

"OUR SHIP WAS BOMBED IN SUEZ"

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U.S. AIMS AT WORLD RULE, SAYS KNOX

Kremlin Conceals Real Reasons For Defeats

Exaggerates Moscow Conference Results To Hide Lack Of Competent Army Leaders, Failure To Inspire Revolutionary Struggle

By ART PREIS

The Kremlin is making fantastic claims for the results of the Moscow three-power conference on aid to the Soviet Union.

Thanking the representatives of the imperialist democracies for the "bountiful supplies" already sent to the USSR, Stalin on October 1 put forth the claim that the promised aid will enable the Soviet forces "forthwith to strengthen their relentless defense and develop vigorous attacks against the invading army."

Lozovsky, chief of the Soviet Information Bureau, stated that the Moscow agreement has "enormous explosive powers" and "will have a deadly practical nature to the Germans."

A Moscow dispatch in the *Daily Worker*, October 4, declares: "The pooling of the vast resources of the U.S.A., Great Britain and the USSR are guarantees that Hitler will meet his doom, the *Izvestia* stated."

The *Daily Worker*, October 6, calls the conference results a "deadly blow to Hitler."

These claims about the extent and importance of the forthcoming material aid from the Allies are in sharp contrast to the attitude of the Stalinists and their press in the days immediately preceding the conference.

Harry Pollitt, leading British Stalinist, publicly declared on September 21:

"Churchill's policy announced on September 9, completely failed to satisfy public disquiet. . . Taken

in conjunction with statements by Lords Moyne and Clement Attlee in behalf of the government, we have a declaration of definite policy which can be summed up as limited assistance to Russia, rejection of military action and 'ceaseless study of the problem.' " (*Daily Worker*, Sept. 22).

On the very day of the conclusion of the conference, the *Daily Worker*, October 2, still said editorially:

"Some materials have reached the Soviet Union from America, but thus far it has been only a token. Neither the vast quantity nor the full range of materials necessary for effective aid to the Soviet Union has been sent."

But even material aid is not sufficient in itself to save the situation, added the *Daily Worker*, stating:

"Not only is much larger and speedier aid necessary for the Soviet Union, but our country . . . must undertake equal responsibility for the military destruction of

Hitler." That is, open up a western front.

SITUATION NOT CHANGED

Has the attitude of the Churchill government, as described by Pollitt, now changed overnight? Has the Soviet Union's military situation, for which the *Daily Worker* says more help is needed than mere material aid, now taken a magical turn for the better?

Not at all. These fulsome claims for the results of the Moscow conference are made in order to stifle the doubts and serious concern of the Stalinist ranks everywhere, about the causes for the disastrous defeats continuously suffered by the Red Army since the inception of the war.

This agitation about the significance of the "aid" promised by Churchill and Roosevelt is only a Stalinist smoke-screen to hide

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Can't Discuss Soviet War



Soviet factory workers at a Dimitrov plant being taught the mechanism of rifles and other arms in preparation for service with the armed forces against the Nazis.

Stalin Forbids Soviet Masses To Discuss War Developments

Measure Is Intended To Silence Those Who Are Critical Of Kremlin's Ruinous Policies

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

(This is the second of a series of articles on conditions in the Soviet Union today, based on the first number of consecutive issues of Moscow newspapers available in this country in almost a year.)

The Soviet Union was placed under martial law on June 22, the day Hitler started his invasion. Military authorities now rule supreme. No one is permitted to enter or leave Moscow. Workers who live in the suburbs of Moscow must obtain special permits to go to their jobs in the city. (*Pravda*, June 26).

But even martial law is not rigorous enough for Stalin's requirements. After two weeks of war, on July 5, he issued a special ukase virtually forbidding people to talk! The text of

this ukase, issued in the name of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, follows:

"It is hereby decreed that whoever is guilty of spreading in wartime false rumors arousing alarm among the populace shall be sentenced by verdict of the courts martial to a term of 2 to 5 years in prison, unless the nature of the crime is such as carries with it a severer penalty by law" (*Pravda*, July 6).

With this ukase Stalin has, in effect, scrapped the Stalinist "Constitution" with all its "guarantees". The military tribunals—the courts martial—are the sole judges of the distinction, if any, between "free speech" and "false rumor."

Even the judges are instructed in advance. The Secretary of Propaganda of the Moscow District Committee of the Communist Party elucidated the ukase as follows:

"Especially intolerable today . . . are general discussions, empty and abstract babble. . . In accordance with the new ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR it is necessary to conduct the most ruthless struggle against the disseminators of false rumors arousing alarm among the populace. Our work must be directed toward the extermination of spies and diversionists, the exposure of panicky people, provocateurs, etc."

It will be observed that the Secretary of Propaganda makes no distinction whatever between a "babbling" and a "spy"; between a "panicky people" and "diversionists." They are lumped together along with "disseminators of false rumors," "provocateurs", etc. Perhaps this is merely an excess of zeal? PRAVDA itself hastens to dispel any illusions on this score in a leading editorial.

"Fascist plunderers," thunders *Pravda*, "are trying to employ the methods of diversionism and

fascist barbarians are trying to penetrate deep into the interior in order to perpetrate their black deeds here."

Obviously, the Kremlin wants to erect an impenetrable barrier of suspicion between soldiers and civilians. To engage a soldier in conversation is to run the risk of being charged with contacting an agent of the enemy. But that is not all. The Kremlin wants no discussions of any kind, neither among soldiers nor among civilians. *Pravda* makes no bones about it:

"NO UNNECESSARY CONVERSATIONS, NO SUPERFLUOUS WORDS! THE BABBLER IS THE FIRST ASSISTANT OF THE SPY AND DIVERSIONIST" (*Pravda*, July 13).

In order to illustrate that the GPU alone is equipped to pass judgment on the character of conversations, *Pravda* featured the case of a Soviet worker. "On June 26," says *Pravda*, "one Ts. was doing some repair work in a house on one of the central streets of Moscow . . . Ts. deported himself very freely, and wishing to

show off that he was a 'well-informed person', told the housewife all sorts of fantastic nonsense." We interrupt at this point to explain that *Pravda* is not at all enraged by the fact a Soviet worker was kept busy repairing an apartment instead of being engaged in defense work. Workers do not live in houses in the center of Moscow. The house in question was not at all an ordinary house, but that of a bureaucrat. And the "housewife" obviously was the wife of an important person. Could anything be more suspicious than a worker feeling at ease in such circumstances? The "housewife" immediately reported this most suspicious behavior to the police.

"The investigation proved," emphasizes *Pravda*, "that Ts. was systematically engaged in counter-revolutionary agitation among the workers in the building trades, and was trying to sow panic."

What greater criminal could there be than a worker who thinks he can deport himself "freely" or "show off" how much he knows in public? To jail with

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Will "Police Seven Seas" For Next 100 Years

Admits This War Will be Followed By Other Imperialist Struggles For World Domination

By GEORGE BREITMAN

American imperialism does not have and cannot afford to have a perspective of peace after the defeat of Hitler in this war, for it must work for world domination and the assurance that this domination will be maintained for 'a hundred years, at least,' Secretary of the Navy Knox told the American Bar Association in Indianapolis on October 1.

Knox's warning that an American-British victory in World War II would not usher in a period of lasting peace but would be only the first step in the direction of world domination by the victorious powers, came in the course of a speech pleading for support of a naval expansion policy that would permit the United States, together with Great Britain, to "police the seven seas" after the war.

Knox, authoritative spokesman for the Administration, in this intimation of the imperialist war aims and problems of the American bosses, avoided much of the high sounding camouflage and talk about "four freedoms" employed by Roosevelt and Churchill to decorate their Eight Points.

America is already in the war, he said, and "the world has now grown so small, so interrelated, so interdependent that, try as we will, we cannot escape from this task" (of insuring American domination of the world).

"It is by no means sufficient that we take those steps necessary to clear the sea lanes of the bandits which now infest them. We must do more than that. We must do our full share and more, to guarantee that they shall be kept clear of pirates in the future. . . (It means) that the great law-abiding, peace-loving nations (United States and Great Britain) must take the power into their hands and keep it there for a long time to come to prevent the inauguration of another world war. . ."

NO PROMISE OF PEACE

Knox makes no promises that such a course will mean peace. As a matter of fact he strongly indicates that other wars will have to be fought by the master nations of the world if they want to maintain supremacy.

"We will not engage in any idle dreams of a millenium. We are not going to stop all wars. But I am convinced we, for our own safety and protection, and for the maintenance of our way of life, shall have to provide an interregnum in which we will not only devote ourselves to the pursuit of peaceful aims, but provide the essential might to enforce such a peace on those who are not willing voluntarily to pursue such a course. . ."

"If we must fight, and mark this well, there will not be for many years to come a time when we may not have to fight, then with modern weapons what they are, let us determine that we will fight elsewhere than our own soil. . ."

Knox has no illusions that the victory of either the "democratic" or the fascist imperialists in this war will bring in any lasting period of peace. Nor does he pretend that any World War II edition of the League of Nations will do away with imperialist war or imperialist peace.

"Sometime, somewhere, an international order may emerge which need not rely on force, but that time, unhappily, is a long way off.

"In the interim, a justly conducted, peace-loving force must intervene to save the world from self-destruction. The foundation

of such a force, as I have indicated, must be the control of the seas by the United States and Great Britain. . ."

WHAT "FREEDOM OF THE SEAS" MEANS

In this speech Knox dwelt at great length on the imperialist concept of "freedom of the seas," and stressed its use not only as a slogan for complete entry into the war, but for world domination after the war.

"The objective of all naval operations is control of maritime communications and the ability to preserve such communications for one's own use, whether military or commercial, and to deny them to the enemy. . ."

"I hope that what I have said does make for a better understanding of how vital to us is the principle of the freedom of the seas. This freedom means that the great historic highways of the nations are free for the use of all alike, on even terms, save only those activities which are designed to be hostile and aggressive. . ."

"Freedom of the seas" is not an abstract principle for Knox and the capitalist class he represents. In their double talk it becomes monopoly of the seas by the United States and its satellites. The seas will be "free" to them, but they will be "controlled" for other nations whose activities "whether military or commercial" may be regarded as hostile or aggressive to the dominant powers. Thus, for example, the United States and Great Britain will be able to shut off the use of the seas to any nation that tries to compete with them commercially in any foreign market, for that would be regarded as hostile or aggressive.

"Aggressor nations must not be allowed to deprive other powers of the free use of the seas upon which their lives and fortunes depend. This is the essence of the meaning of the principle of the freedom of the seas. . ."

Nations which the American-Anglo controllers of the seas consider "aggressive" will not be permitted to deprive other nations of the use of seas — only the United States and Great Britain will be able to do that, says Knox.

WHO WILL RUN THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR

And who else besides the United States and the British Empire will decide these questions when the second "war for democracy" is over? Knox makes clear that no other nation will have any say in this matter unless it is self-destruction. The foundation

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New Pamphlet On SWP Prosecution Now On Sale

NEW YORK, Oct. 7.—The Civil Rights Defense Committee has just published a pamphlet setting forth the main facts and important issues involved in the Federal Prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO. The pamphlet has been written by George E. Novack, Secretary of the Committee, and contains a foreword by James T. Farrell, noted novelist, author of "Studs Lonigan", and Chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

In his foreword James Farrell makes the following significant comments on the case:

"I once heard free speech cynically described as a right which the citizen possesses as long as he doesn't exercise it. Do we want this statement to be more than mere cynicism? Do we want it to be a description of the status of free speech, of civil liberties, in the United States — in the year 1941? These questions, in essence point to the vital issue involved in the Minnesota 'Seditious Conspiracy' case.

"This case is the most important involving civil liberties since the trials of the I.W.W. members during the First World War. And it is similar to the I.W.W. cases in its fundamental point. Both constituted attacks on the labor movement. It is axiomatic that there can be no freedom in a society if labor is not free. The basis of our liberties rests, formally, on the unconditional guarantees given us in the Bill of Rights. It rests actually on the freedom of labor. In Italy, when Benito Mussolini rose to power, he undertook an immediate attack on all working-class organizations and he crushed them; in Germany, this was also the first step of Adolf Hitler after he became Chancellor. The major step in the restriction, the abridgement and the abolition of civil liberties is always the same

—it is an attack on the political and economic rights of labor. This is why the Minnesota 'Seditious Conspiracy' case is of such crucial importance.

"Today, there are few places on this globe where a man is permitted honestly and openly to express his ideas and to defend his convictions. The American people do not want this to happen in the United States. The way to prevent this is to implement and strengthen our civil rights. And we can and must do this by defending them. Freedom of speech is meaningless if it is freedom to agree with those who are in power. No real social advance is ever attained in that manner. Unless this attack on our basic rights is checked, it will establish a precedent for subsequent ones. This is precisely the manner in which liberty dies. Inch by inch it is eaten away. One precedent after another is established. Repressive and reactionary tendencies are built up until they can, in time, resemble a tidal wave. When that has happened — it is too late."

The pamphlet sells for five cents and copies can be obtained from the office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The first meeting of the National Committee of the Civil Rights Defense Committee was held on Monday, October 6th, at which a statement on policy was ratified and plans made for the extension of the Committee's work in the next few months. New members of the National Committee include Alice Stone Blackwell, prominent fighter for women's rights, Alfred Baker Lewis, well-known Socialist, Dr. Benjamin Lippincott of the University of Minnesota, Joseph Gilbert of the Minnesota Midland Cooperative Wholesale, Charles D. Egle, Manager, Farmers Union Livestock Commission Co., St. Paul, Minnesota.

