expenses and the necessary expenses of keeping the Party functioning, that neither is neglected.

You hear a lot of chatter from some of the radical petty bourgeois opponents of our movement about the necessity of a "broad united front" for defense. Don't take these windbags seriously. Nobody needs to agitate us about the importance of united front formations when it is possible to get substantial or-

ganizations to take serious action. But we certainly don't intend, under the formula of united front, to permit the legal defense committee to be transformed into a forum for all kinds of factional disputes between all kinds of jangling groups. We want a defense committee that is a working body, that takes its defense tasks seriously and doesn't attempt to become a political organization or a debating society. Anybody willing to participate with us and help us in good faith along that line, in the committee which has been established, is certainly welcome to come along and help us. But if others, whose sincerity is suspect. think for a minute that we will permit them to make a factional football out of the defense of our case, they will be promptly called to order. We have a certain stake in the matter, namely, our heads. This gives us a right to some say about the procedure.

We would like to have a great conference of labor organizations supporting our defense, but it is utopian to think we merely have to proclaim it in order to get it. There is no possibility in the present state of affairs in the labor movement to enlist many important workers' organizations actively in our support. The Stalinists are not in favor of our defense. They are in favor of our prosecution. They give Roosevelt and Biddle critical support, friendly advice. They advise them to change the indictment, accuse us of being Nazi spies and make it a little bit stiffer for us. Is anybody here fool enough to think the Socialist Party wants to help us? The Socialist Party will piously announce its support of civil liberties in general and let it go at that. If you pass the hat around, they will, maybe, give you two bits. Even then you had better bite the coin to make sure it isn't counterfeit. The trade unions on the whole, up to now, are not bestirred to help the most extreme and persecuted revolutionary group in the country, the Trotskyists.

So we have to go along with this kind of committee of prominent individuals which has been set up. Later on, it is quite possible that with the further progress of the case and further developments in the labor movement, a real basis of support for the defendants can be established in the trade unions and supporting conferences organized in defense of our people. When such a possibility arises we will be the first to recognize it and the first to grasp it. But in the present situation we do not run after utopian programs and do not want to be bothered with such proposals.

IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING OUR LEGAL FUNCTIONING

I come now to the point which is stressed in the resolution and which I want to elaborate particularly here. What shall be the general attitude to the Party in the event of a successful prosecution, that is, in the event of a conviction of the defendants involved in this case? Shall we accept this as a proclamation that our Party is illegal, withdraw from the public scene, close down our offices and establish underground corners and places of hiding, etc.?

That would be, in the opinion of the National Committee, the greatest mistake. We don't intend to surrender our possibilities of legal functioning at the very first blow. In spite of all they say, we are not "conspirators". We are a political movement and we want to work in the open. The advantages of public activity, agitation, propaganda and organization are so superior and so much more economical than similar work carried out by illegal and underground means that a serious revolutionary party has to fight to the last ditch to maintain its legal rights.

I mentioned some weeks ago to the Political Committee the experiences of 1919, the post-war period. There was a tremendous wave of reaction stemming out of Washington under Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer, the Biddle of his day. The Communist parties were no sooner organized - there were two of them; they began with a split, the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party - they were no sooner organized than Palmer's persecution began. Palmer's agents arrested all the leaders they could find in one part of the country or another; there was hardly a leader of the movement who wasn't under indictment. They staged raids on the meetings and arrested scores and hundreds of members within the space of two or three days. Under the impact of those blows, and under the influence of some leaders who were by no means cowards but who tended to draw their conclusions from the experiences in Russia where there never had been any democratic liberty, the parties automatically accepted an illegal status. They withdrew to the underground and stayed there two or three years, attempting to function with all the' limitations and difficulties and multiplied expenses of illegal work.

ple seem to think there is romanticism, combined with safety, in an underground organization. When we finally found the possibility of restoring the legal functioning of our pioneer Communist movement in 1922 and 1923, we met with a great deal of resistance from various types of underground fanatics who wanted to stay underground out of habit and on principle.

We had a big battle over this question in Moscow. I was a delegate of the "liquidators" faction - that is, the faction which wanted to "liquidate" the underground party and form a legal organization - to the Third International in 1922. It was due to the intervention of Trotsky in the first place, then of Lenin and Zinoviev, that we finally got support for our program of legalizing the movement. In the course of the discussions Zinoviev told a story about some underground fanatics in the Russian movement who had become so accustomed to conspiring under the Czar that they wanted to keep it up after the Czar was gone. Even after the Bolsheviks took power, said Zinoviev, they had a woman in the party who used to go around with a false passport. She didn't feel comfortable without it. We will have to find our way between the possibilities and the necessities, and try in every case to make the best of it: that is, to do those things and take those steps which make it possible for us to survive as an organization and have the greatest possible freedom of action.

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AID OUR FIGHT FOR LEGALITY

One of the ways pointed out in the resolution to facilitate our fight to maintain our legal existence is participation in election campaigns. You all know about the 1940 election campaign in Minnesota. That was one of the celebrated things of our conference last year. The campaign of Comrade Grace Carlson for Senator and the sizeable vote she received were certainly a great help and inspiration for the whole party. You have learned about the perennial election races of George Breitman in Newark, until they are beginning to call him a chronic office-seeker. Breitman is running again this year. And this example finally caught hold in New York, and, as you know, I stand before you today requesting your suffrage in my capacity as candidate for Mayor of New York. And if elected. . . ! It is one of the greatest things that ever happened in the party, that the reaction of the New York party organization to our indictment was not to run for cover but to go out in the open, in the election campaign, with the banner of the indicted comrades. And they went out night and day, for weeks on end, and collected more than 15,000 individual signatures on the petitions. They must have interviewed not less than 100.000 people: and in almost every case there was the occasion to argue why they should sign, to tell them about the case in Minnesota and what our Party stands for. I venture to say more propaganda, more agitation, for Trotskyism was carried out in concentrated form in those weeks of the petition campaign than ever before, by many times, in New York. Now it appears that we have the petition filed with more than double the required amount of signatures. The first three days have elapsed without challenge and the indications are that we will be on the ballot in New York. This is an excellent means of propaganda and agitation and of struggle to maintain legality. Our campaign in New York acquires exceptional significance now because of an account in today's paper that the Stalinists have withdrawn their candidate in order to help LaGuardia. That's all right with us too. It means that the possibility can be created for our Party, for the first time in New York, to rally around itself a real mass of militant anti-war workers, This is a form of activity that must be emphasized more in the next period. Many comrades seem to take it for granted that we can't get on the ballot. We can't unless we work. We can do it in Newark; we can do it in Minnesota; now it has been demonstrated that we can do it in New York. It took us thirteen years to accomplish it. For thirteen years we thought we couldn't do it, but once this new group of young leaders in New York took hold of things, they organized the party to go out and get the signatures and put the party on the ballot. Let us think more seriously about election campaigns, particularly now in the light of our determined struggle to function legally as long as possible. The Party, in order to prepare itself for this blow and others yet to come, should get a word from the Conference, which is contained in the resolution, about the internal preparation of the Party. Some of the leading people of the Party are put face to face with the prospect of prison terms; other activists in the Party ranks may be confronted in the future with the same prospect. We have to ask ourselves, what does it take to enable men to stand up in the face of tests of this kind? Does it take courage? Courage has many kinds. Some kinds of courage, ordinary human courage, are by no means adequate for such tests as these.

three-four years in prison. But only a small percentage of those IWW militants continued their activity for any length of time after their release from prison. A very small percentage. And that was by no means because they were poor material. On the contrary, they were first class material, very good and courageous people. What the IWW men in prison lacked was a theoretical understanding and historical outlook that could sustain them under the pressure of the defeats of the day, looking forward to the horizon of the future. The complexities of the war overwhelmed most of those who had nothing in the way of equipment except the all-too simple syndicalist philosophy.

In order for one to withstand persecution over a long period of time, he has got to have a theoretical understanding, an historical outlook and a firm conviction that history is working on his side. He must believe he is serving a great cause whose victory is assured. This conviction will sustain us against all the blows of the class enemy in the years to come. And that is why we must devote special attention now to the new cadres of youth who are coming to us - that we educate them in the principles of Marxism; teach them the history and tradition of Bolshevism; and help them to acquire an historical point of view, which is the point of view of Bolshevism.

