

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

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DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION!

Manifesto Of The Socialist Workers Party

The Soviet Union is in mortal danger! Under the most adverse conditions the Soviet masses are heroically defending the Workers' State against imperialist invasion. The Second World War, which could have been prevented only by victorious socialist revolution and destruction of world capitalism, menaces the very existence of the isolated Workers' State. All the warnings of Lenin and Trotsky have come true.

German imperialism seeks to overthrow the October revolution and to restore the capitalist system in its degenerate fascist form. This is the essential meaning of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union. Every worker who realizes the significance of this attack will have no hesitation in accepting the slogan of our party:

Defend the Soviet Union at all costs and under all circumstances against imperialist attack!

The Russian working class in October, 1917, established a government of Soviets which took the land from the landlords and gave it to the peasants, and took the banks, industries and railroads from the capitalists and placed them—as nationalized property—under the management and control of the workers. Thereby the Soviets abolished the system of private property which permits a handful of capitalists to own the wealth of a country and to exploit the vast majority of the people. This achievement of the October revolution is the greatest advance ever made by any people. It proved, beyond any refutation, that the working class is capable of taking its destiny into its own hands. The unprecedented development of this nationalized property proved for all time the superiority of socialist methods of production over capitalist anarchy.

The productive forces were nationalized by the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. Those Soviets no longer exist. They have been destroyed by the Kremlin bureaucracy, which has usurped all political power. But the productive forces are today still not in the hands of private owners. This means that, in spite of the damage done to the revolution by Stalin and his Kremlin clique, the essential conquest of that revolution survives.

It is this nationalized property that we call upon the workers of the world to defend against every enemy. It is this nationalized property which the capitalists of Germany, represented by Hitler, are out to seize and transform into capitalist property. Today, therefore, the main enemy of the Soviet workers is German imperialism. Against this enemy must be pitted every worker conscious of the tremendous advance which the October revolution made in the progress of mankind. Every blow of the Red Army against German imperialism is a blow for the socialist future of mankind. It is the duty of every worker to aid the Red Army to victory.

What We Do Not Defend

The Soviet Union and Stalin's regime are not at all identical. The October revolution was not made for the bureaucrats who have usurped the seats of power. In defending the Soviet Union, we do not defend these usurpers. Stalin and his clique have brought the Soviet Union to a point where Hitler feels confident that he can in a short time conquer it. Within the Soviet Union the Stalinist bureaucracy has destroyed every form of workers' democracy established under Lenin and Trotsky. The Cain in the Kremlin has murdered the best, the most devoted and most capable Bolshevik leaders of the Soviet workers, and at this very moment keeps imprisoned in his dungeons hundreds of thousands of revolutionary workers upon whom he now perpetrates the last indignity of all—he prevents them from defending the Soviet Union arms in hand. Outside the Soviet Union, Stalin strangled the Chinese revolution and led the whole European labor movement to catastrophic defeats. Thus the Soviet Union was deprived of its only reliable allies.

By his pact with Hitler, his collaboration with the Nazis in dismembering Poland, his 1939 attack on Finland, and his leaving Hitler free to master Europe, Stalin has alienated from the Soviet Union the sympathies of tens of millions of workers.

Not for one moment do we suspend our struggle against the Kremlin dictator and the bureaucracy which he represents. For the fact is already evident, and will become more so with each day, that the Soviet workers must rid themselves of this bureaucracy and re-establish workers' democracy in order to assure victory against the Nazi armies. The overthrow of Stalin by the workers is demanded by the needs of the struggle to save the Soviet Union. We are confident that the Russian workers who made three revolutions in the space of twelve years—1905, February 1917, October 1917—will rise again to the level of their great revolutionary traditions.

Stalin must be overthrown—but only by the working class. His overthrow by Hitler would mean restoration of capitalism. For the sake of the Soviet Union and of the World Socialist Revolution, the workers' struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy must be subordinated to the struggle against the main enemy—the armies of Hitler Germany. Everything that we say or do must have as its primary object the victory of the Red Army.

The Soviet Union can be best understood as a great trade

"Workers! The defense of the USSR is not a parlor phrase. . . The international defense of the USSR is dependent upon the international revolutionary struggle of the working class. Where the blood and fate of millions are at stake, the greatest clarity is needed. Nobody today is rendering better service to the class enemy than the Stalinist apparatus which in the struggle for the remnants of its prestige is sowing confusion and chaos everywhere!"

union fallen into the hands of corrupt and degenerate leaders. Our struggle against Stalinism is a struggle within the labor movement. Against the bosses we preserve the unity of the class front, we stand shoulder to shoulder with all workers. The Soviet Union is a Workers' State, although degenerated because of Stalinist rule. Just as we support strikes against the bosses even though the union conducting the strike is under the control of Stalinists, so do we support the Soviet Union against imperialism. Despite imprisonment and repression, our comrades in the Soviet Union, the hounded Trotskyists, will prove to the Soviet masses that the Trotskyists are the best fighters against the capitalist enemy.

Defense Of The USSR Against Its Capitalist Allies

Churchill has indicated that he will consummate some form of military alliance with the Kremlin. When the United States reaches the "shooting war" stage, Roosevelt will likewise enter into a formal alliance.

The Soviet Union is now compelled by sad necessity to seek these alliances. That is necessitated by the isolation and weakness of the Soviet Union. What, however, shall be the attitude of the working class toward the Soviet Union's capitalist allies? The Communist International today evades answering the fundamental question; tomorrow it will answer it as in the period of the Franco-Soviet pact—calling upon the workers to support the imperialist war of the "democracies."

We warn the workers: the "democratic" ally is just as hostile to the nationalized property of the Soviet Union as is the fascist enemy. Roosevelt and Churchill will seek two things at the same time: the defeat of their German imperialist rival, and also to prevent the Soviet Union from strengthening itself through victory. Even at the cost of weakening their fight against their imperialist rival, Roosevelt and Churchill will try to hold down the world working class, including the Soviet Union.

The chief contradiction in modern society, we have said since 1917, is between the Soviet Union and the imperialist world. That still holds true. Special circumstances now, as during the time of the Stalin-Laval pact, bring about an alliance between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries. Not the least of these circumstances is that Stalin's reactionary policy lessens capitalist fears of the revolutionary role of the Soviet Union and weakens the effect of the example of the October revolution. But only for the time being is the fundamental antagonism between the Soviet Union and Anglo-American imperialism relegated to the background.

The fundamental antagonism remains and will come to the fore precisely if the "democracies" begin to win. Only a week ago the sober spokesman of American monopoly, the *New York Times*, said about the Soviet Union: "The democracies, having got rid of dictatorship in Germany, would hardly support dictatorship elsewhere." The *Times* has not unsaid this vicious threat, any more than Churchill unsaid his enmity to the Soviet Union. Kerensky, the representative of Russian "democratic" capitalism, hails the democracies for agreeing to "help" the Soviet Union; "a victory of the democracies," he says, "would end in the collapse of the Soviet regime"—that is, in the restoration of capitalism. The Vatican announces it is training priests for work in Russia in case of a "change"—which it anticipates whether the fascist or the democratic imperialisms become masters of Europe. Irreconcilable proletarian opposition to the imperialist allies of the Soviet Union offers the only guarantee that the workers will be on guard to save the Soviet Union from destruction at the hands of the victorious "democracies."

Hitler understands very well that the fundamental antagonism of modern society is between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world. While alluding to an alleged agreement between Britain and the Soviet Union as one of his pretexts for the invasion, Hitler's main war-cry is that he is saving Europe from Bolshevism. While preparing for the contingency of waging a full-length war against a Soviet-British alliance, Hitler is also exploring the possibility that he will secure a free hand against the USSR. It is plain that he has hopes of forcing a peace in the west during the course of his war against the Red Army.

Hitler's role as guardian of Europe against Bolshevism brought him rich dividends from Chamberlain. The party of

"Weeks and months are approaching when every revolutionist will have to show what he is worth. Carry the ideas of Marxism and Leninism into the ranks of the advanced workers. Help the international proletariat vanquish free itself from the straitjacket of the insensate Stalinist bureaucracy."

"What is involved is no small matter: it is the fate of the USSR and the world proletarian revolution!"

LEON TROTSKY

Chamberlain is still at the helm in England. The main driving force in Hitler's decision to invade the Soviet Union was undoubtedly the wheat, oil and other raw materials which he needs for a long war. But he also hopes that his anti-Bolshevik slogans will again win him an understanding with his imperialist rivals.

Thus far Churchill, representing at present the most important section of British imperialism, has rejected the perspective of negotiating a peace. Churchill and Roosevelt fear Hitler more than Stalin. However, the powerful groups of imperialists in England and here who are anxious to make peace with Hitler will now redouble their efforts to win the British and American governments to their program.

Appeasement gains mightily from Hitler's assault on the Red Army, for the basic motivation of the appeasers is a belief in capitalist solidarity against the workers of the world. The real fight against the appeasers is not aided by those who fine up with the capitalist war-mongers. Those who subordinate the working class to the governments of the "democracies" make it that much easier for the Roosevelts and Churchills to come to an agreement with the appeasers without any fear of a vigilant and independent working class movement.

For Revolutionary War

To rally the utmost energies of the Soviet masses, to rally around the Soviet Union the masses of all countries, to arouse in the German proletariat the determination at all costs to undermine and sabotage the Nazi war machine—these tasks of the hour require a policy in the Bolshevik spirit of Lenin and Trotsky, tribunes of the people summoning the whole world to revolt. Nothing could be further from this than the statement of Molotov upon the outbreak of hostilities.

It could have emanated from the most conservative capitalist regime in the world. There is in it not a word of appeal to the world masses; nor a word about socialism or the traditions of the October revolution. Molotov seeks to inspire the Soviet masses by reminding them that "This is not the first time that our people have had to deal with the attack of an arrogant foe." That is true. Enshrined forever in the hearts of the working class are the successes of Trotsky's Red Army in beating back on twenty-two fronts the armies of the imperialist world. But that is not the tradition that Molotov is talking about! His tradition now is "our people's reply was war for the fatherland"—against Napoleon! In this avoidance of the traditions of the October revolution, Molotov reveals the character of the Kremlin regime, its fear of the masses and their revolutionary heritage.

In everything it does the Stalinist bureaucracy indicates its lack of trust in and fear of the great masses. It is to the capitalist masters that the Kremlin looks for aid. In his policy Stalin finds a place for the masses only as so many pawns whom he can yield to the bourgeois masters as payment for collaboration. The Soviet broadcasts of Churchill's speech omitted Churchill's anti-Communist statements; Stalin is already dressing up the leader of British imperialism.

The Kremlin bureaucracy is interested only in maintaining its privileges, at no matter what cost to the Soviet and world masses. Stalin gave Hitler everything that he could, so long as these concessions did not directly involve the surrender of the power and position of the bureaucracy.

In the light of his fundamental policy, Stalin surely will not carry on this war as it ought to be carried on—as a war in which the Soviet Union, though taking advantage of all aid from Hitler's imperialist enemies, plays the independent role of a Workers' State, rallies the world masses to the banner of socialism, calls upon the working masses of Germany to overthrow Hitler and capitalism and to join in an alliance with the Soviet Union. Stalin represents the antithesis to such a revolutionary policy, he has crushed that policy wherever he could, inside and outside the Soviet Union. He has murdered its best representative, Leon Trotsky.

Workers and peasants of the Soviet Union! We appeal to you in the name of our martyred leader, Comrade Trotsky. His voice would now be urging you on to revolutionary war against Hitler. This was the hour of danger which Trotsky was destined to turn into the hour of proletarian triumph—but his noble and heroic mind was crushed by Stalin's pickaxe. Since he has been denied the happiness of participating in your decisive battles and final victory, let Trotsky henceforth participate invisibly in your struggle. Let his voice,

stilled by Stalin but living on in the movement which bears his name, advise you in your struggle for a better world. Avenge his death by destroying Hitler, overthrowing the Cain in the Kremlin, and reviving the Soviet democracy which in the heroic years of the October revolution made possible the victory over imperialist intervention.

Revolutionary workers of America! In the defense of the Soviet Union, clarity is necessary above all.

The Communist Party

What has been happening in the Soviet Union may be unknown to you, but you have evidence at hand to show you that Stalinism is incapable of leading the defense of the Soviet Union. You have the evidence of the Stalinist organ, the *Daily Worker*. Until after the invasion began, the *Daily Worker* had not one word to say to warn and arouse the workers about the danger of a Nazi attack. On the contrary, it branded "the extravaganzas now being dressed up as 'news' of a crisis between Germany and the Soviet Union as 'Wall Street' lies 'designed to give the impression that the Soviet Union is 'weak' and that it is 'isolated.' " Stalin's vainglorious boasting about the great gains resulting from the Stalin-Hitler pact, and his pretense that the pact was forced upon Hitler by the might of the Red Army, dictated the *Daily Worker's* conspiracy of silence about the terrible danger confronting the Soviet Union. Moreover the *Daily Worker's* editors—believing that Stalin would enter into still another agreement with Hitler—denounced the reports of impending Nazi-Soviet war as designed "to discredit such further steps for the advancement of peace and for the safeguarding of Soviet neutrality that the Soviet Union may take." This lying and stupid policy, dictated by the Kremlin, left the members of the Communist Party more unprepared for the terrible news than any other group of the population.