Grant Dunne, 1894-1941



GRANT DUNNE

MINNEAPOLIS, Minnesota, Oct. 5. — In ill health for a long time as a result of shell-shock suffered during the first World War, Grant Dunne, Organizer for Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union Local 544-CIO, committed suicide yesterday. Shortly after 6 P. M. he was found fatally wounded on the floor of a bedroom in the apartment in which he lived with his wife and two of their four sons. A 22-target pistol lay at his side. He had been shot through the right temple.

His wife, Clara and their ten-year old son Russell, were in the apartment at the time of the shooting. Deputy Coroner Dr. Emil Johnson officially pronounced the death a suicide by shooting and said that no inquest would be held.

Workers Mourn His Loss

Thousands of Minneapolis truck drivers are grief-stricken over this tragedy which has ended the life of a devoted and courageous trade union leader, who, together with his brothers Miles and Vincent and other Minneapolis militants, built the Drivers Union 544 into one of the most powerful labor organizations in the country. These workers who have gained so much through their union, understand that the blows which had been struck at 544-CIO in recent months by Stassen, Blair and the state apparatus as well as by Tobin, Roosevelt and the FBI, pressed heavily upon

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Labor Groups Denounce Union-Buster LaGuardia

Anti-Labor Policies Hit By TWU, Teachers, Municipal Workers and Negro Groups

Without consulting the wishes of the rank-and-file of their member organizations, the bureaucratic tops of the New York Central Labor Union (AFL) and of the New York Industrial Union Council (CIO) have announced their support of union-buster Fiorello H. LaGuardia in the coming elections. At the same time, unions affiliated to these same groups have in the past two weeks come out with strong condemnations of LaGuardia's anti-labor policies, indicating that the union leaders speak only for themselves and against the interests of the rank and file.

Last week, two hundred and fifty delegates assembled at the third biennial convention of the Transport Workers Union in New York City heard Allan S. Haywood, national director of the C. I. O., Michael J. Quill, international president of the Transport Workers Union, and Joseph Curran, president of the Greater New York Industrial Council, denounce the failure of Mayor LaGuardia to recognize the Transport Workers Union as the bargaining agency of the city's 32,000 transport workers.

LaGuardia's administration was attacked by Haywood as having made "the most brazen and outrageous attempt to break a labor union that I have ever witnessed in my long career as a labor leader."

On September 20, in Lansing, Michigan, the national convention of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America, CIO, declared its opposition to the suspension from employment of Ewart Guinier, New York district SCWMA president.

The charges brought against Guinier by LaGuardia's Commissioner of Investigation, William B. Herlands, were denounced as "trumped-up," and his suspension was termed another "union-busting attack on the SCWMA." The State, County, and Municipal Workers convention voted to demand the reinstatement of Guinier, who is a popular Negro militant and not the first of his race to suffer from LaGuardia's anti-

labor, anti-Negro policies.

On July 19, Herbert Newton, Negro vice-president of the WPA Teachers' Union was arrested while leading a picket line protesting the dismissal of 20,000 WPA workers. He was taken to the 23rd Precinct Police Station by LaGuardia's cops and there badly beaten. The job was done so thoroughly that his attorney was not permitted to see him for twenty-four hours. He finally found Newton in the prison ward of Bellevue Hospital, unable to speak, suffering from crushed ribs, concussion of the brain and other serious injuries.

The president of the WPA Teachers Union, William Levney, described the beating as "the last straw in a whole series of incidents of police brutality against Negroes."

After a prolonged pressure campaign conducted by the union Committee for the Defense of Herbert Newton, LaGuardia's appointee, Police Commissioner Valentine, granted an open hearing on the charges of brutality against Negroes on October 2nd. On the day of the hearing, however, Deputy Inspector Mulholland refused admittance to representatives of the press and interested organizations. Their presence was not "in the public interest," he said. At the "hearing" itself, police officials charged with brutality were not permitted to testify or be questioned. The main actors in this farce never got on the stage.

Every one knows that Mayor LaGuardia has failed to provide

necessary funds requested by the Board of Education on the grounds that "national defense" comes first. Meek though it usually is, the New York Teachers Guild, Local 2 of the American Federation of Teachers, attacked LaGuardia's "outrageous and unprecedented" procedure, when on his authority, the City Treasury stopped payment on checks of thirty-five members of the Board of Education's clerical staff who had been granted sabbatical leaves.

A statement declaring the Mayor's action a "flagrant attempt to use the budget as a pretext for curtailing the powers of the Board of Superintendents and the Board of Education" was sent to James Marshall, president of the latter Board.

These four cases which we have cited all received publicity within a few weeks. Far from being "exceptions", they are characteristic of LaGuardia's regime. They show that instead of being a "friend" of labor, the Little Flower is just another political agent of the bosses fooling the workers.

The AFL and CIO leaderships' attempts to force their rank-and-file to support LaGuardia, prove that these leaders are closer to LaGuardia and his war program than they are to the workers who are the victims of LaGuardia's regime.

VOTE FOR THE CANDIDATE WHO FIGHTS AGAINST WAR

The workers and local unions who have protested against LaGuardia's misdeeds need only to carry their position to its logical conclusion to see that the only mayoralty candidate worthy of their support is James P. Cannon, the Trotskyist Anti-War candidate of our Party.

Cannon and the other militants in the federal prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO have been indicted by Roosevelt for their anti-war

Reason For Union Guards



What a union defense guard might have prevented is shown in this picture of Homer Wilson of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, one of two CIO organizers waylaid September 25 by masked vigilantes in Roane county, Tennessee. Both were flogged and drenched in hot tar after being warned that "We're not going to pay northern wages in Tennessee."

stand and for their militant union work. LaGuardia, working hand in glove with Roosevelt, seeks to smash the militant unions, and remove the opposition to the imperialist war.

LaGuardia is a clever agent of the bosses whose words and gestures as a "friend" of labor are in direct contradiction to his deeds and actions. Cannon is a working class militant and revolutionist with a record of 30 years service to the American labor movement. The bosses want to continue LaGuardia as their mayor and send Cannon to jail. The workers of New York must give real expression to their own interests by supporting Cannon and the program of the Trotskyist Anti-War Party.

Seamen Win War Bonus Gains As Result Of Strike Action

But NDMB Uses Threats To Coerce Union Heads To Accept Limited Concessions

The leaders of the Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific have bowed to a virtual government ultimatum and accepted a "compromise" agreement on their demand for war bonuses and increased insurance payments for seamen sailing merchant ships into belligerent waters. The National Defense Mediation Board, which heard the case, threatened the unions with what amounted to the establishment of a maritime "Czar" if they failed to accept the "recommendations."

Harry Lundberg, heading the SUP, and John Hawk, heading the SIU delegation, agreed in Washington to recommend to the membership of their respective unions that the NDMB findings be accepted. It was revealed by the negotiating committees that the government had declared its readiness to clamp upon the seamen, arbitration machinery similar to the Railway Labor Act, which would make future strike action all but impossible, if the committees had rejected the NDMB "recommendations."

The unions, however, were not defeated on all the points involved in the dispute. They won several concessions, including a 33 1-3% bonus increase. But the attitude of the NDMB proved to the seamen, that the Mediation Board was just as much on the side of the shipowners as was the Maritime Commission which ran scabs on three ships during the 10 day strike in September. Today the seamen are no longer deceived by the fiction of governmental impartiality between worker and boss. They know that all governmental agencies are stooges for the bosses. They know that the concessions they did win, were due to their own militancy and not to the fairness of the Mediation Board.

Aside from the bonus boosts, the unions smashed several reactionary precedents that the shipowners were trying to establish. Killed was the move to let the seamen's bonus rates to the ships' hull insurance which seldom varies much. Moreover, the Maritime Commission was completely eliminated from the field of labor relations. This was no small vic-

ceive, under the new agreement, \$80 a month bonus in the first four areas, and \$33 a month in Canadian waters.

The following port bonuses will also be put into effect: \$100 for Suez, plus \$5 per day for each day beyond five days in port; \$45 for Red Sea and Persian Gulf ports. The Board made no recommendations as to port bonuses for Vladivostok or ports in Iceland. These rates amount to a 33 1-3% boost over the rates now in effect.

The three man mediation panel which heard the case was composed of Charles Wyzanski, Jr., George H. Mead, and Robert J. Watt. Watt was the official representative of the AFL, parent body of the unions involved. He had the dual role of "representing" labor during the hearings, and also representing the government when it came time to

receive a decision in the case.

Watt voted with the other two members of the panel. The findings of the NDMB panel were unanimous.

NY WORKERS HONOR 29 DEFENDANTS AT INSPIRING SOLIDARITY BANQUET

NEW YORK, Oct. 3.—About 200 members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party, at a Solidarity Banquet held here tonight, gave an inspiring demonstration of solidarity with the defendants in the government's "seditious conspiracy" case against the SWP and Local 544-CIO.

Prolonged and tremendous applause greeted James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the SWP, and Felix Morrow, editor of the MIGHTY, two of the defendants, who were the leading speakers at the affair.

Comrade Cannon, in his speech, assured the gathering that the defendants would conduct themselves in court in a manner which would advance the revolutionary movement.

He described the government's actions as a sign of fundamental weakness, and expressed his confidence that if the defendants are finally sent to prison the growing power of the working class movement, in this period of capitalist decay and crisis, would effect their release. He urged the party to double and re-double its activities in answer to the govern-

REVOLUTION!

How much "democracy" is a democratic army supposed to have? Hanson W. Baldwin, New York Times military commentator, tells us in the September 28 issue:

"There must be, of course, democratic discipline for a democratic army. But some of the manifestations of the 'new discipline' transcend such concepts. . . . Too often National Guard officers and enlisted men can be seen drinking together; all too often the officer forgets the inherent dignity of his rank; sometimes orders have been ignored."

Horror!

reach a decision in the case. Watt voted with the other two members of the panel. The findings of the NDMB panel were unanimous.

U.S. AIMS AT WORLD RULE SAYS SECRETARY KNOX

(Continued from page 1) pletely subservient to the interests of American-Anglo imperialism. "Other nations of similar peaceful inclinations, and lacking in aggressive designs, could be joined to them, and thus the beginning would be made leading toward the restoration of international law. . . ."

Here then is the American version of the "Versailles Treaty" for World War II. Here is the program for which American imperialism is spending billions and preparing to enter the armed conflict. These are the conditions Knox referred to in his speech when he said, "When we have defeated Hitler, and destroyed this Nazi bid for world dominion, we must set up conditions which will prevent the rise of new Hitlers. . . ."

But Hitler was able to rise in post-war Germany precisely because of the efforts of the Allies to crush and dismember Germany. The economic destruction which Knox proposes for the rivals of American capitalism by its domination of the seas will in turn inevitably bring forth a new era of reaction and imperialist war. It is no wonder that Knox warns that American imperialism must be prepared to back up its war aims with "the essential might to enforce such a peace."

Wars for boss profit followed by imperialist "peace" which will give way again to new wars — this is the perspective of American capitalism for the next hundred years. A true and lasting peace is indeed "a long way off" in the calculations of the warmongers in Washington.

Those who want to fight against the war must understand that Knox's words describe the

Kremlin Conceals Real Reasons For Defeats

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the real question: Why has the Red Army suffered only defeats since the first days of the war?

The Red Army, at the outset of the war, was numerically superior to the Nazi army. It possessed arms and material equal in quantity and quality to what the Nazis could immediately utilize against it. The morale of the Soviet soldiers was superior to that of Hitler's soldiers. The Red Army had the advantage of a defensive position, behind prepared and natural defenses, and could maneuver on familiar terrain. Why, then, the defeats?

STALINIST RANKS ASKING QUESTIONS

The Stalinist leaders are being compelled to explain away questions along this line which events have aroused in the minds of the Stalinist ranks.

Such are the questions which "A Veteran Commander", Stalinist military commentator, vainly tries to answer in the *Sunday Worker*, October 5:

"Question 1: How were the Nazis able to cross the Dnieper in view of the following: (a) The Soviets had the advantage of the Dnieper; (b) About equal forces

numerically; (c) Sufficient military equipment?"

"Question 2: In quite a number of Soviet military reports I have read that Soviet troops have met with numerically superior forces. In view of the assertion that the Soviets have a larger military manpower than the Nazis, how can we account for the Nazi superiority admitted in so many reports?"

"A Veteran Commander's" reply to the question on the Dnieper defeat simply evades the issue by raising all sorts of new speculations. The level of his answer is indicated by this: "Militarily speaking, no equipment is ever 'sufficient.' But this is a fine point, and we better drop it for a moment."

These Stalinist evasions cannot, however, silence the insistent questions. Why the defeats of the Red Army despite its superiority in manpower, equality in material etc.?

THE LACK OF LEADERSHIP

No amount of Stalinist smoke screens can hide the fact that the Red Army command is hopelessly inferior in leadership and staff work to the Nazi officers' staff.

In these defeats are revealed the consequences of Stalin's belatedness of the armed forces of the USSR in 1937 and 1938.

During the frameup purges of those years, no less than 40,000 Red Army officers, including almost the entire general staff of experienced and trained generals, were executed or imprisoned by Stalin.

The Red Army, with its officers corps depleted by Stalin's purges, lacks qualified leadership. This accounts in great part for the unending defeats.

While the Red Army goes on from one debacle to another Stalin continues to hold in his prisons and concentration camps thousands of trained officers and industrial experts, loyal elements who can provide the type of leadership so sadly lacking.

That is why all those who have at heart the true interests of the Soviet Union must raise the insistent demand that the Soviet Government immediately release all pro-Soviet political prisoners and restore them to their rightful place in industry and the Red Army. At the same time, the government must revive the democratically-elected Soviets and legalize all pro-Soviet political parties.