In general, the Party in response to the new tests and the new tasks must of necessity be drawn tighter together, become more disciplined, demand more of its members, and particularly of its leaders. We cannot build a party and lead a revolution merely with clever leaders. In order to be a leader of the revolutionary labor movement, one must have Bolshevism in his blood. The leaders must have 'demanded of them that they set the example all the time before the Party. The comrades must see the leaders always and everywhere out in front, not merely making speeches, but in tests and sacrifices. Only such leaders can have the authority and win the confidence of the rank and file of the Party. The party must have leaders worthy of trust.

EDUCATION WILL STRENGTHEN THE PARTY

There is a section in the resolution about the internal preparation of the Party. This section should be taken very seriously and reported at length to the branches on the return of the delegates. We must do more systematic educational work, not only for the rank and file and new recruits, but also for the second cadre of leaders who are coming up.

We have even talked in the Committee several times lately about the necessity of systematic study work on the part of our field organizers, as part of their duties. There should grow up an atmosphere in the Party that the Party expects a field organizer to be an educated Marxist; and that systematic study is part of his duties in the field. A certain number of hours of the day he should be assigned by the National Committee to retire to the library and study the theoretical works of Marxism and report on the progress of his studies. He should be paid for this activity by the National Committee as part of his functions as organizer in the field. We should eventually approximate the standard that all the leaders of the Party, in the field as well as in the center, are informed Marxists. They will understand their philosophy, their doctrine and their history, and they will communicate this respectful attitude toward theory and history to the rank and file of the Party. Thereby the level of the organization will rise, and its ability to withstand the attacks of the class enemy will be greater.

They had a campaign of this kind once in the Comintern, along about 1924-25. The Communist International was swelled by the affiliation of parties in the various countries which had come over from the social democracy, and these parties were in different stages of political development. They had formally adopted the Bolshevik program but they were far from being Bolshevik parties. The Comintern worked out a program under a slogan called the "Bolshevization" of the party. The original aim, as announced, was to initiate a concentrated campaign of explanation and study of the history and principles of Bolshevism to aid in the assimilation of these new people into the Bolshevik current.

But, like every other good project of the Comintern as it fell more and more into the hands of Stalin, this excellent conmembership should be so educated, and the leading people so selected, that the Party will remain firm under every test which may confront it.

It is now my duty — and, God helping me, I always try to do my duty - to speak for a moment under the heading, "The Balance Sheet of the Split with the Petty Bourgeois Opposition." This of course, has nothing to do with the events of problems of today. It is like raking up last year's leaves. The split was carried out, as you remember, by them, in spite of the extraordinary concessions, the unprecedented concessions, made by the majority in order to permit them to remain in the Party. We made only one demand upon them: that they respect the decisions of the Convention and obey the discipline of the Party. Trotsky said they had a profound social impulse to separate themselves from the proletarian majority. From the point of view of every political experience their split couldn't be justified anywhere, but they felt compelled to break at any cost. When, a short time later, Burnham, the leader and inspirer of that whole contemptible faction, completely repudiated socialism and the workers' movement, we could see how really profound their social impulse to break from the proletarian majority really was.

It is a crime to break the unity of the revolutionary party. Not a few of the honest comrades who were duped into the split by Burnham and Shachtman are beginning to repent it and to re-examine the question of who was responsible for the split. They can find only one answer: the leaders of the petty bourgeois faction were wholly and completely responsible. They say they were expelled against their will by the bureaucratic action of the Political Committee. That was along in the latter part of April, last year. Then a few months later, you remember, we had the Plenum and Active Workers Conference in Chicago. The time and place of the Plenum-Conference was announced in the press and known to the expelled leaders of the opposition. If they had been put out of the Party only because of bureaucratic action of the Political Committee their next procedure was to appeal to the Plenum, and to apear before the Plenum and the Conference in defense of their appeal, which they had a right to do under the party constitution. But they made no appeal.

Why? Because they didn't want to be reinstated into the party of Trotskyism on any terms.

After every bureaucratically engineered split I have seen in the past there unfailingly arose in the ranks of the Party a criticism against the leadership for having expelled party members unjustly. And, thereafter, when the bureaucratic leaders got into difficulties, and when they would appeal for money to finance the Party, the opposition would say, the Party is in difficulties, the Party is broke, because of the expulsions. There is an endless opposition around the heads of bureaucrats who force a split not politically motivated. That is a political law.

But we have not had in our ranks, from the time of the split a year and a half ago up till today, a single branch or individual who raised a reproach against the leadership for the expulsion of the petty bourgeois opposition. One hundred or so comrades at last year's Conference voted unanimously to confirm the expulsion and make an end of it. You have here approximately 150 delegates this year. I don't think a single one present wants to reopen the question.

THE KIND OF UNITY WE WANT

It was a socially motivated split on both sides. It was a split of the petty bourgeois elements from the proletarian. We didn't force the split, but we gained by it. Our Party, from the very first day, went forward after that split. Our activities, our press, our organization, our finances, our morale and our general digestion is a lot better ever since the petty bourgeois opposition walked out on us. In the light of the experiences of the past year and one half, one must say that of all of the splits in the history of our international movement — and there have been many of them, good, bad and indifferent - the best split that ever came down the pike was the split between the proletarian majority and the petty bourgeois opposition. There cannot be any semblance of conciliation toward them.

This does not mean we are not going to have some of the

EXPERIENCES OF THE POST-WAR PERIOD

A peculiar thing happened in connection with those events. Some judge - I forget the name - who had a case before him, proclaimed the Communist Party an illegal organization, and the party accepted his decision. But in another case, for some reason or other, some quirk in the judge's mind, he announced that the Communist Labor Party was a legal organization. This should at least have been the signal for the Communist Labor Party to say, "Thank you, Judge," and to open up its headquarters again. But instead of that, they considered the pronouncement an affront to their revolutionary integrity, a discrimination against them, and they issued a statement saying in effect: "By God, we are just as illegal as the Communist Party." And they remained "underground" on principle.

At the first underground unity convention in Bridgeman, Michigan - not the famous one in 1923, but in 1920 - when drawing up the constitution of the organization, the left-wingers insisted on having it stated in the constitution, "The Communist Party is an underground, illegal organization," so that there would be no doubt about it. In the light of later developments that attitude must be regarded as a mistake. The party was compelled later on to conduct an intensive struggle to regain its right to function legally, and in the course of several years, by experimenting with one form of organization and another, it succeeded in gradually extending its public activities. There was a change in the administration at Washington, and eventually the party restored its legal functioning although the laws remained the same as before.

In the United States, up to now, they have never worked out a formula to proscribe an organization as such. There is no reason why we should do it for them. We should not accept even a conviction in this case as a signal that the legal public activity of the Party has to cease. It will not be so easy for our enemies, the Roosevelts and the Biddles, to wage a war for "democracy" and suppress free speech altogether. It is not our duty to simplify their task by voluntarily relinquishing our rights. We should continue as far as possible, step by step, resisting at every step, and striving, even at the cost of some casualties, to maintain a legal existence for our movement. I don't, of course, project the perspective of a party of our size being able to resist the whole concentrated weight of American capitalism against us, but we will do the best we can.

They are persecuting us and will continue to persecute us, but we must not immediately begin to develop an underground psychology. There are two sides to that underground psychology, and I have seen both of them in the course of my experience in the movement. One side of it is revolutionary, that is, it is inspired by the impulse to continue functioning in spite of overwhelming persecution. This was the dominating spirit of the Russian Bolsheviks under Czarism. It is the spirit of the comrades of the Fourth International who are working by underground methods in Europe today. On the other hand, some peo-

During the last war a great number of IWW men were sent to the penitentiary, 150 to 200 of them. In the Chicago case alone there were a hundred. These were the leading militants of the IWW and most of them served some years in prison, twocept was perverted and caricaturized and transformed into a struggle against the best Bolsheviks in the Communist International. It became a campaign against Trotskyism. But the idea had an absolutely sound kernel. Trotsky mentioned it in his famous "Lessons of October." He said, there is a great deal of talk about Bolshevization and it is very timely too, but what is Bolshevization? He said, it is such an education of the Party members and such a selection of its leading staff that the Party doesn't leave the track when its opportunity comes. That, I think, is an excellent description of the campaign of internal strengthening which we want to carry out - to the end that the party

WE DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION!

