

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

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## NATIONAL CIO BACKS 544'S FIGHT

### STALIN'S SPEECH

Every Word Was Alien To The Leninist Program

By FELIX MORROW

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

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

The editors of the New York Times cannot hide, do not even try to conceal, their pleased contempt for Stalin's adaptation to the bourgeois methods of war. And that adaptation arouses in these bourgeois swine the hope that "whatever the immediate fortunes of war"—whether the Soviet Union loses or wins under Stalin—there will result "the inevitable rebound of human nature"—i.e., there will result a return to capitalism. Unlike the Kremlin bureaucracy, the "democratic" bourgeoisie never calls a halt to the class war.

One burns with shame and bitterness that a bourgeois spokesman is in a position to speak with such patronizing contempt about the official leadership of the Soviet Union twenty-four years after the October revolution! These "friendly" barbs of the Kremlin's "ally" unfortunately are an accurate description of Stalin's speech and of his fixed policy.

#### Stalin Bans the Methods of 1917-1921

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

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

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

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

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

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### Screaming Headlines In Minneapolis Press



Here are headlines and pictures from the Minneapolis newspapers on the attempts of the FBI to frameup members and leaders of Local 544-CIO and of the Socialist Workers Party on charges of "seditious conspiracy." The FBI onslaught against the SWP is an attempt to intimidate the members of Local 544-

CIO, to prevent the Minneapolis truck drivers from exercising their democratic right to free themselves from the dictatorship of Tobin and the AFL. Roosevelt's intervention in this internal union dispute indicates the Administration's hostility to this major trend from the reactionary AFL into the progressive CIO.

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

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

BULLETIN

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

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

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

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

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

From details related to the press by delegates who had attended the session, it is apparent that Lewis minced no words in placing squarely on Roosevelt the responsibility for government strike-breaking and the legislative moves against labor. Lewis linked Hillman with Roosevelt in the execution of the Administration's anti-labor policies, and charged Hillman directly with "standing behind the elbow" of the President when he issued his order directing regular army troops to smash the North American Aviation strike.

Lewis also blasted Hillman for holding up the miner's victory in the soft coal mine negotiations by his insistence on certifying the coal strike last April to the National Mediation Board.

#### WON DESPITE GOVERNMENT

Lewis pointedly reminded the conference that the UMW had successfully turned down all proposals of the Mediation Board which were in the interests of the mine owners, and that the Board had prolonged the strike and negotiations by giving government support to some of the most outrageous proposals of the hold-out Southern operators.

After-the-conference attempts by Stalinist delegates to minimize the strength of Lewis' attack on Roosevelt by spread-

ing the false impression that the UMW head directed his remarks solely at Hillman, are belied by the testimony of the majority of delegates, including the Hillman supporters who attempted to defend Roosevelt and Hillman after Lewis had spoken.

An effort to answer Lewis was made by Jacob Potofsky, acting president of Hillman's union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

#### HILLMAN'S FLIMSY ALIBI

Potofsky self-righteously accused Lewis of "playing politics"—Hillman is not "playing politics" of course, — and tried to impute a desire on the part of Lewis to drive the ACW out of the CIO,

was that many of the CIO's major gains had been made during the period when Hillman was exerting his greatest influence on the Administration's labor policies. He cited the instances of the Ford Motor and Bethlehem Steel settlements.

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

#### STALINISTS EMBARRASSED

Lewis's statements is causing others than the Hillmanites in the CIO to squirm. The Stalinists, who have become the most vigorous Roosevelt hand-raisers since June 22, are attempting to square the circle by their efforts to hang on to Lewis' coat-tails while backing the Administration.

The Stalinists are wildly hunting a way out of the show-down at the UAW-CIO convention, which opens in Buffalo August 3rd, at which the Hillmanites and Lewis forces are expected to clash openly. It is already certain that the Stalinists will vote with the Hillmanites on all pro-Roosevelt resolutions.

## CIO Defeats Wiretapping Bill

Persistent pressure and opposition from the CIO led to the defeat last week in the House of Representatives of the Administration-backed wire-tapping bill, which would have authorized the FBI and other government police agencies to spy on unions and union members by tapping their telephones.

The bill was voted down by the narrow margin of 154 to 146, which shows how strong Congressional and Administration sentiment was for the measure. Only the solid opposition of the CIO turned the tide.

It had been planned to slip the

bill through Congress on very short notice, in order to prevent organized labor from having sufficient time to muster strong opposition. But the CIO and Labor's Non-Partisan League held up action on the bill when they sent strong delegations to Congress.

The bill was formally sponsored by Roosevelt's Attorney General and the Department of Justice. It was drafted by Alexander Holtzoff, legal advisor to the FBI, the agency particularly anxious to secure its adoption.

Roosevelt himself gave the go-

## Unmoved By FBI Raids On SWP

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

BULLETIN

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

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

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

Republican Mayor Kline yesterday appointed as police chief Edward B. Hansen, head of the Northern Pump Company's "protective service"—the Northwest equivalent of Ford's "service department" in Minnesota's biggest arms plant. This Minneapolis Harry Bennett is a graduate of the FBI Training School and was recommended to Mayor Kline by FBI head J. Edgar Hoover. "His past record is his best recommendation," said Hoover of this company cop.

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

Following FBI raids upon the SWP headquarters a week ago Friday, Victor E. Anderson, U. S. District Attorney, and Henry A. Schweinhaut, Special Assistant Attorney-General, spent three days presenting the government's "evidence" and witnesses to a grand jury consisting of twenty men and three women, drawn almost entirely from rural areas.

Among the chief witnesses summoned before the Grand Jury, according to the Minneapolis TRIBUNE of July 3, were FBI agents who had joined the Socialist Workers Party and the General Drivers Union. This reveals that the Department of Justice sent agents provocateurs—provocative agents—into trade unions and working-class political parties to spy upon and help frameup militant workers in these organizations.

FBI men played this same dirty role in the prosecutions against the Minneapolis WPA strikers two years ago.

#### MUMBO-JUMBO GAME

In an effort to work up sentiment against the CIO leaders and the Socialist Workers Party, the government prosecutors enveloped the hearings in an atmosphere of great secrecy. Federal Judge M. M. Joyce warned the jurors, who met behind locked doors, that names of witnesses could not be disclosed nor the nature of their testimony even after the indictments had been returned and the

principals apprehended. He excluded all reporters and photographers from the hearings and forbade any loitering in the courthouse.

After Schweinhaut had promised on Monday that "startling disclosures" might be expected, District Attorney Anderson issued a statement played up by the Minneapolis press, that witnesses had been "threatened with violence" and warning that such alleged interference would be punished by arrests. It was obvious from the vague nature of his statements that Anderson was whipping up a fake scare around the prosecution to panic the jury and the public.

#### SWP STATEMENT

Grace Carlson, State Organizer of the SWP, issued a statement assailing "the obviously exaggerated air of secrecy which surrounds the federal grand jury investigation" and which stands "in marked contrast to the open character of our party's work in the Twin Cities."

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

(Continued on page 3)

tapping, and conducts classes in wire-tapping technique not only for its own agents but for hundreds of local police.

FBI head J. Edgar Hoover admitted to a Congressional hearing last year that he "supplies information to employers on criminal or subversive records of potential employees." (Our emphasis). That is, the FBI helps the bosses maintain a black-list against union men, with information of their "subversive" union activities secured, among other espionage methods, by wire tapping.