The release of the tens of thousands of loyal revolutionists and experienced officers—men who proved their worth in the Civil War of 1918-20 and in the building of Soviet industry and the army—will provide much of the needed leadership for the military and industrial machine of the Soviet Union. The mobilization of the masses, through the democratically-elected Soviets, will revitalize the morale of the Soviet masses, organize them for a total defense, and strengthen their resolve to fight on to victory.

These measures will enable the Soviet forces to hold their ground and beat back the Nazi army. But that alone, however, will not assure ultimate victory.

THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

For victory cannot be assured on the basis of military factors alone. In the last analysis, the military superiority of the Nazis is a measure of the superior economic resources which Hitler commands.

The industrial productivity of Germany alone is greater than that of the Soviet Union. Added to this initial Nazi economic advantage, is the productivity and resources of all the occupied countries.

This is a factor which even the Stalinists are forced to recognize.

In answering the question why the Red Army with an initial superiority of manpower is reported to be meeting numerically superior forces, "A Veteran Commander" states:

"In evaluating the strength of both sides on the Eastern Front one should not think in terms of pre-war populations, but definitely

the sympathy of not only the local workers, but also of the other scores of thousands of out-of-town garment workers, who also have felt the dictatorial yoke of the New York City bureaucracy of the union, and who also have had unhappy experiences with contracts that they are not even shown until they have been signed by representatives of David Dubinsky's office.

admit that the 170,000,000 (it is not more than that now) of the Soviet Union are now facing a combination of 400,000,000 people, either fighting, producing for war or threatening war. Now all the answers become clear."

In a word, Hitler's admitted superiority now flows, according to this Stalinist, from the peoples of the occupied territories—those people who, under a revolutionary leadership, might be a dagger in Hitler's back.

This Stalinist "expert", of course, fails to mention the decisive source of Hitler's strength, the German people.

THE GERMAN WORKERS

Hitler's strength lies, above all, in the fear of the German workers of another Versailles "peace", the yoke of a foreign conqueror.

By his complete political identification with the "democratic" imperialists, Stalin alienates the German workers from the Soviet Union. The German people are led by Stalin's policies to associate the Soviet Union with his imperialist "allies", who, if victorious, would impose a new oppressive Versailles "peace".

A pledge from the Soviet Union that it is fighting to defeat Hitler in order to aid in the establishment of a Socialist United States of Europe, and that the Soviet Union will fight against a Versailles "peace", will do more than any other thing to undermine Hitler's influence in Germany.

The masses of the occupied countries are already seething with revolt. Far from desiring to aid Hitler, they are seeking that program and leadership which will organize and lead them in the revolutionary overthrow of Hitlerism. If Hitler still can utilize the resources of the conquered countries against the Soviet Union, it is only because the peoples of the occupied territories as yet lack the program, organization and leadership to destroy the invader.

STALIN'S "APPEAL"

How does Stalin appeal to these subjugated peoples? He asks them, in effect, to fight for a restoration of the old traitorous capitalist regimes and appeals to them in terms of the reactionary ideas fostered by the capitalist classes.

Daniel T. Brigham, in a dispatch from Bern, Switzerland to the *New York Times*, October 5, describes how the Moscow radio addresses the populations of the Axis and occupied countries.

"To stress the righteousness of the Soviet cause against fascism today," reports Brigham, "the Moscow radio propaganda cites for its hearers' benefit, with regional incidents, how, although the Communist regime has changed and no longer 'resists God,' the Fascist and National Socialist regimes continue those reprehensible persecutions that they originated in the early Nineteen Thirties."

The masses are not primarily concerned with the fate of religion and the churches. The churches have not been able to save the masses from fascist oppression. They have not shown any ability or willingness to fight for a new social order without classes and exploitation.

The religious leaders, who have sided largely with reaction and supported the ruling regimes, appear to most of the workers as part of the oppressor class.

ROAD TO VICTORY

The masses want socialism, peace, bread, freedom from exploitation. But Stalin appeals to them only in the language of a church father, without reference to their material needs and aspirations. Such an appeal can only repel the masses.

Instead of this reactionary claptrap, it is necessary for the Soviet government to issue a direct revolutionary appeal to the masses of occupied Europe, and to the workers of Germany, calling on them to join hands with the Soviet Union for the creation of the Socialist United States of Europe.

This is the only road to final victory for the Soviet Union. This is the only hope for the free future of the oppressed peoples of Europe.

In AKRON, O.

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SOVIET LOSSES ARE THREATENING THE FUTURE CONDUCT OF THE WAR

Bureaucrats, Afraid To Tell The Workers The Truth, Minimize Extent Of Losses

Hitler obviously lied when he cited in his speech the purported astronomical losses of the Red Army. If his claims were true, the German troops would have long ago occupied the whole of the Ukraine and would now be knocking at the gates of Moscow.

On the other hand, it is just as obvious that one Scherbakov, who has replaced Lovovsky as the figurehead in charge of the Soviet Information Bureau, has likewise issued false figures concerning the German losses. If the German army actually suffered losses of three to one in manpower, and almost two to one in guns, tanks and planes, as the Kremlin claims, then Hitler's armies could have never penetrated as deeply as they have into the heart of the strategic sections of the Soviet Union. Each side minimizes its own losses while exaggerating those of the adversary.

It is small consolation to the genuine defenders of the USSR that the losses of the Red Army are smaller than those claimed by Hitler; or that these losses are far below the original expectations of the German General Staff. The terrible fact remains that the Red Army has thus far met only with reverses. It has suffered staggering losses in manpower, equipment, and has been forced to yield key areas.

WHY SOVIET LOSSES ARE MINIMIZED

No great insight is required to explain Stalin's reasons for hiding the threat to the Soviet Union implied by these reverses. Stalin bears the chief responsibility for every defeat suffered by the Red Army. To remain in power he must maintain his prestige. It is hardly surprising that the "democratic" imperialists are keeping quiet about the threatening catastrophe toward which Stalin is leading the USSR. They are quite content to see the Red Army bleed itself white and retreat ever deeper into the interior. Victories for the Red Army would alarm them far more than Hitler's successes.

It is by no means accidental that the Russian Mensheviks are to be found in the front ranks of those who are helping Stalin to

minimize Soviet losses. In this, as in all other things, they are merely accommodating themselves to the plans of their capitalist masters of the "democracies."

In losing two-thirds of the Ukraine, the USSR has been deprived of its richest agricultural areas. In addition to the loss of wheat, there is the loss of the sugar crops — two thirds of which are raised in the areas already occupied by the Germans. Most of the sugar refineries are likewise located there. The loss of Byelo-Russia involves the loss of the major pig farm area in the USSR. It will be necessary to dig deep into the food reserves in order to make up for the shortage that this implies. So far as technical crops are concerned, the few textile plants that still remain in Soviet hands have been deprived of the major flax-producing regions.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UKRAINE

The greatest blows have been suffered by heavy industry, and this means, the vital defense plants. Here is what Stalin's own Encyclopedia has to say about the importance of the Ukraine, two-thirds of which is already in Hitler's hands:

"The Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic is the most important sector of Soviet economy. Already in 1931 it permitted us to conclude the building of the foundations of socialist economy in our country."

Ukrainian industry represents billions upon billions of rubles in capital construction. The advancement of the Ukraine never represented socialism but it did and does represent the most concentrated development of Soviet in-

dustry. It produces the bulk of coal, iron, steel, armored plate, etc.

More than one-fourth of all electrical energy is produced in the Ukraine, and most of this has been lost with the destruction of Dneprostroy.

The Ukraine contains 45 per cent of the aluminum plants. The aluminum ore is mined far in the interior but aluminum was fabricated in the Dnieper and Don regions because of the availability of electric power there. The Nazis hold the biggest plants already; the remainder in the Donetz Basin is threatened; and cannot be functioning to anywhere near capacity because of loss of electric power, the difficulties of transportation, and the proximity of the battlefield.

The same thing applies to the Leningrad plants which manufacture 20 per cent of all the aluminum. What this crippling of almost two-thirds of Soviet aluminum production means, especially with regard to airplane production, requires no comment.

WHOLE INDUSTRIAL APPARATUS THREATENED

Still another grave loss is the seizure by the Germans of Nikolaevsk and its shipyards. The Black Sea fleet, and water transport in general, have been seriously weakened by the loss of this strategic port and its industrial facilities.

It is not generally known that the Ukraine is also vitally important in machine building, not only because of the basic raw material it supplies but because of the plants which produce not less than one-fifth of the machines, locomotives, tractors, tanks, etc. The loss of these plants is further aggravated by the crippling of the productive capacity of Leningrad under fire where another fifth of the machine building plants is located.

Further retreats for the Red Army carry with them the threat of the complete collapse of the industrial apparatus of the country. This is what Stalin's "legitimacy" has cost the USSR after a little more than three months of war.

solutely exposed" (*Pravda*, June 28).

"EXPLAINING" THE DEFEATS

To counteract the growing doubt and alarm, the Kremlin attempted at the beginning to explain the defeats away by pleading that the "treacherous enemy" had caught the Red Army unprepared. But once the full strength of the Red Army was mobilized, the enemy would be halted and crushed. In his July 3 speech Stalin worded his attack as follows: "As regards the fact that a part of our territory has nevertheless been occupied by the German Fascist troops, the chief explanation for this is that the war of Fascist Germany against the USSR began under conditions advantageous to the German troops and disadvantageous to the Soviet troops."

Taking this as its cue, *Pravda* kept promising: "If as a result of the first days of resistance by the Red Army, when it was still far from mobilized, the best divisions of the German Fascist Army have been destroyed by our army, then this means that the Hitlerite Fascist Army can also be smashed, and it will be smashed just like the armies of Napoleon and Kaiser Wilhelm (STALIN)" (*Pravda*, July 4).

These "explanations" only made things worse. By proclaiming that Hitler had caught him by surprise, Stalin publicly acknowledged his own stupidity. His prestige, his pretensions to infallibility could not fail to suffer thereby. More over, if the "best" Nazi divisions had been destroyed, as Stalin claimed, then it was the inferior German divisions which kept advancing against the fully organized might of the Red Army, with Stalin as Commissar for Defense Commander-in-Chief, etc., etc. How could that happen? The Kremlin stopped explaining and issued the gag law of July 6. The less talk the better. Even the *Pravda* had had to reduce from six pages to four pages. This reduction in *Pravda*'s size was officially explained as due to a "considerable increase in circulation." The broader Stalin's public, the less it must be given to read.

DO YOU HAVE A SUBSCRIPTION? LOOK FOR OUR SPECIAL OFFER

544-CIO Continues Fight For Elections

Motor Transport Workers Appeal Blair Anti-Labor Decision In District Court

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 2. — Attorneys for Local 544-CIO, motor transport workers union here, have filed for a writ of certiorari in Ramsey County District Court in an effort to secure a review of State Labor Conciliator Blair's ruling denying the Minneapolis drivers democratic elections and arbitrarily certifying Daniel Tobin's AFL teamster's set-up as the sole bargaining agent for all Minneapolis drivers.

Announcement of this latest step to secure the rights of the local drivers to belong to a union of their own choice is made in the October 2 issue of the *Industrial Organizer*, official weekly of Local 544.

The hearing on the motion to review Blair's decisions is expected to start November 15 at the District Court, according to the union's attorneys, Gilbert Carlson and David Shama.

Blair in handing down this brazen ruling against Local 544 deliberately ignored the evidence of hundreds of local drivers and warehousemen who testified at the state hearings to the terrorist methods of Tobin's gang of 300 imported hoodlums in forcing the men to pay dues to and sign up with the AFL.

Blair's ruling was made at the direct behest of Governor Stassen, who has been working hand-in-glove with Tobin, the employers and the Roosevelt administration, in a vicious attempt to smash Local 544, which on June 9, at a membership meeting of over 4,000, voted to quit Tobin's dictatorial craft-union outfit and join the CIO.

In supporting the Blair ruling, Stassen ignored the letters of thousands of drivers, and their friends, asking that the drivers be given a chance to vote on the

union of their choice. Joining the government's all-out effort to crush Local 544 and aid the Administration's pro-war ally Tobin, the regional office of the National Labor Relations Board last Friday announced that it refused to issue complaints against several hundred Minneapolis employers whom Local 544-CIO had charged with unfair labor practices.

Pressure was undoubtedly exerted on the regional board by the Administration in Washington to ensure that the board would not give consideration to Local 544's charges against the employers.

Although the board's decision was not formally announced until last week, the NLRB regional director had informed the union's attorneys of his decision on September 19, the day Blair announced his ruling. There can be little question that the board worked in conjunction with Blair, and did not even consider the union's case.

This NLRB action follows a whole series of Administration union-busting moves against the Minneapolis drivers. Roosevelt, in response to a let-

ter from Tobin, last June issued a public denunciation of Local 544's action in joining the CIO as "union-raiding", and ordered that the "proper government agencies", the FBI and Department of Justice, take steps against the union.

This was followed by FBI raids on the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party here and in St. Paul, and the federal indictment on "seditious conspiracy" charges of 29 persons, including 15 members and leaders of the union.

Roosevelt's onslaught on the leading union in the Northwest is motivated by the desire not merely to do a favor for his political henchman, Tobin, but also to

strike a heavy blow at the anti-war forces in the labor movement represented by militant Local 544. That Local 544 and the Minneapolis drivers do not intend to take these latest union-smashing blows lying down is indicated by an editorial in this week's *Industrial Organizer* entitled: "Our Fight Goes on."

"Since Governor Stassen's labor conciliator handed down the brazen decision to deny elections in the motor transport industry," states the *Industrial Organizer*, "hundreds of Minneapolis drivers and warehousemen have contacted us to inquire anxiously if the fight

for democratic industrial unionism would continue. We assured them, and we assure all our members and readers, that this fight will go on and on until the Minneapolis drivers have won their victory and established their rights to have a union of their own choosing, a union that functions ONLY in the interests of the membership."