Another point mentioned in the resolution is the defense of the Soviet Union, in reality the biggest problem of all for us today. The most important question, which overshadows by a hundred times the Minnesota trials, is the great military struggle taking place on the territory of Russia today. From all indications, Stalin and his gang are carrying their work to its predestined end. Stalin and Hitler together are dealing the Soviet Union what appears now to be its most catastrophic blow. The bitter truth can no longer be concealed by any blustering. The reality is too glaringly obvious now.

And you can be sure that more than one Stalinist bureaucrat in the United States, more than one careerist who has been serving the Stalin machine because it had power and prestige and money, is already beginning to draw the conclusions from the military defeat of the Soviet Union and looking for his own personal way out. You will see in the next period, if the tide of battle turns more decisively against the Soviet Union, great numbers of these treacherous careerists deserting what they consider the sinking ship and trying to find a place for themselves openly in the camp of American imperialism. They are very happy that they are on the Roosevelt band-wagon now, and there they want to stay.

But it is just such events as are happening now, just such a trend, that will break the hypnosis of the Stalinist rank and file. We musn't lose patience with the Stalinist worker. We must remember that the sentiment by means of which they held him, maneuvered him and deceived him, was his determination to support the Soviet Union, to see in the Soviet Union some new hope in the world. Trotsky remarked in our very last talk with him that new events will break this hypnosis and make the rank and file workers see clearly what kind of leadership they have. These Stalinist workers - the honest and sincere but deluded workers - can't have any place to go except to us, or else into utter despair and disillusionment and inactivity. We should intensify our work among the Stalinists; try to reach them at all costs; fix the responsibility for the catastrophe of the Soviet Union where it really belongs - on the shoulders of Stalin and his gang; and try to win over every possible Stalinist worker to the movement of the Fourth International.

In such an hour as this, we see again how absolutely right were Trotsky and the majority of our party and the International in defending the Soviet Union 'to the very end; in establishing such a clear record that if we have now come to the catastrophe, nobody can justly say that one iota of responsibility clings to the Fourth International. We remain loyal to the Soviet Union in spite of everything, and that gives us the political and moral right to approach the disillusioned Stalinist workers.

. It is not so with the petty-bourgeois elements who deserted

rank and file comrades back. Just as I stand here talking to you I received word from the West Coast that a group of eleven, the backbone of their second largest branch, the Los Angeles branch, is waiting now for their convention, which is supposed to be in progress at the same time as our Conference, to reject their resolution for the defense of the Soviet Union in order to come over in a body to join our Los Angeles branch on the basis of our program. Naturally, they will be welcomed back into our ranks. That is the kind of unity we can entertain with members of the so-called Workers Party. That is the only kind of unity we can have the slightest interest in.

our ranks on account of the Russian question. What position are they in to approach a sincere Stalinist worker who in his heart believed, and believed with justice, that the Soviet Union was a great fortress of the proletariat? Why, these wretched people addressed a leaflet to the Stalinists a couple of months ago in connection with the war turn and they didn't even mention their position on the Soviet Union. They felt so embarrassed and so helpless that they left out all mention of their attitude toward the Soviet-Nazi war.

We, on the other hand, can more and more aggressively, more and more confidently, approach the rank and file Stalinist workers who have believed in the Soviet Union and show them where the responsibility for the catastrophe belongs and lead them, or at least some of them, onto the path of the international revolution under our banner.

In the next period the shooting war may begin. Every day we get closer to it. Every day the effectiveness of agitation simply against war becomes diminished by the fact that more and more we are in the war. After the war starts formally, a mere opposition is not a practical basis of agitation. Then the proletarian military policy, adopted a year ago at our conference, comes to the front as the best practical means of agitation in a situation when the country is formally participating in a war. The demand for government-financed military training under trade union auspices, and for schools to train worker-officers, can be put forward with full confidence. As the experiences of the war develop and unfold, these slogans will get a wider echo and become ever more popular. The influence and the prestige of our party will grow with them.

CONFIDENCE IN THE PARTY

I have given you, comrades, just an outline, a synopsis, of what the National Committee considers to be our most immediate problems and the concrete tasks which must be accomplished by the party members in the next period. I hope the suggestions we have made will meet with your approval. If anyone has a contribution to make - an amendment, or a new proposal - I am sure that during the course of the discussion there will be ample opportunity to bring your ideas to the attention of the conference.

I want to close with the confident assertion that we shall go out of this historic conference firmly united on all important questions, sure of our future, and determined to answer the persecution of our enemies with better work, greater sacrifices, firmer discipline, deeper penetration into the trade unions. We have one common will: Everything for the party! All our work under the direction of the party! Every confidence that with this party and through this party we shall lead the American masses in due time to their liberating revolution!



Negroes and the Unions

One of the great achievements of the CIO, among many others, was that it opened its doors wide to Negro workers, and especially the great bulk of them in the mass industries. This resulted not only in a more effective organization of the basic industries, but it also did much to build up a feeling of solidarity among the white and Negro workers and to greatly increase the pro-union sentiment among the Negro people generally.

Since the organization of the CIO, the Negro workers have been integrated into hundreds of local unions. They have attended their meetings in "peace time" as well as done their full share on the picket lines in time of strike. They have been elected as officers and shop stewards and committeemen and responsible leaders in many shops, even where the Negro workers form only a small part of the membership. More and more Negroes have been selected as national organizers and representatives of their union and sent in to organize new fields. On the whole, the Negro workers in the CIO feel that it is their home, and they belong in it.

But it would not be painting a true picture to let it go at that and say that complete and full equality for the Negro people exists in all the shops that have been unionized, even by the CIO.

By this I do not mean to say that it is the policy of the CIO or its affiliated unions to practice discrimination or segregation against its Negro members. Far from it. If in isolated instances in the CIO such Jim Crow practices are discovered, they are the exception to the rule, and should be reported and exposed and fought against, and undoubtedly the CIO national office would aid in such a fight.

But while there are no, or practically no cases of such open discrimination in the CIO. that does not mean that there are no special problems for the Negro members in many situations. For even if the CIO does not discriminate, the employers and their managers still consider the Negro workers as "inferior" and do not hesitate to go out of their way in giving Negroes the dirtiest and lowest paid jobs and in preventing them from advancing to better and skilled positions.

And often the local leaders of the unions just do not see the problem or its importance. They may mean well and might be the first to protest and propose action to correct this situation - but meanwhile, they are so concerned about other problems, they are so busy that they just don't see this important problem.

Thus, as many Negro workers who have observed this will understand, although the CIO does not practice Jim Crowism, there are special Jim Crow problems which exist which the CIO is not in all cases taking the necessary steps to wipe out.