# Miners Victorious Over Southern Mine Owners

## Win Far More Than Mediation Board Had Proposed

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

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

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

## WON DESPITE GOVERNMENT

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

Refusing to bow to the dictates of the Mediation Board, Lewis and the UMW committee demanded and secured the retention of a clause which gives the international union the "right to call and maintain strikes throughout the entire area covered by this agreement when necessary to preserve and maintain the integrity and competitive parity of this agreement."

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

## BOSSES EAT THEIR WORDS

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

## Auto Organizers At Sea



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

for a slanderous attack on the UMW and Lewis by the Southern mine owners, through large advertisements, published in all the leading Eastern and Southern newspapers on May 21, entitled: "Listen America, Worse Is Yet To Come."

The advertisement declared in part:

"Mr. Lewis would have the right to shut off any and every industry from its coal supply. He would have the right to deprive any and every city of light, heat and power..."

"John L. Lewis is no fool. While America slept he has craftily gained a death-grip on the one industry which affects the destiny of all others. Now he is apparently using that death-grip to shoot for the dictators' crown."

The Mediation Board aided the operators in this slander, by backing their demand for the elimination of this strike clause. Sidney Hillman, of whom Lewis is known to be bitterly contemptuous because

of the OPM assistant's anti-labor acts, sanctioned the defeated NDMB proposals.

The second point won over the heads of the Mediation Board and the operators gives the union the right to designate memorial holidays for the miners in commemoration of the miners who lose their lives in mine disasters, and dramatize the need of safety devices in the pits.

## FBI-Gestapo At Work

Col. William J. Donovan is about to be appointed head of all the American Intelligence Services, according to the Associated Press. Donovan's main qualification for this job, according to AP, is his familiarity with the "Nazis" technique in all its ramifications.

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

The American Gestapo hasn't been doing bad even without the expert direction of Herr Donovan. The N. Y. Times reported on July 4th that 25 skilled workers in the Mare Island Navy Yard in California, have been fired for "subversive association."

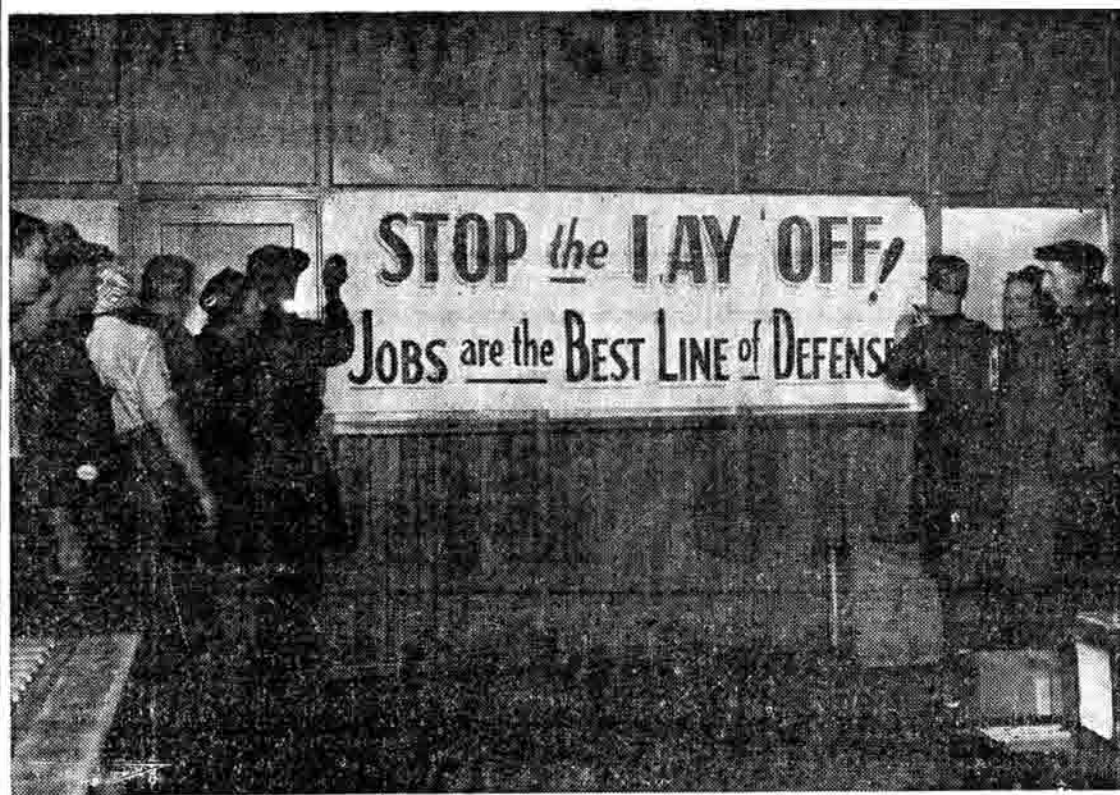
"None of these men has committed any acts of sabotage or anything like it," a Naval Intelligence officer said. "They were just weeded out. These men will be barred from all work on 'classified projects'."

"Subversive association" is sufficient to brand a worker, deprive him of his job, condemn his wife and children to starvation.

Herr Donovan will find a well oiled machine when he hangs up his swastika in Washington.

—CORT

## Protest Defense Unemployment



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

# AFL Organizer Resigns In Protest Against Tobin

(Reprinted from the Northwest Organizer)

MINNEAPOLIS—In protest against the outrageous behavior of Tobin's agents in Minneapolis, Henry A. Schultz, international representative of the AFL's International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, last Thursday made public his letter of resignation to Michael J. Boyle, I.B.E.W. vice-president. Schultz announced he would take his place on the side of the workers of Local 544-CIO just as he had in 1934. He has been placed on the staff of Local 544-CIO.

Brother Schultz through his letter and his actions shows how an honest-to-God unionist reacts to the rotten dictatorial actions of Tobin's imported "organizers" and thugs. The conduct of this man of true labor principles contrasts most strikingly with the revolting actions of Tobin's imported "organizers" and the local quislings who fawn upon them. One MAN like Schultz is worth sixty of the Tobin type of "unionist."

Schultz is well-known to the transport drivers of this city. He played a leading role in the strikes of 1934. A former railroad worker, he has been in the labor movement for over twenty years. He was one of the organizers of the Minnesota State Employees Union. He was later business agent of the Electrical Workers Union comprising Northern States Power employees, from which post he stepped to that of International Organizer of the I.B.E.W. His life for years has been devoted to organizing workers and helping to improve their conditions of life.

His letter follows:

Mr. Michael J. Boyle, International Vice President, 6th District,

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Sir and Brothers:

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

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

for some time but I still nourished the hope that I might do my bit to serve the workers and improve their conditions within the frame-work of the AFL.

I can no longer entertain this hope. Last night I attended a meeting in Minneapolis under the auspices of Tobin's International Union of Teamsters-AFL. What I saw there was enough to turn the stomach of any loyal union man. Tobin and his agents, like singular bureaucratic formations in other international unions of AFL, have never been able to conduct a militant fight against the bosses, or even to get a real mobilization of their forces for such a fight. This meeting in Minneapolis was not a fight against the bosses, but against the rank and file workers of the strongest, most militant and most honest union in the Northwest—Local 544. For that fight Tobin and his perfidious gang had a real mobilization. Paid organizers and officials located in places from Pennsylvania to San Francisco were mobilized on the platform in battle array against the workers in Minneapolis. The front rows were packed with state and local Minneapolis AFL business agents, who could never be dynamited off their chairs to take part in a picket line against

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

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

A bitter fight is raging in Minneapolis and I consider it my duty to take my place on the side of the workers, as I did in the workers' strikes of 1934. In order to be able to do this, I am herewith presenting my resignation as an International Organizer of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Fraternally yours,  
H. A. SCHULTZ.