In addition to the legal steps being taken locally, Local 544 is consulting with national CIO officials on further measures to be taken to compel the government to live up to its own laws and grant the Minneapolis drivers the elections they want.

Stalinists Join Tobin In Attacking Teamsters

Will Defend Tobin In Whatever He Does So Long As He Continues To Support The War

By ANTHONY MASSINI

The Stalinists in the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters have made their peace with President Daniel Tobin, and are now defending his union-busting moves against Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis and the CIO national drive to organize motor transport drivers.

The *IBT News*, self-styled "Voice of the Rank and File", is a newspaper published monthly by the Stalinists in New York. Until a few months ago it devoted most of its space to sharp attacks on Tobin's bureaucratic domination of the union and his collaboration with the

racketeer elements in control of many of the locals. That was before the beginning of the Soviet-Nazi war.

But now that the Stalinists are like Tobin all-out supporters of the imperialist war, and now that Tobin's reactionary policies are meeting some progressive opposition from various locals through out the country, the Stalinists have rushed to his defense and are aiding him in his fight to smash that opposition.

An editorial in the September issue of *IBT News*, entitled "For the Defense of Our Country and Our Union," is nothing more than a defense of Tobin and his racketeer friends.

The editorial takes cognizance of the report that the CIO United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, headed by A. D. Lewis, is "out to organize the unorganized teamsters" and charges that the "net result" of this so far has been that a number of locals have split away from the AFL to join the CIO.

ADMIT "JUSTIFIED GRIEVANCES"

"In some cases," the editorial is forced to admit a little reluctantly, "they have taken advantage of some of the justified grievances of the rank and file of our organization."

The *IBT News*, it continues, has also been opposed to "lack of democracy and gangsterism" and "critical of the 'do nothing' policy of some of our International and local officials on this issue." But that was in the past.

"But today, when our country is in a state of national emergency... we feel that this so-called CIO drive is promoting warfare among laboring men at a time when we need co-operation. Hitler and his American friends will find it easier to promote their program to crush all labor should they succeed in provoking disunity," etc.

In other words, because of the war, the workers who oppose dictatorship and racketeering in the unions must do nothing to challenge the rule of the bureaucrats, for the Tobins will fight back viciously to maintain their grip on the union, and this will lead to the disunity which the Stalinists assure us will make Hitler's job easier.

The Stalinists make it clear that what motivates their support of Tobin is not his union policies but his support of the war. "And let us not forget who A. D. Lewis is. He is the brother of John L. Lewis. . . These men would like to weaken the Teamsters' International which, under the leadership of Dan Tobin is lining up solidly behind the anti-Hitler policies of President Roosevelt."

STALINISTS TELL TOBIN TO MAKE IT LOOK GOOD

In the most fawning manner, the editorial tries to tell Tobin how to make his union-busting policies (and their support of those policies) look a little better.

"If President Tobin took real action against gangster-rule in certain locals, we are sure that he would get even more support from the rank and file."

But the Stalinists do not explain that Tobin does not fight the gangsters because without their support he himself would be pitched out of the union by an angry rank and file. They do not tell their readers that Tobin is able to fight the dissident locals in the International only because he has the aid of gangster forces supplied to him by his racketeer friends.

"If Tobin and the International Executive Board helped the rank and file achieve real democracy within our local unions, they would get even more backing."

But the Stalinists know that

Tobin is fighting precisely those unions and local leaders who want democracy in the union. They know that Tobin will fight to the last gangster against real democracy in the union.

"The troubles that our International now have in Minneapolis and other cities show the need for cleaning out racketeers and dictators before they stab us in the back."

LIES ABOUT MINNEAPOLIS TEAMSTERS

Here the Stalinist school of falsification aimed at defending Tobin reaches its peak. For the "troubles" in Minneapolis did not arise because there were racketeers and dictators in Local 544, but because the members of 544 fought against the dictatorial policies of Tobin and by democratic vote decided to join the CIO. There were no racketeers in the Minneapolis teamsters' movement until Tobin sent them in to smash the union.

Against frame-ups, vilification, thugs and legal blows, Local 544-CIO has fought for all the things which the *IBT News* was demanding only three months ago, for clean, progressive, democratic, militant industrial unionism. They have had to fight for this against Tobin, Roosevelt and the reactionary Stassen administration in Minnesota. Now the Stalinists have joined in the fight against Local 544 and against all other elements in the union who refuse to capitulate to Dictator Tobin.

The *IBT News* declares that it is "ready to fight side by side with our officials, local and national, in the common struggle against Hitler and Hitlerism. We will, however, continue to criticize all policies and practices that play into the hands of pro-Hitler forces, disrupters and employers."

This lying promise is easily exposed by the Stalinists' failure to criticize in the slightest degree Tobin's reactionary struggle against 544 and the other locals which have joined the CIO in an attempt to win internal democracy and the fruits of progressive unionism.

The Stalinists have joined the united front of the labor bureaucrats and the warmongering government that will hesitate at no measure and no slander to prevent workers from fighting for independent unionism.

STALIN FORBIDS MASSES TO DISCUSS WAR MOVES

(Continued from page 1)

the counter-revolutionist! The bureaucratic mind remains the same in war as in peace. Today these contemptible parasites feel themselves besieged on all sides. As always, their only answer is — more repressions.

GPU WANTS HELP

Pravda concludes its revealing story with this warning: "The duty of every Soviet patriot, of every citizen of our great fatherland is actually to help the organs of state security (i. e., the GPU) to apprehend spies and their assistants" (*Pravda*, July 19). The GPU finds itself overworked. The only ones "actually" helping are the privileged "housewives".

It is clear that the Soviet masses are becoming more and more alarmed about the continued advance of the Fascist armies. With the most rigorous censorship it is impossible to suppress news of defeats. Such news circulates of necessity by word of mouth. The official communications tell nothing.

In this connection the role of the so-called Bureau of Information is especially significant. The impression has been deliberately created that this "service" has been set up primarily to supply news for foreign consumption. That is not its primary function. The communiques issued by this Bureau set the limits within which Soviet citizens can discuss the war. Everything which goes beyond what is specified in its bulletins is — "false rumor", "panic-mongering", "aid to spies and diversionists", etc.

This is made very explicit by *Pravda*: "The widest popularization of the dispatches of the Soviet Information Bureau must be counterpoised to all sorts of rumors and petty gossip which might work hand-in-hand with the enemy." (*Pravda*, July 17).

DISCUSSION LIMITED—TO OFFICIAL LINE

In the same article we find the following: "Popularization of episodes from the exploits in battle of our glorious Red Army,

exposure of the myth of the invincibility of the Fascist German Army, stories of the bravery of Red guerrilla fighters, accounts of the unheard of bestialities of fascists — this is the material with which the agitators must go to the population." Here is a verification of the fact pointed out by Natalia Sedov Trotsky, namely, that Stalin is utilizing guerrilla warfare with all its disproportionate sacrifices in order to distract public attention away from the lack of leadership, the absence of a unified strategic plan in Stalin's conduct of the war.

The increasing isolation of the Kremlin from the masses is evidenced by the fact that Stalin distrusts even his own agents. The above-cited instruction to the agitators concludes with this well-known incredible admonition: "Be a militant patriot not only during discussion periods and at party meetings but also under all other circumstances."

BUREAUCRATS FEAR THE YOUTH

The pages of the Stalinist press further reveal that the Kremlin fears the reaction of the youth, especially the *Komsomols* — the Russian YCL. The defeats of the Red Army have stunned the Soviet Youth more than any other section of the population. The youth had been duped by the Stalinist boasts of the invincibility of the Soviet armed forces. Events are now pounding the truth into their minds. Many of them have accepted the beheading of the Red Army during the monstrous Moscow frameups and blood purges as having "safeguarded" the defense strength of the USSR. They are now witnessing the disastrous consequences of Stalin's crimes.

The initial period of confusion caused by the blows of events was undoubtedly followed by anxious doubts and questionings. The secretary of the Komsomols publicly warned the youth: "There must be no indulgences to panicky people and tail-endists. All whisperers and whimperers who hinder our great struggle must be re-

Trotsky Assassin Gives New GPU 'Defense' Line

By WALTER ROURKE

MEXICO CITY, Mexico, Oct. 5. — Jason, the G.P.U. murderer of Leon Trotsky, has finally played the hand which he hopes will gain him freedom. For several months the line of questioning followed by his lawyer, Medellin Ostos, has indicated that Jason would try to invent a story of "legitimate defense." During a reconstruction of the crime on September 8th, Jason refused to accept his former "version", as he referred to it, of the murder. His lawyer tried to show that there were logical contradictions in the statements about the positions of the victim and criminal. He stated that judging from the direction of the wound, Trotsky could not have been struck from behind. However Jackson was not permitted to present a new version at the time and had to be satisfied with presenting "his version" in writing.

In a twelve page document written in French, Jason develops a bit further his former lies about Trotsky's ordering him to go to the Soviet Union to commit sabotage, etc. He further states that Trotsky threatened to denounce him to the authorities for having false documents unless he followed orders. Jason pretends that the article which he used to gain entrance to Trotsky's office was in reality written as a final effort to convince Trotsky that his journalistic abilities were worth more to the movement. Trotsky, he says, scanned the article very rapidly and throwing it down on the desk insulted him. According to Jason, this was too much for him, so he seized Trotsky by the coat and told him, "I am the last one you'll ruin." Then Trotsky reached for his gun, but the G.P.U. agent was "much quicker" and grasping the pickaxe (whose handliness he does not trouble to explain), he struck down his victim.

Jason did not explain why he came so well armed to the house on August 20th. (He carried a dagger and automatic in addition to the pickaxe.) He does not even mention his "confession letter" prepared by the G.P.U. and placed

in his pocket. He does not explain why he burned all his documents before committing the crime nor does he deal with his false passport that originally belonged to a member of the International Brigade killed in Spain — a sure sign of G.P.U. connections. All that the new "version" accomplishes is to add one more lie to the long list which comprises his testimony.

This new version surprised everyone by its weakness. The fact that this is all the G.P.U. and a slick lawyer can produce after a year is sufficient proof of the difficulty of its position. The entire press greeted the new version with sarcasm and expressions of incredulity. It is safe to say that no one in Mexico believes the new version has any doubt that it is merely an ancient alibi with less than the usual foundation.

The trial is officially ended. Now the defense and the prosecution must present their conclusions and the judge decides the case. There is no doubt but that the defense will appeal the case and try to find some technical pretext to demand a retrial. It might then be able to find a more complacent judge and could count on a diminished public interest as time passes. Although this seems very unlikely at present one can not be certain after the experience of the freeing of St. Quetras.

Trotskyites Again!

On June 30, a little more than a week after Hitler invaded the USSR, Stalin's *Pravda* carried an article entitled "Vigilance And Organization!" It is one of the many articles calculated to whip up a spy mania in the Soviet Union. Unlike the others, however, it contains a direct reference to "gangs of Trotskyite-Bukharinite degenerates." The subsequent issues of *Pravda* deleted this tell-tale formula.

Stalin is afraid to make public that he is once again purging his apparatus of Trotskyists! This is an infallible sign that political opposition to Stalin is growing under wartime conditions.

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National Secretary, SWP

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HELP FIGHT THE INDICTMENT

29 people—members of the Socialist Workers Party and the leaders of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544-CIO have been indicted in Minnesota on charges of "conspiring to overthrow the government."

This sweeping attack upon civil liberties and labor's rights must be repelled! The job of defending the victims of this prosecution is up to the workers themselves. Roosevelt's administration isn't subsidizing this defense project.

Aid the defendants by giving promptly and generously to their Defense Fund.

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NATION

NEW REPUBLIC

and other labor and liberal spokesmen

'We Were Bombed At Suez'

Seaman Describes How Aerial Bomb Exploding Close To His Ship Knocked Him Out of His Bunk; Crew Says Bonus Not Worth Risk

By AL SWANSON

It didn't take more than the first bomb, exploding so close to our ship that it rolled us out of our bunks, to convince the crew that the \$75 bonus for the Port of Suez was a pretty cheap price to place on our own lives.

Our ship, the *President Buchanan*, American President Line boat chartered by Isthmian, a U. S. Steel subsidiary, had been tied up in Suez since July 8, six days. We were carrying trucks, tanks and planes for the British Near East Army. We had observed a few Italian air-raids, always previously directed at British and Greek ships. But ours was an American ship. We considered ourselves mere spectators.

The company and ship's officers had made no real attempts to protect the ship. In the bright moonlight, despite the black-out, our white-painted deck-work gleamed like a mirror. It was just the bad aim of the Italian bombers that any of us from the *President Buchanan* are alive to tell why the biggest bonus we might get couldn't be too much.

It was two o'clock in the morning of July 14 when that first bomb landed. My partner and I were suddenly hurled out of our bunks by the tremendous vibrations of the ship, as if it had been struck a violent blow. Later, we learned, that although no direct hit had been scored, the force of the exploding bomb was so great as to rip radiators off the walls and crack up the ship's pipes.

"What's happened to the ship?", we both exclaimed at the same moment. We hurriedly dressed, amid the crazy rocking of the ship, grabbed our seamen's papers and ran down the blacked-out alleyway to the open

a rising crescendo. It came so low we could see the form of the pilot. Directly overhead it swooped; a black object came hurtling down. We held our breaths.

WE CURSE THE BONUS

The bomb struck on the starboard side, not more than fifty feet away, sending up a huge geyser of water. We cursed, and what we cursed about most of all was that we were risking our necks for a lousy \$75 bonus for the port.