The Communist Party is not an independent revolutionary party which boldly speaks out in the interests of the international working class. On the contrary, it is merely the supine agent of the Kremlin bureaucrats. Precisely now, when one of the main duties of a genuine revolutionary party is to speak out and warn the workers of England and America to be on guard against the capitalist "allies" of the Soviet Union, the Stalinist parties are beginning to shift their line toward open support of the imperialist war waged by these capitalists. The instructions they will receive from the Kremlin will be in the spirit of the "editing" of Churchill's speech by the Moscow broadcasters: to dress up the "democratic" imperialists as progressive friends of the Soviet Union. The Stalinist parties tomorrow will "discover" that the imperialist war is no longer imperialist. They will drop their pseudo-militancy in the trade unions. They will sing Roosevelt's praises again as loudly as they did in 1936. They will, in a word, do their utmost to deliver the workers bound hand and foot to Churchill and Roosevelt, as Stalin's cynical payment to the imperialists for an alliance.

The Main Tasks Of The American Working Class

Every worker must defend the Soviet Union as a class duty. The revolutionary worker cannot accept the corrupt and opportunistic line of the Stalinists. He defends the nationalized property of the Soviet Union and not the Kremlin bureaucrats. He defends the Soviet Union because capitalism has been overthrown there. He can under no circumstances support the imperialist war of Britain and the United States, no more than he would support the imperialist war of Nazi Germany. The revolutionary worker understands that if Churchill and Roosevelt find themselves allied to the Soviet Union that does not change by one iota the reactionary character of the war that Churchill and Roosevelt are waging.

The workers must fight fascism to the death—but the imperialist war of Britain and the United States is not a war against fascism, it is a war against their imperialist rivals. The only way the workers can fight against fascism is to take the power and establish a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States. Only such a socialist government would be a real ally of the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile the method to defend the Soviet Union is to continue the class struggle against the imperialists. Defend the workers' rights against government strikebreaking! Build the power of the working class until it becomes the governmental power. That is the best service which the American workers can render to their brothers in the Soviet Union.

Defend the Soviet Union! Defend the conquests of the October revolution!

Down with the Stalinist bureaucracy that weakens the Soviet Union!

Revolutionary war to the death against fascism! Against all the imperialists in this war!

On guard against the capitalist allies of the Soviet Union! For a Workers and Farmers Government, the only reliable ally of the Soviet Union!

Long live the world socialist revolution!

Tobin Sends 300 Hoodlums Into Minneapolis

His Thugs Attack 544-CIO Men

CIO Drivers Challenge Tobin To Agree To NLRB Election Which Will Prove That 544-CIO Is Choice Of Minneapolis Drivers

MINNEAPOLIS, June 23—The 5,000 truck-drivers of Minneapolis, who voted overwhelmingly on June 9th to quit the AFL and join the CIO, are being subjected to unprecedented attacks of violence and intimidation by not less than 300 hoodlums imported here by Tobin's Teamsters International and the AFL.

Tobin's representatives have publicly announced that CIO truck-drivers will not be permitted to drive on the streets and highways and that a local and national AFL boycott will be imposed on any truck operated by a CIO driver. This boycott is already in full force.

Since the drivers voted to go CIO, one or more International Representatives from virtually every AFL union in Minneapolis has arrived here to join the campaign and put pressure upon AFL locals to boycott CIO drivers. Tobin and the AFL have poured into this fight against Local 544-CIO more men and more money than they ever mustered against Henry Ford or any other big open-shop employer.

William Green himself has sent in several personal representatives who are actively collaborating in the direction of this anti-CIO campaign. Among them is Meyer Lewis, Western Director of Organization for the AFL, who led the fight against the Minneapolis truck-drivers in 1936.

Scores of cars, carrying crews of AFL strong-arm men, have been cruising through the warehouse districts and the larger plants during the last few days, raiding local truck-terminals, dragging men off trucks in the streets, and, at the point of knife and gun, forcing CIO members to wear AFL teamsters' buttons and sign AFL pledge cards. The main caravan of this squadron consisted of several autos with Michigan license plates bearing about 20 hoodlums, who surrounded individual members of Local 544-CIO, beat them up, and tossed them into the streets.

AFL-BOSS ALLIANCE

The leaders of this AFL campaign are working in open collusion with the employers to break Local 544-CIO and compel the CIO employees to join the AFL or lose their jobs. Several CIO members were refused their pay-checks this week-end by their bosses until they had signed AFL cards. The most active CIO militants are the main victims of this vicious campaign and a number of them have already been fired.

Tobin and the AFL have a big battery of local and imported legal talent headed by AFL General Counsel Joseph Padway, who is personally directing the legal assault against Local 544-CIO and has already succeeded in obtaining a court order ejecting the union from its long-established headquarters at 257 Plymouth Ave., and seizing its records and property. The police dispossessed Local 544-CIO from its headquarters last Tuesday in the midst of an important and serious strike action against the furniture employers.

544 ANSWERS TOBIN

In a statement to the press, Local 544-CIO's Executive Board pointed out the outrageous character of Tobin's action. "The property concerned belongs to the membership of Local 544 who voted by overwhelming majority at a regular meeting to disaffiliate from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL; join the CIO and take with them all their property, office equipment and supplies. All these assets have been bought and paid for over long years of work and struggle by the members of our local union.

"Tobin's International did not give a penny toward the purchase of these physical assets. They were purchased exclusively from the money raised by our men here. It will be clear to all that Tobin has not the slightest moral right to a piece of paper or a postage stamp belonging to Local 544-CIO. We are advised by competent counsel that he is entitled to receive nothing more than his charter and whatever per capita tax is due to the International up to the date of our break with the AFL and entrance into the CIO.

"Every penny owed on this per capita tax has been paid by us. The sum total of the per capita tax we have paid into the International treasury over the past seven years amounts to more than \$130,000. This is the equivalent

of about three years salary and expenses for Tobin. Tobin therefore has no moral or legal claim upon any of the remaining assets of Local 544-CIO."

BOSSSES GET INJUNCTIONS

In obvious collusion with Padway, who has conferred frequently with Samuel Levy, attorney for the Citizens' Alliance during the 1934 truck strike and now counsel for the Associated Industries, employers' groups have tied up Local 544-CIO with a whole network of injunctions prohibiting strike action.

300 employees of 19 Minneapolis furniture stores were called out on strike by Local 544-CIO last Tuesday, after the furniture employers had refused to renew their contracts. When the furniture workers responded 100% to this call, the furniture dealers went into the courts and obtained an injunction against the strikers on the ground that they did not know whether to deal with the CIO or the AFL.

544 DEMANDS ELECTION

Local 544-CIO blasted this contention of the furniture dealers by pointing to the complete shutdown of their trucking operations. However, the police kept serving restraining orders upon the picketing strikers.

In view of this situation, the furniture workers voted to return to work and Local 544-CIO instructed its attorneys to apply to the State Labor Board for immediate industry-wide elections to ascertain the choice of the workers for their bargaining agent in negotiating contracts with the employers.

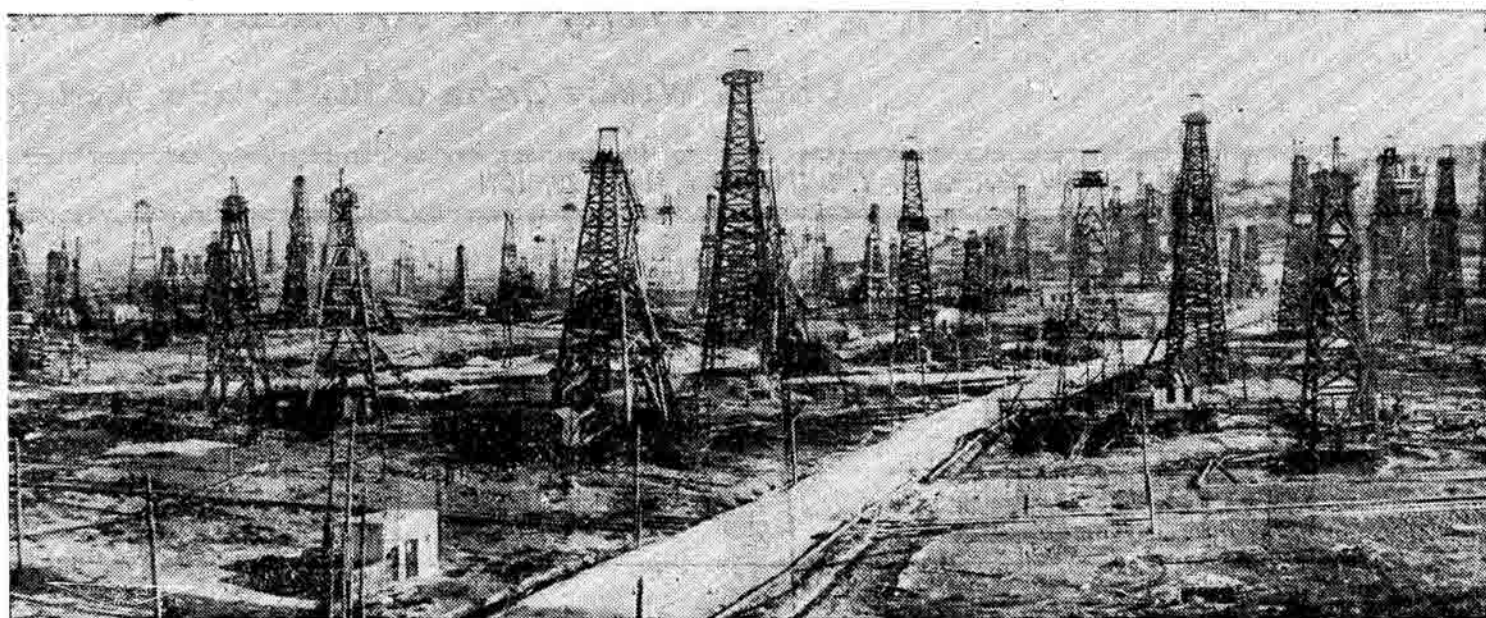
"This action is taken," Local 544-CIO said, "to put an end to the confusion which has been created by the contention of the employers that they do not know who represents their workers, and their attempt to evade negotiations by legal technicalities. The question of what union actually represents the workers can be rightfully decided only by the workers themselves. They have already expressed their choice by voting by an overwhelming majority in a free, democratic and regular meeting for Local 544-CIO. Further confirmation of this attitude has been most convincingly provided by the action of the employees of 19 furniture firms in unanimously responding to the strike call of Local 544-CIO.

"The workers' choice of Local 544-CIO has been challenged by the employers as well as by the imported agents of Tobin's International Union affiliated with the AFL, who are conniving with the employers to thwart the will of the workers and force employer-dictated contracts upon them. These imported agents of Tobin are already attempting to circumvent the democratic choice of the workers by violent interference with the operation of trucks by 544-CIO members.

"Local 544-CIO proposes to meet this challenge by calling for a general election. We hope the employers and the AFL agents will give their immediate assent to these elections so that the democratic choice of the workers themselves will prevail. We on our part are ready for this test and have no doubt about its outcome."

Joseph Casey of San Francisco, who is in charge of Tobin's cam-

One Of Hitler's Main Goals



The Soviet Baku oil fields, among the richest in the world, are one of the main spoils of war sought by Hitler. Hitler's huge mechanized legions are in desperate need of oil, and he hopes to get the Baku fields, part of which are shown in this picture.

FDR Tries To Prevent Negro March On Capital

Administration Men Exerting All Possible Pressure To Get March Leaders To Abandon The March Even At This Late Date

By ALBERT PARKER

As the day of the July 1st Negro March on Washington draws closer, numerous attempts are being made to exert pressure on the organizers of the march to call it off.

These attempts include "advice" and hardly-veiled threats from so-called friends, government officials and Negro misleaders.

The coming March on Washington has the government worried. It will be a strong and telling condemnation of the hypocritical talk about saving the world for democracy. The refusal to grant the just and simple demands of the marchers will be a real eye-opener to hundreds of thousands of Negroes as to the true character of the Roosevelt administration and the war it is preparing.

The main gun in this drive to stifle the March was fired by Roosevelt himself, in his memorandum to the OPM on Negro employment.

Roosevelt hoped that this memorandum would satisfy the leaders of the March and persuade them to call off the march.

But the leaders of the March

just could not do this, when so little had actually been offered by Roosevelt.

ANSWERS TO ROOSEVELT

A. Phillip Randolph declared: "The statement of the President is one which was expected 10 months ago. It has no teeth in it and its not a proclamation or executive order which would give assurance of discontinuance of discrimination. Therefore the mobilization effort for the march on Washington is being redoubled."

Walter White of the NAACP stated that "the president's statement is about six months late. What Negroes want now is action, not words."

Later in the week, unfortunately, both Randolph and White began to give in a little under the pressure of Washington but both still asserted that the march would go through as planned. Randolph said: "It is not only the president who must be impressed with the gravity of the Negro situation. . . . White said: "The president's memorandum, sound and democratic in principle, is too little when one considers the areas it leaves untouched, and comes too late to convince the Committee that a mass demonstration isn't needed to dramatize race discrimination in the nation's life." After all, Randolph and White were also under pressure from the Negro people who want the march.

MASSSES FOR MARCH

An example of how the masses responded to the cry that the Roosevelt memorandum was a victory was shown in the statement by one of the rank-and-file members of the Harlem March committee who said: "Even if this is a victory, that's no reason why we can't hold a victory demonstration in Washington!"

(On Page 5 of this issue is an analysis of the President's memorandum.)

ELEANOR INTERVENES

The administration did not content itself with utilizing the services of the male half of the family. After all, while Roosevelt has kept quiet on all these questions for years, his wife has built herself quite a reputation as a "friend of the Negroes." So she too went into action.