## Fighting Back

## Don't Let Congress

put the  
Clock  
Back



CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS  
1106 CONNECTICUT AVE., N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C.

This is the front cover of the new pamphlet issued by the CIO, which describes the vicious measures in the various anti-labor bills passed by Congress, or pending, with a program for organized labor to fight these bills. An important pamphlet for every worker to read.

# War Chest Drive Is Speeding Up

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

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

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

The week's contributions were as follows:

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

TOTAL .....\$923.80

## \$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	%
Reading	25.00	32.85	131
Buffalo	60.00	66.00	110
St. Louis	25.00	25.00	100
Toledo	\$ 10.00	\$ 10.00	100
Detroit	500.00	426.00	85
Louisiana	25.00	20.00	80
Baltimore	10.00	7.00	70
Newark	500.00	347.00	69
Portland	30.00	20.00	67
Cleveland	150.00	93.00	62
Boston	350.00	217.30	61
St. Paul	300.00	165.00	55
New Haven	50.00	25.50	51
Chicago	1200.00	560.12	47
Akron	50.00	20.00	40
Milwaukee	55.00	20.00	36
Flint	200.00	70.00	35
Philadelphia	125.00	42.00	33
New York City	2500.00	790.78	32
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	334.33	30
Youngstown	150.00	45.00	30
Pittsburgh	40.00	12.00	30
Minneapolis	1200.00	330.50	28
San Diego	100.00	25.00	25
Quakertown	25.00	6.00	24
Los Angeles	500.00	100.00	20
Allentown	25.00	5.00	20
South Chicago	125.00	0.00	00
Rochester	50.00	0.00	00
Seattle	25.00	0.00	00
Texas	20.00	0.00	00
Members-at-Large	475.00	436.00	92
TOTALS	\$10,000.00	\$4,251.38	43%



By Minneapolis Literature Agent

## TWIN CITIES BRANCHES ADVANCE UNDER FIRE

An important point in military strategy is to know how to advance while under fire. Several army generals in Europe, and elsewhere too for that matter, could learn a lesson or two in this respect from the behavior of the Minneapolis and St. Paul Branches of the Socialist Workers Party during the past week or so. Ordinarily the Minneapolis Branch handles 1,000 copies of the *Militant* per week. The bundle usually arrives on Sunday or Monday of each week and quite often it takes the remainder of the week to get the bundle properly distributed.

However, due to the important manifesto on the defense of the Soviet Union contained in the June 28th issue of *THE MILITANT*, the Minneapolis Branch decided to take 2,000 copies of this issue.

Now if there are any pessimists or faint hearts in or around the SWP who thought the FBI raids on the Twin Cities headquarters, on Friday June 27, would throw consternation and confusion into the activities of the Twin Cities branches, they are due for a surprise. For example, *THE MILITANT* bundle containing the manifesto arrived on Sunday forenoon and by 6 P. M. on Sunday evening our *Militant* salesmen had picked up their respective bundles to the extent that only about 300

copies remained in the headquarters.

The St. Paul Branch, which regularly handles 400 copies of *THE MILITANT* per week, distributed 1000 copies this week, and what is more, had them all distributed before Thursday evening. As a matter of fact the St. Paul comrades came over to Minneapolis to borrow some extra copies to send to a Stalinist mailing list, a point which they in their enthusiasm had overlooked. After making a search we were able to supply the St. Paul comrades with about 40 such copies.

## FBI ATTACK ONLY STEELS US FOR BATTLE

The reaction of the comrades to the attack by the FBI is a definite, renewed and grim determination that now, more than ever, is the time to put forth the basic truths contained in the program of the Socialist Workers Party.

The attendance at our public class, the second in a series of eight on the Permanent Revolution in American History, held on the evening after the FBI raid, was attended by 50 people in spite of it being a sweltering hot night. Two reporters from the capitalist press were in attendance at the class and gave us verbiage in both the Minneapolis and St. Paul newspapers the next morning. The next class of this series will be held on Saturday July 12, at 8 P. M., in the Minneapolis headquarters, 919 Marquette Ave.

For Every Class-Conscious Worker:

## WHY WE DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

32-page pamphlet—5c

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72 West 125th Street  
Subscription 25c



# Local 544-CIO's Proud And Stainless Record

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

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

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

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

What is more, some 250,000 over-the-road drivers, spread throughout all the arteries of commerce, have been organized through a union pact covering the 12-state area surrounding Minnesota.

All this has been the direct result of the program, example and leadership of Local 544-CIO, which initiated and directed this expansion of unionism.

### WHAT ONE MILITANT LOCAL UNION DID

In 1933, Minneapolis was a citadel of open-shop domination and exploitation. The union movement was lifeless and pitifully small. The employers' associations boasted and advertised that Minneapolis was the ideal city for prospective industrialists because of the non-union, low-wage labor supply.

Local 544 has been primarily responsible for reversing all that. Today the union movement of Minneapolis protects some 65,000 working men and women in every trade and industry.

Tens of millions of dollars an-

nually have been added to the wages of the Minneapolis workers. The average weekly wage for drivers in 1933 was \$11. Today it is over \$33. The total annual payroll for all Minneapolis drivers rose from about \$5,100,000 in 1933 to about \$23,000,000 in 1939.

Weekly hours for the drivers have been reduced from about 60 to about 44. They receive paid annual vacations, a measure of job security through seniority, and many other benefits unknown in the days of the open-shop before the rise of Local 544.

These are the things which the bosses and the unholy alliance of Roosevelt-Tobin-FBI are seeking to wipe out with the destruction of Local 544-CIO.

### THIS IS ONLY THE LATEST ATTACK ON 544

Since 1934, scarcely a day has passed that Local 544 has not been

## Tobin's Sacrificial Offering

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

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

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

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

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

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

subject to the vicious assault of the bosses, from murder of pickets at the hands of governmental armed forces and assassination by hired gunmen, to an unending flow of sewage slander and court frameups.

During the first drivers strike of May 1934, the employers threw against the embattled transport workers the entire police force of Minneapolis and 5,000 special deputies armed with clubs and guns. In a historic battle—the "Battle of Bulls Run"—the drivers fought the police and deputies to a standstill and chased them off the streets of the city.

In the strike of July 1934, the police ambushed a group of drivers' union pickets and shot down

sixty in cold blood, murdering two workers and maiming many others for life.

In scores of strikes of various sections of Local 544 since, and in many strikes in which the drivers gave support and material aid to other unions, the bosses have attempted to use the police to provoke, intimidate and weaken the union. But mere violence could not succeed against Local 544. It fought back with redoubled fury at each new attack. And each day it built a stronger and more enduring union organization.

The Minneapolis general drivers union had not only to contend with the enemies from without. It met the constant, more insidious attacks of the bosses' agents within the union movement, above all, the dictatorial and union-busting acts of Dan Tobin, head of the AFL Teamsters and his corrupt personal top machine.