What is to be done in this situation? It is serious, for as long as it exists, many Negro workers will continue to feel that their white brothers are only paying lip-service to the idea of equality for the Negro workers, and in the end the employers may be able to turn them against the unions.

powerful influence in every ses- convention will reflect this con- force them out of a position of (Continued from page 1) their elementary needs, have re-sion and every committee meet-tradictory situation.

fused to be curbed. ing of the CIO convention. Despite the employer-govern-There are additional reasons ment anti-labor offensive, the CIO why many CIO leaders have hesitated to stifle the minitancy of has solidified itself on every front in the last period, penetrating the membership in the past year. vention debates may appear to be deeply into every key industry base, the leadership has to deexpanding under the impetus of fend the existence of the unions. the war "boom." That is why even the most con-

Opposing Administration attempts to steer their demands servative union leaders want the ClO. closed shop, which they view as into the bog of compulsory arbi-

ers, in defense of their living standards have taken to the dues payments which sustain the bureaucracy. picket lines. By their strike vic-

Secondly, the CIO is based on tories they have entrenched the the mass production workers, who CIO in the basic war industries. The Bethl'm Steel strike smashed war production industries. The through the open shop defenses of CIO is compelled to organize these Little Steel, leading to a succession of CIO victories throughout war production fields to retain its hold in the basic industries. Thus, the entire steel industry which the CIO leaders have been forced brought widespread wage increases.

the anti-labor pro-war govern-The greatest citadel of antiment. union terror, the Ford Motor These considerations, plus the Company, was cracked wide open pressure of the militant rank and by a strike which won a closed file, serve to create rifts between shop contract for the HAW

the CIO leaders and Roosevelt The Ford, Beihlehem and other despite their political surrender major CIO strikes of the past on the war question. year were the result directly of the initiative and militancy of CONTRADICTION ALSO

the workers, who often acted AFFECTS AFL HEADS against the will of the union This contradiction also affects leaders. the leadership of the AFL, al-

Once a UAW drive was begun though not so strongly. William in the mushrooming aircraft in- Green's repeated "no strike" ac. United States entry into the war dustry, the young workers in this monitions and the formal AFL "no and to trade their votes to the field poured into the union. The strike" policy have failed to halt Hillmanites in return for the victorious Vultee strike inspired a succession of AFL strikes. An a wave of militancy among the example of this is the present and influence. aircraft workers. The North building trades strike on Navy American strike, in spite of Roos- projects in Sai Diego. Whether evelt's strikebreaking use of their strikes are sanctioned by Lewis forces. Such a combination industrial unionism. troops, further helped to estab- the top AFL bureaucracy or not, lish the UAW in aircraft. The thousands of AFL machinists, UAW organizing campaigns now naval yard craftsmen and build in progress in major East and ing trades men working on gov-West Coast plants already have ernment war construction are brought new tens of thousands of going on strike. Even a bureauaircraft workers into the CIO. crat like Tobin of the AFL Team-

CIO LEADERS UNDER PRESSURE FROM RANKS

The series of miners' strike victories, the consolidation of the still fear for their positions. CIO in the aluminum, electrical auto industries attest to the irrepressible militancy of the CIO labor bureaucracy to tame Amerithe CIO has won its most glowing to direct governmental repressuccesses in the past year. sions. Most of the delegates to the

coming CIO convention represent forward-moving labor movement

CONTENDING FACTIONS

AT CIO CONVENTION Superficially, however, the con-

First, in order to preserve its centered around the main interests of two contending factionsthat is, a battle for posts and organizational domination of the

The Hillman group represents tration, the mass production work- a guarantee of the continued ex- that section of the CIO leaderistence of the unions - and the ship which is ready to surrender the interests of labor to serve the Morgan-duPont-Pockefeller inter-

ests in the war. These Quislings want to impose on the CIO work are increasingly concentrated in ers Hillman's recent dictum, that OTHER ISSUES BEFORE "the right to strike should be held in abevance."

Opposing the Hillman faction is the Lewis group, which up to now has maintained a more indepeninto one clash after another with dent position toward the government and desires to increase the power of the CIO with the perspective of trading with Roos-

evelt on its own terms In addition to these two main groups, there are the Stalinists. who still represent a considerable

force in the CIG. The Stalinists. as the most frenzied war-mongers, have catapulted from the Lewis war. group to the Hillman group. Their main aims at the convention will

be to gain the adoption of a policy of support for immediate preservation of their present posts

A Stalinist-Hillmanite combinawill guarantee that the convention will go on record in support of Roosevelt's war plans.

LEWIS' POSITION ON THE WAR ISSUE

It is more than likely that Lewis will avoid a head-on clash | unity!"

sters, is forced, as in the Detroit with the Stalinist-Hillmanite Railway Express strike, to move bloc on the war issue. Lewis has cautiously against the strikers. The entrenched AFL bureaucrats It is easy to understand, thereappliance, shipbuilding, oil and fore, why Roosevelt is becoming port a resolution of complete sup- lution has been carried out. With less assured of the ability of the ranks, and underline the fact that can labor and resorts increasingly cated by the fact that Lewis Host fend their own existence, must made barnstorming speeches pendent labor party.

whooping it up for "national de-In the long run, a powerful, the top leadership of interna- is incompatible with the totali- Hillmanites in the expression of sity of adopting a fighting program

dominance. As a result of this, a certain overlapping of the Hillman and Lewis factional lines is possible on organizational questions, provided Lewis goes along on the war issue.

But through all these deals and blocs, the basic issues will intrude themselves on the delegates. They will feel the pressure of the ranks.

None will dare oppose the coninuation of the slogan, "Organize the Unorganized," although, if carried out, this will mean inevitable clashes with the government.

CONVENTION

NATIONAL APPROACH The opposition of the ranks to the flood of anti-labor legislation will find expression at the conthe world working class to resist the vention, and the same union lead-Hitlerite invasion? On the basis that ers who give political support to they must defend their "fatherland!" The Roosevelt, will have to express opposition to his proposed laws war of the Soviet Union is to be taken completely on a national plane. to hamstring labor.

The convention will be forced to speak out against the sharp rise in the cost of living, priorities unemployment and the other acute economic problems which have arisen in consequence of the

The attempts of the Roosevelt administration, acting through Hillman, to force CIO unity with the AFL at the cost of the principle of industrial unionism will undoubtedly be an issue at the convention.

A parade of NLRB polls in which the CIO has been victorition will greatly outweigh the ous proves that the workers want

> At the last CIO convention, CIO President Philip Murray denounced attempts at a "shotgun unity." At this convention, the mandate of the rank and file is even more clear: "No shotgun

Rank and file pressure forced the last CIO convention to adopt no fundamental differences with a resolution for "a program to the more open supporters of the assure an independent political war on the question of "national role for labor." But neither the defense." He will most likely sup | letter nor the spirit of this resoport to the "defense" program, all boss parties united on a strikeaid to Britain, etc. Tois is indi- breaking policy, the unions, to detenants in recent werks neve help initiate and build an inde-

evitably, as predicted by Leon Trotsky, The CIO leadership at this confense," attempting to outdo the vention is faced with the necesto this present invasion by the super-Wrangel? tional unions. Most of these lead- tarian economy Roosevelt requires their patriotism. If Lewis opens that will protect and advance the

HOW STALIN WILL RETURN AID **CIO** Convention Meets As F.D.R. GIVEN HIM BY 'DEMOCRACIES'

He Serves Notice He Will Not Adopt Revolutionary Policy, 'Democrats' Expect His Aid Against Revolts

By JACK WEBER

Workers will look in vain in the two The purpose of all this pure balderdash speeches delivered by Stalin on the anniversary of the Russian Revolution for an answer to the burning question, "How to save the Soviet Union?" His speeches were not intended to answer that question, but rather to explain away the defeats, to justify his criminal course in the past — and to allay the fears of the "democratic" imperialists that the USSR may turn to a revolutionary policy to bring about the defeat of Hitler. His speeches therefore are couched not in the terms and spirit of the Russian Revolution which created the Soviet Un-

ion, but along the lines most acceptable

On what basis, for example,' does he

appeal to the masses of the USSR and

It is in this spirit that the Red Army

soldiers are asked to emulate figures of

the far distant past who helped Russia

become a national state in the period of

its rise under the Czars. The meaning-

less and perfunctory reference to Lenin

serves only to highlight the completely

reactionary spirit of a speech which in

this epoch calls on the workers to pay

their respects to Nevsky. Suvoroff and

Kutuzoff. These figures are utterly

meaningless in our time. Their mention

at the same time as the war of inter-

vention of 1918 serves to place the latter

back in remote history rather than to

give living meaning to the revolutionary

Stalin uses the speech to continue his

game of rewriting history to suit each

new occasion, each new yeer of policy,

Stalin is nothing if not totalitarian, even,

in his "logic." Since it is all a matter

of the rights of nations, the same cri-

terion must be used in all cases, past

as well as present. Hitler, it now seems,

performed at one period a truly prog-

"While the Hitlerites were engaged in

gathering together the Germany which had

been carved up by the Versailles Treaty.

they could enjoy the support of the Ger-

man neople, who were inspired by the

What does it matter that Hitler in-

ideal of the restoration of Germany."

flicted the most frightful defeat on the

German working class and set back the

proletarian revolution for a decade and

more, that his counter-revolution led in-

struggle.

ressive task!

to the "democratic" imperialists.

becomes clear. Stalin wants to arrive by hook and by crook at a difference between nationalism - and imperialism. Here is indeed a distinction! Yesterday, when the pact with Hitler

- 8

was concluded, Stalin tried to give every token of friendship to Hitler. Then he said it was the British and American imperialism which was trying to involve Russia in war with Hitler. Today things have changed. The fascists are not nationalists but imperialists; the United States and Britain are nationalists but not imperialists. Thus is the new alliance cemented politically.