First she wrote a letter to Randolph: "I have talked over your letter with the President and I feel very strongly that your group is making a very grave mistake at the present time to allow this march to take place. I am afraid it will set back the progress which is being made, in the Army at least, towards better opportunities and less segregation."

"I feel that if any incident occurs as a result of this, it may engender so much bitterness that it will create in Congress even more solid opposition from certain groups than we have had in the past . . ."

This was followed by a surprise visit by Mrs. Roosevelt to New York, where, in LaGuardia's office she and the Little Flower attempted to persuade Randolph and White in person.

Randolph and White were not

convinced, they said afterwards, but they certainly did not help the march any when they issued Mrs. Roosevelt's letter a little later with the brief statement that the march would produce beneficial results, but presenting her letter as the expression of "an important point of view from not only an influential person in American affairs but a strong and definite friend of the Negro. There is no question that can rise in the minds of the Negroes about the fact that she is a real and genuine friend of the race."

By not answering point for point what she had said, and by characterizing her as a "friend of the race," Randolph and White weakened the fight.

ELEANOR'S "FRIENDLY" THREAT

Eleanor Roosevelt's letter is not that of "a friend," but that of an enemy disguising herself as a friend. For what is her letter but a half-threat? A half-threat that the march will "set back the progress which is being made, in the Army at least" (what progress?)

What is this talk of hers about "an incident"? Who will create the incident? Not the marchers. If any "incident" occurs, it will be brought about by the administration or its underlings. All Roosevelt need do to prevent any "incidents" when the marchers arrive in Washington, is grant their demands. It is significant that when Mrs. Roosevelt spoke to her husband, she evidently did not try to persuade him that he should do this, and thus avoid "incidents."

It is just because she has the reputation of being a "friend" that Randolph and White should have taken extra steps to expose her letter and her attitude, and to explain that if she were a friend of the Negroes she would spend more time trying to convince her husband to grant the demands of the Negroes and less trying to convince the Negroes to withdraw their demands.

UNCLE TOM WHINES

Congressman Arthur Mitchell, only Negro member of Congress, chimed in and attacked the march too. The effects of this, of course, will be little, inasmuch as Mitchell has completely discredited himself before the Negroes by his endorsement of Roosevelt's appointment of Negro-hating Senator Byrnes to the Supreme Court.

The official cabinet members and their "family" followed up with telegrams to Randolph, urging him to come to Washington to meet with Stimson and Knox. The *Chicago Defender* states: "Though the purposes of the conferences were not mentioned in the invitations, it was expected that both secretaries would offer to correct some of the abuses which have angered Negroes if the parade plans are abandoned."

MARCH ALREADY JUSTIFIED

Thus, better than anything the March-On-Washington Committee might have said or done, the true significance of the March is being revealed in the frantic efforts of the Roosevelt administration to stifle it.

In Los Angeles Buy the MILITANT at

Lazerus Candy Store 2109 Brooklyn Ave.
Book Store E. 1st St. & Rowan Ave.
Sam Smith's Newsstand 5th & Main St.

War Chest Drive Vital Now For Defense of USSR

It is fortunate, indeed, that the entire party has been gearing into the War Chest drive for four weeks, so that we can expect all-out action between now and August 1st, the date for conclusion of this drive. Every dollar now assumes an entirely new importance, as the party gives every ounce of effort to rally the American working class to the defense of the Soviet Union.

By bourgeois standards the few hundreds of dollars that came in this week may not seem very much. But they make it possible in this, the greatest emergency that has faced the revolutionary movement since 1917, to mobilize our press and every comrade and friend to distribute our Manifesto in defense of the Soviet Union to many tens of thousands of American workers.

In the hour of the greatest need of the Soviet Union, we have always declared, we shall be found at our posts, doing whatever it is humanly possible for us to do to save the Workers' State from destruction at the hands of its imperialist enemies or allies. The War Chest becomes our mainstay in this solemn task.

We have the first example of what every branch might well do, in a letter from the young and still small Milwaukee branch. The Milwaukee comrades reject the quota of \$10 set for them for the War Drive, and raise their quota to \$55—more than five times what we asked of them. There's a star for all the smaller branches to shoot at—and the bigger ones too.

All-out action in the next days for the War Chest will make it possible for us to treble and quadruple our distribution of propaganda for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The mail is too slow for these days of emergency—wire funds!

\$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	%
Portland	\$ 30.00	\$ 20.00	67%
Reading	25.00	13.85	55
St. Paul	300.00	165.00	55
Buffalo	60.00	32.00	53
Louisiana	25.00	13.00	52
Boston	350.00	152.50	44
Cleveland	150.00	60.00	40
St. Louis	25.00	10.00	40
Flint	200.00	70.00	35
Philadelphia	125.00	42.00	33
Newark	500.00	150.00	30
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	334.33	30
Chicago	1200.00	334.62	28
San Diego	100.00	25.00	25
Quakertown	25.00	6.00	24
New York City	2500.00	546.28	22
Minneapolis	1200.00	250.50	21
Allentown	25.00	5.00	20
Detroit	500.00	85.00	17
Youngstown	150.00	10.00	8
Pittsburgh	40.00	2.00	5
New Haven	50.00	1.50	3
Los Angeles	500.00	0.00	0
Milwaukee	55.00	0.00	0
Akron	50.00	0.00	0
Rochester	50.00	0.00	0
Toledo	50.00	0.00	0
Seattle	25.00	0.00	0
Texas	20.00	0.00	0
Baltimore	10.00	0.00	0
Members-at-Large	560.00	427.00	76
TOTALS	\$10,000.00	\$2755.58	27%



OUR PRESS NEEDED NOW MORE THAN EVER BEFORE

This week's events have swung us swiftly into a new—the sharp est — aspect of the international class struggle. The Nazi assault upon the Soviet Union throws many things into a new perspective and gives the activities of class-conscious workers a richly enhanced value.

We are for the defense of the Soviet Union — against Nazi Germany as we would be for its defense against "democratic" England. But the roots of our defense are nurtured not in nationalist but in class soil. Our defense of the Soviet Union is the most important immediate aspect of our general devotion to the defense of the interests of the proletarian revolution against capitalism.

Now, as never before, the distribution of our literature takes on a world-wide importance. We have no doubt that the Stalinist defense of the Soviet Union will be completely devoid of understanding of the class nature of a real defense. It will be left to us, and to us Trotskyists alone, to maintain a line of vigorous defense of the gains of October without selling out, as the Browderites must, to the imperialist machinations of England and the U.S.

GET OUR MESSAGE TO THE WORKERS!

Every literature agent of a branch of our party, every member of our party, now faces the first of the real tests a Bolshevik must master. Now the workers' world must see what we have

meant all these years by the class defense of the Soviet Union. Now our press must reach and influence every worker in the United States whose class instinct sets him against the decadence of Nazi capitalism and throws his sympathies with the workers of the Soviet Union, fighting now to defend the Workers' State against Hitlerism.

FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION — get a *Militant* into the hands of every worker in every plant in your city!

FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION — get workers to subscribe to our press!

FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION — use every moment for the use of our press for class education!

FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION — use the party press as a party organizer!

Saturday, July 1st
is the
DEADLINE
for the
SALE

of books and pamphlets
NOW is your OPPORTUNITY
History of the Russian
Revolution by Trotsky
for only \$1.98
many other bargains
MODERN BOOKSHOP
Prices cut 20% to 50%
27 University Pl. N. Y.

On The War Fronts

Hitler Seeks Soviet Resources For Long War

Shift To East Forced By Need

By GEORGE STERN

At 5:30 A.M. on June 22, Nazi Germany launched a fateful attack on the Soviet Union. Hitler opened a new front in the East stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea. In a drastic shift of policy he embarked upon a campaign to win the wheat and oil of Russia before coming to final grips with Britain.

In this column last week we said that a German-Soviet clash at this time was unlikely because we believed Stalin would make fresh concessions rather than risk Nazi attack. We considered that Hitler would go the length of an attack on the Soviet Union only if his need of Russian wheat and oil were truly desperate and his attack on Britain stymied. All apparent evidence last week suggested this was not yet the case. But not enough evidence was in. Hitler's move across the Soviet borders proves that. It is not yet plain, however, how much of a chance Hitler gave Stalin to make his concessions. Molotov claimed that no demands at all were made. There is a significant passage in Hitler's proclamation of war concerning the concentration of Soviet troops along the German frontier. The presence of these forces, he said was "intended mainly at the tying up of such powerful (German) forces in the east that the radical conclusion of the war in the west, particularly as regards aircraft could no longer be vouched for by the German High Command."

WHAT HITLER NEEDED

This is a substantial revelation for Hitler to make. It tells us that no concessions by Stalin were of any use to Hitler so long as he had to maintain more than 100 divisions, with accompanying mechanized forces and aircraft, along the Soviet border. It tells us that nothing could satisfy him in this situation short of total demobilization of the Red Army—that is, total voluntary surrender by Stalin.

As we pointed out last week, there are certain concessions that Stalin could not make, because they "would lead to the same result as a war, eventual destruction of Stalinist power in the Soviet Union at the hands of the Nazis and the internal reaction which Hitler would surely sponsor once he got a foothold."

Thus, it now appears, nothing could satisfy Hitler short of a military defeat of the Red Army or its equivalent in surrender without war. He chose the path of military conquest in preference to a new, insecure deal with Stalin.

Hitler in effect admits in his proclamation that without liquidation of the necessity for keeping such a large force employed in the East, he was unable to attack the British Isles. Consequently he had first to undertake this "liquidation." It is quite possible that the Nazi High Command decided that in any case an attack on Britain was not now feasible.

The very fact that he would embark upon so vast a project, however, proves also that he needs the economic resources of the Soviet Union far more urgently than was generally realized. His conquered provinces in West Europe face a winter of starvation. In Germany itself, despite the dazzling military successes, the need is apparently going to be greater than Hitler was willing to chance. And it now is clearer, likewise, that Caucasian oil has become an absolute necessity to keep Hitler's planes flying and tanks rolling. Hitler has not reversed his war strategy because of some sudden aberration. He has done so because his drive of conquest has made it unavoidable.

OCTOBER STILL LIVES!

How easily can he expect to attain his objectives? Only now are we going to learn how far the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union has succeeded in devitalizing the Red Army.

More accurately, we shall see what powers of regeneration and

recovery still remain in the October revolution despite the years of bureaucratic suffocation and slow strangulation of the revolutionary forces of the country.

For if revolutionary energy can truly be unleashed in the defense of the Soviet Union, Hitler will finally meet his Waterloo, at home and abroad. Stalin has not entirely succeeded in destroying the Russian revolution. Its power is greater than any of Hitler's "secret weapons." Its power is the Soviet Union's main chance to succeed against the Nazi blitzkrieg. Yes, the strangled October revolution still lives!

DANGER OF APPEASEMENT

We said last week Hitler might count upon an attack against the Soviet Union as a means of bringing about a negotiated peace with Britain which would, for the time being, stabilize his European conquests. Prime Minister Churchill went on the air last Sunday afternoon to deny that any such outcome is possible and to pledge continued war to the death against the Nazis.

To be sure, Britain, already engaged in a life and death struggle for its empire against the Nazi claimants to world power, is more



TROTSKY, WAR MINISTER 1923

Leon Trotsky as War Commissar of the Soviet Union in 1923. Stalin's greatest crime was his assassination of Trotsky, who organized and led the Red Army of the October Revolution to victory. The loss of Trotsky's military and political genius has deprived the Soviet workers and peasants of their most invaluable guidance in their hour of greatest danger.

likely to welcome the opening of an eastern front as a veritable godsend. It means a certain easing of pressure on the British Isles and a badly-needed respite for British arms everywhere.

But Hitler undoubtedly calculates to some extent upon a strengthened hand in Britain for pro-peace or appeasement elements. Even more so, he hopes to forestall U. S. entry into the war by his new move. In this aim he probably has a greater chance of success.

Heavy involvement of Hitler in the East will certainly encourage the arch-reactionary "isolationist" sentiment here and may even to some extent slow down the urgent pace of the aid-to-Britain program. Warnings against this are already emanating from the White House. But even the White House may see in the new development at least a postponement of U. S. entry into a "shooting" war against Germany.

But such speculation takes a gallery seat right now. Along the Soviet-German frontier, Nazi imperialism is waging war against the only Workers' State in the world. Stalinism has weakened and deformed that state but it has not re-

The Red Army Today Faces Imperialist Attackers



Red Army troops, with fixed bayonets, shown marching before Lenin's tomb in Moscow on May Day, 1940. Created by the October Revolution, the Red Army, led by Leon Trotsky, was victorious against imperialist invasion on 22 fronts.

How Comintern Changed Its Line When Stalin Signed Hitler Pact

Stalinist Leaders Swore Pact Wouldn't Affect The Line But In Three Weeks They Dropped "Collective Security"

Hitler's assault upon the Soviet Union will change the line of the Communist parties, which for the past 21 months have preached opposition to the imperialist war efforts of Churchill and Roosevelt.

We need only review the somersault of the Comintern after the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact to predict in broad outline the about-face which the Stalinist leaders will now seek to impose. Only, the new line will be a film run in reverse.

Prior to the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Stalinists had preached for four years the gospel of the "defense of democracy against

fascism." Britain, the United States and France were "peace-loving" nations; the League of Nations was a "bulwark of peace"; Hitler was a "bloody assassin" and Nazi Germany a "vile aggressor."

The announcement of the pact with Hitler struck the Stalinist parties throughout the world like a thunder-bolt. While the bourgeois press carried streamer headlines, the press of the Communist parties greeted the news with a complete black-out.