Suddenly, a huge flame exploded into the sky at the other end of the harbor. It was the *S.S. Georgic*, a 27,000 ton British passenger boat. Later, it was towed away from the other ships and beached in shallow water, where it continued to burn for a week. All that finally was left of it was its warped steel plates. We got our only laugh out of the bombing a month later, when we heard a BBC broadcast to the effect that the *SS Georgic* had been slightly damaged by a bomb.

But, at the time, we did not have much inclination to think about the fate of the *Georgic*. Once more, the Italian bomber circled aloft and then descended in its deadly dive. This time the bomb struck about 50 feet on the opposite side of the ship. From that time on, the shadow of fear hung over us. We knew what a bombing meant, we knew that we were not safe. The biggest bonus could not compensate for that fear we carried with us night and day.

Despite the attack, and the

obvious danger we were in, the British port authorities didn't help to ease our minds any about our safety in future attacks. We covered our deck white-work with canvas. But the port authorities tied up a barge of uncovered white flour alongside our ship for several days after the bombing. It shone like a field of snow in the moonlight, a perfect invitation for a bomber.

As an aftermath of the bombing, the native longshoremen, mostly from desert tribes, fled from our ship and the two other American boats near us at Attica, the military camp where trucks and planes are assembled.

CONDITIONS OF NATIVES

They didn't like the idea of being blown to bits by bombs for 22 piastres a day, roughly 88 cents. A working day, we learned, was six A. M. until 12 midnight, and, if necessary, the clock around.

The British then used soldiers to work the cargoes for several days. This, by the way, was in violation of the Anglo-Egyptian pact, which says that all work done in Egypt shall be done by Egyptian labor. But all of Egypt is dominated by the British, whose troops over-run the country.

The conditions of the native workers under British exploitation are incredible. The longshoremen at Suez, Egypt, the Red Sea port of the Suez Canal, live mainly on a diet of hard-baked, unleavened bread and water. They live in complete filth, as no sanitary facilities at all are provided them. The regular longshoremen, inhabitants of Suez, get far less than the tribesmen brought in from the desert. They receive only 8 piastres, or 32 cents, a day, slaving from 18 to 24 hours a day.

They are kicked around, hit and beaten by the foremen and soldier supervisors. Formerly, before the British troops replaced the Indian Sikhs used by the British in Suez, the workers were simply bayoneted down when they did not do their work to the liking of the British taskmasters.

But there is a deep spirit of resistance in these exploited workers. On our ship, the tribesmen pulled a strike, before the bombing, when a supervising sergeant blacked the eye of one of the cargo gang. The sergeant was finally removed from the ship. There can be no question of the profound hatred which these natives have for the British imperialists.

SUEZ MADHOUSE

Suez is something of a madhouse, with its normal population of about 25,000 swollen to several hundred thousand by troops, sailors, refugees, and Italian prisoners of war.

Most of the Greek refugees seen to be well-heeled with money, coming from the wealthy class and thus able to flee and safe-guard their hides, while the Greek masses have been left to take all the Nazi blows. There were several Greek warships in the harbor. The Greek sailors are the wildest of the wild swarm of soldiers and sailors at Suez, who have little to do and are on the constant look-out for ways to escape boredom. From what I could gather from the Greek sailors, they are completely disillusioned about the war, caring nothing about its outcome. They stick with their ships only because they have nowhere else to go; it's their only source of food.

The Italian war prisoners, however, seem to be a very jovial bunch, happy to be out of the war. These prisoners are engaged on hard road work, receiving little more than their food for their labor.

WHAT I LEARNED FROM THE TROOPS

The most illuminating experiences I had were in conversations with soldiers of the British Army. These are of two types, the Colonials and the regular British soldiers from England. The Colonials, mainly Australians and South Africans, have a common dislike, mounting to hatred, for the British government.

Part of the hatred which the Anzacs feel toward the British is due to the fact that they feel exploited by British imperialism. Almost every Anzac soldier I talked to was a member of the Australian Labor Party. Some expressed surprise when

I told them there was no Labor Party in the United States. They are class conscious, and well understand the difference between capital and labor.

The chief grievance of the Colonials was that they were forced to do the brunt of the fighting to save the British Empire, while the British ruling class was keeping 4,000,000 troops in England for its own immediate protection. Most of the Anzacs are sick of the war and want only to get home.

I talked to two Anzacs who had been through the bloodiest fighting in Greece, Crete, Libya and Syria. When they were sent into Syria, they were completely unprepared for the bloody fighting they were to encounter. They had been told that the native Syrians would welcome them with open arms; that there would be very little resistance to the British Army.

Instead, they encountered some of the stiffest and bloodiest encounters of the entire war. The two soldiers with whom I talked were the sole survivors of an entire platoon which had been sent to wipe out a French machine-gun nest.

One of the most striking incidents related to me came from two South African soldiers. They had been through most of the Ethiopian campaign. They saw very little severe action, as most of the Italian troops were only too willing to surrender and get out of the war.

At the capture of Addis Ababa, the Italian troops were disarmed. The Ethiopian natives, who have some bitter scores to pay off with the Italian imperialist exploiters, sought to attack the Italian troops. Whereupon, the British command rearmed the Italian soldiers, and British and Italian troops together suppressed the natives.

BRITISH OFFICER CASTE

I talked with several soldiers who had been through the evacuation of Dunkirk. To prevent panic from spreading through the entire army, the British high command had ordered anyone showing signs of panic to be shot. The number executed in this fashion was very high. The significant fact, however, was that there was a higher percentage of executions among the officers than among the soldiers. In many instances, it was old-time non-commissioned officers and soldiers who had to take the command of entire sections. They were calmer and knew more about what to do than the higher ranking officers.

The discipline at Suez is at a minimum. There is very little saluting of officers, despite regulations. The soldiers are supposed to get up at 6 A. M., but most get up much later. There is considerable resentment toward the officers, although no open hostility. One of the British sailors did speak to me in great bitterness because the ordinary sailors were being subjected to severe penalties for infractions of regulations which the officers were violating with impunity.

The caste distinctions in the British army were brought home to me by a sergeant, a well-educated young fellow, who told me he was taking an examination for a commissioned officership. He admitted that the average sergeant could not compete in these examinations for officers posts. I asked why he had been recommended to take the exam. He said: "The officers above me know that we speak the same language." By that, he meant, that they were in the same social class.

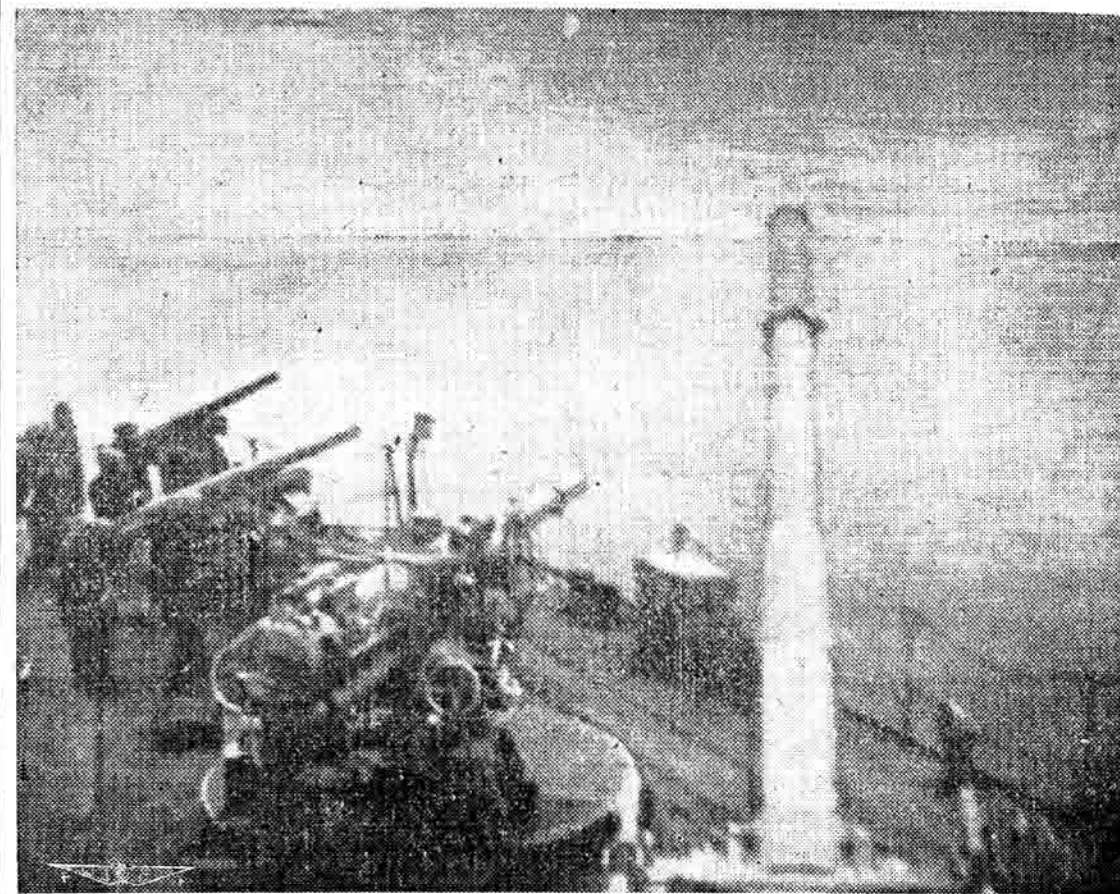
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Anti-aircraft unit on Soviet Black Sea ship firing at attacking Nazi planes.

Grant Dunne, 1894-1941

(Continued from page 1)

Grant who was already in a poor physical condition. Workers who had followed Grant Dunne in the struggles on the picket line and who knew of his fearlessness in the face of danger, appreciate the desperation over his own failing health which finally drove him to end his life.

Grant J. Dunne was born on a farm east of Little Falls, Minnesota, on June 21, 1894. Until he was 15 years old, he lived with his family the poverty-stricken life of hundreds of other families of itinerant lumber and railroad construction workers in northern Minnesota. In 1909 the family moved to Minneapolis where Grant attended South High School until he was forced to leave school in order to help support the family.

He held a variety of jobs with express companies and a number of heating and plumbing concerns. His employment with the Crane Plumbing Company was interrupted in 1918 when he was drafted into the army.

Brought Home On Stretcher in 1919

Sent to France after only a few short weeks of training in the army camps of the United States, he was on front-line duty with Company H of the Third Pioneer Infantry in many of the great battles along the Argonne front. In the closing months of the war he was severely shell-shocked and spent months in a field hospital in France before being sent back to the United States. He was brought back to this country on a stretcher in 1919 and was hospitalized in a Long Island hospital for a period before his transfer to the military hospital at Fort Snelling in Minnesota.

After a few months in this hospital he was released to complete his convalescence at home. He was a convalescent for a year but the responsibility for the support of a wife and young son (who was born while he was in France) drove him to seek work long before he had fully recovered. He returned to a job in the plumbing business and soon occupied a responsible position as an estimator for the American Plumbing and Heating Company in St. Louis.

Becoming unemployed as a result of the depression which cut deeply into the plumbing business, he returned to Minneapolis in 1931. He found employment as a coal handler and later as a truck driver with the Pittsburgh Coal Company.

Miles and Vincent Dunne were also employed as coal yard workers and they, together with Grant and other Minneapolis militants, organized the coal yard workers. The coal strike which took place in February of 1934 ended with victory for the coal yard workers, the first victory which any group of Minneapolis workers had won in that open-shop town for over a decade.

Although Local 574 won a victory in this strike, some of the leaders of the strike were victimized, including the Dunne brothers. Despite the need to support four children, Grant Dunne continued his day and night organization work for the union, making a living as best he could by part-time jobs, relief, ERA jobs, etc.

A Leader of Great Strikes of 1934

The great strikes of the Minneapolis truck drivers in May and July of 1934 found him in the forefront of activity. As a militant leader on the picket line, as a writer for the newly-launched *Organizer*, as a fiery speaker at mass meetings, as a firm and unshakable negotiator for the union with the employers and the govern-

ment agencies, he served the union in countless ways.

He was elected as Recording Secretary of old Local 574 in 1935 and held this post by successive re-election even after the return of the local to the International when it became Local 544. In 1939 he declined to run for re-election because of ill health. He continued, however, to serve as Organizer for the union.

One of his most notable achievements in connection with his trade union work was the organization of the unemployed. He was in large part responsible for the successful organization of the Federal Workers Section of Local 544. In 1936, Grant Dunne was sent by the union as a delegate to a conference of the unemployed held in Washington, D. C.

It was in 1936 also that he represented the General Drivers Union before the United States Senate sub-committee on education and labor (the LaFollette Committee) which was investigating the activities of strikebreaking agencies.

Although he partially overcame the handicap created by the shell-shock which he had suffered in the war, he never made a full recovery. During all of the years of stress and strain while the union was being built and its gains consolidated, he had many breakdowns. Because he would not permit himself the luxury of the rest and relaxation which might have restored him to good health, he grew progressively worse.

Prosecuted Because

He Opposed the War

His nerves shattered as a result of World War I, the hysteria of World War II and the start of prosecutions of trade union militants and working class political leaders for their anti-war opinions weighed on him heavily. He was one of the 29 men and women indicted by a federal grand jury in St. Paul on July 15th on charges of "seditious conspiracy". Grant Dunne was not only a trade union militant, he was a class-conscious, political opponent of the capitalist system of war and poverty and suffering. He understood fully that the problems of the war-torn world of today could never be solved unless the decaying capitalist system were replaced by a socialist system. He knew that the Trotskyist movement alone among all the political parties of the working class was the instrument which could effect that change.