The speech was intended for Roosevelt and Churchill, not for the workers. The end of it gives the real aim of the speech: "As distinct from Hitlerite Germany, the Soviet Union and its allies are waging a war of liberation - a just war calculated for the liberation of the enslaved peoples of Europe and the USSR from Hitler tyranny. Therefore all honest people support the armies of the USSR, Great Britain and the other allies as armies of liberation."

If the war is a war of liberation naturally every worker should support it. This is what Stalin is now urging. But Stalin does not even dare to distinguish between "workers" and others abroad lest he give offense. Hence the "honest people." Not only does Stalin in this way give his political thanks for the material aid from the democracies, but he assures these allies that they need have no fear of proletarian revolution anywhere. Where does any talk of such revolution in Europe come from anyhow? Stalin places the responsibility for this spectre - on Hitler!

THE SPECTRE OF REVOLUTION

He says that Germany calculated on frightening the democracies into a crusade against the Soviet Union by harping on the theme of working class revolution fostered and led by the Comintern. "Their calculations were based in the first place on the earnest hopes of creating a general coalition against the USSR, of drawing Great Britain and the United States into this coalition by intimidating beforehand the ruling circles in these countries with the spectre of revolution and in this way completely isolating our country from the other powers." This worked, explains Stalin, in the case of France. But "it turned out that the German policy of playing on contradictions and intimidating with the specter of revolution had exhausted its possibilities and was no longer suited to the new situation."

It is not far to seek the reason for Hitler's failure to blackmail the democracies any longer with the spectre of revolution. Stalinism had weakened the Soviet Union and the international working class to such a degree that the imperialists feared Hitler more than the threat of revolution for the time being. Under Stalin, the first workers state had become almost a deterrent rather than an example. Stalin's speech, we repeat, is devoted to the task of building up every confidence in the ranks of the ruling classes of his allies that they have nothing to fear from revolution. Not so long as Stalin stays in power in the USSR! This is his answer to Hitler and his bid for support.

THE MILITANT

The Answer to the Problem

The answer is that the Negro workers in the unions - AFL as well as CIO - must get together as an organized force within the unions to bring these problems before the other workers and propose steps to correct them. They must organize Negro Labor Councils, or any other name you want to give it, which will concern themselves with the solution of the special problems facing Negro workers.

Does this mean separate unions? No! Does this mean separate Negro locals? No! Does this mean a body set up to fight against the regularly constituted locals in the various shops? , No!

It simply means that the Negro workers will get together in their unions and in their cities to discuss how to best protect the interests of the Negro workers in the unions, how to bring unorganized Negroes into the unions, how to develop a more favorable attitude toward the unions among the non-unionized Negroes, and all other measures which will help, to build the unions. They will not function separately from the unions, but as a matter of fact will try to get the unions to endorse their work and assist them in it.

Won't such a step antagonize many white workers? Not at all. As a matter of fact, the white workers will respect the Negroes all the more when they see that they are determined to build the unions and protect their own interests at the same time.

Is this a new idea? There is nothing new about it. For many years such a body of Jewish workers in New York did a very good job in helping to organize Jewish-speaking workers into the unions. There have been various such groups in the history of the American labor movement. Many prominent Negroes have for a long time been advocating the formation of such Councils - not to fight unionism, but to help it.

At the present time such bodies already exist in various parts of the country. Just recently there was organized a Mid-West Negro Labor Council in Chicago, with representation from CIO and AFL unions. (Next week we'll tell more about it). In many different local unions such bodies already exist and have done some good work.

What is necessary now is to spread and extend the formation of such Councils everywhere. Negro delegates to the CIO convention in Detroit this week should discuss the matter and bring it before the convention for its approval. Such approval would be a real impetus to formation of these Councils.

ers already have expressed subport in one form or another, of Roosevelt's war drive.

Nevertheless, the militant mass

for his imperialist war. Rooseveit an attack on Hillman, it will be, CIO in this crucial hour of its must resort more and more to in all likelihood, on purely union history. Should the decisions in issues. the mailed fist against labor.

The CIO convention meets in The single factor operating a- the needs of the workers and the production workers in the CIO. this atmosphere of conflicting in- gainst any solid bloc of the Stal- program of the present leaders, who have not surrendered their terests, that of the needs of the inists and Hillmanites is the fear the American working class, in rights by any means, who still unions versus the demands of the of a sector of the Hillman group the coming class struggles, will strike for their needs and win boss war program. In one form that the Stalinists may outma forge a leadership able to lead when they strike, will exert a or another, all the issues at the neuver them within the bloc and its fight.

Same Disastrous Policy To Be Followed-Stalin

(Continued from page 1) | move the German workers into | imperialist Britain wages a just | perhaps, Hitlerite Germany must revolutionary action. burst of its own weight of crimes." For Stalin has placed his hopes He asserts that Hitler's con- in the hands of the "democratic" Britain, and by refusing to promquest of Europe has by no means position of the European masses to Hitlerism, and declares that ers' revolution in Germany. the "new order" is "a volcano Indeed, far from doing anything ready to erupt at any moment to arouse the German workers in and bury the Germany imperialthis way, Stalin's policies only of the Russian Revolution. But istic house of cards," and that the drive the German masses still he was careful to avoid all referrear of Hitler's army in Germany closer to Hitler, and help to des- ences to the true meaning and itself is ready to turn against him. troy every possibility of convinc- tradition of that revolution, which Thus is indicated the policy ing them they must not aid Hit- he has trampled on and betrayed. which can make up for the shortler in the destruction of the workcomings in Soviet production, and ers state.

destroy the fascist regime in spite of its advantages in machinery and military experience:

What is required for this is a revolutionary appeal to the Ger- United States and the USSR are 20 when the young workers state man and the European working in a "single camp," that "the So- was almost overthrown. class to rise up against fascism; viet Union and its allies are wagthe assurance that they will not ing a war of liberation - a just war calculated for the liberation be alone or isolated in this struggle, but that they will be of the enslaved peoples of Eujoined and supported by all the rope and the USSR" and that resources of the Red Army and armies of the USSR, Great Brithe Soviet Union. What is neces- tain and the other allies as arsary is a revolutionary appeal mies of liberation."

that will disintegrate Hitler's Hitler and Goebbels secure the rear, that will move the German support or at least the non-oppomasses into action against the sition of the German masses by system that oppresses them. warning them that although they

STALIN TAKES NO STEP

have known suffering in the war, But Stalin does not breathe they will, if Germany loses the even the suggestion of a revolu- war, face even greater suffering in tionary appeal to the German the form of a new Versailles workers. If Hitler's regime is to | Treaty to crush Germany and be toppled from behind, if Hit- make its people pay for the costs ler's doom is "inevitable", in a of the war. The only way to defew months or a half year or a prive Hitler of this bludgeon held year, Stalin proposes to wait for over the German masses is by history to accomplish it. Mean- showing them that they can eswhile, though the danger to the cape this terrible prospect even USSR increases, he himself re- if Hitler loses the war.

fuses to take a single step to But Stalin, by declaring that way way way way adopt.