### TOBIN'S 1934-35 ATTEMPTS TO SMASH THE UNION

From the first Tobin hated and feared Local 544 and its leadership as only the moth-eaten, craft-ridden, dues-hungry, boss-conscious AFL type of reactionary leaders can hate militant and progressive unionism.

In the very midst of the bitter and bloody July 1934 strike which built the union, Tobin joined hands with the employers and launched a public knife-in-the-back attack on the striking union and its leaders, repeating all the slanders of the Minneapolis boss press against the Minneapolis drivers, in the July, 1934 issue of his personal organ, the so-called *Teamsters Journal*.

Tobin wrote that "Communists and radicals" are "very prominent in the strike." The bosses ran big advertisements quoting Tobin.

Despite Tobin's strikebreaking, 544 was victorious in that decisive strike.

On April 14, 1935, 544 received a letter from Tobin, summarily revoking the local's charter. The pretext for this disruptive move, carried out with a bureaucratic high-handedness of which Tobin is a past master, was that the local owed a few hundred dollars in back per capita tax to the International.

That was true. The local had exhausted its funds in the long and grueling strikes—Tobin of course didn't give a penny of strike benefits—and organization drive of the previous 12 months. But there were many other locals in greater debt to the International and Tobin was sitting on a treasury of over \$4,000,000.

It became clear what Tobin's real game was within a couple of weeks, when Tobin agreed to restore the charter—under certain conditions. Those conditions were that the general drivers union be broken up into a dozen different weak crafts locals, coal drivers, ice drivers, etc.; that Tobin personally be given the complete control and supervision of the union; that every officer and member had to receive the personal approval of Tobin. Tobin wanted to dismember the union, destroy its semi-industrial character, and drive out every militant and progressive member.

### PIONEERED THE TRAIL NOW TRAVELED BY THE CIO

The union members and leaders rejected Tobin's vile, boss-inspired proposal. They elected to keep on fighting as an independent union. Local 544 sent a committee to the CIO, then still within the AFL, to find if it had a place for drivers. It was with the agreement of the CIO that Local 544 decided to fight to compel Tobin

to reinstate Local 544 in the Teamsters International without any of the onerous conditions he demanded.

Tobin mustered the weight of his \$4,000,000 treasury and an army of "organizers" and gangsters to crush the Minneapolis drivers to his will. He issued a charter for a competitive drivers local—"600." His thugs beat up the Local 544 leaders. He used every dirty device possible.

But to no avail. Through thick and thin, the Minneapolis drivers supported and defended Local 544. They would not join Tobin's dual outfit. And in the end, Tobin had to taste the bitter brew of defeat. He issued a new charter "combining" his paper local with Local 544—that is, in reality he reinstated Local 544, whose leadership he had sworn never to permit to lead a union again!

From that time on, Local 544 has gone on from success to success against the bosses. Its name and reputation has become a beacon-light for union organization and militant struggle throughout all the Northwest. It lent funds and seasoned organizers to growing drivers' unions in many states.

### 544 ORGANIZED MIDWEST OVER-THE-ROAD DRIVERS

The crowning achievement of this organizing drive was the winning in the Fall of 1937 of the 11-state over-the-road drivers contract, gaining union wages and conditions and a closed shop for some 225,000 drivers in the entire territory ranging from Montana to Ohio, and Minnesota to Oklahoma.

The initiators of this contract, the leaders of this drive, the men who put it over were the men who had organized and led Local 544 from its first victories on. Farrell Dobbs, former secretary-treasurer of Local 544, became the first secretary of the North Central Area Negotiating Committee.

This master achievement was won despite Tobin and against him. He opposed and fought the idea from the start. On the eve of the area committee's victory, Tobin sent his representatives to demand the discontinuance of the 11-state committee. He feared the influx of hundreds of thousands of new, militant workers into his tight little conservative set-up. The over-the-road driver is a real proletarian type, very different from the city driver-salesmen who formerly composed the teamsters.

Only when the contract was finally secured, only when the vision of hundreds of thousands of dollars in increased annual per capita momentarily thrust into the background Tobin's innate fear of stream-lined, aggressive industrial union methods, did Tobin reluctantly yield. He had to appoint Farrell Dobbs the International Organizer in charge of this field.

THE RECENT BOSS ATTACKS ON LOCAL 544

Meanwhile the efforts of the bosses to smash Local 544 went on relentlessly. In November 1937, Pat Corcoran, Chairman of the North Central District Drivers Council and a close co-worker of Local 544, was shot to death by unknown assassins. It is generally accepted in the labor movement that he met his death at the hands of gangsters hired by the bosses.

Soon the bosses tried another device against 544—legal frame-up.

The boss press began a campaign of insinuation and slander against the leaders of 544 as "gangsters" and "racketeers" who were "misusing union funds."

The employers' association smuggled several agents into the union. These began to make charges of misuse of funds against the union leaders and finally brought suit against the union for restitution of funds allegedly due them.

The bosses and their courts leaped to support of this suit—known as the "Pink Suit." The plaintiffs "found" tens of thousands of dollars to fight Local 544 in the courts. For two years the union held out against the boss court demands that it turn over all its records—minutes, membership lists, etc.—to the scrutiny of the employers.

Finally, the bosses had to compromise and the union submitted for public examination only the pertinent records covering the union's finances.

In October, 1940, the union and its leaders were given a clean bill of health by a hostile judge. Despite all the probing and prying of a three-years investigation, unparalleled in the history of the union movement, a boss-dominated court had to legally attest to the impeccable honesty of Local 544 and its leaders.

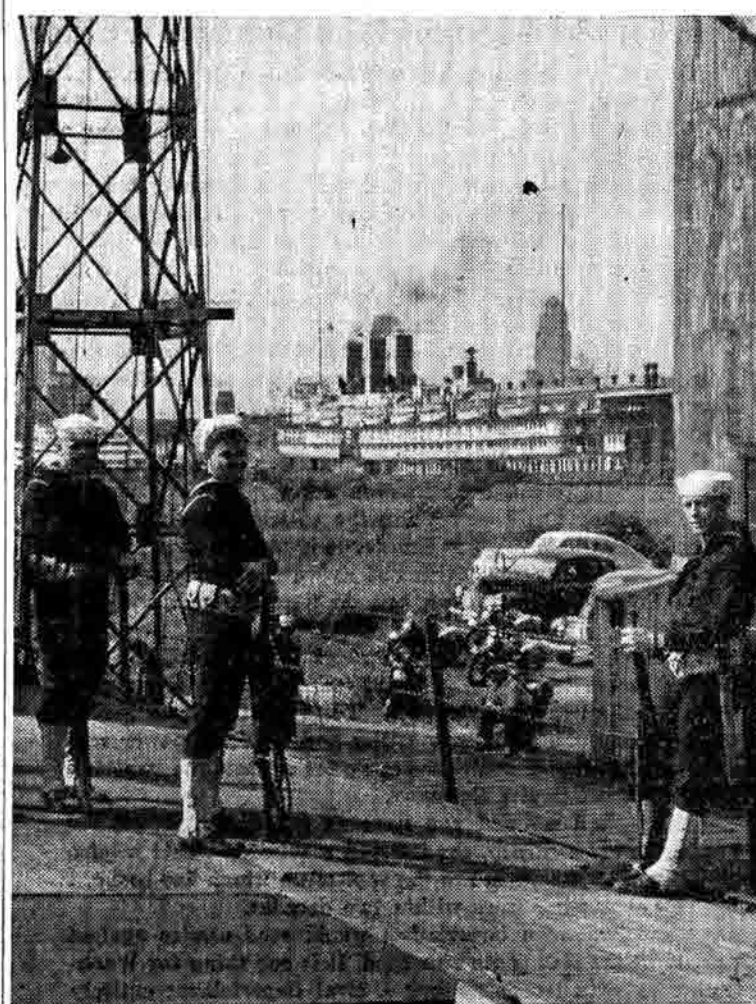
TODAY'S UNHOLY ALLIANCE AGAINST LOCAL 544

The defeat of the Pink Suit did not end the employers' drive against Local 544. It has made them more bitter than ever, more determined to destroy the greatest single bulwark against their open-shop designs.