But Grant Dunne knew too that before a new society was born, capitalism in its "death agony" would lash out at the working class leaders who sought a change. It was not that he feared persecution — he had many times before shown his ability to stand up fearlessly in the face of repeated attacks by employers and government officials, and in front of the flaming guns of deputies and cops. But his health was failing. Since the beginning of World War II, his weakened and over-burdened nervous system had suffered recurring attacks. It is believed that he was in the midst of such an attack when he ended his life.

Funeral services for Grant Dunne were held under the auspices of Local 544-CIO. Farrell Dobbs, National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and a long time friend and associate of Grant Dunne, delivered the funeral address. The services took place on Tuesday, Oct. 7, at Gleason Mortuary in Minneapolis. Burial was at the National Cemetery at Fort Snelling. Four brothers, Vincent, Miles, Fenton and Paul Dunne, together with Carl Skoglund and George Froisig, Organizers for 544-CIO, served as active pall-bearers at the funeral.

Working Class Revolts Sweep Nazified Europe

A popular underground movement of bitter intensity harasses German rule in Czechoslovakia — invaluable munition works are blasted to the ground, calls for general strike appear on the walls of the cities. German soldiers walk in danger of their lives on Czech streets. In Yugoslavia a Serbian guerrilla army of 12,000 descends to towns and villages, wiping out whole German garrisons. The slogan "Hail Croatia's revolutionists!" is found written on all the walls.

Factory production is low or irregular for the Nazis in other lands — Norway, France, Holland, Belgium, Denmark — the degree of opposition ranging from Norway's "slowdown" movement, from the Netherlands' widespread slogan "The more chaos, the better", to action in blasting factories off the map. Demonstrations of open opposition to Nazi rule take place everywhere; granaries are burned; railroads damaged; German officials are assassinated daily.

Hitler, through skillful manipulation of Quisling governments, sought for a long time to foster the myth that the conquered nations were satisfied under the Nazi heel. Garrisoned soldiers were publicly instructed to treat the subjugated peoples with courtesy. By these tactics Hitler hoped to avoid the popular resistance which marked the Kaiser's invasions of the last war. Evidence of any such resistance was dismissed as work of "British agents" if it could not be concealed.

BRUTAL REPRISALS

Today, however, it becomes plain that none of Hitler's conquests can be sufficiently sugar-coated to eliminate the inevitable antagonisms between the conqueror and the conquered.

no visible connection with the war of the imperialist enemies of imperialist Germany.

The lie is also given to Hitler's claim to the disturbed German people, that the conquered nations would be happy and cooperative under German domination were it not for British fifth column activity. Hitler can no longer with that argument bolster the morale of the war-weary German people who begin to see ahead only an epoch of military conflicts with unwillingly subjugated peoples. He can only prescribe the death penalty for those Germans who dare to listen to radio reports of the widespread unrest.

BEHEADING LEADERSHIP

The Associated Press on October 3rd quoted an "authorized Czechoslovak source" to the effect that the victims of Nazi reprisals are not always the leaders of the revolts. Frequently, it states, men known to be capable of "organizing the Czech people into resistance cells" are taken from concentration camps, the outside of which they haven't seen in many months, and shot for acts in which they could have had no part. It would seem then, if such a policy is being consciously put into practice, that the Nazis are not concerned only with terrorizing the populace into submission. Another purpose would seem to be a desire to behead beforehand the potential leadership of the widespread revolution that must follow uprisings as these.

For it is plain that the present uprisings are not the result of a well-planned and organized movement or leadership. But that they stem from the growing consciousness of the European working-class is not difficult to perceive.

Their class nature is revealed to us in the class nature of the reprisals, which cut broadly into the mass of the working-class. Most of the sabotage takes place in situations where obviously only workers can be concerned—as on railroads, in factories, etc.

Their class nature is also revealed by the timing of these uprisings, so obviously inspired by the magnificent resistance of the Soviet workers and soldiers to the onslaught of Hitler's armies. They not only represent an upsurge of revolutionary activity by emboldened workers faced with the necessity to struggle against Hitlerism, but must in many cases include a desire to make more difficult Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union.

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The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

A Little History

Last week John McCormack of Newark, N. J., concluded a letter to the editor of THE MILITANT with the question: "What good is the executive order that Roosevelt issued if it hasn't got teeth to enforce it?"

We suspect that McCormack knew very well the answer to his own question. But if there is any one else who isn't aware of the fraud and hypocrisy being practiced by the Roosevelt administration toward the problem of jobs without discrimination for Negroes, we reprint the following parts of an article by George McCray, Negro labor commentator, from the Chicago Bee, Sept. 21, 1941:

"Many people have an almost childlike faith in the power of powerless government committees and commissions. During N.R.A., when we not only had a National Labor Board, but labor adjustment boards for various industries, organized labor learned that these boards of Mr. Roosevelt often wasted a lot of precious time but never got much accomplished. It seems as though Negroes are going to make a similar discovery.

NO RESULTS

Here is an enlightening series of events: July, 1940; the National Defense Advisory Commission stipulated that workers should not be discriminated against because of age, race, or color. No discernible change.

April 12, 1941; Negro employment and training branch was established in the Office of Production Management to make pleas for the removal of "employment barriers erected against competent and available colored workers either by employers or labor organizations." Some results achieved, but frankly hardly worth mentioning. The most strenuous efforts of such field workers for OPM as Posten and Weaver succeeded in placing a half dozen Negroes here and there.

Most of the gains made in the building industry were due to a shortage of labor in many areas and to the bitter battles being fought between the AFL and the CIO to dominate the building industry. When the CIO went after Negro construction workers the AFL decided the time was ripe to change its policies and grant Negroes work permits, rarely union membership.

NO CHANGE

April 11, 1941; both Hillman and Knudsen sent letters to defense contractors urging them to drop discrimination. No change.

NO CHANGE

June 25, 1941; President Roosevelt, very much irritated by A. P. Randolph's threatened march to Washington, took "strong" measures to prevent discrimination against Negroes. Government agencies were cautioned, a non-discrimination clause was to be placed in defense contracts; and another committee, this time one on Fair Employment Practices was to be created, to make investigations and to redress grievances. So far no change, but it should be remembered that the well-meaning, hard-working men on the committee really haven't had time to tackle the problem.

NO CHANGE

August, 1941; Fair Employment Practices committee called on President, had their pictures taken, and recommended that he call on all government agencies to drop segregation and discrimination against Negroes. Seems like this was done once before.

ANOTHER LETTER

August or September, 1941; President issues letter asking various department heads to review employment policies.

SOME RESULTS

September, 1941; Associated Negro Press carried story of five Negro stenographers who had been hired, in the United States war department over which Mr. Roosevelt himself is boss. The girls were "hidden away on the second floor in the sixth wing of the huge munitions building of the war department" with practically nothing to do."

In short, to sum up the whole experience in October, 1941, all the letters, statements, orders, and "well-meaning" committees in the world are not going to be able to do anything basic about job Jim Crow. The Negro masses can depend only on their own organized strength to win concessions and to win full equality.

Hastie Can't Answer Baldwin

In a letter to the New York Times, Oct. 4, William H. Hastie, Negro Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, attempted to answer some remarks in an article in the Sept. 30 Times written by that paper's military commentator, Hanson W. Baldwin.

In this article, devoted to a discussion of conclusions that could be drawn from the recently completed Army maneuvers, Baldwin stated that it was the "virtually unanimous belief of many officers that they (Negro soldiers) do not make good combat soldiers" and that "many officers say that the present tendency to increase the proportion of Negroes in the combat arms of the Army is dictated by political pressure and is dangerous to the efficiency of the Army."

Hastie undertook to argue the question. But he was unable — and afraid — to deal with the point in Baldwin's article that is visible to everyone that wants to see it: namely, that although Negro soldiers by and large are functioning as well as any others in the Army, their officers, in the face of all the favorable evidence given by Baldwin, still belittle and underrate them.

Hastie doesn't mind showing Baldwin's mistakes — but he has nothing to say about this attitude, fostered and tolerated by Hastie's own superiors and covered up by him, that is the source of all the discrimination shown the Negro.

The Trends Of "Isolationism"

Movement Splits, Part Goes To War Camp, Part Turns Fascist

By DON DORE

Since the end of World War I, most Americans have banked on the policy of "isolationism" to keep this country out of war. That policy has proved to be very insubstantial. The "isolationist" movement has cracked wide open under the impact of war.

To comprehend the full extent of the debacle of "isolationism" as an anti-war instrument, it is sufficient to recall that until the outbreak of this war, in September, 1939, "isolationism" was the keynote of official foreign policy.

The disillusionment of the American masses with the outcome of the first World War compelled each succeeding national administration to adopt "isolationism" as its formal foreign policy. Not even Roosevelt, during his first years of office, dared openly oppose this policy.

In September, 1939, addressing Congress in support of the repeal of the arms embargo, Roosevelt expressed himself exclusively in terms of isolationism, when he said:

"To those who say this program (arms embargo repeal) would involve a step toward war on our part, I reply that it offers far greater safeguards than we now possess or ever have possessed to protect American lives and property from danger. It is a positive program for giving safety. This means less likelihood of incidents and controversies which tend to draw us into conflict, as they did in the World War. There lies the road to peace."

That is a stock pattern of "isolationist" argument: The United States would hermetically seal itself from the possibility of "incidents" and thereby avoid the risk of "foreign entanglements."

This was the outward sentiment of the overwhelming bulk of Congressmen and Senators, Democrats and Republicans alike, in the months immediately preceding the outbreak of World War II. As late as July 1939, the Congressional leaders of both parties in conference with Roosevelt, had rejected out-of-hand his proposal to repeal the arms embargo.

ISOLATIONIST EBB-TIDE

From the moment of the repeal of the arms embargo in November 1939, it was apparent that the "isolationist" movement was in ebb-tide. On no single issue of foreign policy has the pro-war Administration failed to command a solid and overwhelming majority for its measures.

Not only has the "isolationist" movement failed to stem the onrushing forces of interventionism, it has continuously added to those forces from its own official ranks.

One by one, during the course of the past two years, formerly prominent "isolationist" Congressmen have sidled or leaped over into the interventionist camp. Most recently, following Roosevelt's "shoot-on sight" edict, there was a major exodus of isolationist Representatives, led by Dirksen of Illinois, from the isolationist bloc. All that remains of the forces which once dominated the direction of foreign policy in Congress, is a tiny and dwindling group of "intransigents," whose chief differences with the Administration lie not in fundamental objections to war as an instrument of imperialist policy, but only on questions of how, when and on what issues that war is to be conducted.

REPUBLICAN BACK-SLIDE

Riding the crest of "isolationist" sentiment that followed the first World War, the Republicans succeeded in holding the reins of government for 12 years. The Republican Party has posed as the traditional champion of "isolationism."

Today, the Republican Party can scarcely reflect even the shadow of such a pose. Leading Republican big-wigs, such as Knox and Stimson, have been for the past year outstanding spokesmen and representatives of the Roosevelt administration.

Even the old-guard of Republicanism, Hoover, Landon, et al, and their Congressional followers, no longer defend the tenets of traditional "isolationism." On virtually every practical measure which leads to war, they support the Administration. No fear of "foreign entanglements" has prevented them from supporting "aid to Britain" and all the other measures "short of war" which are leading directly to war. For, in essence, both political wings of American capitalism have an identical objective: the preservation of the American capitalist system

and its defense and extension against all rivals.

Thus, even such an "isolationist" "intransigent" as Senator Wheeler is constrained to declare: "As Americans, interested first in America, what is our present stake? Our stakes are our independence, our democracy and our trade and commerce. Every red blooded American would fight to preserve them."

In keeping with this basic objective, no different than Roosevelt's, the "isolationists" in Congress have voted for every military appropriation.

The actions of the recent convention of the American Legion in Milwaukee marked a still further retreat of "isolationism." Turning its back on its entire past policy, the Legion endorsed a completely interventionist position, including a call for the immediate repeal of the Neutrality Act.

All along the line the "isolationist" movement has met with defeat and rout. The forces of "isolationism" are crumbling under the pro-war pressure, and many of its leaders have been coated on their bewildered followers and ended up as shouters for war.

But the "isolationist" movement is not dead. If its efforts to intervene against the war have ended in fiasco what remains of the movement retains a life and virulence which has vast implications for the future.

Those implications have nothing to do with the prevention of war. They have to do primarily with the war's aftermath.

Senator "Champ" Clark, one of the few remaining "isolationists", expressed the fundamental character of the present movement in an address to a mass meeting in Milwaukee, the day preceding the opening of the American Legion convention. Clark declared:

"I do not wish to see our boys come back home not only racked by wounds but shocked and poisoned by the revolutionary excesses which every expert and

attitude of contempt for the worker? One can hear from many mouths in Mexico the story that although he was not present in person at the massacre, Maximo is responsible. The army officer tradition plus Maximo Camacho seems to be the most probable explanation to the shameful event.

Most shameful of all, however, is the trade union leadership that does not explain to the Mexican worker just how much latent danger this killing exposes. The mere existence of a fascist group is bad enough, but allowing them to remain in positions of power where they are ever poised to leap at the throat of the organized labor movement bodes a fierce struggle in the future. It is criminal for the leaders of the labor movement to ignore this threat; but they do ignore it. "These events do not mean antagonisms between the army and the worker," they echo after President Camacho. And the officer caste? Not a word — only "complete confidence" that the President will see justice done. The police forbade the union leaders to make speeches at the mass funeral attended by nearly 200,000 workers; and the union leaders submitted. The police hide the real number of killed, the top union leaders do not denounce this.

The policy of Lombardo Toledano and the CTM leaders has been one of cowardly cover-up of the man they put into office as President and of the officer caste he is planning to restore to a dominant role in Mexico. Toledano issued a statement immediately following the massacre in which he termed it a "regrettable incident," and absolved President Camacho of all responsibility for this murderous act of his military officers.