"At that time almost threewar, and by declaring that the fourths of our country was in the Soviet Union is in one camp with hands of foreign interventionists ... We had no allies, no Red imperialists. For fear of alienate ise to fight against a new Ver- Army - we had only just begun destroyed the resistance and op- ing them, he will not even sug- sailles succeeds only in driving to create it -- we experienced a gest, let alone try to aid, a work- the German masses still closer shortage of bread, a shortage of

to Hitler-thus alienating them arms, a shortage of clothing. At further from the workers State: that time 14 states were pressing against our country, but we did | Stalin spoke on the anniversary not despair . . . " In spite of its material disadvantages, the Soviet Union was saved. And today, according to Stalin, the Soviet Union is in a much stronger position, so: "Is it possible then to Trying to show that all was not

lost in spite of the defeats sufvictory over the invaders? For Stalin completely identifies fered in this war under his leadthe war of the USSR with the ership, Stalin turned back for a imperialist war of Great Britain, moment to the days of the Civil truth about the Civil War days. and claims that England, the War and the intervention in 1918-

ed on them to save the workers

state.

He does not dare admit that what saved the Soviet Union was this policy of revolutionary war. which neutralized the mechanical and numerical superiority of its enemies' forces by setting the worker - and peasant-soldiers into action against their own imperialist rulers.

It is not too late to save the Soviet Union, as the experiences of the Civil War days showed. But it can be saved only by the policy of revolutionary war which Stalinism fears and refuses to

WHEN HITLER "WENT WRONG" Reading this speech one would think that there was no necessary relation be-Detroit widen the gap between tween the internal conquest of Germany by capitalist reaction and its follow-up in the present imperialist war of plunder. On the contrary, it seems that Hitler just went wrong at a certain stage, for Stalin tells us: "After this problem had been solved (!) and the Hitlerites set out on their paths of imperialism, on the paths which led to the seizure of foreign lands and the conquests of other peoples, and transformed those peoples. and the peoples of Europe and the peoples of the USSR into the sworn enemies of present-day Germany, a profound change of attitude occurred among the German people. They are against a continuation of war."

There is good reason for Stalin's mode of presenting history. The reason is the new political line of Stalin. His speech is in reality the first down-payment for the aid he hopes to get from the "democratic" allies. He wants to show them that he will scrupulously refrain from "interference" in any other country. He wishes to prove that he will not appeal in any way whatsoever to class struggle doubt that we can and must gain ideas, that he will make no revolutionary appeal to the European working

STALIN FINDS DISTINCTIONS

Stalin also tells off the Nazi upstarts who want to encroach on his theory of national socialism, socialism in one country. He informs the world, cost what it may: "It is known that the Hitlerites trample on the Reich workers." No, truly they are not socialists, those bandits! But then we are told further that not only are they not socialists, they are not even nationalists! out Europe.

STALIN'S USE TO THE "DEMOCRACIES"

The "democratic" imperialists feel little threat from Stalinism at present. They are willing to deal with Stalin today not merely with a view to keeping him in the fight against Hitler, although that is certainly an important consideration for Churchill and Roosevelt.

But there is involved besides a longerterm view. What the imperialists fear above all else is the post-war period in Europe. Victory is still remote, but already they lay plans for policing all of Europe after the war. Such policing is hardly intended for use against the defeated fascists alone. No, it is also intended for use against any attempt on the part of the workers to take their fate into their own hands. Who would be more expert than Stalin in destroying proletarian revolution? He offers his services — and the "democrats" accept them. For them Stalin is to lay the spectre of proletarian revolution both in the USSR (its revival) and through-

Newark CRDC **Mass Meeting**

The Newark Branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee announces a Mass Meeting on Friday, Nov. 14, at 8: 30 P. M., in the Manhattan Room of the Continental, 984 Broad Street, Newark, to protest against the government prosecution of the 28 Minneapolis labor defendants.

Speakers at the meeting will be John F. Finerty, lawyer for Odell Waller, Negro share cropper convicted for the self-defense shooting of his white landlord: Carlo Tresca, editor of IL MARTELLO and organizer of the Sacco-Vanzetti defense; and George Novack, national secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

Twin City Sunday Forum

Every Sunday - 3 P. M.

10c :: Refreshments Prominent Speakers

(The forums will be held regularly every Sunday, rain or shine, at 3 P. M. throughout the season.)

> 919 Marquette Avenue Minneapolis, Minn.

But Stalin dared not tell the He dared not tell that the Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky, never for a moment placed reli-

ance on the imperialists, even when momentarily they were allied to them, that at all times they turned to the working class of the world, and particularly the workers in the armies and the countries of the enemy, and call-

class.



item overlooked - intentionally - by the government's "fact-finding board".

The railroad workers have come face to face with the end-product of compulsory arbitration, opposition to which the government is branding a "crime" in the Minneapolis case. They have been forced to render a verdict on its meaning for labor. This verdict is clearly expressed in their decision to strike on December 7. Even if this decision is not carried out, even if in return for some additional concessions the strike is called off, these concessions will have been won not by arbitration but by the threat of strike.

Strikes And The AFL

The bureaucratic AFL tops are experiencing increasing difficulty in their attempts to impose a "no strike" policy on the AFL rank-and-file.

Despite the repeated admonitions of AFL President William Green and his henchmen of the AFL Executive Council, AFL workers in virtually every trade and craft continue to go out on strike in defiance of the strikebreaking edicts of the top leadership.

At the present time, a succession of strikes involving thousands of AFL workers employed on government war projects are demonstrating that, the AFL workers, like their brothers of the CIO, do not intend to submit without a struggle to the program of speed-up, rising living costs, etc., which the war bosses have drafted for them.

In San Diego, building trades workers employed on three navy construction projects have courageously faced the opposition of the government and the Navy Department's threats of armed violence in a strike for increased wages to meet the rising cost of living. They were joined on November 10 by thousands of their fellow unionists in a general strike on naval construction projects. This strike, like all the AFL strikes of the past period, was called against the will of the heads of international unions involved.

This example of militant ferment in the AFL is but one of many in recent weeks. Another important instance is the recent 16-day strike of welders in Seattle. In order to fight for their rights, these welders were compelled to leave the AFL and establish an independent union. Other welders are on strike in the important Lockheed and Vega aircraft plants in Los Angeles, and the Consolidated Aircraft in San Diego, with welders in several other West Coast aircraft plants threatening to take similar action. In Louisville, Kentucky, over 1,000 AFL truck drivers halted work last Saturday in what a union official called "an unauthorized strike which threatens to become general and paralyze trucking here."

Time and time again, the AFL heads have called strikes of their members "unauthorized", but that hasn't kept the workers from continuing to fight for their elementary needs.

William Green and his colleagues have replied to the anti-labor demands of the employers and their government with a "no strike" order. But the AFL workers are beginning to give a different and opposite answer.

FDR's Internationalism

Latest Lies About The Moscow Trials Serve Stalin's New Diplomatic Needs

For the first time since the infamous Moscow frame-up trials of 1937-38. Stalin is receiving the voluntary co-operation of the bourgeoisie in whitewashing and justifying the trials and the purges that followed them. Up to now, he has had to depend only on the hirelings of the G.P.U., and on such people as the Pritts, Durantys and Feuchtwangers. Now he is receiving the support of gentlemen like Joseph E. Davies, former United States ambassador to the USSR, Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's personal representative, and Ralph Ingersoll, editor of the newspaper PM. Undoubtedly, they will be joined by others.

The primary objective of the latest apologists for Stalinism is the whitewashing of their new ally, Stalin. They are trying to absolve him before public opinion of his guilt in the most infamous frame-ups in history. Thus they serve the present diplomatic needs of the White House.

words:

late.

well ponder.

"There are no saboteurs, se-

cret agents, or Fifth Column-

ists to co-operate with the in-

vaders, because the Russians

were sufficiently farsighted to

eliminate them before it was too

liberty-loving nations might

Davies figures that if frame-

up trials of this kind can be used

against the opponents of the re-

gime in the Kremlin, there is

no reason for not trying a bit

of the same against the revolu-

tionists in the United States.

Evidently he was too busy re-

membering the things he never

said before about the Moscow

Trials to notice that Roosevelt.

has already begun his own

frame-up against the Trotskvists

in the Minneapolis "seditious

Davies and the others now ac-

cept the Stalinist verdict and

the Stalinist evidence in the

trials as completely just and

authentic. They do not mention

conspiracy" trial.

"That is a fact which other

But their statements that the Moscow trials were justified and helped to strengthen the Soviet regime are doubly welcome to the Kremlin. Not only do they raise Stalin's authority in the bourgeois democratic nations. but they also serve in the Soviet Union itself to cover up his criminal responsibility for the defeats suffered by the Red Army in the present war.