And this time they have again secured formidable allies, Roosevelt, Tobin and the FBI.

When the delegates of Local 544 dared to take the floor at the last International teamsters convention in opposition to Tobin's demand for an increase in his yearly

### Government Strikebreakers



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

salary from \$20,000 to \$30,000, Tobin felt he had to strike. Local 544 lost the fight to prevent Tobin's raise, but won a convention majority against Tobin's proposal to write compulsory arbitration into the International constitution.

The Minneapolis drivers union had become too great a menace to Tobin's privileges and dictatorial powers. It had become a threat to his entire reactionary, strangling embrace upon the drivers' movement.

He hid his moves behind a smoke-screen of anti-radicalism. And, as in 1935, once again he sought to impose a complete personal dictatorship over Local 544 and place it under a "receiver-ship" of one his own agents.

But this time it was not the same as 1935. This time Local 544 had another movement to turn to, a militant, progressive and powerful industrial union organization whose methods and program were in the tradition of Local 544 itself.

That movement was the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In a regular membership meeting of nearly 4,000, the members

of Local 544 voted almost unanimously to sever their affiliations with the AFL backwash of the American labor movement and merge with the mighty forward-moving tide of the CIO.

The CIO has received Local 544 with open arms. And the union of these two forces—the main stream of progressive American labor organization and the dynamo of the Northwest union movement—has struck a shattering blow at the reactionary AFL and the boss class. Hundreds of thousands of drivers and other AFL workers, who have come to know and admire the record and policies of Local 544, are now turning as well in the direction of the CIO.

That is the vision that haunts Roosevelt and Tobin and the bosses. That is why Tobin is expending a huge slice of his \$6,000,000 treasury for hundreds of thugs to break Local 544. That is why Roosevelt has sent the FBI to attempt a frameup on "seditious conspiracy" charges against leaders and members of Local 544-CIO.

## WPA Strikers Were Also Persecuted By The FBI

### In The 1939 Strike, 162 Minneapolis WPA Workers Were Indicted On "Conspiracy" Charges; All Labor Protested Government Trial

Once before, in the summer of 1939, Roosevelt struck similarly at Minneapolis labor and Local 544, when the Department of Justice secured "conspiracy" indictments against 162 Minneapolis WPA workers because of their participation in the WPA strike in which the Federal Workers Section of Local 544 played a leading role.

Local 544 showed its fighting capacity then by mobilizing a defense campaign that aroused nation-wide labor opposition to Roosevelt's mass persecution and attempted frame-up of these 162 \$60 a month WPA workers.

In a six months battle that extended through three separate trials, Local 544 and its labor allies tore the FBI case to shreds. The nation-wide storm of labor protest that broke in the wake of these "conspiracy" indictments cracked the prosecution wide open. In the end, the government was forced to drop its case against 130 of the defendants, and sought to save its face by vindictively convicting 32 WPA strike leaders, 17 of whom were forced to serve sentences of from 30 days to 18 months in federal penitentiaries.

ROOSEVELT SLASHED WAGES

The strike in Minneapolis was part of a national WPA strike against the government's abolition of the prevailing wage on WPA and slashing the starvation monthly earnings of the WPA workers.

This attack on the WPA workers was sponsored directly by Roosevelt, who himself urged Congress to reduce the WPA standards.

When the WPA workers throughout the country struck

### FBI'S AGENTS PROVOCATEURS

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

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

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

After the Minneapolis WPA strikers were arrested they were held in jail for weeks on high bail of \$5,000 to \$10,000 each. The bench, throughout the trials, openly expressed its hostility. But so great was the pressure from organized labor, that, after 32 defendants had been convicted, the government did not dare go on with its case. The prosecution attempted to make a "deal" to get 40 of the defendants to plead guilty in return for the release of the remainder of the 130. This was turned down and organized labor won the release of the entire 130.

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Labor Book store, 919 Marquette Av.

## CIO Backs 544's Fight

(Continued from page 1)

chased at any time in our book stores.

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

"The present mysterious air of Victor Anderson and the other federal agents is obviously calculated to give the impression that they are uncovering a dangerous secret underground organization. We are confident that such a hoax cannot be perpetrated upon the people of Minneapolis."

### CIO MASS MEETING

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

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

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

### CIO PLEDGES AID

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

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

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

"Dan Tobin will sell every teamster in America to become secretary of labor. That's his object ... I suggest Tobin go with the politicians and give the work-

ers a chance to build a real honest industrial union that can win them better conditions.

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

V. R. Dunne explained why 544 was driven to break with Tobin and join the CIO. "Tobin talks about 'democracy' and sends in thugs and hoodlums. He talks of 'justice' and disregards the democratic actions of the union membership. He talks of 'fair play' and won't let you vote."

### FBI "AID TO TOBIN"

Cecil Owens, the next speaker, informed the teamsters:

"Your coming over to the CIO created a sensation in Washington. For a few days it appeared that the national administration had dropped its campaign of 'Aid to England' for a campaign of 'Aid to Dan Tobin.'

Owens sharply criticized the war hysteria and red-baiting emanating from government officials, many of them formerly connected with labor.

Ray Rainbolt predicted:

"Tobin has no secret weapon to change the hearts and minds of the members of 544. When the time comes we will beat him in the elections, we will make Minneapolis a union town under the banner of the CIO."

### PRESSMAN'S SPEECH

CIO counsel, Lee Pressman spoke for forty-five minutes tracing the progress and achievements of the CIO.

"When a single local union like 544 joins the CIO, why is there all this excitement? Why have you become a national issue?"

"The story dates back to 1934 when you teamsters, under your present leadership, decided to build a strong militant union and succeeded against great odds. The tradition behind your local union leads right to the origin of the CIO. The CIO was formed in 1935, led by Lewis and Murray, men determined to build a mighty labor organization representing the workers who toil for a living."

"Your 1934 strikes gave meaning to the need of the workers for strong unions. The CIO has carried out concretely on a national scale what you started in 1934."

Referring to the Grand Jury

hearings, called by the Department of Justice against 544 and the SWP, Pressman said:

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

### CIO UNIONS WIRE SOLIDARITY

In addition to the telegrams from Lewis and Murray, more than two hundred telegrams were received from heads of leading CIO Internationals, from regional CIO directors, and city CIO industrial union councils from Connecticut to California.

The only state from which no messages of fraternal greetings came was from the Stalinist-controlled State Council of Minnesota whose Secretary, Lageman, approved the government's action against the union.