THE FIRST ALIBIS FOR THE PACT

Then came the alibis. The first was the "escape clause" story.

The *Daily Worker*, August 23, 1939, declared editorially:

"And here it must be stressed that in EACH and EVERY pact which the Soviet Union concludes there is a basic clause of Soviet peace policy which provides that in the event one of the parties to the pact invades or commits an act of aggression against a third nation, that the other party (the Soviet Union) is not bound to the treaty, is free to act in the defense of peace." (Emphasis in the original)

But the pact contained no "escape" clause.

The pact was signed as Hitler's divisions were poised on the borders of Poland.

How did Stalin's flunkies explain the effect of the pact?

The *Daily Worker*, August 23, 1939, asserted:

"It is safe to say that the camp of peace and democracy will become strengthened in confidence as well as ability to put up effective resistance. The Polish people will be further encouraged to resist both the threats of fascist aggression and the under-hand conspiracies of the Munichers."

The pact, lied all the Brownies, was intended to encourage the Polish people to resist a Hitler invasion!

BROWDER SWORE THE LINE WOULD NOT CHANGE

In an interview in the *New York Post*, August 24, 1939, Browder denied that the pact made any difference in the pro-demo-

leased advanced workers anywhere from the prime obligation to defend this one bastion of Socialism. This obligation, to the best of our power, we shall carry out.

racy line of the Communist parties.

"This is no policy of appeasement," swore Browder. "Don't talk about appeasement until you see the Soviet Union handing over small nations to Hitler. That is appeasement and that is what Chamberlain and Bonnet and Daladier did with Czecho-Slovakia while the Soviet Union was willing to stand by its guarantees. The Soviet Union will always keep its word."

"But suppose Germany now assaults Poland, what then?" the reporter asked Browder.

"In a general war all pacts will be abrogated," Browder promised. "What if it is a localized war?"

"I can't visualize a local war," Browder answered.

"If the democratic powers support Poland, conversations then will realign them including Russia."

Browder never explained afterward why his master didn't do what Browder had promised.

The Comintern theme of the period immediately following the pact was: the pact weakened Hitler; it strengthened democratic resistance to fascist aggression; it smashed the fascist Axis; it protected small nations against fascist aggressors; it strengthened the Peoples Front; it guaranteed world peace, above all, peace for the USSR.

Thus, the *Daily Worker*, August 23, 1939, declared:

"German fascism has suffered a serious blow in its own country as well as in the world... As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, and all other peace forces, they will find that the strengthening of the position of the Soviet Union which these negotiations for a non-aggression pact are bound to produce, will directly strengthen the anti-fascist struggle for peace and help block the duplicity and underhandedness of the Munichers, especially the British capitulationists."

An official statement of the British Communist Party, issued August 22, 1939, brazenly stated: "The Soviet-German negotiations represent a victory for peace and socialism against the war plans of fascism and the pro-fascist party of Prime Minister Chamberlain..."

"Hitler is forced to recognize the strength and power of the Soviet Union. And his dreams of crushing it have received a setback."

"It is therefore a salutary check

to his aggressive policy in Eastern Europe against Poland..."

The French Communist Party greeted the pact with the statement that it was "a tremendous contribution to the peace of the world."

"Pact Splits Axis" was the front page streamer on the *Daily Worker*, August 26, 1939.

Under the heading, "U. S. and World Peace Aided by Soviet Blow to Axis — Browder," the *Daily Worker*, August 30, 1939, quoted Browder:

"The pact smashed the fascist Axis, the combination of powers whose joint action had upset the equilibrium of the whole world."

STALINISTS AT FIRST SUPPORTED THE WAR

When the war broke out, the Stalinists continued the democratic line and lined up with the "democracies."

A *Daily Worker* editorial, September 6, 1939, entitled "Symbol of the French Communist Party," stated:

"Marcel Thorez, general secretary of the great French Communist Party, has presented himself for military service with the army of France..."

"Now that Munich has led to war, Thorez, the Communist leader beloved of the French people, offers his life to defend the national security of France."

The next day, the *Daily Worker* reported that the Communist Party of Great Britain "has vigorously proclaimed that it continues to work more actively than ever to help win the war against fascist aggression."

The American Communist Party, for its part, demanded the repeal of the Neutrality Act:

"In his radio speech to the nation following the outbreak of the war in Europe, President Roosevelt voiced the sentiments which it seems to us have approval of the majority of the American people..."

"When the President spoke of 'true neutrality' for America we feel that American interest demands the repeal of the false 'Neutrality Act' which now stands exposed as being the opposite of 'true neutrality.' It is obviously not in America's interest, not in the interest of 'true neutrality' that America shut off its trade with Poland, France, Canada and Australia." (*Daily Worker* editorial, September 5, 1939).

The National Committee of the American Communist Party, adopted, on September 4, 1939, several "slogans of action." Among these were:

"Embargo Japan and Germany for the defeat of fascist aggression and for establishing a democratic peace."

And: "Full moral, diplomatic and economic help for the Polish people and those who help Po-

land defend its national independence."

The September, 1939, issue of the *Young Communist Review*, official organ of the Young Communist League, declared:

"Should Germany undertake aggression against Poland, the Soviet Union would denounce its pact."

Suddenly, the tone of the Communist Party press changed. The leaders discovered overnight that this was not a war of democracy against fascism.

Browder, on September 13, 1939, found that "... the character of the war now developing is that of a struggle between two rival imperialist groups for the domination of the world..."

"The character of this war in no principal respects can be said to differ from that of the last World War."

Browder was thus paving the way for the complete turn which was officially promulgated on September 19, 1939, in a *Declaration to the American People*, issued by the National Committee of the American Communist Party:

"The war that has broken out in Europe is the Second Imperialist War. The ruling capitalist and landlord classes of all the belligerent countries are equally guilty for this war. This war, therefore cannot be supported by the workers."

Cynically "forgetting" its own statement of September 5, 1939 — just two weeks before! — when the Communist Party had called for "true neutrality" by abrogation of the Neutrality Act and full material aid to the Allied nations and Poland, the *Declaration* condemned those "who demand the repeal or revision of the Neutrality Act for the purpose of U. S. help to British and French imperialism, and thereby drawing America into the war."

Note that the first transition formulas spoke of all imperialists as "equally guilty."

In line with the foreign policy of the Kremlin, however, the Comintern agents of Stalin began to brand the continuation of the war as the sole responsibility of the Allied imperialists, and to support Hitler's claims that he was ready to make a "peace."

Thus the late Harry Gannes foreign editor of the *Daily Worker*, stated in the October 10, 1939, issue:

"If London and Paris are counting on their blockade and talk of raw material shortage in Germany as a means of continuing the imperialist war, the Soviet Union will soon remedy that."

That is plain talk!

All the emphasis was now laid on the war aims of the Anglo-French imperialists. The October 10, 1939, *Daily Worker*, characterized the war as follows:

"And 'Whose war is it?' as Earl Browder asks. It is an imperialist war, a slaughter for conquest and domination of the world, in which the Anglo-French imperialists

Builder of the Red Army



Trotsky, the warrior of the revolution, who twenty years ago created and led the Red Army that fought successfully on 20 fronts against the Whites and the armies of the Allied intervention. Only the same spirit that animated the Red Army of 1918-22 will win the battles of 1941.

propose to kill off millions of people to achieve the aims of Chamberlain, Churchill, Daladier and Bonnet." About Hitler's aims, Browder said not a word.

Dimitrov, "helmsman of the Comintern," declared on November 2, 1939:

"In the first stage" of the war, Hitler was the aggressor.

"Now, on the other hand, the imperialists of Britain and France have passed over to the offensive, have hurled their peoples into war against Germany... It is the British and French imperialists who have now come forward as the most zealous supporters of the continuation and further incitement of war."

And Browder echoed: "At this moment the responsibility for continuing the war lies, before all, upon the British and French imperialists."

Thus it was that the Communist Parties everywhere concealed the real war aims of Hitler, denied his immediate menace to the Soviet Union, attempted to blind the workers of the world to the dangers of Nazi attack on the Soviet Union — all in order to keep the "goodwill" of Hitler, and to justify Stalin's signature to the pact with the Nazis.

Tomorrow, we will witness this flip-flop in reverse — back into the arms of the "democratic" imperialists.

"Democratizing" The Armed Forces?

There's been a lot of palaver about the General Staff's new conception of the army, and the plan for "democratizing" the armed forces.

An example of how this is being done comes from Camp Shelby, Mississippi, where Major General Edmund L. Daley, commander of the Fifth Army Corps, has directed an order of every unit down to companies of the 32nd, 34th, 37th and 38th Divisions and attached troops of the Fifth Army Corps, as follows:

"Officers have been seen drinking in bars and restaurants with enlisted men in the Alexandria area."

"The corps commander calls to your attention that association of this nature is prejudicial to good order and military discipline. Steps will be taken to correct this condition."

In Philadelphia

THE MILITANT can be bought at the northwest corner of 13th and Market St. (newsstand).

Left Jabs

By CORT

"In the ranks of men who have control over hundreds of millions of invested capital and over the working lives of millions of men, a new spirit is awakening, a spirit that tells them that this vast creative thing known as modern corporate capitalism must be and can be so organized and integrated that it could feed, clothe and house the people of every country as they have never been in all history." (Dorothy Thompson, addressing the first Ring of Freedom rally).

She sure hit the nail on the head that time! Ah—to feed and clothe and house, F.O.B., 30 & 90 days, pay by dollar exchange, all of South America, and the British Empire, and the French and German empires—and maybe even Russia! Dorothy must have started the saliva running down the businessman's jaw.

Starting July 1, the WPA will hold special intensive reading and writing courses for draft eligibles. This is necessitated by the fact that thousands of draftees were found to lack the equivalent of a 4th grade education required by the army.

That many Americans can't pass 4th grade tests is due, says Col Arthur V. McDermott, New York City draft head, to the fact that "they grew up in non-English speaking homes."

Maybe the fact that they couldn't afford to stay in school had something to do with it too.

The bourgeoisie is full of misgivings these days. Even Wall Street is in the clutches of a strange foreboding gloom. The stock market has failed to rise despite the war boom.

On June 20th the N. Y. Times published an index showing industrial activity jumped from 105 to 135 points during the past year yet stock activity slumped from 120 to around 98. "Financial experts lay this laggingness," says the Times, "to . . . the investors' lack of confidence . . . in the permanence of war profits."

The idea of a sudden peace scares them to death.

British dress designers are planning to carry the war to America on women's backs, according to an A. P. dispatch. Instead of the usual florals and stripes, the new frocks will portray: "A bayonet-brandishing home guard attacking a Nazi parachutist," De Gaulle's signature; Norwegian, Polish and Czech scrolls; and, most ambitious of all, a design illustrating rationing — hens, eggs, beef, oranges, lemons, pigs, chocolate and lumps of sugar against a sea green background representing the Battle of the Atlantic.

It's well that these dresses are to be worn on this side of the Atlantic. Eggs, beef and chocolate resting on TOP of the stomach instead of INSIDE of it, would not be conducive to good democratic morale in the hearts of British women. It might give rise to thoughts for new dress patterns—Churchill turning slowly on a spit—for instance.

Bert Lytell, president of Actors Equity Association, has been hearing rumors that there are Communists in his union. Last week he flew to Washington to personally ask Congressman Dies to investigate.

Nothing smells worse than "ham" with red-herring.

"A strike by the Armored Car Chauffeurs and Guards Union (AFL) today stopped all movement of armored cars in New York City and affected the handling of millions of dollars in cash." (N. Y. Post, June 12).

It must make a guy pretty sore to handle millions of dollars every day and then wind up the week without enough to support his family.

At least if you're a carpenter, you don't SEE all the dough the boss has.

Stalin's Boasts About Hitler Pact

Swore It Meant Lasting Peace

Kremlin's 1939-40 Declarations Expose Its Role In Exposing Soviet Union To Attack

By ART PREIS

The Stalin-Hitler "non-aggression" pact of August 23, 1939, which Hitler has ground to dust just 22 months later, struck a crushing blow at the workers of the world, and destroyed the sympathy which millions of class-conscious proletarians felt toward the Soviet Union.

All but the most deluded or the most corrupt Stalinist flunkies recognized that the pact was the go-ahead signal for Hitler's war of imperialist conquest, a guarantee to the Nazis that they could march without fear of fighting on two fronts.

Such was the revulsion of the workers against the pact, that Stalin was compelled to justify it by sweeping declarations to the effect that the pact was a guarantee of "peace" for the Soviet Union and a "blow for peace" in the entire world.

Pravda, Stalin's personal organ, issued an extensive "explanation," which was reprinted in the Daily Worker, Aug. 25, 1939, under an eight column headline: "Pravda Says Non-Aggression Pact Serves Cause of World Peace."

HOW STALIN WHITEWASHED THE MENACE OF HITLER

Pravda's statement said:

"The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is invariably based on a striving to defend and preserve the cause of world peace. In this policy the U.S.S.R. invariably strove to support and strengthen friendly and business relations with those states which share this position . . .

"The non-aggression pact concluded between the Soviet Union and Germany fully corresponds to the position of the Soviet Union as defined by Comrade Stalin."

Thus Nazi Germany was pictured as one of "those states which share this position" of the Soviet Union in "striving to defend and preserve the cause of peace."

Pravda said further in that same statement: "There is no doubt whatever that the non-aggression pact just concluded liquidates the strained relations which existed between the U.S.S.R. and Germany. However, the significance of the pact concluded extends beyond the framework of settling relations only between the two contracting countries."