The chief danger of "isolationism" is as a snare to catch those who are honestly opposed to war and to lead them down to a blind-alley. It blinds the masses to the real causes of war, which are inherent in capitalism as a system, and disorients the anti-war fight. In the end, the "isolationist" bourgeoisie always betrays their sincere anti-war followers and thus demoralize the anti-war forces.

Only that movement can end war and bring lasting peace which organizes the masses for an uncompromising battle with capitalism, the war system. Only that party can lead the anti-war fight which seeks to destroy imperialism root and branch.

As the collapse of "isolationism" brings home to the American masses the futility of seeking to prevent war within the framework of capitalist imperialism, they must turn to the Socialist Workers Party, the anti-capitalist anti-war party, for true leadership in the anti-war fight.

During the Cardenas administration, there was little the officer caste could do. Although Cardenas did not remove them from the army, it was under his sponsorship that the Mexican trade union movement underwent its most extensive development. Since Camacho took power, however, the officer caste as well as the church and other reactionary sections obviously feel that their turn has come. Maximo Camacho, the President's brother, is well known as the fascist-minded governor of the neighboring state of Puebla. His open disrespect for workers' lives, which he has taken with his own hand, has not prevented his being appointed to a post in the cabinet as Minister of Communications.

With such an example of the traditional labor-hating army officer occupying a position of influence — brother of the President, occupying a cabinet post — is it any wonder that the officials of the army, never having lost sight of the privileged past, are now beginning to reflect the old

OFFICERS PRESSING FORWARD

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Monopolies Nibble At Consumers' Pockets

The Kraft Cheese Company, the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company and ninety other defendants were named in recent indictments by the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice on charges of price fixing in the cheese industry in the State of New York.

According to the charges, prices were fixed by the combine for the milk paid the dirt farmers. After being processed by low paid workers, the

consumers public was charged prices set by the trust. In effect ceiling prices were set for the farmer, while floors were set on prices for the consumer.

Since January, 1941, prices of cheese have risen from 15½ cents a pound to approximately 23 cents a pound, or more than 58%.

Here is a clear illustration of how monopolies cheat the farmer, exploit the worker and overcharge the consumer, reaping monopoly profits in the process.

THE FASCIST TREND

More and more, the present "isolationist" movement is adapting itself to fascist ideology and demagoguery. It is no accident that Lindbergh, chief front for the "isolationists," introduced Jew-baiting in his recent speech in Iowa, and that his Senatorial colleagues leaped to the defense of his utterances.

In no sense, however, does this present trend of "isolationism" reflect a movement which attempts to fight war by exposing the roots of the capitalist war system. Its differences with the pro-war bourgeoisie are tactical. Lindbergh has repeatedly stressed the point that he is for "defense" of the "Western Hemisphere," proposing not that America cease to be imperialistic, but that it confine its imperialism within geographic limits which will avoid war until the nation is better prepared in a military sense. He argues against going to war now by attempting to prove that American imperialism is "unprepared."

The logical conclusion to this argument is that Lindbergh will support war when the nation is "prepared."

And that is precisely what we may expect from the remnants of the "isolationist" movement when the country is plunged into war as an actual military participant. All the more eager will the "isolationists" be to display their "loyalty" and "genuine Americanism," once war is declared. They will proclaim that "Now that we are in, we have no choice but to stand with our country against the enemy."

WHY "ISOLATIONISM" CANNOT STOP WAR

"Isolationism" cannot stand up as an anti-war movement because it holds major objectives identical with those of the interventionists. It breaks down into a maze of contradictions when it seeks to differentiate itself in any basic sense from the interventionists. It is imperialist; it is for "national defense"; it is for capitalism. And, confronted with the final choice of carrying through a ruthless fight against the war or lining up with the capitalist class as a whole once the die is cast, it takes the latter course.

The chief danger of "isolationism" is as a snare to catch those who are honestly opposed to war and to lead them down to a blind-alley. It blinds the masses to the real causes of war, which are inherent in capitalism as a system, and disorients the anti-war fight. In the end, the "isolationist" bourgeoisie always betrays their sincere anti-war followers and thus demoralize the anti-war forces.

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student expects to sign the end of this war, no matter who wins the war."

Here is the essence of what remains of "isolationism" in its purest form. It is fear of the effects of post-war chaos on the safety of the capitalist system. This starting point for present day "isolationism" has nothing in common with a fundamental objection to war or imperialism.

The Lindberghs, Nyes, and Clarks represent that sector of American capitalism which opposes entry into the war NOW because it feels that the FIRST

objective for the employing class is the complete destruction of the labor movement and the prevention, its advances of war, of post-war working-class upsurge.

This section of the American bourgeoisie—in a minority today —feels that it is essential to make some compromise with fascism, even to introduce fascism into America, to avoid what it considers to be the greater evil, the complete loss of their wealth, power and class privileges, which they visualize as the inevitable outcome of the war whether the United States "wins" or "loses."

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In no sense, however, does this present trend of "isolationism" reflect a movement which attempts to fight war by exposing the roots of the capitalist war system. Its differences with the pro-war bourgeoisie are tactical. Lindbergh has repeatedly stressed the point that he is for "defense" of the "Western Hemisphere," proposing not that America cease to be imperialistic, but that it confine its imperialism within geographic limits which will avoid war until the nation is better prepared in a military sense. He argues against going to war now by attempting to prove that American imperialism is "unprepared."

The logical conclusion to this argument is that Lindbergh will support war when the nation is "prepared."

And that is precisely what we may expect from the remnants of the "isolationist" movement when the country is plunged into war as an actual military participant. All the more eager will the "isolationists" be to display their "loyalty" and "genuine Americanism," once war is declared. They will proclaim that "Now that we are in, we have no choice but to stand with our country against the enemy."

WHY "ISOLATIONISM" CANNOT STOP WAR

"Isolationism" cannot stand up as an anti-war movement because it holds major objectives identical with those of the interventionists. It breaks down into a maze of contradictions when it seeks to differentiate itself in any basic sense from the interventionists. It is imperialist; it is for "national defense"; it is for capitalism. And, confronted with the final choice of carrying through a ruthless fight against the war or lining up with the capitalist class as a whole once the die is cast, it takes the latter course.

The chief danger of "isolationism" is as a snare to catch those who are honestly opposed to war and to lead them down to a blind-alley. It blinds the masses to the real causes of war, which are inherent in capitalism as a system, and disorients the anti-war fight. In the end, the "isolationist" bourgeoisie always betrays their sincere anti-war followers and thus demoralize the anti-war forces.

Only that movement can end war and bring lasting peace which organizes the masses for an uncompromising battle with capitalism, the war system. Only that party can lead the anti-war fight which seeks to destroy imperialism root and branch.

As the collapse of "isolationism" brings home to the American masses the futility of seeking to prevent war within the framework of capitalist imperialism, they must turn to the Socialist Workers Party, the anti-capitalist anti-war party, for true leadership in the anti-war fight.

Japan's Moves In China Are Prelude To New Adventures

By JACK WEBER

China and the War

It took four years of warfare in China to persuade the United States imperialists that China could resist the Japanese invasion. In that four years Japan was forced to strain her economy to the utmost to keep her armies in the field and to continue policing the vast stretches of territory that the Mikado hoped to swallow. Japan spent ten times as much on this war as on the Russo-Jap War. Her casualties in killed, wounded, and diseased were also far greater, having reached over a million by March 1940 alone. With all her tremendous sacrifices of "blood and treasure" as the lingo of diplomacy likes to put it, Japan has proved unable to accomplish the subjugation of China.

United States aid to China obviously is for the purpose of keeping Japan occupied with the war on the continent of Asia so that the Japanese militarists will not be able to turn their full attention to other spheres, such as the Dutch East Indies and Singapore. The moment the Japanese began to withdraw troops from the Chinese interior for the movement southwards to Indo-China, Chiang Kai-shek opened the biggest military operations he had thus far attempted. Chinese troops took the offensive in five of the overrun provinces. This campaign was not merely for the recovery of territory and for the defeat of the weakened Japanese garrisons, but its purpose was as much political as military. It was an attempt to demonstrate to the United States and England that China could keep the Japanese occupied and prevent their withdrawal of really great forces from the Chinese mainland. Such a demonstration would enlist further aid from the "democracies."

The new campaign was also China's answer to the letter sent to President Roosevelt directly by the Japanese Premier Konoye on August 28th of this year. The Chinese had every reason to feel alarmed concerning the outcome of that letter which started negotiations between the two imperialist powers to seek a temporary solution of the Pacific problem. For after all, the United States had never ceased, in the entire four years of war in the Far East, to continue selling the raw materials to Japan that were absolutely necessary to her for continuation of the attack on China. With Russia now completely absorbed in the war with Germany, China has no place to turn for aid except to the United States.

Roosevelt Cannot Withdraw Forces

Roosevelt had to weigh two factors in the discussions looking to an alleviation of the tense relations with Japan. Without actually being at war, Japan has nevertheless continued all this time to hold half the American navy in Pacific waters. Not only that, but planes and munitions that might have been useful to England, and now to Russia, against Hitler, are also tied up, immobilized, in all the ports of the Far East.

Evidently the war in the East has coalesced too closely with that in the West to permit any kind of compromise. Each of the powers is too deeply involved to permit even a temporary solution. The Japanese are face to face with a desperate situation and would like to find a way out without facing all the enemies in the East. But at the same time they must think of the future. If Hitler should win the war, then a Japan which now deserted the Axis would face a far more formidable enemy on the mainland of Asia than either China or Russia.

The Japanese cannot merely afford to mark time while waiting for events in Europe to help resolve their problem. Waiting now means weakening of her position both economically and militarily. The Chinese will continue receiving help along the Burma road from the United States and this help will enable them to put up a far more formidable fight than has been the case up to now. Help will also go to the Siberian forces of the Soviet Union and this will mean a more difficult task for the Japanese Army there also. Meanwhile China does not permit any really great withdrawal of the Nipponese troops. Japan simply cannot afford to abandon China for that country would then become united as never before to keep the Japanese out in any new attempt at invasion later. China has thus become the key to the entire situation in the Far East.

Meaning of Japan's New Campaign

There are those who see in the desperate situation of Japan the means of tying the hands of the militarists and imperialists. They reason that it would be national suicide for the generals to start a new war, say in Siberia. But history has shown all too clearly, again and again, that the reactionary ruling clique never gives up its power voluntarily. The policy of looting of the Pacific region has brought the nation to a tremendous crisis, but it has at the same time enhanced greatly the privileged position of the semi-feudal army caste. To them, just as to Hitler, the solution to their problems lies not in peace but in further looting.

The new campaign of the Japanese army in the interior of China is to be viewed with this in mind. It is not the symptom that the Japanese are now determined to concentrate on the final wiping out of Chiang Kai-shek. Rather it is an attempt to destroy as much of the Chinese forces as possible as well as to drive these forces back disorganized once more into the remotest sections of China, before the Japanese start on a new adventure. The taking and then abandoning of Changsha indicates this to be the case. The march towards Chengchow is a similar indication, for the object is to destroy as much as possible so that it will take a long time to rebuild what the Chinese had accomplished, — to permit the Japanese to start on a new expedition of loot. The breakdown of the negotiations between Japan and the United States (these negotiations continue only by inertia) may well mark the beginning of the long-awaited attack on the USSR.

WHY we Defend The Soviet Union

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

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

—LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

The Bridges Decision

Those people who believed that Roosevelt's prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO was an accidental or isolated attack upon civil liberties and labor's rights should be disillusioned by the decision handed down on Sept. 30th by Federal Judge Sears that Harry Bridges should be deported. The union-hating shipowners, Edgar Hoover's G-Men, the big business lobbies and anti-labor Congressmen have been trying for years to get the longshoremen's leader out of the trade-union movement and out of the United States, but not until now have they succeeded in getting a Federal decision against him.

Bridges is being hounded under a special statute passed by Congress last year to frame him up. His prosecution is directly conducted by Roosevelt's own Department of Justice, which has launched a witch-hunting and union-busting campaign similar to that conducted by Wilson's administration during the last war.

The attack upon Bridges proves that it makes no difference whether unionists support or fight the administration's policy. If a labor-leader represents in any way or to any degree the interests of workers and thereby incurs the displeasure of the bosses, he is liable to persecution by Roosevelt, Biddle and the F. B. I. Bridges today endorses Roosevelt's war and anti-labor policies; yet this does not suffice to save him from being victimized.

The same is true of the Communist Party, of which Bridges is alleged to be a member. The Department of Justice is seeking to deport Bridges for belonging to an organization that "advocates the overthrow of the government by force." This is the same ground upon which the 29 defendants in the Minneapolis "Seditious Conspiracy" case have been indicted and will stand trial on October 20th. Carl Skoglund, one of the 29, faces possible deportation under the same statute that is being used against Bridges.

The Communist Party approves the Federal prosecution of the Minneapolis Trotskyists. The *Daily Worker* of Aug. 16, 1941 said: "The Communist Party has always exposed, fought against and today joins in the fight to exterminate the Trotskyist Fifth Columns from the life of our nation." The main complaint of the *Daily Worker* against our prosecution is that the government plans to try the Trotskyists as revolutionists and not, as Stalin did in the Moscow Trials, as "agents of fascism."

Now, despite their slavish support of Roosevelt's war policies, the Communist Party, its members and sympathizers are feeling the knife at their own throat.

The persecution of Harry Bridges and the pro-

secution against the 29 defendants in the Minneapolis indictments are part and parcel of the administration's drive against the trade-unions and especially against its more progressive section, the CIO. Every worker must condemn and fight against them. For the rights and independence of organized labor together with the civil liberties of the American people are directly imperiled in these cases.