### 544 DEMANDS ELECTIONS

State Labor Board hearings on the petitions of Local 544-CIO for elections to determine the choice of bargaining agent for the Minneapolis teamsters began last Monday and were held over until July 10th.

This delay plays into the hands of the AFL, which has opposed elections and is evidently counting on the government prosecutions to smash 544-CIO before elections can be held.

### NATION-WIDE INDICTMENTS

It is expected that about twenty-five persons will be indicted. Anderson hinted that FBI men in charge of the raids had been "working in other places."

"It is quite possible," he said, "this case will dovetail with others the FBI has built up elsewhere. This may be the start of a nationwide drive on subversive activities."

Meanwhile, the Twin Cities branches of the SWP have stepped up their public activity, distributing copies of THE MILITANT carrying our story on the FBI raids throughout the Northwest. Party morale is at its peak and the Minnesota Trotskyists are setting an example for the entire party of firmness under fire.

### IN LOS ANGELES

Buy the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL at:

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# Stalin's Speech: Not A Proletarian Note In It

(Continued from page 1)

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

## October Tradition and the German Worker

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But if "the enemy will be defeated," will you, Stalin, aid the German masses to prevent the imposition of a second and worse Versailles? On that, Stalin's speech breathes not a word. Likewise silent on this basic question are the leaflets which, the *Daily Worker* reports, the Red Army is showering on the German troops. The leaflets are exactly like those Churchill showered on Berlin. They ask the German soldiers not to fight against Britain (or the Soviet Union). They have not a word to say about socialism. In a word, they offer the German masses no alternative to Hitler except the yoke of the foreign invader. Similarly, the *Daily Worker* reports that German soldiers (four or five) have crossed the lines, unwilling to fight against the Red Army, and are now writing and radioing appeals to their German brothers. Splendid! But their appeals say no more than Stalin's speech or leaflets—i.e., no more than Churchill's leaflets. On that basis it is manifestly absurd to expect masses of German troops to desert or to overthrow Hitler.

Churchill and Roosevelt have been cementing the German masses to Hitler by their imperialist policy. Stalin has now become the agent of this foul policy. Woe to the Soviet Union if the Soviet masses permit this suicidal course to continue. The Soviet Union can assure victory over Hitler only by the methods of October and the Civil War.

## How Stalin "Inspires" Soviet Masses

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

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

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

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

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

# Our Banner--The Banner of Lenin and Trotsky

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

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

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

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

## To Defend the Soviet Union



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Stalin "Explains" the Plight of the USSR

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

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

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

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

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

"According to information at the disposal of the USSR,

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

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

But Hitler, it is now apparent, did not even bother negotiating for new concessions from Stalin! The pact with Stalin had served its purpose: it had saved the Nazis from a two-front war until all Europe had been subjugated. Now, having overrun the entire continent, Hitler wanted nothing less than complete subjugation of the Soviet Union.

## Stalin's Alibi for the Pact With Hitler

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

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

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

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

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

Stalin addresses the Soviet masses like a pettifogging lawyer,

Russia has been able to conquer the sympathy, the attention and the moral support of the workers of the whole world." How was this accomplished?

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

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

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

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

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

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

## What the USSR Lost By the Pact

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

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

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

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

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

"But it is by no means the only result. In spite of the Kremlin's territorial seizures, the international position of the USSR is worsened in the extreme. The Polish buffer disappeared. The Rumanian buffer will disappear tomorrow. Mighty Germany, master of Europe, acquires a common frontier with the USSR. Scandinavia, a place of weak and almost disarmed countries, is occupied by this same Germany. Her victories in the west are only preparation for a gigantic move toward the east. In the attack on Finland the Red Army, decapitated of its leaders, again by Stalin, demonstrated its weakness before the whole world. In his coming march against the USSR, Hitler will find support in Japan."

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

## For the Defense of the Soviet Union

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

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



## The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

### How To Defend the Soviet Union

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

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

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

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

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

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

### The Stalinists and the Negro March

A concrete example of the change in their approach to the Negro problem is the recently called-off Negro March On Washington. Before the invasion of the Soviet Union, the Stalinists bitterly criticized the leaders of the March because they were tied to Roosevelt's war machine, because their demands were inadequate, because they did not demand that the government support the anti-lynch and anti-poll tax bills, because they did not demand that the government stay out of war, etc. When the Roosevelt administration began to put pressure on Randolph and White and the other leaders of the March, in an attempt to get it called off, the Daily Worker warned the Negroes to be careful that they did not submit to the pressure and call off the march.

Then came the invasion and a few days later Randolph gave in to Roosevelt, and in return for a face saving executive order which granted very little, called off the March. If this had happened a week earlier, the Stalinists would have raised hell, attacking and condemning Randolph. But since the Stalinists now had a new line, they uttered not a single word of criticism that the March had been called off. True, they saw what they called a few "loopholes" in Roosevelt's executive order, but their National Negro Congress called it "a great step forward."

We want to warn Negroes who watch the developments of the Stalinist line not to expect a complete and open reversal overnight. If they did this, they would quickly lose all the influence among the militant Negroes which they now have. They will not drop their demand for the passage of an anti-lynch bill, for instance. After all, many "liberals" who also support the imperialist war, still think it would be good to pass such a bill. But the Stalinists will no longer make much of a point of it, and certainly will support Roosevelt's war plans despite his refusal to back the anti-lynch bill.

### We Fight On Against Jim Crow

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

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

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

# Unite the Worker and Soldier

## Bourgeoisie Deliberately Setting Soldiers Against Workers

By EUGENE VARLIN

The capitalist press, radio and other agencies of this country have been waging a continuous campaign, sometimes overt, sometimes covert, to turn the conscripted worker in the army against his worker-brother in the factory.

From the beginning, the conscript soldier has been a problem for the American bourgeoisie. Military theorists like Hoffmann Nickerson would have liked to do without a mass army. Such armies, wrote Nickerson in his "The Armed Horde," were dangerous; they led to revolutions. But the American bourgeoisie was preparing for war and the conditions of modern war demanded a mass conscript army.

The workers of this country are "bad" material for two reasons. First, there has been no established tradition of conscription. The drafted soldiers are particularly reluctant to accept the new, unaccustomed restraints, particularly when these are imposed by officers of an alien class.

Secondly, and more important, the past few years have seen the rise of a mass, militant trade-union movement in the United States in which a large proportion of the young draftees have

played a prominent role. Their experiences have taught them the need to organize, organization of their class, the working class, against precisely that class whose representatives dominate the bourgeois American army.

How has the capitalist class been attempting to overcome these difficulties? Here are some items:

### METHODS USED TO DIVIDE SOLDIERS FROM THE WORKERS

The large majority of the draftees were sent to training camps located far from their original residences. Thus they were separated as much as possible from the rest of their class, from their union organizations. This policy is reflected in the creation of the new United Service Organization which has been formed to raise something more than \$10,000,000 to provide entertainment facilities for America's armed forces. In its advertisements and press releases, this organization points out that many of the training camps are located over a dozen miles from any town; that, furthermore, the soldiers sometimes outnumber the population of these towns by as much as 10 to 1. This is not accidental; it is an inevitable result of the class-conscious

policy of the American War Department.

Fletcher Pratt, the New York Post "military expert," wrote that the soldiers making \$21 a month didn't like to see already well paid workers strike for more wages. Pratt would have liked the soldiers to believe that. That is just what the bourgeois army of officers are trying to make them believe.