"It is concluded at a time when the international situation is very tense and aggravated. The peaceful act which the non-aggression pact between the U.S.S.R. and Germany represents will undoubtedly help to ease the tension in the international situation, will undoubtedly help to disperse this tension."

"The conclusion of the pact between the U.S.S.R. and Germany is undoubtedly a fact of the greatest international significance, for the pact is an instrument of peace which is called upon not only to strengthen good-neighborly and peaceful relations between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, but also to serve the cause of the universal strengthening of peace."

"An end is being put to hostility between Germany and the U.S.S.R. Differences in ideology and political systems should not and cannot serve as an obstacle to establishing good-neighborly relations between both countries."

"The friendship between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Germany, which reached a blind alley as a result of the efforts of the enemies of Germany and the U.S.S.R., should from now on receive the necessary conditions to develop and flourish. (Our emphasis.)

Thus was the vigilance of the Soviet workers disarmed against the menace of Hitler. And thus were the workers everywhere assured that the pact was a guarantee of the security of the Soviet Union from an attack by Germany, and, even more, a guarantee of world peace.

The Soviet government organ Izvestia, on August 24, 1939, went further than Pravda, categorically predicting that the pact was "bound to pacify the extremely tense international situation and contribute to the consolidation of peace," and that it "ends a hostility which the enemies of both sides have tried to fan and perpetuate."

BROWDER SWORE THERE WAS AN "ESCAPE CLAUSE"

When the pact was first announced, Earl Browder tried to sugar-coat the bitter pill, he swore that it would contain an "escape" clause, whereby the Soviet Union

could denounce the pact if Germany attacked another nation.

The actual terms of the pact, however, contained no "escape" clause; and nine days later Germany invaded Poland.

Stalin sent the Red Army into Poland, and many people, including the workers in the territory seized by Hitler, were led at first to believe that Stalin's intentions were to proceed against Hitler. Molotov made a speech to the Russian people, explaining why the Red Army was marching; his concluding point was:

"At the same time, the Soviet government intends to deliver the Polish people from the disastrous war into which they have been plunged by their unwise leaders and to give them an opportunity to live a life of peace." (Daily Worker Sept. 18, 1939)

For the majority of the Polish workers and peasants that "opportunity to live a life of peace" was to be enjoyed under the heel of Hitler. On September 28, 1939, in Moscow, the Nazi and Soviet governments drew up a treaty defining the borders of their jointly-conquered territories and recognizing each other's conquests.

STALIN HELPS HITLER IN HIS "PEACE" OFFENSIVE

A joint statement was issued the same day, signed by the representatives of both governments. This statement declared:

"After the German Reich government and the Soviet Russian Republic have definitely settled by the treaty signed today the question resulting from the disintegration of the Polish State, thus creating a safe foundation for lasting peace in Eastern Europe, they unanimously express the opinion that it would correspond to the true interests of all peoples and make an end to the war existing between Germany on the one hand and England and France on the other hand. Therefore, both governments, if necessary in conjunction with one of the befriended nations, will direct their joint efforts toward searching this aim as soon as possible. But should the efforts of both governments fail then the fact would be established that England and France are responsible for the continuation of the war, and in case of a continuation of the war the German Reich and the Soviet Russian Republic will consult each other regarding the necessary measures."

Thus Stalin came to the aid of Hitler's "peace offensive" and helped to spread the lie that Hitler had no further imperialist aims and that the continuation of the war would be the sole responsibility of Germany's enemies. The Soviet-Nazi treaty which divided up Poland was hailed as "creating a safe foundation for lasting peace in Eastern Europe" and Stalin solemnly concurred in Hitler's formula that if England and France would recognize the conquest of Poland that was all that would be needed to "make an end of the war."

MOLOTOV BOASTS ABOUT NAZI-SOVIET "SWIFT BLOW"

Molotov's speech of October 31, 1939 gave further support to the "peace offensive" of Hitler:

"Today, as far as the European great powers are concerned," said Molotov, "Germany is in the position of a State that is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace, while Britain and France, which but yesterday were declaring against aggressors, are in favor of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusions of peace. The roles, as you see, are changing." (Daily Worker, Nov. 1, 1939).

Molotov, in the same speech, then cynically boasts about the



The war of Hitler to destroy the Soviet Union recalls to mind some of the alibis concocted by the Stalinists to justify the Stalin-Hitler pact. Chief lies were that the pact was a blow at the Axis powers and would safeguard world peace.

collaboration of the Nazi and Red armies:

"One swift blow to Poland, first by the German Army and then by the Red Army, and nothing was left..."

Stalin's collaboration with Hitler in dismembering Poland was justified by Stalinist apologists by the argument that, as a result of the collaboration, the 11-million population of the provinces conceded by Hitler to Stalin had been "liberated."

But the Stalinist apologists conveniently overlooked that another

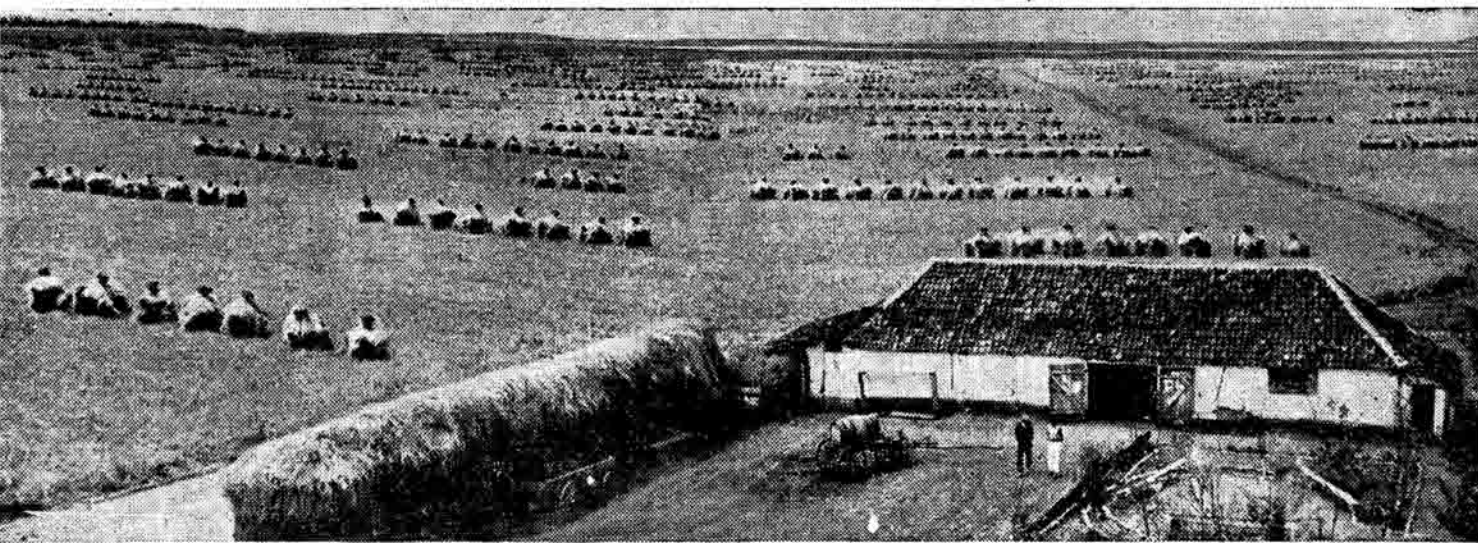
result of this same collaboration was the enslavement of more than 22-million other people by Hitler — an awful price to pay for the "liberation" of half as many.

And the Stalinist apologists would not face the fact that, far more than Stalin gained in this collaboration in Poland, the Soviet Union lost: it lost throughout the world mass proletarian support for the Soviet Union, just as the Stalin-Hitler pact had stunned and disoriented the world working class.

We Trotskyists saw at that time

how heavy a price the Soviet Union was paying for Stalin's diplomatic "victories." But only now, after 22 months of the Stalin-Hitler pact, can one realize to the full what the Soviet Union has paid. While all Europe was falling under Hitler's domination, making the danger to the Soviet Union ever greater, the Stalinist justification for the pact drove the Soviet and Comintern press to conceal the impending danger of Nazi attack. The fiction that the pact guaranteed "peace" for the

Hitler Wants This Granary



These grain fields are part of what Hitler covets in his assault on the Soviet Union. The scene is a field camp on one of the giant collective farms in the Kabardine-Balkarsky Autonomous Region in the North Caucasus area of the Soviet Union.

Soldiers Court-Martialled In 1918 Are Still Being Kept In Prison

War Department Won't Even Tell Negro Welfare Group How Many Negro Boys, Victims Of Frameups, Are Jailed

After the last war, 380 American soldiers, who received long-term court-martial sentences overseas, were brought to this country and placed in federal penitentiaries.

While every European country long ago annulled all such prisoners, nothing is known of the fate of the 380 American soldiers serving long prison terms here.

For six months, the Harlem Welfare Equity Association, a Negro organization devoted to prison welfare, has been endeavoring to obtain from the Department of Justice and the War Department information about those soldiers still serving court-martial sentences from the last war.

The Association sent a letter to Secretary of War Stimson, on January 20, 1941, asking the number of soldiers court-martialled overseas, the number of colored soldiers among them, the number placed in federal prisons, and how many have since been paroled, have died in prison or still remain behind bars.

FACTS WITHHELD BY GOV'T

No reply was made to the Association's letter. A similar letter sent to the director of the U. S. Bureau of Prisons, also failed to receive any answer.

The Association secured the aid of Congressman Marcantonio in an attempt to get the desired information. Marcantonio finally received a reply from Secretary Stimson stating:

"The data requested is not available in assembled form. To gather it would require extensive research in the Office of the Judge Advocate General, the Office of the Adjutant General, and the Department of Justice. Under existing conditions it is regarded as unwise to add so considerable a

task to the already heavy demands upon the War Department staff without some showing that it is necessary to do so in the public interest."

Among the "public interests" which demand this investigation is that many of the soldiers convicted by courts-martial were Negroes, and there are strong indications that a number of these were convicted on trumped-up charges brought by white Southern officers. The trials were held before hostile and race-prejudiced white Southern officers, under a court-martial system which did not permit any soldiers, let alone Negroes, the opportunity for a genuine defense.

A case which has been under a two-year investigation by the Association's officers is that of a Negro soldier who has already spent 23 years of a life sentence on a framed-up charge of "rape," because a French woman had had voluntary relations with him.

According to facts uncovered by Nat J. Humphries, executives director of the welfare organization, this colored soldier was court-

martialled by Southern officers in France in 1918. He was first given a death-sentence, which was later commuted to life imprisonment.

One of the Southern white officers, who had been spurned by the French woman whom the Negro soldier was alleged to have raped, led a group of officers to the French woman's home and staged a raid. The woman offered to testify on the Negro soldier's behalf but the court-martial refused to permit her to testify.

Many of the long prison terms meted out by these "kangaroo" courts-martial were received by Negroes from Southern regiments, who were usually charged with murder or "rape." In most instances, evidence shows, Negro soldiers were accused of "rape" when French women had any sort of voluntary relations with them.

The Welfare Equity Association has been seeking information about these court-martialled prisoners in order to introduce a bill into Congress to set all those still in prison.

COURTS-MARTIAL SAVAGE

The total number of American soldiers tried by general courts-martial in France in 1918 alone, according to research of the Association, was 16,347. Seven out of eight tried were convicted.

Death sentences were handed down in 145 known cases, between April 6, 1917 and June 1919. Four were doctored, "disobeying orders," one for espionage, five for assault with "intent to rape," 23

Soviet Union had to be preserved at all costs!

In December, 1939, Stalin sent a message to Von Ribbentrop, expressing his satisfaction at the outcome of the pact and the resultant seizure of Poland. This message was published in the Daily Worker, December 26, as follows:

"The friendship of the peoples of Germany and the Soviet Union, CEMENTED BY BLOOD, has all grounds to be prolonged and stable."

That "friendship" is indeed being "cemented by blood" — by the blood of the Soviet soldiers dying under the Nazi onslaught, dying in the defense of a Soviet Union weakened and disarmed by the perfidy and treachery of Stalinism. That pact is being "cemented in blood" by the Russian workers and peasants being blown to bits by Nazi bombs.

What remains of all the blustering lies and absurdities with which Stalin surrounded his alliance with Hitler, his assurances that his "friendship" with Der Fuehrer was a bulwark of Soviet defense, his boasts that the pact ensured world peace, his bragging deception that the pact reflected the "fear" of Hitler of the "might" of the Soviet Union?

What has that pact given the workers of the world of all the blatant promises made for it?

It ushered in not "peace" but the most devastating war of human history. It did not safeguard the defense of the Soviet Union, but paved the way for the most deadly attack upon the Workers' State.

Nazi-Soviet War Comment In The Press

Churchill set the line for the "democracies" on Stalin. The N. Y. World-Telegram followed Churchill but expressed the line a bit more frankly: "Of course he's a scoundrel, but he's our scoundrel."

Senator Burton K. Wheeler, with whom the Stalinists had been flirting through their peace fronts, showed how foully reactionary are the "isolationists". He said: "If we get into this war we will be fighting for Stalin and Communism. Those society dames who have been bundling for Britain will soon be bundling for Joe Stalin."

The picture of the Soviet Union fighting for its life, prompted Martin Dies to cry for new repressions against the American workers: "All of those gullible and fellow-travelers in America who aided the Communist cause prior to the alliance may be expected to resume their activities in behalf of Moscow. America is still asleep!"

John T. Flynn, that erstwhile liberal "isolationist," said: "If Germany wins Russia will go Fascist. If Russia wins Germany will go Communist. There is no choice for us at all."