It is now no secret that one of the chief reasons the Red Army has suffered such setbacks is the lack of competent staff leadership capable of providing a unified strategic plan for the conduct of the war. Nor is there anyone in the USSR who is unaware that the reasons the Red Army lacks that leadership is because Stalin in the purges

By Leon Trotsky

Up to the end of 1933, the Moscow press, and, in consequence, its shadow, the press of the Communist International, have depicted me a British and American agent, even labelling me "Mr. Trotsky". On March 8, 1929, Pravda devoted an entire page to prove that I was an ally of British imperialism (at that time Moscow was not yet designating it as "British democracy"); and established, over and above this, my complete solidarity with Winston Churchill. The article concluded with these words: "It is clear why the

following the trials removed, and least of all do they try to imprisoned and executed the explain the mass of contradictrained and qualified leadership tory and ridiculous evidence. of the armed forces. These sud-They have nothing to say about den "revelations" — by Davies, the fact that the charges against after four years of silence, and the Trotskyists have changed by Hopkins and Ingersoll after with each change in the Stalina trip of a few days in the Soist diplomatic line, that before viet Union -- are of great use the trials Trotsky was accused to the Stalinist bureaucracy in of being an agent of Britain and justifying their criminal course. France, then at the trials of be-Stalin is also served by these ing an agent of Germany and apologists in discrediting the Japan. After the trials, when the revolutionary opposition to his Stalin-Hitler pact was signed, disastrous policies at a time the slander changed again when that opposition, the Trotwith the needs of Stalskyists, is the only force that inist diplomacy and the Trotcorrectly appraises Stalinism skyists were again accused of and its responsibility for the being agents of Britain and the defeats and presents the only U.S. Now when Germany has program for Soviet victory. It is no accident that Davies concludes his "revelation" in the November issue of The American magazine with the

attacked the Soviet Union, the slanders of the Moscow Trials are again resurrected, and the slanders of the Stalin-Hitler pact period again put on the shelf. Nor do they try to answer the findings of the authoritative Dewey Commission which after carefully sifting the evidence, hearing the defense of Trotsky and offering the Stalinists the

chance to present their case (an

offer which went unaccepted),

found the trials to be a frameup and Trotsky not guilty. The article by Leon Trotsky on this page, never before published in English, was part of his introduction to his book, "The Crimes of Stalin," printed in France, and containing some of the material which was used in his summary speech to the Dewey Commission in 1938. We reprint it here because it explains how Stalin's slanders shift to correspond with the current diplomacy of the Kremlin. It is a devastating and irrefutable summation of the fantastic charges against the leaders of the Russian Revolution and the builders of the Red

the Moscow bureaucracy was in every way reluctant to leave its old orbit. An alliance with Germany, regardless of her state form, was considered axiomatic for Soviet foreign policy. On December 13, 1931, in an interview with the German writer, Emil Ludwig, Stalin declared:

Stalin's Relations With Germany

Army.

"If we are to talk about our sympathies for any nation, then of course we must speak of our sympathies for the Germans. . . Our friendly relations with Germany remain what they have always been.'

racy to such a degree of demoralization, and the radical public opinion of Europe and America to such a degree of degradation as would make possible the grandiose juridical frameups against the Trotskyists.

Why the Frame-Ups Are Extended

One can now investigate with documents in hand all the stages of this preparatory work. On more than one occasion Stalin met with internal resistance, and had to retreat a few times, but on each occasion only in order to invest his work with a more systematic character. The political goal was - to create an automatic guillotine for every opponent of the ruling clique: whoever is not for Stalin is a hired agent of imperialism.

This rude schema, reinforced by personal vindictiveness, is wholly in the spirit of Stalin. Apparently he did not for a moment doubt that the "voluntary confessions" of his victims would succeed in convincing the whole world of the authenticity of the accusations, and thus solve once and for all the problem of the inviolability of the totalitarian regime. It turned out otherwise. The trials boomeranged on Stalin. The cause for this lies not so much in the crudity of the frameups as in the fact that the clutches of the bureaucracy had become completely intolerable for the country's development. Under the pressure of growing contradictions Stalin was constrained to extend the radius of his frameups day by day. No end of the bloody purge is in sight. As it devours its own ranks, the bureaucracy keeps shrieking in frenzy about vigilance. The howl of a mortally wounded animal can be detected in these cries.

Let us recall once again that the roll call of traitors is headed by all the members of the Political Bureau of Lenin's epoch - with the sole exception of Stalin. Among them are: the former head of defense in the epoch of the Civil War (Leon Trotsky); two former leaders of the Communist International (Zinoviev and Bukharin); the former chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (Kamenev); the former chairman of the Council of Labor and Defense (Rykov); and the former head of the Soviet Trade Unions (Tomsky). Next come the members of the Central Committee and of the Government. It turns out that the actual director of industry, Piatakov, stood at the head of sabotage; the deputy People's Commissar for Transport, Livshitz, turns out to be an agent of Japan and the organizer of train wrecks; the chief guardian of state security, Yagoda - a gangster and traitor; the deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Sokolnikov — a German-Japanese agent, along with the chief publicist of the regime, Radek.

All the Military Leaders As Well

And as if that did not suffice, the whole summit of the Red Army is declared to have been in the service of the enemy. Marshal Tukhachevsky, who had only a short while ago been delegated to England and France to acquaint himself with the military technology of these friendly countries, sold the entrusted secrets to Hitler.

*

*

R

3

J.

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

THE MILITANT

Formerly the SOCIALIST APPEAL

VOL. V-No. 46 Saturday, November 15, 1941

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N

at 116 University Place. New York, N. Y

Telephone: Algonquin 4-8547

Editor:

FELIX MORROW

Business Manager:

LYDIA BEIDEL

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year, \$1.00 for six months

Foreign: \$2.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle

orders: I cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents

per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies : 5 cents.

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

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.

CompulsoryArbitration

One of the accusations flung by government prosecutor, U. S. District Attorney Anderson, at the 28 defendants in the Minneapolis "seditious conspiracy" trial is that they warned labor against submitting its demands to arbitration.

It is no accident that the Roosevelt administration has dragged this charge into its attack on the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis motor transport workers Local 544-CIO, and is attempting to represent as criminal the fact that the defendants correctly pointed out that arbitration is a boss device to compel the workers to compromise their demands by surrendering their only effective weapon for protecting their interests, the strike.

This is part and parcel of the Administration's present drive, on behalf of the employing class, to invoke compulsory arbitration in all labor disputes. Compulsory arbitration was an objective of the Administration's efforts to break the "captive" coal mine strike. It is the basis of the government's present attempts to enforce the infamous Railway Labor Disputes Act, which Roosevelt would like to use as a model for legislation to hamstring the unions in all industries.

Although the railroad workers voted more than six months ago in a nation-wide referendum to strike for a justified 30 per cent wage increase, they have been forced by the Railway Labor Act to cool their heels for more than a half year while waiting for Roosevelt's "fact-finding board" to "investigate" the capacity of the railroad corporations to raise wages.

On October 5 this "fact-finding board" finally came through with a boss-inspired recommendation for a miserly $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent wage increase for the 300,000 members of the Big Five operating brotherhoods and a meagre increase of 131/2 per cent for the 900,000 members of the fourteen nonoperating crafts. But since the time when the railroad workers first stated their demands, prices have rocketed to a point where even a 30 per cent increase no longer represents a gain. Moreover, unlike the workers in other industries, the railroad workers have been denied virtually any gains since the last war due to the strangling effect of the Railway Labor Act. Wages for workers in the non-operating crafts, for instance, are as low as 35 cents an hour.

But the railroad corporations haven't had any restrictions on profit-taking. War-swollen profits for Class I railroads in the first nine months of 1941 — after deductions for all taxes — increased 512 PER CENT over the same period in 1940 (New York Times, October 30). This is a "little"

high-water mark in his address on November 6 to the conference of the International Labor Organization, when he stated:

Roosevelt's hypocrisy reached something of a

"It is appropriate that I recall to you... some words that were written in this house by a President who gave his very life for the cause of justice. Nearly eighty years ago, Abraham Lincoln said: 'The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and kindreds'."