Roosevelt did not dare to use draftees to break the strike of the aircraft workers. He used hardened veterans, many of whom had broken strikes in China. But when Roosevelt's Brigadier General Hershey canceled the deferment of strikers, he did not speak in the name of these few hardened veterans but in the name of the hundreds of thousands of drafted workers. He stated:

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

"They know that other registrants have been deferred from service in the armed forces to accomplish that purpose. They demand that no citizen hesitate

to do his full share in the strengthening of America."

This is one of the most flagrant and open efforts made up to this time to break the bonds of sympathy that tie the drafted worker to his unionist brothers.

### A REVEALING LETTER FROM A DRAFTEE

The following excerpt from a letter addressed by a conscript to a friend shows how the officers are trying to poison the minds of the draftees.

"Last Tuesday," writes this conscript, "we were given a lecture by the company commander and the subject he spoke on was foreign agents in our army camps. He pointed out that the soldiers are too far friendly with strangers especially when they go to town and get a couple of drinks type their systems, they blab of what they do on maneuvers and what kind of weapons are being used, also the different formations that are used when assembling for attack or retreat. I think that he was more than right, he also went on to speak about what the fellows write in their letters, he said some of these letters are lost and that we don't know whose hands these letters are falling into."

"He then went on to explain

when and why the militia would be used. When he started to speak about how riots broke out before this country went into the last war also how necessary it would be to call out the militia if and when any city or state police forces couldn't enforce strict law and order, in case of strikes, I put two and two together. He spoke on how vitally important it was for all manufacturers that were making war weapons for this country, to make sure that these weapons are made without delay due to strikes, he said that if one person wanted to work while another was on strike it was no business of anybody to try to make that particular person who wanted to work go on strike. In other words I think that if there are going to be strikes in the future the government is going to take drastic steps to curb the trouble. He said only in extreme cases would civilian population be fired on."

What the capitalist class is driving at is obvious. Can it succeed? Can it really transform former union militants into opponents of the working class and its struggles? Can it, as Liebnicht wrote, "square the circle," "arm the people against the people itself . . . turn the workman into an oppressor and an enemy, into a murderer of members of his own class and his friends, of his parents, sisters and brothers, children, into a murderer of his own past and future."

### EXAMPLES OF 1917—WHICH SHALL WE FOLLOW?

The Italian soldiers were not very much different from our own. Yet they comprised an essential element in Mussolini's Fascist movement which crushed the organizations of the Italian working class, their class.

And the American draftees of 1917? They, too, despite the relative immaturity of the American trade unions, were not very much different from the draftees today. Yet, after the war, many of them joined strikebreaking, ultra-patriotic organizations like the American Legion. The veterans of 1918 are in the vanguard of American reaction to this day.

Did this have to happen? No! The Russian Revolution ought, for all time, to dispel any illusions on that score. There, the soldier-workers, far from being enemies of the working class, actually aided the revolution of the workers, playing a key role through the Soviets of Soldiers' Deputies. Russia in 1917 had what Italy and the United States lacked — a working class party fighting for the interests of the soldiers. The lessons of the Russian Revolution must be impressed on the trade union movement of this country. They must protect not only the interests of the workers in the factory but also the workers in the army. They must advance a program for the soldiers and must demand the means by which this program can be put into effect.

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

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

By DON DORE

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

This new line, as everyone knows, directly contradicts what the Stalinists said yesterday about the ruling class of Britain and the United States.

That isn't all that it contradicts. The flip-flop in America and England might be explained away by the Stalinists on the ground that these countries are now fighting a progressive war.

Yesterday, however, the Stalinists correctly characterized as a progressive struggle the war of the Chinese people against Japan, the struggle of the German and Italian workers for liberation from fascism — and the program proposed yesterday by the Stalinists for those progressive struggles was diametrically opposite to the program they offer today to the Chinese, Italian and German workers.

### YESTERDAY'S STALINIST PROGRAM FOR CHINA

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

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

"China must, Chou En Lai insisted, always adhere to the platform of the national war of liberation, and never join any bloc of imperialist warring countries."

Chou En Lai then goes on:

"... China must pursue an independent and her own policy in the war and must not join the bloc of imperialist countries who are waging war and must not renounce the principle of national independence and freedom."

"China cannot refuse foreign aid. But we must clearly understand that the initiative, independence and achievement of victory with our own forces form the basis of state policy in our armed resistance..."

When Cordell Hull last month made some "promises" to China,

the Daily Worker, June 4, said editorially:

"Secretary Hull's latest contribution to the State Department's intrigue in the Far East is a vague promise to surrender extraterritorial privileges in China at some distant date not specified..."

"Does Secretary Hull's vague promises signify any reversal of imperialist policy in China? It would be very naive to think so..."

"The Soviet Union in 1920 of its own free will wiped out all imperialist claims in China left over from the imperialist Czarist regime. It did not have to make vague promises for some distant future."

"But that was because it really meant it. Secretary Hull doesn't mean it. Secretary Hull is an imperialist maneuvering in China for the greater glory of Wall Street and Standard Oil."

We ask the members of the Communist Party: Isn't Hull-Roosevelt's game in China the same "maneuvering in China for the greater glory of Wall Street and Standard Oil" that it was last month? Yet the Communist Party today is supporting all of Hull-Roosevelt's proposals to China!

### YESTERDAY'S STALINIST LINE FOR ITALY

Did the Italian Communist Party yesterday call on the Italian workers to support the "democratic" imperialists because the Allies were fighting Mussolini? On the contrary. The Daily Worker, May 28, quoted the Manifesto of the Communist Party of Italy which declared:

"... The real interests of the Italian people lie in the colonies peoples becoming free and independent, both from the yoke of the plutocrats of London and from the yoke of the plutocrats who hold sway in Germany and Italy..."

"The British people today are overwhelmingly workers, our class brothers, exploited in the factories by the capitalists just as are the Italian workers. Recently there gathered together in London representatives of hundreds of thousands of British workers who declared that they are fighting for the defeat of British imperialism and wish to end the war... Across the trenches and war fronts we must stretch out our hand of comradeship to the revolutionary British workers, we must join them in struggle

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

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

Yesterday the Stalinists correctly explained that those "socialists" who support Britain against Italy are driving the Italian workers into the arms of Mussolini! That is still true. Only now the Stalinists have joined the "socialists" in this reactionary task.

### YESTERDAY'S C.P. LINE FOR THE GERMAN WORKER

Before June 22nd the Stalinists warned the German workers that the fight against Hitler could be waged only as a fight against Hitler and Churchill. An editorial in the June Daily Worker declared:

"A Hitler or a Churchill looks upon small nations and colonial peoples as mere pawns to be whipped as slaves, exploited and robbed. Under such rule, the people at home suffer tyranny as well as the victimized conquered peoples..."

"The German Communists, inspired by the triumphs of Socialism in the Soviet Union, fearlessly raise the banners of national liberation against their own Hitler imperialism."

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

On June 5, the Daily Worker published an editorial on the death of the former Kaiser, in which it stated:

"The Allied imperialists who had been waging war against the German bankers, also came to their rescue and helped smash the revolution. Wall Street and London would be more terrified today if the German workers were about to overthrow Hitlerism and again would spare no effort to place

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

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

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

Today, however, the Stalinists have ceased to call upon the German workers to fight for socialism. That word has disappeared from all references to Germany, including the Kremlin's leaflets "appealing" to the German soldiers.