Churchill's broadcast pledging aid to the Soviet Union, was summarized by the Moscow radio. His references to his past fights against Communism and his continued "dislike" of it, were carefully deleted from the Soviet summary. For all the Soviet masses know, Churchill may be embracing Marx as well as Stalin.

A U. P. dispatch from Vatican City states that the "Holy See has been training priests for duty in Russia in event of a religious change there." Whichever imperialist gang wins, the Vatican expects the Soviet Union to be the loser.

At the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact George Bernard Shaw proclaimed that Stalin had executed a smart maneuver and that the pact would smash the Axis. Today he speaks again: "Only yesterday we and America were faced with the tremendous job of smashing Hitler — with Russia looking on smiling. Today, we've nothing to do but sit and smile while Stalin smashes Hitler."

The day after the war broke the NEW MASSES (issue dated June 24) hit the newsstands with: "The hard-pressed Churchill government thought it had found a splendid reply when its propaganda machine spread horrendous tales of an imminent German-Soviet clash."

Remember that a German-Soviet war is only conceivable if Germany first reached an understanding with Great Britain.

Yes, remember what the Stalinists said.

Alexander Kerensky, former Russian Premier, appealed for democratic aid to Russia and assured the bourgeoisie that "a democratic victory will end in the collapse of the Nazi and Soviet regimes and the building of a free international order."

The Wall Street Journal made no comment Monday except to report that "sales for the first hour expanded as much as in many of the full sessions of recent weeks. Wheat spurted 4 cents, cotton rose 75 cents a bale to a new high. British Empire bonds jumped 1 to 4 points. Stocks in Tokyo dropped 1 to 3 yen."

Trotsky's Last Work

MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on the IMPERIALIST WAR and the PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

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The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

The President's Memorandum

President Roosevelt's memorandum on the question of Negro exclusion from the war industries deserves more study than has been given it. For it must be remembered that this is the first time in the almost nine years that he has been in the White House that Roosevelt has ever spoken on the question of the Negroes' problems at all.

Everyone with any political understanding at all knows why Roosevelt made the statement at this time. It was intended to get the leaders of the March-On-Washington Committee to call off the July 1 demonstration in the capitol.

First of all, it should be repeated that Roosevelt did not do anything to end industrial Jim Crowism. In his statement, he only approved the action of the Office of Production Management in sending a letter to all employers two months ago, asking them to "examine whether or not" their employment policies "make ample provision for the full utilization of available and competent Negro workers." Everyone knows that nothing has happened since that time. Employers may have examined their policies, or they may not; but certainly Negroes have not gotten jobs as a result.

Negro Press Swallows It

We make this point again because there has been so much confusion cast on the question by the major Negro newspapers. The Afro-American, for example, said: "President Orders Defense Jobs Open To All." The Chicago Defender: "FDR Breaks Silence; Urges OPM To Smash Defense Job Race Ban; President, Stirred by Many Protests of Negroes, Takes Bolated Action To End Employment Injustice." The Pittsburgh Courier: "JOBS FOR ALL"—ROOSEVELT; Nation's Chief Executive Orders OPM To Halt Discrimination In All U. S. Defense Industries." As though to clinch the matter, the Courier head on the continuation of the story says: "Roosevelt Ends Industrial Bias."

The plain and simple fact, of course, is that none of these headlines are correct. They are only another example of that gullibility that characterizes the Negro press when it comes to half-hearted promises and evasive statements thrown to them as crumbs.

The editor of The Militant correctly wrote last week that Roosevelt did not even speak out, let alone act, against the whole system of discrimination in industry. "With careful intent, Roosevelt's words are: 'in defense industries,' 'in this present emergency,' 'in defense production.'" Roosevelt presents the question of job Jim Crow in a "reasonable" manner, and summed up he means this:

"There is going to be a labor shortage, and employers will have to use Negroes in the end anyhow. Besides, this is an emergency, and we must make sacrifices, even to the extent of hiring some Negroes. This will not hurt the system of Jim Crowism, because it will last only for the emergency, and because in order to defend our Jim Crow democracy, we must use all the forces at our disposal. In addition, giving the Negroes a few jobs will serve to remove from us the stigma of preaching one thing for Europe and practicing the opposite here. I am not taking any steps to force employers to hire Negroes, I am only showing them how reasonable it would be."

Roosevelt's "Moral Authority"

Nobody who reads his memorandum carefully can claim that Roosevelt does more than add his moral authority to the OPM's request to relax a little the Jim Crow bars.

Whenever most employers are approached by Negro and labor organizations with the demand that they hire Negroes, they reply that they themselves have no objection to hiring them, but that their white employees do, and there would be "trouble" which might result in a reduction in production.

This is the bosses' line. But what does the government, what does Roosevelt say?

In their treatment of the Negroes in that government department where the greatest number of Negroes are utilized, the armed forces, Roosevelt says the very same thing as the bosses!

In the army and the navy, Negroes are segregated. In the army Negroes are all in separate regiments, there is no such thing as a mixed regiment where Negro and white soldiers march or work side by side. In the navy Negroes are permitted only in the mess department, and nowhere else. The continued maintenance of this Jim Crow system has been explained by Roosevelt and his Secretary of the Navy on the basis that "to make changes would produce situations destructive to morale and detrimental to the preparations for national defense."

One can easily see from this how much Roosevelt's moral authority on the question of Jim Crowism amounts to!

One can also judge Roosevelt's memorandum as much by what it leaves out as by what it says. Roosevelt has many times been asked to put some teeth into the OPM's letter. He could tell the War and Navy Departments to stop all government contracts to employers who discriminate in their employment policies. The result would be the immediate hiring of Negro workers by thousands of plants. These plants are run for one reason only: for private profit. If the government were in any way to threaten that private profit, the employers would drop their employment bars like pieces of hot iron.

But Roosevelt makes no such step. He is ready to send troops in to break strikes, but he isn't willing to even threaten employers who refuse to hire Negroes.

The refrain may become monotonous, but it is none the less true: The bosses don't "give" anything for nothing. Workers, Negro and white, win things that are worthwhile only by fighting for them.

Chilean Trotskyists Unite

Strengthened Proletarian Party Maps Program of Action

By TERENCE PHELAN

SANTIAGO-DE-CHILE, June 17 (by mail)—While Roosevelt, under the mask of "continental solidarity" prepares to drag the semi-colonial nations of South America behind the war-chariot of Yankee imperialism, there was triumphantly forged here this week an important link in the real chain of continental solidarity—the solidarity of the exploited working masses of the U.S.A. with the super-exploited colonial masses of Latin-America.

In a Fusion Congress remarkable for the extremely high level both of political discussion and mass enthusiasm, the two Chilean groups of the Fourth International, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario and the Partido Obrero Internacionalista, united under the name of the former.

The outstanding significance of the fusion lies in its having converted the two agitation-propaganda groups into a genuine Bolshevik party, already well-rooted among the Chilean workers, with excellent perspectives of soon becoming a mass party. The fusion, fruit of a thorough, democratic, principled discussion in both former organizations, was made on no mere bloc basis; but included an exhaustive criticism and examination of past policy, culminating in a principled denunciation of certain past centrist errors committed by the P.O.I., passed almost unanimously by the delegates.

PARTY OF WORKERS

The new united party has forces which, in a country of Chile's population, are already considerable. Seventy-five percent of them are workers, each a fighting trade-unionist. The growth of the party in the immediate future is soundly expected to be very rapid; the previous division having artificially retarded the development of the Chilean movement because of the uncertainty of worker-sympathizers as to which group to join.

Both symptomatic and encouraging was the last-minute arrival at the Congress of a delegate from three large mining-district branches of the Partido Socialista de Trabajadores, which had been stimulated by the news of fusion into breaking with their misleaders and applying for membership in the new united organization.

The Partido Socialista de Trabajadores is a left-reformist workers' party which split off from the official Socialist Party because of its reformism and its capitulation to Yankee imperialism. It has 4,000 members, and polled 11,000 votes in the March elections. At present it is in full crisis, a left wing tending sharply to the left and Trotskyism; a right wing preparing to collapse back into the Socialist Party. It is certain that, with the new gravitational pull of the united P.O.R. and P.O.I. related the historic struggle of Trotskyism in Chile and reported on the negotiations which had led to unity.

SWP DELEGATE PRESENT

Friday night, in a semi-public inaugural session attended by the 34 official delegates and some 60 guests from other working-class organizations, members, and sympathizers, the leaders of the P.O.R. and P.O.I. related the historic struggle of Trotskyism in Chile and reported on the negotiations which had led to unity. Scores of cables, telegrams, letters, and phonograph recordings of greetings from other sections of the International and from sympathizing organizations were read and played; followed by speeches of solidarity and congratulations by the fraternal delegates of the Liga Obrera Revolucionaria of Argentina and the Socialist Workers Party (U.S.A.).

FOR DEFENSE OF USSR

Saturday morning, the Congress settled down to three packed days of strict business. Its international resolution, reaffirming the correctness and event-proved timeliness of the basic documents of the Fourth International, received itself unanimously and enthusiastically in favor of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, defining it as a degenerated workers' state, and calling simultaneously for the defense of the conquests of October against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The national political thesis was the center of Congress interest, and gave rise to a discussion whose amplitude (one-and-one-half days) and high political level exemplified the recognition by the delegates of the crucial importance of correct evaluations and a correct policy

in semi-colonial Latin-America. Particular attention was given to the problem of "national liberation," of the combined development and interrelation between the problems of the democratic and of the socialist revolution in semi-colonial Chile, in accordance with Trotsky's brilliant theory of permanent revolution.

TRADE UNION UNITY

Scarcely less important was the trade-union resolution which, apart from calling for an ever-increasing penetration of the party in the life of the unions, called for a unification of the badly split Chilean union movement, whose internal differences are being used by the bosses and their lackeys in the labor movement to the grave disadvantage of Chilean workers.

LAUNCH WEEKLY PAPER

The important problem of the press was equally seriously considered. Each group had previously maintained a four-page monthly newspaper. After a responsible evaluation of the party's financial resources, the Congress voted to issue a weekly, thus permitting the newspaper not only as in the past to treat general problems but, by its frequency of issue, to become a real workers' paper, treating in up-to-the-

minute detail the specific day-by-day problems facing the Chilean workers, and in this way to concretize the principles of the Fourth International in workers' terms.

Arrangements were also made to prepare, in conjunction with the Argentine and other sections, a monthly theoretical organ in Spanish for the southern portion of the continent whose absence has been much felt heretofore.

A BOLSHEVIK ORGANIZATION

Theses on organization and finances, exhaustively and democratically discussed, reaffirmed the Bolshevik principle of democratic centralism against any and all petty-bourgeois centrist organizational tendencies; and, in detail that again demonstrated the anti-dilettante and healthy proletarian seriousness of the Chilean comrades, laid out the methods of work in the next period, especially concentrated in the work in the trade-unions and in the creation of a United Proletarian Front, in contradistinction to the treacherous Popular Frontism which has in recent years disoriented and betrayed the Chilean workers.

A general Program of Action again discussed with an earnestness and concrete detail which showed how intense was the delegates' determination to push forward in practical growth and in finance, was approved in its basic objectives; and in order that every militant might participate in the forging of the program of the party's day-by-day tasks, the Congress voted that immediate internal discussion bulletin should concretize the general program even as it is carried out.

By amicable prior agreement, the two groups had settled upon

a joint ticket for the new National Executive Committee, the proportions of six former P.O.R. and three former P.O.I. leaders loyally reflecting the numerical relation of forces of the former groups and utilizing the best leadership calibre from both.

IMPORTANCE OF FUSION

The importance of this Congress transcends the national plane. It was not only a smashing reply to those malicious wisecracks which contend that Trotskyism is by nature centrifugal and propagates itself only by splits; it was also a splendid challenge and a brilliant precedent to those other Trotskyist groups in Latin-America who, though on the political position of the Fourth International, have not as yet succeeded in surmounting the organizational differences which keep them in separate groups. It is certain that the fine example of the Chilean comrades will accelerate the processes of fusion already visible throughout South America.

But above all the Congress drove home once again the lesson of international solidarity of the working-class in a vivid and unforgettable way. As one by one the frontiers are closed, and the war-bent bourgeoisie hammers with ever-increasing pressure to turn the workers against their brothers in other countries—the Chilean congress, for this observance, concretized in a simple and moving way the meaning of workers' internationalism.

A trucker hammering over the road to Akron tonight can have the heart-warming assurance that six thousand miles away to the southeast some unknown comrade on the night-shift of a Chilean coppermine is—despite Roosevelt's war, despite closed frontiers and

censored communications—thinking the same thoughts, working and planning with the same principled purpose, setting his jaw in the same Bolshevik determination—for the world socialist revolution, for the Soviet United States of the Americas.

Army Taught To Fight "Strike Agitators"

The U. S. Army is being readied for "national defense" against... the American working class.

An item in the Quincy, Massachusetts, PATRIOT-LEDGER, June 14, describes maneuvers by the 36th Coast Artillery Brigade in "defending" Fore River, the Boston Navy Yard and the Watertown arsenal against "saboteurs and strike agitators."

On the West Coast, the San Diego harbor fortifications at Pt. Loma were "successfully defended" recently by soldiers of the 19th Coast Artillery, in maneuvers in which one group of soldiers, as the local press described it, "clad in blue denim, simulated a mob led by fifth column agitators."

Roosevelt's use of federal troops against the North American Aviation strikers wasn't accidental. That's what the boss-run army is for, as the examples of these training maneuvers indicate. The "enemy," to the boss government, is not simply those in the uniform of the Panzer Divisions, but more immediately, those who wear "blue denim" at home.