Knox And The USSR

In an editorial devoted mainly to lush praise of Secretary Knox's recent "police the seven seas" speech, the Stalinist *Daily Worker*, October 3, could not refrain from sounding the following faint note of alarm:

"... Sec. Knox's remarks about Britain and American policing the world after the war do not help to mobilize the all-out front necessary to defeat Hitler. For after the war, all the democratic peoples of the world will participate in the peace."

The concern here expressed is a recognition by the Stalinists that the Kremlin's new "allies" have no intentions of permitting the Soviet Union to have any voice in the "peace" that will follow the present war.

It will be a "peace" dictated by Anglo-American imperialism alone, and in its own interests.

When Knox speaks of American and British imperialism "policing" the world, he means "policing" the Soviet Union as well.

But the Stalinists, in return for the "aid" which the Kremlin hopes to get from the Allied imperialists, have broadcast the traitorous lie that this is a war for "democracy."

Knox's speech exposes this lie for what it is. This war, if the Allies emerge victorious, will end in an imperialist settlement which will be no less disastrous for the Soviet Union than for democracy.

When the *Daily Worker* says that Knox's remarks "do not help to mobilize the all-out front necessary to defeat Hitler," that is not because the Stalinists consider Knox's words a false expression of American imperialist policy and aims. It is because this revelation of the true character of the Roosevelt-Churchill war aims may help to turn the masses away from support of the war, and away from Stalinism as well.

The Stalinist attempt to portray American and British imperialism as "allies" of the Soviet Union aids the imperialists to secure that world domination which will be used to destroy the Soviet Union.

The AFL Convention

The keynote of the American Federation of Labor convention, now meeting in Seattle, was struck by its president, William Green, when he stated in his opening address:

"... We of the American Federation of Labor are going to advise the President of the United States that we will give him all we have in support of his program, that we will stand by him and behind him and around him, and we will tell him further that if it is necessary to take a more decisive action in order to maintain freedom of the seas and to protect democracy throughout the world, we will stand by him and follow him to the bitter end."

This statement is an explicit assurance to the imperialist war government that the leadership of the AFL is prepared to accept every and any measure, regardless of its evil consequences for labor, which the Roosevelt administration may institute.

Green's affirmation of support for the capitalist government and its war contained no single qualification calculated to reassure the ranks of the AFL that their interests as workers will in any way influence the course of AFL policy.

The problems of the AFL members, and of the working class as a whole, were subordinated or completely ignored by Green. His "solution" to the evils of speed-up, soaring prices, fixed wages, attacks on labor's independence and right to strike, was to call on the workers to "give even more" to the employers. His sole proposal for the "protection" of labor's interests was that more union leaders be given posts on government boards.

The road which Green maps for organized labor can lead only to the destruction of the independent power of the unions, to turning them into servile appendages of the government apparatus.

Green expresses no new and extraordinary policy born of special war conditions. He just extends the policies practiced by the bureaucratic trade-union leadership in times of peace.

At all times, the trade union bureaucracy seeks to blur the class lines, to collaborate with the owning class and its government at the expense of the interests of the rank and file. It attempts to wheedle itself into the good graces of the ruling regime in order to wangle a few crumbs from the over-flowing tables of the capitalist class.

If the union bureaucracy seeks to make itself "indispensable" to the capitalist state in peacetime, it is ten times as ready to do so in war. But it is precisely in war-time, when the government demands nothing less than a totalitarian conformity, that there is no room for "give-and-take." Faced by a choice of uncompromising struggle against the ruling apparatus, or a complete capitulation to it, the trade union bureaucracy invariably chooses the latter course.

The rank and file of labor can maintain their freedom of action, their rights and standards, only through independent struggle for their own class interests and despite and against these misleaders of labor.

American Legion Speaks For Army General Staff

Formed By G. H. Q. After World War I To Silence Radicalism Among Veterans, Legion Now Lines Them Up For World War II

By RUTH JEFFREY

Despite its consistent policy of boosting big armaments programs, the American Legion in past years claimed to have an "isolationist" position. However, following the President's and took its place in the front ranks of the interventionists. "shoot-at-sight" speech, the Legion suddenly reversed its stand.

The impression is given that the men who fought in World War I now consider the time ripe to send their sons forward

into World War II. But is the American Legion actually the voice of World War I's veterans?

The facts tell a different story. For one thing, at the high point of its membership — 1,000,000 strong — the Legion never included more than 25 per cent of the men mobilized in the last war. Nor were the majority of these members men who had reached the trenches. It has been reliably estimated that less than one-third of the Legionnaires was ever under shell-fire.

Nevertheless, the Legion is a large and powerful organization, whose influence rests on its claim that it speaks for the majority of veterans. But who really determines its policies? Who organizes it and why?

The American Legion was and is the baby of the U. S. Army's General Staff. Regarding its inception, the late Champ Clark testified in Congress in 1919, (on the occasion of the Legion's request to be chartered) "General Pershing asked the various commands in France to send delegates and representatives to a meeting of the soldiers in Paris at a certain date. Of course, they had all been talking in camp after the Armistice about organizing something of this sort. I think there were 3,000 at that meeting in Paris. My son, Colonel Bennett C. Clark was chairman."

THE RED SCARE
Marcus Duffield states in his book, "King Legion": "When the Armistice was signed the American troops in France suffered an emotional let-down. They wanted to go home straightway, and the longer they stayed abroad the more discontented they became. As Allied troops fraternized with Germans, both sides began asking why the War was fought. Talk of the Bolshevik revolution was in the air, of the German soldiers' risings against their generals, of French mutinies. The American General Staff was seriously concerned about how to keep up morale. American bankers and business men who visited Europe returned filled with anxiety. What would be the attitude of returning troops? Might they join hands with the I.W.W. who were creating disturbances on the West Coast and threatened to spread the trouble through the East? Would the ex-soldiers upset things? ...

"On February 15, 1919, General Headquarters ordered a group of officers to Paris to discuss ways of maintaining contentment among American troops in France. These officers were drawn from the Regular Army, from the Intelligence Section of the General Staff, and from various units of the citizen armies. "At a meeting held on December 23, 1919, presided over by Mr. Thomas E. Wilson, there were present representatives of the different stock yard interests and it was voted that they contribute \$10,000 towards a campaign for funds for the American Legion. A national drive is being made for the Legion and the amount asked from Illinois is \$100,000. Mr. James B. Forgan, Chairman of the First National Bank, being treasurer for Illinois. We are all interested in the Legion, the results it will obtain, and the ultimate effect in helping to offset radicalism. It is important that we assist this worthy work and at the meeting I was asked by the Chairman to write to the different stock yard interests for their contribution. In pro-rating the amount, it was suggested that we use an arbitrary percentage as a basis and the amount you are asked to contribute is \$100."

Thus with the active financial cooperation of the monied interests did the Army General Staff, military arm of the ruling class, nurse into organized passivity the discontented soldiers whom they duped into fighting their first world war for "democracy."

LEGION ON 'DEMOCRACY'
A more reactionary, demagogic organization would be difficult to

find. Maintaining its hold over its membership with the argument that it alone can obtain legislation to aid the veterans, and with magnificent yearly carnivals called "conventions", the Legion grows stronger with the years.

And a more favorable rallying point for a future fascist movement in this country would likewise be difficult to find. The army generals and the navy admirals have done their work well. Through the years the Legionnaires have been fed a heavy diet of red-baiting, super-patriotism, big-army and big-navy propaganda, and the most amazingly crass political statements.

The Legion, in its official manual on "citizenship" defines "democracy" as follows:

"Democracy: A government of the masses. Authority derived through mass meeting or any other form of 'direct' expression. Results in mobocracy. Attitude toward law is that the will of the majority shall regulate, whether it be based upon deliberation or governed by passion, prejudice, and impulse, without restraint or regard to consequences. Results in demagogism, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy."

SEEDS OF FASCISM

Such an interpretation of democracy can stem only from those who are fascists or fascist-minded. It points the political direction in which the Legion will travel. And there's other evidence.

Not so very many years ago, National Commander Alvin Owsley gave the following interview to the representative of a newspaper syndicate, as quoted by Duffield:

"If ever needed (said Owsley), the American Legion stands ready to protect our country's institutions and ideals as the Fascists dealt with the destructionists who menaced Italy!"

"By taking over the government?" he was asked.

"Exactly that," he replied. "The American Legion is fighting every element that threatens our democratic government—Soviets, anarchists, I.W.W., revolutionary Socialists and every other 'Red' ... Do not forget that the Fascists are to Italy what the American Legion is to be the U. S."

After twenty-two years that is the only perspective the present officer caste can present to the men American imperialism drafted for the last war: the role of fascist hoodlums smashing the heads of militant workingmen.

The lesson of what domination by a reactionary officer caste means to men drafted into the army now becomes clear, and must be heeded. The workers, to prevent the threat of a new anti-labor super-Legion after this war, must fight for workers' democracy in the armed forces, for trade union control of military training, for the right of the common soldier to elect the officers under whose orders he is to fight and risk his life.

Are Capitalist Bosses Necessary?

By WILLIAM F. WARDE

Capitalists Have No Useful Function

Parasitic ruling classes have always spread the idea that they are indispensable. The more useless they become, the more insistently they try to impress this illusion upon workers' minds. Between beatings, slaveholders have always preached to their slaves: "How lucky you are to have us on your backs to direct you. You couldn't get along without us."

In reality, the slaveholders live on the toil and produce of their slaves and couldn't exist without them. But to keep the slaves in submission and uphold their system of exploitation, the slavemasters are forced to twist the real state of affairs into its opposite.

So the modern slaveholders, the capitalists, contend, in order to justify their existence, that they alone are competent to rule the state and control industry. Their spokesmen maintain that workers are slaves by nature and therefore cannot be permitted to assume commanding positions in political and economic life or in military matters, without overturning the foundations of civilization.

As a matter of fact, the opposite is true. The capitalist class possesses its present power, property rights, and privileges as a result of long outgrown historical conditions. This class of parasites no longer performs any essential functions in modern society, any more than the appendix performs any useful function in the human body. Today the decayed capitalist class, like a diseased appendix, imperils the very life of humanity. This source of infection must be removed before society can regain its health — and only the revolutionary working class can perform that surgical operation.

The life of society does not depend today upon the capitalist exploiters but upon the working mass they oppress and exploit. If these workers put down their tools, then production stops. But if every stockholder in General Motors were to die or be dispossessed tomorrow, the workers in the plants would continue to turn out automobiles. Moreover, if the rich monopolists were wiped out by the socialist revolution, the workers could then produce autos for themselves and everyone to use, instead of tanks and machine guns with which to slaughter each other for imperialist profits.

The worker who now operates a lathe can direct a machine shop tomorrow and an entire industry the day after. This has been done under capitalism by a few individual workers who ascend higher in the social ranks, break away from their original class, and, like Chrysler and Knudsen, become big bosses themselves. What is done by isolated individuals under capitalism can and will be done collectively by the mass of organized workers under socialism, who will own, organize and operate industry by means of democratic councils. They will then produce not for the enrichment of a few but for the enjoyment of all.

Bosses Try to Belittle Working Class

The capitalist rulers try in every way to keep the workers down and to lessen their self-confidence. They want to prevent the workers from understanding their own organized power and from developing their capacities as a class destined to rule and reorganize the world. Many years ago workers were told they couldn't build their own trade unions and administer them. Nevertheless the workers went ahead and created powerful, streamlined unions like the United Auto Workers and others.

Now that the trade-union movement has fought its way to recognition and influence, the capitalist spokesmen shift their ground to hold back the workers from further advances. They try to discourage the workers from forming their own independent political organizations in the shape of a Labor Party based upon the trade unions. And if the workers of this country succeed in striking out on their own in the political field, the agents of the bosses will then strive to dissuade them from taking power.

The workers can learn how to answer these reactionary arguments from the history of the capitalists themselves. The feudal monarchs and nobles once regarded the rising bourgeoisie as contemptuously as that boss class now treats the workers. The aristocrats asserted that the divine, hereditary right of managing state affairs and deciding great economic questions belonged to them alone. The merchants and manufacturers were supposed to be fit for nothing but storekeeping and servility. That did not prevent the revolutionary representatives of capitalism from demanding and winning supreme economic and political power.

The Southern slaveholders who dominated the United States before the Civil War thought and taught that the Northern industrialists and financiers should bow before them. These very capitalists crushed the slaveholders during the Civil War and conquered the power they have exercised since.

Only the Workers Can Run Society

The workers of the United States can also learn from the history of their own class. In 1917 the Russian workers demonstrated that the workers can take power, end war, and defend their country against internal enemies. In the succeeding years, despite enormous difficulties and despite their setbacks and sufferings under the Stalinist bureaucratic regime, they managed to lift their economy to new heights and to provide strong defenses for their state. What the Soviet workers of the USSR have accomplished under incredibly hard conditions, the workers of the United States can certainly do under far more favorable circumstances.

Today, it is no longer debatable whether or not the workers should take power and run society. They must do so. For the second time within a generation the imperialists are running amok. If arsonists were running wild in a community, threatening to reduce everything to ashes, people would be obliged and justified to get rid of them. So the imperialist maniacs who are spreading the fires of war must be disarmed and dispossessed by the workers if civilization is to be saved.

Let the organized workers take power and they will learn the art of governing and technique of economic administration no less easily than the capitalists. And they will make social advances that capitalism never dreams of!

Chicago Mass Meeting

To Greet the Defendants in the Minnesota "Seditious Conspiracy" Indictment

Speakers:

JAMES P. CANNON, Nat'l Sec'y, SWP
ALBERT GOLDMAN, Labor Attorney
FARRELL DOBBS, Labor Secretary, SWP
FELIX MORROW, Editor of the Militant
GRACE CARLSON, Minnesota State Organizer, SWP

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