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

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

Such are the utterly reactionary fruits of the new Stalinist line for the German, Italian and Chinese masses.

## Will Japan Now Attempt To Attack the USSR?

By JACK WEBER

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

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

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

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

### Japan Preparing To Fight USSR

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

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

### Pacific War Will Begin in Siberia

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

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

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## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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7. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

## "Shooting War"

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

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

There is an obvious contradiction between the move into Iceland and the constitutional exclusion of the President from the power to plunge this country into a war.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Roosevelt knew this very well when he directed

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Stalinist Double-Talk

When John L. Lewis last Monday blasted Roosevelt for using troops to break the North American Aviation strike, he became so impassioned that his voice could be heard by newspapermen waiting outside the closed doors of the CIO legislative conference. The reporters couldn't hear all that Lewis said, but they got the drift of things and knew they had a big story. Further details became generally available by tacit agreement of the CIO delegates. No paper could ignore this big news. The N. Y. Times, for example, gave it front page display under the headline, "J. L. Lewis Assails Roosevelt's Use of Army in Strike."

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

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

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

Since the Nazi-Soviet war Roosevelt has again become Galahad to the Daily Worker. It protects him from attack, even from union leaders on the score of strikebreaking. This is the Stalinist offering to Roosevelt in payment for his aid to Stalin. Fortunately the editors can't eat all the back issues of the Daily Worker, though no doubt they'd like to. When the North American strike was broken (before the Nazi-Soviet war) the Roosevelt question was handled differently.

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

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

# After Randolph Dropped The Negro March

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

By ALBERT PARKER

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

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

Randolph had to speak about the order over the radio since Roosevelt wouldn't. Hillman had to hold the press conference. Negroes had to wait for the Negro press to explain what the order was about, and those papers didn't do a very good job at it either.

All this indicates very clearly how important Roosevelt considers this so-called "second Emancipation Proclamation."

## NEGRO YOUTH BLAST RANDOLPH'S RETREAT

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

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

The Chicago Defender tells of

a typical rank-and-file supporter of the March:

"In Florida, a 77-year-old woman sold a member of the Office of Production Management staff a 'jobless march button' and swore that she was going to take part in the parade. She had money enough to carry her only as far as Savannah, Ga., which is about six or 700 miles short of her goal, but she was determined to get the rest of the distance and vowed she would make it if she had to walk."

What a far cry this is from the attitude of some of the leaders of the March, who had only to get into a Pullman train or a plane, and who were just as determined to see that the March did not go through!

Horace R. Cayton, labor editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, one of the speakers at the NAACP conference in Houston, describes a stirring speech by Robert Ming on the Negroes and the armed forces, and then says:

"In one very real sense it was a pity that they did not stop the meeting then, for A. Philip Randolph followed Ming. Randolph made an apologetic statement which finally led up to the fact that 'they' (I don't know who 'they' were) had called off the march to Washington. His arguments concerning the reason for calling off the march, as I understood it, was because the President had issued an executive order setting up a board for the purpose of integrating Negroes into the defense program..."

"It sounded pretty thin when he stated it in the Good Hope Baptist Church; it sounds even worse when I write it today. Randolph has a lot of explaining to do, and so have all the rest mixed up in the direction of the March—and he didn't do it down here. Walter White, in the last mass meeting on Friday night, expressed his own dissatisfaction with the Presi-

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

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## HOW ROOSEVELT'S ORDER LOOKS IN PRACTICE

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

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

"Naturally," he went on, "wherever our opinion is asked, it is our duty to encourage employment with no discrimination, but it's not up to us to take the initiative. 'The problem may solve itself when there's a shortage of unskilled help, as well as skilled. It's a tough problem, and the reason it's tough is that everyone pussyfoots on it. I'm afraid attempts to pressure the thing in the emergency may not work out.'"

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

# U. S. And Britain Still Clash In Latin-America

American workers in steel, machinery, chemical products, rubber and cloth are being sweated long hours to produce for Churchill.

And at the same time British workers in these same industries are being driven to produce capital and consumer goods which are being sold by the English bosses, at a neat profit, to South America!

This week U. S. exporters, stung by the new English commercial successes in Latin America, are demanding that Roosevelt do something about it.

"Crowning blow in the succession of incidents," reports the N. Y. Times financial section of July 6th, "came three weeks ago when a company in Buenos Aires which was on the British black list (of German or pro-German companies) entered the market for quantities of paper. According to exporters the order was substantial and at the instance of an English supplier the name of the Buenos Aires buyer was removed from the black-list long enough to enable the British company to bid for the business and get its money, whereupon the company was put back on the black-list again."

"Indignation also was generated last week when a manufacturer of hard rubber goods, who has been compelled to curtail a rather extensive export business because of the defense program restric-

tions on raw materials, received a letter from an English supplier offering to furnish finished goods."

This battle for Latin-American markets between the British and U. S. "allies" reached its first crisis in the early part of June when the N. Y. Times revealed in June 8:

"On its tour of South America early this year the British government Willingdon Mission advised Latin Americans that England had 1,000,000 tons of shipping serving the South American ports."

"(American) exporters who recently returned from Argentina reported seeing pre-fabricated steel pipe stacked up at a plant at Rosario. The Argentine buyers boasted that the order had been placed at a price more than 10 per cent below the lowest quoted by United States shippers. They added that the delivered consignment represented the second attempt by England to fill the order. The ship carrying the first consignment was sunk and the order was duplicated and sent on a later boat."

"At a paper-making plant on the outskirts of the same city... the owners said they were awarding a contract for paper-making equipment to British producers because the latter had been able to underbid American makers by a wide margin. In Columbia and Brazil active bidding for steel products was general on the part of English representatives who were reported to be offering prices which American producers could not match."

Taking advantage of the war situation, and the extreme dependency of British imperialism on American aid against the most aggressive rival of both, the American imperialists last year launched a drive to force the British to relinquish their hold on these markets. The British answered with bargain prices.

The American government, the New York Times announced June

8, had secured from Churchill, last month, a promise to curtail this trade drive.

The British, it seems, now have welched on this promise. The trade drive has continued and again the Congressional cloakrooms echo with maledictions against the British. The American drive to war is based upon the theory that Germany is a threat to the South American markets. However, the American imperialists will use this war to eliminate all competitors from Latin America, allied as well as enemy.

## WHAT THIS REVEALS ABOUT ENGLAND INTERNALLY

This British drive for export trade reveals much concerning the internal situation in England.

The British workers are regimented in the name of the war. But the British bosses are still conducting business as usual in whatever sphere they can realize the most profits. The "most desperate hour of British need" has not imposed many restrictions upon the big British manufacturers. While Nazi bombs blast England's production facilities and the workers are forced to work 70 and 80 hours per week to supply the war machine, the bosses produce steel for export!

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# Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

## The Soviet Union's Military Limitations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Revolutionary Policy Could Defeat Hitler

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

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

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

"Everybody knows how valiantly the Russians fought during the battle on the ice of Peipus Lake, April 5, 1942, when the Knights of the Teutonic Order were routed—the distant predecessors of today's fascists." (DAILY WORKER, June 25.)

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

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

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

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

## They Love It

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

The ad then quotes part of a review of Burnham's book that appeared in Business Week: "...for the author picked the right subject at the right time."

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