Lewis, Murray and Mediation

The Mediation Board's Anti-Labor Role Is Known To These Labor Officials

Listing the various government strikebreaking activities which he was asking all CIO affiliates to combat, Philip Murray wrote of the National Defense Mediation Board, in his June 12th letter to all CIO bodies:

"No mediation board, which has as its function to mediate labor disputes, should usurp or be given the authority to impose compulsory arbitration or to interfere in any way with the basic rights of labor."

This statement is significant as the first critical word uttered by Murray about the Board since he accepted appointment to it by Roosevelt. It is his first comment on the fact that the Board has made a practice of ordering strikers back to work before negotiations and mediation for a settlement of their grievances—a practice which Murray correctly calls compulsory arbitration.

He calls on the unions to protest against this vicious practice. How can the workers successfully put an end to it? This is now a profoundly important question. Let us see what light can be thrown on this question by what John L. Lewis and Philip Murray have been saying and doing in connection with the Mediation Board.

LEWIS BLASTED THE BOARD BUT THEN WHITEWASHED IT

Every militant worker applauded, some ten weeks ago, when Lewis, on April 12, during the miner's strike, declared:

"We are not going to follow this new formula that seems to have been discovered by the Mediation Board in Washington, when they wire strikers to go back to work and bust their strike and then come to Washington and mediate for the remnants of it. The United Mine Workers of America do not mediate that way, and this present stoppage will not be settled that way."

Thanks to this stand the miners stayed on strike for 28 days and won their main demands before going back to work, instead of being tied up endlessly and fruitlessly in mediation.

Unfortunately, however, Lewis did not continue to stand by his characterization of the conduct of the Mediation Board. He adopted a conciliatory attitude toward the Board, explaining away as well as he could his previous words and whitewashing its later activities. Lewis did this in a statement in the United Mine Workers Journal, May 1, 1941, which deplored the "erroneous impression" that "puts Mr. Lewis in the posi-

tion of defying the Mediation Board." All that he really meant was:

"Mr. Lewis had reference to the formula of ordering strikers back to work and then, as he said, 'mediating for the remnants.' This policy was followed in the first several cases referred to the board and was a policy designed by certain board officers rather than the full board itself. It has not been followed, however, in more recent cases." (United Mine Workers Journal, May 1, 1941, our emphasis.)

If by "more recent cases" Lewis was predicting the future course of the Mediation Board, he has proved to be a poor prophet, indeed. The "formula of ordering strikers back to work and then mediating for the remnants" has become the sum total of the Board's activities.

UNION FIG LEAVES ON GOVERNMENT STRIKEBREAKING

We are quite ready to believe Lewis' assertion that this was a policy designed "by certain board officers rather than the full board itself." That only goes to show how impotent to affect the course of the Board are the CIO officers Murray and Kennedy, who are members of that Board. The trade union officials appointed by Roosevelt to the Board can be outvoted on every issue by the capitalists and the "representatives of the public who constitute the Board's majority." Those "certain board officers," acting on behalf of the government and the bosses, dictate the strikebreaking policy of the Board with utter disregard for what the trade union officials who are members of the Board may have to say.

Indeed, if we are to understand Lewis correctly, these "certain board officers" established this strikebreaking policy without even bothering to hold a formal meet-

ing of the Board at which the trade union officials might have had an opportunity to record votes against it!

What, then, is the function on the Board of Murray and Kennedy of the CIO and Meany and Harrison of the AFL? A very important function—for the government and the employers. Their presence on the Board lends its acts against the unions the character of being sanctioned by the official leadership of the trade union movement. They serve as so many union fig-leaves, covering up the nakedly anti-labor role of the Mediation Board. Impotent to change the Board's policy they are potent only to enforce the Board's policy upon the labor movement.

MURRAY KNEW IN ADVANCE THE BOARD'S REAL ROLE

All this was understood even before the Board was established—understood, not only by us, but also by Philip Murray.

In the CIO News of March 10, 1941, Murray warned that a mediation board will "bring terrific pressure to bear on labor to agree to arbitration in practically all situations" and "will necessarily find its attention directed against labor in order to maintain the status quo as much as possible," seeking to prevent "wage increases or improvement of working conditions of labor."

Yet, a week after writing this, Murray succumbed to Roosevelt's pressure and entered the Mediation Board. Nor has Murray ever attempted to explain the flagrant contradiction between what he wrote and what he did.

Whatever explanation he might have sought to make, events have demonstrated to the full the truth of what he wrote. No trade union official should ever have accepted appointment to the Mediation Board.

In the light of these facts it becomes plain how the labor movement can best combat the strikebreaking activities of the Mediation Board. Its strikebreaking is not accidental, it is not "usurpation" as Murray puts it, it is the essence of the Board. That's what it was established for.

The workers, both CIO and AFL, must demand that there be no more union fig-leaves on government strikebreaking. De-

mand that all trade union officials resign from the National Defense Mediation Board!

HOW TO EXPOSE THE BOARD'S STRIKEBREAKING

If the CIO members, Murray and Kennedy, were to resign, the AFL members, Harrison and Meany, would never be able to stay long in their seats. The resignation of Murray and Kennedy would inspire a tidal wave of labor, both AFL and CIO, which would sweep the AFL members out of the Board and leave it revealed for what it actually is: a boss-controlled strikebreaking instrument.

The demand for resignation of all trade union officials from the appointive posts in the Mediation Board also raises the question of all appointive posts in the government: Hillman and his "Labor Advisory Division" in the OPM, Tracy in the Department of Labor, etc.

Establishing the principle that no trade union official remains in an appointive post in this government would unmask Hillman completely as the traitor to labor that he is. Likewise with any other trade union official who insisted on clinging to the post to which Roosevelt appointed him.

Murray's June 12th letter to the CIO, followed by Labor's Non-Partisan League's statement, attacking Roosevelt's strikebreaking, and by Murray's letter repudiating stories that he is planning a "red purge" in the CIO, have served to draw the battle lines more clearly between the labor movement and its enemies. The labor movement is now starting a counter-offensive against government strikebreaking.

But that counter-offensive can succeed only if the workers know just what to shoot at. Murray's head sticks out of the Mediation Board and causes the workers to withhold their fire. That must not continue.

No more union fig-leaves on government strikebreaking. Demand the resignation of all trade union officials from the National Defense Mediation Board and all other appointive posts in the government!

British "Labor" Party Refuses Aid to India

By JACK WEBER

The consequences of the British Labor Party's collaboration with Churchill are revealed in the recent attitude of that party towards India. The Labor Party leaders have withdrawn support from the Hindu socialist, Krishna Menon, who was for sixteen years a member of parliament for Dundee, always elected on the Labor Party ticket. The Labor Party now withdraws support of his candidacy on the Labor Party ticket because of Menon's stand on India. He is secretary of the India League of London, an organization that advocates independence for India.

It is always a good thing to have the attitude of the heads of the Labor Party expressed in writing. A letter signed by G. R. Shepherd on behalf of the National Executive of the British Labor Party, explains the refusal to reendorse Menon as follows: "It is impossible both to support the struggle of the Indian people and be a loyal supporter of the policy of the British Labor Party leadership." The same letter dares to affirm after this brazen statement: "the Labor Party does not whittle down in any way its own desire for the welfare of India."

Menon replies to this letter: "My allegiance is to those principles of freedom and social justice basic to the international socialist movement." He adds: "The Labor Party policy is now declared by its supreme executive to be opposed to the basic conceptions of self-determination and national independence of subject peoples and at best to be some form of benevolent and patronizing imperialism."

Let us state right here that we agree thoroughly with the statement made in the letter of the Labor Party that it is impossible to support both the struggle of the Indian people and the leadership of the Labor Party at one and the same time. To support the struggle of the Indian people, directed against British imperialism, one must oppose the Labor Party Leaders who bolster up that imperialism. Of that there can be not the slightest doubt. The misleaders of British labor are compelled by the logic of their support of and collaboration with the Tory government, to carry on the war of the Tories against the colonial peoples. These peoples are quite properly ready to make use of the plight of their imperialist masters to strike a blow for their own freedom.

This Was Macdonald's Policy Too

But let us not suppose that this attitude on the part of the Labor Party leaders is just a war attitude. Not at all. It is in line with the traditions of Labor Party government in peacetime too. When the Hindus, in their joy that labor had gained a victory and taken over the government under Ramsay Macdonald, felt that they could then act in their own behalf, Macdonald identified himself and his party completely with British imperialism. He used the army against the Indian people and said: "No party in Great Britain will be cowed by threats of force or by policies designed to bring government to a standstill."

Not only do we agree that it is impossible to support both the Indian people and the Labor Party leaders. We go further. It is impossible to defend democracy and to support these leaders in the coalition government. Their actions pave the way for fascism in England just as surely as the actions of the social democratic leaders of Germany paved the way for Hitler. If democracy is to survive in England, then the workers alone will be responsible for its survival. They can defend democracy only by repudiating the labor betrayers who sit together with the arch-reactionary Churchill in the Cabinet. They can defend democracy only by setting up their own government.

British And India Workers Must Unite

It is absolutely clear that the interests of the working class of England and the interests of the colonial peoples are tied together. Anything which weakens the struggle of the one, weakens the struggle of the other. Both fight a common enemy, the master class, the imperialist ruling class. Therefore if anybody acts for the ruling class against the colonial people, by the same token he acts to strengthen that same class against the exploited workers in the home country. The Labor Party leaders who not only will not aid the Hindus but on the contrary sanction the use of force against them, are by this act aiming a blow at the workers at home whom they supposedly represent. The workers are kept in subjection to their exploiters through the acts of collaboration of their "leaders."

The British workers believe in democracy at home and abroad. They always supported the demand for self-determination of the colonial peoples, particularly the Hindus. But it is not enough to sympathize with the fight of the colonial peoples for independence. The workers must render active aid to the Hindus. How can this be done? How can British Labor really fight for democracy, first of all in their own bailiwick and in their own "empire"? They can do this only by fighting the force which prevents and suppresses democracy, the capitalist class. The British workers can further the cause of independence at home and abroad by a militant struggle against this reactionary ruling class which no more fights for democracy than any of the dictators do.

But before it is possible for the workers to fight reactionary capitalism, they face the preliminary task of clearing out of their path the rubbish that accumulated from a preceding epoch. This impeding rubbish exists in the form of an opportunist and reactionary labor leadership which helps maintain the yoke of slavery on the necks of the workers. The step to repudiate these misleaders would be the first great step in the struggle for emancipation.

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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 Ford Victory

The spreading shadow of the war has served to obscure the significance of the achievement of the Ford workers last week in securing a signed union contract from the Ford Motor Company.

Bourgeois journalists may fix their eyes exclusively on the shifting military scenes. But for the American workers, and the international working class, this victory of the Ford workers has as profound implications as the military battles of the imperialists.

The demonstrated might of the organized Ford workers is a heartening symbol of that power which is destined to determine the final outcome of the war.

For the fate of humanity does not rest upon the immediate achievements, the gains and losses, of the various armies of imperialism, bourgeois democratic or fascist. The fate of humanity is dependent upon the revolutionary might, and the will to conquer power, of the workers of the world.

Not the armies of Churchill and Roosevelt will save the Soviet Union and destroy the menace of fascism. The international proletarian revolution, shattering root and branch the whole world system of capitalist imperialism, alone will put an end to the devastations of imperialist war and to all human exploitation.

Every advance in the organized power of the workers in any nation in the world, every victory over any sector of the ruling classes, prepares and strengthens the workers for that hour when they, and they alone will put an end to the bloody shambles perpetrated by capitalism.

That is why we hail the victory of the Ford workers over the greatest industrial tyrant in America.

The Ford victory comes at that very moment in history when all the forces of capitalist reaction are bent upon the total destruction of the organized defenses of the working class everywhere. The class-conscious bosses, no less than the class-conscious workers, are aware of the profounder meaning of such victories for organized labor. If, at a given moment, they appear to yield to the workers, as in the case of Ford, that is not because the

bosses are less intent upon the destruction of the organized working class.

It would be a fatal error if the Ford workers should imagine that their fight is at an end. What Henry Ford has conceded to the workers has not been yielded out of choice or some sudden access of good will. It has been wrung out of him by sheer organized power, and will be maintained by that power alone.

Ford's hatred of the workers has not abated. He is not reconciled to unionism. He is no less an enemy of labor today than he was yesterday. He is merely planning to adjust his methods in order to defeat the workers despite the unfavorable circumstances in which he now finds himself.

Ford plans to destroy the union by more subtle and deceptive means. He hopes to weaken and throttle it from within.

His major strategy now will be to win over and corrupt the International leadership of the UAW-CIO, to tie that leadership into a form of "partnership" with his management, to induce that leadership to lull the vigilance of the workers and stifle their militancy. At a more opportune moment, he will once more resume his more drastic methods against the workers, when he believes them to be drained of their militancy and their leaders to be too conservative to accept the challenge of a real fight.

But Ford has been proved wrong in his previous methods for destroying the union. He will be proved wrong again. He calculates too little on the workers, their indestructible fighting qualities, their solidarity, their will to extend the gains which they have already achieved, their capacity to produce new and militant leaders. Tomorrow, if Ford resumes his open war on the workers, he will find them as powerful and unyielding an opponent as he finds them today.

The economic battles of the workers are no substitute for the political and military battles which they will have to fight against fascism and capitalist reaction. But victories like that over Ford are the necessary preliminaries to the still greater proletarian battles that lie ahead.