These words, repeated by a Roosevelt, reflect utter cynicism. Even as he mouths them, all his energy is being directed toward dragooning the American workers into a war to fight and kill the workers of other lands for the benefit of American imperialism.

And at the same time, he turns the full repressive power of the capitalist government he heads against the true representatives of international working-class solidarity, the Socialist Workers Party leaders and members among the 28 defendants on trial for "seditious conspiracy" today in Minneapolis.

Roosevelt is attempting to railroad these working-class leaders to prison for 16 years for the "crime", as the prosecution has openly stated, of being Marxists - for being proponents of the ideas and program of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. These are the ideas and program which guided the workers and peasants of Russia to power in October 1917, in the first stage of that world revolution destined to smash all national boundaries and unite the oppressed of all lands under a system of world socialism.

One of the chief points of "evidence" against the defendants is that they read, studied and circulated Marx and Engel's classic "Communist Manifesto", written in 1848, which ends with that world-shaking call: "Workers of the World Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."

We can measure the intensity of Roosevelt's hatred of international labor solidarity by the viciousness of his persecution of our party, which today carries on an uncompromising fight to transform this historic battle-cry of the "Communist Manifesto" into reality.

The series on "The Crimes of Stalin" by Lydia Beidel will be resumed in next week's issue of THE MILITANT. The next article, unfortunately not printed on this page this week because of lack of space, deals with the role of Stalinism in the Chinese revolution of 1925-27.

2 conservation and a servation and a servation and a servation and a servation of the serva

bourgeoisie is paving him tens of thousands of dollars." It was then a question of dollars and not marks.

On July 2, 1931 this same Pravda, using crudely forged facsimiles, - which it hastily forgot on the very next day - proclaimed me to be an ally of Pilsudski, and a defender of the robbers' Treaty of Versailles. In those days Stalin was fighting not for the status quo but for "the national liberation" of Germany. In August 1931, the "theoretical" organ of the French Communist Party, Cahiers du Bolchevism, came out with an exposé of the "touching united front" which had been formed "between Blum, Paul Boncour and the French General Staff, on the one side — and Trotsky, on the other." And so I remained firmly attached to the countries of the Entente!

Refuted by Their Own Lies in 1933

On July 24, 1933, i.e., after Hitler had assumed complete power in Germany, I was on my way to France through Marseilles, thanks to a visa granted me by Daladier's government. According to the retroactive "revelations" of the recent Moscow Trials, I was already in those days an agent of Germany and was occupied with preparing the world war with a view to destroying the USSR and France. At the Radek-Piatakov Trial, in January 1937, it was "established", among other things, that I had met in Bois du Boulogne - precisely toward the end of July 1933 - with a TASS correspondent, Vladimir Romm, in order to draw the Russian Trotskyists through this intermediary into an alliance with Hitler and the Mikado.

But l'Humanite suspected nothing of the sort: On the very day of my arrival in France it carried an article exposing my secret alliance with Daladier's government. "By covering up the intrigues of White Guard emigres and by inviting Trotsky" - wrote the organ of Stalin-Cachin-Thorez — "the French bourgeoisie is revealing its real policy toward the Soviet Union; negotiations are conducted because of necessity, forced smiles are put on, but behind the scenes there is aid and support for all saboteurs, interventionists, conspirators, slanderers and renegades of the revolution. . . From France, this hearth of anti-Soviet struggle, he (Trotsky) can launch an attack on the USSR. . . A strategical point! That is why M. Trotsky is arriving here." All of Prosecutor Vishinsky's subsequent formulas are here: conspiracy, sabotage, preparation of intervention. But with this difference: I was pursuing my criminal activity in an alliance with the French bourgeoisie and not German fascism.

But perhaps the hapless l'Humanite was simply ignorant of the true state of affairs? No, . Stalin's Parisian organ was correctly reflecting the views of its taskmaster. The inert mind of

Stalin was even so incautious as to add: "There are some politicians who promise and say one thing today, and on the morrow either forget or deny what they themselves had said, without even blushing. We cannot conduct ourselves in this manner." (These quotations are taken from the official Soviet publication, "Lenin and Stalin on the Soviet Constitution," pp. 146-147).

To be sure, this was said in the time of the Weimar Republic. But the victory of Fascism in no wise altered Moscow's orientation. Stalin did everything in his power to earn Hitler's good-will. On March 4, 1933 the official Izvestia wrote that the USSR was the only government which entertained no hostile feelings toward Germany, and "this independently of the form and character of the German government."

The Parisian le Temps on its part, commented, on April 8, 1933, as follows: "At a time when Hitler's assumption of power was occupying the attention of European public opinion and evoking everywhere voluminous comments, the Moscow papers maintained silence." Stalin was trying to buy the friendship of the conqueror and had turned his back to the German working class.

The general picture is thus quite clear. During the time when according to the latest and retroactive version I was busy organizing my collaboration with Hitler, the press of Moscow and of the Communist International depicted me as an agent of France and of Anglo-Saxon imperialism. My transfer into the German-Japanese camp came only after Hitler had spurned Stalin's extended hand and had compelled the latter, contrary to his original plans and calculations, to seek the friendship of "Western Democracies".

Why the Charges Shifted

The charges flung at me were and remain merely a negative supplement of Moscow's diplomatic twists and turns. Shifts in my political orientation took place each time without the slightest participation on my part. There is, however, a serious difference between these two diametrically opposite and, at the same time, wholly symmetrical versions of slander. The first version whereby I was transformed into an agent of the former Entente was predominantly of a literary character. The slanderers slandered, the newspapers broadcast the poison, but Vishinsky still remained in the shadows. True enough, even in those days the GPU used to shoot individual oppositionists, ascribing to them either acts of sabotage or espionage (in favor of England and France!). But as yet only little known individuals were involved; the violence was perpetrated behind the scenes, by way of modest experimentation. Stalin was merely training his investigating magistrates, his judges and executioners. It took some time to bring the bureauc-

The political leader of the Red Army, Gamarnik, member of the Central Committee, is avowed to be a traitor. The military representatives of France, Great Britain and Czechoslovakia had only recently paid tribute to the Ukrainian maneuvers held under the direction of General Yakir. It turns out that Yakir was preparing for the seizure of the Ukraine by Hitler. General Uborevich, the guardian of the western frontiers, was preparing to surrender Byelo-Russia to the enemy. Two former directors of the Military Academy, General Eidemann and General Kork, honored army commanders of the Civil War, were preparing their pupils not for victory but for the defeat of the Soviet Union. Scores of other lesser known but extremely important military commanders have been accused of treason. All these destroyers, saboteurs, spies and gangsters had been accomplishing their work not for a day or two but over a number of vears.

But if Yagoda, Piatakov, Sokolnikov, Tukhachevsky and others were spies, then what good are Stalin, Voroshilov and other "leaders"? What value have these summons to vigilance which emanate from the Political Bureau that has revealed itself capable only of stupidity and blindness?

Stalinism Discredited by the Trials

Out of the latest "purge" the regime has emerged so covered with infamy that the organs of the world press have begun to speculate seriously whether Stalin has not lost his senses. Too simple a solution for this problem! First it was deemed that Stalin had emerged victorious owing to the exceptional qualities of his intellect. But when the reflexes of the bureaucracy become epileptic in character, those who worshipped the "leader" yesterday begin asking themselves whether he had not gone mad. Both appraisals are false. Stalin is no "genius". In the proper sense of the term, he is not even intelligent, that is, if by intelligence is meant'the ability to view events in their connection and development. But neither is Stalin a madman. He was carried to the top by the wave of Thermidor. He came to believe that the source of his power lay in himself. But the caste of parvenus, who had proclaimed him genius, disintegrated and corroded within a short space of time. The land of the October revolution is in urgent need of a different political regime. The position of the ruling clique leaves no more room for any rational politics. "Insanity" is located not in Stalin but in the regime which has completely drained itself. This explanation, however, does not contain even a hint of any moral justification of Stalin. He will depart from the scene as the most tarnished figure in mankind's history. COYOACAN, July 5, 1937.