Molotov and Hitler

Revolution generates its own "secret weapons." These were the weapons with which the embattled workers of Soviet Russia twenty years ago hurled back foreign and domestic enemies on twenty-two fronts from the Crimea to Archangel, from Petrograd to Vladivostok. These were the weapons of revolutionary propaganda which dissolved opposing armies and inspired actual mutinies in the American interventionist forces in Siberia. These were the weapons which forced British withdrawal when British workers refused to load goods for British forces in Russia.

To what extent has the Stalinist degeneration in the Soviet Union dulled these weapons and rendered them ineffectual for use in the war against Nazi imperialism? Certainly Molotov's broadcast announcing the outbreak of war last Sunday offered no grounds for optimism in this regard.

All Molotov did was to whine about "perfidy unparalleled in the history of civilized nations." He insisted that "the German government could not find grounds for a single complaint" against the Kremlin's observance of the Stalin-Hitler pact. He proclaimed, as though it were something to shake millions loose from torpor—that Germany had violated a non-aggression pact!

Did he call upon the German workers to rise against their rulers? No, he referred to the German masses only to say that "we well understand" their "sufferings."

Did he appeal at all to the monumental history of the civil war of 1918-22 when the Russian workers showed how revolutionary conquests could be defended? No.

Molotov sounded like the Chamberlain of Sept. 1, 1939. We have been grievously wronged and deceived and now, we regret to say, we have to defend ourselves against a perfidious attack—that was the tenor of his statement. Not a word of the fight for socialism, the struggle for the world revolution.

In contrast to Molotov's timidity, Hitler, the demagogue and propagandist, in his proclamation of war claimed that German Fascism is "striving... for a new Socialist order... systematically eliminating differences of rank and class..." Hitler had learned more from the history of the Russian revolution and used it, in reverse and for opposite purposes, than the whole Stalinist bureaucracy has ever known. Hitler was smart enough to tell the war-oppressed masses of Germany that the war against the Soviet Union was a "war for socialism." To this Molotov replies with a whining recital of Hitler's insincerity.

Not by such means and methods will the Soviet Union be successfully defended. Not by such means will the Hitler incubus be severed from the German masses. The Stalinist regime will act as a brake and a check on the power of resistance of the Russian workers. The task of breaking that hold becomes one of the most fearful urgency if the war against Hitler is to be fought as it should be fought.

Trotsky's Unheeded Warnings

He Warned At Outset Of Nazi Regime That Hitler's Attack On USSR Was Inevitable; Fought Stalin's Compromises

The Nazi attack on the Soviet Union tears the last crumbling prop out from under the "realistic" policies of Stalin and the Kremlin oligarchy. Today the USSR faces the crushing attack of the monster that Stalin helped create.

Against Stalin's false policies for eighteen years one voice was firmly and consistently raised—the voice of Leon Trotsky. Stalin acted always from the narrow and conservative and counter-revolutionary standpoint of the Soviet bureaucracy. Trotsky argued always from the standpoint of the fundamental interests of the Russian and the world revolution. Stalin won applause in the saloons of the world bourgeoisie. He was the "realist" who was helping to destroy the "menace" of Communism. Trotsky was the "impractical dreamer," the man who never swerved from the path of the world revolution.

Now once more the warning of this "impractical" are vindicated by events. This is no cause for mere fingerpointing—such satisfaction Trotsky himself always found melancholy indeed. The peril of which he warned has now come to pass and we know that if Trotsky were alive today, he would be offering his services without hesitation to the Red Army which he brought into being.

There are profound lessons to be learned from Trotsky's repeated warnings and predictions of a Nazi attack on the Soviet Union.

Before Hitler Came To Power

These he made not only after Hitler came to power, but even before that fateful event. In 1931, Trotsky wrote:

"Once Hitler comes to power, and proceeds to crush the vanguard of the German workers, pulverizing and demoralizing the whole proletariat for years to come, the Fascist government alone will be the only government capable of waging war against the USSR... In case of victory (in Germany) Hitler will become the Super-Wrangler of the world bourgeoisie."—(GERMANY, THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.)

In an article in *Liberty* (July 16, 1932), Trotsky wrote:

"To make intervention possible, a great, highly industrialized, and moreover, continental European empire would be needed... To be more accurate—a country would be needed which had nothing to lose. A glance at the political map of Europe will convince you that such a mission could be undertaken only by a Fascist Germany. More than that, a Fascist Germany would have no other road left to go... A war against the Soviet Union would grow out of these circumstances with fatal necessity."

For Crushing Hitler At Once

Trotsky then went on in the same article to give his famous outline for the course the Kremlin should follow in event of the victory of Fascism in Germany. Who knows how different Europe and the world might be today if this policy had been pursued! He declared:

"In my opinion this is how the Soviet government OUGHT to act in case of a Fascist coup in Germany. Upon receiving the telegraphic communication of this event I would, in their place, sign an order for the mobilization of army reserves. When you have a mortal enemy before you, and when war flows with necessity from the logic of the objective situation, it would be unpardonable light-mindedness to give that enemy time to establish and fortify himself, conclude the necessary alliances, receive the necessary help, work out a plan of concentric military actions—not only from the west but from the east—and thus grow up to the dimensions of a colossal danger."

It was in this period that Trotsky tirelessly worked to prevent the victory of Hitler in Germany and to assure the victory of the German working class. Those were the days in which he urged the broadest united front of the Social Democrats and the Communists to form a bloc against Fascism. He was dubbed a "counter-revolutionist" for this policy by the Stalinists. Stalin was still seeing the Social Democracy as "the main enemy" and the German Communist Party was helping the Nazis batter away at the Social Democrats and thereby encompassed the Communist Party's own doom when, on January 30, 1933, Hitler took power. The German Communist Party capitulated without a struggle and Stalin began his long and tortuous "realistic" course which took him through the period of the "People's Front" to his pact with Hitler in 1939.

After Hitler Came To Power

As opposed to Stalin's catastrophic policies, Trotsky's course opened the road, at the very least, to the revolutionary transformation of the European continent.

Two months after Hitler took power in 1933, Trotsky wrote:

"A year and a half ago, we wrote that the Red Army in its principal mass ought to turn its face to the west, to have the possibility of smashing Fascism before it can destroy the German proletariat and unite with European and world imperialism... Even leaving aside the question of help to the German proletariat, there remains the question of the defense of socialist construction against German Fascism, the shock troops of world imperialism. Do the Stalinists deny this danger? The most that they can say is that Hitler is not yet, today, capable of carrying on a war. That is true and we said so some time ago.

"But if Hitler, today incapable of carrying on a war, will be capable of it tomorrow—and he will not be able to avoid carrying on war—does not a correct strategy demand that Hitler be prevented from preparing his blow; i. e., that the German workers get rid of Hitler before he gets rid of the German workers?... One cannot sow grain and plant cabbages with his back turned to the west, from which, for the first time since 1918, comes the greatest threat, which can become a mortal danger if it is not paralyzed in time.

"Or have the Stalinists perhaps assimilated the pacifist wisdom of the 'purely defensive' war being the only permissible one? 'Let Hitler attack us first, then we will defend ourselves.' This was always the reasoning of the German social-democracy: let the National-Socialists first openly attack the constitution, then, well... etc. Still, when Hitler OPENLY attacked the constitution, it was already too late to think of its defense.

"He who does not outstrip the enemy while he is still weak; who passively lets him strengthen and reinforce himself, protect his rear-guard, create an army for himself, receive support from abroad, assure himself of allies; who leaves to the enemy the complete liberty of initiative; such a man is a traitor, even if the motives for his treason are not to render service to imperialism, but consist of petty bourgeois weakness and political blindness.

"The 'justification' of a policy of waiting and evasion under these conditions can only be WEAKNESS. This is a very serious argument, but we have to give a clear account to ourselves of it. We must say: the Stalinist policies in the USSR have so thoroughly disorganized economy and the relations between proletariat and peasantry, have so badly weakened the party, that the necessary premises for an active foreign policy do not exist today.

"We draw the conclusion: a fundamental change in the policy, the methods, the leadership of the party is necessary, in order to assure the Soviet State, in addition to everything else, of a real capacity for defense and freedom of initiative internationally."

(*The Militant*, April 8, 1933).

Warned Of Attack On USSR

Trotsky warned over and over again that the coming of imperialist war in Europe, whatever its initial form, would develop into an attack on the Soviet Union. In 1933, he said:

"Allowing for all diversion, the foreign policy of Fascist Germany is essentially directed against the Soviet Union." (*The Militant*, April 24, 1933).

Again in the theses *War and the Fourth International*, issued on June 10, 1934, Trotsky wrote:

"Every major war, irrespective of its initial motives, most pose squarely the question of military intervention against the USSR in order to transfuse blood into the sclerotic veins of capitalism."

After Stalin entered into his bargain with Hitler—a move that Trotsky had long foreseen—and got paid off with the Baltic states and half of Poland, Trotsky warned again:

"In spite of the Kremlin's territorial seizures, the international position of the USSR is worsened in the extreme. The Polish buffer disappeared. The Rumanian buffer will disappear tomorrow. Mighty Germany, master of Europe, acquires a common frontier with the USSR. Scandinavia, a place of weak and almost disarmed countries, is occupied by this same Germany. Her victories in the west are only preparation for a gigantic move toward the east." ("The Kremlin's Role in the War," June 17, 1940, *FOURTH INTERNATIONAL*, October, 1940).

This was the revolutionary realism of Trotsky. Stalin's hired assassins struck Trotsky down nearly a year ago. He is not here to lend his mighty hand to the struggle to save the Soviet Union. But his strength was also the strength of his ideas. And those are ever with us. And with them we shall embark with confidence on the great struggles before us.

Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

(The following article was written before the Nazi-Soviet war began. As it indicates, Stalin's present foreign policy will soon lead to a cessation of Stalinist strike activity—EDITOR.)

What Motivates Stalinist Trade Union Policy?

The role that the Stalinists have been playing in a few of the recent and important strikes brings into sharp focus the question of the relationship between Stalin's foreign policy and the trade union tactics of the Communist Party of this country. Especially has this question come up and been much discussed since the strike at the North American Aviation plant in Inglewood California.

Those reading our press need not be reminded that we have nothing against strikes because they are under Stalinist control. Here it is simply necessary to recognize the fact that some of the recent strikes were under Stalinist leadership, as much as we may regret that fact from a point of view altogether different of course from that of those who attack the strikes as interfering with the war industries.

What motivates the Stalinist leaders in calling strikes at the present time? For Roosevelt and all of his supporters—from the extreme reactionaries to the liberals and social democrats of the New Leader—the answer is simple. Stalin wants to help his partner Hitler and therefore has instructed his agents to interfere with the "defense" industries by calling strikes.

The Roosevelt "Explanation" Is False

This contention is given the widest publicity and is used as a pretext by Roosevelt administration officials to label strikes as subversive. On that proposition, too, all the liberals and social democrats are basing their condemnation of strikes in so-called defense industries. They are justifying even the use of the army to break the North American Aviation strike on the ground that it was led by C.P. members conspiring to sabotage defense.

Reactionaries, liberals and social democrats, in attributing to the Stalinist leaders the specific intention to sabotage defense industries, utilize a correct general principle but distort that principle in order to serve their own purposes. The principle that the trade-union policies of the Communist Party, just as all of its major policies, are, in general, determined by the foreign policy of Stalin, is absolutely correct. But to conclude from this correct general principle that the Stalinists call strikes at this time for the specific purpose of sabotaging defense industries means to use a correct general principle not as a guide to explain events, but as an excuse for a reactionary and red-baiting policy.

People who reason mechanically would expect that because Stalin changed his foreign policy with the signing of the pact with Hitler he would therefore issue instructions for a campaign of strikes in all democratic capitalist countries. But these people forget that in the period of Stalin's great friendship for the capitalist democracies there were strikes led by his followers in this country and in France.

True, the Stalinists put the brakes on the militant strikes of the French workers. Stalin feared a revolutionary upheaval in France because that would endanger not only the French capitalist democracy but also the rule of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless there were many strikes in France led by C. P. members.

For it must not be forgotten that Stalin's power rests partly on the influence he can wield through the various Communist parties over sections of the working masses. And to gain influence among the workers it is necessary for the Stalinists to assume leadership in the struggles of the workers.

With the shift in Stalin's foreign policy, as symbolized by the pact with Hitler, the brakes on working-class militancy were released. The militancy of the rank-and-file Stalinists was permitted full play. It is therefore correct to say that in the last analysis the fomenting of strikes at the present time is a result of Stalin's foreign policy.

Soviet War Would Lead To A New Situation

But this does not mean that the immediate purpose of the Stalinists in leading the strikes is to sabotage the war industries or to exert pressure on Hitler or to prove that Roosevelt is just as much of a fascist as Hitler. The fact of the matter is that the Stalinists cooled down considerably and definitely retreated after the North American Aviation strike was broken by the army. It is even probable, judging by their subsequent actions, that they realize that they made serious errors in strike strategy in the North American Aviation strike.

Should Stalin join Hitler in a struggle against Britain and America, then Stalinist-led strikes could be attributed to an intention to sabotage war industries but Stalin has not as yet been compelled by Hitler to become the latter's ally in actual warfare.

Naturally, had the war assumed a different aspect, had Stalin been allied with France and England against Hitler, the Stalinists would have tried to prevent any strikes in the countries of the capitalist allies of the Soviet Union.

MASS MEETING

Defend the Soviet Union

Hear: The TROTSKYIST Answers to the Vital Issues in this Titanic Struggle

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ALBERT GOLDMAN

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